## SIR EDWIN SANDYS'S EUROPAE SPECULUM: A CRITICAL EDITION

by ·

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#### ABSTRACT

This thesis provides for the first time a critical edition of the work "*Europae* Speculum, or A View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne Parts of the World" by Sir Edwin Sandys (1561-1629). A sub-title expands further: "Wherein the Romane Religion, and the Pregnant Policies of the Church of Rome to support the same, are notably displayed with some other memorable discoveries and memorations."

Sandys states that the purpose of his travels is the observation of the various religions of western Europe, especially the Reformed churches, with a view to the possibilities for unity; what he actually produced is an account of the religious/political situation in Europe at the end of the sixteenth century. Far from concentrating on Reformed churches—near the end of the work he promises to discuss them at a later time—he devoted forty-two out of sixty sections (as they are numbered in the 1605 editions) to the delineation of various aspects of Roman Catholicism, enumerating their beliefs, practices, government, and the means used to increase power, frequently finding merit in their customs and ideas while disapproving of the way in which these were put into practice. Such a preoccupation with Catholicism and reconciliation must have seemed revolutionary to his readers in an age when people were fighting about religion and had, at best, only condemnation for their opponents.

Completed in 1599, Sandys's book did not appear in printed form until 1605 when it was entered into the Stationers' Register on 21 June. This publication was disowned as a 'spurious' stolen copy by the author who may have initiated, but at least agreed to, the burning of all copies available (the exact number is not known) in 1605. The 1605 edition was later published in expanded form in 1629, the year of

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the author's death. Whether this publication appeared before or after his death in October 1629, whether Sandys himself had a hand in the expansion, one cannot be certain, particularly since the site of publication is listed as The Hague.

The work's popularity is seen in the number of editions and reprints: three appeared in 1605, one in each of 1629, 1632, 1637, 1638, 1673, and 1687. There were also at least seven manuscript copies made. It was translated into Italian in 1625, French in 1626, and Dutch in 1675. The main reason for its popularity probably arose from the various machinations to unite the churches into an anti-papal congregation, though the foreign translators may have had other reasons for their work.

This thesis collates the three 1605 editions and compares them not only with the 1629 edition and the 1632 edition (the first certain posthumous one) but also with the seven extant manuscript copies of the work. The 1629 text was chosen as copy text in accordance with the dictum that a bibliographer should work from print material, where available, rather than manuscript, and use that printed text which is the last one in which the author might have had a hand rather than a posthumous text. Because the Lambeth manuscript, which is listed as the presentation copy, is very close in content and phraseology to the 1629 text, few changes have been made in the text itself. Any differences between the 1629 text and the various copies are given in the notes or textual apparatus, and explanations of practices, personalities, or foreign phrases which might be obscure to many current readers, follow in a brief set of explanatory notes.

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#### **TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION**

So much mystery and uncertainty surround the text which has come to be known as *Europae Speculum* that they impede a straightforward presentation of this work by Edwin Sandys. What is known for sure is that three trivially different editions bear the date 1605 as the year of imprint. Even the *STC* changed the order in which these appeared (to be contradicted even further by James Ellison), and some libraries put the publication date of one of these editions as 1622 rather than 1605. We do know from John Chamberlain's letter that all the 1605 editions were supposed to have been burned at the direction of Sandys himself, which must have seemed to him a wise move at the time, given the incident of Guy Fawkes. Then there are the manuscript editions all of which bear the date 1599 but some of which were purportedly written even after Sandys's death in 1629. Add to these the many editions with notes inserted either marginally or into the text itself and one finds the obfuscation almost suffocating.

Yet a further layer of uncertainty is added when one considers that such a public man as Edwin Sandys, who personified in himself much that one considers typical of the versatile, well-informed, powerful, and thoughtful men of his times, left no private papers so that many questions must go unanswered. Rabb, who maintains that Sandys's career reflected, often distilled, much in the intellectual, political, and economic activities bearing directly on major issues of Jacobean politics and society, bemoans the lack of personal papers, the paucity of documentation beyond his public speeches.<sup>1</sup>

Was Sandys commissioned by John Whitgift to make this survey? Such could plausibly be the case because of the Archbishop's position as long-time family friend who

owed much to Edwin's father's early mentorship and whose interference is suggested as the source of some of Edwin's parliamentary speeches. The work is, after all, dedicated to Whitgift; but, in the absence of any tangible proof, one can only speculate. What was the purpose of the work, commissioned or otherwise? Was there a "plot" to set up a universal church as a competitor to Rome? If not, what would move such a man to devote three years of his life to the making of such a survey? Who altered the 1605 edition so that it turned into the 1629 edition, and why and how did the 1629 edition come to be so like the Lambeth manuscript? If the 1629 edition was meant to erase the animosities between the English and the Roman churches, why did the 1629 author sound so vicious towards Rome in so many places? Is there significance in the fact that the 1629 edition was published at The Hague? Was it really published there or was this a ploy by Michael Sparkes whose reputation seems to have gathered an aura of suspicion through the years? Certainly the work became very popular on the continent and was translated into several languages, and for a variety of reasons.

About this same time Richard Hooker, in his *Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593, 1597), was seeking an ideal of unity. Later, Wotton used the Sandys work in his bid for a church united under English aegis. Sandys's work, however, seems to be suggesting that the wisest path would be a compromise made in amiable fashion cordially accepting religious differences. Although many of these questions and problems may never be resolved, the work and its author are profoundly worth considering.

Sir Edwin Sandys, statesman, politician, leading parliamentarian, colonialist, analyser of religious conflict, treasurer of the Virginia Company, was born in viii

Worcestershire on December 9, 1561, the second son of Archbishop Edwin Sandys (c. 1516–1588) and his second wife, Cicely Wilford. He had good family connections, even some royal blood from his mother who was a lineal descendant of the kings of Scotland. Edwin the younger was educated at Merchant Taylors' School where he found a lasting friend in George Cranmer (1563–1600), and at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he earned not only Bachelor's and Master's degrees but an enduring friendship with one of his tutors, Richard Hooker (1554–1600). Sandys and Cranmer gave Hooker help and advice, and in Sandys's case money, to help with the preparation and publication of his *Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity*. It was Hooker's custom to send each book as he completed it to them, and they returned it with their suggestions.<sup>2</sup> Sandys is also reputed to have influenced his father in Hooker's favour when the Archbishop appointed Hooker to the mastership of the Temple.

Sandys was first elected to Parliament in 1586 where his most outstanding oratorical contribution was a speech (rumored to have been suggested by Archbishop Whitgift) proposing to subject 'Brownists' and 'Barrowists' to the penalties inflicted on recusants. In 1593 he went with George Cranmer on a three-year tour of Europe where he proposed to study the evolution of Christian religion; he ended by devoting most of his consideration, time, and subsequent commentary to Roman Catholicism in Italy, Germany, and France. The completed work, dated 1599, which turned out to be relatively tolerant towards Rome, and was later printed (1629) under the title *Europae Speculum*, started life with a longer title as a series of manuscripts and did not appear in print until 1605 when it was entered at the Stationers' Hall on June 21, 1605, and published,

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anonymously, as 'A Relation of the State of Religion: and with what Hopes and Policies it hath been framed, and is maintained in the severall States of these Westerne partes of the world.' Little more than four months later the Gunpowder Plot of November 5, 1605 drastically changed societal attitudes so that a society rather tolerant and ready to accept Sandys's suggestions became a fiercely biased one. Any positive effect Sandys's work (published with or without the author's acquiescence) might have been expected to have was destroyed by an episode which made it impossible to consider such a plea for coexistence with Roman Catholicism. Whether he was acting out of genuine anger or from a politically correct sham of disgust is hard to discern, but Sandys himself is said to have procured the order from the High Commission<sup>3</sup> condemning the book to be burnt, not, however, before three editions had been successfully through the printing presses surreptitiously.

The work was not suppressed in Europe and within a few years it was translated into Italian and French. The Italian version was annotated by "that great Catholic supporter of Protestantism, Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623). The French version was read by that great Protestant supporter of Catholicism, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), who urged that it be translated into Dutch".<sup>4</sup>

As for the plan to reunite the Christian churches under the Church of England, the ecumenical Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639) hoped to introduce Protestantism to Venice using three methods: maintaining the State there in heart and courage against the Pope; converting individual Venetians; and uniting all Protestants in Venice together in a religious congregation, with a pastor and services of their own. Sandys's book fits into

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the second method, "[f]or the Venetian nobles, who were accustomed to religious controversy, and likely to be shocked by the truth 'in its own naked simplicity,' he [Wotton] thought it better to provide religious principles in the guise of political discourses, which they read with great avidity. A book which seemed written for the purpose he found in the recently-published *Europae Speculum* of Sir Edwin Sandys; and this was translated into Italian by Bedell, with the help of Sarpi and Fulgenzio."<sup>5</sup> That Wotton had been charmed by the Venetian nobles is borne out by his arranging introductions to them for Milton on the latter's visit to Italy.

The unification matter involved even the men of Great Tew, the circle of the most liberal thinkers of the day formed around Lucius Cary (1610–43) and including Jonson, Suckling, George Sandys (Edwin's younger brother), Earle, Godolphin, and Chillingworth. According to Smith,<sup>6</sup> they were affronted by what they saw as the narrowness of the Church under Archbishop Laud: "Following Sandys and Grotius, they wished to see the Church of England as part—even head—of an international church, and in that Church they would include foreign Protestants and foreign Catholics. . . . Laud, they believed, in spite of the liberal ideas which he had inherited, was narrowing the Church of England, making it too a sect."

In his book, Sandys, like Hooker, avoided polemics, seeking not sectarian victory but a church that could, by transcending sectarianism, reunite Christendom. If Catholics would discard their superstitious observances, if Protestants would "abate the rigours of certain speculative opinions," then, he believed, a new "centre party" could be re-created out of those men "of singular learning and piety" who, in all countries, sought to re-

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establish the peace of the church. Spain indeed must be left to the Moors and Jews who had debased its church. Italy was ineligible unless it could disembarrass itself of "popery"---perhaps the Pope should be allowed to transform himself, as so many abbots, bishops, Grand Masters had done, into a purely secular prince. But in France-the France of Henri IV-Sandys saw the possibility of non-popish Catholicism that could coexist, indeed merge, with moderate Protestantism. In such an ideal church, a place could be found for the Greek Christians who had been the first to reject the Roman claims, and who now languished under Turkish tyranny. To Sandys, as to Hooker, the nearest approximation to this ideal church was the Church of England. By its continuity with the medieval Church, by its peaceable and orderly reformation, by the secular authority of its prince, the Church of England, "concurring entirely with neither side, yet reverenced of both," was not only the pattern for others to imitate but also the fittest of all to be the umpire between them and to lead the proceedings to unity with the same "general and indifferent confession and sum of faith, an uniform liturgy, a correspondent form of Church-government" (Trevor-Roper).<sup>7</sup>

A printed edition of *Europae Speculum* appeared in 1629 still not publicly attributed to Sandys but to an anonymous author. In an introduction to the work the writer's declared purpose in writing is to explain that, although Sandys was indeed not *named* as the author of the 1605 text, the public generally accepted that he had written the work, and therefore his good name was slandered by that claim.<sup>8</sup> Once Sandys became aware of the slander, so says the introduction, he took steps to have the work suppressed and its printing prohibited by authority, and therefore he presumed that all existing copies of the book were burned. Three printed editions, however, remained extant, as witness the statements made by the aforesaid introduction writer concerning two impressions made before Sandys took action and "since that time, there hath beene another Impression of the same stolne into the world".<sup>9</sup>

Since it is thus perfectly clear that Sandys himself neither authorized nor emended any of the 1605 editions, one must look elsewhere for a copy-text, the particular basic text from which this textual edition is to be made. And such a seeking underlines the complications of this thesis.

The work survives in seven contemporary manuscripts (Lambeth, British Library Additional, Bodleian [two manuscripts], Princeton [two manuscripts], and Queen's College, Oxford) and in nine seventeenth-century editions and issues (1605 [three editions], 1629, 1632 [reprinted in two issues], 1637, 1638, 1673, and 1687). Does one choose a 1605 edition, the authorship of which is publicly disclaimed by Sandys? There are many copies of the various 1605 editions with notes interspersed making the altered text closer to that of 1629. Each of the cataloguers of these particular copies claims that the additions were made by the author himself. There is no way of proving that these were not made by Sandys with the aid of a secretary; but the existence of certifiable notes made by Sandys for Richard Hooker provides a basis for comparison (which has been made) and none of the annotations are Sandys's autograph.

Does one choose a manuscript and, if so, which one? The Lambeth manuscript looks authoritative and is claimed by the Lambeth Library catalogue<sup>10</sup> to be the presentation copy; but the Lambeth librarians have produced no impartial third-party

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witness to justify this fact. The Additional manuscript housed in the British Library is also lauded as a fine presentation copy, but exhibits no further justification that it was indeed the copy presented to Whitgift by Sandys. One of the Bodleian manuscripts has an addendum by one Ranulph Oxenden stating that it had been left to him by Sandys in his will; as Oxenden claims to have been in Sandys's employ, he cannot be viewed as an impartial observer, and no other witnesses to this employment or this gift have been found. We know nothing for certain about this work except that it was written by Sandys; and we know this, impartially, only from Chamberlain's letter recounting the burning of the 1605 editions, which letter seems written by a witness with nothing to gain from bruiting abroad such information. The dilemma worsens when the author actually disclaims the earliest edition (1605) and there is no real proof, other than that of the anonymous introduction writer (who may have had a vested interest in spreading a false rumour), that the 1629 edition is "a perfect Copie" transcribed from the author's original. Because, however, 1629 was the year of Sir Edwin Sandys's death, the 1629 edition is the last possible copy in which he could be presumed to have had a hand (whether he did or not). For this reason the 1629 edition has been chosen as the copy-text.

The work, written in the form of a letter, is dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift (c.1530–1604), a long-time friend of the Sandys family, who was assisted in his career by Edwin's father (the elder Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York). Whitgift acted as an advisor to the three friends, Edwin, George Cranmer and Richard Hooker, during their days at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. There is some thought that Whitgift had set Edwin this task of surveying "the state of religion and with

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what hopes and policies it hath been framed and is maintained in the several states of these westerne parts of the world," looking particularly for signs that a union of Christian Churches (Roman Catholic, Greek and Russian Orthodox, and English Catholic, later known as Anglican) might be possible. Three manuscripts [Lambeth MS 2007, ff. 169–203, Queen's MS 280, 88 ff., and Princeton MS 109] end with the phrase: "Most humblie at your Grace's command," which may be a simple conventional mode of signing off when addressing an individual of such high ecclesiastical stature, or may indeed indicate a definite assignment from the Archbishop. The listing in *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library* states that Whitgift entered the marginal comments found on the manuscript. Certainly these inscriptions are in a hand different from that in the body of the text, but doubt exists that they are Whitgift's autograph.

If the printed 1605 editions are indeed spurious, as the anonymous writer of the 1629 introduction contends, then the only probably authentic ones before 1629 are manuscript copies. The seven manuscripts known to exist have been examined: Lambeth Palace (MS 2007, ff 169–203 listed as the presentation copy), Queen's College, Oxford (MS 280), two at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS e. Museo 211 and MS Eng. Th. c. 62), two at Princeton University Library (MS 109 and MS 199) and one at the British Library (Additional MS 24,109). There is no way of knowing for certain which of these manuscripts came first nor, indeed, which, if any, were copied with the author's permission. There are certainly some discrepancies to be found among the manuscripts themselves and between the manuscripts and the 1605 printed editions. One copy of the 1605 edition (*STC* 21717.5, housed in the British Library) has handwritten interpolations

claimed (though incorrectly) in the catalogue listing to be in Sandys's autograph, and these insertions make this copy agree almost totally with the Lambeth Palace manuscript and the 1629 text. The Princeton University copy of the 1605 edition (*STC* 21717.5) has not only marginal insertions but interleaved pages with lengthy comments and extrapolations as well.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

### LAMBETH MS 2007, folios 169–203 [L]

Since this manuscript is postulated as the presentation copy, and since the chronology of the seven manuscript witnesses is uncertain, the Lambeth manuscript is a good place to begin. This manuscript measures approximately 33 centimeters by 22 centimeters. It begins on 169; 169verso is blank. The first and last folios appear to have been folded in half, across, containing the rest of the manuscript. The same paper stock is used throughout. On the flyleaf is the following inscription: "To the most Reverend Father in God my L[ord] Archbishop of Canterburies Grace my singular good Lord." Only in the 1629 edition does this dedication appear, with slightly different wording: "To the Most Reverend Father in Christ John Whitgift Arc B: of Canterbury."

The manuscript displays corrections which are in a different hand and ink, as are the marginal notations (reputedly by Archbishop Whitgift himself). Some notes in the margins seem to be sectional headings, and sometimes they are indecipherable. These headings do not correspond exactly with those in *STC* 21717.5. On some folios there are numbers in the margin "3", "4" the purpose of which is unknown. On five folios there is a small drawing of three balls in the air with a curly tail hanging down, the signification of which remains obscure. Folio 17recto is completely cancelled. Folio 16verso seems to have replaced 17recto because the final three lines of both folios are alike. Folio 16verso is in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript. Erosion around the edges of the early folios means some words are missing in whole or in part. The final folio has on the right side, near the bottom, a signature in a hand much bolder than the script of the manuscript body: "Edwin Sandys". Folio pagination has been added: 169–203. The work ends: "Most humblie at your Grace's command." Folio 204recto is blank; on 204verso is: "Sir Edwin Sandes discourse of his travayles." Provenance for this witness comes from *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library*, pages 44–45 where it is stated [erroneously]: "The work was first published in 1605 under the title *Europae Speculum*." In fact that title for the work does not appear until the 1629 edition.

# BRITISH LIBRARY Additonal MS 24, 109 [A]

This manuscript is bound in a vellum contemporary with the text. The work consists of 106 leaves and an additional leaf at the opening. The same paper stock is used in all 107 folios. The end paper, which is of different stock, may have been added at a rebinding in 1867. The opening leaf bears the inscription: "purchased at Putlick's 6th May 1861 - Lot 727." The foliation has been added, probably when the manuscript was added to the collection. There are no marginal notes. The hand is the most easily decipherable of all the manuscript witnesses seen. This is obviously a fine presentation copy, all in the hand of a single scribe. There are a few corrections, made also by the same scribe. The manuscript seems to have been done all at the same time. On the final folio 106recto is inscribed: "So take I with all duetie most humbly leave of yo<sup>r</sup> Grace. From Paris. 9

Aprilis 1599." A fine secretary hand is displayed throughout. The watermark is a twohandled pot or vase, fairly distinctive; that of the last leaf a crown on GR. Size is 27.5 cm in height, 18.75 cm wide (inside).

# BODLEIAN MS e. Museo 211 $[B^1]$

This manuscript is bound in a leather cover and written on paper 13.5 by 18 cm in size with straight-line rolled imprints 1 cm in from the outer borders and split completely, two-thirds of the way through the volume. Printed on the binding paper inside covers reads the running title "Rodolphi Agricolae de Inventione" (pages 109 [front cover] and 542 [back cover] ). The manuscript is composed of 14 gatherings of 8 leaves each, plus one of 4 leaves (with one stub, in the final position, perhaps another missing) at the beginning; there is a stub for the final leaf of the last gathering as well. The paper stock is similar throughout. No watermarks are discernible immediately, and no full sample found, but a trace of one can be found on page 73recto/verso. There are no other works bound in the same volume. Facts about its origin are found in Falconer Madan, et al., eds. A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937) vol. 2, p. 694 #3590. The work ends on 68verso, though the pages run to 113verso and are numbered in original ink until 106recto. The style of the handwritten presentation imitates print in some ways, e.g., catchwords at the bottom of the page. Marginal quotations are few, and those few appear to be in the same hand as that of the copyist. The provenance states that it is in English, on paper: written by Hewlet about A.D. 1600. "A Relation of the State of Religion, and with what Hopes and Policies it hath beene Framed, and is maintained, in the severall states of these westerne Partes of

the world"; at the end is added "Edwine Sandes. From Paris Aprill. 9. 1599." On folio 68verso (folios 69 to the end are blank) is "This Booke was given me by my noble and ever honoured Master S<sup>r</sup> Edwin Sandys among other goodes and legacies when God Almightie took him, being the handwriting of M<sup>r</sup> Hewlet my predecessor who transcribed it for his said Master and myne. God grant mee grace to read and understand it, Ranulph Oxenden"; Oxenden was presumably Sandys's secretary or at least the scribe who succeeded Hewlet. An erased inscription on the same page seems to indicate that Sir "Edwin Sandes" owned it at Oxford in 1626. On the flyleaf is written:"Nov. 13 M.DC.LVI. Lib. Bibl. Bodl. ex dono Johan: Birkenhead Artium Magistri, et Coll. Omnium Animarum olim Socij." [Nov. 13 1656 Bodleian Library Book from the gift of Johan: Birkenhead Master of Arts, and one time fellow of All Souls College].

Page 85 of the manuscript is quite beyond use for the first half of the page; the top half of page 86 is also unclear. On page 90 the top 15 lines are unreadable; page 94 has some unreadable spots in the first 10 lines.

### BODLEIAN MS Eng. th. c. 62 $[B^2]$

This manuscript measures 22.5 by 34.25 cm. on paper that is of a similar stock throughout. It has been recently rebound in a manner that makes assessment very difficult given its current condition; the manuscript appears to have been very well used, the paper clearly worn to its cloth fibre in areas, and the gatherings are too difficult to ascertain in the new tight binding. There are no discernible watermarks and no other works are bound in the same volume. For its provenance one looks in Mary Clapinson and T. D. Rogers, eds. *Summary Catalogue of Post-Medieval Western Manuscripts in the* 

*Bodleian Library Oxford, Acquisitions 1916–1975* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), Vol 2, page 727, #46506. This provenance states that this manuscript was copied from the 1629 edition [a rather curious occurrence, if true]. This copy is noted for the extent of wear, use of catchwords and outer margin ruling. There are no obvious marginal notations.

The early pages and many subsequent ones in this manuscript are badly eroded. The text begins on what seems to correspond to pages 6 and 7 of the 1629 edition. This judgement is based on a discernible phrase in the middle of the page ("Their Liturgies being not understood . . . ") which is found on page 7 of the 1629 edition or copy text. The second manuscript page is also eroded extensively. Several phrases are decipherable so that one can readily discern a correspondence between this and pages 8–9 of the copy text. It is interesting to note, in addition, that the readable words and phrases on this page match phrases in the portion that has been inserted into the British Library 1605 edition, e. g., "Ceremonies to have affected ....." The third manuscript page corresponds to page 10 of the copy text. Erosion on this page is more regular, with the left side of the page completely readable while the right third of the page is not. Phrases which correpond to the copy text and are discernible include: "Confession, out of which so great good is promised" and "Physician who himself is perhaps more often infected." The fourth page being the facing page to the preceding one, erosion here is on the left hand side of the page, showing that the decay must have been in the binding. In the top right hand corner of the page is the number "6". Surely this indicates that the first two pages (the recto and verso of which would make four sides) are missing. Again phrases correspond exactly

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with the copy text. The fifth page has no number in the top right hand corner but does have phrases exactly corresponding to the 1629 edition, as does the sixth page except for the number at the top which is "8". On the seventh page the erosion, on the right or outside edge, is least of all the pages seen thus far, though readable complete lines are not frequent. One phrase —"there matter was"— is the same as an insertion into the *British* Library 1605 edition, also "provision of fitt meanes to assist therein." The eighth page has the number "10" in the top right hand corner and extensive erosion on the left side. Incomplete lines make comparison difficult, but certain phrases, exactly like the *British* Library 1605 insertions, are decipherable: "nunneries seeme," "but rather as," "points they now chiefly respect," and "I may truly saye." The ninth page has no number, but there is erosion all along the right outside edge. Phrases on this page similar to those inserted in BL: "soveraigne managing of this high end and the honor," and "no doubt or question." The tenth page has the number "12", and, being verso, the erosion here is on the left hand side of the page. On the eleventh page erosion is on the right, darkening on the left. Phrases and words from BL insertions: "beguiling," "what through passion, partialitie, and private interest transporting him," "so that two things only are to bee performed in this case." Signs of erosion diminish after page eleven and the body text of the work is legible except for the final page which is unreadable. There are no marginal notes.

#### PRINCETON MS 199 [P']

There is a bookplate "Ditchley Books" 1903 and the following: 'Contemp manuscript of | Sandys 'A relation of ye state of | religion . . . in these Western | parts of the world' | c

1610 The manuscript is bound in red cloth (nineteenth century) stamped to imitate morocco; on the spine is stamped 'CROMWELL LEE', lettered in gilt. (Cromwell Lee, who died in 1602, was the brother of Sir Henry Lee; educated at Oxford, he travelled to Italy, settled in Oxford, compiling an English-Italian dictionary which was never published). The manuscript is a quarto, in sixes, approximately 19 cm high by 14.25 cm wide . There are four modern blanks; first sheet from the seventeenth century is blank on recto, with pencilled "By Cromwell Lee"; the text is not paginated. There are two scribes; the first writes from folio 2recto to 35recto; transition seems to take place fourteen lines from the bottom of the leaf. Folios 35verso to 92verso are in the hand of a second scribe; there is a possible change of scribe at 69recto, but it is not clear or unambiguous. The work takes up folios 1recto to 92recto; 93verso-171verso are blanks with a pair of verse stanzas on 171 verso. It seems clear that this is an early text for it omits the dedication to Whitgift beginning "Having now allmost finished." Addenda consisting of 3-4 pages of notes compares this manuscript with two 1605 editions-the author of the notes is Theodore K. Rabb, a professor of History at Princeton, who purchased the manuscript in London from Jarndyce and Company, Booksellers, on behalf of Princeton University for 320 pounds. There are no marginal notes in this manuscript; the ending is exactly like that of the 1629 edition except for the omission of the final sentence: "So take I with all duties, most humble leave of your Grace."

### **PRINCETON MS 109** $[P^2]$

This manuscript is bound in vellum; has "MS / no.41" on cover, "41" on spine. It is approximately 20.63 cm wide by 21.25 cm high. On folio 1recto is: "S<sup>r</sup> Edwin

Sandys.his relation of Religion in the Westerne parts of the world.transcribed out of his owne coppy:" Folio Iverso, 2recto, 2verso are blank, while folio 3recto bears the text of the dedication between vertical rulers, 6" apart; Text title:"To y<sup>e</sup> reverend father in god my Lo. Arch: of Cant./ his grace my singular good Lord." There are forty-three lines per page; folios are numbered in upper left; topical margination. Written in two scribal hands, the first hand a mixed secretary and italic—more italic than secretary; on folio 14 a note: "And now slayne / indeede, by a villayne of y<sup>e</sup> popish faction religio<sup>n</sup> / a<sup>o</sup> 1610 ." The final page concludes with: "from Paris the Ninth of Aprill one thousand five hundred ninetie nyne 1599 Most humbly at your graces command Edwin Sands 1599." There is a watermark on the last leaf of a crown over A B in rectangular shape, on the first leaf a watermark of grapes. The paper enclosing the manuscript proper is different, finer with watermark above. Princeton purchased this from Francis Edwards in August, 1970.

## QUEEN'S COLLEGE MS 280 (88 ff.) [Q]

The size of this manuscript is approximately 20.25 by 29.5 cm. It has a vellum cover, in advanced stages of decay; the spine is missing, paper sewn and glued as might be expected, with gatherings of different sizes and numbers of leaves. The paper stock changes considerably within the volume. There are no watermarks immediately visible, but there is a trace of one on what would be numbered pages 107–108 of the treatise (the treatise ends on the page numbered 105, and begins on a page numbered 1, though it is actually 88recto). Bound in the same volume are a good many other works on religious, political, and local academic topics. The collection includes many different hands.

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Provenance is difficult to discern though the final pages of the manuscripts in this volume make references to Bulls dated 1623, 1626, 1638. The bookplate is of Queen's College ("Robertus Eglesfield Clericus"). This collection of manuscripts is a large, thick volume, carefully copied with marginal notations on the Sandys work chiefly indicative of content, acting like headings but in a hand other than that of the body text. There are 108 pages, ending with: "Most humblie at your Grace's command."

#### **PRINTED EDITIONS**

The 1605 editions were included in the first edition of the *Short Title Catalogue* and listed as 21715, 21716, 21717; the numbering of the 1629 edition is 21718 and the first posthumous edition (that of 1632) is numbered 21719. The three 1605 editions can be distinguished one from the other by examining the ending of line one in signature H3<sup>T</sup> in each edition. The ending for *STC* 21715 is "have," that for *STC* 21716 "factions &," and that for *STC* 21717 is "practi-." When the *STC* was revised in 1976, the first 1605 edition was re-numbered as 21717.5 leaving 21716 as the first edition. These are the printed editions (*STC* 21716, 21717, 21717.5, 21718, 21719) which, with the manuscripts, will be used to construct this text.

James Ellison, in a 1980 article,<sup>11</sup> suggests that 21717 is really the first edition followed by 21716 and 21717.5, disagreeing with Rabb<sup>12</sup> who claimed that minor textual variations in the 1605 texts were made by the author, that the work had been authorized by Sandys and suppressed by the government. Rabb sees the Bodleian Library manuscript (MS e Museo 211) as Sandys's copy of the first version of his work. Rabb also indicates the ease with which one can see that the first three editions differ from one

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another. He cites title-page differences, content variations, setting of type, and width of margins. Opting for agreement with the editors of the second edition of the *STC*, he hesitates to change their acceptance of which edition came first.

Ellison is very definite about the first edition's being *STC* 21717, and chooses the following table,<sup>13</sup> showing errors and corrections through the various editions:

STC	21717	21716	21717.5
P2 <sup>r</sup>	Morania au Lesia	Moravia & Slesia	Moravia & Silesia
Q3 <sup>v</sup>	Viruna	vienna	Vienna
catchwd fur-/furnitude R3 <sup>v</sup> :R4 <sup>r</sup>		fur-/servitude	ser-/servitude
	great Church	greek Church	Greeke Church

Ellison maintains that the vast majority of errors in *STC* 21717 were corrected to a certain extent in *STC* 21716, and further amended in *STC* 21717.5. Given Ellison's arguments, the 1605 edition would seem to have been issued in the following order: *STC* 21717, *STC* 21716, and *STC* 21717.5. *STC* 21716 was printed by George and Lionel Snowdon. In casting off copy <sup>14</sup> for *STC* 21717, Simmes made one or two miscalculations, and had to use the direction line <sup>15</sup> for text in  $G3^{v}$ . Towards the end of the book more direction lines had to be used (Y1<sup>v</sup> and Y2<sup>v</sup>-Y4<sup>v</sup>), giving an impression of cramming.

Several interesting points can be observed by comparing the title pages of *STC* 21716–21719 and by setting them side by side, as it were. Of the three presumed 1605 editions, *STC* 21716 has a different device (McKerrow 316) from 21717 (McKerrow 379) and from 21717.5 (McKerrow 317). "Policies" (21717.5 and 21717) is spelled "Pollicies" in 21716. Neither 21716 nor 21717.5 names the printer, whereas 21717 says

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it was printed by "Val. Sims" for the same publisher of all three editions. STC 21718 has no printer mentioned on the title page although it is presumed to be printed by Michael Sparkes; Harvard Library owns a copy of this edition inscribed by him. Both 21718 and 21719 change the title from "A Relation of the State of Religion" to "Europae Speculum or, a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne parts of the World." The phrase "and with what hopes and Policies it hath beene framed, and is maintained" is replaced with "Wherein the Roman Religion and the pregnant policies of the Church of Rome to support the same, are notably displayed with some other memorable discoveries and memorations (21718) / Commemorations (21719)." 21718 includes the words "Never before till now" before the phrase "Published according to the Authours original Copie" which is repeated on the 21719 title page. Both include the Latin motto Multum diuque desideratum (much and long desired). 21718 claims to have been printed at the Hague, while 21719 asserts London as the location of the printer who is named ("T. Cotes") as printing it for Michael Sparkes dwelling in Green Arbor at the signe of the blue Bible, 1632. To demonstrate the above more clearly actual title page data follows.

### **TITLE PAGES**

STC 21717 A | RELATION | OF THE STATE OF | Religion : and with what Hopes and | Policies [sic] it hath beene framed, and is main- | tained in the severall States of these Westerne | partes of the world. | [ device, variant of McKerrow 379, with no initials] | LONDON | Printed by Val. Sims for Simon | Waterson dwelling in Paules | Churchyard at the signe of the | Crowne. 1605 STC 21716 A | RELATION | OF THE STATE OF | Religion : and with what Hopes and | Pollicies [sic] it hath beene framed, and is maintai- | ned in the severall states of these westerne | parts of the world. | [device, McKerrow 316] | LONDON, | Printed for Simon Waterson dwel- | ling in Paules Churchyard at the | signe of the Crowne. | 1605

STC 21717.5 (formerly 21715) A |RELATION | OF THE STATE OF | Religion : and with what Hopes and | Policies it hath beene framed, and is maintai- | ned in the severall states of these westerne | parts of the world. | [device, McKerrow, 317] | LONDON, | Printed for Simon Waterson dwel- | ling in Paules Churchyard at the | signe of the Crowne. | 1605.

STC 21718 EVROPAE SPECVLVM | OR , | A VIEW OR SVRVEY | OF THE STATE OF RELIGION | in the Westerne | parts of the World. | Wherein the Romane | Religion, and the pregnant policies of the | Church of Rome to support the same, | are notably displayed: with some | other memorable discoueries and | memorations, | Never before till now published | according to the Authours | Originall Copie. | [horizontal line] | Multium diuque desideratum. | [ printer's ornament] | Hagae=Comitis | 1629

STC 21719 EVROPAE SPECVLUVM, | OR, | A VIEW OR SURVEY | OF THE STATE OF RELIGION | in the Westerne | parts of the world. | Wherein the Romane | Religion, and the pregnant policies of the | Church of Rome to support the same, | are notably displayed: with some | other memorable discoveries and | Commemorations. | Published according to the Authours Ori- | ginall Copie, and acknowledged by him for | a true Copie. | [horizontal line] | Multum diuque desideratum. | [printer's ornament] | LONDON, | Printed by T. Cotes, for Michael Sparkes, dwelling in | Green Arbor, at the signe of the blue Bible, |1632

# .BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PRINTED EDITIONS

*STC* 21717 There are 58 "sections" numbered and varying in size; there is one error on signature S2<sup>r</sup>: "37" where "47" should be; there are no marginal notes except for two places: signature O4<sup>v</sup> "Description of Pope Clement 8" and signature P2<sup>r</sup> "The forreine strength of the Papacie" both printed in normal type in a font smaller than that of the body text. This is the only copy to bear the name of the printer, Valentine Simmes. *STC* 21716 The vast majority of misreadings in 21717 were corrected in 21716. This edition corresponds exactly in its marginal headings to *STC* 21717.5, except that the marginal notes here, in text smaller than the body text, are in italic font. This edition also has the same sequencing error as 21717 and 21717.5 and omits the note "Description of Pope Clement 8" (O4<sup>v</sup>). It was printed by George and Lionel Snowdon, and the factotum they used here appeared in the text of another book dated 1606 also printed by them (*A Brief Answer to Certain Romans*); in the 1606 work the factotum displays a crack not apparent in the Sandys work, thus supporting indirectly the year 1605 as the true date of printing for 21716.

*STC* 21717.5 (formerly 21715), Folger copy, has an inscription on the flyleaf: "H. C. Beeching, d. d., H. Hinsley Henson, December 1911." This edition is also in 58 sections, numbered in the same manner as 21717 and with the same error in sequencing on

signature S2<sup>r</sup>, omitting the note "Description of Pope Clement 8" on O4<sup>v</sup>. There are 31 marginal notes equivalent to (though not nearly as extensive as) the Table of Contents found in *STC* 21718. The revised *STC* suggests that this is a forged copy with a false date, a forged title-page device and head-piece, and gives it the conjectural date of 1622, on the basis of a manuscript date in the Huntington Library copy.

*STC* 21718 [copy text] The reproduction of this edition is from the Henry E. Huntington Library. The edition is quarto and consists of 248 pages and an additional page of ERRATA, whose corrections have been incorporated into the text and noted in the textual apparatus. The title page has the statement: "Never before till now published according to the Authours Originall Copie" with, beside the word "Authours" a scripted "Sir Edwyn Sandys his" which supposedly joins "Originall Copie" to make the sentence conclude: "according to the Authours Sir Edwyn Sandys his Copie." The script is not Sandys's autograph.

The title has been expanded not only to begin with the Latin phrase *Europae Speculum* [the mirror of Europe] but to include the kernel of the original title as well as a brief explanation of what the work is about: *"Europae Speculum* or, A View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne parts of the World. Wherein the Romane Religion, and the pregnant policies of the Church of Rome to support the same, are notably displayed: with some other memorable discoveries and memorations," followed by the authorial information discussed above. A Latin motto comes next: "Multum diuque desideratum" [much and long desired] with a decoration followed by the place and date of publication "Hagae-Comitis. 1629." An introduction, consisting of three and a half pages, is thus addressed: "The well meaning publisher hereof to the understanding reader, of what ranke or degree soever." Here the claim is made that the 1605 edition, published for one Simon Waterson and generally presumed to be written by Sandys, is but a "spurious stolen copy," unauthorised by Sandys. The writer of this introduction wants his readers to assume that Sandys has granted permission for this copy (though Sandys died in October, 1629, and his authorization is not certain), for he coyly supposes that he may incur the author's displeasure ("if He be yet living") though he would prefer to endure such displeasure rather than wrong the world by depriving it of Sandys's "pregnante view," claiming it to be but *amoris error* [a mistake of love]. He then proceeds to list people who may be offended but whose opinion does not matter to him. This introduction is not signed except as "From the Hage in Holland" and with the wish "Vale in Christo & fruere" [Farewell in Christ and take delight].

Three pages of a table of contents follow under the designation: "The Contents, or the severall Heads (which may serve insteed [*sic*] of Chapters) contained in this Treatise." Some of these same topics occur in the margins of several of the other editions, in type or in script, but with different phraseology, and no entries so extensive as the sixty-six headings listed here. An explanatory subsequent paragraph stipulates that the headings were not found in the author's copy but included only for the ease and better benefit of the reader. The 1605 editions have separations comparable to these "chapter" titles that are designated by a numeral introductory to a given paragraph. These editions number only 58 sections while the 1629 table of contents designates sixty-six. Although arabic numerals occur in the centre top of each page, there are also signature designations using lower case letters and lower case roman numerals in the centre at the bottom of the page. Pages 14 and 15 are misnumbered 12 and 13 so that there are two pages numbered 12 and two numbered 13, though the matter on the second set of pages is different and flows sequentially from the first set of pages numbered 12 and 13. There is also a confusion of pages from 112 to 121 or from signature o-iv verso to q-i recto. The matter or content follows the arabic numerals and signature designations, but the order in which the pages occur leads one to believe that the work has been misbound. Catchwords at the bottom of each page and comparison with earlier editions make it possible to discern the flow of content. The numbering of sections found in the 1605 editions is not continued in this edition. On the final page the date is provided as *"From Paris.* IX<sup>\*</sup>. *Aprill*, 1599." This is followed by: "Copied out by the Authours originall, and finished, 2, Octob. An. M.D.C.XVIII" causing one to wonder if the printer omitted an extra X in the final year.

*STC* 21719 This edition has some minor differences from 1629. The title pages differ slightly. Where 1629 has "*memorations*" in the final line of the sub-title, this edition has . "*Commemorations*." 1629 claims "Never before till now published according to the Authours *Originall Copie*" whereas *STC* 21719 asserts that it is "Published according to the Authours Originall Copie, and acknowledged by him for a true Copie." Place of publication for 1629 is "Hagae-Comitis" versus "London" for 1632, and full publication details for the latter are provided: "Published by T. Cotes, for Michael Sparkes, dwelling in Greene Arbor, at the signe of the blue Bible."

As noted in the textual appartus, the introduction is also briefer, omitting two paragraphs from the earlier text. The Table of Contents is the same in both editions with the exception of some changes in spelling (e.g., "stead" replaces "steed" in the Contents heading and "greatnesse" for "Greatnes" in one of the listings). Signatures and pagination repeat 1629 except that the confusion there of pages 12 and 13 has been corrected in 21719, as has the entanglement of pages 112 to 121. As for word-for-word lineation, each page of this text coincides exactly with 1629 until page 35. In the 1629 edition (21718) the line is shorter than that of 21719; then subsequent pages differ by a few lines at first, increasing to ten until pages 64-65 when the final ten lines of page 64 are repeated erroneously at the beginning of page 65. This results in exact coincidence of lineation until page 73 where eight lines are omitted from the top of the page. The printed lines are not reconciled until page 101 from which point their coincidence persists until the end of the edition. The year on the final page is listed as "XIII" instead of "XVIII" both of which confuse a reader since the work was printed in 1629.

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# SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS

- A British Library Additional MS 24,109
- $B^{I}$  Bodleian MS e Museo 211, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- $B^2$  Bodleian MS Eng. Th. c. 62, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- BL 1605 annotated edition, STC 21717.5 (formerly 21715). British Library copy
- C<sup>1</sup> 1605 edition, STC 21716, Cambridge University Library
- C<sup>2</sup> 1630 / 32 edition. STC 21719, Cambridge University Library
- F 1605 edition, STC 21717.5 (formerly 21715), Folger Library
- HN 1605 edition, STC 21717, Huntington Library
- L Lambeth MS 2007, Lambeth Palace Library
- $P^{I}$  Princeton MS 199 (Edwards), Princeton University Library
- $P^2$  Princeton two, MS 109 (Jarndyce), Princeton University Library
- $P^3$  1605 edition, STC 21717.5 (formerly 21715), with marginal and interleaved notes; Princeton call number 1409.803.1605; see Appendix I.
- Q MS 280, Queen's College, Oxford
- 29 1629 edition, copy-text, Huntington Library
- cor correction (corrected)
- del delete(d)
- ins inserted (insertion)
- *ital* italic font or hand
- om omitted

| line ending

Ligatures and tildes have been expanded while black letter words have been changed to roman font and ornamental letters have been ignored. Where black letter words have been capitalized in full, the modern font has also been capitalized with the initial capital in a larger font, corresponding to the practice in *STC* 21718. Where the letter "u" occurs instead of the modern "v" it has been replaced, as has "i" for "j", where appropriate. Printers' errors, such as doubling a word have been ignored. Words that have unexpected spaces between syllables (e. g., An other, them selves) have been preserved. Ampersands have been written out in full. Catchwords have been ignored. Where words have been hyphenated across pages, the hyphens have been omitted and the word printed in its entirety.

In making my text I have interposed, where appropriate, the "chapter" headings from the Table of Contents in boldface type copying exactly the use of style and font from the Table of Contents itself. Generally the placement of these headings is straightforward since their topics are clearly mentioned and paragraph and sentence structure readily suit the position of a heading. Where the introduction of a new topic is not clearly indicated by a new paragraph, I have chosen a compatible placement for the heading ( see, for example, pages 150, 196). In one place (page 150) I have slightly modified the sentence structure in order to make the heading fit grammatically and to let the text flow rationally and smoothly. This change has been recorded in the textual apparatus.

In making this text, the variants have been listed line by line according to the line numbers on a given page. Few changes from the original text have seemed justified. My

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guide has been the unusual correspondence between the Lambeth manuscript, reputedly written in 1599 and given to Archbishop Whitgift as the putative presentation copy, and the printed edition which appeared in 1629 having, purportedly, been published in Holland and with no provable certainty of the writer's authorization. On some few occasions the additions to the 1629 edition have provided clarification or expansion and I have let them stand. Where more than one variation occurs on the same line, I have separated the items by using semicolons in the same font as the one immediately preceding it; and I have used the wavy dash sparingly and only where there is no possibility of ambiguity or misreading. Where Latin and Greek phrases occur in the text, I have noted that they are translated and explained in the Explanatory Notes. That same section also attempts to clarify some unfamiliar words, items, and customs, and to provide references to various persons and / or their works.

#### NOTES TO TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

1. Theodore K. Rabb, *Jacobean Gentleman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), ix-x.

2. *The Works of Richard Hooker*, gen. Ed., W. Speed Hill (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1977), I, xxx.

3. "Sir Edwin Sands bookes were burnt on Satterday in Paules Churchyard by order of the high commission and not without his consent as is saide." (*The Letters of John* 

Chamberlain, ed. N. E. McClure (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), I, 214.

4. Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Catholics, Anglicans, and Puritans: Seventeenth-century Essays* (London: Fontana, 1987), 197.

5. Logan Pearsall Smith, Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 90-91.

6. Ibid., 208.

7. Trevor-Roper, 195.

8. See the 162 edition, sigs 2-3: "[T]he same Booke was but a spurious stolne Copie in part epitomized, in part amplified, and throughout most shameflly falsified and false printed from the Authors Originall: In so muc that the asme [same] Knight was infinitelt wrpnged thereby, and as soone as it came to his knowledge, that such a thing was printed and passed under his name, he caused it (though somewhat late, whwn, it seemes, two impressions were for the most part vented) to be prohibited by Authoritie; and as I have heard, as many as could be recovered, to be definitely burnt with power to banish the Printers:"

9. Ibid., sig. 2verso, lines 6-7.

10. A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Lambeth Palace Library, 44-45.

11. James Ellison, "The Order of Sir Edwin Sandys's *Relation of the State of Religion* (1605)." *The Library* 6th series, 2 (1980): 208-22.

12. Theodore K. Rabb, "The Editions of Sir Edwin Sandys's Relation of the State of Religion." Huntington Library Quarterly 26 (1963): 323-26.

13. Ellison, Ibid., 210.

14. See Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Biibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972): 41, where he explains 'casting off copy': "Although a rough estimate of the length of the book had to be made at the very beginning in order to come to a decision about format, it was then necessary to know its length more precisely, chiefly so that the right amount of paper for the edition could be ordered. To this end the compositor—or sometimes the master or overseer—'cast off copy' by counting words and by computation according to the sizes of type and page that had been decided on."

13. Gaskell, Ibid., 7: "At the bottom of each page there is an extra line below the text, mostly blank but with the catchword (the first word of the next page) at its end; it is called the direction line."

# THE WELL=MEANING PUBLISHER HEREOF TO THE UNDERSTANDING READER, of what ranke or degree soever.

Wheras not many yeares past, there was published in print, a Treatise entituled, A Relation of Religion of the Westerne parts of the World, printed for one Simon Waterson, 1605. without name of Authour, yet generally and currantly passing 5 under the name of the learned and worthy Gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys Knight; Know all men by these presents that the same Booke was but a spurious stolne Copie; in part epitomized, in part amplified, and throughout most shamefully falsified and false printed, from the Authors Originall: In so much, that the same Knight was infinitely wronged thereby, and as soone as it came to his knowledge, that such a thing was 10 printed, and passed under his name, he caused it (though somewhat late, when, it seemes, two Impressions were for the most part vented) to be prohibited by Authoritie: and as I have heard, as many as could be recovered, to be deservedly burnt, with power to punish the Printers: And yet, neverthelesse, since that time, there hath beene another Impression of the same stolne into the world. Now, those so adulterate Copies 15 being scattered abroad, and in the hands of some men, I (whoever I am) though living here in these Transmarine Batavian Belgique parts, yet studious of the truth, and a lover of my Countrey; and having obtayned by a direct meanes, of a deere friend, a perfect Copie, verbatim transcribed from the Authours Originall, and legitimate one, of his own handwriting, have thought good to publish it unto the world; first, for the good

16-17 (whoever . . . parts] om  $C^2$ 

pp. 1-7] om from all witnesses except  $C^2$ 

1

of the Church; secondly, the glory of our English Nation; thirdly, for the fame of the ingenuous and ingenius and Acute Author, a Gentleman, who (as I have beene most credibly informed) hath (heretofore) deserved right well of his Countrey, in service of the Prince of Orange, and the Lords the States generall, his Majestie of Englands fast friends and Allies, yet etc. And lastly, that the world may be no longer deprived of 5 so rare a Jewell, in its owne lustre, nor abused by the other counterfeit-one, before named.

It may bee, I hereby shall incurre some dislike from the learned Author, (if He be yet living;) who haply in his modestie, and for some other causes best knowne unto him selfe, (for some writers love not to have their labours published in their life 10 time) hath so long obscured and suppressed his pregnant view, from the worlds publique view, farther then now and than by communicating it unto his friends, such as importuned him to have it copied out: And certes, though I professe to honour him with all my heart; yet I thinke it better, he be herein displeased, than the world longer wronged, and withall hoping however, that hee will candidly construe it to be but 15 amoris error.

I cannot see how any else should be offended hereat, but such as are sworne slaves to their Lord God the Pope; whose Roman kingdome, and Babylonian tottering tower, hath such a blow given it hereby, as I know but few of such force; and not many such blowes more, will make the same Kingdome and Tower fall downe to the ground,

17 sworne] borne  $C^2$ 

2

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{2-3 (as \dots heretofore)]} om C^2$ 

<sup>3-5</sup> in service . . . yet, etc.] om  $C^2$ 

<sup>8-16</sup> It may . . . error.] om  $C^2$ 

<sup>16</sup> amoris error] see explanatory notes

with utter desolation. As for the Arminians, when this Treatise was written, that sect, was either in the shell, or the cradle, and their mungrell and squint-eyed Divinitie scarce knowne, or vented to the world: yet they haply will be offended hereat, because savouring of the Orthodox trueth, and let that sect so bee: But if there chance to bee any other moderate Christian offended hereat, of such I humbly crave pardon.

Reade it therefore, beloved Reader, for thine owne solace, and much good maist thou learne and reape thereby; giving God the glory, the Authour his deserved due praise, and mee thankes (if thou canst afford me any) for my honest endeavour herein, for thy benefit. From the Hage in Holland. Vale in Christo et fruere.

10

5

1-10 As for . . . HOLLAND.] om  $C^2$ 11 Vale . . . fruere.] see explanatory notes

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# THE CONTENTS, OR THE

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severall Heads (which may serve insteed of Chapters) contained in this Treatise.	
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6

These Heads onely were not collected in the Authours Copy, but done for the ease and better benefite of the Reader. And if any neverthelesse shall find any ambiguity or obscurity in the ensuing Worke, let them know that the Authours originall was not in all places precisely printed with comma's, colons, semicolons and periods: and the Transcriber followed punctually the Authour. And for Typographicall *errata*, (as 5 few Bookes scape without some) The Publisher hereof hath collected the most materiall to be amended as followeth;

#### The Preface, containing the scope of all

# A VIEW OR SURVEY OF THE STATE OF RELIGION IN THE WESTERNE

# PARTS OF THE WORLD ANNO, 1599

# TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST JOHN WHITGIFT

#### ARCH B: OF CANTERBURY

5

My singular good Lord. Having finished now almost my entended course of traveil,

and drawing withall towards the expiration of the time presined thereto: comming to

cast uppe as it were the short accompts of my labours, employed chiefly (as was from

the first my principal dessein) in viewing the STATE OF RELIGION in these Westerne

parts of the World, and the decided Factions and Professions thereof; with their 10

differences in matter of Faith, in the Exercises of Religion, in Government

ecclesiasticall, and in Life and conversation: what vertues in each kind eminent, what

eminent defects, moreover in what termes of opposition or correspondence each stands

4 ARCH B:] my Lord  $P^2$ 

8-9 as ... first] as was first Q; employed ... RELIGION] I shall here endevor briefely to relate what I have observed in the matter of Religion, my time being chiefely imployed (as was from the first my principall designe) in viewing the state thereof BL C' HN

9 dessein] designe Q; OF RELIGION] thereof  $B^{T}$ 

10 and the decided] their divided *BL* C' *HN*, their decided P'; decided] devided  $C^2$ ; thereof; with] om *BL* C' *HN* P'

11 matter] matters BL  $C^{l}$  HN; in the] and their BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ 

13 stands] standeth  $BL C^{1} HN$ 

<sup>1</sup> A VIEW OR SURVEY] A RELATION ... and with what hopes and Policies it hath beene framed and is maintained in the severall states  $C^{l}$  HN; ... mainteined in the severall parts of the world  $P^{l}$  2 Anno, 1599] om  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>3</sup> MOST] right  $P^2$ ; CHRIST] God  $P^2$ ; JOHN WHITGIFT] om  $P^2$ 

<sup>4-6</sup> To . . . Lord.] om C' HN

<sup>6</sup> My... Lord] om  $B^{l}$ ; finished now almost] now almost finished  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>7</sup> drawing . . . thereto:] on BL C' HN; thereto] thereunto  $P^2$ 

<sup>8</sup> accompts] accompt P'; labours] ~ I shall here endeavour breefely to relate, what I have observed in the matter of religion B'; employed chiefly] my time being cheifely employed B', I shall here endeavour briefly to relate what I have observed in matter of Religion my time being chiefelye imployed P'

with other; what probabilities, what policies, what hopes, what jealousies, are found in each part for the advancing thereof; and finally, what possibilitie and good meanes of uniting, at leastwise the severall braunches of the Reformed professours, if unitie universall bee more to be desired than hoped, in such bitterness of minds, and equalitie of forces, as leaveth on neither side either disposition to yield, or doubt 5 to bee vanquished: In the midst of these thoughts, the great place which your Grace holdeth in our Church and Common-wealth next under her Majestie did advise me in dutie, as great worthinesse joyned with favour towards my selfe in particular did presse me in humble and serviceable affection to yield unto your Grace some accompt of those my traveils in that kind; not entending to deliver a full report of 10 all those poincts, which would too much exceed the proportion of any Letter to write, and perhaps of your Graces leasure also to read; but restraining my selfe chiefly to such parts and places, as may seeme most necessarie for our Countrie to be knowne, and give your Grace also in likelyhood most content in recognizing

them.

15

4 minds] minde C' HN

14 to be knowne,] to know.  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ ; also] om Q

<sup>2</sup> part] part therof  $B^{1}$ ; and good meanes] on  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>2-3</sup> possibilitie . . . uniting] good meanes and possibilities of uniting  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>5</sup> leaveth] leaves  $P^2$ 

<sup>6-10</sup> the great place . . . kind] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$ 

<sup>11</sup> those] these C' HN; too much exceed] exceede both  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>11-12</sup> the proportion . . . read] a reasonable proportion  $B^{T}BLC^{T}HNP$ ; of any Letter . . . but] on  $B^{T}$ 

<sup>12</sup> of your Graces] om Q; also to read] to read  $B^{1}P^{2}Q$ 

<sup>13</sup> our Countrie] one of my Countrey  $B^{I}$ , one of my owne country  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>14-15</sup> and give . . . them.] om  $B^1$ 

#### Of the Romane Religion

The ROMANE RELIGION, which of all other Christian, I suppose to have most manifoldly declined and degenerated from the truth and puritie of that divine Original once so well published and placed amongst them; as having in those middle times when there were none to controll them, light into the hands and handling of 5 such men as made their greatnesse, wealth, and honour, the very rules whereby to square out the Canons of Faith, and then set Clerks on worke to devise arguments to uphold them, seemes notwithstanding at this day not so corrupt in the very doctrine, as in Schooles they deliver it, and publish it in their writings; where manifold opposition doth hold them in awe, and hath caused them to refine it; as it is in the 10 practise thereof, and in their usage among themselves; wherein they are as grosse in a manner as ever: so that sundry, whom the reading of their bookes hath allured, the view of their Churches hath averred from their partie.

7 uphold] maintain  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN; seemes] This Religion seemeth BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ ; day] time  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>1</sup> The ROMANE] First, the Romane  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime}$ , First of the Romane HN P; Christian] om  $B^{\prime} Q$ ; suppose] take  $B^{I} P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>1-3</sup> which . . . them; ] framed BL C' HN P'

<sup>2</sup> manifoldly declined and] om  $A B' L P^2 Q$ ; that] the  $P^2 Q$ ; divine] om  $P^2$ 

<sup>3</sup> once ... them] om  $A B^{i} L P^{i} P^{2} Q$ ; as having] om  $P^{i}$ 4 were none] was no man  $B^{i} BL C^{i} HN P^{i}$ ; light] did light  $BL C^{i} HN P^{i}$ ; into ... and] in the A; hands and] om  $B^1 BL C^1 HN L P^2 O$ 

<sup>5</sup> whereby] by which BL  $C^{\prime}$  HN Q om  $B^{\prime} P^{2}$ 

<sup>6</sup> Canons] verie Canons Q; then set] then did set  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1}$ 

<sup>8</sup> as in Schooles . . . writings;] and in their Schooles, where yet  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ 

<sup>9</sup> opposition doth] oppositions doe BL C' HN; and] that B' BL C' HN

<sup>10</sup> thereof,] hereof BL C' HN; their] the BL C' HN

<sup>11</sup> as grosse] so grosse  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; in a manner as ever:] om BL  $C^{l} HN$ , as ever can be O: so that sundry] as that sundry men BL  $C^{l}$  HN, as that sundry P, as there be sondrie Q; whom the reading] whose reading P'; the reading of ] om Q

<sup>12</sup> the view] so the view Q; averred] averted manie  $P^2 Q$ 

# Of the Superstitions and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome

For to omit the endlesse multitude of their Superstitions and Ceremonies enough to take up a great part of a mans life to gaze on and to peruse; being neither uniforme in all places, as some would pretend, but different in divers Countries: an huge sort of them are so childish also and unsavory, that as they argue great sillinesse and 5 rawnesse in their inventours, so can they naturally bring no other than disgrace and contempt to those exercises of Religion wherein they are stirring.

### Of their Honour to Saints and Angels

And to restraine my selfe in this part especially to Italy, where the Roman

Religion doth principally flourish; the communicating Divine Honour to Saints and 10 and Angells, by building Churches, erecting Altars, commending Prayers, addressing vowes unto them; by worshipping their Images, going in Pilgrimage to their Reliques, attributing all kind of miracles both to the one and other; hath wrought this generall effect in those parts that men have more affiance and assume unto them a greater conceipt of comfort in the patronage of the Creatures and servants of God, than of God

11

<sup>2</sup> For to omit the] I must omit an BL C<sup>1</sup> HN P<sup>1</sup>; their Superstitions] A L P<sup>1</sup> Q, Superstitions 29; enough] for they are enough P'

<sup>3</sup> to gaze on and] om BL  $C^{1}$  HN  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>3-4</sup> neither . . . but] without uniformitie and  $B^{I}BLC^{I}HNP^{I}$ 

<sup>4</sup> in all places, as some would pretend,] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN; but different] and ~  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>4-5</sup> an huge ... also] and withall so childish B' BL C' HN, withall so unsavory A O

<sup>5</sup> great] om BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> naturally] om BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9-10</sup> And to restraine . . . flourish;] om BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> principally] specially  $P^2$ ; the communicating] How they communicate BL C<sup>I</sup> HN P, communicating of O; to] unto O

<sup>12</sup> addressing] and addressing BL C' HN P'; by worshipping] in ~ BL C' HN P'; in Pilgrimage] on ~ Q 13 other;] and to the ~ BL  $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>13-14</sup> hath wrought] I will in this place restraine my selfe especially to Italie, where it BL C' HN P'

<sup>14</sup> in those parts] om BL C<sup>l</sup> HN; parts] places Q; in ... men] in those men; that] these Q 15 them] themselves B' BL C' HN

himselfe, the Prince and Creatour. And touching the blessed Virgin the case is cleere, that howsoever their doctrine in Schooles be otherwise, in all kind of outward actions, the Honour which they doe her, is double, for the most part, unto that which they doe our Saviour: where one doth professe himselfe a *Devoto* or peculiar servant of our Lord; whole townes sometimes, as Siena by name, are the *Devoti* of our Lady. 5

The stateliest Churches hers lightly, and in Churches hers are the fairest Altars; where one prayeth before the Crucifix, two before her Image, where one voweth to Christ ten vow unto her; and not so much to her selfe, as to some peculiar Image, which for some select vertue or grace together with greater 10 power of operation of miracles they chiefly serve, as the glorious *Lady* of *Loretto*, the devout *Lady* of *Rome*, the miraculous *Lady* of *Provenzano*, the *Annunciata* of *Florence*; whose Churches are so stuffed with vowed presents and memories that they are faine to hang their Cloysters also and Church-yards with them. Then as

9-10 vertue . . . operation] which for some notable power and grace  $B^{l}$  BL C<sup>l</sup> HN, grace and power of operation  $P^{2}Q$ ; together . . . power] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>2</sup> in Schooles be] be in schooles BL C' HN, be in the Schooles B'; in all]  $A L P^2 Q$ , yet in all 29; kind] manner B' BL C', maner HN

<sup>3</sup> doe her] do unto her BL C', do to her HN

<sup>4</sup> doth professe] professeth  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN$ ; servant of] ~ to  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$ 

<sup>5</sup> Siena by name] Vienna, etc. BL  $C^{l}$  HN, Sienna, etc.  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>6-7</sup> The stateliest . . . Altars;] The stateliest and fairest Altars are hers, for the most part,  $B^{l}BLC^{l}HN$ ; hers] AL, are hers 29

<sup>7</sup> two before] pray ~  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN, two do ~  $P^{l}$ ; Image,] Images of her BL  $C^{l}$  HN, Images  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 8 voweth to ] vowe unto BL  $C^{l}$  HN, vowes unto  $P^{l}$  vowes to  $P^{2}$ ; unto her] to ~  $P^{2} Q$ 9 peculiar] particular BL  $C^{l}$  HN; greater] great A

<sup>10</sup> Loretto] Lorre  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>11-12</sup> the ... Florence] the Annuntiata of Florence, the Miraculous Lady of Pro  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>12</sup> whose] all ~  $B^{I}BLC^{I}HN$ 

<sup>13</sup> that] as  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ ; hang] ~ them in  $P^{l}$ ; also] on  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ ; Then as] And such as  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ 

their vowes are, such are their pilgrimages. And to nourish this humour; for one miracle reported to be wrought by the Crucifix, not so few perhaps as an hundred are voiced upon those other images. Yea their Devils in exorcisme are also taught (for who can thinke otherwise?) to endure the conjuring of them by the name of God and the Trinitie without trouble or motion; but at the naming of our Lady to tosse and torment; as 5 feeling now a new force of an unresistable power. Neither will I omit this no lesse certaine, though lesse apparent; where one fasts on Friday, which they compt our Lords day in devotion to him; many fast the Saturday; which there they compt our Ladies day; and in devotion to her. In all which the people do but follow their guides, who as in the admeasuring of devotions by tale on beads they string up ten salutations of 10 our Lady to one of our Lords prayers, so themselves also in their Sermons make their entrance with an Ave Marie, yea and the solemnest divine honour which I see in those parts, and which being well used were to bee highly renowned and recommended

9 and] om Q; and ... her] in honour to her BL C' HN; to her] of  $\sim Q$ ; In all] om BL C' HN

10 admeasuring of devotions] measuring of their devotion  $BL C^{l} HN$ , their devotions  $P^{2} Q$ ; they string] doe ~  $BL C^{l} HN Q$ 

13 which being] if it weare  $B^{1}$ ; to bee highly] highly to be  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>1</sup> humour;] honour; BL C' HN

<sup>2</sup> an] one BL C' HN

<sup>3</sup> in exorcisme] on  $B^1 P^2 Q$ ; taught] ~ in their spirited persons  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>4</sup> thinke] om  $B^1$ ; otherwise] ~ when they come to be exorcised  $P^2 Q$ ; of] on  $C^2$ , om  $A B^1$ 

<sup>5</sup> trouble] feare  $B^{\prime}$ ; naming] name  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>3-6</sup> Yea their Devils ... power] om BL C' HN

<sup>7</sup> where] that ~  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN; one fasts] some fast P; fasts] fasteth BL  $C^{l}$  HN; Friday] the fridays Q; compt] account BL  $C^{l}$  HN, accompt  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> in devotion to him] om  $P^{l}$ ; fast] doe ~  $P^{l}$ ; the] on  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ ; there] om  $BL C^{l} HN$ ; compt] account  $BL C^{l} HN$ , accompt  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10-11</sup> of our Lady to] to our ~ for  $BL C^{l} HN Q$ 

<sup>12</sup> Marie] Maria BL C' HN Q; and the solemnest] a solemn B' BL C' HN, Ave Maria's solemnest P'12-13 I see . . . parts and] they have most commendable B'

p. 12.12-p. 13.2 I see ... whether] they have most commendable, if it were well used: that at Sun rising, none, and Sunne setting, upon the ringing of a bell all men, in what place soever, house, BL C' HN; and ... Christians] om A L Q

p. 12.13-P. 13.1 and recommended . . . Christians] om  $P^2$ 

to the imitation of all worthy Christians; namely, that thrice a day, at sun-rise, at noone and sun set, upon the ringing of a bell, all men in what place soever they bee, whether, Field, Street, or Market, kneele downe and send up their united devotions to the high Court of the world: This honour is by them entended chiefly to our Lady, and the devotion advised is the Ave Marie, and the Bell which rings to it hath also that name. 5 And lastly their chief preachers doe teach in Pulpit, that the Church doth very well whatsoever is found in Scripture spoken of Christ the Sonne of God to apply it to our Lady also, being the daughter of God: that it is the opinion of a learned man and not contrary to the Catholike Faith, that though Adam had not sinned yet Christ should have beene incarnate to doe our Ladie honour; that all the Angells and Saincts of 10 Heaven are vassals unto them both, and cast downe their crownes at the feete of both, and present mens supplications kneeling unto both; that our bond of dutie and thankfulnesse must needes bee exceeding to her; seeing it may bee said after a sort, that Man is more advanced in her than in Christ himselfe, seeing in Christ the nature of Man

p. 14.6-p. 15.1 the Church . . . Finally] om BL  $C^{i}$  HN  $P^{i}$ ; doe] om

<sup>1</sup> thrice] see explanatory notes; sun-rise] sume risings  $B^{l}$ ; sun set] at sun-sett A, sume settings  $B^{l}$ 2 they bee] om  $B^{l}$ ; whether] ~ house  $B^{l}$ ; kneele] doe presently ~ A BL C<sup>l</sup> HN L Q

<sup>3-4</sup> the high Court of the world] heaven BL C' HN

<sup>4</sup> entended chiefly] chiefly intended  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; and] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; advised] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; advised] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; Ave Marie] Ave Maria  $BL C^{l} HN Q$ ; which rings] that ringeth  $C^{l} HN$ , which ringeth  $P^{l}$ 6 And lastly their chief preachers doe] They  $BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; doe] om  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> also] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>9-10</sup> should . . . beene] had binne  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>10</sup> of] in  $B^{1}$ ,  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>11</sup> and cast . . . both] om  $B^1$ ; both] them both  $P^2 Q$ ; unto both] to them Q

<sup>12</sup> kneeling unto] at the feete of them  $P^2$ 

<sup>13</sup> thankfulnesse] thanksgivinge B'; exceeding to her] to her exceedinge B'

<sup>14</sup> Man] human nature  $B^{1}P^{2}Q$ 

is exalted onely, in our Lady, the very person also, which Christ hath not; Finally, that nothing passeth in Heaven without her expresse consent, that the stile of that Court is *Placet Dominae:* yea they are taught that matters of Justice come more properly from him, and expeditions of Grace from her; and that some rare holy men have seene in vision, that certaine whom Christ would have condemned, yet in regard they were 5 her servants by her intercession have beene absolved: so that no man need marveil if this doctrine and practice have diverted the principall streames of affiance and love, from him, who had the onely right unto them; and turned them upon those, unto whom neither so great honour is due, nor so undue honour can be acceptable.

#### Of their Liturgies

Their Liturgies being not understood by the people, are not able to hold them 10 with any spirituall content. For supply whereof, they confine them to chamming of their beads in the mean season: which being so unsavorie a food as it is (and they use it accordingly) when they are wearie of it, they entertaine the rest of the time with

6-8 so that . . . them] so the principall streames of affiance and love, are diverted from him *BL* C' *HN* P' 8 who . . . them] om B'; unto] to P'

<sup>1</sup> is exalted onely] only is exalted Q; very] om B'; not] om B'

<sup>3</sup> Placet Dominae] see explanatory notes; yea they are taught] on B' BL C' HN P'; more] on B' BL C' HN P'

<sup>4</sup> him] Christ  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; expeditions] matters  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; some rare] certain Q; and ... rare] that certaine  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>4-5</sup> and that . . . vision] that it was the vision of a holy man  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>5</sup> certaine] some  $P^2 Q$ ; whom . . . condemned,] would have been condemned by Christ, BL C' HN, that would have been condemned by Christ P', how some that should have been condemned by Christ B'; yet] om BL C' HN

<sup>6</sup> by her intercession have beene absolved] have bin absolved by her intercession  $B^{\prime}BL C^{\prime}HN P^{\prime}$ 6-7 that . . . diverted] om  $B^{\prime}$ ; from] are diverted ~  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>9</sup> neither] om  $B^{i}$  BL  $C^{i}$  HN  $P^{i}$ ; is] nor is  $B^{i}$ ; due] not due BL  $C^{i}$  HN P; can] can not  $P^{i}$ 10 them] them occupyed BL  $C^{i}$  HN

<sup>11</sup> content] contemplation BL C' HN; confine] hold B' BL C' HN P'; the chamming] their chamming B' Q; of] with BL C' HN

<sup>12</sup> a food] food Q; (and ] om BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> the time] their ~  $B^{I}BLC^{I}HNP^{I}$ 

talke and mirth, (which the Priests also themselves at their leasure forbeare not,) not forgetting yet to shew devotion at certaine pauses by Spirits; wherein their outward gestures are decent, reverent, significant. Howbeit I suppose in generall I may truely say, that the Romane Catholikes are the most irreverent and wandering at Divine Service that a man shall see anywhere (the Jewes onely excepted; who are in that 5 kind in all places incredibly intollerable:) though on the other side that honour is to bee yielded the Italian Nation, that he is naturally not undevout were his devotion well guided and duly cherished, and not starved and quenched in the darke myst of a language, where he neither understandeth what is said to him, nor yet what

himselfe saith.

10

#### **Of their Sermons**

The best part of their exercises of Religion are their Sermons: wherein much good matter both of faith and pietie is eloquently delivered by men surely of wonderfull zeale and spirit, if their interiour fervour be correspondent to their outward vehemence. Howbeit they are sometime mingled with so palpable vanitie, that besides other

<sup>1</sup> the Priests] their Priests  $B^{I}BLC^{I}HN$ ; also themselves] themselves also  $BLC^{I}HN$ 

<sup>2</sup> to shew devotion at certaine pauses] at certain pauses to shew devotion  $B^{I}$  BL  $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$ ; by Spirits] on BL  $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>3</sup> significant] and significant  $C^{l} HN P^{l} Q$ 

<sup>4</sup> that] om  $B^1$ ; and] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>3-6</sup> Howbeit . . . side] om BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>6</sup> that] And this B' BL C' HN P'

<sup>7</sup> yielded] yielded to BL C' HN P'; he] it P; not undevout] naturally devoute  $P^2$ , devout Q; his] its P'7-8 well guided and duly cherished] duely guided and cherished B' BL C' HN P'

<sup>8</sup> and not] not  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> where] which BL C<sup>l</sup> HN, in which B<sup>l</sup>; understandeth] understands BL C<sup>l</sup> HN

<sup>9-10</sup> he neither . . . saith] the people neyther understands what is said unto them, nor what themselves say P'

<sup>12</sup> The best] secondly the best B'; wherein] where P'; good] om BL C' HN

<sup>14</sup> be] were B' BL C', were more Q; vehemence] fervencie BL C' HN

<sup>15</sup> sometime mingled] mingled sometimes  $P^{l}$ ; so] such  $P^{2}$ ; vanitie] vanityes  $P^{l}$ ; that] as  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$  $P^{l}$ ; other] their other  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ 

poverties, as forced allegories and unnaturall interpretations, wherein they are frequent, even those Legends of Saints and tales at which children with us would smile; are there solemnly hystorized in their Cathedrall Pulpits. But certainly what religiousness soever is in the peoples minds may wholy or chiefly be attributed to their Sermons. where to the better disposed people do very diligently resort: their Service being no 5 other than as a lampe put out, which bringing no light at all to the understanding, can neither bring any due warmth to the affection, the one being inseparable from the other: and were it not that their musicke, perfumes and rich sights, did hold the outward sences, with their naturall delight; surely it could not be but eyther abandoned for the fruitlesness or only upon feare and constraint frequented. 10

This one thing I cannot but highly commend in that sort and order; they spare nothing that either Cost can performe in Enriching, or skill in Adorning the Temples of God, or to set out his service with the greatest pompe and magnificencie that can be devised, wherein notwithstanding it were to bee wished that some discreter men had

- 5-6 no other] none other  $B^{l}$
- 5-10 their Service . . . frequented.] om BL  $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$
- 6 as] om  $B^1$ ; bringing] bringeth  $B^1$
- 8 the outward] their outward Q
- 9 with] occupied with Q

<sup>1</sup> as] of  $P^{l}$ ; as forced . . . frequent] om  $P^{2}Q$ ; frequent] fervent BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>2</sup> even those] they have  $B^{l}BLC^{l}HNP^{l}$ ; are there] om  $B^{l}BLC^{l}HNP^{l}$ ; there] om  $P^{2}Q$ 3 But certainly] yet  $B^{l}C^{l}HNP^{l}$ ; religiousness] religion Q; in] om BLC<sup>l</sup>HNP<sup>l</sup>

<sup>4</sup> may] it may P'; or chiefly] om BL C' HN P'

<sup>5</sup> where to] whither BL C<sup>l</sup> HN P<sup>l</sup>, to which P<sup>2</sup>, whether B<sup>l</sup>; very diligently] diligently O om P<sup>l</sup>; their] for  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>12</sup> that] which  $A B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} O$ 

<sup>13</sup> magnificiencie] magnificence A BL  $C^{l}$  HN

p. 17.14-P.18.2 wherein . . . busie] And allthough for the most part, much  $B^{I}$ 

p. 17.14-p. 20.10 wherein notwithstanding . . . is] And although for the most part, much basenesse and childnesse is predominant in the masters and contrivers of their ceremonies, yet this outward state and glorie being well disposed, doth ingender, quicken, increase, and nourish, the inward reverence, respect, and devotion which is due unto soveraigne majesty and power. And therefore, howsoever some will not be perswaded in it, yet BL  $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$ 

bin the contrivers and Maisters of their Ceremonies, to have affected in them more statelinesse, reverence and devotion, and to have avoyded that Frierly busie basenesse and childishnesse which is now in them predominant. And although I am not ignorant that many men well reputed have embraced the thriftie opinion of that Disciple, who thought all to be wasted that was bestowed on Christ in that sort, and 5 that it were much better imployed upon him in the poore, yet with an eye perhaps that themselves would be his quarter Almoners: notwithstanding I must confesse it could never sincke into my heart, that in proportion of reason, the allowance for the furnishing out of the service of God should be measured by the skant and strict rule of meere necessitie, (a proportion so lowe, that nature to other most bountifull, in matters of 10 necessitie hath not failed no not the most unnoble Creatures in the world;) and that for our selves no measure of heaping, but the most we can get; no rule of expence, but to the utmost pompe we list; or that God himselfe had enriched this lower part of the World with such wonderfull varietie of things beautifull and glorious, that they might

- 11 unnoble] ignoble  $B^{1}P^{2}$ ; in] of  $B^{1}$
- 13 pompe] ~ that Q; this . . . part] these lower parts  $B^1$
- 14 things] om  $P^2 Q$ ; things ... glorious] beauties B'; that] ~ in Q

<sup>3</sup> which . . . them] is  $B^{1}$ ; predominant] predominant in the masters and contrivers of their ceremonies, yet this outward state and glorie being well disposed, doth engender, quicken, increase, and nourish the soveraine majestie and power B'

<sup>4</sup> reputed] reputed of Q; the] that  $P^2$ 

<sup>4-5</sup> that disciple] see explanatory notes

<sup>5</sup> Disciple] discipline  $B^{\prime}$ , deceit Q; that was bestowed] on  $B^{\prime}$ ; on] upon  $P^{2}$ ; that] on  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>8</sup> my] mine B', furnishing] ~ out B'Q

<sup>9</sup> measured] ~ out  $B^{I}$ ; strict] straite  $B^{I}$ 10 matters] matter  $B^{I}$ 

serve only to the pampering up of mortall man in his pride; and that in the service of the high Creatour Lord and Giver, (the outward glorie of whose higher palace may appeare by the very lamps which we see so farre off burning so gloriously in it,) onely the simpler, baser, cheaper, lesse noble, lesse beautifull, lesse glorious things should be employed: especially seeing even as in Princes Courts, so in the service of God also, 5 this outward state and glorie being well disposed, doth engender, quicken, encrease and nourish, the inward reverence and respectfull devotion which is due unto so soveraigne Majestie and power, which those whom the use thereof cannot perswade so, would easily by the want of it be forced to confesse. For which cause I must crave to bee excused by them herein, if in zeale of the Honour of the common Lord of all, I 10 choose rather to commend the vertue of an enemie, than to flatter the vice or imbecilitie of a friend.

#### Of their Penance and Confession

But to returne to the Church of Rome, and to come to the consideration of their Penance and Confession, out of which so great good is promised to the World, and

- 9 forced] brought  $A B^{1}Q$ ; must] shall Q; crave] crave of them  $B^{1}$
- 10 by them] om  $B^{l}$ ; zeale] the zeale  $BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; the Honour of] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ 11 or] and  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2}$ ; or imbecilitie] om Q
- 14 But] Thirdly but  $B^1$

<sup>1</sup> in the service  $A P^2$ ] the service 29

<sup>3</sup> so] om B'

<sup>5</sup> even] om  $B^{1}P^{2}$ 

<sup>6</sup> doth] doth (as I have sayd)  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>7</sup> respectfull devotion] respect and  $B^{I} O$ 

<sup>8</sup> Majestie] a Majestie  $B^1$ ; and power]  $om B^1$ ; those] these  $B^1$ ; cannot] can Q

the want whereof is so much upbraided to their opposites: I must confesse I brought with me this perswasion and expectation, that surely in reason and very course of nature, this must needs bee a very great restraint to wickednesse, a great meanes to bring men to integritie and perfection; when a man shall as it were dayly survey his actions and affections, censure with griefe, confesse with shame, cure by counsell. 5 expiat with punishment, extinguish with firme intent never to returne to the like againe, whatsoever hath defiled or stayned his soule. Neither doubt I but it had this fruict in the first institution and hath also with many at this day; yea and might have beene perhaps better restored in Reformed Churches to their primitive sinceritie, than utterly abolished, as in most places it is. Notwithstanding, having diligently searched into 10 the managing thereof in those parts, I find that as all things whereof humane imbecillitie hath the Custodie and government, in time (decaying by unsensible degrees) fall away from their first perfection and puritie, and gather much soyle and drosse in using; so this as much as any thing.

<sup>1</sup> whereof ] thereof  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2-3</sup> reason . . . nature] om  $C^{l}$  HN P ins BL

<sup>3</sup> to wickednesse] of ~  $P^{I}$ ; great] om  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>4</sup> shall . . . dayly] shal daily, as it were  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{2}$  ins BL; his] theire  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>5</sup> and affections] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> to] unto  $P^2$ 

<sup>7</sup> his] the  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; but] that  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> hath] have  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8-9</sup> have . . . restored] perhaps have bin restored better C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>9</sup> restored] restrained P'; their HN,] ther C', his 29, ins BL

<sup>11</sup> managing *ins BL*] meaning  $C^{l}$  *HN*; menaging 29

<sup>12</sup> in time] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL  $P^{l}$ ; by] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12-13 (</sup>decaying ... away] fall away, decaying by insensible degrees  $B^{l} C^{l} HNP^{l}$  ins BL

For this poinct of their Religion, which in outward shew carieth a face of severitie and discipline, is become of all other most remisse and pleasant, and of greatest content even to the dissolutest minds the matter beeing growne with the common sort to this open reckoning; what need we refraine so fearefully from sinne, God having provided so ready a meanes to bee rid of it when wee list again? Yea, and the worser sort will 5 say, when wee have sinned we must confesse, and when wee have confessed wee must sin again, that wee may also confesse again, and withall make worke for new Indulgences and Jubilies: making accompt of Confession as professed drunkards of Vomiting: Yea, I have knowne of those that carie a shew of very devout persons, who by their owne report, to excuse their acquaintance in matters criminall, have 10 wittingly perjured themselues in judgement, only presuming of this present and easie remedy of Confession: and others of more than ordinary note among them, who when their time of confessing was at hand, would then venture on those actions which before they trembled at; as presuming to surfeit by reason of neighbourhood with the

<sup>2</sup> other] others, C' HN ins BL; most] the most C' HN del BL; greatest] the greatest C' HN P' del BL 3 even] om C' HN ins BL; dissolutest] most dissolute B'

<sup>4</sup> so . . . sinne] from sinne so fearfully Q

<sup>5</sup> a meanes] meanes  $P^{1}$ ; again] om  $B^{1}C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> make] making Q

<sup>8</sup> professed] on  $\overline{B}^{1} C^{1} HNP^{1} Q$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> Vomiting] to cast upp the ould, that they may gull in the new more franklie  $B^{1}P^{1}$ , vomiting to cast up the old that they may pull in new more frankly Q; carie a shew] carried shew  $B^{1}C^{1}HNP^{1}$  ins BL, yea (and so stately are in their waie)  $P^{2}Q$ ; of] for  $P^{2}Q$ 

<sup>10-11</sup> have wittingly] om Q

<sup>11</sup> in judgment] om  $B^{1}P^{1}$  (blank space); of] upon  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>12</sup> others  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL] other 29; than] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; among] amongst  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$   $P^{2}$  ins BL 13confessing] confession  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>14</sup> as] om  $P^{\overline{l}}$ ; neighbourhood] the ~  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  del BL; with] of  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

Physician: which Physician also himselfe is perhaps more often infected by the noysome diseases which his patient discloseth, than the patient any way bettered by the counsell which the Physician giveth; though this should bee the very principall vertue of that act. But this must bee graunted to be the fault of the people: yet a generall fault it is, and currant with small controulment. 5

Howbeit neither are the Priests or Pope to be more excused perhaps in their parts.

The Priests will tell the penitents that God is mercifull; that what sinne soever a man committeth, so long as hee continueth in the Church, and is not a Lutheran, there is good remedy for him. And for Penance, it consisteth ordinarily, but in Ave-Maries and Pater-Nosters, with some easie almes to them that are able, and some little 10 fasting to such as are willing; yea I have knowne, when the penance for horrible and often blasphemie, besides much other leudnesse hath been no other than the bare saying of their beads thrice over; a matter of some houres muttering, and which in Italy they

<sup>1</sup> is perhaps] perhaps is  $P^{l}$ ; more] himselfe alloo more  $P^{l}$ ; often] apparantly  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; by] with A  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  del BL;

<sup>2</sup> diseases] disease  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; which] on  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; the patient] he  $C^{2}$ ; patient] ~ who is not  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  del BL

<sup>3-4</sup> though . . . act.] om  $C^{l}$  HN though this should be the very principal vertue of that act ins BL; very] om  $B^{l}$  Q

<sup>5</sup> it is] is it  $C^{T} HN P^{T}$  ins BL; currant] om  $B^{T}$ ; with small] without  $C^{T} HN P^{T}$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> the Priests] Priests C' HN ins BL; or] nor B'Q; or Pope] nor the people C' HN P' ins BL; to be more] more to be  $P'P^2$ ; more] om Q; perhaps] om B'C' HN P' ins BL; in their parts] on their part C' HN ins BL; parts] part than the people P'

<sup>7</sup> penitents] penitent  $C^{l}HN$  ins BL; what ... man ] whatsoever sinnes the penitent  $B^{l}C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL, whatsoever sinne Q

<sup>9</sup> And] Forthly and  $B^1$ 

<sup>10</sup> easie] small  $P^2 Q$ ; easie almes] smale almesdeedes by  $B^1$ ; some . . . them] Almes-deedes by those  $C^1$   $HN P^1$  ins BL; some little] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>11</sup> such] that  $P^{1}$ ; such as] them that  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>11-12</sup> horrible and often] open and horrible  $P^{l}P^{2}$ ; often] open  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> the bare]  $om C^{l} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>12-13</sup> bare . . . over] see explanatory notes

<sup>13</sup> muttering] mumbling  $P^{l}$ 

dispatch also as they go in the streets, or rid businesse at home; making no other of it, than as it is, two lippes and one fingers worke. But were the penance which the Priests enjoyne never so hard and sharp, the holy Fathers plenarie pardon sweeps all away at a blow. Now of these they have graunted (and this man especially) so huge a number, that I ween there are few Churches of note in Italy, which have not 5 purchased or procured a perpetuall plenarie Indulgence; by vertue whereof, whosoever at certain set yearly dayes, being confest, and having communicated, (or as in some pardons having intent onely to confesse and communicate in time convenient) powres out his devotions before some altar in that Church, and extends his hands in almes to the behoofe thereof, (which clause in all former graunts was expressed, 10 but is now left out for avoyding of scandall, but still understood and practised accordingly) hath forthwith free remission of all sinne and punishment. Yea if the worst fall out, that a man bee so negligent as to drop into Purgatorie, at the time of his decease, (which but by very supine negligence can hardly happen:) Yet few Cities there

<sup>1</sup> rid businesse] as they ride, or doe their businesse  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; other] ~ matter Q

<sup>2</sup> than] cor 29, then  $A C^{\prime} C^{2} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; which] by  $C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> enjoyne] in joyning  $P^{i}$ , injoyned  $B^{i}$ ; holy Fathers] Popes  $B^{i} C^{i} HNP^{i}P^{2}Q$  ins BL; pardon sweeps] pardons sweepe  $C^{i} HNP^{i}$  ins BL; all away] away all  $P^{i}$ 

<sup>5</sup> that I ween] as that  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; of ... Italy] in Italie of note  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> plenarie] on  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; plenarie Indulgence] see explanatory notes; whosoever] whosoever shall  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  del BL

<sup>7</sup> certain] om B'; yearly dayes] dayes in the yeare P'; having] om Q

<sup>8</sup> intent onely] but only an intent  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} del BL$ ; onely] om Q

<sup>9</sup> before . . . Church] in the church before some altar P', extends] ~ forth B' C' HN del BL

<sup>10</sup> to the behoofe ] in behalfe  $B^{l} C^{l} HNP^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> is now] now is Q; is] on  $P^1$ ; avoyding] the avoyding  $B^1 P^2$ ; but] yet is  $B^1$ ; still] is still  $C^1 HN del BL$ 12 free] on  $C^1 HN$  ins BL

are not one or two Altars priviledged *Pro de functis*, where for every Masse said a soule is delivered: and so great multitude of Artizans must needs make their ware cheape. I will not here warble long upon this untunable harsh string, neither will mention perhaps the fourtieth part of what I have seene, much lesse will I now rake up old rustie stuffe out of the dead dust and darkenesse wherein time and shame hath suffered it to rest: 5 Onely for examples sake, and for verifying of what I have said, I will set downe some of that which is in use at this day, which is printed on their Church-doores and proclaimed in their Pulpits.

In the Eremitane at Padova, their Preachers very solemnely publish a graunt

of plenarie Indulgence from Baptisme to the last confession, with twentie eight 10 thousand yeeres over for the time ensuing. The pardon of ALEXANDER *the Sixt* for thirtie thousand yeeres, to whosoever before the Altar of our Lady with Christ and her Mother, shall say a peculiar Ave, importing that our Lady was conceived without sinne, is Printed a new in Italy, and pictured in fairest sort: But these are for short times. At

10-11 twentie eight thousand yeares] eight and twentie thousande yeares  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ 

12 thirtie thousand] 3000  $P^2$ ; whosoever] whomsoever BL C<sup>1</sup> HN P<sup>1</sup>

12-14 with Christ ... times] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

13 Ave] Ave Marie P, Ave Maria and  $B^1$ ; conceived] borne  $P^2$ 

14 are] are but Q

<sup>1</sup> Pro de functis] see explanatory notes; said] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> so great] so a great  $B^{l}C^{l}$ , so great number HN ins BL; their] on Q

<sup>3</sup> upon] on  $P^2 Q$ ; will] will I  $B^1$ 

<sup>4</sup> fourtieth] fourth  $B^{l}C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL; will I now] on  $B^{l}C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL; up] on  $B^{l}C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL5 of] on  $B^{l}C^{l}HN$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> In] om  $P^{l}$ ; at Padova] of Padua  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; very solemnely] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2}$  ins BL; a graunt] pardon  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>13-14</sup> importing . . .times] om  $P^{l}$ 

the Sepulchre of CHRIST in Venice, a stately representation, whereon is written Hic situm est Corpus Domini nostri JESU CHRISTI, (yet inferring no reall presence thereby, as I take it) with verses annexed of Conditur hoc tumulo; there is hanging in a printed table a prayer of St.AUSTINE, a very good one indeed, with Indulgence for fourescore and two thousand yeares, graunted from BONIFACE the eighth, and confirmed by 5 BENEDICT the eleventh, to whosoever shall say it, and than for every day toties quoties; which yet is somwhat worth, that in a few dayes a man may provide for a whole million of Worlds, if they did last no longer than this hath done hithertoo. In St. FRAUNCIS Church at Padova I heard a Reverend Father preach at large the holy historie of the divine pardon of SISA, Ab omni culpa et poena, graunted by Christ in person at our 10 Ladies suit unto S. FRANCIS, extended to all such as being confest, and having communicated should pray in St. FRANCIS Church there of Sancta Maria de gloria Angeli; yet sending him for orders sake to his Vicar Pope HONORIUS that then was to passe it, with many other re-apparitions and delectable strange accidents of great solace and

8 last] continue P'; this] ours B' P'; hath ... hithertoo] did C' HN ins BL; hithertoo] om B'

- p. 25.7-p.27.5 In St. Frauncis . . . graunts] om  $P^{T}$
- 11 S.] St.  $C^2$ ; extended] extending  $C^1 HN B^1 BL$ ; to] unto Q

11-12 being ... communicated] having confessed and communicated  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; having] om  $B^{l} Q$ 12 Sancta ... Angeli] see explanatory notes; of Sancta ... Angeli] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; de gloria] cor 29, de gli  $C^{2} P^{2}$ 

13 for orders sake] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

14 re-apparitions] apparitions B' BL C' HN; great] om  $C^2$ ; solace and] om B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> a stately representation] is a stately presentation  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} Q$  ins BL

<sup>1-2</sup> Hic . . . Christi] see explanatory notes

<sup>2</sup> situm est] circum P'

<sup>3</sup> Conditur hoc tumulo] see explanatory notes; thereby] there  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; hanging] hanged  $C^{l} HN$  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> Austine] Augustine  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; Indulgence] an Indulgence  $P^{l}$ ; for fourscore] of ~ L Q 5 eighth] eight BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>6</sup> whosoever] whomsoever  $P^{l}$ ; toties quoties] see explanatory notes

<sup>7</sup> yet is] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; yet] om  $P^{1}$ ; may] might  $B^{1}$ ; whole] om  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>9</sup> Padova] Padua  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> Ab omni culpa et poena] see explanatory notes

content to the pleasant minded beleevers: Which Pardon is since inlarged by SIXTUS QUARTUS and QUINTUS (who both were *Franciscans*) to all lay brethren and sisters that weare St. FRANCIS CORDON in what place soever. But to leave these Antiquities but not to enlarge in Moderne graunts; but to restraine to one Pope of renowmed fresh memorie even GREGORIE *the thirteenth* and some few of his Graces, 5 he hath granted to the *Carmine* at *Siena* for every Masse said there at the Altar of the Crucifix, the deliverie of a soule out of Purgatorie whose they list, the like to many other. To the *Carmine* at *Padova* more liberally to every one that shall say seven Aves and 7 Pater-Nosters before one of their Altars on the anniversarie Wednesday in Easter weeke, or else kisse the ground before the Altar of the blessed Sacrament with the 10 usuall prayers for exaltation of the Church extirpation of Heresie, and unitie of Christian Princes, both plenarie Indulgence for himselfe and the deliverie of what friends soule out of Purgatorie he pleaseth. To the Fraternitie of the Altar of the Conception of our Lady in the *Duomo* or Cathedrall Church at *Padova* confessing and

<sup>1</sup> the] om C' HN Q ins BL; believers] hearers C' HN ins BL pleasing minded hearers  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>2</sup> Quartus and Quintus] the fourth and fifth  $BL C^{1} HN$ 

<sup>3</sup> weare] did weare  $B^{l}$ ; leave] have  $B^{l}$ ; Cordon] see explanatory notes

<sup>3-5</sup> But to leave . . . even] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> but] and  $A C^2$ ; but to restraine] and to restraine  $B^1 C^2 Q$ 

<sup>4-5</sup> of. . . memorie]  $om B^{I}$ 

<sup>5-6</sup> and ... Graces, he] om  $B^1 C^1$  HN ins BL

<sup>7-8</sup> whose . . . other] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; like] ~ allso  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>8</sup> to every] for to every  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>9</sup> anniversarie] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> else] om  $C^{\vec{i}}$  HN  $P^2$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> for] for the Q

<sup>12</sup> both] om  $B^{T}C^{T}$  HN ins BL; the deliverie of] om  $B^{T}$ 

<sup>13</sup> friends] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; out of Purgatorie] om Q

<sup>14</sup> in . . . Cathedrall] in Duomo, or the Cathedrall  $BL C^{l} HN$ ; or . . . Church] om Q; at] in  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

communicating at their entrie to that societie full remission of their sinnes at the houre of their death, naming Jesus with their mouth, (or if they cannot) with their Heart. The like ordinarilie graunted to other Fraternities. To every Priest so often as he shall say, five printed lines, importing that hee will offer up the precious body of our Saviour, so many fiftie yeeres pardon. Yet will I mention one also of the graunts of this Pope, 5 among other innumerable, namely to the Friers and lay Fraternitie of both Sexes of the *Carmine* at *Siena*; for every time they are present at their solemne Processions, plenarie Indulgence for all sinnes past, and Seven yeeres and seven *Quadragena* or fortie dayes over in store for the time to come, and this for ever: with extent of like Grace to all other that with their presence shall honour those Processions, but to last for them 10 no longer than the yeere of Jubilee. Now besides these and infinite other of this style, there are Indulgences more free, and lesse restrained eyther for time place or dutie to

<sup>2</sup> Jesus] but Jesus  $B^{T}C^{T}HN$  del BL

<sup>3</sup> like] like is  $B^{l}$ ; ordinarily] is ~ BL C<sup>l</sup> HN; other] all ~  $B^{l}$  BL C<sup>l</sup> HN; so often] as ~  $B^{l}$  C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL 4 importing] delivering his intent  $P^{2}$ , delivering with interest Q

<sup>5</sup> Yet will I] I will B'; one also] also one A; one ... graunts] onely one graunt more B'

<sup>5-6</sup> Yet will . . .namely] By this Pope, this one amongst many others C HN ins BL, By this Pope there is granted an Indulgence to the fryars and Laie-fraternity of both sexes of the Car at Sienna for every time they are present at their solemne processions  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> namely]  $om B^1$ 

<sup>7</sup> time] ~ that  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN$ ; at] in  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>8</sup> sinnes] theire ~  $B^{l}$ ; and Seven] Seven  $B^{l}$ ; seven Quadragena] om  $P^{l}$ ; or fortie dayes] or fortie dayes over  $P^{2}$ , om  $B^{l}Q$ 

<sup>8-9</sup> Seven yeares . . . come] 40 yeares and 7 daies, to some for to come BL  $C^{l}$  HN, seven yeares and fortye daies over to some for to come  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> the time] om  $P^1$ ; and ... ever] om  $B^1$ ; like] the like  $B^1$ 

<sup>10</sup> with] by  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; for them] on  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> than] till  $B^{1}$  BL  $C^{1}$  HN; the] for their Q; Jubilee] see explanatory notes

<sup>12</sup> eyther] then  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

to gain them: By graunt from Pope JOHN the XXth every inclining of the Head at the naming of JESUS gets XX yeeres pardon: a matter in Italy no not this day unpractised. And to grace that Ceremonie the more, I have heard sundry of their renowmed Divines teach in Pulpit; that CHRIST himselfe on the Crosse bowed his head on the right side, to reverence his own Name which was written over it. All Altars of Station (which 5 are in very great number) have their perpetuall Indulgences indifferent for all times. Sundry Crosses engraven on the pavements of their Churches, haue Indulgence annexed for every time they are kist, which is so often by the devouter sex, that the hard marble is worne with it. The third and fourth Masse (as they say) of every Priest, is a preservative or ransome of his Parents from Purgatorie, yea though they should be 10 song without such intention: which causeth many warie men that would bee sure from Purgatorie, to make some one or other of their sonnes a Priest always.

The saying of their Beads over with a meadall or other trinket of the Popes Benediction appendant, gets plenarie Indulgence, and delivers what soule out of

12 one] om  $P^2$ ; or other] om  $B^1$ ; sonnes] children  $C^1$  HN  $P^1$  ins BL

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>1 gain] give C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL</u>, graunt P<sup>1</sup>; to gain them] om B<sup>1</sup>; By] given by B<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> naming] name C' HN Q ins BL; gets] getteth BL C' HN; this day] at this time B' BL C' HN, at this day Q

<sup>4</sup> Pulpit] publick  $B^2$ 

<sup>4-5</sup> on the right . . . it] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> which] that A

<sup>6</sup> perpetuall] certaine ~  $B^{I} P^{I} P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>7</sup> engraven . . . pavements] graven in pavements BL  $C^{l}$  HN P, stones Q

<sup>8</sup> the hard] om  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>9</sup> of every Priest] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> or] and  $C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> song] sung BL C<sup>1</sup> HN P<sup>1</sup>; such] any C<sup>1</sup> HN P<sup>1</sup> del BL; warie] warier P<sup>1</sup>; that] which C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> their] the BL C<sup>l</sup> HN; their Beads] see explanatory notes; other] om P<sup>l</sup>

<sup>14</sup> gets] getteth *BL*  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  *HN*  $P^{l}$  Q; and] *om*  $P^{l}$ ; delivers what soule] deliverie of what soule *BL*  $C^{l}$  *HN*, delivereth out of Purgatorie what soule so ever it pleaseth  $P^{l}$ ; what] *om*  $B^{l}$ 

Purgatorie one pleaseth. And it is lawfull for one to substitute any other medall in place of those blessed ones, which shall have like force with them. A clause of consideration, and which serveth at this day more turnes than one, and theirs especially which passe over Sea with double daunger. All which with many other like helpes considered; I must confesse for my part I am farre from their understanding, who 5 blaze so much the severitie of the Romane Religion; unlesse wee accompt that a streit inclosure, which hath a multitude of posternes continually open, to let false people in and out, day and night at their pleasure: and rather incline to a contrary conceipt, that presupposing the truth of their doctrine as it is practised; for a man that were desirous to save his Soule at his dying day and yet deny his Body no wicked pleasure in his 10 life time, no such Church as that of Rome, no such countrey as Italy.

#### Of their Life and Conversation

For I must speake also somewhat of their Life and Conversation, but as briefly as may bee; being a theam I take very small delight to handle neither is it of any great profit to bee known. And yet is it knowne sufficiently to all men, and too much to 15 some, who not content to spot themselves with all Italian impurities, proceed on to empoyson their country also at their return thither: that wee need not marvell if those

29

<sup>1</sup> for one] doing it but once  $B^{l}P^{2}Q$ ; any other] another Q

<sup>3</sup> and which] which B'

<sup>6</sup> blaze] do ~ Q; accompt] count A; that] ~ to be  $B^{l}$ ; streit] ~ and rigorous  $P^{2}Q$ 

<sup>7</sup> inclosure] inclosure and rigorous  $B^{1}$ ; posternes] posterne doores  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>10</sup> deny] denyed  $C^2$ 

<sup>11</sup> life time] life A

<sup>1-11</sup> And it is lawfull . . . Italy.] om C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>13</sup> I must] to  $A C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2}$  ins *BL*, so *L*, For to  $B^{2} Q$ ; Life and Conversation] lives, and conversation  $B^{l}$ ; but] and  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} P^{2} Q$  ins *BL* 

<sup>14</sup> great] greater Q; profit] perill  $\tilde{P}^{l}$ ; is it ins BL L] being A C<sup>l</sup> Q om P<sup>l</sup>; and] om B<sup>l</sup> C<sup>l</sup> HN P<sup>l</sup> ins BL 15 is it] being P<sup>2</sup>

<sup>17</sup> country] owne country  $P^{1}$ ; thither] hither  $B^{1}BLC^{1}HN$ 

rarer Villanies which our Auncestours never dreamed of, do now grow frequent; and such men whom they would have swept out of the streets of their Cities, as the noysome disgrace and dishonour of them, and confined to a Dungeon or other desolate habitation, do vaunt themselves now, and with no meane applause for the onely gallants and worthy spirits of the World. 5

But to touch so much of their lives in Italy as shall be necessarie for this purpose, and rather indeed the causes than the effects themselves: it is not to be merveiled, if the glorie of their Religion consisting most in outward shewes, and the exquisitenesse in an infinity of intricate dumb Ceremonies; if their devotions being not seazoned with understanding requisite, but prized more by tale than by weight of zeale; if as the 10 vertue of their Sacraments, so their acts of Pietie, being placed more in the very massie materialitie of the outward worke, than in the puritie of the heart from which they proceed: It is not, I say, to bee merveiled though the fruicts also of conversation bee like unto those roots; rather such as may yield some reasonable outward obedience to Laws than approve the inward integritie and sinceritie of that fountain from which they 15 issue.

9 being not] not being  $B^2$ 

<sup>1</sup> rarer villanies] rare villaines C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> whom] as  $B^{l}$ ; swept . . . Cities] swept out of their Cities and streets  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P$  ins BL; out] om Q 3 a Dungeon] Dungeon  $P^{l}$ ; desolate] solitary  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> of ... shall] as may  $P^2$ ; of their lives] thereof Q; in Italy] om A B<sup>1</sup> C<sup>1</sup> HN P<sup>1</sup> ins BL

<sup>7</sup> indeed] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  ins BL; if] om  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>8</sup> shewes] shewe  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; exquisiteness] requisiteness  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>8-9</sup> an infinity] the number  $C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>10-11</sup> the vertue [ by the vertue  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>11</sup> so] of  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; being] be Q

<sup>12</sup> worke] workes  $P^{l}$ ; which] whence  $\overline{B}^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> proceed] ought to proceed Q, should proceed  $B^{1}$ ; the] that  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; also] on Q

<sup>14</sup> roots] roots also Q; reasonable] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> the] that C' HN P' ins BL; that fountain] the fountain P'

For although in their civill cariage one towards another they have especiall good vertues well worth the imitating, being a people for the most part of a grave and stayed behaviour, very respective and courteous, not curious or medling in other mens matters, besides that auncient frugalitie in dyet and all things not durable, which to their great 5 ease and benefit they still retaine; and there be also among them as in all other places, some men of excellent and rare perfection: yet can it not bee dissembled; but that generally, the whole Countrey is straungely overflowne and overborne with wickedness, with filthinesse of speech, with beastlinesse of actions; both Governours and Subjects, both Priests and friers, each striving as it were with other in an impudentnesse therein; even so farre forth, that what elswhere would not bee 10 tolerated, is there in high honour; what in some other places even a loose person would be ashamed to confesse, there Priests and Friers refraine not openly to practise. Yea if any man forbeare the like, they find it very straunge and hold integritie for little better than seelinesse or abjectnesse. I cannot here forget the saying of an Italian

8 both Governours] in Governours  $P^{l}$ 

9 both Priests] Priests P'; as ... other] with other (as it were) P'; with other] om B'

<sup>1</sup> in] the P'; especiall] especially Q

<sup>2</sup> a people . . . part] for the most part a people Q

<sup>3</sup> or] in  $B^1$ ; in] with  $P^1$ 

<sup>4</sup> dyet] their ~  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN del BL; and ... durable] om  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> there be] thereby  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> can . . . bee] cant it not be  $P^{l}$ ; cannot it be Q

<sup>7</sup> straungely] strongly  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, so  $P^{l}$ ; overborne] overcome  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>9-10</sup> an impudentnesse] impudencie  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> elswhere] in other places  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> in ... places] elsewhere  $B^{I} C HN$  ins BL; loose] lesse  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>12</sup> ashamed] greatly ~  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>13</sup> man] om  $P^l$ 

<sup>14</sup> or abjectnesse] and basefullnesse  $P^{l}$ 

Gentleman of very good qualitie but in faction Spanish at my first entry into Italy; namely, that the Italians were excellent men but for three faults they had: In their lusts they were unnaturall; there malice was unappeasable; and they deceived the whole world: whereto as for rare Corollaries in those faculties hee might have truely added, they spend more upon other than upon themselves; they blaspheme oftner than 5 sweare, and murther more than they revile or sclaunder.

#### Of their Lent

Notwithstanding, this testimonie I yield not onely willingly but gladly to them, (for what joy could it be, what griefe ought it not bee, to the heart of any man, to see men fall irrecoverably from the love and lawes of the Creatour?) that at one time of the 10 yeere, namely, at Lent, they are much reformed; no such blaspheming nor dyrtie speaking as before; their vanities of all sorts layd reasonably aside; their pleasures abandoned; their apparell, their dyet, and all things else composed to austeritie and state of penitence: they have dayly then their preaching with collections of almes, whereto all men resort: and to judge of them by the outward shew, they seeme generally to have

6 sweare] they sweare  $P^{l}$ 

11 nor] or  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> Gentleman] Gentleman to me  $B^{1}$ , a man Q

<sup>2</sup> namely] namelie  $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> there malice was] in their malice  $B^{l} C^{l} HNP^{l}$  ins BL; deceived] did deceive  $Q_{i}$ , would deceive  $B^{l}$ 3-4 and they ... world] and that they would deceive all men  $B^{l} C^{l} HNP^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> whereto . . . added] unto which he might truly have added C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>5</sup> they spend] spend C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>9</sup> what griefe... bee] om  $B^{1} B^{2} C^{\prime} HNP^{\prime} P^{2}$  ins BL om A L Q

<sup>10-11</sup> of the yeere] in the yeere A Q

<sup>12</sup> layd... aside] reasonably laid aside  $BL C' HN P' Q_{i}$ , are reasonably laide aside B'

<sup>14</sup> penitence] penance  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P$  ins BL; then] om  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL; where to] where of  $C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> generally to have] to have generally  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2} Q$ 

very great remorse of their wickednesse. In so much that I must confesse I seemed unto my selfe in Italy to have best learned the right use of Lent; there first to have discerned the great fruict of it, and the reason for which those Sages at first did institute it. Neither can I easily accord to the fancies of such, as because we ought at all times to lead a life worthy of our profession, think it therfore superstitious to have one time 5 wherin to exact or expect it more than other: but rather do thus conceive that seeing the corruption of times and wickednesse of mans nature is now so exorbitant that an hard matter it is to hold the ordinary sort of men at all times within the lists of pietie, justice and sobrietie; it is fit therefore there should bee one time at least in the yeere and that of reasonable continuance, wherein the season it selfe, the use of the world and 10 practise of all men, (for even the Jewes and Turkes have their Lents although different,) the commandment of Superiours, the provision of fit meanes to assist therein, and in sum the very outward face and expectation as were of all things, should constrein men how wicked and recklessse soever, for that time at least to recall themselves to some more severe cogitations and courses; lest sinne having no such bridle to checke it at 15

8 ordinary  $A B' B^2 BL C' C^2 F HN L P' P^2 Q$  ord narie 29; all times from times P' om B'

- 10 and] the  $P^2 Q$
- 11 although] though  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; different] in different manner  $B^{2}$
- 12 the provision . . . therein] om  $B^{\dagger} C^{\dagger} HN$  ins BL
- 13 as were] as it were cor 29,  $B' B^2 P' P^2 Q$ ; constrein] restraine B'; men] all men Q
- 14 recklesse] retchlesse  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; at least] om BL  $C^{l}$  HN; some] om Q
- 15 more] om P; such] om  $P^2$  Q; to checke it] om Q

<sup>1</sup> very] a  $B^1$ 

<sup>2</sup> Italy] Italy first Q; best] on  $B' C' HN P^2$  ins BL; first] the first B' C' HN P' del BL

<sup>3</sup> great] right  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> think it therefore] therfore think it Q

<sup>6</sup> expect . . . other:] respect it more then another  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; thus] this  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL 7 times] the ~  $B^{2}$   $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$   $P^{2}$  Q del BL; is] it  $C^{2}$ ; an hard] a ~ BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> it is] that it is Q; there should] that their should  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  ins BL

any time, should at length wax head-strong and unconquerable in them: and that on the other side being thus necessarily inured for a while, though but to make a bare shew of walking in the paths of vertue, they might afterwards perhaps more sincerely and willingly persist, (as custome makes hard things pleasant,) or at leastwise returne more readily againe unto them some other time. And verily I have had sundry times this 5 cogitation in Italy, that in so great loosenesse of life and decay of discipline in those parts, it was the especiall great mercy of God that the severitie of Lent should yet still be preserved, lest otherwise the flouds of sinne growing so strong and outrageous, and having no where either bound or banke to restraine them might plunge that whole nation in such a gulfe of wickednesse, and bring them to that last extremitie, which 10 should leave them neither hope of better, nor place for worse. Yea and was so farre from thinking the institution of Lent superfluous, or the retaining of it unprofitable; that I rather enclined to like the custome of the Greeke Church, who besides the great Lent have three other Lents also at solemne times in the yeare; though those other neither so long, neither yet of so strict and generall observation. Two things are farther to bee 15

4-5 returne more readily] more readily returne  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> time] time to curbe it with Q; wax] growe  $B^2$ ; and] on  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL

<sup>2</sup> for] om Q; though but] at least wise  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{2} Q$  ins BL; but] om  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>3</sup> sincerely] freely P'

<sup>4 (</sup>as custome . . . pleasant] om  $A B^{I} B^{2} C^{I} HN L P^{I} P^{2}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> againe] om  $B^{l}P^{l}$ ; have ... times] have sundry times had  $B^{l}BLC^{l}HNP^{l}$ ; sundry times] om Q 6 so] om  $C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> especial] speciall *BL*  $C^{l}$  *HN*; great] good grace and  $P^{2}$ ; mercy] mercy and grace *A*  $B^{l}$   $B^{2}$   $P^{l}$  *Q*; should yet] yet should *A L*; yet] be  $C^{l}$  *HN ins BL om*  $B^{l}$  *Q* 

<sup>7-8</sup> still be] be still  $P^1 P^2$ 

<sup>8</sup> the flouds] flouds  $P^{l}$ ; so] too A; strong] headstrong  $B^{l} C^{l} HN del BL$ 

<sup>10</sup> in] into  $B^{I}P^{I}$ 

<sup>11</sup> of for  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; place place but  $C^{2}$ ; was I was  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> superfluous] superstitious  $B^2$ ; retaining of it] restraint in it  $C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL; of] in  $B^1$ 

<sup>13</sup> the great] their ~ B' C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>14</sup> at solemne times] on  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} Q$  ins BL; those] the  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; those other] on  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>15</sup> neither] nor  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; of] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] a  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; yet] om  $P^{l}$ ; observation] observation as the other  $P^{l}$ ; farther] om  $P^{l}$  Q

added in the honour of Italy. Their Nunneries seeme for the most part greatly reformed of that they have bene, and of that they still are in Fraunce and other places; where their loosenesse of government and often scandalls ensuing, do breed them a reputation cleane contrarie to ther profession. And the reason why the Monasteries and Convents of Friers are not reformed there also, is a feare, they say the Pope hath, that over great 5 severitie would cause a great number to disfrier themselves, and to fly to Geneva in hope of more libertie, which he esteemeth an inconvenience more to bee shunned than the former mischiefe. An other thing very memorable and imitable in Italy, is the exceeding good provision of Hospitalls and houses of Pietie, for Old persons enfeebled, for poore folk maymed or diseased, for gentilitie impoverished, for travailers 10 distressed, for lewd women converted, for children abandoned; which the devotion of former times hath founded and enriched, and this present age doth very faithfully and discreeetly governe. And if it were not for those Houses, in the number whereof, goodlinesse, great revenews, and good order, I suppose Italie exceeds any one Country in the world; although it be incomparably also the richest Nation at this day of all 15

<sup>1</sup> Nunneries seeme] Monasteries seemed B' C' HN ins BL; Nunneries] om P'; part] part to be B'; greatly] to bee greatly BL C' HN

<sup>2</sup> are] be Q; still are] are still  $B^2$ ; other] in other Q

<sup>3</sup> do] doeth BL  $C^{1}$  HN, doth  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>4</sup> reason why] reason is whie  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, is while  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> also] om  $B^{1}C^{1}HNP^{1}$  ins BL; they say] om  $C^{1}HNP^{1}$  ins BL; say] say that  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>6</sup> to fly] flie  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN Q_{i}$ , to flee into  $P^{1}$ ; Geneva] see explanatory notes; in] upon  $A B^{2}$ 

<sup>6-7</sup> in hope] uppon hope  $B^{\tilde{I}}BL C^{I} HN P^{I} P^{2}$ , to enjoye Q

<sup>8</sup> imitable] to be imitated  $B^{I} C^{I} HNP^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> provision] provisions  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; enfeebled] and ~  $B^{2}$ 

<sup>12</sup> hath] have  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> not] but cor 29; the number] that number  $P^{1}$ ; whereof] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> great] and great  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN P del BL; revenews] revenews whereof  $B^{l}$ ; and . . . suppose] on  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; Italie] whereof Italie  $P^{l}$ ; one] other  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> in] of B'; world] world, it might be said to be poore and miserable B' C' HNP' del BL; although] for though B' C' HN ins BL, and allthough  $B^2$ , for allthough P'; also] om B' P'; Nation] Nation of Christendome P'; of] in  $B^1$ 

the West, by reason of their long peace and their neighbours long warrs: yet considering that the wealth there is so ill digested, and so unequally divided in the body thereof, (the infinite and ever sucking vaines of their taxes and imposts carying all the bloud to the higher parts, and leaving the lower ready to faint, to starve and wither,) that it may be truely sayd, the rich men of Italy are the richest, and the poore the poorest things 5 that any one Country can yield againe, both which in a well policed estate were to be avoided: were it not I say for those Houses alone of Pietie, there would be more miserie to be seene in those parts, (which all that notwithstanding is still great and excessive) than perhaps, in the poorest peaceable Country of Christendome whatsoever. Besides these Hospitalls, they have also their *Montipii*, for free or more easie loane to the 10 poore; seeing Italy as all other places is infected with Usurie.

#### **Of their Ecclesiastical Government**

But to come now to the view of their Ecclesiasticall Governement, not so much as it is referred to the conduct of soules to their true happinesse, though this be the naturall and proper end of that regiment; but rather as it is addressed to the upholding of

9 of  $| \text{ in } B^2 |$ 

<sup>1</sup> considering] considered C' HN P' ins BL; the wealth] their wealth P' Q

<sup>2-3</sup> the infinite] by the infinitenesse  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HNP^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> imposts] customs B' C' HNP' ins BL

<sup>4</sup> to starve] starve  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; that] del Q

<sup>4-5</sup> that it may be truely sayd,] It is not untruly sayde  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> the rich] that the rich P; poore] poore men P', poore thereof  $P^2$ ; things] creatures B' C' HN P' ins BL 6 againe] om P'; a well cor 29,  $A B^2 C^2 P'$ ] well; policed estate] pollicied state B' C' HN P' ins BL; estate] state  $A B^2 Q$ 

<sup>7</sup> alone] one  $Q_{i}$ , om  $B^{I}$ ; it] om Q

<sup>7-9</sup> were it not . . . whatsoever] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL;

<sup>10</sup> also] om  $B^l P^l$ ; Montipii] see explanatory notes; Montipii, for ... poore] houses of free loane to the poore, which is some help  $B^l C HN P^l$  ins BL, Montipli  $B^l$ ; or more easie] om  $A B^l B^2 Q$ 11 as] of  $B^l$ ; all] for all  $B^2$ ; is] is most  $B^l P^l$ 

<sup>13</sup> to come now] now to come  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I} P^{2} Q$ ; not ... as] how  $C^{I} HN P^{I} ins BL$ 

<sup>14</sup> soules] soules and P'; though this be] (which should be B'C'HNP' ins BL; the naturall] their ~ P'

<sup>15</sup> but rather as] whereof I can say little,) and how  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

the worldly power and glorie of their order, to the advauncing of their part, and overthrow of their opposites, which I suppose be the poincts they now chiefly respect: I thinke I may truly say, there was never yet state framed by mans wit in this world more powerfull and forcible to worke those effects; never any either more wisely contrived and plotted or more constantly and diligently put in practise and execution: 5 in so much that but for the naturall weaknesse of untruth and dishonestie, which being rotten at the heart abate the force of whatsoever is founded thereon, their outward means were sufficient to subdue a whole world.

#### Of their Head assertions

Now as in every Art and Science there is some one or few first propositions or 10

theoremes on the vertue whereof all the rest depend: so in their Art also they have

certein Head Assertions, which as indemonstrable principles they urge all men to

receive and hold. And those are, That they are the Church of GOD, within which great

facilitie, and without which no possibilitie of Salvation: that divine prerogative

2-3 poincts . . . respect] chiefe point they now respect  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

3 I thinke] as I thinke B'; I may truly say,] it may be truly said, that B' C' HNP' ins BL; yet] om P' O. state] state or pollicie Q; this] the  $C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

4 powerfull] powerfully  $P^{I}$ ; either] on  $B^{I} C^{I} HNP^{I}$  ins BL; either more] more either O

5 or more] more  $B^{l} C^{l} HNP^{l}$  ins BL; and diligently] or diligently  $P^{l}$ 

6-7 in so much . . . founded] that if the foundation bee free from untruth and dishonestie (for rottennesse of heart is an infirmitie which will ruine all strength builded)  $C^{l}$  HN, were  $P^{l}$  ins BL. In so much that (but for the naturalnesse of the foundation, which being rotten at the heart abateth the force of whatsoever is set thereon)  $B^{\prime}$ ; that] that if it were not  $P^{2}$ ; untruth and dishonestie] the foundation  $B^{\prime}$ ; abate] abateth  $B^{\prime}$ 7 founded] set  $B^{1}$ 

10-11 is some ... theorems] are some certaine propositions  $B^{l} C^{l} HNP^{l}$  ins BL11 on] upon  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> the worldly] their ~  $B^{I}BLC^{I}HNP^{I}$ ; to the advauncing] advauncing  $P^{I}$ ; part] partes  $P^{I}$ , parties Q 2 overthrow] overthrowing Q; be] to be  $B^{I} P^{I}$ ; chiefly] om  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>13</sup> Head] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; principles] propositions  $P^{l}$  (B<sup>l</sup> numbers them 1-5)

hold] hold in this maner B' C' HN P' del BL; And those are] om C' HN P' ins BL; Church] True Church  $P^{I}$ ; within which] within the which there is  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN$ , within which there is P; without which] without which there is P; no possibilitie] there is no possibilitie  $B^{l} C^{l} HN del BL$ 

graunted to them above all other Societies in the world, doth preserve them everlastingly from erring in matter of Faith, and from falling from God: that the Pope Christs Deputie hath the keyes of Heaven in his custodie to admit in by Indulgence, and shut out by Excommunication as hee shall see cause: that the charge of all Soules, being committed to him, hee is thereby made Soveraigne Prince of this world exceeding in 5 power and Majestie all other Princes as farre, as the soule in dignitie doth exceed the body, and eternall things surmount things temporall and seeing that the End is the rule and commaunder of whatsoever doth tend unto it, and all things in this world are to serve but as instruments, and the world it selfe but as a passage to our everlasting habitation; that therefore he that hath the soveraigne menaging of this high end, and 10 the honor to be the supreame Conductor unto it, hath also power to dispose of all things subordinate, as may best serve to it, to plant, to root out; to establish, to depose; to bind, to loose; to alter, to dispence; as may serve most fit for the advancement of the Church, and for the atchieving of the Soules felicitie: wherein whosoever oppose against him, whether by Heresie or schisme, they are no other than very Rebels or seditious persons; against whom hee hath unlimited and endlesse power to proceed, to the suppressing,

- 6 doth exceed] exceedeth Q
- 7 surmount] om P'; that] om P' Q; rule] ruler B' BL C' HN
- 8 this] the  $B^2$ ; but] that Q

<sup>1</sup> graunted to] is granted unto  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} del BL$ ; other] om Q; other Societies in the world] the people in the world which  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>2</sup> matter] matters  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; from falling] falling om  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>2-3</sup> Pope Christs] Pope being Christs C' HN P' del BL

<sup>3</sup> his]  $\hat{om} B^1 B^2 \hat{BL} \hat{C}^1 HN P^{T} Q$ 

<sup>4</sup> shut  $B' B^2 P' Q$ ] shout 29; that] om B' C' HNQ ins BL

<sup>10-11</sup> soveraigne . . . honor] managing of this high honour C' HN P' ins BL 16 against] unto Q; unlimited and] limited an Q

ruining and extinguishing of them by all means, that the common-wealth of God may flourish in prosperitie, and the highway to heaven be kept safe and open for all Gods loyall and obedient people. In these poincts no doubt or question is tolerable: and who so joyne with them in these, shall find great connivence in what other defect or difference soever; this being the very touchstone at which all men are to be tryed. 5 whether they bee in the Church or out of the Church, whether with them or against them. And by this plot have their witts erected in the world a Monarchie more potent than ever any that hath been before it: a Monarchie which entituling them *De jure* to all the world, layeth a strong foundation thereof in all mens consciences the onely firme ground of obedience in the world; and such a foundation as not onely holdeth 10 fast unto them whatsoever it seazeth on, but workes outwardly also by engines to weaken and undermine the state of all other Princes how great soever; and that in such sort, as by possessing themselves of the principal places in the hearts of their subjects, (as being those from whom they have their principall good, even the happinesse of their soules) to incite them upon very conscience against their naturall soveraignes at

2 to] of  $P^l$ 

4 joyne with them] with them joyne  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HNP^{1}$ ; in these] om Q

- 4-5 or difference  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN L P^{\prime} Q$ ] and difference 29
- 5 at which ] by which  $B^{1} C^{1} H P^{1}$  ins BL, whereby  $B^{2}$

7 the] this  $B^{I}$ 

8 hath] have Q; before] afore Q; De jure] see explanatory notes

10 holdeth] holde Q

11 outwardly also] also outwardly Q

13 in] om B'

14 have  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} Q$ ] receive 29, ins BL

<sup>1</sup> of] om  $P^{I}$ ; common-wealth] Common weale Q

<sup>3</sup> doubt or question is] doubtes or questions are  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> layeth] lay  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> to incite] incite P'; them] om C' HN ins BL; very] everie B' C' HN P' ins BL; against] agaynst C' HN ins BL

pleasure and by writ of excommunication to subdue or at the leastwise greatly to shake whom they list, without fighting a blow, without leavying a Souldjer: and lastly a Monarchy which as it was founded by meere wit, so needeth not any thing but meere wit to maintaine it, which enricheth it selfe without toyling, warreth without endangering, rewardeth without spending, using Colleges to as great purpose as 5 any other can fortresses; and working greater matters, partly by Scholars, partly by swarms of Friers, than any else could ever do by great garisons and Armies; and all these maintained at other folkes charges; for to that rare poinct have they also proceeded as not onely to have huge rents themselves out of all forrein states, but to maintaine also their instruments out of other mens devotion; and to advance their 10 favorites under the fairest pretence of providing for Religion, to the very principall preferments in forrein Princes Dominions. That no man thinke it strange, if finding the revenew of skill and cunning to bee so great, and her force so mightie, especially where shee worketh upon simplicitie and ignorance; they enclosed heretofore all learning within the walls of their Clergie; setting forth Lady Ignorance for a great Sainct to the

<sup>1</sup> writ] a writte  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ ; the] on  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I} Q$ ; to shake] shake  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> without leavying] or leavying  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>3</sup> so] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; needeth] it needeth Q

<sup>4</sup> toyling] labouring  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> as great  $A B^{l} C^{2} P^{l} Q$ ] a great 29; as any other] as others  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; greater] great  $P^{l}$ ; 6 partly by Scholars] by scholars partly  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>7</sup> any else could] else they could  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; do] doe cor 29

<sup>8</sup> folkes] mens  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>8-9</sup> to . . . themselves] themselves have huge rents P'; all forrein states] other mens ~ C' HN P' ins BL10 devotion] devotions B' C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>11</sup> fairest] fayer  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; the very] their very  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> That] That let  $B^2$ ; thinke it] need find it  $C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL, neede thinke  $B^1$ 

<sup>13</sup> so] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; her force so] this force  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>13-14</sup> where shee worketh] what they worke C' HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> heretofore] in times past  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; for] as  $P^{\prime}$ 

Laietie, and shrining her unto them for the true mother of Devotion. And assuredly but for one huge defect in their policie, which was hard in regard of their owne particular ambitions, but otherwise not impossible to be avoyded; that they chuse their Popes lightly very old men, and withall indifferently without any restraint out of all families and nations, whereby they are continually subject to double change of government; 5 the successor seldome prosecuting his antecessours devises but either crossing them through envie or abandoning them upon new humour; it could not have bene but they must have long since beene absolute Lords of all; which defect notwithstanding so strong was their policie by reason of the force of their cordiall foundation, that no Prince or Potentate ever opposed against them, but in fine even by his owne subjects 10 they eyther mastered him utterly or brought him to good conformitie by great losse and extremitie; till such time as in this latter age the untruth of the foundation it selfe being stoutly discovered hath given them a sore blow; and chaunging in great part the state of the question hath driven them to a reenforcement of new inventions and practises.

6 either] rather B'; upon] through a Q

8 must . . . beene] must long since have beene B' P' Q

<sup>1</sup> shrining] shewing  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; assuredly] surely Q

<sup>2</sup> huge] great  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} ins BL$ 

<sup>3</sup> ambitions] ambition  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>4</sup> lightly...men] very old lightly  $P^{l}$ ; very old... indifferently] verie old and withall  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins *BL*; indifferently] om  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; out] om  $C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins *BL* 

<sup>9</sup> cordiall] Cardinall  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} Q$  ins BL; no] never Q

<sup>10</sup> even] eyther  $B^{1}$ ; by] om  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>11</sup> eyther] om B'; eyther mastered] over-mastered P'; utterly] om B'; utterly or] or utterly C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>12</sup> untruth] bottom  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL; it selfe] om Q

<sup>13</sup> and chaunging] hath chaunged  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> hath driven] and driven  $B^{I}$ ; and practises] of practises  $P^{I}$ 

#### Of their Meanes to strengthen them

Howbeit those positions being the ground of their state, and the hope of their glorie, in them they admit no shadow of alteration, but endeavour still per fas et ne fas even by all Meanes in the world to strengthen them; and among their manifold Adversaries hate them most of all other, who have laboured most in sapping of that 5 foundation. And seeing that by reason of this bookish age, they have not that helpe of ignorance which in times past they had: they cast about gently to soake and settle them in mens perswasions and consciences another way. They tell men that the very grounds whereon we build on our perswasion of the truth of Christianitie it selfe are no other than credible; that the proofes of the Scripture to bee the word of God, can be 10 no other at this day than probable onely: it being unpossible for any wit in the world to produce an exact necessarie and infallible demonstration, either that St. PAUL had his calling from above, or that those Epistles were of his owne writing; so likewise in the rest. And that the chiefe proofe wee have thereof is the testimonie of the Church; a thing which even their adversaries are forced to confesse. Now that this probable 15 perswasion of the truth of Christianitie doth afterwards grow into an assurednesse

3 per fas et ne fas] see explanatory notes

8 another] by another  $A B^{1} P^{1} P^{2} Q$ 

9 grounds] ground  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; whereon] on which Q; our] om Q; are no] is none  $B^{l}$ 

10-11 can . . . other] and no other, nor can be other  $P^{I}$ 

12 an exact] exact  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, or extract  $P^{l}$ ; St PAUL] the holy Apostle St Paul  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN del BL

13 from above] from God P'; owne] om A B' P' Q; so] and so  $B^2$ 

14 proofe] proofe that  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> hope of hope of all A P' Q

<sup>2-3</sup> their glorie] owne glory  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HNP^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> Meanes] the meanes  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; among] amongst  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>5</sup> hate] thei hate Q; sapping] stopping  $C^{I} HN P^{I} ins BL$ 

<sup>7</sup> gently] greatly  $\tilde{B}^{i} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, eagerlye  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>11</sup> it being unpossible] being impossible  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1}$ ; wit] witt of man  $B^{2}$ 

<sup>15</sup> even their] their very  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{2} Q$  ins BL, the very  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>16</sup> afterwards] afterward  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; into] to  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN$ 

thereof, this issueth from the inward operation of Gods spirit; the guift wherof is faith: and that faith being a knowledge not of Science but of beliefe; which searcheth not by discourse the particular necessitie of the veritie of the things which are delivered, but relieth in generall upon the approved wisdome, truth and vertue of him that doth deliver them: Surely whosoever will needs have necessarie proofe of the severall 5 articles of his Religion doth but wittily deceive himselfe; and by overcurious endevour to change his Faith into science, but lose that which he seekes to perfect. If then without faith no possiblitie of salvation, surely needs must this be the highway to perdition. Now seeing that Christianitie is a doctrine of faith, a doctrine whereof all men even children are capable, as being to bee received in grosse, and to be believed 10 in the generall; the high vertue whereof is in the humilitie of understanding; and the merit in the readinesse of obedience to embrace it, (for these have bene alwayes the true honours of faith,) and seeing the outward proofs therof are no other than probable, and of all probable proofs the Churches testimonie is most probable: What madnesse for

12 the readinesse] readinesse  $B^{T}BLC^{T}HNP^{T}$ 

<sup>1</sup> the inward] an inward  $B' C' HN P' P^2$ ; Gods spirit] Gods divine spirit B' C' HN P' del BL

<sup>2</sup> a knowledge] om  $B^1$ ; Science] bare Science  $B^1 BL C^1 HN P^1$ 

<sup>2-3</sup> by discourse] om  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1 Q$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> the things] things  $P^{l}$ ; which are] om  $C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2}$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> generall  $A B^2 P^1 P^2$ ] a generall 29; vertue] verity Q

<sup>5</sup> them: Surely] it. Then surely B' C' HN P' del BL; needs] om A B' C' HN P' Q ins BL

<sup>6</sup> of] for  $B^2$ ; his] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>7</sup> but] doth  $B^{I}$  BL  $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$ , do Q

<sup>8</sup> surely] this surely  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN; needs] om Q; needs must] must needed BL  $C^{l}$  HN; needs ... be] this must needs be  $B^{l}$   $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> that] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; is] to be  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> as being to bee received in grosse] as being grosse HN om P; to bee received in] om  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins BL11 understanding] the understanding  $B^2$ 

<sup>13</sup> honours] owners BL C<sup>l</sup> HN; proofs] proofes cor 29; therof] om B<sup>l</sup>

<sup>14</sup> madnesse for] madnesse were it for  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}Q del BL$ 

any man to trie out his soule and to waft away his spirits in tracing out all the thorny paths of the Controversies of these dayes, wherin to erre is a thing no lesse easie than daungerous, what through forgery abusing him, what through sophistrie beguiling him, what through passion, partialitie, and private interest transporting him; and not rather to betake himselfe to the high path of truth, whereunto God and Nature, reason and experience, doe all give witnes, and that is to associate himselfe unto that Church, whereunto the custodie of this Heavenly and Supernaturall truth, hath beene from Heaven it selfe committed? So that two things onely are to bee performed in this case; to weigh discreetly which is the true Church: and that being found, to receive faithfully and obediently without doubt or discussion whatsoever it delivereth.

Now concerning the first poinct, some doubt might be made if there were any Church Christian in the world to be showne, which had continued from CHRISTS time downe to this age without change or interruption, theirs onely excepted.

But if all other have had eyther their end and decay long since, or their beginning but of late; If theirs being founded by the Prince of the Apostles with promise 15

6 unto] to  $B^2 C' HN Q$  ins BL; unto that] to the P'

<sup>1</sup> trie] tire B' BL C' HN P'; away] om P'; all] om Q

<sup>2</sup> a thing] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> what] om  $B^1 C^1 HN$ ; what . . . him] om  $P^2$ ; beguiling] transporting  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> what . . . transporting] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> high] right  $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{J}$  ins BL; truth] the truth  $P^{I}$ ; reason] hath reason  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>7</sup> this] his  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>8</sup> So that . . . case] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; case] cause  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>9</sup> found] once found  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} del BL$ 

<sup>9-10</sup> faithfully and obediently] obediently and faithfully  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>12</sup> in the world] om  $P^{I}$ ; showne] showed  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>13</sup> theirs] this  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> eyther] om P'; and] or C' HN ins BL; and] or B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> If] that  $P^2$ ; being] bee  $B^1 BL C^1 HN$ ; Prince] om  $B^1$ 

to him by CHRIST, that Hell-gates should not prevaile against it, but that himselfe would bee assisting to it till the consummation of the world, have continued on now to the end of Sixteen hundred yeers with an honorable and certein line of neere two hundred and fourtie Popes all successours of St. PETER, both Tyrants and Traytors, both Pagans and Heretikes, in vain wresting, raging; barking and undermining; if all the lawfull 5 generall Councels that ever were in the world, being the venerable Senats of Gods Officers and Ministers, have from time to time approved, obeyed and honoured it, if God have so miraculously blessed it from above, as that so many sage Doctors should enrich it with their writings, such armies yea millions of Saincts with their holinesse, of Martyrs with their bloud, of Virgins with their puritie should sanctifie and embellish 10 it; if their Church have bin a ruine always to them that opposed against her; a stay, a repose and advancement to all her followers; if even at this day in such difficulties of unjust rebellions and unnaturall revolts of her neerest children, yet she stretches out her arms to the utmost corners of the world, newly embrasing whole Nations into her bosome; if lastly in all other opposit Churches wheresoever, there be nothing to be 15

6 generall] om  $B^{l} C^{\bar{l}} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; venerable] general  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; Senats] om  $P^{l}$ 

10 bloud] constancye P; embellish] seale C' HN P' ins BL

11 their Church] it  $P^2 Q$ ; to] unto Q; her] it  $P^2 Q$ ;

11-12 a repose  $\vec{A} \quad \vec{B'} \quad P'$ 

13 unjust] om  $A B^2 P' P^2 Q$ ; unjust . . . revolts] rebellions and revolts B' C' HN P' ins BL; unnaturall] om  $P' P^2 Q$ ; she stretches] it stretches  $P^2$ , it do stretch Q

<sup>1</sup> to . . . CHRIST,] by him C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>2</sup> till] untill  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HNP^{l}$ ; have continued] which hath continued  $B^{l} C^{l} HNP^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> Sixteen . . . yeers] a thousand sixe hundred and foure yeares C' HN del BL, ages B'; neere] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> all Successours] all being Successours  $B^{\prime}BL C^{\prime}HN$ 

<sup>5</sup> wresting] wrestling  $A B^{I} BL C^{I} HNP^{I}$ ; if] that  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>14</sup> utmost] uttermost  $\vec{B}^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN Q; newly] om  $\vec{A} \vec{B}^{l} C^{l}$  HN  $P^{2}$  Q ins BL

<sup>15</sup> wheresoever] whatsoever  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

found but inward dissention and contrariety, but change of opinions, uncertenty of resolutions, with robbing of Churches, rebelling against Governors, confusion of orders, nothing to be attended but mischiefe, subversion and destruction (which they have well deserved and shall assuredly have) whereas contrariwise in their Church the Unitie undivided, the obedience unforced, the unalterable resolutions, the most heavenly 5 order reaching from the heighth of all power to the very lowest of all subjection, with admirable harmony and undefective correspondence, all bending the same way to the effecting of the same worke do promise no other than continuance, encrease and victorie: let no man doubt to submit him selfe to this glorious Spouse of God, on whose head is the blessing of God, in whose hand is the power of God, under whose feet 10 are the enemies of God, and to whom round about do service all the Creatures of God. This then being accorded to be the true Church of God, it followeth that shee be reverently obeyed in all things without farther disquisition: having the warrant that hee that heareth her, heareth Christ, and whosoever heareth her not hath no better place with God than a Publican or Pagan. And what follie were it to receive the Scripture 15

1 but] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  ins BL

6 heighth] very heighth  $P^2$ 

8 do] did  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

13-14 hee that heareth] whose heareth  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; whose ver] whose  $B^{1}$ 

14 heareth her not] heareth not her Q

<sup>2</sup> with ] om  $A B^{\prime} B^{2} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} Q$  ins BL; rebelling] rebellion  $B^{\prime} C HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> shall assuredly] already B; contrariwise] contrary  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL, contrariely  $B^{l}$ ; Church] Churches  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  del BL

<sup>5</sup> unalterable resolutions] resolutions unalterable  $B^{I}BL C^{I}HN P^{I}Q$ 

<sup>5-6</sup> most . . . order] order most heavenly Q

<sup>7</sup> bending] tending to  $B^{\prime}$ ; the same] to the same  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>9</sup> submit himselfe]  $om B^1$ 

<sup>13</sup> disquisition] inquisition  $B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HNP^{l} Q$  ins BL; the] this  $B^{l} C^{l} HNP^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> with God] on C' HN P' ins BL; Pagan] a Pagan B' BL C' HN P'

upon credit of her aucthoritie, and not to receive the interpretation of it upon her aucthoritie also and credit? And if God should not protect his Church alwayes from errour, and yet peremptorily commaund men alwayes to obey her, than had he made but very slender provision for the salvation of mankind, to whom errour in matter of faith is certein damnation: which conceipt of God (whose care of us even in all things 5 touching this transitorie life is so plaine and eminent) were ungratefull and impious. And hard were the case, meane had his regard bene of the vulgar people, whose wants and difficulties in this life will not permit, whose capacitie will not suffice to sound the deep and hidden mysteries of divinitie, to search out the truth of these intricate controversies, if there were not other whose authoritie they might rely on. Blessed 10 therefore are they which beleeve and have not seene: the merit of whose religious humilitie and obedience, doth exceed perhaps in honour and acceptance before God the subtill and profound knowledge of many others. And lastly, if any man either in regard of his vocation or by reason of his leasure list to studie the controversies, take he

<sup>1</sup> upon credit] upon the credit  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ 

<sup>1-2</sup> interpretation . . . credit] interpretation also upon her aucthoritie and credit  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; of it] thereof allsoe  $B^1$ 

<sup>2</sup> also] om  $B^{i}$ ; his . . . alwayes] allwaies his church  $P^{i}$ 3 yet] om  $B^{i} BL C^{i} HN P^{i}$ ; men] all men  $B^{i} BL C^{i} HN P^{i}$ ; alwayes] om  $B^{i} BL C^{i} HN P^{i}$ 

<sup>4</sup> very] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} O$  ins BL; matter] matters  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>6</sup> eminent] evident  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  ins B

<sup>7</sup> meane] and meane  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} del BL$ ; had ... bene] had beene his regard  $A B^{\prime} B^{2} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ , had this beene his regard Q

<sup>8</sup> capacitie] capacities  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> the truth of these] om  $C^{1}$  HN  $P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> if] that B'; on] uppon B'

<sup>11</sup> beleeve] om Q

<sup>12</sup> humilitie and obedience] obedience and humilitie  $P^{l}Q$ ; acceptance] acceptation  $B^{l}C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> And lastly, if] and last for Q

<sup>14</sup> by] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; take] to take Q

p. 47.14-P. 48.1 take he heed that] let him take heede  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

heed that he come not with a doubtfull mind unto them; for diffidence is as the sinne of Rebellion: let him be stedfast in faith; let him submit his owne reason to the Churches authoritie, being the house of God, the pillar and ground of truth; let him be fast and unmoveably built on that foundation; and let his end be only this, to furnish and arme himselfe in such sort as to bee able to with-stand and overthrow those Heritikes, whom hee shall at any time eyther chuse or chaunce to encounter. This is the main course of their perswading at this day, whereby they seeke to reestablish that former foundation.

In the unfolding whereof I have been the longer, because tryall hath taught mee, that not by some mens private election, but as it should seeme by common 10 order, direction, or consent, they have relinquished all other courses, and hold them to this as the most effectuall meanes in the way of perswasion to insinuate their desire, and to worke their desein. In considering wherof there commeth into my mind that diversitie which a wise Philosopher hath intimated in the witts of men, that some are of so sharp, deep, and strong discourse, that they yield not their firme assent to any 15

12-13 and . . . dessein] om  $B^1 B^2 Q$ 

<sup>1</sup> that he] om  $B^1$ ; as] om Q

<sup>4</sup> unmoveably] immoveably  $BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ , immovable build  $B^{l}$ ; on] uppon  $BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; be only] onely bee  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; this] om Q

<sup>5</sup> bee able] om Q

<sup>6</sup> whom] which Q; whom hee shall] when, they shall  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; at any time] om Q; eyther] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; chuse or] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> the longer] longer  $B^2$ 

<sup>11</sup> hold] doe hold B' C' HN P' del BL

<sup>12</sup> in] by  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; the] their Q; insinuate] worke  $B^{l}$ ; to insinuate their desire, and] on  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> their dessein] this ~  $B^{1} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; into] to  $B^{1} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> strong] strange  $B^{l}$ ; firme] on  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; to] unto BL  $C^{l} HN$ 

thing till they have found out either some proper demonstration for it, or some other certein proof whereon to ground it assuredly: other are by nature so shallow and weake in that facultie, that they feare always errour in working with it, and therefore doe more willingly accord to whatsoever some of account for wisdome do barely affirme, than to any thing that reason alone (which they suspect) enforceth. 5

Now these latter exceeding the other as farre in number as in worthinesse and honour of nature they are exceeded by them: The Romanists taking a course so fitting to the feeble and fearfull humour of this sort, do greatly sway with them: wheras if they meet with one of the former more tough constitution, that will not be caried away with these plausible declamations, nor yield his assent in grosse, without particular 10 examination, they bestow small cost on him, as having small hope to prevaile. Wherein I hold them wise in the rules of policie; that having found by certeine and infallible experience, that the ignorance of the Laietie was the chiefest and surest sinew of their greatnesse and glorie, they now being not able to keepe them longer in that blind ignorance, doe cunningly endeavour so to lead them out of the former as to enter 15 them withall into a second kind of ignorance; that being not content to see utterly

- 10 these] those  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; assent] consent  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL
- 11 on him] of him  $P^{I}$ , upon him Q

<sup>1</sup> till] untill  $B^{T}C^{T}HNP^{T}$  ins BL; other] others  $B^{T}$ 

<sup>2</sup> by nature] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> feare always] allwaies feare Q; errour] some errour  $P^{l}$ ; in . . . it] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> that reason] which this reason  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; enforceth] inferreth  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> latter  $B^2 L P^1$  later 29; as farre in number] in nomber as farr  $P^1$ 

<sup>9</sup> more] of more  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} del BL$ ; more tough constitution] conditions more tough  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> infallible] unfaileable *BL*  $C^{l}$  *HN*, unfallible  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> greatnesse and glorie] glorie and greatnes Q

<sup>15</sup> former] briars  $B^{I} C^{I} H N P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>16</sup> ignorance] blindenesse  $B^{I}$ 

nothing, at leastwise they may bee perswaded to resigne their owne eysight and to looke through such spectacles as they temper for them.

### Of their Wayes to ravish all affections, and to fit each humour

This being the maine ground worke of their policie; and the generall meanes to build and establish it in the minds of all men; the particular Ways they hold to Ravish 5 all affections and to fit each humor. (which their jurisdiction and power being but perswasive and voluntary, they principally regard,) are well-nigh infinite: there being not any thing either sacred or prophane, no vertue nor vice almost, no things of how contrary condition soever; which they make not in some sort to serve that turne; that each fancie may be satisfied, and each appetite find what to feed on. Whatsoever 10 either wealth can sway with the lovers or voluntary povertie with the despisers of the World; what honour with the ambitious; what obedience with the humble; what great imployment with stirring and mettald spirit, what perpetuall quiet with heavie and restive bodies; what content the pleasant nature can take in pastimes and jolitie, what contrariwise the austere mind in discipline and rigour; what love either chastitie 15 can raise in the pure, or voluptuousnesse in the dissolute; what allurements are in

5 build] blinde  $C^2$ ; Ways] meanes which  $B^1$ 

<sup>1</sup> may] might B'; resigne] resigne up B'

<sup>4</sup> the generall] these the generall  $A B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>6</sup> affections] mens affections  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} del BL$ ; which] om  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ 

<sup>7</sup> they . . . regard] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> nor] or  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} Q$  ins BL, no A; no things] nothing  $P^{I} Q$ 

<sup>9</sup> that] their  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1 Q$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> and] om A; what] somewhat  $B^1$ 

<sup>11</sup> the lovers] lovers  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> great] assiduall Q; stirring] the stirring  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} Q$  del BL; and mettald] mettald  $P^{l}$ ; spirit] spirites  $B^{l}$ , spirits cor 29,  $C^{2}$ ; perpetual] uninterrupted Q; heavie] the heavie  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> restive] fleshy Q; pleasant] cor 29,  $B^{l} B^{2} BL C^{l} C^{2} HN L P^{l}$ , pleasane 29

<sup>15</sup> contrariwise] confrasye  $P^{I}$ ; mind] minded  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>16</sup> can . . . pure] in the pure can raise  $B^{1}$ 

knowledge to draw the contemplative, or in actions of State to possesse the practick dispositions; what with the hopefull prerogative of reward can worke; what errours, doubts, and daungers with the fearefull; what chaunge of vowes with the rash, of estate with the inconstant; what pardons with the faultie, or supplies with the defective; what miracles with the credulous what visions with the fantasticall; what gorgeousnesse 5 of shews with the vulgar and simple, what multitude of Ceremonies with the superstitious and ignorant; what prayer with the devout, what with the charitable workes of pietie; what rules of higher perfection with elevated affections, what dispensing with breach of all rules with men of lawlesse conditions; in summe what thing soever can prevail with any man, eyther for himselfe to pursue or at least-wise 10 to love reverence or honor in another; For even therein also mans nature receiveth great satisfaction;) the same is found with them, not as in other places of the world, by casualtie blended without order, and of necessitie; but sorted in great part into severall professions, countenanced with reputation, honoured with prerogatives, facilitated with provisions and yeerly maintenance, and eyther (as the better things) advanced with 15

- 11 even] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL
- 13 blended without] blinded, without  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2} Q$  ins BL; in great] into ~  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} del BL$
- 14 reputation] the ~  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; facilitated] and ~  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$
- 15 and yeerly maintenance] om  $P^2 Q$

<sup>2</sup> with ... prerogative] what prerogative  $B^{T}C^{T}HNP^{T}$  ins BL; can worke] om Q; worke] worke with the hopefull  $B^{T}P^{T}$ ; errours] terrors BL  $C^{T}HN$ 

<sup>3</sup> of estate] or estate Q

<sup>7</sup> and ignorant] on  $B^{\tilde{I}} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>7-8</sup> what ... pietie] what workes of pietie with the charitable B' C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>8</sup> elevated] the elevated  $B^{1} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>9</sup> breach] the breach  $B^{I}BL C^{I}HN P^{I}$ ; with men] All with men  $P^{I}$ ; conditions] condition  $P^{I}$ 10 least-wise] the least-wise  $B^{I}$ 

expectation of reward, or borne with how bad soever with sweet and silent permission. What pomp, what ryot, to that of their Cardinalls? What severitie of life comparable to their Heremites and Capuchins? Who wealthier than their Prelats? who poorer by vow and profession than their mendicants? On the one side of the street a Cloyster of Virgins: on the other a stie of Courtizans, with publike toleration: This day all in 5 Masks with all loosenesse and foolerie: to morrow all in Processions whipping them selves till the bloud follow. On one doore an Excommunication throwing to Hell all transgressours: on an other a Jubilee or full discharge from all transgressions: Who learneder in all kind of Sciences than their Jesuites? What thing more ignorant than their ordinary Masse-Priests? What Prince so able to preferre his servants and 10 followers as the Pope, and in so great multitude? Who able to take deeper or readier revenge on his enemies? what pride equall unto his, making Kings kisse his pantafle? what humilitie greater than his, Shriving him selfe dayly on his knees to an ordinarie Priest? who difficulter in dispatch of causes to the Greatest? who easier in giving audience to the meanest? where greater rigour in the world in exacting the 15

7 On] upon *P*; throwing] ~ downe  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ 

8 from] for  $B^2$ 

9 learneder] more learned B' C' HN P' ins BL; What thing] who B' BL C' HN P'

<sup>1</sup> reward] rewards  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; with] om  $P^{l}$ ; sweet and silent permission] silent toleration  $A B^{2} P^{l}$ ; unimpeached tolleration  $B^{l} Q$ ; sweet and] om  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>2</sup> their Cardinalls] the Cardinalls  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>3</sup> their Heremites] that of the Heremites  $P^{l}Q$ ; their] the  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> other] other syde Q; with] and with A Q; toleration] permission  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; This day] today  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 

<sup>11</sup> able] abler B'Q

<sup>12</sup> on] of  $B^{\prime} BL \tilde{C}^{\prime} HN P^{2}$ ; unto] to  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{2} Q$ ; kisse] to  $\sim P^{\prime}$ ; pantafle] pantables  $B^{\prime} B^{2} BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

<sup>13</sup> greater than] equall to Q; him selfe] om Q; dayly] every day  $P^{l}Q$ 

<sup>14</sup> difficulter in] more difficile in giving  $B^1$ ; dispatch] expediting dispatch  $P^2 Q$ ; of causes] om  $B^1 Q$ ; difficulter ... Greatest] more difficult in giving dispatch to the greater  $C^1 HN$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> audience] dispatch  $B^1$ ; exacting] acting  $C^2$ 

observation of the Church-Lawes? Where lesse care or conscience of the Commandements of GOD? To tast flesh on a Friday where suspition might fasten, were a matter for the Inquisition? whereas on the other side the Sonday is one of their greatest merket-dayes? To conclude, never State, never Government in the world, so straungely compacted of infinite contrarieties, all tending to entertein the severall 5 humours of all men, and to worke what kind of effects soever they shall desire: where rigour and remisnesse, crueltie and lenitie are so combined, that with neglect of the Church to stirre ought, is a sinne unpardonable; whereas with duty towards the Church, and by intercession for her allowance, with respective attendance of her pleasure, no Law almost of God or Nature so sacred, which one way or other they find not 10 meanes to dispence with, or at least-wise permit the breach off by connivence and without disturbance.

## Of their particular Projects, Monarchies, and Princes Marriages

But to proceed to the consideration of their more particular Proiects and more mysticall devises for the perpetuating of their greatnesse. There was never yet State 15 so well built in the world, having his ground as theirs hath in the good-will of others, and not standing by his owne maine strength and power, that could longer uphold it

<sup>1</sup> or] and  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} ins BL$ 

<sup>4</sup> never . . . Government] never government, never state  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I} Q$ 

<sup>5</sup> straungely] strongly  $B^{\vec{i}} BL C^{\vec{i}} HN P^{\vec{i}}$ 

<sup>6</sup> what] all  $P^2 Q$ ; soever] whatsoever Q

<sup>7</sup> neglect] the neglect  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>8</sup> unpardonable] unremissible Q; towards] to Q

<sup>9</sup> and] om  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1}$ ; of] for  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> not] not out some  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>11</sup> at] at the Q; off] of  $BL C^{I} HN$ 

<sup>14</sup> the consideration of  $] om B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} ins BL$ 

<sup>16</sup> the world] this world Q; others] other  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>17</sup> not standing] notwithstanding  $B^{I}$ 

selfe in flourishing reputation and in prosperitie than it could make it selfe necessarie to them by whom it subsisted; all callings of men, all degrees in common-wealths, yea particular great personages, then waning in their greatnesse, when they decay in their necessarinesse to them from whom they have it. Which the Papacie nothing ignorant of, nor neglecting, hath by secret and rare cunning so deepely engaged and 5 interessed from time to time the greatest Monarchs of Christendome, in the upholding of that state that without the Papacie sundry of them have no hope, and some no title to continue in their owne dominions. For to omit things more apparant and in the Eys of al men, their pretended aucthoritie to excommunicate and depose them, to discharge subjects of all oath and bond of obedience, to oblige them under pain of damnation 10 to rise against them, to honour their murtherers, with the title of Martyrs, (for to that degree of eternity have some of their sect grown;) the effect of which proceeding some great Princes have felt and more have feared, and few at this day list to put it to the adventure: the tempering with so unlimited power in Princes Mariages, by dispensing

with degrees by the Law of God and the World forbidden by loosing and knitting 15

1 in] om  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN$ 

3 then] are then  $B^{I}$ 

4 nothing] is nothing P'

6 of] in  $B^{I}$ 

9 their] they have  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ 

10 oath] othes  $B^{1}$ ; bond] bondes  $B^{1}P^{1}$ 

12 eternity] extremity  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN om P^{I}$ 

13 great] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; more] most  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ ; to the] in  $B^{l}$ 

15 with] of  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>5</sup> nor neglecting] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; hath] have  $P^{l}$ ; and rare] om  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; so deeply] om  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>7</sup> that state] his estate  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2}$  ins BL; some no title] can plead no title  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>8</sup> owne] om P; owne dominions] Dominion  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; For] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> the] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; unlimited] illimited Q; in] of  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

mariages, by devise at pleasure, by legitimating unlawfull and accursed issue, and therby aduancing into thrones of Regalitie, oftentimes, base, sundry times adulterous, yea and sometimes incestuous and perhaps unnaturall off spring; doth not reason foretell, and hath not experience adverred, that both the partners in such marriages, and much more their whole issue are bound in as strong a bond to the upholding of the 5 Popes infinite authoritie and power, as the honour of their byrth, and title of their Crownes are worth? It was a seely conceipt in them who hoped that Queene MARIE would not restore the Popes authoritie in England by reason of her promise, when a greater bond to her than her promise did presse her to it. What man ever in the world stucke faster to his chosen friend than the late K. PHILIP of Spaine to the Papacie, 10 (notwithstanding with the Popes themselves his often jealousies and quarrells:) having ordeined moreover that all his Heirs and successours in the state of the Low Countries by vertue of his late transport shall for ever upon their entry into those Signories take an oath for the maintaining of the Papacie and that Religion? Is not the reason apparent that if the Papacie should quaile his onely son with whosoever descend of him are 15

- 11-12 having ordered] who ordered  $B^{I}C^{I}HNP^{I}$  ins BL
- 12 state] estate BL C' HN P'
- 13 upon]  $A B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ , from Q, in 29

<sup>1</sup> by legitimating] in ~  $P^{l}$ ; and] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>2</sup> sundry] om Q; times] somtimes Q

<sup>4</sup> adverred] thought  $C^{\dagger} HN P^{\dagger}$  ins BL, averred  $B^{\dagger} P^{2}$ ; partners] parties  $B^{\dagger} C^{\dagger} HN$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> title] the title  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} del BL$ 

<sup>7</sup> was] is Q; MARIE] Mary P'

<sup>8</sup> restore] uphold  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> to her] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> K. PHILIP of Spaine] king of Spaine Philip did  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> with] which P'; Popes themselves] Pope himselfe P'; often] om P'

<sup>15</sup> with] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; descend] om Q; are] is  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ 

dishonoured and made uncapable as in way and right of descent of those great States and Kingdomes which now he holdeth; yea and a fire kindled in his owne house about the title to them? Neither is it to be admitted into any conceipt of reason but that this young King will be as sure to the Papacie as his Father being borne of a Marriage prohibited by God, abhorred hap-ly by Nature, disapproved by the World; and onely 5 by Papall authoritie made allowable.

For my part, I hold that opinion not unprobable, that the mariage of Uncle and Niece (as it was in this case) is contrary to the Law of Nature, and not Gods positive Law only: seeing the Uncle hath a second right and place of a Father. But howsoever that poinct stand, wherein I dare not affirm ought, it is cleerly contrarie to such a 10 positive Law of God, as the reason and cause whereof must needs continue till the dissolution of the world or overthrow of mankind; and therefore in reason and Law no way abrogable or dispensable with, but by the same or an higher authoritie than that which first did make it: that the Pope need not thinke they do him apparent wrong, who invest him with the Title of that man of power, who sitting in the Temple of God, 15 exalteth him selfe above God. For what may it seeme els, bearing him selfe for Head of the Church; to take upon him to cancel or authentically to allow of the breach

- 8 is] was  $B^{i} BL C^{i} HN P^{i}$ ; not] not of Q; Gods] to Gods  $B^{i} BL C^{i} HN P^{i}$
- 11 whereof ] thereof  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; till] unto  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ , untill  $P^{l}$
- 12 or] and  $B^2$
- 13 abrogable] agreeable  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; an] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>1</sup> as in way and right of descent] on  $A B' C' HN L P' P^2 Q$  ins BL; States] estates B'3 be admitted] admitte  $P^{I}$ ; of] by  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>5</sup> by] of Q; hap-ly] happily  $A B^{T} P^{2}$ 

<sup>7</sup> For] For (for  $B^{1}$ ; hold that opinion not] hold not that opinion  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} del BL$ ;

<sup>14</sup> thinke] thinke that C' HN del BL; apparent] so apparent A B' BL C' HN P'16 for] om BL C' HN P', such for B'

of Gods Law, without having his expresse and precise warrant for so doing? Though I am not ignorant, that they have distinctions for all this: which were a merry matter if Sophistrie were the proper science for Salvation. But by this and some other mariages those straunge relations of alliance have growne that K. PHILIP the Second, were he now alive, might call the Archduke ALBERT both brother, cousin, nephew, and 5 sonne; for all this was he to him eyther by bloud or affinitie; being Uncle to him selfe, cousin-germain to his Father, husband to his Sister, and father to his Wife. And to come a step neerer home, the same rule of policie made me greatly feare till that now God by death hath prevented that mischiefe; howsoever the Pope hitherto what for feare of scandalizing, what for other respects, made shew not to be forward to 10 consent to an entended mariage betweene a married King and his Mistresse, much lesse to legitimate the children adulterously begotten, by finding nullities on both sides in the former marriages, (things made on purpose, as he knoweth, to cloke a falshood;) that yet notwithstanding him selfe or his successour would yield to it in the end, if any colour in the world could be layd upon the matter to salve the credite of his not 15

- 12 begotten] gotten  $P^{l}$ ; on] of  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL
- 14 successour] successours  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$

15 salve] save  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> without] ~ showing or Q; his] the Q; and precise] or ~  $P^{l}$ ; warrant] commission  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} Q$  ins BL 2 distinctions] a distinction Q; merry] meer  $P^{l}$ ; if] of  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>3</sup> were] where P; the proper] a proper  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; for] of  $B^{1}$  BL  $C^{1}$  HN  $P^{1}$   $P^{2}$  Q

<sup>4</sup> have growne] are growne  $P^{l}$ ; K.] King  $P^{l}$ ; the Second] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{2} Q$  ins BL 5 now] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> this] these P'; was] were BL C' HN P'; to him] unto him B' P'

<sup>7</sup> cousin-germain] cosen german  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>8</sup> greatly feare A B' C' HN strongly conjecture 29, ins BL, greatly to feare  $B^2 P'$ ; till that now] til now that B' BL C' HN P'

<sup>9</sup> God by death] by death God Q; that] the BL C' HN P'; the Pope hitherto] hitherto ... the Pope B' BL C' HN P', hitherto what for feare of scandalizeing, what for other respects, the pope B'

erring sea, and he might see good hope for that race to prevaile: yea and it may yet be that in some other match he will guide that streame into the same course: that so deriving the succession also of this other great Kingdom, upon issue, whose title must hold off his legitimation, he may be better assured of it than he hath beene hitherto; and have them for ever most firm and irreconcilable adversaries, to all such whether 5 subjects or neighbours or whosoever, as should oppose against his Soveraigntie and unstinted power: so searching and penetrant is the cunning of that Sea; to strengthen it selfe more by the unlawfull marriages of other men, than ever Prince yet could do by any lawfull mariage of his owne.

# Of their Dispensing with Oathes

The Dispensing with Oaths and discharging from them, especially in matters of Treatie between Princes and States; is a thing so repugnant to all morall honestie, so injurious to the quiet and peace of the world, so odious in it selfe, so scandalous to all men, that it may be they adventure not to play upon that string in this curious age so often as heretofore, for feare of discording all the rest of their harmonie.

15

10

Cleare it is that heretofore this made them a necessary helpe for all such Princes, as eyther upon extremitie were driven to enter into hard conditions, or upon falshood and dishonestie desired to take their advantage against their neighbours when

7 and unstitued] unstitued P'; the cunning of] om C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>1</sup> and he] and that he Q

<sup>1-2</sup> yea and it may ... that so] om  $A B^{1} B^{2} C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2} O$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> deriving] for  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>4</sup> off] uppon  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL, of  $C^{2}$ , on Q, may] might A  $B^{\prime} B^{2} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} Q$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> for ... firm] ever firme  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; such] those  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> than] that BL C' HN  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>12</sup> States] Estates  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} del BL$ 

<sup>18</sup> advantage] their advantage  $P^{I}O$ 

it was offered. Which Princes having no means to salve their Credite with the World, but only by justifying the unholinesse of their act, by the Popes holy aucthoritie interposed in it; were afterwards tyed firmly to adhere unto him. And this was the case of FRANCIS the first: with whom immediatly upon his oath given to CHARLES the fift, for performance of the Articles accorded at his delivery, CLEMENT the seventh 5 dispensed; and by probable conjecture had promised him to dispense with his Oath before-hand, upon hope also whereof he tooke it. The effect was for the Popes behoofe, that ever after there was strict loue and intelligence between them; testified finally to the World by that famous mariage between the Son of the one and the kinswoman of the other. And verily though I hold in generall too much suspiciousnesse, as great a 10 fault and as great an enemie to wisedome, as too much credulitie; it doing often times as hurtfull wrong to friends, as the other doth receive wrongfull hurt from dissemblers: yet viewing the short continuance of sworne Leagues at this day, the small reckoning that Princes make of Oathes solemnly taken whether to neighbours or subjects, not faith but profit beeing the bond of alliance and amitie, which altering once, the other have no 15 longer during, it making me thinke not unpossible the Popes unlimited fingers may bee

4 first] first of France B' C HN P' del BL; fift] first Q

<sup>1</sup> Which] In which  $C^{l} HN P^{l} del BL$ , I which  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>2</sup> the unholinesse] their unholinesse Q; their act] the Art  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> him] them  $B^{\prime}BLC^{\prime}HNP^{\prime}$ , case of] cause that  $C^{\prime}HNP^{\prime}$  ins BL, cause of that of  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>6</sup> him] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>7</sup> before-hand] before he had made it C' HN P' ins BL; also whereof] whereof also B' BL C' HN P'8 strict] secret B'; intelligence] amity B' BL C' HN P'; them] the P'

<sup>9</sup> kinswoman] neece or  $\sim Q$ 

<sup>11</sup> too] to B', credulitie] incredulytie P', doing oftentimes] friends attentions P'

<sup>12</sup> hurtfull] great a  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL; doth] do  $P^{I}$ ; wrongfull hurt] hurtfull wrong  $P^{I}$ ; from] by  $P^{I}$ 16 making] maketh  $A B^{2} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ ; thinke not unpossible] think it not possible  $C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL; making ... unpossible] maketh me thinke it not impossible  $B^{I}$ ; the] om  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL, that the  $P^{2} Q$ ; unlimited] illimited  $P^{2} Q$ 

stirring even at this day more often in secret, in untying those knotts of the bonds of conscience than the world is ware of, at leastwise that by authoritie and imitation of his example Princes assume unto them selves a like facultie of dispensing with their owne Oathes, whensoever they can perswade them selves it is behooffull unto their kingdomes, as he when to his Church. But howsoever that stands, this is very 5 apparent, that by this doctrine and policie the Popes opposites and enemies especially the States and Princes of the Reformed Religion, are inestimably prejudiced; beeing reduced hereby to a continuall incerteintie and confusion in all their weightiest actions, counsells, and resolutions, there being a warrant dormant for all men to breake league and oath with them, and no need of particular dispensation from his Holinesse. Their 10 Church long since by her rules, and some of great reckoning among them more lately by their writings, having published and preached to all the world, that Faith given to Hereticks is not to be kept; that leagues with them are more honourable in their breaking than in their making; denying that right unto Princes of Christian profession, which Christians unto Heathen, the Heathen one to an other of how different 15 Religion so ever, yea all honourable Princes unto very Traytours and Rebels have alwayes kept inviolable. And surely if Father PARSONS at his late coming to Rome pretending to make peace betweene the English Schollars and the Jesuites, (who were

- 1 stirring] snaring P'; untying A B' BL C' HN P'] uniting 29
- 2 ware] aware  $B^{l}$ , wary  $P^{l}$
- 4 unto] to  $A B' BL C' HN P^2 Q$
- 9 dormant] om  $B^1$ ; league and] om  $P^2 Q$
- 11 her] their Q; among] amongst P'
- 13-14 their breaking] the breaking  $B^{I}$
- 15 unto Heathen] ~ Heathens P'; the] om B' C' HN P' Q ins BL; Heathen] Heathens C' HN om P' ins BL
- 15 unto] to B'; having] have C' HN P' ins BL
- 16 surely] finally  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; late] last  $B^{l}Q$

charged with much indirect dealing and large imbeazeling) and setting downe certein articles betweene them to that purpose, whereby each part should be bound to desist impugning of the other, did by handling the matter as is said with such connivance and cunning, (imitating therein a rule of fast on the one side and loose on the other in the ground of their order) as first to sweare the scholars to observe that which was their 5 part, and afterwards to leave the Jesuits unsworne to theirs, effect his secret and ambitious intent, and to the great grief of the schollars make the Jesuits their Governours: what other account can be made of these peaces and leagues betweene those of the Romane and of the Reformed Religion, but that one side being tied by oath, and the other left free: (for so they are taught;) they shall so farre forth onely 10 have performance and continuance as shall prove to the advantage in ease or profit of that partie which esteemeth itselfe left at libertie.

The sacred, the soveraigne instrument of justice among men, what is it, what can it bee in this world but an oath, being the strongest bond of Conscience? this the end of

<sup>1</sup> much] too much C' HN del BL, to much B'; imbeazling] imblessing B' C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>2</sup> articles] and indifferent articles  $B^{\prime} B^{2} P^{\prime} P^{2} Q$ ; each] any Q; part] partie  $B^{\prime}$ ; desist] desist from  $B^{\prime}$ 3 as is said *ins BL L*] *om A B*<sup> $\prime$ </sup> C<sup> $\prime$ </sup> HN P<sup> $\prime$ </sup> Q

<sup>3-4</sup> connivance and cunning]  $A B^2$ , sleight and conveiance 29, conveiance and cunning  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1 P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> the ground] that ground P'

<sup>6</sup> to effect]  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$ , effect 29, to del BL, effected Q

<sup>7</sup> make] made  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> peaces and leagues] leagues and peaces  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ ; betweene] betwixt  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>9</sup> one] the one  $B^{\overline{I}} L Q$ 

<sup>10</sup> and] om Q; they are] are they Q; onely] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>11</sup> prove . . .ease or] be to the advauncement and  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL, to the  $P^{2} Q$ ; in ease] and A 12 left] om  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> sacred] sacrament  $P^{I}$ ; justice] all justice  $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$  del BL; among] amongst  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> this world] the world  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN$ ; this the end] this is the end  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} P^{2} del BL$ 

strifes particular this the soder of publike peace, and the sole assurance of amitie betweene divers Nations: which being made here below, is enrolled in his high Court whose glorious name doth signe it; who hath made no graunt of accesse to his Celestiall palace, but to such as having sworne once, though it redound to their owne damage, yet swarve not from it; that nothing but mischiefe can be presaged to the world in this age 5 most wretched, wherein perjurie hath so undermined the very tribunals of judgement, that it hath chased true justice out of the world, and left no place for a just man where to stand against the craftie. But what may be said when he that sitteth in the Temple of God, shall so far advance himselfe above God, as to dispense with oaths made sacred by the most holy and high name of God? when he that professeth himselfe the sole 10 Umpire and Peace-maker of the World shal cut in sunder those only sinews that hold peace together: when the Father of Princes and Prince of Religion shall carie him selfe with so wicked partialitie and craft, as in dissolving oathes by afflicting therein the part he hateth, and making the other perpetually obnoxious to him, to worke his owne certeine advantage from both: and lastly by making that auncient bridle of the unjust, 15 to be now an onely snare to entrap the innocent, and impose that blemish upon the

5 not from it] from it not at all Q

6 so] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; very 29, ins BL L] om A B<sup>{\prime}</sup> C<sup>{\prime}</sup> HN P<sup>{\prime}</sup> Q; tribunals] seates P<sup>2</sup>

- 10 high] om  $P^{1}$ ; the sole] sole  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL
- 11 shal  $A B^{\dagger} BL C^{\dagger} HN P^{\dagger} Q$ , should 29

<sup>1</sup> this the soder] this is the soder  $B^{T}C^{T}$  HN del BL; soder] om  $P^{T}$ 

<sup>2</sup> betweene] betwixt  $B^{i}$ ; here] om  $B^{i}$ ; his] the  $B^{i}$ , gods  $P^{i}$ 

<sup>3</sup> signe] signifie  $P^1$ ; Celestiall] heavenly  $P^2$ 

<sup>4</sup> having sworne once] have sworne true  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> that it] which  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; chased] ~ out BL  $C^{l}$  HN; where] om  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>12</sup> and ... Religion ins BLL] om  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>13</sup> craft] cast  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL; as in] as cast by  $B^{I}$ ; as in dissolving] by ~ BL  $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{2}$  Q; oathes] of oathes  $B^{I} P^{2} Q$ ; by afflicting therein] affliction on  $B^{I} C^{I}$  HN ins BL; by] om A Q; craft, as ... part] cast by dissolving of others bring affliction on the partye  $P^{I}$ ; therein] om A  $B^{I} P^{2} Q$ ; part] partye  $B^{I} B^{2}$  15 that] of that  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

name of Christianitie, which Pagans in their naturall moralitie have abhorred.

# Of the Greatnes of the House of Austria

I will not here omit one other great helpe, which casualiie rather than cunning may seeme to have wrought: it falling out often in the affaires of men, that where wisedome hath furnished out sundry aids and instruments, there some also doe frame themselves 5 as it were by chaunce, springing out of the concurrence of divers accidents with the former. As, at this time the Greatnesse of the House of Austria, extending it selfe well neere to all Quarters of Europe, and confining with many of the Popes principall adversaries: who having long since upon the rich purchase which they had of the West-Indies devoured in assured hope and conceipe the Monarchy of our Westerne-World. 10 And finding no fitter and more plausible meanes to enlarge their temporall Dominion, than by concurring with the Pope in restoring his spirituall; have linked themselves most fast with his sea, and investing them selves voluntarily witb an office of their owne erection have taken upon them to bee the Executioners of the Papal Excommunications; that having title from the Pope who giveth his Enemies states 15 *Occupanti*, and distracting their owne subjects from them upon feare of his curse,

4 men] man  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

7 time] day  $A B^{1} P^{1} P^{2}$ 

- 8 neere] nie  $B^{\prime}$ , nigh  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  ins BL; Quarters] the Quarters  $P^{\prime}$
- 9 having] have  $B^{l}$
- 9-10 West-Indies] Indies  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} Q_{l}$ , West ins BL L
- 10 conceipe] conceit BL C' HN P', conceipt  $B' C^2$ ; our] the B'

- 13 his sea] this sea P'; witb] with cor 29 A B' B<sup>2</sup> BL  $C' C^2 HN L P' P^2 Q$
- 14 erection] direction  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; the Papal] his  $B^{l} B^{2} L P^{l}$  om  $P^{2} Q$

<sup>1</sup> Pagans] the Pagans BL C' HN P'

<sup>3</sup> one] an  $P^2$ ; casualiie] causalitie  $B^1$ , causality  $B^2 C^1$ , casuality BL HN, casualty  $P^1$ 

<sup>6</sup> springing] resulting  $B' C' HN P' P^2 Q$  ins BL; the concurrence of ] om P'

<sup>11</sup> and more plausible] ins BL L om A B<sup>1</sup> C<sup>1</sup> HN P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> Q; Dominion] dominions B<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1</sup>

<sup>15-16</sup> states *Occupanti*, and] the soyle by  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ , Status Occupanti allwaies  $A L P^{I} P^{2} Q$ 16 owne subjects]  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} Q$ , subjects 29, owne *del BL* 

the rest they may supply out of their owne force and opportunities. And for that purpose hath bene erected and by them highly cherished that super politike and irrefragable order as they compt it of the Jesuites, who couple in their perswasions as one God and one Faith: so one Pope and one King; bearing the world in hand that no other meanes for the Church to stand but by resting upon this pillar; and by uniting 5 in this sort all the forces of the Christians, this the onely meanes to vanquish that Archenemie of Christianitie, That the Italians may not brag to have beene the onely men who have subdued the world unto them by their wit, the Spaniards having proved so good scholars in their schooles, that though they follow them in their grounds of pretending their advancement of Religion, and in their Instruments of religious orders10 to practise mens minds with, yet in this they out-goe them; that they use the Popes weapons, lightnings, thunders, and terrours for instruments of their owne greatnesse; and his hope of re-establishing his spirituall reputation by them to the immoderate increase of their secular power by him; that the Pope also himselfe must in the end be constrained to cast himselfe into their armes, and to remaine at their devotion, 15

5 meanes for] meanes in the world for  $B^{1} C^{1} HNP^{1} del BL$ 

8 unto them]  $om B^1$ 

11 they use] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>1-2</sup> that purpose] *L*, his purpose  $B^{l}$ , this purpose 29; And for . . . cherished] having erected for this purpose  $A B^{2} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2} Q$  ins *BL* 

<sup>3</sup> compt] vaunt  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>4</sup> Pope] Pope allso  $A B^{l} P^{l}$ ; that] and there is  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ , that there is  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>6</sup> that] the  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>10</sup> their] that P', the  $A B' P^2 Q$ ; advancement] advancing Q

<sup>12</sup> thunders] and thunderings  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; for] om  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>13</sup> immoderate] moderate Q

<sup>14</sup> their secular] his secular  $P^{l}$ ; also] of Q

<sup>15</sup> into] in Q

acknowledging him thenceforth for his good Lord and Patron, whom heretofore he hath governed and commanded as his sonne. A poinct which as some of the ministers of Spaine in the huffe of their pride have not bene able to hold in, but have braved the assembly of Cardinals to their beards, that they hoped ere long to see the day that their Master should tender halfe a douzen to the Pope to bee made Cardinalls at once, 5 whereof he should not dare to refuse any one, and that the Cardinalls them selves should as little dare to choose any other Pope than whom he named: so their importunat pressing of the Popes in these latter times to serve all their ambitious and raging turnes, and the long prejudicing of the libertie of the Conclave in their elections, hath given them good assurance that they speake as they meane, that their braggs are hopes, and 10 these threats are purposes. But howsoever the great jealousie and feare whereof as being not now to learne the Spanish hautinesse and insolence, (who in the pride of their Monarchie are growne also to sweare by the life of their King,) have extremely perplexed some of the later Popes; and driven them to very extraordinary and desperate

<sup>1</sup> thenceforth] henceforward  $B^{T}BL C^{T} HN$ , thenceforward  $B^{2} P^{T} P^{2} Q$ ; heretofore he hath] he hath heretofore  $B^{T} BL C^{T} HN P^{T}$ 

<sup>3</sup> huffe] height  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> hoped] hope  $BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> Master] A, Maister  $B^1 B^2 L Q$ , Mr 29, om  $P^1$ 

<sup>6</sup> refuse any] ~ to choose  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} del BL$ ; that] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P$  ins BL

<sup>6-7</sup> any one . . . dare] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>7</sup> than] but  $P^{l}Q$ ; named] would  $P^{l}$ ; importunat] too important  $C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL, too importunate  $B^{l}$ 8 latter] later AQ; and] in  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> of the libertie of  $] om P^2$ ; of  $] om C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL; Conclave  $] om P^1$ ; hath  $] have C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> these threats are] their threates  $B^{1}B^{2}$ , om  $C^{1}HNP^{1}$  ins BL; whereof] thereof  $B^{1}P^{2}Q$ 

<sup>11-12</sup> But howsoever . . . insolence] and these threatening: (being the naturall fruits of the Spanish hautines and insolency C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>12</sup> now to learne] to learn now  $B^1$ ; the pride] pride  $B^1$ 

<sup>13</sup> Monarchie] ~ and greatnesse P'; are] and P'; growne] ~ now  $A B' L P' P^2 Q$ 

<sup>14</sup> them] om  $P^{I}$ ; very] om  $B^{I}$ 

resolutions; which they have paid for dearly; and in generall have made it enacted for a rule in that sea, not so much to seeke the repairing of their forrein spirituall authoritie, (if it cannot be done but by meanes of so huge inconvenience,) as to strengthen and make themselves great in their temporall estate at home: Yet now seeing France beyond all hope of man reunited in it selfe, and likely to flourish as in its 5 former prosperitie, whereby they shall be able so to balance these Monarchs as to make that part the heavier, to which they shall propend (an auncient rule and continual) practise of that sea) I should not greatly doubt, but that they will bee content againe henceforward so long as matters stand in termes they do, to enterteine that good correspondence with the House of Austria as to serve them with their 10 Excommunications, that they may bee served by them with their Executions. The sweetnesse whereof as the Spaniard hath long since tasted in effect, having seized on Navarre by that onely pretence; and of later times in high conceipt and hope, trusting to have embraced both France and England by the same meanes: so doubt I not but that other braunch of the House of Austria in Germanie, which hath engrossed and in a 15 manner entailed to their house so many elective States, the Empire, the Kingdomes of

10 with] of Q

16 many] om  $P^{l}$ ; Empire] Empires  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>1</sup> made it] om  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>4</sup> make themselves great] ingreaten themselves  $P^2 Q$ ; estate] estates P', state  $P^2$ ; now] om C' HN P ins BL

<sup>5</sup> beyond . . . reunited] in it selfe beyond all hope of man reunited in it selfe  $P^{l}$ ; in it selfe] within it selfe  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P del BL$ ; likely] like Q; to] so to  $P^{l}$ ; its] his  $A B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> Monarchs] Monarchies  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> termes] the termes B'; they] as they Q; to] om P'

<sup>12</sup> hath] have  $P^1$  om Q; on] upon  $P^2$ 

<sup>13</sup> Navarre] a Manor C' HN ins BL; later] late B' BL C' HN P'; trusting] om Q

<sup>14</sup> doubt I not] I doubt not  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1}$ ; that] om  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>15</sup> braunch] braunches Q

Bohemia with his dependances, and of Hungarie and are likely also to have added the Princedome of Transilvania; whensoever they should attaine quiet and securitie from the Turke, (which hath no great unlikelihood to bee compassed in short time) would take the same course against the Protestants of Germanie; having so many Prelates and other there to assist them, (who by rooting out the Protestants out of all their States 5 have prepared a good ground for such a future exploit): Howsoever the Pope himselfe doe yet forbeare his thunders, having learned by his losse elsewhere, that it argueth in these actions more courage than wit, to make a noise ere the blow be ready.

### Of the Adulterous or rather Incestuous Marriages of Austria and Spaine

Now as these are the hopes of the House of Austria, for the enlarging of their estate 10 and molesting of their neighbours: so for the enterteining of perpetual unitie and love amongst themselves they use the graund preservative and helpe of marriage, the onely sure bond of amitie in the world: in so much that by continual intermarying among themselves, they remaine still as brethren all of one family, and as armes of the selfsame body. These take I to be the meanes, whereby the Papacie hath assured so 15 many of the greatest unto it.

<sup>1</sup> are likely] were likely also of late  $C^{1}$  HN  $P^{1}$   $P^{2}$  Q ins BL, weare like  $B^{1}$ ; to have added] A  $B^{1}$   $C^{1}$  HN L  $P^{1}$  Q ins BL, to draw in 29

<sup>4-5</sup> and other there] there, and others  $B^{1}P^{2}$ 

<sup>5</sup> other] others C' HN P' ins BL; rooting out the Protestants] rooting the ~ out B' BL C' HN, rooting out all the Protestants  $P' P^2$ 

<sup>7</sup> doe] doth B' C' HN P' ins BL; learned ... elsewhere] by his losse elsewhere learned Q 7-8 in ... wit] more courage than witte in these actions Q

<sup>8</sup> ere] before  $\vec{B}^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> the] om Q; perpetuall] the perpetuall  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> they use] the use  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> so much] summe  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> take I] I take B'Q

<sup>16</sup> unto it] om P'

## Of the Nobilitie, and their Confession

To descend from which to those that are next them in degree; the Nobilitie and other persons of worth and qualitie; the Papacie is not disprovided of his instruments to worke upon these also; it hath his baits to allure them, his hookes to retaine them. I will not stand much upon the benifit which their Confession doth herein yield them; 5 whereby prying into the hearts and consciences of all men, they attaine knowledge of the secrets, they sound the dispositions, they discover the humours of all the most respective and able persons, of what Country, or calling, place, or qualitie soever. A matter of singular consideration in the menaging of affaires of principall importance for the well-guiding of Counells: the ignorance thereof being cause of error in the 10 wisest deliberations, and of uncerteine successe in the most grounded resolutions. To omit the great wealth which they heape thereby, perswading their penitents especially in that only houre of agony and extremitie; to ransome their sinnes committed against God by consecrating their Goods unto the Church of God: whereby they have prevailed in all places so farre, the Jesuits above all other, who are noted and envied by other 15 order of Friers for engrossing the commoditie of being rich mens Confessours where good is to be done; with whom their pranks in that kind have beene so rare and

4 it hath his baits] she hath her baits  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; his hookes] her hookes  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL 5 benefit] benefits  $B^{\prime}$ ; which] om  $B^{\prime}P^{\prime}$ ; herein] here  $P^{\prime}$ 6 prying] cor 29, purging  $B^{\prime}B^{2}BL C^{\prime}C^{2}HN P^{\prime}$ 

7 the secrets] their secrets  $P^{l}$ ; the dispositions] their dispositions  $P^{l}$ 

8 and] all  $P^{1}$ ; of] in Q; soever] whatsoever  $P^{2}$ 

10 Councels Councels cor 29; ignorance] the ~  $A B^{\prime} P^{\prime} Q$ ; thereof being] whereof hath beene  $B^{\prime}$ ; cause] the ~  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I} Q$ 14 by consecrating. . . God:] om  $P^1$ 

16 order] orders  $A B^{1}$ 

<sup>2</sup> next] next to B'; the] as the B'P'

<sup>3</sup> disprovided] unprovided  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>17</sup> where] when  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

memorable, that most states at this day have bene forced by publike order to limit the proportion of that kind of purchase. For in that case they can easily extenuate those other helps of Indulgences and of Requiems at their priviledged Altars, and yet without touch of the Popes Omnipotencie.

They compt them but simple folke that cannot use their severall devises without 5 crossing one the other how contrarie soever. They can tell them that it may be for want of contrition in themselues, those soveraigne pardons wanted a fit subject to worke on: and so for the other after helpe; the want of intention in the Priest, may frustrate the Masse of that praerogative of vertue; whereby their soules may perhaps fry in Purgatory when their friends shall imagine they shine in glorie. That the onely sure way of 10 having good, is by doing good: and what good is to be done at death, but the bestowing well of his goods? And where better bestowing them, than upon him that gave them? And to God they are given, when they are given to his Ministers.

### Of the Choise of their Cardinalls

Neither yet will I other than mention onely the help which the choice of their 15 Cardinals doth yield herein: whom choosing in great part out of the most noble and potent families, that either voluntarily desire it, or can be induced to accept it; they both

7 those] so  $B^1$ 

<sup>5</sup> folke] folkes B'

<sup>6</sup> one] one of  $B^{1}$ ; that] om  $P^{1}$ ; want] the want Q

<sup>8</sup> the other] other  $B^{I}P^{I}$ ; of intention] intention  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>9</sup> that] the  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> by] om  $B^{l}$ ; what good is] L Q, what good 29; death] his ~  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} del BL$ ; the] by  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> his] theire  $P^2$ ; And where] for Q; where] what  $P^1$ 

<sup>15</sup> Neither yet will I] And heere I will no  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL; the help which] what Q

<sup>16</sup> whom] when the  $P^{l}$ ; choosing in] they choosing a  $B^{l} C^{l} HN del BL$ ; in] om  $P^{l}$ ; out] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ 17 or] otherwise  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

give good satisfaction to all forrein Nations, but especially hold Italy to them in deepe devotion; and strengthen them selves with the favour and support of those mens kinreds, whom they have placed in the next step to the top of their glorie: Yea and often times by means of these Cardinalls their assured instruments, they insinuate them selves into the swaying of the government of those States wherein eyther by their Nobilitie 5 or other worth they beare authoritie. A policie of long usage and observed by many. The same also though not in the same high degree they have wrought and do still work in those Realms which acknowledge theyr Romane Supremacie by the ordinarie Bishops and other Prelats advaunced in them. Who on the one side having sworne obedience to the Pope; on the other side having voice in the high Courts of 10 Parliament (as representing the first of the three estates of the Kingdoms,) and otherwise also employed in weightiest affaires; have caried them selves with that doublenesse in their two fold dutie as that still the Popes greatnesse hath bene upheld to their utmost power.

For which cause some States, as the Venetians by name, to countermine that 15 foreine policie with an inward provision, whensoever any of their Gentlemen set foot into that course, they dismisse them thence-forward even from those graund Counsells, whereinto theyr very byrth right and Familie did give them entrance.

<sup>1</sup> but] ins BL L] and  $B^{I} C^{I} HN Q$ ; to] unto  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> deepe] speciall  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; mens] om Q

<sup>4</sup> by means] by the means  $A B^2 L P^2 Q$ 

<sup>5</sup> States] estates  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> by] of Q

<sup>7-18</sup> The same . . . entrance] om  $A B^{\prime} B^{2} C^{\prime} HN L P^{\prime} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

### Of their Variety of Preferments

But Jewells are rare, and for few mens wearing. Such are the honours of Cardinals, being made Kings Companions. The multitude and diversitie of men of spirit and qualitie requireth store also and Varietie of competent Preferments to enterteine them with in good content and correspondence: a thing in all States of very 5 necessarie and chiefe regard. Wherein although the Papacie may seeme at the first blush to have no furniture extraordinary above other Princes, save onely in one kind, for men of Ecclesiasticall calling; by which he is able to advaunce men of learning incomparably above any other Prince in the world, as having well-nigh all the Bishopricks and Abbeys in Italy with other Church-livings, almost halfe the 10 benefices in Spain, very many Ecclesiasticall preferments of all sorts in other Countries at his bestowing:) yet if we looke into the use and practise of these times, it will well appeare that even by Ecclesiasticall Livings hee partly accommodateth and partly suffers (as by his Grace) to be accomodated, all professions and ages, though neither fit nor very capable of ecclesiasticall order; what by dispensations or tolerations to be 15 adminstrators of Abbeys, Bishopricks and other benefices, as is used in France; what as in Italy and Spain, by assignations of yeerly pensions out of their revenues: which being

<sup>2-3</sup> Such are ... Companions] om  $A B^{1} B^{2} C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> and qualitie] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; store also] also store  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ ; Preferments] living and Preferments  $C^{l}$  HN del BL, livings and Preferments  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> in] with A, om  $B^1 P^1$ ; States] estates  $B^1 P^1$ ; very] of very cor 29, A  $B^1 B^2 C^2 L P^1 Q$ 6 may] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>10</sup> Bishopricks and Abbeys] Archbishopricks and Bishoprickes  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL, Ab., Bp., and Abbies  $B^{l}$  11 very] a very  $P^{l}$ ; other] the other  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> yet] and  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL; well] om  $C^{I} HN$  ins BL

<sup>13-14 (</sup>as by his Grace)] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> of] to  $B^{I}$ 

so great as there they are, they may easily; and having hope of expiring, they may contentedly beare. And most of this out of the dominions and territories of other Princes, and without any charging or impoverishing of his own: A choise and refined piece of high quintessence of witt, which never yet any State could so distill their braines as to aspire to besides the Papacie. To let passe the infinite number of 5 honours and livings, what Ecclesiasticall, what subordinate and ministeriall to them; and what also in part temporall, as belonging to the knights of the holy orders, which are many: all which although not directly in his owne donation, yet in that they have their right either grounded upon, or greatly favoured and continued by his Religion, and in the decay of that (as experience hath shewed) were likely also to quaile; are 10 strong props to the upholding of the glorie of the Papacie: arming so many tongues and hands in the defence thereof, as either are or have hope to be advanced by it, and each drawing his kinred, friends, and followers with him. A sweet enchaunter and deceiver of man is the hope of honour and worldly profit, which lulling oft, even in the better sort the Conscience a sleepe, doth awaken withall and sharpen the wit, to find out 15

6 honours and livings] livings and honors P'; and ministerial] ministerial P'

12 have] om  $P^{\prime}$ ; and each] each  $B^{\prime} P^{\prime}$ 

15 awaken] awake  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> there] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; they] the  $B^{l}$ ; expiring] aspiring  $BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 2 contentedly] willingly  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> never yet any] yet never  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; so] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; distill distill out of  $B^{\prime}$ ; their] out of their  $B^{T}C^{T}HNP^{T}del BL$ 

<sup>5</sup> as] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; aspire] arrive Q; as to aspire to] to aspire unto  $P^{l}$ ; to] unto  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} del$ BL

<sup>7</sup> the knights] knights Q

<sup>9</sup> upon] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> the decay] decay  $B^{1} P^{1}$  that] it  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>11</sup> of the glorie]  $om B^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> kinred] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>14</sup> oft] om  $P^{I}$ 

arguments for the proving of that conclusion which affection beforehand hath framed; and by custome and continuance engendreth in them a perswasion that they have done well in that which at the first their owne knowledge could say was otherwise. How powerfully then may it sway with that other sort of men, whose belly being their God, maketh their appetite their sole Religion? which if the experience of former 5 times have not sufficiently affirmed; it were to be wished perhaps that more fresh proofe might have bene given therof once againe in this Kingdome of France; where some of the wisest and chiefe have thought that if the King should accord to the Clergies late supplication, to bestow Church livings upon fit men and onely of Ecclesiasticall calling; those Princes and Peers which now in regard of that 10 particular commoditie which they reap from the Church in termes it standeth, have unsheathed their swords in defence thereof, would soone turne them another way, to the utter razing of it, that they might satisfie their greedines with the spoile of that State whose pay they could no longer have.

## Of the Clergie and their Prerogatives

15

But for the Clergie themselves, who are in all places under the Papacie great in number and power they are most firmely assured to that Sea; what by the multitude of

<sup>1</sup> for the proving of] to prove  $P^2$ 

<sup>2</sup> and continuance] continueth, and B' C' HN P' ins BL; engendreth] and engendreth P'; in] into  $P^2 Q$ ; them a] their P'

<sup>3</sup> could] would  $Q_i$ ; was] om  $B^1 C^1 HN P$  ins  $BL_i$ ; it] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>4</sup> belly] bellies  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> maketh] make  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1}$ 

<sup>7</sup> once againe] om  $B^1$ ; this] the  $B^1 P^1$ 

<sup>8</sup> should accord] hath accorded  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  ins BL, have accorded  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>11</sup> in termes] as in termes  $B^{l}Q$ ; it standeth] as it standeth  $B^{l}C^{l}HN$  del BL, that it standeth  $P^{l}$ ; have] would have  $B^{l}C^{l}HNP^{l}$  del BL

<sup>12</sup> turne then] have turned themselves  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} del BL$ 

<sup>13</sup> spoile] BL  $C^{\prime}$   $C^{2}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$ , spouse 29, supplie  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>16</sup> under the Papacie] om Q

<sup>17</sup> that Sea] the Sea  $\tilde{P}^{I}$ 

exemptions and Prerogatives above the Temporalitie, which under the Popes protection they securely enjoy; what with expecting of no other than saccage and ruine, if the opposites of the Pope should happen to prevaile: so undiscreet and violent hath bene their cariage in most places, where they have beene able either to bring or pull in also their Reformation. Yea herein also it hath befallen, as in some other things, that not 5 only casuall, but even meere crosse accidents have redounded to the Popes great advantage and benefit: this great part which in this age hath bene raised against him having wrought this effect, to make the rest more firme, more serviceable, and more zealous towards him. In so much that whereas in Fraunce in former times he was smally regarded of any, but stomacked at by the Princes, impeached, abridged, and 10 appealed from by the Prelates, and lastly either despised or neglected by the people: the hatred and rancour conceived against his adversaries, (which being first kindled by eagernesse of opposition, is now by long continuance therein most strongly settled have produced effects of cleane contrary nature: the Princes and Cities have joyned in holy

3 should] do Q; undiscreet] discreet  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; hath] have  $P^{l}$ 

12-13 adversaries, ... eagernesse] enemies with  $B^1 C' HN P'$  ins BL; being ... most] eagerness of opposition kindling long continuance hath  $B^2$ ; being ... settled] eagerness of opposition kindling long continuance therein hath now enrooted  $Q P^2$ 

13-14 have produced] and produced  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL 14 and Cities] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>1</sup> above] about  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> of] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2}$  ins BL; other than] than utter  $B^{l} P^{l} P^{2}$ ; saccage] sacking  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> either] om  $P^{l}$ ; pull in also] to pull  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} Q$  ins BL; also] om  $A B^{l} B^{2} L P^{l} Q$ 

<sup>5</sup> also it hath] it also hath Q

<sup>6</sup>meere] more  $B^{1}BL C^{1}HN P^{1}$ 

<sup>7</sup> great] om  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL; him] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>8</sup> effect] affect  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> In so much] In somme  $P^{l}$ ; that] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; in former times] om  $C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL 10 of any] om Q

<sup>12</sup> being . . . by] eagernesse of opposition kindling  $A L om P^{I}$ 

<sup>13</sup> opposition] opposition kindled P'; is now by] kindling and having A B' C' HN P' ins BL; most] hath A; is now . . . most] having a long time continued therein P; strongly . . . have] hath strongly settled, and B' P'

league for the upholding of him; the people with all furie have raged, have fought against, have murdered and massacred his opposites in all places; and the Clergie of Fraunce which heretofore hath withstood him in many better Councels doth now call mainely for his late Councell of Trent rejected over all the world saving Spaine and Italy, to be admitted and established over all that Kingdome. A Councell of all other 5 most servile and partiall to him, and caried by him with infinite guile and craft, without any sincerity upright dealing or truth as that themselves will even smile in the triumph of their owne witts, when they heare it but mentioned, as at a Master strategem. Yea so strongly hath this opposition fastned his Clergie to him, that the name of a generall Councell is now the most plausible, which in former times was the most fearefull 10 thing to him in the world; and whereunto hee was never brought with any better goodwill than an old bitten Beare is drawne to the stake to be bayted by his enemies who dare tug him in Companie, at whom in single they scarce durst barke: so powerfull is the nature of all opposition to encrease despite and hatred against the enemy; and to make friends especially those that are interested in the same cause, to cleave more 15 close together. Yea rather so wise is the ever admirable Creator even in all his works of

5 A] and a Q

8 at] *om Q* 

<sup>3</sup> hath withstood] withstood  $B^{\prime}P^{\prime}$ ; better] om  $B^{\prime}C^{\prime}HNP^{\prime}Q$  ins BL; doth] do Q

<sup>4</sup> late] om A  $B^{1}C^{1}HNLP^{1}Q$  ins BL; Councell of Trent] see explanatory notes

<sup>4-5</sup> rejected . . . Italy ] om A; and . . . Kingdome] om A; rejected over . . . Kingdome] to bee admitted B' C' HN L P' Q ins BL

<sup>6</sup> most] om A; servile and] om A B<sup>1</sup> C<sup>1</sup> HN L P<sup>1</sup> Q ins BL; to] unto P<sup>1</sup> Q; with] with such B<sup>1</sup> Q

<sup>7</sup> that] om  $P^{l}$ ; even] om Q

<sup>9</sup> this] his  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>10</sup> Councell] om P'; in] in all Q; former] the former A

<sup>12</sup> an old bitten Beare] a certaine rough creature Q; to . . . enemies] to his enimies P'; his enemies who] them that Q

<sup>13</sup> him]  $\overline{om} B^2$ ; at]  $\overline{om} Q$ ; barke]  $B^1 BL C^1 HN P^1 Q$ , bake cor 29

<sup>14</sup> despite and hatred] hatred and despite A

<sup>15</sup> even in] over  $P^{l}$ 

what nature soever, as to temper the very accidents of the life of man with such proportion and counterpoise, that no prosperitie without his inconvenience, no adversitie without his comfort, to chase out of mans life Securitie and Despaire, the onely enemies of all vertuous and honourable courses.

### Of the Multitude of their Religious Orders

To each thing hath the goodnesse of that wise Architect imparted a peculiar badge of honour that nothing should be despicable in the Eyes of other. The Prince in Majestie and soveraigntie of power; the Nobilitie in wisdome and dominative vertue, together with the instruments thereof, as Riches, Reputation, Allies and followers, and the people in their multitude are respectable and honourable. Which Multitude being 10 of so great consequence in matter of State; the policie of the Papacie hath in no wise neglected; but provided both reasonable entertainment for them, and fit means also to practise and worke upon them. Here come in those heaps of theyr Religious Orders, that multitude of Friers, which abound in all places, but wherewith Italy above all doth swarme. A race of people in former times Honourable in their holinessse; now for 15 the most part contemptible in their wickednesse and miserie; always praying, but with seldom signe of devotion; vowing obedience and still contentious; chastitie, yet

12 reasonable] om Q

16 always praying] praying allwayes  $P^{I}$ 

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5

<sup>1</sup> of the life] in the life P'; life] very life Q

<sup>2</sup> Securitie] danger P'

<sup>4</sup> all . . . honourable] all wyse, honourable, and vertuous Q, honourable] honest  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>6</sup> wise] om C' HN ins BL; imparted] pared P'; peculiar] om P'; despicable] despiseable B'9-10 and the people] the people Q

<sup>11</sup> consequence] consequent Q; State] estate  $B^{l}$ ; in no wise] not  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> and worke upon ] om Q; come] commeth C' HN P' del BL; theyr] om A B'; that] and that B' P' 14 above all doth] doth above all other Q

<sup>16-17</sup> with seldom ] seldome with  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>17</sup> and still] but still  $B^{i}$ ; yet]  $B^{i} B^{2} C^{i} HN L P^{i} P^{2} Q$ , but yet 29, but ins BL

most luxurious; povertie, yet every where scraping and covetous: Which I speake not of them all, there being many among them of singular pietie and devotion in their way: but of the farre greater part as they are generally reputed where-ever I have bene. But to returne to the avd which the Papacie doth reap from them.

#### Of their Providing for Children

The onely contentfull care that the ordinary sort of men entertein in this World, is in Providing for their Children, to leave them in good estate, and not inferiour but rather above their ancestours: which those that have many being not able to perform for all; it is a great ease to them (and such an ease as even Princes and great Peeres them selves some times disdaine not but are rather glad of.) to discharge their hands of some of 10 them, especially of such as by disgrace or defect of nature, are eyther more backward, or lesse lovely than other, at an easie and small rate, and yet with honourable pretence, namely by consecrating them wholly to the service of the Creatour, and providing an higher place for them in his celestiall Kingdome. For such is their opinion of these orders of religious and Angelicall perfection, as they usually style them; the Friers 15 also them selves having names given them by their Governours, each according to his

16 each] either Q; his] their Q

5

<sup>1</sup> most] more  $P^{l}$ ; covetous] cabillous Q

<sup>2</sup> many among them] of them manie Q, some  $P^2$ 

<sup>3</sup> of ... part] a very smal part B' C' HN P' ins BL; are] on B' C HN P' ins BL; reputed] reported B'; have bene] came  $B^{l}$ ; bene] come  $C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> doth] do  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> that . . . entertein] which men gave Q; entertein] have  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2}$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> in Providing] for the Providing  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> being not] not being  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1} Q$ 

<sup>9</sup> ease] ease to them  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>11</sup> defect] by defect  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ ; backward] backwardlie O

<sup>13</sup> an] om  $B^{I}$   $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> style] write  $P^{I}$ 

meritts importing no lesse; and as they encrease in their holinesse, so proceeding in their titles, from Padre Benedetto to Padre Angelo then Archangelo, Cerubino, and lastly Seraphino, which is the top of perfection. But for their owne high conceipt of their perfection and meritts, this example may serve. I have heard one of their most reverend Capuchins for zeale, sanctitie, and learning, preaching in principall place 5 before the Bishop, in sharpe reproof of the forsaken crew of blasphemous Gamesters pray solemnly to God (though acknowledging him selfe first in humilitie a great sinner,) by his meritts and discipline, by the teares which his Eyes had often shed, by the chastisement which with his cord hee had often given him selfe, by those many sharp voyages which for the love of God hee had made, because they did grieve Animam 10 pauperis which was him selfe, that if there were any which should still notwith standing his admonitions persist in that wicked gamestrie, hee would strike them ere that day twelve-month with some markable punishment: The same man an other time in an extasie of Charitie, (calling God, all his Angels and Saincts to witnesse it,) to strip him selfe of all his meritts (though few hee acknowledged) before the little Crucifix 15

- 11 should] would  $B^1$ ;
- 11-12 any ... persist] any, notwithstanding his admonitions, which should still persist BL C' HN P'12 that wicked] his wicked P'; hee] om P
- 13 markable] singular Q; an other] at an other  $B^1 P^1$
- 13-14 an extasie] B' L P' Q, extasie 29
- 14 God] God and  $P^{I}$ ; it] that  $P^{I}$

<sup>2</sup> Benedetto] benedicto  $BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>3</sup> perfection] their perfection  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>5</sup> reverend] renowmed  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  ins BL; principall] a principall  $B^{\prime}$   $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  del BL

<sup>6</sup> the forsaken] their forsaken  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} del BL$ 

<sup>7</sup> pray] to pray Q; selfe] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>8-10</sup> by the chastisement . . . hath made] by those many sharpe voyages, which for the love of God he had made, by that chastisement which he had often given himselfe, B'C'HNP' ins BL 10-11 Animam pauperis] see explanatory notes

<sup>15</sup> his] om Q; (though few he acknowledged)] om C' HN P' ins BL; acknowledged] did acknowledge B'; little] om Q

p.78.15-p. 79.1 before . . . there] there before the little Crucifix  $B^{I}$ 

there, embracing and kissing it; and to pray it to reward them upon his dearly beloved Auditorie; for whose sake hee was content also to be reputed the greatest sinner of all the assemblie.

### Of their Nunneries

Such being their perfection then, the desiring must needs issue from an 5 honourable affection. Now although the Italian, being a thrifty menager, doe in his heart greatly repine at a Custome which theyr Nunneries have of late brought uppe (being indeed constrained to it by the excessive multitude which in the former respect are thrust upon them;) which is not to receive any gentleman or merchants daughter without a dowry of two hundred Crownes at least, and fifteene or twentie Crownes 10 yeerly pension during her life, and tenne Crownes yeerly rent to theyr house for ever; neyther admitt they of any mean mans daughter without some Crowns also in name of dowrie at theyr Spirituall mariage to GOD, and those shall be but serving-Nunnes to the former: yet finding of two charges this farre the easier, they are content to swallow down that, which by champing-on they cannot remedie. But the orders of religious 15 men bring them an other ease also. It disburdeneth their Country of an infinit number

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<sup>1</sup> there] om C' HN P' ins BL; to pray it] and prayed it P'

<sup>2</sup> content] contented  $B^{\prime}Q$ 

<sup>5</sup> the] om C' HN ins BL; desiring] desiring it A P', desiring of it B'; from] of BL C' HN, out of P' 6 the Italian] Italy C' HN P' ins BL; doe] doth B' BL C' HN P'

<sup>7</sup> which theyr]  $A B^{I} B^{2} BL C^{I} HN L P^{I} P^{2} Q$ , of theyr 29; indeed] of indeed  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>10</sup> without a] with the  $B^{l}$ ; dowry] a dowry  $\overline{A}$ ; Crownes at least]  $\overline{B}^{l} BL C^{l} HN L P^{l}$ , Crownes 29, Crownes at the least Q

<sup>11</sup> Crownes yeerly] yeerly  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; rent] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> of] om Q; mean] om C' HN ins BL; name of], name of a  $B^{\prime}LP^{\prime}$ ; the name of a Q 13 to] unto  $P^{2}$ ; be] om Q

<sup>14</sup> of] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; this farre] this is farre  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>15</sup> champing-on] champing on the bit  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} Q$  del BL

<sup>15-16</sup> orders . . . men] orders of religion Q

<sup>16</sup> an other ease also] allso an other ease  $P^{l}$ ; an infinit] a Q

of discontented humors and despayring passions: Whosoever in his dearest loves hath prooved unfortunate; whosoever cannot prosper in some other profession which hee hath been set to; whomsoever any notable disgrace or other crosse in his estate hath bereaved of all hope of ever rising in this world; whosoever by his miscariage hath purchased so many enemies, as that nothing but his bloud can give satisfaction to 5 theyr malice: all these and many other reduced to like anguish of mind and distresse, or otherwise howsoever out of tast with the world have this haven of content always open and at hand to flee to; when they can find no other place of repose to stand on, then they resolve to go Friers as they phrase it. Yea whosoever by his monstrous Blasphemie or other like villanie hath deserved all the tortures and deaths in the world; if before the hand of Justice lay hold upon him, hee voluntarily professe him selfe a Capuchine or Hermite, or of such like strict Order: the Pope doth forbid any further pursuit, as thinking his voluntary perpetuall penance sufficient; and of this sort is the greatest part of their gentlemen Capuchins: for so are the most of that order by byrth. Neither is this religious life (save in some very few orders) so severed from the world and the 15 commodities thereof, but that it enjoyeth as many contents as a moderate mind need

<sup>2</sup> some other] another Q

<sup>2-3</sup> which . . . to;] to which he hath been sett Q

<sup>3</sup> any] some  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P$  ins BL; his] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>4</sup> miscariage] miscarrying  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> give] yeeld  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> other] others  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>8</sup> and at hand] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; to flee] to flie  $B^{2} BL C^{l} HN$ ; at . . . to] readie to flie unto Q; on] in  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l} Q$ 

<sup>8-9</sup> they resolve] resolve they  $A B^{\prime} P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>11</sup> upon] on  $P^{I}Q$ 

<sup>12</sup> doth forbid] forbiddeth  $BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> sufficient] to be sufficient B'; of] in B'; of this sort] in this maner C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>13-14</sup> part of their gentlemen] sort of their gentry  $B^{I}BLC^{I}HNP^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> that] the  $C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>16</sup> contents] contentment BL C' HN P', contentments B'; need] can Q

wish; and immoderate affections can find means also to satisfie them selves at pleasure: in summe they are rather discharged of the toyles and cares, then debarred of the comforts and solaces of this life. Neither is there almost so meane a Frier among them, that hath not some hope to be Prior of his Convent; and then perhaps Provinciall of that resort or Province; and lastly, not unpossible that his good fortune may so accompanie him, or his merits so commend him, as to attaine to bee Generall of all his order. The Generalls are as fit to be made Cardinals as any men: and finally sundry of them within the memorie of man, have been advaunced from the eminence of Cardinall dignitie, to the soveraigntie of Papall glorie.

Hope is a sweet and firme companion of man, it is the last thing that leaveth 10 him, and the highest things it promiseth him: it maketh all toyles supportable, all difficulties conquerable. Now the multitude of these Orders and good provision for them being so great an ease to all sorts of men in their private estates, as they generally accompt it it must needs be a great bond of their affection to the Papacie, under which they enjoy it, as by whom alone those orders are protected, and whom his 15 Adversaries do seeke utterly to exterminate and ruine. That I speake little of the

<sup>1</sup> immoderate affections] moderate affections BL C' HN P'

<sup>2</sup> debarred] debated  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>3</sup> solaces] solace  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> Convent] covent C' HN ins BL; Provincial] om C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>5</sup> unpossible] impossible  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>5-6</sup> may so accompanie him, or his merits,]  $B^{l}L$ , may so accompanie, or his merits so 29, may so accompany his merits,  $C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL,

<sup>6</sup> bee Generall] bee the Generall  $C^{\prime}$  HN del BL; all] om  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>7</sup> The Generalls] And Generalls BL C' HN P'; fit] likely C' HN ins BL, like P'

<sup>8</sup> man] a man P; eminence] preheminences  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL, preheminencies  $B^{l}$ ; of Cardinall] of the cardinall BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ , Cardinalls  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> sweet and firme] firme and sweet Q; and firme] and a firme C' HN P' ins BL; man] a man P'11 things it] ~ that it P'

<sup>14</sup> to] unto  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>16</sup> and ruine] om  $P^{l}$ ; That I speake] I shall speake  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

particular persons who enter those orders, who draw thereby their whole race the more to favour that way which in so infinite a number of them must needs be of great moment. And although against this might be objected with great reason, the inestimable damage which the publike doth thereby receive; as in Italy for example, perhaps halfe the Land in many places thereof and generally a full third, besides their 5 other availes, being appropriated to this sort of people and other persons Ecclesiasticall; yea and of the people themselves, perhaps a quarter of a Million at least in that one Nation having withdrawne hereby from all service of Prince or people, common-wealth or Country, and confined themselves to the Cloyster-life in Beads and Oraisons, living wholy upon the hony which the toyling Bee doth gather; which perhaps with another 10 quarter million of an other sect, (I may erre in both numbers, but I aime as neere the truth as by conjecture I can, proportioning the places where I have not beene with those where I have) who have abandoned themselves to an other trade, as idle but more wicked, devouring with mens goods their bodyes and soules at once; may be the cause

<sup>1</sup> who] that  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; enter] enter into  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>2</sup> way] om  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>3</sup> And although] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; against] om  $B^{l}$ ; might ... reason] with great reason might be objected Q

<sup>4</sup> the ] of the  $C^{l}$  HN L  $P^{l}$  del BL, of theire  $B^{l}$ , of them  $P^{l}$ ; publike] weal-publick Q; doth] do  $P^{l}$ 5 and] or  $P^{l}$ ; third] third part  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> availes] vailes BL C' HN; and] om B'; and other persons Ecclesiasticall

<sup>7</sup> yea and of the people]  $om P^{1}$ 

<sup>8</sup> Nation] countrey  $B^{I}C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$  ins BL; hereby] themselves hereby  $P^{I}$ , themselves thereby  $B^{I}$ ; or people] of people  $B^{I}$ ; common-wealth] om  $B^{I}C^{I}$  HN  $P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>8-9</sup> having . . . Country] om Q

<sup>9</sup> the Cloyster-life] their Cloyster-life A B' L P', their cloisturne Q; in Beads and Oraisons] om C' HN P' ins BL; Beads] see explanatory notes

<sup>10</sup> wholy] onely BL C<sup>l</sup> HN; which] with C<sup>l</sup> HN P<sup>l</sup> ins BL; with] om C<sup>l</sup> HN P<sup>l</sup> ins BL

<sup>11</sup> million] of a million  $P^{l}$ ; aime] am  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> those] the places  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>13</sup> have] have beene C' HN P' del BL

<sup>14</sup> may] which may  $C^{l}$  HN del BL, this  $P^{l}$ 

that that Country though as populous as it can well beare, yet comes manifold parts short of that strength which in former times it hath had, either for defence of it selfe, or offence of his neighbours, yet notwithstanding these are theorems which few list to speculate; the whole World running mainely to things sensible and present, and to that which profits them in their owne particular, though it bring with it a certeine hurt and 5 finall ruine of the publike; without the safetie whereof to them that judge things rightly neither any particular estate can prosper.

# Of their Multitude of Hearts and Hands, Tongues and Pennes

But the benefit which the Papacie doth draw from these Friers consisteth least in this poinct in the accommodating and yielding content to other: it stands in the 10 Multitude of Hearts and Handes, of Tongues and Pennes, dispersing in all Countries, but united in his service, of man of most fierie and furious zeale, who with uncessant industrie and resolutenesse incredible, give over no travaile, leave no exploit so difficult and dangerous unattempted, for the upholding of the Papacie, and advancing of that Religion, on which all their comfort and credit in this life, all their hope of 15 prerogative in the life to come dependeth, being of the other side esteemed for the most lousie companions, the most unprofitable drones, the most devouring Locusts, the

14-15 of that Religion] that religion Q; on] in  $P^{1}$ 

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<sup>1</sup> that Country] country  $P^{l}$ ; can] may Q; comes] commeth  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; parts] waies BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ 3 his] its  $P^{l}$ ; theorems] thornes  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>4</sup> present] BL C' HN L P'Q, perfect 29

<sup>5</sup> profits] profiteth  $C^{l} HN P^{\bar{l}}$  ins BL; bring] bringeth  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>7</sup> neither] not Q; estate] state  $B^{i}$ ; prosper] nor the most prosperous estate continue long  $BL C^{i} HN P^{i}$ 9 least] om  $B^{i} BL C^{i} HN P^{i}$ 

<sup>10</sup> to other]  $om B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2} Q$ ; stands] stands now  $B^{l} Q$ ; in the]  $om B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; the] om Q; 11 and Handes]  $om P^{l}$ ; Pennes] power  $P^{l}$ ; dispersing] dispersed  $A B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> but] and Q; fierie] furie  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; furious] most furious  $P^{2}$ ; uncessant] incessant  $BL C^{l} HN$ 14 and] or  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN L P^{l} Q$ ; dangerous] desperate  $B^{l} B^{2} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; the upholding] upholding Q; of the Papacie] the Papacie Q

most Reprobate Ignoble Ignominious and wicked race, that ever the world was yet pestered with, in summe more vile than the very mire that they tread on.

There was never yet state so well plotted in this World, or furnished with such store of instruments to imploy in the service thereof as to be able to practise and perswade with the multitude otherwise than in their publike assemblings or other 5 meetings, the Papacie onely excepted: who by reason of the infinity of these religious people, all made out of other folkes stuffe, and maintained at other mens charge, is able and doth deale in particular and private, as occasion requireth, with men women and children of how mean estate soever, instructing, exhorting, confirming, adjuring, kindling them in such sort, as makes fittest for their drift and for the end they have 10 proposed.

The difference in force and effectualnesse of operation between which privat perswasions, and those publike preachings, where the hearers according to the use of mans nature neglect that in particular which is commended to their regard in common; though easie to conceive; Yet they only can sufficiently perhaps esteeme, who have 15 seene a Frier an abandoner of the world, a man wholly wrapt with divine affections and

<sup>2</sup> that they] they  $A B^{\prime} L P^{\prime} O$ 

<sup>3</sup> yet] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; yet state] state yet  $B^{2}$  Q; this] the  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>4</sup> service] his service  $A B^{1} L P^{1}$  ins BL; thereof] om  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} Q$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> assemblings] assemblies  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>6</sup> reason of ] om Q; infinity] infinitenesse  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL; religious] religious orders and Q7 mens] folkes  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> particular] publique B' C' HN P' ins BL; requireth] is Q

<sup>10</sup> kindling] and kindling  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} del BL$ ; for the ]  $\widetilde{om} P^{l}$ ; end] end which Q; they have ]  $om B^{l} C^{l}$  $HNP^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> proposed] purposed  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>12</sup> The difference] though there is difference  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; and effectualnesse] on  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL, the effectualnesse  $P^{\prime}$ ; which] on  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> sufficiently perhaps] perhaps sufficiently Q

<sup>16</sup> an] om Q; abandoner] abandon  $C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

extasies, his apparail denouncing contempt of all earthly vanitie, his countenance preaching severitie, penance and discipline, breathing nothing but sighes for the hatred of sinne, his Eyes lifted upward as fixed on his joyes, his head bowed on the one side with tendernesse of love and humilitie, extending his ready hand to lay hold on mens soules, to snatch them out of the fierie jawes of that gaping black Dragon, and to 5 place them in the path that conducts to Paradise; when such a man I say shall addresse himselfe to a woman, whose sex hath been famous ever for devotion and credulousnesse, or to any other vulgar person of what sort soever; perswading, beseeching with all plausible motions of reason, yea with sighes of feare, and teares of love, instanting and importuning no other thing at their hands than only this, to be 10 content to suffer God to save their soules and to crowne them with everlasting happinesse: which they shall certeinly attaine by raunging them selves with the heavenly Armie of God that is by adjoyning them selves to the Church of CHRIST and his Vicar; and this againe and againe at sundry times iterated and pursued with shew of incredible care of theyr good, without seeking other meed or commoditie to 15 themselves, save only of being the instrument of a soules salvation: it is to be

<sup>1</sup> contempt of ] om C' HN P' ins BL; vanitie ] vanities B' C' HN P' del BL

<sup>3</sup> as] and  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>5</sup> jawes] furnace Q

<sup>6</sup> conducts] conducteth  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} ins BL$ 

<sup>8</sup> other]  $om B^{I} P^{I}$ ; perswading] perswading and  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>9</sup> yea]  $om P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>10</sup> importuning] imparting P'

<sup>11</sup> crowne] receive  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; with] unto  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL, into  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> raunging] rancking  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> Armie] armies  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} del BL$ ; the Church of] om  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> at sundry] are sundry C' HN P' ins BL, is sundry B', iterated] teached C' HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> meed or]  $om P^{l}$ 

<sup>16</sup> themselves] L, himselfe 29; it is] is it  $B^1 B^2$ , is it not  $P^1$ ;

mervailed though such a man be received as an Angell of God, sent expressly for their salvation to whom hee comes: though he prevaile and possesse them in such forcible sort that no accesse remaine for any contrary perswasion; that nothing so violent which they will not attempt, nothing so deare which they will not bestow for the advancement of that Church, by which them selves hope to be so highly exalted. And although all 5 Friers being of so divers mettall are not able to play their parts so naturally and with such perfection as some that I have seene: yet being trayned up in the same schole they all hold one course; and certeinly by theyr dealing thus with men at single hand in privat and particularly applied perswasions (which though they use not continually, yet neglect they not whensoever oportunitie doth require,) they prevaile as experience doth daily 10 shew exceedingly.

# Of their Readinesse to undertake, and Resolutenesse to execute

What may I now say of theyr Readinesse to Undertake and their Resolutenessse to Execute, what act how dangerous and desperate soever, that may tend to the advauncement of theyr side or Order? I need not seeke farre back, nor farre off for 15 examples. The late HENRY of Fraunce slaine traitorously by a Jacobine, and this man

5 hope] ~ finally  $A B^{1} B^{2} P^{1} Q^{2}$ 

8 thus] om  $B^1 P^1 Q$ 

9 and particularly] by particular  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; applied] applye  $P^{\prime}$ 

9-10 neglect . . . not] doe they not neglect  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

14 how] so Q; may] might  $B^2$ 

<sup>2</sup> though] if C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>3</sup> that] as that  $B^2 C^1 HN P^1 P^2 Q$  del BL

<sup>6</sup> so divers] divers  $P^2 Q$ ; so naturally] naturally  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>10</sup> doth require] requireth Q

<sup>10-11</sup> they... shew] as experience doth daily shewe they prevaile  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>13</sup> may . . . say] now may I say A B' BL C' HN P'; Undertake] Undertake yea Q; their] om C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>15</sup> or] and C' HN P ins BL; Order] orders B'; seeke] to seeke B; off] om P'

<sup>16</sup> Henry] King Henry  $Q_i$ , Henry the 3rd B'; slaine traiterously]  $B' BL C' HN L P' P^2 Q$ , slaine 29; man] King C' HN P ins BL, king Henry 4th B'

wounded by a Schollar of the Jesuites, the one for want of Zeale only in theyr violent courses; the other as misdoubted of sinceritie in his Conversion; may shew what measure theyr profest enemies were to attend, if they could obteine as open and ready accesse unto them. At this present this King hath gone in daunger of his life a long while from a Capuchine, having at the instigation as is sayd of certein Jesuites of 5 Lorraine undertaken to dispatch him: whose Picture being brought hither by the MARQUIS DU PONT caused search for him over all Paris, and at length hee is taken, and lastly also executed, together with an other Jacobine convicted of the same Crime. And what may it not be thought these men would do, being commanded by their Generalls whom they have vowed to obey, and in the Popes necessary service, and 10 with his expresse desire; who are caried with so desperate rage and furie, against whatsoever impediment theyr bare conceipts without warrant of higher Authoritie present unto them? And as in violent attempts to be executed by them selves they are men resolved and hardy; as having no posteritie to be oppressed by theyr ruine, which

<sup>2</sup> may] might  $B^2$ 

<sup>3</sup> obteine] have  $A B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; ready] as ready  $P^{\prime} Q$ 

<sup>4</sup> At this present] Againe  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; hath gone] went  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> while] time  $P^2$ ; from] sought by  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL; as is] as it is  $B^2$ 

<sup>5-6</sup> at the instigation . . . undertaken] undertaken (as it was said) at the instigation of certaine Jesuits of Lorrein  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> hither] to Paris  $B^{1}P^{1}$ 

<sup>7</sup> Marquis du Pont] Marquese of ponthion  $P^{l}$ ; caused . . . Paris] search was made for him  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins *BL*; over all] all over Q; is] was  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins *BL* 

<sup>8</sup> lastly also] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; convicted of for  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; Crime] om  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> not] om  $B^{T}C^{T}HNP^{T}$  ins BL; these men would do] would these men do Q; would do] would not do  $B^{T}C^{T}HNP^{T}$  del BL

<sup>12</sup> impediment] impediments  $B^{l} C HN P^{l}$  's' del BL; warrant . . . Authoritie] higher authorities warrant  $P^{l}$ ; high] higher  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> men resolved] resolute Q; hardy] hardly  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

of all other things doth conteine men most in dutie; so in exciting the multitude to Sedition and tumult in favour of theyr cause and of theyr Catholike Religion, they are as sedulous and secret; using the opportunitie of Confession to practise the vulgar, with annexing of such conditions to the absolution they give them, as the turne which they intend to serve requires: a poinct very remarkable in weighing of the manifold fruicts 5 which at this day that Sacrament doth beare the Papacie.

Of late here at Paris it hath bene discovered that certein Confessors having taken a solemne promise of theyr penitents that they would live and die in the Catholike religion, yea and die for it also if need should require: have enjoyned them there-upon to oppose by all means against the verifying of the Kings Edict for the Protestants. 10 Soone after ensued a generall rumour and terror of new Massacres, though uppon no other great ground for ought I can learne.

# Of their Very Multitude of Friers ready to bee put to armes

But among many other poincts to be regarded in these Friers, Their very

Multitude seemed to me to bee one not of least consideration; if the Papacie being

<sup>10</sup>ther] om  $P^2 Q$ ; containe men most] most containe men  $A B^{l} B^{2} BL C^{l} HN P^{l} Q$ ; to] of  $C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL 2 and] or  $BL C^{l} HN$ ; in] thei- forward Q

<sup>4</sup> of ] om B' BL C' HN P'; as the turne] as thei see most fitting to the turne Q; which ] om B' C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>5</sup> to serve requires] om Q, remarkable] memorable C' HN ins BL, of] om B' BL C' HN P'

<sup>6</sup> which] om C HN P' ins BL; doth beare] beareth for C' HN P' ins BL; beare] bring forth to Q; the Papacie] their Papacie P'

<sup>7</sup> Of late ... discovered] as hath bene discovered at Paris C' HN P' ins BL, as hath beene of late discovered at Paris B'

<sup>9</sup> should] shall  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ ; require] be Q; enjoyned] enjoyed  $BL C^{I} HN$ 

<sup>10</sup> Edict] Edictes  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  del BL

<sup>11-12</sup> though . . . learne] om  $P^{l}$ ; for ought] that  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> other great] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l}$  ins BL, good Q

<sup>14</sup> among] amongst B'; other] om Q; Their] the  $\tilde{C}' HN P'$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> Multitude] Multitude it selfe  $B^{1}C^{1}HNQ$ ; seemed] itself seemeth A, it seemeth  $B^{1}P^{1}$ ; least] the least  $B^{1}C^{1}HNP^{1}Q$  del BL

reduced to any termes of extremity should resolue to put them in armes for his final refuge and succor. The Franciscans alone in the time of SIXTUS QUINTUS their fellow and Father are sayd to have been found by survey to be XXX thousand. The Capuchins a late branch of them do vaunt to be VIII thousand at this present. The Dominicans strive in competencie with the Franciscans in all things. The Jesuites great Statists 5 are withal exceeding rich, mighty, and many: but for greedinesse of wealth and rare practises to get it, infamous in all places. The Carmelitans and Augustines have their hives in every garden, and every-where swarme. The other Orders of Friers and Monks being exceeding many, complain not of paucitie in theyr severall professions: In summe, other Countries are sowne but Italy thicke-strawed with this kind of people: 10 whose number perhaps in the whole may passe a Million of men: of which the one halfe at the least eyther are or would easily grow to be of lustie able bodies, not unfit to be soone employed in any warlike service. If the Pope having plaid away the rest of his policies, were brought to this last hand to set uppe his rest upon these men, what should hinder him from raising huge armies of them in all places? Their course of life 15 perhaps, their vowes and profession? whereof him selfe hath the Key to lock and open at pleasure. Their unwillingnesse of mind or backwardnesse to such actions? which

12 easily] om  $B^{1} C' HN L Q$  ins BL; to be] om Q

<sup>1</sup> reduced to] reduced into P; his] theire  $B^{T}P^{T}$ 

<sup>5</sup> strive] do strive Q; Jesuites] Jesuites being  $B^{I}P^{I}$ , Jesuites are Q

<sup>6</sup> mighty] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; greedinesse] A L Q, their greedinesse 29

<sup>7</sup> infamous] they are  $\sim Q$ 

<sup>9-10</sup> In summe] some  $P^{T}$ 

<sup>10</sup> are] they are B'Q; Italy] ~ is B'; thick-strawed] is strowen Q

<sup>11</sup> of which the] of the which  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> this] his  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL the  $P^{l}$ ; uppe] on Q; these] those  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> Their] may breed  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} ins BL$ 

<sup>16</sup> and] or Q; lock and open] open and lock  $B^2 Q$ ,

<sup>17</sup> pleasure] his pleasure Q; or] and  $P^{l}$ ; to] of  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

cannot be imagined by them that know their eagernesse of spirit, and consider withall their standing onely with his State, and falling with his ruine. Their unaptnesse then and indisposition of body? which fasting, watching, lying on the ground, enduring cold, exact keeping of orders, obedience to theyr commanders, ought rather to make fit to all militarie discipline. The difficultie then of assembling them in such case together? 5 Here needs must I celebrate the excellencie and exactnesse of theyr order and government, being such as needeth not yield to any I know for that purpose. Each order hath his generall residing at Rome for the most part, to advize with the Pope and receive direction from him: who being men of great reputation and power, are chosen though in shew indifferently by all the Masters, that is Doctours, of their order wheresoever; 10 yet in an election so finely and cunningly contrived, that the voyces of Italy are farre predominant: even as in the election of the Pope, the Italian Cardinalls and in their moderne Generall Councells the Italian Bishops, do farre exceed all the rest of

5-6 The difficultie . . . exactnesse] Then needes must I speake  $B^{I}$ 

7 for] to  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

12 and] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> by] to  $B^{I}C^{I}HNP^{I}$  ins BL; that] which  $B^{I}P^{I}$ ; consider] considering Q; withall] therwithall  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> onely] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; falling] falling only Q; Their] Then for their  $B^{\dagger} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; Their unaptnesse then] Then for their unaptnesse P; then] om C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>3</sup> indisposition] other ~  $A P^{l} P^{2}$ ; which] their  $C^{l} HN ins BL$ , with their  $P^{l}$ 4 obedience] and ~  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; rather] on  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; make fit] make them fit  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  del BL

<sup>5</sup> The difficultie then] Then for the difficultie  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL, is then Q;

<sup>6</sup> must I] I must Q; celebrate the excellencie and exactnesse] ins BL, speake of the exactnesse C, deliberate the excellency and exactnesse HN; of] in Q

<sup>8</sup> receive] to receive  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} O$ 

<sup>9</sup> direction] his direction  $B^{l}BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; who] which  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> wheresoever] whatsoever  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> an] om  $B^{l}C^{T}P^{l}$ ; election] election it is  $P^{l}$ ; so finely] it is so finely  $B^{l}C^{l}$ ; and] so  $B^{l}C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL 11-12 yet in . . . predominant] om BL  $C^{I}$  HN

<sup>13</sup> moderne Generall] om O

Christendome; that so the safetie of the Papall Sea and the greatnesse of Rome may rest assured. These Generalls have under them their Provincialls as Lieutenants in every Province or State of Christendome: and the Provincialls have under them the severall Priors of Convents: and these their companies. A commandment dispatched away once from the Generall passeth roundly by the Provincialls to the Priors with all speed. 5 Being received by the inferiours, they address them selves to performance; yea though it commaund them a voyage to China or Peru, without dispute or delay they readily set forward.

To argue or debate their Superiours mandates were presumption; proud curiositie, to search their reasons and secrets; to detract or disobey them breach of vow equall 10 to Sacrilege: so that as in a well disciplined Armie, the Generall guiding, the Souldiers follow; hee commaunding, they obey without farther question or doubt; so these have no other care than to performe with dexteritie, what mandate soever the Generall in the plenitude of his authoritie shall addresse unto them. This order, this diligence, this secretie, this obedience in a people that may wander without suspition in all places, 15

13-14 the plenitude] plenitude P'

<sup>2</sup> have] having Q; Lieutenants] the Lieutenants Q

<sup>3</sup> State of State in P; and  $] om B^{1} P^{1}$ ; the severall their several  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>4</sup> of] in  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; Convents] Covents  $B^{l}$ ; these] those  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; once] om  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 5 the] theire  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> performance] the performance  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>6-8</sup> yea though . . . forward.] om Q

<sup>9</sup> or debate] om Q; debate] debate on  $B^{1} C^{1} HN del BL$ ; proud] and proud  $B^{2}$ 

<sup>10</sup> and secrets] om B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> as] om Q; the] theire  $B^{1}P^{1}$ ; Generall] generalls  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>12</sup> farther ... doubt] further delay or question  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; these] those  $C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> the Generall] their Generall A

<sup>14</sup> unto] to  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> this... people] this being a people  $P^2 Q$ ; without ... places] in all places without suspition  $B^2$ 

and find good reliefe and aide in their passage, will answer both the former and many other objections: to which being added the good grace, wherein they are generally with the vulgar, the meanes which they have to provide them selves of all things necessarie; what with their repositories of reliques and silver Images, what with Churchplate and Treasure: wherein some of them are exceeding rich, and daily encrease: unlesse the 5 world should with generall consent bend against them, it may bee if the times should enforce such employment, they would be able being associated with such favourers as they should find, to make a very strong part for the Pope in all places; especially considering that these forces should bee then raised out of his enemies Countrey, and so weaken them, as bloud drawne out of the veines of their owne bodies. And that no 10 man may deceive himselfe with that errour, that in these professours of peace, there is no humor of war, that minds wholly possest with sweet contemplation can embrace no thoughts of so bloudie resolution; let him view but a little into the late French troubles, hee shall find that the militarie Companies of the Leaguers, were often times even stuffed with Priests and Fryers, tall men and resolute. Hee shall find that of these 15

<sup>1-2</sup> and many other] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> objections] objection  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; to which being added] To add  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; are] are in  $B^{2}$ 3 them selves of] om  $B^{\prime} C HN O$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> what] om BL  $C^{l}$  HN; with their] om Q; what with] of the Q

<sup>5</sup> exceeding] exceedingly  $P^{l}$ ; daily] do daily Q

<sup>7</sup> enforce] offer  $B^{\prime}$ ; would] should  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; favourers] friendes  $C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> they] om  $P^{l}$ ; for the Pope in all places] in all places for the Pope BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>9</sup> considering] om Q; these] those  $P^{l}$ ; should bee] being Q; then] om  $B^{l}$ ; his] om A, theire  $B^{l}$ ; Countrey] countries  $BL C^{l} HN$ ; and so] to Q

<sup>10</sup> the veines of ] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> himselfe] him Q; these] those  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> sweet] om Q

<sup>13</sup> thoughts] thought  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; so] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; resolution] resolutions  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; view] dive  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; view but a little] but a little view  $B^{l}$   $P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> Companies] companions  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL; times] om Q; even] om  $P^{I}$ 

people there have served what in Field what in Garrison at one time, sufficient to have made a great Armie of themselves onely. Hee shall finde that at Orleans, a Capuchine being expressly sent to that purpose by his Prior, went up and down the street with a great wooden Crosse, crying, "Come forth good Christian, destroy the enemies of the Crosse of thy Saviour," and therewith put to the sword at sundry times six-score of 5 the Religion, till hee left none remaining.

Lastly he may understand if hee please, that very lately in Paris some of them in their Sermons have incited not obscurely to a new Massacre, complaining that the bodie of this Realm is sorely diseased, beeing over-charged with corrupt humours, as not having bene let bloud these five and twentie yeeres as it ought. To conclude, 10 I conceiue this force of Friers to be so great, what in regard of their very multitude, what by reason of their deadly rage against their opposites; that it would be hard for any State to bring in the Reformed Religion, without discharging it selfe first of this difficultie and burthen.

In Germanie the first reformers of Religion in this age were Friers themselves; 15 who being men of great mark and reckoning amongst their owne drew theyr Convents and other troups of their orders with them; and thereby set the rest in such

<sup>1</sup> what in Field] on  $P^{l}$ ; at] and at  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>2</sup> onely] alone Q

<sup>3</sup> street] streets B'P'

<sup>4</sup> great] om  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>5</sup> therewith] therewithall B' C' HN del BL

<sup>6</sup> Religion] reformed ~  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} del BL$ ; till] untill  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN del BL$ 

<sup>7</sup> if hee please] om B' C' HN P' ins BL; please] so  $\sim B^2$ ; very] more B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> this] the P'; sorely] sore B' Q; over-charged] surcharged B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> five and twentie] 25  $B^{1} P^{1}$ 

<sup>11</sup> very] om Q

<sup>13</sup> it selfe] om Q

<sup>17</sup> other] om Q; orders] Order  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

an amazement and stand, that the Pope grew in a general great jealousie of them all, as doubting their universall revolt from his obedience. In England they were with great policie and practise dissolved before any innovation in Religion was mentioned; whereas to have done both together, had bene perhaps impossible: but first cleane preventing them of pretence of Religion, and after finding their religion cleane 5 stripped of that succour, both they were quietly ruined, and of this more quietly reformed.

In Fraunce this King upon that outrage against his person smoked the Jesuites out of theyr nests in most parts of his Kingdome. If hee had done the like also at the same time to the Dominicans, (a most potent and flourishing order in Spaine above all 10 other,) in revenge of the murther of the King his predecessour: or if hee would and could do it now to them and to the Capuchins, (who at this day next the Jesuites are of greatest renowme,) in punishment of these last practises so fortunatly discovered; and so chastise the schooles alwaies when he tooke theyr schollars in so enormous faults, there were great hope for the Reformed Religion in time to prevaile: which is now so 15

- 9 theyr nests] his nest  $B^{1} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL
- 9-10 also . . . time] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} Q$  ins BL
- 11 the King] Henry the 3.  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, H. the 3rd  $P^{l}$ , and] or  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL
- 12 do it now] now do it P'; next] next to B' C' HN del BL
- 13 in] and  $P^{I}$ ; these last] their late  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL, these late  $P^{I}$
- 14 alwaies] A B' C' HN L P' ins BL, also 29, allmost Q; theyr] the B'

<sup>1</sup> an] om  $P^{l}Q$ ; an amazement and stand] amazements  $B^{l}BLC^{l}HN$ ; in] into  $B^{l}LP^{l}Q$ ; as] om  $C^{l}HN$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> first cleane] first cleare B'

<sup>5</sup> Religion cleane] ~ cleare  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> of] in Q; succour] patronage A Q; both] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; both they were] they were both  $P^{l}$ ; were quietly] were more quietly  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  del BL; of this] this  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l} Q$ 

<sup>8</sup> Jesuites] Jesuite  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>8-9</sup> out . . . Kingdome] put the Jesuites to the horne Q

<sup>15</sup> for] of  $P^2 Q$ ; so] om  $P^1$ 

prejudiced and persecuted by these Friers, that hardly can it keep foot on the ground it hath. Thus much of the strength which these religious Orders doe yield to the Papacie.

### **Of their Spirituall Fraternities**

Whereto I must add the like invention of Spirituall Fraternities and Companies, perhaps equalling yea exceeding in number the orders of Friers: in which under the 5 protection and in honour of some Sainct, or of any other holy name or religious mysterie, and often times annexing them selves to some of the orders of Friers, the lay people of all sorts, both men and women, both single and married, do enroll them selves into one or more of these Societies; approaching so much neerer to the state of the Clergie, unto which sundry of them are no other than meere appurtenances. 10 Whereby as they tie themselves to the Orders of them, consisting in certeine extrodinarie devotions and processions, bearing also at certeine times some badge of theyr Company: so are they made partakers of all such spirituall prerogatives, whether partnership in the Churches meritts, or interest in sundry Indulgences, some halfe plenarie, some whole, some for the times past, some before-hand for sundry 15 yeeres to come, and chiefly the avoyding or speedy despatch out of Purgatorie; as the

<sup>1</sup> prejudiced and] om Q

<sup>2</sup> doe] om Q; to] om  $B^2 BL C^1 HN P^1$ 

<sup>4</sup> Whereto I must add] To this may be added  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> perhaps] om  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; perhaps equalling] equal Q; yea] nay  $B^{l}$ ; orders] very orders  $A B^{l} B^{2} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 6 name] man  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>7</sup> mysterie] Minister  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> more] other Q

<sup>10</sup> sundry] some Q; meere] annexaries and  $B^{l}C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL; appurtenances] annexments and appurtenances Q

<sup>11</sup> Orders] order  $B^{1}$ ; of them] of the  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>11-14</sup> of them . . . some] om C

<sup>12</sup> also] om Q; at] om  $B^{I}BL$ 

<sup>14</sup> whether] either by C' HN ins BL, which either B'; in the] with other B' C' HN ins BL, in other P' 15 sundry] certaine Q

<sup>65</sup> and] or A; chiefly] chiefly for  $B^{1} P^{1}$ 

Pope and his antecessours for the encouragement and comfort of Christian people in theyr devotion have thought good in theyr Charitie to graunt unto them. These Fraternities are not yet growne into any great request in other places: Howbeit in Italy they have so multiplied that few especially of the vulgar and middle sort of men, who either are or affect any reputation of devotion, but have entred into some one of them, 5 and sundry into many. The assurance of whom to the Papacie must needs be doubled sith love groweth according to the proportion of hope.

# Of the Policies of the Papacy against their enemies, and of their persecutions,

## confiscations, tortures, massacres and hostility

Now I come to the last ranke of Romane Policies arraigned against their 10 professed and feared Enemies, by vertue whereof they both seeke to re-enter where they have in this latter Age been disseised; and practise as well for the wasting away of their opposites where they are; as for the shutting of them and their doctrine out where yet they have not beene. I will not heere enlarge uppon things manifest and ordinarie, being high wayes so plaine that a guide were needlesse. Their persecutions, their 15 confiscations, their tortures, their burnings, their secret murthers, their generall massacres, theyr exciting of inward sedition and outward hostilitie against theyr

17 exciting] inward exciting P'; sedition] seditions B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> and his antecessours] or his predecessors  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; Christian] the Christian  $B^{l} C^{l} HN del BL$ 2 devotion] devotion and charity  $B^{l} C^{l} HN del BL$ ; in theyr Charitie] on  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> have] are  $P^{1}$ ; the] that  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN$ 

<sup>5</sup> either are or  $] om B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} ins BL$ 

<sup>6</sup> to] unto  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN del BL$ ; to the Papacie] om  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>7</sup> sith] since  $B^{\prime}Q$ 

<sup>10</sup> I come] come I  $P^{I}$ ; of Romane] of the ~  $A B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ ; arraigned] aranged  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ 

<sup>11</sup> and feared] om  $B^{I}$ ; by vertue whereof] whereby  $A B^{I} C^{I} HN L P^{I} Q$  ins BL; both] do  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL12 in this latter Age] om  $A B^{I} C^{I} HN L P^{I} Q$  ins BL; been] om  $P^{I}$ ; disseised] disrooted  $C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL; the] om  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> of  $] om A B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> enlarge] exemplifie  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

adversaries, theyr oppressing and abasing them where them selves are the stronger, are things whereof they were none of the inventours: though perhaps the commendation of exact refining them, of straining them to their highest note of sedulitie and perseverance in putting them into execution, may bee more due and proper unto them than any other. Neither yet will I meddle greatly with theyr art of sclaundering theyr opposites, of 5 disgracing theyr persons; misreporting theyr actions, falsifying theyr doctrine and positions; things wherewith theyr Pulpits doe daily sound and theyr writings swell againe. But they are not the first neyther that have runne this blacke course, no more than the former red: other have done it before them: yea the buying of mens consciences, by proposing reward to such as shall relinquish the Protestants 10 Religion, and turne to theyrs; as in Ausburgh, where they say there is a knowne price for it, of ten Florens a yeare; in Fraunce where the Clergie have made contributions for the maintenance of renegate Ministers past and to come; is a devise also not fresh and of easie conceipt. I will rather insist upon theyr inventions lesse triviall, and more worthie to bee marked. A wonderfull thing it is to consider the great diversitie of 15

actions . . . doctrine . . . Pulpits . . . writings  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

9 red] om L; other] others  $B^{1}C^{1}HNP del BL$ 

- 11 Ausburgh] Ausbourge  $P^{l}$ , Ausburie  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; is] this is  $P^{l}$
- 13 past and to come] on  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; not] on  $B^{1}$

<sup>1</sup> abasing] abusing A, debasing of  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ ; where . . are] om Q

<sup>2</sup> perhaps] om Q

<sup>3</sup> exact] the exact  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; refining] ~ of  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN Q$  ins BL; of straining] the ~ of Q; them] on  $B^{2}$ ; of sedulitie] their ~ Q

<sup>4</sup> in] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; into] in  $A B^{l} C^{2} P^{l} Q$ ; unto] to  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; any] to  $\sim A B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> meddle greatly] greatly meddle  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>6-7</sup> their persons . . . theyr actions . . . theyr doctrine . . . theyr Pulpits . . . theyr writings] persons . . .

<sup>7</sup> theyr Pulpits] the ~ Q; daily sound] ~ swell  $P^2 Q$ ; writing swell] ~ sound  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>10-11</sup> Protestants Religion] Protestant religion  $B^{I}$  BL HN  $P^{I}$ , religion of the Protestants  $C^{I} P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>14</sup> triviall] criminal  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>15</sup> marked] regarded  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL, remarked Q; wonderfull thing] wonder Q

humours or tempers of mind, shall I terme them, which this age hath produced in this one poinct wee speake of, touching the meanes of growing onward upon the adversarie part. A sort of men there lives in the world at this day whose leaders, whether upon extremitie of hatred of the Church of Rome, or partly also upon some spice of selfeliking and singularitie to valew theyr owne witts and peculiar devises, did cut out in 5 such sort theyr reformation of religion, as not onely in all outward religious services and ceremonies in government and Church discipline; to strive to bee as unlike to the Papacie as was possible, but even in very lawfull policies for the advantaging and advauncing of their part, to disdaine to seeme to any to bee imitators of theyr wisdome, whose wickednesse they so much abhorred: much like to a stout-hearted and 10 stiff-witted Captaine, who scornes to imitate any stratageme before used by the enemie, though the putting it in exploit might give him assured victorie. Neither doe those mens schollars as yet a whit degenerate: yea perhaps that disease, (if with leave I may so censure it) hath tainted in some degree all the protestant partie, who never could find

6 religious] om Q

9 to disdaine] do disdaine Q; to any] om  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1} Q$ ; of theyr wisdome] to them  $B^{1} C^{1} HN ins BL$ ;

<sup>1</sup> or] om Q; shall I terme them] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; terme] call Q.

<sup>2</sup> wee speake of ] om Q

<sup>3</sup> lives] liveth  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>4</sup> of] toward  $B^{\prime}$ , to Q; partly ... spice of] upon  $A B^{\prime} B^{2} C^{\prime} HN L P^{\prime} Q$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> and singularitie] singularitie  $P^{l}$ ; to valew ... peculiar] self-liking of their own witte Q; owne] om  $P^{l}$ ; peculiar] om  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> to strive] they doe strive  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; to] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL, unto Q

<sup>8</sup> was] is  $B^{l} C^{l}$  HN ins BL; advantaging and] on  $B^{l} BL C^{l}$  HN Q

<sup>9-10</sup> of . . . they] whom L; of theyr . . . wickednesse] them whom  $A P^{l} Q$ 

<sup>10</sup> whose wickednesse] whom  $B^{1} C^{1} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>10-11</sup> and stiff-witted] selfe witted  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> imitate] use Q; by] of Q

<sup>12</sup> though the] all though their Q; putting] putting of  $B^{l}$ ; those] these  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> a] one  $B^{1}$ ; with leave] on  $B^{1}C^{1}HNP$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> censure] terme Q

the meanes in all this age to assemble a generall Councell of all theyr side, for the composing of theyr differences, and setting order in their proceedings; for want I must confesse of some opportunities, but of a great deale of zeale also in their Governours, as to me it seemeth. Neither yet have they in any one of all theyr domininions, erected any Colledge of meere contemplative persons, to confront and oppose against the Jesuites: 5 but have left this weightie burthen of clearing the controversies, of perfecting the sciences, of answering the adversaries writings of exceeding huge travaile, either upon their ordinarie ministers, to be performed at times of leysure from their office of preaching, (and they performe it accordingly:) or upon such as in Universities having some larger scope shall willingly and of their owne accord undertake it for some 10 time according to their abode.

Whereas on the contrarie side the Papacie seems unto me very diligently and attentively to have considered and weighed, by what meanes chiefly their adverse part hath growne so fast, beyond either their owne expectation, or the feare of their enemies; as in lesse than an age to have won perhaps a moietie of their Empire from them; 15

9 they . . . accordingly] then is it done accordingly  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>1</sup> the meanes] a meanes Q; in . . . age] om Q; of all theyr side] on their side B' Q

<sup>3</sup> zeale . . . Governours] also of a great deal of zeale Q; also] on  $B^1$ ; it] om Q

<sup>4</sup> they] these P'

<sup>5</sup> meere] more  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>7</sup> exceeding huge] indefatigable Q

<sup>8</sup> to be performed] to performe it P'

<sup>10</sup> willingly and] om Q

<sup>10-11</sup> some time] sometimes C' HN del BL

<sup>11</sup> according to their abode] om  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} Q$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> side] parte  $P^2 Q$ ; unto] to  $B^1 P^1 Q$ 

<sup>13</sup> considered and] om Q; part] party  $P^2$ 

<sup>14</sup> the feare] feare  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>15</sup> than] than in A; a moietie] the moietie  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN$ 

those very means them selves to have resolved thence-forward to apply in strong and practise on their side also; that so as by a countermine they may either blow uppe the mines of their adversaries, or at least-wise give them stop from any farther proceeding: like a politike Generall, who holdeth it the greatest wisdome, to out-go his enemie in his owne devises; and the greatest valure, to beat him at his owne weapons. I will 5 not here presume to presse in with my determination upon this great difference and question; although it seeme to me to be no other than a plain quarrell between stomacke and discretion, a small deale of wisdome methinks might decide it; especially considering that all good things are from God, though they be found in his very enemie; and whatsoever is not unjust, being used in a good course is good. 10

# Of the Reformers or Protestants Preaching

The first and chiefe means whereby the Reformers of Religion did prevail in all places, was their singular assiduitie and dexteritie in Preaching, especially in great Cities and Palaces of Princes; (a trade at that time growne cleane in a maner out of use and request;) whereby the people being ravished with the admiration and love of 15 that light which so brightly shined unto them, as men with the Sunne who are newly

13 assiduitie and ] om Q

<sup>1</sup> thence-forward] hence-forwards C' HN P' ins BL, henceforward B'

<sup>2</sup> either] om Q

<sup>3</sup> mines] mindes C' HN ins BL; stop] a stop B' L Q

<sup>5</sup> his] their  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN$ ; valure] valour  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>6</sup> here presume] presume here Q; my] mine own Q

<sup>7</sup> seeme]  $B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l}$  seeming 29 ins BL, seemeth Q

<sup>8</sup> methinks] me thinke  $B^2 C' HN$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> course] cause Q

<sup>12</sup> whereby] by which  $P^{l}$ ; Reformers of ] Reformed  $P^{l}$ ; did] om  $B^{l} C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14-15 (</sup>a trade . . . request;)] om B' C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>15</sup> admiration and love] love and admiration  $A B^{1} B^{2} C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2}$  ins BL; and love] on O

drawne from a dungeon; did readily follow those who caried so faire a Lamp before them. Hereto may be added their publishing of Treatises of Vertue and Pietie, of spirituall exercises and devotion; which ingendred a firme perswasion in the minds of men, that the soile must needs be pure sound and good, from whence so sweet, so holesome, and so heavenly fruicts proceeded. Now though the opinions of the 5 Papacie and of a great part of the Reformed Religion be as opposite herein well-nigh as heat and cold, as light and darknesse; the one approving no devotions severed from understanding to be a means often rather to divert or dazle the devotion than to direct and cherish it: and for Preaching in like sort the French Protestants making it an essentiall and chiefe part of the service of God; whereas the Romanists make the 10 Masse only a work of dutie, and the going to a Sermon but a matter of convenience, and such as is left free to mens pleasures and opportunities without imputation or sinne: yet in regard of the great sway which they have learned by their losse that these carie in the drawing of men minds and affections, they have endeavoured in all places in both these

<sup>1</sup> from] out of Q; a] om C HN ins BL; did readily follow] readily followed  $B^{1} C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> and Pietie] of Pietie B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> devotion] devotions  $B^{l}P^{l}$ 

<sup>4</sup> needs]  $\overline{om} P^{l}$ ; needs be pure]  $\overline{om} B^{l}$ ; pure]  $\overline{om} BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>4-5</sup> so holesome, and so heavenly] holesome and heavenly  $C^{l}$  HN L Q ins BL

<sup>5</sup> proceeded]  $B^{i} B^{2} L P^{2} Q$ , proceed BL C' HN, had proceeded 29; though] although  $P^{i} P^{2}$ 

<sup>5-6</sup> the Papacie] Papacie  $P^{l}P^{2}$ ; of a great part of] om  $P^{2}Q$ 

<sup>6</sup> well-nigh] om Q; as] om Q

<sup>7</sup> heat] hot  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; devotions] devotion  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> understanding] the other thinking the understanding oftentimes A Q; to be a means often] the other thinking the understanding to be a means  $B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; often rather] om  $P^{2} Q$ ; or] and  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  $P^{l}$  ins BL; than] rather than  $P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>9</sup> and ] or Q

<sup>11</sup> a] om  $B^1$  C HN ins BL; Sermon] sermons  $B^1$ 

<sup>12</sup> pleasures] leasures  $B^{1}$ ; or] of  $B^{2}C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> the] om  $B^{1}BLC^{1}HNQ$ ; these] those  $B^{1}C^{1}HN$  ins BL

kinds to equall yea and surmount their adversaries. For although in multitude of Preachers they greatly come short, being an exercise wherein the secular Priests list not distemper their braines much, but commend it in a manner wholly to the Regulars and Fryers: and these thinking the Country capacities too blockish, or otherwise not worth the bestowing of so great cost on, doe employ them selves wholly in Cities and other 5 places of greater resort; all which they have great care to have competently furnished: vet in the choyse of them whom they send out to preach, in the diligence and paines which they take in theyr Sermons, in the ornaments of eloquence, and grace of action, in their shew of pietie and reverence towards God, of zeale towards his truth, of love towards his people: which even with theyr teares they can often testifie; they match 10 their adversaries in theyr best, and in the rest doe farre exceed them. But herein the Jesuites doe carry the Bell from all other; having attained the commendation and working the effect, of as perfect Oratours as these times doe yield. And of these beside certeyne drawne yeerely by lot to goe preach abroad among Infidels and Hereticks, and besides other times of the yeere wherein they preach to theyr Catholiks at Lent 15

- 8 the] om  $B^1 P^1 Q$
- 9 their] in their  $A B^{1} P^{1} Q$ ; towards] to  $P^{2} Q$
- 10 towards] to  $P^2 Q$ ; his] the  $B^2 C' HN P'$  ins BL
- 11 adversaries] adversaries (save for Doctrine) Q; theyr] the  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; doe] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL12 Bell] Bell awaie Q; other] the rest  $P^{2}$ ; commendation] commendations  $C^{l} HN del BL$

<sup>1</sup> surmount] to surmount  $B^{I}BLC^{I}HNP^{I}P^{2}Q$ 

<sup>3</sup> distemper] to distemper C' HN P' Q del BL; wholly] om Q; the Regulars] their Regulars BL C' HN P'4 these] they P'

<sup>5</sup> the] om B'; of so great] so much B'

<sup>6</sup> greater] great  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>13</sup> as perfect] perfect  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; as . . . yield] on  $B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, perfect oratours  $L P^{l}$ , the best oratours  $P^{2} Q$ ; these] those  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> lot] order HN; abroad] abroad in the world A  $B^2$ ; among] amongst  $P^1$ 

p. 102.14-p.103.1 to goe. . . order] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

p. 102.14-p. 103.2 to goe preach . . . sent out,] from their general residing at Rome: their choise preachers are sent abroad among Infidels and heretikes B' C' HN P' ins BL

in especiall, by order from theyr Generall residing at Rome, theyr choise Preachers are sent out, one to each Citie in Italie, with yeerly change. And the custome of Italy is for the same man to preach every day in Lent without intermission, if their strength will serve them; whereof six dayes in the weeke to preach on the Gospells apportioned, and the Saturday in honour and praise of our Lady. So in theyr yeerely change, there is 5 the delight of varietie; and in theyr dayly continuing of the same, the admiration of industrie. Some such like course it is to bee thought that the Jesuites hold also in other Countreys; theyr projects being certeine, and exactly pursued. But wonderfull is the reputation which redounds thereby to theyr order, and exceeding the advantage which to theyr side it giveth.

For Bookes of Prayers and Pietie, all Countries are full of them at this day in theyr owne language: both to stop in part the out-cry of theyr adversaries against them for emprisoning the people wholly in those darke devotions; and specially to win the love of the world unto them by this more inward and lively shew of true sanctitie and

<sup>1</sup> in especiall] especially A Q; order from] on Q; by ... Preachers] they  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>1-2</sup> are sent] are by lot sent HN

<sup>2</sup> sent] sent abroad amongst infidels and heretikes, at Lent in especiall B'; to] into P; change] charge C' HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> Lent] the Lent  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  del BL; will] do  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL;

<sup>4</sup> whereof] so as  $B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2} Q$  ins BL; apportioned] of the dayes  $A B^{l} B^{2} BL C^{l} HN P^{l} Q$ ; and] and on  $B^{l} P^{l} Q$ 

<sup>5</sup> theyr yeerely] every  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> and] om Q; they dayly] the ~  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; dayly] om Q

<sup>7</sup> such] of such  $P^{I}$ ; that] om Q

<sup>8</sup> and exactly] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> which] om Q

<sup>9-10</sup> which... giveth] which it give th to their side  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2}$ 

<sup>10</sup> it giveth] om AQ

<sup>12</sup> both]  $om B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; in part . . . of] om Q; out-cry] outcries  $B^{l}$ ; against] mouthed against Q 12-13 for emprisoning] challenging that thei imprison Q 13 wholly] only Q; those]  $om P^{l}$ 

<sup>13-14</sup> the love of ] om Q

<sup>13-14</sup> life love of j om Q

<sup>14</sup> unto] to  $B^1$ ; true] om  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1 Q$  ins BL

godlinesse. Yea herein they conceive to have so farre surpasssed theyr opposites that they forbear not to reproach unto them theyr povertie, weaknesse, and coldnesse in that kind as being forced to take the Catholicks books to supply therein. Which as on this side it cannot be altogether denved to be true; so on the other side it had greatly beene to bee wished, that those bookes of Christian Resolution and exercise had beene the 5 fruits of the Consciences rather than of the witts of those that made them; (which in some of them, as PARSONS by name, to have bene otherwise besides the rest of his actions unsutable to those Resolutions, some of the more zealous also in their way have not forborne to confesse:) that by perfourming of good works with a good mind, to a good end, and conforming their owne lives and demeanours accordingly they 10 they might have prepared mens minds to an hope of a thorough reconciliation; whereas now by using holinesse it selfe for a meere instrument of practises, and to win men to their partie, they cannot but drive the world into such a labyrinth of perplexities, as to suspect always their policies and despaire of their honesties.

### Of their well Educating of Youth

15

A second thing whereby the Protestant part hath so greatly enlarged, hath been

<sup>1</sup> Yea] om Q; so farre surpassed]  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN L P^{l} P^{2} Q$ , so surpassed 29; farre] del BL; opposites] adversaries Q

<sup>3</sup> therein] theirs  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; as] om  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>3-4</sup> on this side] in this BL C' HN

<sup>4</sup> be altogether] alltogether be  $B^{\prime}$ ; to be true] om Q; had ... beene] had beene greatlie  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>4-5</sup> it had greatly beene to bee] had it greatly to have been Q

<sup>6</sup> the Consciences] Consciences BL C' HN

<sup>7</sup> PARSONS] father PARSONS  $B^{l}$  see explanatory notes

<sup>8</sup> unsutable] unsolutable  $P^{l}$ ; to] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL with Q; more zealous also] also more zealous  $B^{l} C^{l}$ HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> good]  $B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN L P^{l}$ , of good 29, of ins BL

<sup>12</sup> practises] practise  $B^{l}$ ; men] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> perplexities, as to suspect allwaies their pollicies]  $B^{1}L$ , perplexities and jealousies 29

<sup>16</sup> Protestant part] Protestants partie B'; hath] hath been Q; enlarged] enlarged itself B' P'; hath been] is in Q

their well Educating of Youth, especially in the Principles of Christian Religion and pietie: wherein their care and continuance is even at this day in many places very worthy to be commended of all, and imitated by them who have hitherto bene more remisse in that kind than were requisite; the education of youth and sowing in those pure minds the seeds of vertue and truth, before the weeds of the world do canker and 5 change the soyle, being by the consent of the most renowned wise men in the World, a poinct of incomparable force and moment for the well ordering and governing of all kinds of States, and for the making of Common-wealths ever-flourishing and happie.

And as good education is the preservation of a good state; so all kind of education conforming to the Lawes and Customes in being, upholdeth states in the tearmes 10 wherein they are: the first seasoning with opinions and accustomances whatsoever, being of double force to any second perswasions and usages: not comprising herein those nimble and quick silvred braines which itch after change, liking in theyr opinions as in their garments to bee noted to be followers of outlandish fashions, as being of a more refined and sublimated temper than that theyr Country conceipts can satisfie. 15 Herein then the Papacie being taken short by the Protestants (even as in the former.) and

9 in] then B'; upholdeth] doth uphold B' C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>1</sup> their] the  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> even] om Q; very] om  $P^{l}$ ; worthy] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> have hitherto] hitherto have  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>4</sup> in that . . . requisite] on  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> the seeds] seeds  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL in the Q; canker] rancor  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> most] om  $B^1$ ; in] of  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1 Q$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> kinds] kind  $B^{I}$ ; ever-flourishing and happie] ever happie and flourishing  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>9</sup> And as good . . . state] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ ; so all kind] for all  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>11</sup> accustomances] customances  $P^2$ 

<sup>13</sup> which] that  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>14</sup> to be] for Q

<sup>15</sup> sublimated]  $A B' L P' P^2 Q$ , sublimited 29; that] om P'

<sup>16</sup> Herein then] om Q; being] were  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

mightily over-run ere they were aware thereof: notwithstanding as difficulties doe rather kindle than daunt the generous spirits, and adde that to theyr diligence which was wanting in their timelinesse; so these men have bestirred themselves so well therein, to follow the trace which theyr adversaries had led them, that in fine they have in some sorts outgrowne them in it, and quoted them in all, one onely excepted, that they 5 respect not much the instruction of the children of the meaner sort; as being likely to sway title; whereas the Protestants seeme in religious instruction indifferent to both. But for the rest, what is it they have omitted? What Colleges for theyr owne, what Seminaries for strangers, to support and perpetuate theyr factions and practises in theyr enemies dominions, have they not instituted almost in all parts of Christendome, and 10 mainteine still at theyr owne and theyr favourites charge? Is it a small brag which some of their side doe make that theyr English Seminaries abroad send forth more Priests than our two Universities at home doe Ministers? Behold also the Jesuits, the great Clerks, Politicians and Oratours of the World, who vaunt that the Church is the soule of the World, the Clergie of the Church, and they of the Clergie, doe stoupe also to 15 this burthen, and require it to bee charged wholly upon their necks and shoulders. In all places where-ever they can plant theyr nests: they open free Schooles for all studyes of

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<sup>4</sup> that] but Q

<sup>5</sup> outgrowne] out gone  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; quoted] coated  $B^{\prime}$ ; that] which is that Q

<sup>6</sup> the instruction] instruction  $B^{i}$  BL  $C^{i}$  HN; the children] their ~  $B^{i}$  BL  $C^{i}$  HN  $P^{\overline{i}}$ ; the children of] om Q 7 title] litle BL  $C^{i}$  HN  $P^{i}$ , little  $B^{i}$  Q,, lytle  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>8</sup> is it] it is  $C^2$ 

<sup>11</sup> theyr favourites]  $B^2 L$ , favourites 29; Is it] it is P'; which] that B' C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>12</sup> doe make] make Q; send] doe send  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> also] all  $B^{I}$  BL  $C^{I}$  HN

<sup>15</sup> the World . . . of ] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>16</sup> to] at P'; necks and] om B' C' HN L P' Q ins BL

<sup>17</sup> where-ever] where  $B^{1}$ ; they] their  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

humanitie, To these flocke the best witts and principall mens sons, in so great abundance, that wherever they settle, other Colleges become desolate, or frequented onely by the baser sort and of heavyer mettall. And in truth such is their diligence and dexteritie in instructing, that even the Protestants in some places send theyr sonnes unto theyr Schooles, upon desire to have them prove excellent in those arts they teach. 5 Besides which, being in truth but a bait and allurement whereto to fasten theyr principall and finall hooke; they plant in their schollars with great exactnesse and skill the rootes of theyr Religion, and nourish them with an extreame hatred and detestation of the adverse partie. And to make them for ever intractible of any contrary perswasion, they worke into them by great cunning an obstinacie of mind, and sturdie eagernesse 10 of spirit, to affect victorie with all violence of wit in all theyr concertations. Than which no greater enemie to the finding of truth: which being pure and single in his owne nature and author, appeareth not but to a cleare and sincere understanding, whom neither the fumes of fierie passions doe misten, nor sinister respects or prejudices sway downe on eyther side from the pitch of just integritie. Neither thinke I any unfitter 15 sort of men in the world to bee employed in the contemplation and search of truth, than

6 which] on  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; where to] where unto  $B^{1}$ , where  $P^{1}$ 

- 8 and nourish] nourish  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{2 \text{ wherever}}$  wheresoever  $B^{T} P^{T}$ ; desolate] desolated L Q

<sup>3</sup> and] or those of the  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> Protestants] Protestants themselves  $B^{1} C^{1} HN del BL$ ; unto] to  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} ins BL$ 

<sup>7</sup> principall and finall] finall and principall  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> of] to  $B^{l} P^{l}$ , for  $B^{2}$ 10 an  $B^{l} L P^{l} P^{2} Q$ ] and 29

<sup>11</sup> all] om Q; theyr concertations] controversies  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> finding of] finding out  $B^1$ , owt of the  $P^1$ ; his] it Q

<sup>13</sup> and author] om  $B^{T}C^{T}$  HN ins BL; but to a] to be Q; to] in P; and and of Q

<sup>14</sup> misten] mist  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>15-16</sup> unfitter . . . world] sort of men in the world unfitter  $P^2$ 

these hote men and headie, who being sodaine in theyr actions, rise lightly on that which commeth first to hand, and beeing stiffe in their resolutions are transported with every prejudicate conceipt from one errour into another; having neither the patience they should, to weigh all points diligently; nor the humilitie to yield up theyr owne fancies to reason; neyther yet that high honourable wisedome, as to know that truth 5 being the marke they professe to strive at, in the overthrow of their errours they attaine the summe of their desires, and remaine Conquerours, by beeing conquered. Yea sundry times have I seene two eager disputers loose the truth and let it fall to the ground betweene them, which a calme-minded hearer hath taken up and possessed. But these Jesuites presuming perhaps of the truth beforehand, and labouring for no other thing 10 than the advauncing of theyr partie, endeavour, as I said, by all meanes to imbreed that fiercenesse and obstinacie in theyr schollars, as to make them hote prosecutors of theyr owne opinions, impatient and intractable of any contrary considerations; as having theyr eyes fixt upon nothing save onely victorie in arguing. For which cause to strengthen in them those passions by exercise. I have seene them in their bare Grammaticall 15 disputations enflame theyr schollars with such earnestnesse and fiercenesse as to seeme to bee at the poinct of flying each in th'others faces, to the amazement of those

11 theyr] the C' HN ins BL; said] say Q

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<sup>1</sup> rise] seize  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

<sup>3</sup> into] to  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> the humlitie] humilitie  $P^{I}Q$ 

<sup>5</sup> fancies] fantasie Q; high] high and Q; that] the Q

<sup>10</sup> before-hand] afore hand Q; for] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> fierceness and obstinacie] obstinacie and fierceness B'; prosecutors] persecutors B'

<sup>14</sup> save] but  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} ins BL$ 

<sup>17</sup> in th'others] into others  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL, another  $P^{2}$ , the others O

straungers which had never seene the like before, but to theyr owne great content and glorie as appeared. Over and above all this, they have instituted in their Schooles a speciall fraternitie or congregation of our Lady, with certeine select exercises and devotions: into which it being a reputation to bee admitted, it must cause in congruitie the forwardest of theyr schollars to fashion them selves by all meanes as to content 5 theyr humours: and so to bee received in shew into a degree of more honourable estimation, but in truth into no other than a double bond of assurance. I shall not need here to insert their singular diligence and cunning in enticing, not seldome the most noble of their schollars, and oftentimes the most adorned with the graces of nature and industrie: especially, if they have likelihood of any wealthie succession, to abandon 10 their friends and to professe theyr Order; (a thing daily practised by them in all places:) yea wher-ever they espie any youth of rarer spirit, they will bee tempering with him, though he bee the onely sonne and solace of his Father.

Whereby though they draw on them much clamor and stomacke, yet do they greatly enhaunce the renowne of theyr societie, by furnishing it with so many persons15 of excellent qualitie or nobilitie; whom afterwards they employ with great judgement

<sup>3</sup> or] a  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL and  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>4</sup> cause] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>7</sup> into] unto  $C^2$ 

<sup>8</sup> here to insert] to insert here  $A B^{1} P^{1} P^{2} O$ 

<sup>9</sup> and] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> likelihood] any likelihood  $B^{l} C^{l} HN del BL$ ; any] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN ins BL$ ; wealthie succession] wealth and possession Q

<sup>11</sup> by . . . places] in all places by them  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>12</sup> wherever] wheresoever  $P^2 Q$ ; youth] one B' C' HN P' ins BL; rarer] rare B' BL C' HN

<sup>14</sup> much] too much Q

<sup>15</sup> greatly] greatly thereby  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  del BL

<sup>16</sup> or] and *A* 

as they finde each fittest. Neither yet doe they here make an end with this part: this order hath also theyr solemne Catechizing in theyr Churches on Sondayes and Holydayes, for all youth that will come or can be drawne unto it; that in no poinct the diligence of theyr adversaries may upbraid them.

But this poinct of theyr Schooles and instructing youth: is thought of such 5 moment by men of wisedome and judgement, being taught so by very experience and tryall thereof; that the planting of a good College of Jesuites in any place is esteemed the onely sure way to replant that Religion, and in time to eate out the contrarie. This course hold they in all Germanie, in Savoy, and other places: and the excluding it from Fraunce is infinitely regretted, and that which makes them uncerteine what 10 will become of that Kingdome.

# Of their Offers of Disputation

A third course that much advantaged the Protestants proceedings, was their Offers of Disputation to theyr adversaries in all places; theyr iterated and importuned suits for publike audience and judgement: a thing which greatly assured the multitude of 15 theyr soundnesse, whom they saw so confident in abiding the hazard of tryall, being that whereof the want is the onely prejudice of truth, and the plentie the onely discoverie

3 will] can Q; can] will Q; unto] to  $P^{\bar{I}}Q$ 

7 esteemed] ~ as Q

<sup>1</sup> each] them B' C' HN P ins BL; this] but this B' C' HN P' del BL

<sup>6</sup> and judgement] in judgement  $B^{T} BL C^{T} HN$ 

<sup>10</sup> regretted] disliked B' C' HN ins BL; that] that is it Q om P'; makes] maketh P'11 that] the B'

<sup>13</sup> A] The  $P^2$ ; advantaged] advantageth  $C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL; proceedings] proceeding  $B^1$ 

<sup>14</sup> Disputation] disputations  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; to] with  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; importuned] importunate  $B^{l}$ , important  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>17</sup> whereof the want] the want whereof P'; onely prejudice] prejudice only B'; plentie] shame therof Q

and ruine of falsehood; they standing in like tearmes as a substantiall just man and a facing shifter, whereof the ones credit is greatest there where he is best knowne, and the others where hee is least. And by reason that the Romanists were not so cunning then in the questions, nor so ready in their evasions and distinctions as they are now growne: the effect of these disputations whether received or refused, was in most places such, 5 as to draw with them an immediate alteration of Religion.

Hereunto may be added those admirable pains which those first Reformers undertooke and performed, in translating the Scriptures forth-with into all languages, in illustrating all parts thereof with ample comments, in addressing institutions of Christian Religion, in deducing large histories of the Church from the foundation to 10 their present times, in furnishing all common places of Divinitie with abundance of matter, in exact discussing of all controversed questions, and lastly in speedy reply to all contrary writings: the greatest part of these labours tending to the justifying of their own doctrine, and to the discoverie of the Corrruption and rottennesse of the other; that they might overbeare those with the streames of the evidence of reason, by the 15 strength of whose power they complained to be over-borne. There is not scarce any one of these kinds of writings (save the translating of the Bible into vulgar languages,)

4 ready] so ready  $B^{1}$ ; their] the  $B^{1}$ ; as] as served Q

7 Hereunto] Hereto  $B^{1} C^{1} HN ins BL$ 

8-9 into all . . . thereof  $] om P^{l}$ 

- 11 their] these  $P^{I}$
- 15 those] them Q

<sup>1</sup> like] the  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>2</sup> greatest] best  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>3</sup> others] other  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; that] on  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> these] their  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> and performed] om Q

<sup>10</sup> deducing] dedicating P'

<sup>16</sup> not] om  $B^{I} C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>17</sup> these] those B'; save] saving Q; into] in  $A B' B^2 P'$ 

wherin the Romanists have not already, or are not like very shortly either to equall or to exceed theyr adversaries: in multitude of works as being more of them that apply those studies; in diligence, as having much more opportunities of helps and leysure; in exactnesse, as comming after them and reaping the fruicts of theyr travails; though in truth, they come short; and in ingenuitie, being truths companion. But as for the 5 Controversies them selves, the main matter of all other, therein theyr industrie is at this day incomparable: having so altered the tenures of them, refined the states, subtilized the distinctions, sharpned theyr owne proufs, devised certein and resolved on eyther answers or evasions for all theyr adversaries arguments, allegations and replies; (yea, they have differences to divert theyr strongest oppositions, interpretations to elude 10 the plainest texts in the world, circumstances and considerations to enforce theyr owne seeliest conjectures, yea reasons to put life into theyr deadest absurdities; as in particular, a very faire case in schoole-learning and propoprtions, to justifie theyr Popes graunts of many score thousand yeeres pardon;) that in affiance of this furniture, and of theyr promptnesse of speech and witt, which by continuall exercise they aspire to 15 perfect, they dare enter into combate even with the best of theyr oppugners, and will not

6 theyr industrie is] is theyr industrie  $P^{I}$ 

8 on eyther] om Q

<sup>1</sup> shortly either]  $L P^{l} Q$ , shortly 29; to] om  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>3</sup> much] om  $B^1$ ; of helps] om  $B^1 B^2 C^1 HN P^1 P^2$  ins BL; of ... leysure] om A L Q

<sup>5</sup> truth] the Truth Q; they come short] om Q; ingenuitie] ingeniositie  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL; being] which is  $B^{I}$  om Q; companion] companion they come very short Q

<sup>7</sup> tenures] tearmes  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>8-9</sup> and . . . evasions] evasions all readie resolved on  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> evasions] evasions already resolved  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> interpretations] and interpretations and Q

<sup>12</sup> into] in P'

<sup>13</sup> and proportions] they have B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> that] so that Q

doubt but eyther to entangle him so in the snares of their own quirks, or at least-wise so to avoyd and put off his blowes with the manifold wards of theyr multiplied distinctions, that an ordinary auditor shall never conceive them to be vanquished, and a favourable shall report them vanquishers.

Whereupon they now to be quit with theyr adversaries, and by the very same art 5 to draw away the multitude, cry mainly in all places for tryall by disputations. This CAMPIAN the Jesuite did many yeares since with us: this as I passed through Zurick did the Cardinall ANDREA of Constance and his Jesuites with theyr Ministers, being by auncient right within his diocese. Not long before, the same was done at Geneva, and very lately the Capuchins renewed the challenge. In which part I observed this 10 discreet valour on both sides; that as the Romanists offer to dispute in the adversaries own Cities, which they know theyr Magistrates will never accord, so the Ministers in supply therof, offer to goe to them to theyr Cities, and that now is as much disliked on th'other part; each side beeing content that the fire should be kindled rather in his

<sup>1</sup>but] om  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL; him] them  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN$ 

<sup>2</sup> to avoyd and] om  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN L P^{l} Q$  ins BL; his] theire  $B^{l}$ ; manifold] om  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} P^{2} Q$  ins BL; multiplied] om  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> conceive] perceive  $B^{1} C^{1} HN ins BL$ ; to be] om  $C^{1}$ 

<sup>4</sup> favourable] favourable Auditor C' Auditor del BL, favourable auditorie B', and ordinary auditor HNP'5 they] om B' C' HN del BL; be] om P'

<sup>6</sup> cry] they cry  $B^{1}$  BL C' HN, cryeing Q; tryall by] om Q; disputations] disputations in all places and for tryall Q

<sup>7</sup> Campian] see explanatory notes; the Jesuite] om  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} P^{2}$  ins BL; Zurick] Turricke  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL, Lurick  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> by] *om B*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>9</sup> right within his] om Q; at Geneva] to them of Geneva A  $B^{1}$  BL  $C^{1}$  HN L  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>10</sup> part] partes B'; observed] observe B'

<sup>11</sup> that as] as that  $B^{l}$ ; dispute] depute  $B^{l}$ ; the] theire  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; adversaries] protestants Q

<sup>12</sup> which] to which P'

<sup>13</sup> them] to them B' P'Q; now is] is now B' C' HN ins BL, now this is P'

<sup>`13-14</sup> on th'other] in the other  $B^{\bar{I}}$ 

<sup>14</sup> th'other] the other Q; part] side C' HN ins BL; side] part B' C' HN ins BL, party P'; content] contented B' BL C' HN; rather] om Q

enemies house than in his owne. Yea there are not wanting some temperers among them, that have bene talking a long while (whether out of theyr owne dreames, or out of the desires of some greater persons, which I halfe conjecture,) of a Generall solemne Conference to bee sought and procured of the choyse and chiefe every way of both the sides; under pretence of drawing matters to some tollerable composition; but in truth, 5 as I conceive, rather to overbeare and disgrace the contrarie cause, with theyr varietie of engines, and strength of wit to wield them at all assayes of pleasure, than upon synceritie of affection, or probabilitie of any unitie or peace to ensue. So great is theyr hope of having cure by that very weapon from whence heretofore they have had theyr wounds.

#### 10

#### **Of their Discovery of Blotts**

The fourth way that mightily afflicted the Papacie and consequently advanced the Reformation in her proceedings; was a course in my opinion surely more excusable where it cannot, than commendable, where it can be spared: and that is the Discoverie of the private blotts of an enemie, farther than the question in hand constraineth. 15 Howsoever, the Protestants, at leastwise sundry of them, by example of those ancient renowmed Oratours, ripped up to the quicke the lives of theyr adversaries in theyr

6 conceive] conceived  $B^{I}$ 

9 that very] the B' C' HN ins BL, the very P'; weapon] weapons B'; had] received O

13 in her] and her  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN L$ ; my] mine Q

<sup>3</sup> desires] desire B'; some] om B' C' HN ins BL; some greater] greate B'; Generall] on Q. 4 procured] procured out Q; of] on  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>7</sup> at] in  $A B^{I} Q$ 

<sup>12</sup> The] A C' HN P' ins BL; mightily afflicted] might afflict P'; afflicted] afflictes  $\tilde{B}'$  C' HN ins BL; advanced] advaunceth  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, advaunce  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> can] may  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>15</sup> constraineth] doth constrain  $A B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>16</sup> sundry] some  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>17</sup> renowmed] and renowmed A  $P^2$ , and reverent  $B^1 BL C^1 HN P^1$ 

particular actions, especially of the Popes and of theyr Prelates, as also of theyr Votaries of all sorts and sexes.

Wherein the store of matter was so huge; the qualitie of it so enormous loathsome and ougly, matchable in all kind of villanie to the veriest monsters of the Heathen; the persons defiled with it of so eminent place in the steering and upholding of theyr 5 Church; and lastly the truth thereof so undoubted and certeine, being drawne for the times past out of theyr owne stories and authors printed and approved among them selves to be true, for that present being of things done ordinarily for the most part and openly in the sight of all men at Rome and in Italy, (even as they continue perhaps not much better in many things at this very day): that the publishing and presenting it to 10 the prepared minds of the world, besides an extreame horror and detestation which it brought, did worke in them this perswasion also, that it could not be but Hell-gates had prevailed against that Sea, whose Governours, whose Prelates, whose Priests, whose Virgins, had lived most of them so long time in the very jawes of the Prince of Hell; neyther that it was probable they had beene carefull in preserving the doctrine of 15 Christianitie, who had beene so carelesse of all parts of Christian life and honestie. And

11 which] that  $Q \text{ om } P^{I}$ 

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<sup>1</sup> the] their  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} del BL$ ; as] and  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>3</sup> of it] om Q; so] om  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> and  $] om B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; matchable] and matchable  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  del BL

<sup>5</sup> of so eminent] om  $P^{l}$ ; eminent] imminent  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> truth] untructh  $P^{l}$ ; for] from  $B^{2}$ ; for the] in  $B^{l} C^{l}$  HN ins BL, of  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>7</sup> among] amongst P', of Q

<sup>9</sup> at] in B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> very] om B' C' HN P' Q ins BL; the publishing] publishing C' HN ins BL; it] om P'

<sup>14</sup> Virgins] votaries and Virgins Q; most] most parte Q; long] huge  $B^{1}$ ; very] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL 15 neyther that it was not Q

<sup>16</sup> so] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, or  $B^{l}$ 

as in their lives so in theyr writings also of doctrine and devotion, and in their actions concerning them: theyr deifying of the Pope with most impious flatterie; theyr abusing of the Scriptures with all irreverence and prophanitie; theyr jugling in theyr Images to make them weepe, sweat and bleed, to rayse in the people a devotion towards them of Heathenish Idolatrie; theyr forging of miracles in exorcismes, in cures, in apparition 5 of soules, for theyr Lucre and advantage; theyr graunting of pardons to some Prayers before Images of XXX thousand long yeeres; theyr pardons for sinnes to come before they bee committed; their shameless and ridiculous tales of our Saviour and theyr Saincts, making marriages here upon earth betweene him and some of theyr women-Saincts, with infinite store of childish vanitie and sottish absurditie, as to theyr 10 adversaries it seemed; (though themselves I must confesse conceive otherwise of them, some of theyr graver Doctors both preaching them still in Pulpit, and publishing them newly in ample and elaborate hystories;) their promising to the use of certeine devotions to our Lady to have a sight of her some time before theyr dying-dayes; adding to this

<sup>1</sup> their actions] the actions B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> flatterie] blasphemie and flatterie Q

<sup>3</sup> prophanitie] prophanenesse  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL; in] with  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> weepe, sweat] sweat, weep  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>6</sup> to] for B' C' HN ins BL at P'

<sup>7</sup> of XXX] for many  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$ , thirty  $L Q_{l}$ , 30000 ins BL; long] on  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL8 and] on  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; theyr] the holy and blessed  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  del BL, the blessed  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> theyr] our  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9-10</sup> women-Saincts] women  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>10</sup> infinite store of  $]A B' B^2 C' HNL$ , infinite 29, store of del BL; absurditie] absurdities B'; with infinite ... adversaries] om Q

<sup>11</sup> it seemed] om C' HN P' ins BL; themselves] themselves seemed BL C' HN P'; conceive] to conceive C' HN del BL

<sup>12</sup> still] om  $B^{1}P^{1}$ 

<sup>13</sup> ample and elaborate] elaborate and ample B' C' HN P' ins BL; the] om B'

<sup>14</sup> to have ... this] om  $B^{1}$ ; dying-dayes] dying day  $P^{1}$ ; adding to this] om BL  $C^{1}$  HN

and much more theyr falsifying and forgerie in all matters of antiquitie, thrusting in, cutting out, suppressing true, suborning feyned writings, as theyr turnes did require: all which though beeing objected in this sort to themselves: they had eyther theyr allegations of good intents to defend; or at leastwise theyr commiserations of humane infirmitie to excuse them: yet were they not so washed away from the minds of the 5 people, who could not conceive this house to have beene guided by the spirit of God, wherein they saw so many foule spirits of Pride and Hypocrisie, of lying and deceiving, to have borne so great office so long and without controllment. These things being perceived by the favourites of the Papacie to have made so deepe impression in the hearts of all men, and to have greatly prejudiced them in theyr more plausible 10 allegations, mens hearts beeing already taken up and fraught with detesting them; they have cast about for revenge and redresse in the same kind; not as the plaine blunt Protestant, who finding all his matter made ready to his hands; bestowed no other cost but the collecting and setting it in some order together; but like a supernaturall artisan, who in the sublimitie of his refined and refining wit, disdaines to bring onely meere 15 art to his worke, unlesse hee make also in some sort the very matter it selfe; so these

- 4 intents] intent  $B^{1}$ , theyr] the  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN$
- 5 so] *om Q*
- 5-6 minds of the people] peoples mindes Q
- 10 hearts] minds  $A B^{1} B^{2} BL C HN P^{1}$
- 11 hearts beeing] mindes have bin  $P^{I}$
- 12 have] om  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2}$  ins BL
- 13 his] the  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN$
- 14 setting] the setting  $P^{I}$

<sup>1</sup> forgerie] fourging  $B^{T}$ 

<sup>2</sup> out] om Q; true] trueth  $B^{1} C^{1} HN del BL$ ; did] ever  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>3</sup> beeing objected]  $A B^{l} B^{2} L P^{l} P^{2} Q$ , beeing 29; to themselves]  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} Q$ , unto them 29 ins BL, unto themselves  $P^{2}$ ; theyr] om Q

<sup>15</sup> sublimitie] spirituousnesse  $P^2 Q$ ; refined and refining] etherized and refined B', elevated and etherized Q; and refining] om B' BL C' HN

men in blacking the lives and actions of the Reformers, have partly devised matter of so notorious untruth, that in the better sort of theyr owne wryters it happens to bee checked; partly suborned other postmen to compose theyr Legends, that afterwards they might cite them in proofe to the world as approved authors and hystories; as is evident in the lives of CALVIN and BEZA, written by theyr sworne enemie BOLSACK, the 5 twice banished and thrice runnagade Fryer and Physitian, for those names his often changes and hard chaunces have given him.

This man being requested by theyr side to write thus, is now in all theyr writings alleaged as classicall and Canonicall. But in this kind surely me thinks the conditions of these parties are too too unequall. For the Protestant whatsoever he say eyther in 10 impeaching his adversarie, or clearing his owne actions, unlesse he can directly prove it out of the adversaries owne writings, it is with them as nothing, and no better than are *Testes domestici* in the Law: whereas the Romanist, whatsoever he sclaunderously surmiseth, unles the other partie be able by direct prouf to disprove it, (which being to justifie the negative is always very difficult, and for the most part impossible;) hee 15 triumphs as in a matter of truth not to be gain said; and howsoever makes his accompt,

6 banished and thrice runnagade]  $A B^{\dagger} B^{2} L P^{\dagger} P^{2} Q$ , banished 29

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{2 \text{ wryters}}$  Authors  $A B^{1} B^{2} C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> partly] and partly Q; compose] write  $A B' C' HN L P' P^2 Q$  ins BL; theyr] on Q

<sup>4</sup> in proofe to the world] on  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN L P^{l} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> CALVIN... BEZA ... BOLSACK] see explanatory notes

<sup>7</sup> hard] om  $B^2$ ; given] procured  $B^1$ 

<sup>8</sup> now] om  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> as] om P; classical and] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; me thinks] me thinketh  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>10</sup> these] those  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; say] hath  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN$ 

<sup>11</sup> prove it] prove C' HN ins BL, procure P'

<sup>12</sup> than are] than as are A BL C' HN

<sup>13</sup> Testes domestici] see explanatory notes

<sup>16</sup> howsoever] whosoever  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; makes his] maketh this  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

that in these kinds of blowes, even where the wound is cured, the skar lightly continueth. At this present they give out that they have a booke in hand of the lives of the Ministers of England: amongst whom it were to be wished, that some who by their examples in dissolutenesse and corruption have given occasion of offence against the Order it selfe, might by theyr exemplarie punishment withall expiate the reproach. 5

Though at these mens hands, who in disgrace of our Prelats have cited MARPRELATE in theyr late books for a great Author and witnesse, and others of like and lesse indifferencie and honestie: the innocent and culpable are to expect perhaps like measure. Then for the writings and doctrine of the Protestants, the books of some of our owne Country-men besides many other are famous; who have taken 10 a toyle, how meritorious God knowes, surely very laborious, out of infinite huge volumes which that part hath written to pick out whatsoever, especially severed from the rest, may seem to be either absurdly, or falsly, or fondly, or scandalously, or dishonestly; or passionatly, or sluttishly; conceived or written; for even in that kind having the advantage of the homely phrase of one Country, and namely in those 15 times, they have not spared: and these with theyr crossings and contradictings one of an other set cunningly together, they present to the vieu of the world; and demaund whether it be likely that these men should have bene chosen extraordinarily by God to

<sup>2</sup> give] give it  $B^{I} C^{I} HN del BL$ 

<sup>3</sup> amongst whom] wherein  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; examples in] on  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; in] of  $P^{l}$  6 our] on  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>7</sup> MARPRELATE] see explanatory notes; great  $B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l}$ ] grave 29, ins BL

<sup>9</sup> perhaps like measure] like measure perhaps  $P^{i}$ ; writings] measure  $B^{i} C^{i} HN P^{i}$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> knowes] knoweth  $B^{\vec{l}} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; huge] great  $B^{\vec{l}}$ 

<sup>15</sup> one] our  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} C^{2} HN$  ins BL

<sup>16</sup> crossings] crossenesse B' BL C' HN P'; contradictings] contradictions B' C' HN P' ins BL17 vieu] view  $C^2$ 

<sup>18</sup> by] of P'

be the Reformers of the Church, and restorers of his truth, who besides theyr vicious lives and hatefull conditions, in their more sober thoughts and very doctrine it selfe, were possessed with so phantasticall, so wild, so contrarie, so furious, so maledicent, and so slovenly spirits. Wherein as they do in some sort imitate theyr adversaries; so yet with this difference, that the one hath objected that, which eyther as being the 5 approved doctrine of theyr Church was with publike authoritie delivered unto the people; or else which was so usuall amongst their Canonists and Clergie; as might plead uncontrolled custome to shew it lawfull. Whereas the other part finding belike small store of that nature, have run for supply to every particular mans writings: wherein in so huge a multitude of authors and works as in this over-ranke age therein mens 10 fingers over-itching have produced; it had bene surely a great Miracle, if they should not have found matter enough, eyther worthy to be blamed or easie to be depraved in theyr enemies writings: one of the most renowmed sages and Fathers of the auncient, having found so much to condemne and retract in his owne. And if the Protestants should list to requite them in that kind, they might perhaps find stuffe enough, I will 15 not say as one doth to load an Argosie; but to over-lade any mans witt in the world to reply to. But verily these courses are base and beggerly, even when singlenesse of mind

4 slovenly] fyry  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> the] his  $P^{I}$ ; restorers] treasurers  $BL C^{I} HN$ , givers  $P^{I}$ ; his] the  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>6</sup> publike] such publike  $B^{1}$ ; unto] to  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> uncontrolled] an uncontrolled Q; shew] make  $B^{l}$ ; belike] very  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> age therein ]L, age 29; as in . . . age] as this age over-ranke therin  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2} Q$  ins BL 11 have] hath  $P^{l}$ ; surely] sure  $P^{l}$ , om Q

<sup>11-12</sup> should not have] had not  $A B^{\dagger} \overline{C^{\dagger}} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> auncient] auncients  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> condemne and retract] retract and condemne  $B^2$ ; and retract] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>16</sup> as . . . load] to lade  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; as one doth] om  $P^{l}$ ; to] unto  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} del BL$ 

and truth doth concurre with them, and farre unworthy of an ingenuous and noble spirit, which soreth up to the highest and purest paths of veritie, disdaining to stand raking in these puddles of obscenitie: unworthy of that charitable and vertuous mind, which striveth by doing good to all to attain the high honour of being an imitator of God; which is sorv of those very thoughts that infest his enemie, and disclose them no 5 farther than is necessarie evther for defence of impugned truth, or for warning unto the world to avoid the contagion of the disease or seducement by the diseased. But if to this basenesse of discoveries other injustice be also added; if malice preferre them, if sleight encrease them, if falshood and sclaunder taint them: then do they not only abase men from the dignitie of theyr nature, but even associate them with the foule enemie 10 and calumniator thereof, whose name is the sclaunderous accuser of his brethren. I suppose there was never man so patient in the world, that pattern of all perfection our blessed Savior excepted,) but if a man should heap together all the cholerick speeches, all the way-ward actions, that ever scaped from him in his life, and present them in one view all continuate together, (as is the fashion of some men;) it would represent him 15 for a furious and raving bedlam; whom displaying all his life in the same tenor it was

4 attain] attain to  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} del BL$ 

8 preferre] doe preferre  $B^{1}BL C^{1}HN$ 

<sup>1</sup> doth] do Q; ingenuous] ingenious  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> raking] waileing Q

<sup>3</sup> obscenitie] obscuritie  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1}$ 

<sup>5</sup> which] who  $B^{l}$ ; sory] sorie  $C^{l}$ ; infest] are in A L; thoughts ... enemie] faults, which are in his inimies  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, faults which are in the enemie Q, fault that art ... enemy  $P^{l}$ ; discloseth] discloses  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; no] not  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> unto] to  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> the disease] disease  $B^2$ ; seducement] seducements  $B^1$ ; diseased]  $A B^1 L P^1 Q$ , dangerously and unapparently 29, ins BL, deceased  $C^1 HN$ 

<sup>9</sup> sclaunder] slaughter  $B^{l} BL C^{l}$ ; abase] abuse  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> blessed] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; blessed Savior] Saviour Christ  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> in his] in all his  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>16</sup> same] om  $B^{l}$ ; tenor it] tenure that  $P^{l}$ 

led, the whole world might well admire for his courtesie, staydnesse, moderation and magnamitie. They that observe nothing in wise men but theyr over-sights and follies, nothing in men of vertue but theyr faults and imperfections, from which neyther the wisest nor the perfectest have bene free: what doe they but propose them as matter of scorne and abhorring, whom God having endued with principall grace hath as it were 5 marked out for patterns of honor to imitate. Yea this age hath brought out those curst and thrice accursed witts, who by culling out the errours and shewes of errours, by formalizing the contrarieties; mis-interpreting the ambiguitie, intangling more the obscurities, which in the most renowmed authors for humane wisdom that were ever in the world theyr envious and maliciously fine braines could search; (imitating him 10 therein who by his labours of the very same nature, though with lesse and no ground at all,) against the sacred Bible purchased the infamous name of the enemie of Christianitie have done that hurt unto the studyes of learning, which nothing but the utter extinguishing of theyr unlearned workes can expiate. But of this matter sufficient.

2 but . . . follies] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 4-5 what . . . abhorring] om  $B^1$ 

5 having . . . grace] om A  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

5-6 hath as it were marked]  $A B' B^2 C' HN L P' P^2$ , hath marked 29, as it were del BL

- 6 patterns]  $A B^{1} L P^{1} P^{2}$ , very patterns 29
- 7 thrice] these  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL

- 9 ever] om Q
- 10 maliciously] malicious  $C^2 P^I Q$
- 11 and] or  $B^{I}$ ; and no] or with no  $P^{I}$

<sup>1</sup> admire for his courtesie, staydnesse] count of his staydnesse and admire him for his  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; courtesie] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; staydnesse] for his staydnesse Q

<sup>1-2</sup> admire . . . magnanimitie] accompt of for his staydnesse, and admire for his moderation and magnanimitie  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>8</sup> more] om  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> Bible] bill O

<sup>14</sup> the utter] A L P' Q, utter 29; But ... sufficient.] om C' HN P' ins BL

### Of their Histories and Martyrologies

The last meanes I will here speake of that were used in setting forward the Reformation of Religion was the diligent compiling of the Histories of those times and actions, and especially the Martyrologies of such as rendred by theyr deaths a testimonie to that truth which was persecuted in them. These memories and stories 5 presenting generally to the world, the singlenesse and innocencie of the one part, the integritie of theyr lives, the simplicitie of theyr devises, the zeale of theyr desires, theyr constancies in temptations, theyr tollerancie in torments, theyr magnaminious and celestially inspired courage and comfort in theyr very agonies and deaths, yielding theyr bodyes with all patience to the furious flames and theyr soules, with all joy into the 10 hands of him that made them: on the other side representing a serpentine generation, wholly made of fraud, of policies and practises, men lovers of the world, and haters of truth and godlinesse; fighters against the light, protectors of darknesse; persecutors of marriage, and patrons of brothels, abrogators and dispensers against the Lawes of God, but tyrannous importuners and Exacters of theyr owne; men false in theyr promises 15 treacherous in theyr pretences, barbarous in theyr executions, breathing nothing but crueltie, but fire and sword against men that had not offended them save in theyr desire

9 deaths] at death  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>2</sup> that were] om  $P^{1}$ ; the] this  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>5</sup> to] of  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> of] on  $BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> constancies] constance  $B^{l}B^{2}$ , constancy  $P^{l}P^{2}$ ; tollerancie] tolleration  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; magnaminious] magnanimitie cor 29,  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> all joy] joy  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; into] to  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> of policies] policies  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> abrogators] abnegators  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; Lawes] law  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> importuners] importunators  $BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 

<sup>17</sup> but] om  $B^{\dagger} C^{\dagger} HN P^{\dagger}$  ins BL; had not] never  $B^{\dagger} C^{\dagger} HN P^{\dagger}$  ins BL

to amend them, which could not endure; (and much of this set out in sundry places with pictures also, to imprint thereby a more lively sence of commiseration of the one part, and detestation of the other): did breed in mens minds a very strong conceipt, that on the one side truth and innocence was persecuted, on the other side violence and deceipt did persecute; that the one part contrarie to all humane probabilitie, being nourished 5 with the onely dew of divine benediction, did flourish in the flames, and like Camamil, spread abroad by being trod under foote; the other notwithstanding all humaine and infernall succours and devises yet being cursed from above, did fade and would come to ruine. The Papacie being netled extreamely by these proceedings, hath resolved first to give over the kindling any more of the unfortunate fires, (save in some secure places, 10 to maintaine the usage of that law) the ashes of which they have perceived to have beene the seed of theyr adversaries: but rather by secret makings of men away in theyr Inquisitions (for which purpose as some of theyr owne friends in Italy have reported, whether truely or falsely I am not able to affirme,) they have theyr trap-doores or pitfalls in darke melancholy chambers or such other devises perhaps, and chiefly by 15

<sup>1</sup> could] they could  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN L P^{\prime} P^{2} Q$ ; set] sort  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>2</sup> also] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> did breed] bred  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; very] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> side] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> did persecute] persecuting  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>6</sup> did flourish] flourisht B'C'HN ins BL; like] as B'C'HN ins BL; Camamil] camomyle P'O

<sup>7</sup> by] om BL  $C^{l}$  HN; foote] feet BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>8</sup> succours and] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; being] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; did fade and would come] not unlike to come  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; would] will Q

<sup>9</sup> by] with  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; first] om  $B^{\overline{1}} C^{1} H\overline{N}$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> the unfortunate] these unfortunate  $B^{I}$ , those  $B^{2} P^{I} Q$ ; fires] om  $P^{I}$ 10-11 some . . . law]  $A B^{I} B^{2} C^{I} HN L P^{I} Q$ , places so secure to keep that law in usage 29 ins BL

<sup>12</sup> makings of making  $B^{1}C^{1}HNP^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> whether . . . affirme] om  $B^{1}Q$ ; am not able to] cannot  $A B^{2}$ 

<sup>15 (</sup>for which . . . chiefly] and  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

generall massacres to extinguish them. Then to affront them in the same kind of Martyrologies and Hystories, they have first caused sundry new Fryerly stories to be written also in theyr favour: making in them a representation of authoritie and justice proceeding by politike execution of law in the necessarie defence of Gods Church and Priests, and of all Catholike states and Princes, against a companie of base Rebels 5 and vow-breaking Friers, of Church-robbing Politicians and Church-razing Souldiers; of infected and infecting both Schismaticks and Hereticks, innovators of orders, underminers of governement, troublers of states, overturners of Christendome: against whom if they have not sufficiently prevailed, it is to be attributed onely to the force of popular furie, and not to any strength and goodnesse of theyr cause, much 10 lesse to any Celestiall and divine protection. Next for Martyrologies, they have England for theyr field, to triumph in: the proceedings wherein against theyr later Priests and complices they aggravate to the height of NEROES and DIOCLESIANS persecutions, and the sufferers of theyr side, in merits of cause, in extremity of tormentes and in constancie and patience, to the renowmed Martyrs of that 15 heroicall Church-age. Whereof besides sundry other treatises and pamphlets, they have published a great volume lately to the world in Italian, compiled with great

4 politike] publique Q

<sup>2</sup> sundry new Fryerly] om  $B^{1}C^{1}HNP^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> all Catholike]  $B^2 L P^1$ , Catholike 29

<sup>7</sup> infected and infecting] infected infection Q

<sup>9</sup> not] L, hitherto not 29, ins BL, yet  $B^{1}B^{2}C^{1}HNP^{1}$ 

<sup>12</sup> the] their Q; later] late  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> Priests] Papists  $B^{1} C^{1} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>14</sup> persecutions] crueltie  $B^{\prime}$ ; of] on  $B^{\prime}Q$ ; in] both in  $B^{\prime}C^{\prime}HNP^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> tormentes]  $\overrightarrow{A} \overrightarrow{B}^{I} \overrightarrow{B}^{2} \overrightarrow{BL} \overrightarrow{C}^{2} \overrightarrow{C}^{2} \overrightarrow{HN} \overrightarrow{L} \overrightarrow{P}^{2} \overrightarrow{Q}$ , tormenes 29

<sup>16</sup> treatises and pamphlets] bookes  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1 P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>17</sup> Italian] Italie  $P^{I}$ 

industrie, approved by authoritie; (yea some of their books or passages illustrated also with pictures:) in sum wanting nothing save only truth and sincerity.

An easie thing it is without growing to the extreame impudencie of palpable lying, by leaving out the bad on the one side, and the good on the other; by enforcing and flourishing all circumstances and accidents which are in our favour, and by elevating 5 and disgracing of all the contrarie; by sprinkling the tearmes of Honour wholly on the one part, of hatred and ignominie on the other; to make the tale turne which way shall please the teller. But writers of Histories should know, that there is a difference between theyr profession and the practise of advocates, pleading contrarie at a bar, where the wisedome of the Judge picketh the truth out of both sides, which is entire 10 perhaps in neyther. And verily in this kind both the Protestants and Papists seeme generally in the greatest part of theyr stories, both too blame, though both not equally, having by theyr passionate reports much wronged the truth, abused this present age, and prejudiced posteritie: in so much that the onely remedie now seeming to remaine, is to read indifferently the stories on both parts, to compt them as advocates and to play 15 the Judge betweene them. But partialitie seemes to have bene the chiefe fault of the

10 where] where by P'; of]  $A B' BL C' C^2 HN L$ , on 29

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<sup>1-2</sup> or passages . . . pictures] also with pictures illustrated  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL 3 thing] matter  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>4</sup> the one]  $A B' L P' P^2 Q$ , one 29; the good on] om Q

<sup>6</sup> the tearmes] their tearmes B' BL C' HN

<sup>7</sup> part] part and  $B^{I} P^{I}$ ; of] with Q; the other] other  $L P^{I} Q$ 

<sup>9</sup> contrarie] contrarieties  $B^1$ ; at a bar] om Q; a] the  $B^1 \tilde{C}^1$  HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> both too blame] to be both too blame  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} del BL$ ; though] om Q 13 theyr] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> on] of P'; compt] count A

<sup>16</sup> seemes to have bene] seemeth to be B' C' HN ins BL; chiefe] chiefest B'

Protestant, love and dislike some time dazeling his eyes, and drawing him from an Historiographers into an Oratours profession: though some of them have carried them selves therein with commendable sinceritie; even as some also of the other part have discharged them selves nobly. But surely the Priests and Friers which have medled in that kind have straungely behaved themselves, and disclosed how smal reckoning 5 they make of truth, in any thing; theyr devising, theyr forging, theyr facing, theyr piecing, theyr adding, theyr paring, having brought not onely their modestie, but their wits also in question, whether they forgot not what it was which they undertooke to write; a work of storie, or of poetry rather; which Arts though like yet ought they to know are different. 10

And for these Martyrologies, to speak of England as they do, (let the truth of Religion lye indifferent on whether side; ) unlesse difference be made between men who suffer for theyr Consciences onely, theyr very adversaries having no other crime to object against them; and those who eyther in theyr owne particular persons, or at leastwise in theyr directors whom they have chosen to follow, and vowed to obey, 15 are convinced to have attempted against the Prince and State, and to have practised the alteration and ruine of both; if no difference be to bee made betweene those mens sufferings; let all like, let the persecuting of sheepe and hunting of wolves be one. But

12 lye] be  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL

<sup>1</sup> some time] sometimes  $B^1$ ; and] on  $B^1$ 

<sup>4</sup> But] om  $P^{l}$ ; medled] written  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN L P^{l} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> having] have Q; brought not onely] not only brought  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> in] into  $P^{l}$ ; forgot] forgett  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; which] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> very adversaries] adversaries themselves Q

<sup>18</sup> all like] all things be a like  $B^{1}$  BL  $C^{1}$  HN, a om A  $C^{2}$  L  $P^{1}$  Q; sheepe] the sheepe  $P^{1}$ ; hunting] the hunting A  $B^{1}$  BL  $C^{1}$  HN; wolves] the wolves  $B^{1}$   $P^{1}$ 

enough and too much perhaps of these comparisons and imitations.

## Of the Policie of Papall Newes

I will adde onely hereto theyr policie of News, for some kind of resemblance it

hath with the former. I must confesse it could not settle in my conceipt a long time, that men of theyr wisedome, so well furnished with better meanes, should descend 5 to that base and vaine devise of inventing and spreading of false Newes in theyr favour; being an odious kind of abusing the world, and such also as in the end comming to be checked with the truth redounds to the deepe disgrace and discredit of the authors; being accompted no other than the tricke of a bankrupt.

Howbeit finding by experience that this, frequent among them in other places, 10 at Rome above all other was a most ordinary practise; from whence during the time of my abode in Italy, beside other lesse memorable, there came first solemne News, that the Patriark of Alexandria with all the Greeke Church of Africa had by theyr Ambassadours submitted and reconciled themselves to the Pope, and received from his Holynesse absolution and benediction; there being no such matter as I learned 15 afterward of a Greeke Bishop, who hath particular acquaintance and intelligence with

7-8 comming to be checked] being checked  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} Q$  ins BL

9 other] better Q

10 finding] is ~ Q; this] ~ is  $B^{1}$ ; frequent] is ~  $B^{1} B^{2} P^{1} Q$ ; in] at  $B^{1}$ 

11 other] other it  $B^{1}$ ; was a most] in  $B^{2}$ , it was an Q; a most] almost their  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

12 my] mine Q; beside] besydes  $B^{I}$ , and beside  $P^{I}$ 

14 received]  $\overrightarrow{A} B^{I} B^{2} BL C^{I} C^{2} HN P^{I} Q$ , recorded 29

16 Greeke] great BL C' HN; hath] had P'

<sup>1</sup> imitations] immutations P'

<sup>3</sup> adde] joyne  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ 

<sup>4</sup> I must . . . not] It could not (I must confesse)  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; in] om  $P^{l}$ ; a long]  $A B^{l} BL C^{l} HN L P^{l} Q$ , of a long 29

that Patriarch:) An other time that the King of Scotts amongst many acts worthy of a Christian Prince, had chased away the Ministers, yea and executed two of them confiscating theyr goods and bestowing them upon the Catholikes: which newes was soone after recalled from the same place: Not long after, that BEZA the Arch-heretike, CALVINS successour, drawing towards his death, had in full Senate at Geneva 5 recanted his Religion, exhorting them if they had care to save theyr soules to seeke reconciliation with the Catholike-Church, and to send for the Jesuites to instruct them, whereupon both himselfe by speciall order from the Pope was absolved by the Byshop of Geneva, ere he dyed, and the Citie had sent to Rome an Ambassage of submission: a beginning of which newes it was my chaunce to heare, (as being whispered among 10 the Jesuites,) two moneths ere it brake out; but when it was once advertised so solemnely from Rome, it ran over all Christendome, and in Italy was so verily believed to be true, that there were, as is said, who rode on very purpose to see those Ambassadors of Geneva, yet invisible: And to make up the full measure of that noble policie, I being afterwards at Lyons, and understanding that the Post of Rome there 15 then passing for Spaine, gave confidently out that he left the Queene of Englands

6 to seeke] they sould [sic]seeke  $B^{\prime}$ , if] that if  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ 

- 11 ere] before  $B^{l}C^{l}HN$  ins BL, afore  $P^{l}$ ; but] and Q; it was once] once it was BL  $C^{l}HN$ ; once] on  $B^{l}$
- 13 were] was Q; as is] as it is P'; who] that Q
- 14 noble] worthy  $A B^{T} C^{T} HN P^{T} P^{2} Q$  ins BL
- 15 I] om A BL C' HN L  $P^2 Q$

<sup>2</sup> Prince] om Q

<sup>5</sup> Calvins] and Calvins  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} del BL$ ; full] a full  $B^{\prime} Q$ 

<sup>7</sup> to send] send  $B^1$ 

<sup>8</sup> order] commission  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> to Rome] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; Ambassage] Ambassadour  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9-10</sup> a beginning] the beginning  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>16</sup> there then passing] who then passed by  $B^{\prime} B^{2} C^{\prime} HN L P^{\prime} Q$  ins BL, which then past by A

Ambassadours at Rome making great instance for agreement and amity with his Holynesse, and to have her re-catholized and absolved; (newes as to me then seemed cut out purposely for Spain, and to consolate theyr favourers and afflicted adherents:) Finding also by the observation and judgement of some wise men, that the Jesuites are the Masters of that worthy Mint, and that all these Chymicall Coynes are of theyr 5 stamp: yea and that theyr glorious newes of the miraculous proceedings of the Fathers of their Societie in converting the Indies are not thought much truer: And lastly perceiving that the doctrine of all that side in their cases of Conscience, making it lawfull for them to equivocate with theyr adversaries in their answeres, though given upon theyr oathes whensoever their lives or liberties are touched; yet the Jesuites are 10 noted by some of their owne friends, to be too hardie equivocators, and their equivocations too hard: (whereof they give example, of a Jesuite who instructed a maidservant in England; that if she were examined whether she knew of any Priest resorting to her Masters-house, shee should sweare if she were put to it, that she knew not of any; which she might do lawfully with this secret entent, that she knew not of any, viz. 15 with purpose to disclose them; though other defend this as a point of allowable

<sup>1</sup> great] om  $P^{1}$ ; and amity]  $A B^{1} BL C^{1} HN L P^{1} P^{2} Q$ , and amitie cor 29

<sup>2</sup> then seemed] seemed then  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>3</sup> consolate] comfort  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; favourers] theire favourers  $C^{l} HN L P^{l} Q_{l}$ , favourites  $B^{l}$ 5 worthy] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; Chymicall] om A; these Chymicall Coynes] the coines  $B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l}$ 

ins BL, these coynes  $P^2$ 

<sup>6</sup> theyr glorious] the ~  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} Q$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> that] it being Q; their cases] the cases  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN$ , the causes  $P^{I}$ ; making it] that it is Q

<sup>9</sup> for them to equivocate] to equivocate for them to equivocate  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>10</sup> lives] life  $B^{I}$ ; yet] that yet  $B^{I}Q$ 

<sup>12</sup> example] this  $\sim B^1$ 

<sup>13</sup> she . . house] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> which . . lawfully] om Q

<sup>15</sup> of] if  $P^1$ ; viz.] om Q

wisdome.

All these things considered, it hath made me to mitigate my former imagination and to deem it not unpossible, that this over-politick and too wise Order may reach a note higher than our grosse conceipts, who thinke honestie the best policie, and truth the only durable armour of proufe; and may find by their refined observations of 5 experience, that newes make their impression upon their first reporting, and that then if they be good, they greatly raise up the spirits, and confirme the minds, especially of the vulgar, who easily believe all that their betters tell them; that afterwards when they happen to be controlled, mens spirits being cold are not so sensible as before, and either little regard it, or impute it to common error and uncerteintie of things; yea and that 10 the good newes commeth to many mens eares, who never heare of the check it hath. And at leastwise it may serve their turn for some present exploit, as Merchants do by their newes, (whether imitatours or imitated of these men I know not,) who finding some difficultie in accomodating their affaires, have in use to forge letters or otherwise to raise bruits either of some prosperous successe in their Princes actions, (as our 15 men say at Constantinople,) or of some great alteration in some kind of merchandise, (as certeine not long since have done at Paris,) which may serve for that present instant

7 spirits] spirit  $B^{T}P^{T}$ 

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<sup>3</sup> unpossible] impossible  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN$ ; too] om  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>6</sup> that newes] to Q; upon] at  $P^{l}$ ; their] om Q; that] and Q

<sup>9</sup> are] or BL  $C^{l}$  HN; so] om A  $P^{l} P^{2} Q$ ; and] they  $B^{l} BL C^{l}$  HN

<sup>10</sup> common] the common Q; and] om P' Q;

<sup>11</sup> good] om Q; heare] heard  $B^{I}Q$ ; And] or  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>12</sup> by] with  $B^{\overline{I}} C^{I} HN$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> to] *om*  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>15</sup> to raise] raise A; prosperous] good A  $B^{l}B^{2}P^{l}Q$ , om C<sup>l</sup> HN, ins BL; actions] action  $P^{l}$ ; say] they say  $A B^{l}P^{l}$ 

<sup>17</sup> present] very present  $P^1$ ; instant] om  $P^2$ 

to expedite theyr businesse.

Yet surely me thinks these learned Fathers should consider, that though lying be held for a necessarie fault in Merchants, (if any fault be necessarie, which for my part I hold not:) yet can it not be admitted an allowable policie for Divines, being the offspring of that Arch-enemie of the Deitie and Divinitie. And if as a dead Flie doth 5 vitiate a whole boxe of sweet oyntment; so a little folly may blemish greatly a very wise-man, and some falsehood discredit withall the deliverie of much truth: then verily will I be bold to crave leave at theyr hands, if admiring them in the rest of theyr supersubtill inventions, I arrange this among the poore policies of the Hospitall of the

Desperati.

10

### Of their utter Breach

Now these being the weapons where with they fight against theyr adversaries, they whetten them by framing an Utter Breach or separation in all religious duties between theyr partie and theyr opposites: not only in such poincts as wherein they dissent, (which is the part of all men that list not to wound theyr owne consciences:) neither 15 yet of all ecclesiasticall duties alone; (which sundry other Churches auncient and

3 in] among Q

6 sweet] om Q; very] om  $B^1 Q$ 

9 the] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> expedite] expediate  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>4</sup> can it not] it cannot  $B^{l} P^{l} Q$ ; admitted] admitted for  $C^{l} HN$  for del BL; an allowable] for a lowable  $B^{l}$ ; for] in  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> of] both of  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2}$ ; as] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> withall] om  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> will I be bold to crave] I must crave  $B^{l}$ , I crave  $C^{l}$ , will I crave *HN*, ins *BL*; admiring] advancing  $C^{l}$  *HN ins BL*; them] om Q

<sup>10</sup> Desperati] desperate  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{2}$ 

<sup>13</sup> whetten] whet  $B^{\prime} P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>16</sup> yet of] if in  $P^{i}$ ; of] in  $A B^{i} BL C^{i} HN$ 

p. 132.12-p. 141.4 Now these being . . . It is now time] om  $P^2 Q$ 

moderne have done and still do, as thinking that the good things which Hereticks retaine, are vitiated by those bad wherewith either theyr faiths or functions are stained; though perhaps there be a dram more of Zeale than Charitie in the ingredients of that Canon, unlesse the Heresie be capitall, and directly opposite to the glorie of God or honour of our Saviour:) but the Church of Rome at this day in theyr more usuall 5 practise hath so strained that string, as to stretch it out even to all divine duties whatsoever though not Ecclesiasticall, but performed by private persons and in severall as occasion serues; neither to such onely as the Faith hath revealed unto us Christians; but even those which the light of Nature hath taught all men in the world, yea Pagans and Barbarians, as yielding glorie to God, imploring his avd and favour, rendring 10 him thanks for his benefits; in none of which actions do they willingly joyne with the Protestants; being so though not publikely and universally commanded by the soveraigne Lord and Law of theyr Church, yet counselled (as the effect doth shew) in private by their particular instructors, directors, and Confessours. If a Protestant begin to settle him selfe to pray with that prayer which the lips of our Saviour have 15 sanctified and taught, it is now so polluted by passing thorough his lipps that a Roman

10 glorie] of glorie  $B^{\prime}$ ; rendring] tendring  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

12 though . . . universally] om  $B^{I} C^{I} HN L$  ins BL; commanded] commanding  $P^{I}$ 

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<sup>1</sup> still do] doe still  $B^1$ ; that] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>3</sup> Charitie] of Charitie A

<sup>5</sup> honour] the honour  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>5-6</sup> in theyr . . . practise] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> even] om B' C' N ins BL

<sup>8</sup> the Faith] Faith  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; unto] to  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>11</sup> his] om  $B^1 BL C^1 HN$ ; do ... joyne] may they joyne  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> and Law] om  $B^{I} C^{I}HN L P^{I}ins BL$ ; yet counselled . . . confessours] om  $B^{I} C^{I}HN L P^{I}ins BL$ 15 have] hath  $P^{I}$ 

Catholike may not stay in the roome. If he use that voice which all the creatures of God in theyr severall languages do dayly sound forth and say God be praised, or Glorie to the highest, the Romanist alone is silent, and will not joyne his assent. If at meat he yield thanks unto God for his blessings, be it but with *Deo gratias*, which was ever in St. AUGUSTINES mouth; though this chase not the Catholike away from his dinner 5 (which were to his losse,) neither make they it simply unlawfull to add his Amen; yet commonly and more willingly he doth forbeare it, where he may securely do so without farther offence.

On the contrarie side a Romane Catholike will not easily say Grace, though it be at his owne table, when a Protestant is present; thinking better to leave God 10 unserved, than that a Protestant joyne in serving him. Though the custome of giving God thanks at meales is generally among those Catholikes growne clean out of use both in France and Italy for ought I could see; as not knowing that a Popes pardon is gayned by the use of Grace cupps.

In summe, they are more averse to joyne with the Protestant in doing honour to 15 God, than with the very bruit beasts; if beasts by proper speech could sound forth

10 better] it better  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> may not stay]  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN L P^{\prime}$ , will hardly stay 29, ins BL

<sup>2</sup> Glorie] Glorie bee  $B^1$ 

<sup>3</sup> will] may  $B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} ins BL$ 

<sup>4</sup> unto] to  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>5</sup> St.] om BL C' HN; AUGUSTINES] Austines  $P^{l}$ ; chase not the] cannot chase a  $B^{l}$ ; chase] chaseth  $P^{l}$ ; not the Catholike away] not away the catholique  $P^{l}$ ; away] om  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>6-8</sup> neither . . . offence] yet must hee forbeare his Amen unto it  $B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} ins BL$ ; yet commonly . . . offence] om L

<sup>7</sup> so] it  $B^2$ 

<sup>9</sup> a] the  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; Roman Catholike] some Roman Catholiques  $B^{\prime} P^{\prime}$ ; Catholike] Catholiques  $B^{\prime}$ ; easily] om  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>13</sup> the Popes] a Popes  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> cupps] in cupps  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$ , in del BL

<sup>16</sup> than with] then the  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

Gods praise, as the Legends of theyr Saincts in theyr favour doe fancie. Wherein how religiously they have proceeded for the amplifying and advauncing of Gods service, that God doth know: how charitably towards theyr neighbours, that themselves doe know: how politikely for the strengthening of theyr owne partie among theyr enemies, that the world may know by these few considerations.

First by this course, they keepe theyr lay-followers in a perpetuall darke ignorance of the Protestants faith and religion; having made it an high degree of deadly sinne, eyther to read theyr books, or to heare theyr sermons; or to be present at theyr service, or almost any way to communicate with them in religious duties whatsoever. Wherby whatsoever theyr lay-multitude conceiveth of the Reformed Religion or of the 10 poincts of doctrin which therin are taught, is that onely which the enemies thereof do tell them: who report it according to the distast of theyr owne stomacks, and as may represent it in most odious and hideous forme to the hearers: so that now no more merveile (which experience doth teach) that seldome or never a lay-Roman-Catholike can be found that conceiveth rightly of any almost of the Protestants positions: sith 15 seldom or never was Romane-priest yet to be shewen, that hath not falsifyed and depraved them utterly in reporting them. Whereas if those lay-Catholikes should once open theyr eares to know the Protestants opinions from them selves that hold them

9 almost] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} ins BL$ 

<sup>3</sup> how charitably . . . know] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} ins BL$ 

<sup>4</sup> partie] part  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; among] amongst  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> they] that they B' C' HN P' del BL; a perpetual] perpetual P'

<sup>7</sup> deadly] om  $B^{1} P^{1}$ 

<sup>12</sup> it] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime} ins BL$ ; distast] disease  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN ins BL$ ; may] I may  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$ , I del BL

<sup>14</sup> lay-Roman-Catholike] lay-Catholike  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> positions] propositions  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} ins BL$ 

(which was the use of the old world in theyr ingenuous simplicitie and singlenesse of proceeding:) they would not be found eyther so absurd perhaps, but that a reasonable; or so wicked, but that a religious mind might embrace them.

Then secondly, by this meanes they do knit their owne faction more fast together. and unite them more firmely to the head thereof the Pope; sith no service of God but 5 in his communion, and with him no conjunction without utter separation and estranging from his enemies. Wheras if his partie should but joyne with the Protestants in such services of God as are allowed by both; this concurring with them in some actions, might abate that utter dislike which they have now of theyr whole way: yea and haply taking a liking of them in some things they might be drawne still on by degrees to 10 other, and so finally slip away, or grow cold in theyr first affections. For factions as by disparitie of minds they are raized, so by straungenesse they are continued and grow immortall: whereas contrariwise they are asslaked and made calme by entercourse, by parlie they are reconciled, by familiaritie they are extinguished. A memorable example of the vertue of this policie, our owne Country in these latter times hath yielded: 15 where in the first Reformation under King EDWARD, the Prelates and Clergie having before under King HENRY discarded the Pope, did easilie joyne with the Protestants.

9 now] om  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} ins BL$ 

<sup>1</sup> ingenuous] ingenious  $B^{T}BLC^{T}HN$ 

<sup>5</sup> firmely] soundly B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> on] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} ins BL$ 

<sup>11</sup> so] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; slip] steppe  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

<sup>12</sup> continued] discontynued  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12-13</sup> grow immortall] growne mortall  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> contrariwise] on the other side  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}BL$ ; asslaked] slaked  $B^{l}$ ; and made calme] on  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN L  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> they are] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; memorable] very memorable  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>17</sup> under King Henry] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} ins BL$ 

though not in theyr opinions, yet in the publike service of God in the Churches, being indifferently composed and offensive to neither part. And but that the Pope soone after upon exrtraordinarie cause was restored to his former authoritie by Queene MARY; that faction had in likelihood bene long since ended. But after that the Pope was once againe admitted, and had libertie to temper with his partie at pleasure; in the second 5 Reformation by her Majestie, not a Bishop of his could be perswaded to come to our Churches but choosing rather losse of living, and the greatest part also imprisonment, they layd thereby the foundation of that faction of Recusants, which hath since bene continued by theyr followers unto this day, notwithstanding our service be lesse offensive to them than in King EDWARDS time, and in no part opposite to any 10 poinct of theyr beliefe. But so hath it seemed good to theyr politike Governours, by this utter breach and alienation to preserve and perpetuate the remaines of theyr partie; and that in the midst of theyr much more potent adversaries, though armed with Lawes, quickened with suspicions, yea and exasperated by theyr often dangerous practises against them. Now in that they proceed also yet one step farther, and not onely 15 inhibite theyr partie the reading of Protestant books, and repaire to theyr Churches, but

- 2 part] partie  $B^{l}$
- 3 Queene] Q.  $P^{I}$
- 6 her Majestie] Queene Elizabeth  $B^{I}$
- 7-8 imprisonment . . . faction] om  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1 ins BL$
- 9 unto] to  $A B^{1} P^{1}$

- 11 hath] have B' C' HN P' ins BL
- 13 much] om  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} ins BL$
- 14 and]  $\overline{om} B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} ins BL$
- 15 yet one] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL, a  $B^{1}$   $P^{1}$

<sup>1</sup> the Churches] their Churches  $B^{T}$ 

<sup>10</sup> time] om C'HN ins BL

<sup>15-16</sup> not onely ... reading] inhibite their partie not onely the reading  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN L P^{\prime} ins BL$ 

<sup>16</sup> Protestant] the Protestant C' HN L del BL

discounsell also all joyning with them in any service of God, by whomsoever and how lawful sort soever performed: thereby doe they engender in them (according to theyr desire) an extreame hatred and bitter detestation of theyr opposites. For if the Protestants by reason of theyr enmitie with the Pope and swarving from his way, doe stand in tearmes of deepe disfavour with God that theyr Prayer it selfe doth turne into 5 sinne; that theyr humble thanksgivings are abominable presumptions; that to joyne with them in praysing the Creatour of the world is no better than dis-service to his Majestie, then surely woe worth the houre wherein they were borne, and blessed bee that hand which shall worke their bane and ruine; then no stay or doubt, but what the Pope directeth, that boldly to be executed against the enemies of God. And this have they 10 set up as a Crowne and accomplishment to the rest of theyr practises against theyr adversaries. For now it is theyr faction not onely kept on foote and conintually maintained without decay; but inflamed also with such hatred of theyr enemies, that they are ready to any violence that opportunity shall advise.

For as diversities of judgements doth grow into dislikes, and dislikes by 15 opposition doe issue into factions: so hatred in factions, doth breake out into seditions, and attendeth onely advantage to use force against those they hate. Whereas on the

<sup>1</sup> discounsell . . . all] also joyning  $B^{l} C^{l} HN L P$  ins BL; by] in  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; and] in  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, or in  $P^{l}$ 2-3 (according . . . desire)] om  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> deepe] so deepe  $B^{l} P^{l}$  with] of L; theyr] the  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; doth] doe  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>7</sup> dis-service] treason  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>9</sup> which] that  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>10</sup> directeth] directed  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL, directs  $B^{\prime}$ ; to] om  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>12</sup> it] om  $A P^{I}$  on] a  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> shall advise] A L, can advise 29, ins BL, shall devise  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> doth] doe  $B^{1}$   $C^{1}$  HN  $P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>16</sup> opposition] oppositions  $B^{l} C^{l} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>17</sup> attendeth] attend  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} ins BL$ 

contrary side the Protestant being not armed nor quickened up with such stings of hatred as his adversarie, is more cold and carelesse in his opposite desires, and exceedingly inferiour in all strong attempts and practises. But certeinely howsoever in this craftie kind of policie, which hath too much bewitched the witts of this age, and doth too much tyrannize over that auncient true wisedome wherewith the world in 5 fore-times was more happily governed, these courses may seeme very fine and effectuall for the achieving of that end whereto they are framed: yet I suppose it would prove very hard to be shewn, how they can stand with the principles and rules of that Religion, whose roote is Truth; whose braunches are Charitie; whose fruits are good deeds extending and even offering them selves with cheerefulnesse unto all men, to 10 the encouraging of friends, and reclayming of enemies, to the mending of the worse, and accomplishing of the better. For if a magnanimous and noble mind in the high vertuousnesse thereof doe carrie it selfe in all actions with such moderation and measure, as that it neyther hate his enemies so much in regard of his wickednesse, but that it love whatsoever in him hath resemblance of vertue; neyther yet feare him 15 so much for his mischievous desires, as to rage and grow fierce upon him in his weaknesse; but contenteth itselfe so far forth only to repress him, as may disable him

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<sup>2</sup> his] theire  $B^{\prime}$ ; adversarie] adversaries  $\overline{B^{\prime} C^{\prime} C^{\prime} P^{\prime}}$  and BL; is] are  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>5</sup> doth] doe P'

<sup>7-8</sup> yet I suppose ... hard] hard now it would bee C HN, hard I suppose and verie hard it would be  $A B^2 L$ ins BL, hard (I suppose) now  $\ldots B^{1}$ , hard I suppose now  $\ldots P^{1}$ 

<sup>8</sup> to be shewn] shewen  $P^{I}$ 10 even] ever  $BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ 

<sup>11</sup> mending] amendment  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>12</sup> accomplishing] the accomplishing BL C<sup>l</sup> HN; For . . magnanimous] om B<sup>l</sup> C<sup>l</sup> HN P<sup>l</sup> ins BL; noble mind] nobler mindes  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>14</sup> hate] hates B'

<sup>15</sup> that it love] loves  $B^{1} C^{1} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>17</sup> disable] dis-inable  $B^{1} C^{1} HN ins BL$ 

thence forward from doing hurt unto others: how much more may it seeme reasonable, that the heavenly affection of a Christian, rejoyce for whatsoever goodnes appeares in any man, as finding there some lineaments of his Creatours Image, detest nothing but impletie and wickednesse, the worlds dishonour; and lastly in the true and serious worshipping of God, do joyne when occasion offers with whatsoever of his 5 Creatures, with united affections to cheare up his service, where scandall by shew of approuing that which is evill in them doth not hinder? But this world in the basenesse of his mettal, now the last and worst, and in the weaknesse of his old and decayed yeares, laying the ground of all his policie in Feare and Jealousie, issuing from a certeine consciousnesse of his owne worthlesnesse and want of vertue; holdeth 10 those courses for the best, which worke with the greatest and most secret advantage against such as eyther are, or in time may become concurrents or enemies; letting passe with some tearmes of formall commendation those auncient more noble wayes, which being derived from the high Governour of both the Worlds, and having their ground on the unmovable principles of true wisedome and vertue, must needs bee of greater 15 force, both for the upholding of those that hold them, and for the effecting of all theyr

6 with] in  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

8 now the] now in that  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

10 want] for want  $B^{1} P^{1}$ 

11 those] this  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ ; courses] course  $B^{l}$ ; and ... advantage] advantage, and most secret  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  $P^{l}$  ins BL

12 such as] those which  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1}$ 

13 formal] spirituall  $B^{I} P^{I}$ ; more] and more  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

15 on] in  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; unmovable] immoveable  $B^{l}$ ; greater] great  $P^{l}$ 

15-16 of . . . them] om  $B^{I} P^{I}$ ; for the] om  $B^{I}$ 

16 theyr] om  $B^1 P^{\overline{1}}$ 

<sup>2</sup> affection] affections  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; appeares] appeareth  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>3</sup> any] a B'

worthy and honourable desires, were there a firme mind to pursue them, and a strong arme to wield them; both which to this weake world are wanting. But of these matters sufficient.

# Of their excluding of all accesse of the Religion, and of their Inquisition

It is now time that I come, to the view of those meanes which are used by the 5 Papacie for the Excluding of all accesse and sound of the Religion, in those places where theyr power remaineth yet unabridged. Wherein as in other like cases before I will lightly passe over that which is apparent to all eyes: and that is what service theyr Inquisition doth therein: being in truth the principle and most forcible engine in accomplishing that worke: and such as wheresoever it and the Councell of Trent can 10 be thoroughly planted and established, as in Spaine, and all Italy now save onely some part perhaps of the Kingdome of Naples, where the tyrannie of Spain is an Inquisition sufficient, (as the Inquisition of Spain is also of the two the crueller;) doth rid them of feare and their adversaries of hope, of letting in the Reformation; unlesse perhaps in some universall deluge of war, when the execution of Lawes and such serches shall 15 be forced to cease. For this Inquisition, as a soveraigne preservative, and defective of no vertue save Justice and Mercy, being committed lightly to the most zealous,

<sup>1</sup> worthy and] om  $B^2$ 

<sup>2</sup> these matters] this matter  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> that I] to  $B^{I} \overline{C}^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>5-6</sup> the Papacie] Papacie  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> Religion] reformed religion B'; those places] these partes B'

<sup>9</sup> principle] principall Q; engine in] in giving  $P^{l}$ ; doth] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> accomplishing] accomplishment  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>11-12</sup> now... perhaps of save only in  $A B^{l} P^{2}$ , om  $C^{l} HN$ , ins BL, saving only in  $P^{l}$ ; some part perhaps of in the  $B^{2} L Q$ 

<sup>12</sup> of Spain]  $\widetilde{om} B' C' HN P'$  ins BL, is an]  $A B' C' HN L P' P^2 Q$ , may be 29, ins BL

<sup>13</sup> crueller] better  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; doth] that it doth  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, doe  $P^{l}$  14 in] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> such] all such  $B^{1}$ ; serches] searches  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>15-16</sup> as a soveraigne . . . Mercy,] om  $A B^{l} B^{2} L P^{l} P^{2} Q$ 

industrious, and rigorous Friers that can be found in all places, who leave no one rule thereof unpractised; taking hold of men for the least suspition of Heresie or of affinitie or connivence with heresie that may be, as the bare reproving sometimes the lives of theyr Clergie, or the having of any booke or edition prohibited (though yet with some regard of the nature and qualitie of persons, seeing many a man makes those actions 5 suspicious, which otherwise would not make the man;) discovering men by the pressing of all mens Consciences, whom they charge under an high degree of mortall sinne and damnation, (being a case reserved, and wherein not any under an Arch-Bishop or Bishop can absolve them, as I have seene in theyr printed instructions at Siena,) to appeach even theyr neerest and dearest friends if they know or but suspect them to 10 be culpable therein: proceeding against the detected with such secrecie and severitie, as that first they shall never have notice of theyr accusers, but shall be urged to reveale theyr very thoughts and affections; Secondly if by long enquirie they bee taken tardy in any one thing delivered in theyr examinations, or can be convicted thereof by any two witnesses of how base or indifferent qualitie soever, without farther reply they are 15 cast and gone; thirdly if nothing fall out to be proved against them yet will they hold

14 examinations] opinions  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> connivence] commerce  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; heresie] Heretiques  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; reproving] approving *P*; sometimes] sometimes of *Q* 

<sup>4</sup> theyr] the  $B^{1}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; the] om  $B^{1}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; of] of any  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, of the  $B^{l}$ , om  $P^{l}$ 5 persons] the persons  $B^{l}$ ; a man] men  $B^{l}$   $B^{2}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN; makes] make  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> man] man suspected Q

<sup>7</sup> mortall sinne and] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8-9</sup> an . . . Bishop] a bishop, or an Archbisshop  $B^{\prime}$ , a Byshop, or Arch Byshop  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>10</sup> neerest and dearest] dearest and nearest  $B^2$ ; know] knew  $B^1$ ; but] did but  $C^1$  HN del BL 13 very] own A

<sup>15</sup> of how base ... reply] om  $A B^{1} B^{2} C^{1} HN L P^{1} Q$  ins BL

them in theyr Holy House divers yeeres sometimes, in great anguish and misery, for a terrour to other, and for theyr exacter triall; and lastly, besides all theyr tortures and scornes if one be touched the second time, nothing but death without remission: this being the diligence, this the violence of their Inquisition, it doth so sweepe all quarters and corners where it walketh that as a sheering wind it kills all in the bud, no wit nor 5 provisions being possible to avoid it. Yea it is such a bridle to the very freedome of mind and libertie of speech, which they of theyr owne way would otherwise use; and is converted in some places to such an instrument no lesse of civill than Ecclesiasticall tyrannie: that as Naples and Millane did a while vehemently withstand it and Spaine 10 would with the deerest things they have redeeme it; so most of their most zealous Catholikes elsewhere which would dye perhaps if need so were for theyr Religion, yet abhor the very name and mention of the Inquisition, as being the greatest slavery that ever yet the world hath tasted. And the Venetians themselves could never yet be brought to admit it in other sort, than with certein very favourable exceptions for 15 strangers (who are generally also in Italy litle searched into for theyr consciences,

- 6 possible] possibly  $B^1$ ; it] om  $C^1$  HN ins BL
- 7 way] defense Q

7-10 and is converted . . . zealous] That many of their  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN L P^{l}$  ins BL

- 11 which] who  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1}$
- 12 name and mention] mention and name  $B^{l} P^{l}$

<sup>2</sup> and for] in for O; exacter] exact B' C' HN ins BL; theyr] other C' HN ins BL

<sup>3-4</sup> without . . . Iniquisition] irremissible  $P^2 Q$ ; this being . . . Inquisition, it] om  $A B^1 B^2 C^1 HN L P^1$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> it doth so] so it doth Q; quarters] the quarters  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>5</sup> walketh] walkes  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> yet] om  $B^{1}C^{1}HN$  ins BL; the Venetians] that the Venetians  $B^{1}C^{1}HNQ$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> it] om  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN$ , that  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>15</sup> for] om  $B^1$ 

by reason of the gain which comes by their repaire, but may passe well enough if they give no scandall,) and with retaining the soveraigne sway therof in theyr owne hands at all times.

## Of their locking up the Scriptures

But to let this racke of mens soules thus rest, as an invention fitter for the 5 Religion of ANTIOCHUS and DOMITIAN, or for Mahomets Alcoran, than for the clemencie of his Gospell who was Prince of mildnesse and mercie: It is a wonderfull thing to see what curious order and diligence they use, to suffer nothing to be done or spring up among them selves, which may any way give footing to the Religion which they so much hate. And first for the Scriptures; for as much as the Reformation 10 seemes grounded upon them, the Reformers having striven to square it out wholly and onely by that rule, as farre forth as theyr understanding and witts could wade; and for as much as it is a thing which the Romanists deny not, that a great part of their Religion hath other foundation, and would seeme in many poincts to swerve much, yea and plainely to crosse the Scriptures, as an ordinarie reader by his meere naturall wit, not 15 fashioned by their distinctions nor directed by their glosses, would expound it: for this cause though heretofore to stop theyr adversaries mouthes, alwayes yolping and crying

<sup>1</sup> the gain] their gain  $P^{l}$ ; which] that  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> this] the  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> ANTIOCHUS . . DOMITIAN . . . Mahomets Alcoran] see explanatory notes; for] om  $B^1$  BL C HN 7 mildnesse] all mildnesse Q

<sup>9</sup> spring] sprunge B', sprong P'; which] om B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> seemes] is Q; the Reformers] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>11-12</sup> and onely]  $om B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>12</sup> wade] arrive Q

<sup>14</sup> and would seeme] which seemeth  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1}$ 

p. 144.17-p. 145.1 yolping . . . sounds] om Q

with hatefull sounds, that they would not let the poore people heare their Creatour speake to them, that they starved and murdred their soules in ignorance robbing them of the bread of life, the voice of Christ, and cramming and choaking them with their emptie superstititions, their poysoned Idolatry; that the Scriptures would shew them that theyr worshipping of blind Images was a thing detested, and even with threats 5 prohibited in the Law of God; that theyr praying in unkowne language and by tale plainly reproved; their invocating and vowing to Saincts a matter there never heard of; that their Ceremonies were vanities, their traffike for soules very Sacrilege, their miracles delusions, their Indulgences blasphemies; that it would discover their Church to be a body strangely infected and polluted with all foule and pestilent diseases; 10 and finally that their not-erring and not-controllable Lord of Rome was no other than that imperious bewitching Lady of Babilon: though I say as well to beat backe these irksome out-cries of their adversaries, as also to give some content and satisfaction to their own, that they might not thinke them so terribly afraid of the Bible, they were content to let it be translated by some of their favourers into the vulgar, as also some 15

8 traffike] trafficall pardon  $B^{\prime}$ , pardons Q

15 content] contented  $B^{1}C^{1}HN$  ins BL

<sup>1</sup> let] suffer  $A B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I} P^{2} Q$ ; poore] om Q; heare] to heare  $A B^{I} BL C^{I} HN L P^{I} P^{2} Q$ ; their Creatour] God  $A B^{I} B^{2} C^{I} HN L P^{I} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> their] theis  $C^2$ 

<sup>4</sup> Idolatry] Idolatries  $B^{1}$  C1 HN ins BL; that] om Q; the] their  $B^{1}$  C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> blind] om A B' C' HN P' Q ins BL; a thing] om A L; a thing ... even] was even B' C' HN P' ins BL6 that theyr praying]  $A B' L P' P^2 Q$ , their praying 29

<sup>7</sup> plainly] is plainly  $B^{l} C^{l} HN Q del BL$ ; vowing] praying  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} Q$  ins BL; a matter] is a matter  $B^{l}$ , are matters Q

<sup>10</sup> a body] the body BL C' HN; all] on  $B^1$  C' HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> not-controllable] in controllable  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ 

<sup>15</sup> vulgar] vulgar tongue  $Q_i$ ; as] and as  $B^1$ 

number of Copies to be saleable a while at the beginning: yet since having hushed that former clamour, and made better provision for the establishing of their kingdome, they have called all vulgar Bibles streightly in againe, (yea the very Psalms of DAVID which their famous preacher Bishop PANIGAROLA translated) as doubting else the unavoidable-nesse of those former inconveniences.

To let passe those hard conceipts which they breed in the multitude, as touching the inextricable obscuritie of the Scripture, the easinesse to mistake it, the dangerousnesse to erre by it: having raised in some places such base and blasphemous proverbes concerning it, as for my part I had rather them selves would extinguish them, than that I list to give them life by recording them in this place. Neyther yet in theyr very 10 sermons, though they preach alwayes in a manner on the Gospell of the day, do they read or any other wayes recite the text; but discourse onely on such poincts of it as they thinke fittest, without more solemnitie; that no sound of Scripture may possesse the people: although the use in Fraunce bee otherwise for that matter: yea some parts of Scripture, as S. PAULS Epistles, they are so jealous of, and thinke so dangerous, that 15

<sup>1</sup> Copies] Copies thereof  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} Q del BL$ ; saleable] saleable for Q; a while] for a while  $B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN L P^{l} del BL$ ; that] all  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>2</sup> made] taken  $A B^{l} B^{2} BL C^{l} HN L Q$ , taking P; of] for A, om Q; kingdome] affaires  $B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN L Q$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> called] streightly called  $B^2$ 

<sup>4</sup> preacher] om  $B^1$ , PANIGAROLA] Pangarola  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins BL, Lamparola  $P^1$ 

<sup>4-5</sup> unavoidablenesse] unavaleablenesse C' HN ins BL, unavoydablenes B'

<sup>7</sup> Scripture] Scriptures  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> as for . . . had] I would  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL, that  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>10</sup> give them] give  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> on] of  $B^{1} B^{2} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> other wayes] way  $B^{I}$ 

by report of divers, (for my selfe did not heare it,) some of theyr Jesuites of late in Italy in solemne sermon, and other theyr favorites elsewhere in private communication, commending betweene them St. PETER for a worthy Spirit, have censured St. PAUL for a hote headed person, who was transported so with his pangs of zeale and eagernesse beyond all compasse in most of his disputes, that there was no great reckoning to bee 5 made of his assertions; yea he was dangerous to read as favouring of heresie in some places, and better he had not written of those matters at all. Agreeable to which I have heard other of theyr Catholikes deliver, that it hath beene heretofore very seriously consulted among them, to have censured by some meanes and reformed the writings of St. PAUL: though for my owne part I must professe I can hardly belieue this, as being 10 an attempt too too abominable and blasphemous, and for these times also too desperate a scandall. But howsoever, he of all other is least beholden to them: whom of mine owne knowledge and hearing some of them teach in Pulpit not to have beene secure of his preaching but by conference with St. PETER and other of the Apostles; not that he

<sup>1</sup> by report of divers] as I have heard credible reports A Q; by report . . . it,)] as I have heard credible report (for my selfe did not see it)  $B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l}$  ins BL; credible report] credibly reported  $B^{l}$ ; heare] see  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>2</sup> sermon] sermons  $B^{1}$ ; theyr] of theyr  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>3</sup> them] themselves  $B^2$ 

<sup>4</sup> transported so] so transported  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; so] om  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> most of ]  $A B^{I} C^{I} HN L P^{I}$ , sundry 29, ins BL

<sup>6</sup> read] be ~  $B^1$ ; as] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>7</sup> better] ~ perhaps  $B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; not] never  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l}$  ins BL; of those matters at all] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; have] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> among] amongst P'; writings] Epistles B' C' HN P' ins BL

<sup>10</sup> professe] confesse A P'; can hardly] cannot A B'  $B^2 L$ ; this] this point C' HN P' del BL;

<sup>11</sup> too too] too  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; also] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> beholden] beholding  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>13</sup> Pulpit] the Pulpit B'

<sup>14</sup> by] with P'; and ... Apostles] om  $A B' B^2 C' HN L P' P^2 Q$  ins BL; not] nor B' P'

durst publish his Epistles till they had allowed them. These orders have they taken to avoid daunger from the written word: advauncing in stead thereof the amplitude; the sufficiencie, and the unfallible certeintie of Gods Oracles and word not written, but delivered to the custodie of his holy Church by speech onely: which Church hath now fully also delivered her mind in the late Councell of Trent; whereto all that are 5 solemnely doctored in Italy must subscribe.

### Of their concealing the Doctrines and Opinions of the Reformation

And as in the foundation of the Reformation which is the Scripture, so much more in the edifice it selfe the Doctrines and Opinions, they beat away all sound and Eccho of them: being not lawfull there to alleage them, no not to glaunce at them; not to 10 argue and dispute of them, no not to refute them. In ordinary communication to talke of matter of religion, is odious and suspicious: but to enter into any reasoning though but for argument-sake without other scandall is prohibited and dangerous. Yea it was once my fortune to be halfe threatned for no other fault than for debating with a Jew and upholding the truth of Christianitie against him: so unlawfull are all disputes of 15 Religion what soever. And their Friers even in Fraunce in their endeavors to convert

- 6 doctored] made Doctors  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, made solemnly doctors  $P^{l}$
- 9 Eccho] each  $P^{I}$
- 10 being] it being B'; not] no nor B', doubt P'

12 but] om  $B^{1}$ ; reasoning though] argument, reasoning  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>1</sup> they] Saint Peter A  $B^{1} C^{1} HN L P^{1} P^{2} ins BL$ ; have they] they have  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>3</sup> the unfallible] unfallible  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL; but] om  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>5</sup> now ... also] om  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} P^{2} Q$  ins BL; in the] to the  $B^{l}$ ; late] om  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN L P^{l} Q$ , ins BL; where on the  $B^{l}$  where  $B^{l}$  is the set of the  $B^{l}$  is the set of t

<sup>11</sup> and] or  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; not] nor  $B^{l}$ ; communication] matter of communication  $C^{l} HN P^{l}$ , del BL, matters of communication  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> of  $A B^{1} L P^{1} P^{2} Q$ , in 29, with  $C^{2}$ 

<sup>16</sup> their] the  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

others, will say it is lawfull to perswade them, but not so to dispute with them. But in Italy this is much more exactly observed: where in theyr Divinitie disputations in theyr Universities or Colleges, (as some such disputations they have, but very sleight and unfrequent;) I could not perceive that they ever debated any question at this day controversed, otherwise than (as ever) among them selves and between theyr 5 Schoole-men. And which was more straunge to me till I sounded the reason, in no place of Italy where ever I came, could I heare any of theyr Preachers treat of any poinct in question between them and the Protestants, save only at Padova; where, in respect there are alwayes divers hundred of straungers of the adverse partie, it is otherwise practised, and I ween advised.

But in all other places for ought I could perceive, eyther they mention now no adversaries; or if they do, which is very seldome, yet do they not unfold theyr opinions and arguments, but eyther frame other Chimera's of their owne in steed of them, and so flourish a bout or two in canvassing theyr own shadowes, as is usuall in Fraunce also; or else dispatch them away with certein generall reproaches, and then (as I have 15

- 12 very] om  $P^{l}$ ; do they not] they doe not  $B^{l}$
- 13 frame] from  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; of] in those of  $B^{2}$ ; so] om  $P^{1}$
- 14 a bout] about  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> so] om  $B^{T}C^{T}HNP^{T}$  ins BL; with] of  $C^{2}$ 

<sup>3</sup> very] om Q

<sup>4</sup> they ever] ever they  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>5</sup> among] between P'; between] among P'; theyr] the B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> heare] have C' HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> the] theyr  $P^1$ ; partie] parte  $B^1$ 

<sup>10</sup> and I ween advised] om C' HN P' ins BL; ween] do ween Q

<sup>11</sup> for ... perceive] om Q; they mention] mentioned B'; now] om Q

heard some of them) will formally conclude; but what do I name Heretikes in an assembly of Catholikes? Howbeit they are not so forgetfull and carelesse of theyr good crosse neighbours, as this course might seeme at the first blush to import: but those offices they do, they do them to the best purpose; teaching the people some times in pulpit, but much more in private conferences and in theyr confessions, that the 5 Lutherans and Calvenists are blaspemers of God and all his Saincts, and above all other that they despise and vilifie our Lady, saying plainly she was no better than one of theyr owne wives; that they abolish the Church-Sacraments, the only meanes of salvation; that where-ever they come, they eyther raze or rob Churches, and make stables of them; that there is no kind of villany which is not currant among them. 10

#### Of their notorious Lies of England, and of Geneva

They teach the people some times in pulpit that in England they have neyther Churches nor form of Religion, nor serve God any way; that the English Nation since theyr falling away from the Church is growne so barbarous that theyr souldiers are very Canniballs, and eat young children. But that above all other places Geneva is a very 15 professed Sanctuarie of roguerie, giving harbour to all the runnagates, traitors, rebels, and wicked persons of all other Countries. By which speach very generally in Italy

17 Italy] all Italy  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> conclude] conclude saying O

<sup>2</sup> good] om  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> but much] much  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; and ... confessions] on  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>6</sup> all] of all  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN L Q$ 

<sup>7</sup> no] not  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>8</sup> Church-Sacraments] sacraments O

<sup>10</sup> that . . . among] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> They teach the people some times in pulpit] ed

<sup>12-15</sup> that in England . . . But] om Q 13 form] any form B' C' HN del BL; the] their B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> souldiers] students  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> children.] children and that there is no kind of villanie, which is not currant amongest them.  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  $P^{I}$ ; But] And  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I} Q$  ins BL

spred and believed, some memorable accidents have at some times happened. Sundry of theyr prigging and loose Friers, hearing of Geneva to be such an only place of good fellowship, and thinking the lewder pranks they playd with theyr own ere they came thither, to find the better welcome at theyr comming; have robbed their Convents of theyr Church-plate and Repositories, and brought away the bootie in triumph to 5 Geneva, under the chaungeable colours of reformed Religion: where theyr advauncement hath bene streight to the Gibet for theyr labour: a reward much unexpected; and such as caused them to complaine pitifully of theyr wrong information; For such is the extraordinarie severitie of that Citie as to punish crimes committed without their state, with no whit lesse rigour than as if they had bene done within it. 10 And not many yeares since it was the lott of a Spanish gallant, who stood upon his state and caried a mint about him, to repaire thither to have stamps made him for the coyning of Pistolets. His defence was that he understood their Citie was free, and gave receipt to all offenders. It was told him that it was true, that they received all offenders, but withall when they were come, they punished theyr offences. A distinction which the 15 good Gentleman had never before studied; and the learning of it then cost him no lesse

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 $<sup>\</sup>overline{2 \text{ of}} \text{ om } B^{l} B^{2} P^{l} Q$ ; such  $\overline{2 \text{ om } P^{l}}$ ; such an only  $\overline{2 \text{ om } C^{l}} HN$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> lewder] worse  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN L P^{1} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> thither] there  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

<sup>6</sup> chaungeable colours of reformed Religion] being reformed in their Religion  $C^{l}$  HN del BL, under the changeable colour of being reformed in their religion  $B^{l}$   $P^{l}$ 

<sup>7</sup> Gibet] gallows  $B^1$ ; much] om  $A B^1 B^2 L P^1 Q$ 

<sup>10</sup> state] estate  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; whit] on  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; done] perpetrated Q; within] amongst  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL, amongst them  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> the] om Q

<sup>13</sup> their] that their  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> It ... true] yea (sayd they)  $B^{l}$ ; It was told ... offenders] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> withall] withall (said they)  $B^{1} C^{1} HN del BL$ ; were] om  $B^{1}$ ; they punished] wee punish  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>16</sup> good] poore  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; had] om  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL

than his head-piece.

And as by these kind of sclaunders, so also the more to harden mens minds against them, they will tell of straunge miracles that have befallen them. A Poinct wherewith the Pulpits of Fraunce also do ring dayly: where in the siege of Paris they were growne to that audaciousnesse, as to perswade the people there, who generally 5 believed it, that the thunder of the Popes excommunications had so blasted the Hereticks, that theyr faces were growne black and ougly as Divels, theyr Eys and looks ghastly, their breaths noysome and pestilent. Much like to one of the Servi di Madonna at Bolonia, whom I heard in Pulpit among a multitude of moderne miracles, which had fallen out to their punishment who were excommunicated, (the continuing wherin a 10 yeere, without seeking absolution, incurre suspition of Heresie;) tell this also of an hereticall gentleman of Polonia: who talking at a solemne dinner against the Pope, the bread on his trencher grew black as inke, and upon his repentance and conversion returned to his former whitenesse. A thing happened but lately and reported by the Polonish Ambassadour to a Cardinall, by the Cardinall to a Bishop, by the Bishop to 15 this Frier: An imitation perhaps of that renowmed miracle of eating tables for hunger. threatned by that winged Prophetesse, with like deduction of credit: Qua Phebo pater

<sup>2</sup> these] those  $B^{1}$ ; the more] om  $C^{1}$  HN Q ins BL

<sup>3</sup> tell] tell them  $B^{\prime}$ ; that] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; befallen] befallen on  $P^{\prime}$ ; them] the protestantts Q

<sup>4</sup> also do] doe also  $B^{\prime} P^{\prime}$ ; do] doth Q

<sup>7</sup> black] all black  $B^{1} C^{1} HN del BL$ 

<sup>8</sup> one of ] om  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1 Q$  ins BL

<sup>8-9</sup> Servi . . . Bolonia] Servi de Madon at Bollonia  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> punishment] punishments  $B^{1} C^{1} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>11</sup> incurre] incurre cor 29; tell this]  $A B^{1} L P^{1}$ , tell 29

<sup>13</sup> on] of  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; and conversion] on  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; returned] turned  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> Polonish] Popish BL C<sup>1</sup> HN, Popes B<sup>1</sup>; Ambassadour] Embassadors B<sup>1</sup>; Cardinall] Cardiner P<sup>1</sup>; to a

Bishop, by the Bishop] by a Bishop to the Bishop  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>17</sup> winged] Romayn  $P^{l}$ 

p. 152.17-p.153.1 Qua ... pando] see explanatory notes

omnipotens, mihi Phebus Apollo Predixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando. And these things are in steed of refuting the Protestants Religion: which are not in vaine.

For the vulgar sort, who believe, as they say, in God and the Pope thinke all to be Gospell that their Friers tell them. And I have heard some conjecture at others to be Lutherans, onely by reason they were so monstrous blasphemers as they were. But 5 all are not of that stamp: those gentlemen and other who have travailed abroad; and those also at home that are not passionally blind, but discreet and inquisitive of the truth of all things; howsoever dissenting from them, yet have no such hard conceipt of the Protestants opinions or actions. But the most straunge thing as to me it seemed of all other, is that those principall writers who have employed themselves wholly in 10 refuting from point to point the Protestants doctrine and arguments, are so rare in Italy as by ordinary enquirie, I believe not to be found.

The Controversies of Cardinall BELLARMINE I sought for in Venice in all places. Neither that nor GREGORIE of Valenza, nor any of such qualitie could I ever in any shop of Italy set eye on: but in steed of them an infinitie of meere invectives and 15

9-10 as . . . other] of all other as to me it seemed  $B^2$ 

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<sup>3</sup> sort] sort of people  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  del BL; believe] believed  $P^{l}$ ; say] speake Q; in] om  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; the Pope] Pope  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; thinke] and  $\sim Q$ ; to be] om  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> as . . . were] om Q

<sup>6</sup> are] were  $B^{l}$ , be Q; that] the same  $B^{l}$ ; who] that  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> have] have thei Q; hard] om  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> seemed] seemeth  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>11</sup> from ] om Q

<sup>12</sup> not] are not B' C' HN P' del BL

<sup>13</sup> BELLARMINE] see explanatory notes

<sup>14</sup> of Valenza] a Ventenza  $P^l$ 

<sup>15</sup> of] in  $B^{l} C^{l} HN BL$ ; infinitie] infinite number  $B^{l}$ , infinit sort  $P^{l}$ , heape Q

declamations. Which made me entertein this suspicious conjecture, that it might be their care that no part of the Protestants positions and allegations should be knowne they were so exact, as to make discurrent in some sort even those very books which were constreined to recite them, that they might refute them, in such wise as not to suffer them to be commonly salable, but only to such or in such places as the superiours should thinke meet. But the truth of this conjecture I leave to farther enquirie.

The conclusion is this: no sound of the reformed Religion eyther stirring in Italy, or by any humaine wit now possible to bee raised. For to bring in from forrein places any haereticall writing, though it were without malice, were two years streight 10 imprisonment as they say, if he so escaped. So farre are they from their adversaries, either simplicitie, if their cause be bad; or honestie if good: who not onely in most of their replies print both together to give meanes of indifferencie in judging to the reader but even permit their adversaries yet unanswered disputes to runne current among them, so they be in the latine, and not purposely written, as some are, to misdraw the 15 multitude. It remaineth now to restraine the Italians from going abroad to forreine

- 6 should thinke] shal thinke  $A B^{1} B^{2} C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2}$  ins BL
- 8 the] om  $B^{I}$
- 9 any] om Q

14 disputes] disputers  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN$ 

16 now] *om Q* 

5

<sup>3</sup> were] have beene Q; in some sort] om  $B^{1}Q$ ; sort] om  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>5</sup> commonly] openlie Q; or] and  $B^{I} C^{I} HN$  ins BL; or ... places] on Q.

<sup>10</sup> malice, were] malice it were  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} del BL$ 

<sup>10-11</sup> were two . . . escaped] om Q

<sup>11</sup> so escaped] scaped soe  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>12</sup> if good] uf their cause be good Q; most] the most  $B^{1} C^{1} HN del BL$ 

<sup>13</sup> together] together to give meanes of indifferencie in judginge to the reader  $B^{I} BL C HN$ 

<sup>15</sup> the latine] latine Q; to misdraw] misdrawing  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, in drawing P

Country's, where those contagious sounds and sights might infect them. Herein the nature of the Italian doth supply: who wonders at us Englishmen that come travelling so far thither, him selfe having no humour to stir one foot abroad; and indeed little needing, considering how all Nations of Christendome do flock to him. But not so for Merchants: these flye abroad in exceeding abundance to all places, and in wealth 5 where-ever they come over-top all other; such is theyr skill, theyr witt, theyr industrie, theyr parsimonie. Behold then this Popes late exploit also for that poinct. He hath by his printed Bull under paine of excommunication forbidden them all repaire for trafficke to hereticall countries: Whereupon some as I heare are retired from England, and other in other places are said to have importuned and obteined some out-Chappell 10 to have their Masse in. Thus hath every gap his bush, each suspition his prevention.

One thing only remaineth as a garland to all the rest. It were an hard state and a tyrannicall, where the Superiours should assume to them selves all licence of doing, and not permit to the inferiours at least-wise libertie of speaking: which is but a slender revenge. For so great a wrong as ill government; yet such as by giving vent to the 15 boyling fumes of hatred, doth evaporate and asslake that heat, which otherwise would flame out into furie and mischiefe. For which cause the wisest men have bene always

<sup>2</sup> that] who O

<sup>3</sup> one] on  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>4</sup> needing] neede  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; of] in  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; so] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>7</sup> Popes late] late Popes  $B^{1}C^{1}HN$  ins BL; also] on O; also for] in  $B^{1}C^{1}HNP^{1}$  ins BL; poinct] purpose Q

<sup>8</sup> printed] painted  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> in other] om Q; importuned] importunated  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> a garland] garland  $B^{l}$ ; to] for  $B^{2}$ ; an] a  $B^{l} C^{l}$  HN ins BL 14 to] unto  $Q_{i}$ , om  $B^{l} C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>17</sup> furie] fire  $B^{T} BL C^{T} HN$ , fyer  $P^{T}$ 

best pleased, that loosers should have their words: and they who have endevoured to bridle mans tongues by sharp laws, whom they rather should have charmed, and held in tune by their own integritie, have learned that things violent are seldome permanent, and that enjoyning of too much patience makes men breake into madnesse. Yea I have heard men of great experience and judgment say, that the best way to reconcile the 5 Country enmities is to let the good men chide a while hartily together; and their stomacks being once disgorged a peaceable motion wil find good audience: so necessarie are these evaporations to the minds of the multitude, which may serve for some justification of the wisdome of the Papacie in those former free times, when they did, and other said, what each humour advized. But little was it then feared which 10 since hath followed. Little was it imagined, that the time should come, when the world awakened by the cries of a Frier, should looke about so broadly, and search so narrowly all the plaits and hidden corners of the Papacie, what their doctrine had bene, what their lives, what their scopes, and what their practices. Not so many of the consecrated divine Patrons of the Romane state, with thousands of prayers and vowes 15 daily adored; nor so many of theyr enshrined and miracle-working Images, to whom

3 tune] tyme  $P^{l}$ 

10 which] what  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> best] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; who have] that  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> and] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; that] that the  $P^{l}$ ; enjoyning] enjoying  $B^{l}$ ; breake] breake out LQ5-6 the Country] Country  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> minds] mind  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>9</sup> some] a  $B^{I I}C HN$  ins BL; justification] inspiration  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>11</sup> imagined] then ~  $B^{1}BLC^{1}HNP^{1}$ 

<sup>12</sup> a Frier] see explanatory notes; about so broadly] so broadly about  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>13</sup> plaits] plights A, sleights  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL, lyghts  $P^{1}$ ; hidden] hid  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2}$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> and] om  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> divine Patrons] Divines, patrones C', patterns HN ins BL

such store of lampes and pure candles were dayly burning; so much incense perfumed, so long and toylsome pilgrimages performed, such abundance of gifts and glad offerings presented; on whom lastly so many, so devout, so humble both bowed knees, and hung-downe heads, and beaten breasts, and lift uppe eyes attended; did ever foretell so notable a calamitie. 5

It was not then thought that there would arise a generation, who would alleage in good ernest, that divers hundred of yeares since, as also more freshly, sundry of theyr owne Authours and followers had in bitter detestation of theyr own monstrous abominations described out the Pope for the Antichrist fore-prophecied; called Rome the Very Babylon and temple of Heresies, the corrupter of the World, the hate of 10 Heaven, and in effect the high-way and very gate of Hell: that the lives of theyr Prelates, Priests, Friers and Nunnes, not for some particular offences, which will always befall, but for their ordinary tenour and course of conversation, had bene so reported by men of theyr owne Religion, that an honest adversarie can not read them without sorrow, nor a modest without shame and blushing: that the iniquity of their chiefe 15

<sup>1</sup> such store of] so manie  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>2</sup> and toylsome] om  $P^2$ ; and toylsome pilgrimages] journies to pilgrimages overtoyled  $B^1$  journeys to pilgrimage  $C^1$  HN ins BL, journies to pilgrimages  $P^1$ ; pilgrimages] pilgrimages oretoyled  $P^2 Q$ 3 on] One  $B^1$  BL  $C^1$  HN

<sup>3-4</sup> both bowed knees, and hung-downe heads] hanging-downe heads and bowed knees  $B^l P^l$ 4 lift] lifted  $B^l P^l$ 

<sup>7</sup> more]  $om P^{I}$ 

<sup>8</sup> own] om  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> the Pope] their Pope  $P^{l}$ ; for the] to be that Q

<sup>11</sup> high-way and very gate] very great or high way B'P, very highwaie and  $P^2Q$ ; of] to B'12-13 always befall] befall allwaies Q

<sup>13</sup> their] the  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; course of] course of all  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>15</sup> nor] or  $B^{\prime}$ 

Sea hath beene so exorbitant, as to have raised amidst them selves this proverbe or saying among many other concerning it, recorded in theyr owne bookes, that the worst Christians of Italy are the Romanes, of the Romanes the Priests are wickedest, the lewdest Priests are preferred to be Cardinalls, and the baddest man among the 5 Cardinalls is chosen to be Pope. Neyther was it then fore-seene, that the world entring into these considerations, would think that they had reason which called for a Reformation; and that it was not a fatall calamitie of this age, but a supernatural blessing of God from above, after the kindling of many precursorie lights of knowledge and furnishing other instruments to serve thereto, to direct a meere accident of scandall on their part, namely the undiscreet proclaiming and sale of their pardons, 10 as the wisest and worthiest of their owne Historiographers reporteth it to the provoking of certein men of more zeale and courage, than policie or skill, in conducting their actions; who without any such premeditated intent, yea and drawne into the lists, and held in them against their will, by the violent pressing and insulting of their adversaries; having bene forced to sift thoroughly the Romish doctrine and practise, 15

6 which] that Q

7 and] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; calamitie] misfortune Q

9 serve thereto]  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN L P^{1} P^{2} Q$ , doe service therein 29, ins BL

- 11 reporteth] reports  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL, report  $B^{I}$   $\tilde{B}^{2}$   $P^{I}$
- 12 or] and  $B^{I}$

<sup>1</sup> amidst] among  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$  amongst  $P^{l}$ ; proverbe or] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>2</sup> many] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; concerning] om Q; recorded] ingrossed  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> of  $B^{I}$  in  $B^{I}$  C<sup>I</sup> HN O ins BL, that of P<sup>I</sup>; wickedest most wicked  $B^{I}$  C<sup>I</sup> HN P<sup>I</sup> ins BL

<sup>4</sup> man] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>5</sup> Neyther] Whether  $C^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> on] in A, of  $B^{l}$ ; proclaiming] promulgating Q; sale of] seale on  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> yea] om Q

<sup>14</sup> and held in] with  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>15</sup> Romish] Romanist  $P^{I}$ 

have discovered therein those errours and abuses, which it was high time to be purged and swept out of the Church: and that the establishing of this Reformation how unperfectsoever, to be done by so weake and simple means, yea by casuall and crosse means, against the force of so puissant and politike an adversarie, is that miracle which in these times wee are to look for; wherein it pleaseth God, whose goodnesse all 5 Times do speake out; to renowm his high wisdome in guiding this untoward world by ordinary courses; as in fore-times his power, by admiring therein his often extraordinarie wonders.

## Of Papall Purging of Bookes, and of their Indices Expurgatorii

But the Papacie at this day taught by wofull experience, what damage this 10 licence of writing among them selves hath done them; and that their speeches are not only weapons in the hands of their adversaries, but ey sores and stumbling-blocks also to their remaining friends: under shew of Purging the world from the infection of all wicked and corrupt Bookes and passages which are either against Religion or against honestie and good manners, for which two purposes, they have their severall 15 officers, who indeed do blot out much impiousnesse and filth, and therein will deserve both to be commended and imitated, (whereto the Venetians add also a third,

<sup>1-2</sup> purged and swept out] swept, and purged out B' P'; is] om L

<sup>3</sup> unperfectsoever] imperfect soever  $B^{1}$ ; by] om Q

<sup>5</sup> in these times wee are] wee are in these dayes  $B^{I}$ , wee are in these times  $P^{I}$ ; wee are] on Q 5-6 all Times] doth allwayes  $B^{\prime} P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>6</sup> high] higher  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; guding] giving  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>7</sup> fore-times] former times Q; admiring] admixing  $B^{\prime}$ , annexing  $P^{\prime}$ ; often] om  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>10</sup> at] om Q; taught] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> but] but also Q; ey] very  $P^{l}$ 13 remaining] om  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2}$  ins BL; under] under the Q

<sup>14</sup> against Religion or] our  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> officers] officers officers  $P^{l}$ ; do] om  $B^{l} C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] om  $P^{l}$ ; will] om  $B^{l} C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l} Q$  ins BL 15 both to be] to be both P; commended] condemned  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; where to] where unto  $B^{l} \widetilde{C}^{l}$  HN ins BL

to let nothing passe that may be justly offensive to Princes;) have in truth withall pared and lopt of whatsoever in a manner their watchfull eys could observe eyther free in disclosing their abuses and corruptions, or sawcie in construing their drifts and practises, or dishonourable to the Clergie, or undutifull to the Papacie. These editions only authorized, all other are disallowed, called-in, consumed; with threats to 5 whomsoever shall presume to keep them: that no speech, no writing, no evidence of times past, no discourse of things present, in sum nothing whatsoever may sound ought but holinesse, honour, puritie, integritie to the unspotted spouse of CHRIST, and to his un-erring Vicar; to the Meistresse of Churches, to the Father of Princes. But as it falleth out now and then, that wisdome and good Fortune are to the ruine of them 10 that too much follow them; by drawing men sometime, upon a presumption of theyr wit and cunning in contrivements, and of their good successe withall in one attempt, to adventure upon an other still, of yet more subtill invention, and more dangerous execution; which doth breake in the end with the very finenesse it selfe, and overwhelme them with the difficulties: So it is to be thought, that their prosperous 15 successe in pruning and pluming those latter writers, effected with good ease and no

3 sawcie] such  $P^{I}$ 

- 7 times] things  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; no] nor  $B^{1}$
- 8 ought] out Q
- 9 to] om  $B^1$ ; Princes] all Princes  $B^1$

14 doth breake] breakes  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN ins BL$ ; finenesse] ~ of  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>1</sup> may be justly] may justly be  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; withall] om  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} Q$ 

<sup>2</sup> whatsoever] al whatsoever  $B^{T} BL C^{T} HN$ , all  $P^{T}$ 

<sup>5</sup> are] om Q; disallowed] disallowed and  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> to] om  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{1} P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>12</sup> contrivements] their contrivements  $B^{l}$ , Conthum meates HN

<sup>14-15</sup> over-whelme . . . the] leaves them overwhelmed  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> pluming] plantyng  $P^{I}$ ; latter] later A

very great clamour, as having some reason, and doing really some good; was it that did breed in them an higher conceipt, that it was possible to worke the like conclusion in writers of elder times, yea in the Fathers them selves, and in all other monuments of reverend Antiquitie: and the opinion of possibilitie redoubling their desire, brought forth in fine those *Indices expurgatorii*, whereof I suppose they are now not a little 5 ashamed, they having by misfortune light into theyr adversaries hands, from whom they desired by all meanes to conceale them, where they remaine as a monument to the judgement of the world of their everlasting reproach and ignominie. These purging *Indices* are of divers sorts: some worke not above eight hundred yeers upward: other venture much higher even to the prime of the Church, the effect is that for-as-much-10 as there were so many passages in the Fathers and other auncient Ecclesiasticall writers, which theyr adversaries producing in averment of their opinion, they were not able but by tricks and shifts of witt to reply to; to ease themselves hence-forth in great part of that wit-labour; (a qualitie indeed perhaps more commendable in some other trade, than in Divinitie where veritie should only sway, where the love of truth should subject or

7 them, where] it, and Q; remaine] remaine for them Q

13 of witt] om  $B^1$ ; to;] om  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL; to ease] and to ease  $B^1 C^1 HN del BL$ ; themselves ... part] them Q; hence-forth ... part] om  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins B

14 wit-labour ... indeed] witt, labor and qualitie  $B^l$ ; wit-labour] witty labour  $P^l$ ; a] and  $C^l$  HN ins BL; indeed] om Q; indeed perhaps] perhaps indeed  $P^l$ ; in] om  $P^2$ 

15 only] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, wholy  $P^{l}$ ; truth] the truth  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; subject] assubject  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>1</sup> was . . . that] om  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> an higher] a  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> elder] old A; and] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> those] that  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ ; Indices Expurgatorii ] see explanatory notes, Index expurgatorius  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$ Q ins BL, Indices expurgatorios  $P^{l}$ ; now] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> they] it Q; light into] lighted in A C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL, lighted into B<sup>1</sup>, lyght P<sup>1</sup>; theyr adversaries hands] the hands of theire adversaries B<sup>1</sup>

<sup>9</sup> upward] upwards  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>10</sup> prime] prime heade  $B^{\prime}$ ; is] is for  $P^{\prime}$ 

extinguish wholly all other passions, and the eye of the mind fixed attentively upon that object should disturne from the regarding of other motives whatsoever:) some assemblies of their Divines, with consent no doubt of their redoubted Superiours and Soveraignes, have delivered expresse order, that in the impressions of those Authours which hereafter should be made, the scandalous places there named should be cleane 5 left out: which perhaps though in this present age would have smally prevailed to the reclaiming of theyr adversaries yet would have bene great assurance for the retaining of their owne, to whom no other bookes must have beene graunted. Yea and perhaps time and industrie, which eate even thorough marbles, extinguishing or getting into their hands all former editions, and for any new to be set out by their adversaries there is 10 no great feare; whose bookes beeing discurrent in all Catholike Countries, their want of meanes requisite to utter an impression; would disharten them from the charge: the mouth also antiquity should be thoroughly shut up from uttering any syllable or sound against them. Then lastly by adding words where opportunity and pretence might serve, and by drawing in the marginall notes and glosses of their Friers into the text of the 15 Fathers, as in some of them they have already very handsomly begun, the mouth of Antiquity should be also opened for them. There remained then only the rectifying of

<sup>2</sup> disturne] divert  $B^{l} BL C^{l}$ , disturne be  $P^{l}$ ; other] all other  $B^{l}$ ; motives] motions  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL4 order] Orders  $B^{l}$ ; the impressions] those impressions Q

<sup>7</sup> yet] it  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ ; for] to  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; great] a great  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> must] should  $A B^{\dagger} C^{\dagger} H N L P^{\dagger} Q$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> or] and B'

<sup>10</sup> for any] for anie other  $A B^{l}$ , forbid other  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>11</sup> Catholike] the Catholike  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>13</sup> also] of cor 29, also of  $B^{l}L P^{l}Q$ ; thoroughly shut up] shut up thoroughly Q; up] om  $P^{l}$ 14 Then] om  $B^{l}C^{l}HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>16</sup> already very handsomly] verie hansomlie all readie  $B^{1}$ ; begun] begun for  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>17</sup> remained] remaineth  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; unlikelyhood] likelyhood  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

St. PAUL, (whose turne in all unlikelyhood if ever should be the next,) and other places of Scripture, whose authoritie beeing set beneath the Churches already, it were no such great matter to submit it also to her gentle and moderate Censures; especially for so good an intent as the weeding out of Heresies and the preserving of the Faith-Catholike in her puritie and glorie. But above all other the second Commandement, (as the 5 Protestants, Grecians and Jewes reckon it,) were like to abide it: which already in their vulgar Catechisms is discarded as words superfluous, or at least wise as unfit or unnecessary for these times. And then without an Angell sent downe from Heaven, no means to controll or gain-say them in any thing. But these are but the dreams perhaps of some over-passionate desires, at least-wise not likely to take place in our times. 10 But what is it which the opinions of the not possibilitie of erring, of the necessary assistance of Gods Spirit in their Consistories, of authoritie unlimited, of power both to dispence with Gods Law in this world, and to alter his arrests and judgements in the other, (for thereunto do theyr pardons to them in Purgatorie extend:) what is it these so high and so fertill opinions are not able to engender, and powerfully enforce to 15 execute? carrying men away head-long with this raging concept that whatsoever

- 6 reckon] as they ought reckon Q; it] om Q
- 7 or] and A; as] om  $B^1$
- 9 but the dreams] the ~ om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL
- 10 least-wise] least Q
- 13 with] of  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; his] the  $B^{l}$

<sup>2</sup> such] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN Q$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> to . . . also] also to submit it  $P^2$ ; it] om  $B^1 C^1 HN P^1$  ins BL; her] his  $A BL C^1 HN P^1$ , their  $P^1$ ; its  $B^1$ ; gentle and moderate] om  $A B^1 C^1 HN L P^1 P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> Faith-Catholike] Catholique faith  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> thereunto] thereto  $B^{\prime}$ ; these] which these  $A B^{\prime} P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>15</sup> so] om  $B^{T}$ ; powerfully]  $A L P' P^{2} Q$ , do not powerfully 29, ins BL, to powerfully C' HN; to] and to C' HN del BL

they do by the Popes they do by Gods owne commaundment, whose Lieutenant hee is on Earth by a Commission of his owne penning, that is to say with absolute and unrestrained jurisdiction; that whatsoever they do for advancement of his Sea and Scepter, they do it for the upholding of the Church of CHRIST, and for the salvation of mens Soules, which out of his obedience do undoubtedly perish. And verily it 5 seemes no causelesse doubt or feare, that these humours and faces, so forward, so adventurous, to alter and chastise with palpable partialitie, the works of former times in an age which hath so many jealous eyes on theyr fingers, so many mouths open to publish theyr shame, such store of Copies to restore and repaire whatsoever they should presume to maime or deprave: that in former ages, when there were few Copies, 10 small difficulties, no enemies; as it is found by certein and irrefragable arguments, that many bastard-writings were forged in theyr favour, and fathered on honest men who never begat them; So also they might beside other their choppings and changings, puttings in and puttings out, suppresse many good and auncient evidences, which they perceived were not greatly for theyr purpose should be extant. But of all other in 15 reforming and purifying of authours, the care and diligence of this Pope doth farre

<sup>2</sup> hee is on Earth] on earth he is  $B^{1}P^{1}$ ; a] om  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>4</sup> for] for the  $B^{1} P^{1} Q$ 

<sup>5</sup> seemes] seemeth  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>6</sup> causelesse] cause of  $P^{l}$ ; and faces] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> adventurous] ventrous  $B^{l}$ , venturous  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> an] any  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL9 shame] om  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL, owne shame  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> many] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> beside] nesidea  $C^{l}$  HN, ins BL, besydes by  $B^{l}$ ; other] on  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, offer  $P^{l}$ ; their] on Q 14 and auncient] om  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} Q$  ins BL; evidences] evidence  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> for] to  $P^{l}$ ; should]  $A B^{l} BL C^{l} HN L$ , to 29; of] on Q

exceed: who not content with that which hath bene done in that kind before him, nor thinking things yet so bright as they should be, causeth much to be perused and scoured over anew: yea and it is thought will cashiere some worthy authours, who as yet though with cutts and gashes hold ranke among them. And for a farther terrour not to retein books prohibited; I have seene in theyr printed instructions for Confession, the having 5 or reading of books forbidden set in ranke amongst the sinnes against the first Commaundment. And for farther provision, The Jewes (who have generally not any other trades than friperie and usurie, loane of money and old stuffe,) are inhibited in many places the medling any more with bookes, for feare least through errour or desire of lucre they might do them prejudice. Neither is it lawfull in Italy to carrie bookes 10 about from one place to an other, without allowance of them from the Inquisitors or search by theyr authorities. Wherein as I confesse they have neglected nothing, which the wit of man in this kind could possibly devise: so yet may it be doubted, that as too much wiping doth in the end draw blood with it; and soile more then before; so this too rigorous cutting of all Authors tongu's leaving nothing which may savour any 15 freedome of spirit, or give any satisfaction for understanding times past; may raise such a longing for the right Authors in the minds of all men, as may encourage the

<sup>1</sup> nor] not  $B^1$ 

<sup>5</sup> having] hearing  $B^{1}BLC^{1}$ 

<sup>6</sup> set in ranke] arranged Q

<sup>7-8</sup> generally . . . usurie] no other trades to speake of than  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN L P^{1} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> fripperie and usurie]  $om P^{1}$ 

<sup>9</sup> least] that  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> them] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> may it be] it may be  $B^{T}$ 

<sup>14</sup> doth in the end draw] in the end draweth P'; this] these  $C' HN P^2$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> cutting of] cutting off of  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ ; savour] favour  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>16</sup> understanding] om  $B^1$ 

Protestants to reprint them in theyr first entirenesse, having hope given to vent them although in secret. These have I observed for the complotts and practises of the Roman Church and Papacie, not doubting but they may have many more and much finer than I can dreame of: and yet in the surveying of these altogether, me thinke they are such and so essentiall in theyr proofe that it causeth me in generality of good desire to wish. 5 that eyther the cause which they strive to maintein were better, or theyr policies whereby they mainteine it were not so good.

# Of the present state of the Papacie, and their peculiar Dominions

Now to take a briefe view of the Present State of the Papacy or rather of some poincts therein more requisite to bee knowne: first to consider it in his owne proper 10 and Peculiar Dominions, namely in the Signories and Territories which the Pope holds in Italy; for as for Avignon with his Countie Veniessine in France, by reason of the ill neighbourhood of the Protestants, of Orange, it hath yielded him I weene in these latter times no great matter; (yea rather it hath beene an over-charge unto him; for which cause they like well to bee under the Pope, as bringing more in to them, than hee 15 taketh from them:) I take it at this day, of the foure great States of Italy, by reason of the accesse of the Dukedome of Ferrara escheted to him of late, to bee clearely the third at

<sup>4</sup> methinke] methinkes  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>4-5</sup> and so . . . proofe] om  $A B^{1} B^{2} C^{1} HN L P^{1} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> to]  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN L P^{l} P^{2} Q cor 29$ , ins BL 6 or] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> briefe] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> it] that P'; his] it's B'

<sup>12</sup> Countie Veniessine] country Venessima  $P^{l}$ , countrie Venessine Q; Veniessine] Venassive  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$ ins BL

<sup>13</sup> Orange] Grange  $B^{I}BLC^{I}$ . I] as I  $P^{I}$ ; weene] do weene O

<sup>15</sup> in to] unto  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN$ 

<sup>16</sup> it] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>17</sup> of late] om  $P^{I}$ 

least and to surmount the great Dukes, which it hath well-nigh surrounded also. Yea question might be made concerning the second place. For although the Venetians in amplititude of Territorie farre, and in greatnesse of revenew not a little exceed it: Yet beside other difficulties and charges of necessitie to which they are more subject; in militarie force they greatly come short; the Popes men retaining still the brave hearts 5 of theyr auncestours, and breeding among them plentie of able leaders, (whereof at this present both the great Duke and the Venetians do serve themselves;) whereas the Lombards, wherein is the flower of the State of Venice are as heavy and unwarlike, as theyr soile is diepe and fat; insomuch that the Venetians are driven to seeke abroad and especially to the Grisons, from whom they are to have at all times ten thousand at 10 call. But on the contrary side being to be alleaged, that the Venetians are by sea puissant, where the Pope can do nothing; I suppose they may stil hold the second place of greatnes: the first even in Italy without other respect, being incomparably due unto the Spanish mightinesse. And this in possession. Besides which all Italy holding 15 partly of the Pope and partly of the Empire, (save the Sign: of Venice, who acknowledge no Lord.) of the Pope, the kingdomes of Naples and Sicily with theyr

9 diepe and] tender Q

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<sup>1</sup> surrounded] surmounted  $B^2 C^1 HN$  ins BL; also] om  $B^1$ ; Yea] the  $P^1$ 

<sup>3</sup> Territorie] territories  $B^{1}$ ; farre] fayle  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>7</sup> the Venetians] Venetians  $B^{I}BLC^{I}HN$ ; serve] not disdaine to serve Q

<sup>8</sup> flower] scumme  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] and as Q

<sup>10</sup> Grisons] Grecians BL  $C^{l}$  HN, Gresons  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> respect] respects  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; incomparably] incomparable  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> unto] to  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> partly] part P; and] om  $B^{1}$  C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL; partly] part P<sup>1</sup>; Sign:] Signorie A  $B^{2}$  L P<sup>2</sup>, Citie C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL, segniorie B<sup>1</sup> Q, citty P<sup>1</sup>

<sup>16</sup> kingdomes] kingdome  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; Sicily] Cicile  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

dependents, the Dukedomes of Parma and Placentia, and Urbin, besides other lesse auiltets of these the Duchie of Urbin (no great thing, but full of stout men, and of some hundred thousand crownes revenew,) is in great possibilitie to devolve to the Church ere long; the Duke being in yeeres and without heyres; though as now unmarried, by his old wives decease of late; but the Jesuites labour hard that hee so remaine 5 perswading him that Bigamy is not so acceptale an estate to God. There is also possibilitie of the escheting of Parma and Placentia, there being but the young Duke (who remaineth still unmarried, being withstood, as is thought, in his long love at Florence, both by Spaine of old, and now by the Pope also, besides the great Dukes not 10 hastinesse to forge his Neeces portion;) and the Cardinall FARNESI his Brother, who in that case I believe should find as difficult a suit at Rome for dispensation to marry; as the Duke of Ferrara did before him for a transport of his tenure. Of Naples I can say nothing eyther of probabilitie or possibilitie, as things now stand. Onely it is apparent that the Popes have a very great desire unto it, and opinion of good title also even in present. But the unfortunate successe and fearefull example of Pope SIXTUS 15

4 and] and as Q; heyres] ins BL, heire  $B^{1}C^{1}HN$ 

14 the Popes] they Q; Popes have] Pope hath  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>1</sup> and] om A P'; Placentia] Valencia C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> stout] ins BL, goodly  $B^1 C^1 HN$ , good  $A L P^1 P^2 Q$ 

<sup>3</sup> is] it is P'; possibilitie] probabilitie B'; devolve] denull Q;

<sup>5-6</sup> but . . . God.]  $om P^2 Q$ 

<sup>6</sup> Bigamy]  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN L P^{l}$ , Biganne cor 29; There] Heere  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> possibilitie] possibilities  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> as is] as it is  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN del BL$ ; at] to  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>9-10</sup> by ... portion] and now for the Pope also Q; the great ... forge] and now by the Pope, (also besydes, the great Duke is not hastie to forge  $B^{l}$ ; Dukes not hastinesse] Duke is not hastie  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; great ... portion] Pope (also besyde of the great Duke, is not hastie to forget his Neeces portyon  $P^{l}$  10 forge] forgoe  $A C^{l}$  HN; FARNESI] see explanatory notes

<sup>13</sup> of for  $A B^{1} L P^{1} Q$ ; things now stand now things stand  $B^{1}$ 

QUINTUS hath given a fresh stop and great checke both to theyr desire and title. This SIXTUS QUINTUS having of a simple Frier been advanced to the Papacie by the favour of Spaine onely, which of long he had served; fore-seeing very plainely in his changed discourses the inevitable bondage, which together with all Italy the very Apostolike Sea and Lady-Church of the world was in short time to fall into, if the greatnesse of his 5 preferrour did grow as it began; whose irreligious enchroachments upon the Churchrights, whose tyrannous importuning them to serve his turnes and humours, whose bravadoes, threats, insolences, and lording over them his eyes did see dayly and could not remedie; constrained by these eminent daungers and present indignities, adventured to revive and harbour in his mind the afflicted and forsaken thoughts of PAULUS 10 QUARTUS his predecessor, and to embrace a desseigne of chasing the Spaniards out of Italy, and especially of recovering the Realme of Naples to the Church, which hath now but a quit rent of foure thousand Crownes out of it, (sent to them upon an Hackney) being one of the richest platts that is in the world. For the effecting of which purpose

- 13 (sent . . . Hackney)] om  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN L P^{1} P^{2} Q$  ins BL
- 14 platts] places  $B^{T}C^{T}HNP^{T}$  ins BL, plottes  $C^{2}$

<sup>1</sup> hath given ... title] doth feare them  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, doth feare them who  $B^{l}$ , who doth feare them  $P^{l}$ 1-2 hath ... having] om  $P^{2}Q$ ; This ... beene] who of a simple Friar, being  $B^{l}C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}P^{2}Q$  ins BL 3 onely] om  $B^{l}C$  HN  $P^{l}P^{2}Q$  ins BL; which] whom  $B^{l}C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>3-4</sup> in . . . discourses] on  $B^{T}C^{T}HNP^{T}Q$  ins BL

<sup>5-6</sup> the world... preferrour] om  $P^{l}$ ; was in ... upon the] did grow into, perceiving their irreligion in encroachments uppon their  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, did grow into, perceiving the Spaniards irreligious incroachments uppon theire  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> preferrour] Spaine  $P^2 Q$ ; whose irreligious] their ~  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins BL; irreligious] irreligion to  $P^1$ 

<sup>7</sup> them] him  $B^{i}C^{i}HN$  ins BL; his] their  $B^{i}C^{i}HN$  ins BL; whose tyrannous] their  $\sim B^{i}C^{i}HN$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> them] him. When  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$ , ins BL; see] see this  $B^{l} C^{l} HN del BL$ 

<sup>9</sup> remedie] remedie it otherwise  $B^{l} C^{l} HN del BL$ ; constrained] being constrained  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2} del BL$ , he was constrained Q

<sup>9-10</sup> adventured . . . and] hee durst  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{2} Q$  ins BL; adventured . . . afflicted] om  $P^{l}$  10 and] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> and to embrace] embraced P; to] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{2} Q$  ins BL; of chasing] chasing  $B^{1}$ 

by inhauncing his imposts upon all commodities after the example of other Princes and States and his neighbours and by other devises together with good management, in short time he raysed five Millions of Treasure, a good ground of warre, and moreover after the example of the same PAULUS QUARTUS, who brought into very Rome it selfe two thousand Alman Lutherans to oppose against the Duke of Alba King PHILIPS 5 Generall in Italy, yea and was content to endure quietly those abuses and despites which they dayly offered to his Images and Sacrament and sundry other devotions, as remaineth in a report of credit not to except against; so this SIXTUS began covertly to seeke strength from the Protestants propending more to favour this French Kings labours, yea and desiring to enterteine good correspondence with England also, as 10 was strongly suspected, commending her Majesties governement above all Princes in the world. By which meanes and endeavours he drew upon him so great feare and hatred of the Spanish partie, and especially of the Jesuites, (from whom also as being too rich for vowers of povertie he tooke away at one clap above tenne thousand Crownes rent, and bestowed on St. PETER, as I have heard reported;) that they styled 15

7 Sacrament] Sacraments  $B^{l}$  HN ins BL, very Sacrament Q

<sup>1</sup> upon all]  $A B^{1} L P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>2</sup> and by] by  $B^{1} BLC^{1} HN P^{1}$ ; management] menaging  $B^{1} P^{1}$ 

<sup>4</sup> very] om  $B^{I} C^{I} HN P^{I}$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> Alman] Almain Q

<sup>6</sup> and despites]  $om B^{1}$ 

<sup>8</sup> except] be accepted  $B^1$ ; this] that  $C^2$ 

<sup>9</sup> propending] propounding  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; more] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> correspondence] correspondency  $P^{l}$ ; also] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> meanes and endeavours] neglect  $B^{1}C^{1}HNP^{1}$  ins BL; and endeavours] om Q; feare and] on Q

<sup>12-13</sup> feare and hatred] offence  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL, hatred  $B^{l}$ , a number  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> away] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL; tenne] 20 000  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>15</sup> on] upon  $B^{l}P^{l}$ ; heard] heard it Q; that] as  $B^{l}C^{l}HN$  ins BL; styled] have styled  $B^{l}$ 

him a Navarrist, a Schismaticke, an Hereticke, an Allie of the Divels, yea and protested they would farther proceed against him: and at this day they ordinarily give out in Italy, that the Divell with whom hee had intelligence came and fetcht him away, being in truth one of the worthiest Popes this age hath seene, and of a mind most possessed with high and honourable enterprises. But the unprosperous event as I said of this project 5 for the uniting of Naples againe to the Papacie, and his precipated ruine who dared to advance it; having beene poysoned by Spanish practise, as the wisest there say; (and while myselfe was in Italy, a Priest one of the Popes subjects reported in secret, that there was lately a supplication put up to his Holinesse by a person unknowne, craving absolution at his hands for making away of a Pope, which was thought could bee no 10 other than this SIXTUS) doth deter them that come after from embarking them selves in the like, and from imitating his actions whose end they have cause to tremble at.

So Naples remaineth in his view that hath most right to it; but in his hands and armes that is strongest to hold it: And is like so to continue till some stout Pope

- 5-6 this project . . . Papacie] these his indevours Q
- 6 who] and who Q
- 7 it] them  $B^{1} C^{1} HN Q$  ins BL

<sup>1</sup> an Hereticke]  $A B^2 L P' P^2 Q$ , and Hereticke 29; an . . . and] a man Divelyed, against whom they  $P^2 Q$ 1-2 a Navarrist ... Italy,] an Avarist and an heretique, a man devillised, against whom they protested, they could farther proceede, And at this day they give out in Italie B'; a Schismaticke . . . in Italy] om C' HNins BL; yea . . . him] agaynst whom they protested they would farther proceed  $P' P^2$ 2 ordinarily] om P' Q

<sup>4-5</sup> and of a mind . . . But] om Q

<sup>4-6</sup> and of a mind . . . Papacie] The unprosperous events of these high indevours  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2}$  ins BL 5 as] om Q

<sup>11</sup> deter] terrifie  $B^{\prime} \tilde{C}^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL, defeare Q; embarking] venturing  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> from] for  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> remaineth] remaineth not  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN$ , remaineth still Q

<sup>13-14</sup> but . . . hold it] om  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> that] who Q

p. 171.14-p. 172.2 And is like ... advised] on  $A B^{I} B^{2} C^{I} HN L P^{I} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

assisted with greater aydes and opportunities, shall adventure to send backe that Spanish Hackney with a great Horse after him, as the Frier advised. And this for the Popes temporall State: which may yield him perhaps two millions of yearly revenew, by reason of the great encrease Ferrara hath brought; and be able to make at home for their own defence some hundred thousand fighting men or thereabout if need were. 5

# Of the Popes sucking from Forraine Parts

Besides which rent arising from the Popes patrimonie and state at home, that which hee sucketh from Forain parts is not small even at this day; though nothing perhaps in comparison of those former rich times, when money came in dayly so flush from all quarters, that their temporall, of which now they make theyr principall, was 10 then but an accessorie additament to theyr greatnesse. For among many other blowes which LUTHER with his long pen hath given that Sea, it hath compelled them besides the entire losse in Countries revolted; even in those which stick to them, to draw more moderately than before, for feare of offending. Yea they have bene driven also in these latter times, to share or yield up into the hands of great Princes (of Fraunce namely 15 and Spaine.) for the better assuring them, a great part of those Fleeces which

- 8 from] of *BL*  $C^{I}$  *HN*, out of  $B^{I}$
- 9 those former] om P'
- 9-10 flush . . . quarters] from all quarters so flush B'
- 10 their] the Q; temporall] temporality  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; of om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL
- 11 additament] addition  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; many] on  $B^{1} B^{2} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; many other] the  $P^{2}$
- 12 with . . . pen] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; long] om  $P^{2} Q$
- 13 in] out of  $C^{T}HN$  ins BL, of Q

<sup>3</sup> yield him perhaps] perhaps yield him  $B^{T}Q$ , perhaps yeeld him now near  $P^{T}P^{2}$ ; perhaps] now neere  $C^{T}$ HN ins BL; two] now meere two A

<sup>4</sup> be] may be  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>5</sup> some . . . thousand] 200 000  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>7</sup> from . . . state] at home at his own state  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, at home in . . .  $B^{l}$ , at home for . . .  $P^{l}$ , at home from . . .  $P^{2}Q$ 

<sup>14</sup> driven] om  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> times] times forced  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>16</sup> a great] the great  $P^{l}$ 

themselves wont to sheere from the Clergie heretofore without any such partners. Howbeit in Italy and some other few places, theyr Annates and tenths doe still runne current; besides the Spoglie as they tearme them or strippings of Clergiemen at theyr deaths, (unlesse in theyr life-time by yeerely pension they list to redeeme them:) and amount no doubt unto a good round summe. His gaine out of Spaine is thought 5 matchable very neere to that of Italy: which the Kings thereof doe and will more contentedly endure for the better assuring of the Papacie to them; which otherwise were likely to runne mainely with Fraunce. I would not report it but that I have it from good place that PIUS QUINTUS under pretences after the Councell of Trent for visiting and reforming of theyr Clergie, with other Papall affaires was complained 10 of to the Councell of Spaine to have drawn fourteene millions from them out of that Kingdome. What gaine theyr pardons bring I cannot well estimate; they beeing not sold now to particular persons after theyr former usage save in Spaine and those outappurtenances; where also the late King himselfe was said to have the greatest share,

<sup>1</sup> wont] were wont  $B^{l} C^{l} HN del BL$ , had wont  $P^{l}$ ; sheere] share  $C^{l} HN ins BL$ ; such] om  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L$  $P^{l} Q ins BL$ 

<sup>2</sup> few] om  $P^{l}$ ; Annates] annuities  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> strippings of] strippings which they have of  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN L P^{l} P^{2} Q$  del BL

<sup>4</sup> yeerely] some yeerely  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN L P^{1} P^{2} Q$  some del BL; pension] stipend  $B^{1}$ ; them] om  $C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> unto] to  $B^{1} P^{1}$ 

<sup>6</sup> matchable very neere] very nere matchable  $B^{I}$ ; to] unto  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>9</sup> good place] men good of place BL  $C^{I}$  HN, men of good place  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>9-10</sup> for visiting and] florished in P'; for visiting . . . of] of reforming C' HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> and reforming] om B'; of] om L P' Q; with other Papall] and such like A B' C' HN L P' ins BL

<sup>11</sup> of ] on  $B^{l}$ ; that] the  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, their  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> gaine] gaines  $B^{1}$ ; well] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> those out-] the  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> where] to them, whereof  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1} del BL$ ; greatest] greater  $B^{1} C^{1} HN ins BL$ 

and in regard thereof to have enterposed his Regall authoritie in pressing theyr sale upon all his people. It is to be presumed that such a multitude of generall perpetuall and plenarie indulgences, for all times persons and offences, besides other more limited, as are graunted to the greatest part of the religious houses, and to some other Churches of Italy, and to sundry in Fraunce also; yield somewhat to the holy Father in way of 5 thankefull acknowledgement, considering that their gaine by them is not nothing.

The Cordeliers at Orleans at the publishing of one Indulgence, picked up as they lay there foure thousand Crownes at a blow. But howsoever the mysterie of that secret stand, this is plaine and apparent, that the Papacie is content to use these Religious houses, as very spunges to drinke what juyce they can from the people, that 10 afterwards hee may wring them out one by one in his owne cesterne. The Convents have from him these indulgences of grace to remit sinnes and free soules from the flames of Purgatorie; at the anniversarie publishing whereof in theyr Churches, there stands in eminent place the box of devotion, with some poore begging Crucifix lightly before it, and two tapers on each side to see the chinke to put money in. What man 15

4 the greatest part of ] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; the ] om  $B^{l}$  Q; to ] om  $B^{l}$ 

6 that their]  $A B^{1} L P^{1} P^{2} Q$ , their 29; not] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

8 Crowns] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$  ins BL

11 one by one] om L P' Q; his] their B', cesterne]  $A B' B^2 BL C' HN L$ , Convents 29

12 him] the Pope  $B^{\prime}$ ; the flames of] om  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

13 anniversarie] yeerely  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$  ins BL

15 the money] money  $L P^{I} Q$ 

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<sup>2</sup> all his people] his people  $A L P^2 Q$ 

<sup>3</sup> all] om  $B^{l}C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL; times persons] persons times  $B^{l}LP^{l}$ ; besides . . . limited] om  $C^{l}HNP^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> Papacie is content] Popes are contented  $B^{l} C^{l} HN ins BL$ ; is content] dis content *cor 29*; content] contented  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> eminent] some convenient  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, some imminent  $P^{l}$ ; the box] a box Q; lightly] likely  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

can bee so unthankefull, so stony and dry hearted, as to give nothing to them who have forgiven them so much: especially there never wanting some holy pretence to encourage nor many a deere eye to observe theyr good doings. Besides this the Pilgrimages to theyr miraculous images; (which draw great commoditie to the Cities also and States, wherein the people not ignorant thereof helpe to set them a working; a consideration 5 that bringeth contentment therewith no lesse to the Princes, so sweet is the tast of gaine from whatsoever:) the visiting of theyr holy Reliques; both which have theyr offerings: the purchasing of Masses both auxiliatorie and explatorie: theyr rewards for praving. theyr collections for preaching, besides sundry other duties; among which theyr Obits; which are so beneficial, that theyr accompt is from a rich man to draw Viis et Modis 10 some hundred crownes at his funerall, or else it goes hard. Yea this is so certeine and so good a rent unto them, that if any man of sort should be buried without theyr solemnities, and some of theyr orders to accompany his course; he should be thought a very Heretike and bee sure to have some odde bruit set abroach concerning him. As fell out not long since to a wealthy Citizen of Lucca: who willing by hisTestament to 15

13 course] corpse Q

<sup>1</sup> to . . . nothing] not to give Q; them] him  $B^{l} P^{l} Q$ 

<sup>2</sup> them] him A; there ... pretence] as the trimming of the church, or releaving the starved convent  $P^2 Q$ ; wanting] being wanting  $B^l P^l$ 

<sup>3</sup> a deere eye to observe] an eye open to see  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; good] om Q; the Pilgrimages] their A L Q4 theyr] the Q; draw] drew  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; commoditie] commodities  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$  ins BL; the Cities] their Cities  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>5</sup> helpe to]  $om B^{1}Q$ 

<sup>6</sup> no lesse to the Princes] to the Princes no lesse LQ

<sup>8</sup> and expiatorie]  $om P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> among] amongst  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL; Obits] see explanatory notes, objits  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> Viis et Modis] see explanatory notes

<sup>11</sup> crownes] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL, pounds  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>12</sup> good] greate BL; of sort] om  $C^{l}$  HN L ins BL; man of sort] om Q

<sup>14</sup> bee] to be C HN del BL; odde bruit] bad bruit B' C' HN P' ins BL; bruit] bruited Q; concerning] of Q 15 of] at  $C^2$ ; willing] willed B' C' HN ins BL

bee buried in the night without theyr attending, tapering, censing or singing: had a rumour of him soone spread by the belly-devout Friers, whom hunger and losse of hope had made wickedly irefull, that hee was haunted and infested with blacke ratts on his death-bed. A matter of like truth to the Cordeliers spirit at Orleans. These meanes extraordinarie, besides theyr ordinarie revenew, increasing often by inheritances 5 descending upon them, which happ'ning to any of theyr brotherhood goe to the Convent for ever, (such is the Law of Italy;) being graunted or permitted by the Pope to the Friers and all to enrich them; the Law of thankefulnessse requires, reason and equitie allowes, and theyr vow of povertie adviseth, that when they grow too rich, his Holinesse should let them blood in theyr overfull veynes for his owne necessarie susteinance, as did 10 SIXTUS QUINTUS; who pared away the superfluities of sundry rich Convents, as fitter for his high State and honourable desseines than for them who had povertie in recommendation. This Pope dealeth more gently by way of loanes: which may perhaps in the end come all to one reckoning: Besides which when warre against Turkes or Heretikes, or any other enemies of the Church or any other great affaire requires 15

8 and all] om P'; of thankfulnesse] om P'

14 which] the which BL C' HN P'15 any] *om A BL C' HN P' O* 

<sup>1</sup> attending. . . singing] ringing, tapering, sensing, attending, or singing  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P$  ins BL2 rumour of him soone spread] rumour soone spread on him  $A B^{l} L P^{l} P^{2}$ ; of him] on him  $C^{l} HN$  of ins BL

<sup>3</sup> had made] have made  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; that] to say that  $P^{l}$ ; infested] molested  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; blacke] on  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> like] om P'; A matter ... Orleans.] om B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> theyr] these  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; revenew] revenewes  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> happ'ning] happen  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, happening P; brotherhood goe] brotherhoods, goeth  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, brotherhood goeth  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> his] that his Q; owne] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> QUINTUS] om C<sup>l</sup> HN P<sup>l</sup> ins BL; Convents] Covents B<sup>l</sup> B<sup>2</sup> C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> recommendation] their vowed recommendation  $A B^{l} B^{2} BL C^{l} HN$ , in vowed  $P^{l} P^{2}$ 

employment of the Church-treasure: there are taxes and subsidies imposed or requested to a certeine proportion, upon the revenew of all Abbeys and other religious Convents in Italy, besides the rest of the Clergie, which can be no small matter: as was done these last yeeres of the service of Hungarie. I might adde hereto the roll of his forreine Commodities, the fees of dispensations, chiefly in prohibited degrees for marriage: 5 There beeing few royall famillies at this day in Christendome, which by reason of theyr often alliances and neerenesse in bloud, are able by his Canons to enter-mary without his Licence. Which fashion of restraining of things lawfull upon shew of vertue, that afterwards by dispensing even with unlawfull things they may raise theyr benefit, is the base brood of the mixture of hypocrisie and covetousnesse, borne to the common 10 calamitie and pressure of them, for whose ease and felicitie all governement was instituted. But by these and infinite other expeditions wherin his Papal Authoritie doth accomodate and is accomodated reciprocally of all Nations; the particularities whereof I will not farther insist upon, this being sufficient to verifie this assertion, that even at this day those out-incomes are good helps for an extraordinarie odd chare, when need

<sup>1</sup> there] then A BL  $C^{1}$  HN  $P^{2}Q$ 

<sup>2</sup> Convents] Covents  $B^1 B^2 C^1 HN$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> was] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>4</sup> might] may Q; roll] toll  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; of  $]B^{\prime} L P^{\prime} Q$ , for 29; his] on Q

<sup>6-12</sup> There beeing . . . by these] om A  $B^1 B^2 C^1 HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> other]  $B^{1} B^{2} C^{1} HN L P^{1} Q$ , other dispensations and 29 ins BL; expeditions wherin]  $B^{1} B^{2} C^{1} HN L P^{1}$ , expeditions 29, wherin del BL

<sup>13</sup> and is accommodated] on  $P^{l}$ ; reciprocally] irreciprocally  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13-14</sup> the particularities . . . upon] om  $A B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN L P^{\prime} P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> this] that  $P^{l}$ ; this being] but this is  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN P^{2} Q del BL$ ; this assertion] that  $\sim A B^{l} L P^{2} Q$ 15 odd share]  $B^{l} C^{l} Q$ , od-chare 29, chare ins BL, odd Church HN, odd charge  $P^{l}$ 

is. And yet all this notwithstanding the treasure of the Church is small. SIXTUS QUINTUS left five Millions by his great racking and husbandrie. His successor GREGORIE the Xiiiith wasted foure of them in ten moneths and lesse, (above his ordinary revenew.) in pomp and ryot. This man is very charie over that one remaining, and distilleth all other devises rather than set finger to that string; which yet his late 5 prowesses have caused him to assay. But were the church rent and gain how huge soever, two assiduall horse-leeches which never lin sucking it, will never suffer it to swell over-greatly in treasure. The first is the high place of honour which he takes farre above all other Princes and Monarchs in the world: which draweth him to an inestimable charge in all places, to carie it with countenance and comlinesse 10 requisite; being forced thereby in his owne traine; in the enterteinment he gives Princes; in the allowance to his Legats, Nuntio's and other Ministers, which according to his owne greatnesse are sent into all Countries; and lastly in furnishing out to the multitude of his actions and practises over the world; to raise his charge for the most part according to the proportion of his high state. For honour and frugalitie are the 15 unfittest companions that can be. It is liberalitie and expense which both breeds and

- 12 the] om  $B^{1}$ ; to his Legats] he give the  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL13 all] other  $B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{2} Q$ ; furnishing] the furnishing  $P^{2} Q$
- 14 and practises] om Q; to] do  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL om  $B^{l}$ ; raise] om Q
- 15 the proportion] proportion Q

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<sup>1</sup> small] but small Q; QUINTUS] 5th  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>7</sup> lin] leave  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ , linne Q; suffer] lett Q

<sup>8</sup> over-greatly] over-great  $B^{1}C^{1}HN$  ins BL, over Q; and Monarchs] on Q

<sup>9</sup> an] om  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> countenance] the countenance Q

<sup>11</sup> thereby] thereto B'; gives] giveth to BL C' HN P' Q

<sup>16</sup> can] maie  $P^2$ ; and expence] om Q; which] that  $B^1 C^1 HN P^2$  ins BL; both] om  $P^2$ 

mainteins honour. Neyther can a judiciall man perhaps wish worse to his enemie than to have an honourable calling and a poore living.

An other thing which keepes the Papacie alwayes so bare, yea and makes their temporall state the worse governed in Italy, for so it is compted; is in their often, change of Popes by reason of their yeeres, the infinit desire each hath to advance his 5 kinred; his Children first if he have any, as PAULUS tertius, who left his base issue no lesse than Dukes of Placentia and Parma; and GREGORIE the Xiijth more lately, who made his base sonne Duke of Sosa and Castellan of St. Angelo: and if they have no Children, or list not be knowne of them, then theyr Nephewes and other kinsmen which is common to them all. Yea it often falls out that those Popes who have not any 10 known children of theyr own; by extending their love larger to a greater multitude of Nephews, yet desiring for theyr owne renowme and perpetuating of theyr name to raise them to as great State and wealth as they can possibly; do consume more the goods and treasure of the Church, than those other who have theyr loves, though stronger, yet to fewer: as was apparent in the two GREGORIES, the Xiijth with his few Sonnes, and 15 the Xiiijth with the multitude of his Nephews and kinsmen. And these men being raised often from the bottome of basenesse to the heighth of pride and power; having no hold

13 as] a  $B^{1}C^{1}$  HN ins BL; State] estate  $B^{1}C^{1}$  HN ins BL; they can possibly] may be Q; the] their  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>1</sup> judiciall man] man of judgment  $P^2 Q$ ; perhaps] om Q; worse] any thing worse  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>2</sup> to . . . poore] a great calling, and a small Q

<sup>3</sup> keepes] keepeth P; the Papacie] om  $B^1$ ; alwayes] om Q; makes] maketh  $P^1$ 

<sup>4</sup> the] om Q; is] om Q; in their] their  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> tertius] the third  $B^T BL C^I HN$ 

<sup>7</sup> and] om  $B^1$ ; Xiiith] the thirteenth BL  $C^1$  HN

<sup>9</sup> Children] sonnes Q; be] to be Q; be knowne] to know  $P^{l}$ ; then] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> often] oft B' C' HN P' ins BL; falls] falleth P'

<sup>11</sup> their love] of  $\sim \sim B^1 C^1 HN P^1 del BL$ 

<sup>12</sup> Nephews] their ~ B' C' HN P' del BL; name] owne ~ B' C' HN del BL

<sup>14</sup> of the Church] *om Q* 

<sup>16</sup> the multitude of ] om Q

in theyr hands nor scantling of theyr fortunes, as having never beene in the middle state, which is the measure of both extreames, doe fall into ryot able to ruine any Prince; and rage and ravine in theyr Offices and governments, as they that knowing theyr time short meane to use it to the full proofe, the examples whereof are both many and fresh, which for theyr foulnesse and basenesse I list not to repeat. For which cause it was a good 5 helpe for SIXTUS QUINTUS to bee Pope, that hee hath small kinred: though that ground is moveable; seeing Pedegrees change for the most part together with mens fortunes; which as a conscionable Arbritatour, neyther annoyes the poore ever with multitude of kinsmen, nor discomforts the rich with paucitie.

## Of the Clergie under the Papacie

10

For the state of the rest of the Clergie under the Papacie, it varieth as the Countries. In Spaine the Prelates are exceeding rich in revenew: the Archbishoprick of Tolledo not inferiour to some Kingdoms. In Italy the livings of the Prelates are competent, considering the excessive multitude: Yet with so great diversitie, that some meere Bishopricks, are above twenty thousand Crownes rent and other some under 15 one thousand. But the custome of Italy which avoydeth yea and blameth multitude of

6 QUINTUS] 5th  $P^{i}$ ; that] for Q; that hee hath] who had  $P^{i}$ ; that ground] the ~  $B^{i}$ 

7 Pedegrees] that  $\sim B^1$ 

<sup>2</sup> the] om  $B^{i} C^{i}$  HN ins BL; extreames] extremities  $B^{i}$  BL  $C^{i}$  HN; any] a  $A B^{i}$  BL  $C^{i}$  HN  $P^{i} P^{2} Q$ 3 rage and ravine] rave and rage Q; and governments] om  $B^{i}$ ; that] not Q; theyr time short] how short their time is Q

<sup>4</sup> whereof are both] of both are C' HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> to repeat] repeat Q; For] to  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> nor] or P'; discomforts] discomforteth P'

<sup>11</sup> rest of] om  $B^{1} P^{1}$ , under the Papacie] om Q

<sup>12</sup> revenew] revenewes  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> the] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; the ... Prelates] they Q

<sup>14</sup> diversitie] diversities C' HN ins BL; that] As C HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> twenty thousand] two thousand  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14-15</sup> one thousand] a thousand Crownes C' HN ins BL

servants and great house-keeping in all sorts and degrees, makes a small matter sufficient, and a great superfluous. Besides, there to have many livings, is a matter of credit, not of profit onely; though as wise men as they, have thought otherwise of it, to bee a private great burthen, and a publike great mischiefe. The Parish Priests in Italy, who have not the tenths, (which in a Country whose soyle yields three harvests in 5 sundry places all in a yeere would amount to an huge matter, and considering the great rents and exactions would be insupportable,) but have in stead of them certeine farmes as gleabland appropriate, and some certeine quantitie out of the encrease of their neighbours; are so provided for, that the meanest lightly which are theyr Curati, have an hundred Crownes a yeare, and the Piovani, which are the Priests of Mother Churches 10 from two hundred to five hundred, and upward sometimes; which they helpe out with Masses as occasion serves; which are still in Italy as cheape as a groat. In Germany the Prelates are likely great Princes, and great Nobilitie required to have those places. In Fraunce the Clergie hath beene in fore-times most flourishing: theyr revenew amounting, when land and all things were cheapest, to six Millions in the whole; 15 besides theyr great place and authoritie in theyr State, and theyr ample jurisdiction

5-6 in . . . yeere] all in a yeere in sundrie places Q

<sup>1</sup> in . . . degrees] om Q; makes a] which make  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>3</sup> credit] credit and  $C^{1}$  HN del BL; of it] om Q

<sup>5</sup> not the] their Q; whose soyle yields] yielding Q

<sup>6</sup> a yeere] one yeere BL C' HN, an huge] a huge P'

<sup>7</sup> exactions] rackes C' HN ins BL, but] om Q

<sup>8</sup> gleabland] glebe and  $P^{l}$ ; quantitie out] L Q, quantitie 29, del BL, small quantitie C HN

<sup>9</sup> are] and so they are Q; Curati] see explanatory notes, Curates  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; an] a  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; 10 Piovani] see explanatory notes, Piovatri  $C^{l}$  ins BL, Romane HN; the] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> upward] upwards  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> likely] lightly A; required] is required  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>16</sup> and authoritie] om  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL; they State] the State  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; and they ] om L Q; they ample] ample  $A C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2}$  ins BL

in theyr severall precincts.

At this day they are fall'n generally; especially the inferiour part, into great miserie and beggerie, accompanied with all base and vile conditions; whereby the Country people is growne also utterly without knowledge of God or sence of Religion: being fall'n into those tearmes that plentie which should make men thankefull, 5 makes them but wanton; and affliction which should make men repentant, makes them desperate; and nothing can better them. The whole Realme in summe hath bene scourged with a three stringed whip, Warre, Ill-governement, and Injustice particular: whereof the two latter are like to lasr still, whilst on the one side the places of Justice are sold as by the Drumme; on the other side the Church Prelacies and other 10 governments of soules, are made the fees and charges of meere Courtiers and Souldiers, whose merits would have rewards, but suiting to theyr qualitie: which in a Realme so abounding with meanes could not bee wanting but by too much want of indifferencie and measure, heaping all upon a few, and most where are least deserts: whereas these so unfit and ill-suited recompences, distemper that harmonie which should be in a 15 flourishing state, and over-whelme the Land with all kind of corruption and confusion.

5 into] in A

<sup>1</sup> severall] om  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2}$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> miserie and] om Q; vile] vilde  $C^{I}$  HN del BL

<sup>4</sup> Country] common  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; is] are Q; also] om Q; also utterly] utterly also A  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> but] om C HN ins BL; makes] maketh  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> particular] om  $C^{l}$  HN Q ins BL

<sup>9</sup> like] likely C' HN Q ins BL; whilst] whiles C', whereas HN, whereof BL

<sup>10</sup> Prelacies] Prelats  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>11</sup> meere] their  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> in] in such  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12-13</sup> a Realme . . . much] such a realme as that, could not want but for  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN L P^{2}$  ins BL, such a realme would not want, but for Q

<sup>14</sup> least] lesse BL  $C^{l}$  HN; are least deserts] desert is least Q

<sup>16</sup> over-whelme] fill  $A C' HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL; kind of] om Q

#### Of the Pope himselfe and His Election

But to returne to the Papacie, or rather now to the Pope himselfe; and first to His Election: the right whereof having bene of Old in the Clergie and people, and from thence transferred to the Emperours nomination, is now wholly remitted to the College of Cardinalls: so that two third parts of theyr voices that are present are requisite to 5 him, that eyther by adoration or in Scrutinie shall winne that glorie. Which double porportion of voyces to agree, makes this Election of greater difficultie and gives occasion of rarer stratagems and devises in it than I suppose are to be found in any other in the world. I have heard that in these latter times a Cardinall of Sicilie, whose Holynesse and learning advanced him to that dignitie, (for of some such alwayes 10 there is care to make choise for divers consideration,) entering the Conclave to an Election, and expecting that by incessant prayer as in times of old some divine inspiration should have poincted out Christs Vicar; but finding when he was there nothing but practising and canvasing, promising and terrifying, banding and combining; setting of some up for stales only to ease passage for other, who were reserved till 15 the last cast, when former hopes and angers beeing spent and evaporated had abated the prime edge and strength of opposition; in summe being him selfe also assaulted by all

10 and learning] learning  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>2</sup> now] om  $C^{l}$  HN Q ins BL

<sup>3</sup> Old] old time A

<sup>6</sup> in] om C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL; winne that glorie] cary it away A C<sup>1</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup> Q ins BL

<sup>7</sup> makes] maketh  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>8</sup> stratagems and] om  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>8-9</sup> in any . . . world] in other parts of the world  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> of] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; of some up] up some  $B^{l}$ ; stales] forestalls  $B^{l}$ ; till] for Q 15-16 till the last cast] unto the last course  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> cast] course P'; former] others A, other mens C' HN ins BL; being] being by Q

meanes yea tugged and haled now by one part now by another, the good man agast as in a matter so cleane contrary to his fore-framed expectation, Ad hunc modum, quoth he, fiunt Pontifices Romani? and therewithall so soone as that conclave was broken, retired to his Country, and would never see Rome againe. But the matter of greatest marke herein at this day is the power of the K. of Spaine in swaying those Elections: who by 5 pensions, by preferments, by hopes of the highest, having assured a great third part of the Cardinalls to him, and to bee alwayes at his devotion in all elections; whereby having the Exclusive as they terme it; no Pope can be made but with his liking: hee proceeds on by his Ambassadours to name also some five or six unto them, whereof please they to choose any he shall rest well satisfied. Which course though it 10 mightily distast the rest of the Cardinalls who are hereby for ever debarred from their chiefe desire; yea and inwardly much afflict the great States of Italy, who are loth to have theyr pope of a Spanish edition: yet is there no remedy one of those in fine they needs must choose: the discretion they can have is onely this, to choose such of them as is likely to prove least to his purpose. A memorable example heereof in the election 15

- 6 highest] ~ things  $P^l$
- 7 the Cardinalls] Cardinalls  $P^{I}$
- 8 having] hath BL  $C^{l}$  HN; with] by Q; liking] election Q
- 10 they] them P; to choose] but to ~ C' HN del BL
- 11 debarred] deposed  $P^{l}$
- 12 afflict] afflicted B' P'
- 13 is there] there is  $B^{I} P^{I}$

<sup>1</sup> part] party  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; so] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL;

<sup>2-3</sup> Ad hunc . . . Romani] see explanatory notes

<sup>3</sup> Romani] Romans  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] om  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; that] the  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; retired] up he BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>4</sup> would never see] never saw  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> Elections] Electioners P'

<sup>14</sup> needs] om A; needs must] must needes  $B^{1}$ ; likely] like  $B^{1}$ 

of the last GREGORIE: where a greater part of the Cardinalls enflamed against the King, and banding against him; yet in conclusion after two Moneths imprisonment in the Conclave were forced to relent and to choose one of his nominates, or otherwise a cleare case no election at all. Which whether there were or no made no matter to Spaine: who stood upon the surer ground in his exclusive obstinatenesse; The 5 necessitie of the Church, the State of the Papacie; theyr owne present condition, the disorders of the Citie of Rome and of all theyr Territorie, which in want of a Pope, and in this locking up of the Cardinals, as it were, into a cellar do swarme exceedingly, did mainely cry out to have some Pope or other: which at last they yielded to by consenting upon a favourite, yea and subject of Spaine also; for such was that GREGORIE. 10 Howbeit the maine matter runnes not with him so clearely: they being not the same men that are chosen, and that are Popes: but chaunging with theyr estate both name and nature also. Yea sometimes not easie to find two divers men of humour more diffferent, than is the same man in his Cardinalship and in his Papacie. Where of no man better witnesse than SIXTUS QUINTUS: the most crouching humble Cardinall 15 that was ever lodged in an Oven, and the most stoute resolute Pope that ever ware Crowne: in his Cardinalship a meere slave and vassall of Spaine, in his Papacie the

16 ware] wore Q

<sup>1</sup> last] saide C' HN ins BL; a greater] the  $\sim B'$ , the greatest C' HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> nominates] nomination  $B^{\prime}$ , nominacyon  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>5</sup> stood] stands BL C<sup>l</sup> HN; the surer] a sure C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> in] om C' HN ins BL; as it were] in a C' HN ins BL om A L  $P^2 Q$ ; swarme] swarve BL C' HN; did] and did P

<sup>9</sup> at last] at the last  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>13</sup> easie] easier BL  $C^{l}$  HN; humour] humours  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> man] om  $P^{l}$ ; Papacie] Papalitie  $A B^{l}$ 

<sup>17</sup> in his] I mean a P'; slave and vassall] vassail and slave B' P'

daungeroust enemie Spaine had in the world: in summe who in his Cardinalship was scorned as a base Frier, in his Papacie was redoubted as a Prince of great worth and spirit.

Neyther is there any mervaile to bee made of this difference; seeing the hope of obtaining and of maintaining the Papall honour are so cleane contrary: seeing in the 5 one state they fashion them selves to all other mens humours; in the other they looke that all men should accomodate themselves to theyr honours; and lastly seeing those Princes whose favour is the onely meanes to compasse the place, theyr power is the onely terrour of quelling downe the estate. For which cause as in generall the Cardinalls doe in theyr hearts favour Fraunce above Spaine, both as beeing the 10 weaker part and the farther neighbour, and the onely hope to maintaine counterpoise against the others greatnesse: so let the King of Spaine make what choyse among them of a Pope hee can, hee shall find that as long as those reasons continue; whosoever sits in the seat will respect more his owne safetie than the service of his preferrour; even as doth this very Pope who for that cause is conceived to have made some alteration of 15

1 dangeroust] most dangerous *BL* C' *HN*; Spaine] ever ~ B'; Spaine . . . world] that Spayne had P'; had] ever had C' *HN del BL* 

- 8-9 is the only terrour of] om C' HN ins BL
- 9 quelling] passing Q; which] this B'

<sup>2</sup> redoubted] reverenced  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> there . . . difference] this difference to be marvelled att Q; hope] mines A, meanes BL C' HN Q; of ] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> seeing] om Q

<sup>6</sup> other] *om Q*; looke] expect *Q* 

<sup>7</sup> that om C' HN ins BL; men] others Q; honours] humors Q

<sup>8</sup> favour is] favours are  $B^{l}$ ; is] are  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; meanes] hopes A BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{2}$  Q; the] this BL  $C^{l}$  HN; theyr] and theyr  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; theyr power] thei whose power Q; power is] power  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> respect more] more respect B'; more . . . safetie] his own safetie more Q; preferrour] preferrors C' HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> alteration] alterations  $B^{I}$ , change Q

inward firme friendships, though holding in good tearmes of love and loyaltie with both. But this uncerteintie and mutabilite of the new Popes affections, doth cause both the King of Spaine and other Princes of Italy, above all things to ayme at a man of a calme nature, and not strong mettall: that if they cannot make any great accompt of his friendship; yet this naturall disposition and temper may assure them, that hee will not 5 be a raiser of new stirrs in Italy; as divers of them to scamble somewhat for theyr owne have beene: as on the other side an especiall good inducement to the Cardinalls, is his age and sicklinesse, that the place may be soone voyde againe; for the gaining whereof there is alwayes practising and plotting a new immediately upon the Election.

And thus is the Pope made: who hath his Counsell of Cardinalls to attend and 10 advise him; hee chosen by them, and they created by him: Whose number may amount they say to Seventie two: but many places are kept voyd still to serve for desperate pushes: and of those that are, some twenty lightly are the younger sonnes of Dukes and Princes, who in case theyr auncesters states should descend upon them, with dispensation from the Pope would resigne uppe theyr Hatts. Among the Cardinalls 15

5-6 that . . . them] om  $P^2$ 

<sup>1</sup> firme] om  $A C' HN P^2 Q$  ins BL; in] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> affections] affections which Q

<sup>3</sup> all] all other C' HN del BL

<sup>4</sup> strong] a stirring  $B^{l}$ , of strong  $C^{l}$  HN del BL, of stirring  $P^{l}$  Q, no stirring  $P^{2}$ ; that] but  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> this] his A BL C<sup>1</sup> HN P<sup>2</sup>; will] shall A C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL; as] and C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> scamble] scramble  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>7</sup> an especial] a special  $B^1$ ; his] the chosen Q

<sup>8</sup> sicklinesse] sickness Q

<sup>11</sup> hee] om  $P^{l}$ ; amount] not amount  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> and of ... are] for these there are C' HN ins BL; lightly are] being lightly C' HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> would] may  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; Among] are among Q

for theyr owne honour, and for the gratifying of the world, are sorted out and divided all the orders of Religions, and all the Nations of Christendome; whereof they are appoincted the particular protectours in the Court of Rome: as the Protectour of England now is Cardinall Gaetane, a stout man, of Spanish faction; who hath beene Legate into France, and more lately into Poland; but is now returned.

# Of the Pope present, his race, name and life

Now for This Pope, who by race and name a Florentine, but his Father having beene chased thence upon a Conspiracie against Duke COSIMO, by byrth became a kind of Romane; I have little more to say than that which I have touched. Hee is reputed to bee a man of a good calme disposition, and not too craftie; yet close and suspicious, 10 and thereby secured to hold his owne well enough; kind to his friends and devout in

<sup>1</sup> gratifying] great greying Q; sorted] so sorted P'

<sup>2</sup> all] into all Q; and] om  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>3</sup> the particular] particular LQ

<sup>4</sup> Gaetane] Gaietane  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; stout] very ~  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>5</sup> into Poland] in Poland  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>5-7</sup> Between these two lines 29 includes the following paragraph: Among this Counsell also, being compacted of many Personages of very eminent sufficiencie, what for theyr learning, what for theyr experience and weightie employments are parted as by way of severall Congregations, acccording to the use of the severall Counsels in Spain, all the important affaires, as well standing, as by dayly new occasions arising, of the Church and Papacie, by which means they both disburden the Pope of much lighter businesse, and the greater causes by long and exact discussion are ripened and made fit for his decission. Such is the Congregation for propagation of Christian Faith; the Congregation of the Inquisition; the Congregation for England; the Congregation of Bishops; for all Controversies which happen betweene them and theyr Subjects; a Congregation for any diversitie of opinion in matter of Religion betweene Schoole men or Friers; with sundry such other. A course lately there begun, but of good importance, and well worthy to be imitated. om A  $B^1 B^2 C^1 F HN L P^1 P^2 Q$  ins BL 7 by . . . name] is by country and birth A  $C^1 HN L P^2$  ins BL

<sup>7-8</sup> but . . . thence] was chased from thence with his father  $A C^{\prime} HN L O ins BL$ 

<sup>8</sup> a Conspiracie] conspiracies P'; Duke Cosimo].Don Cosmito C' HN ins BL

<sup>8-9</sup> by byrth . . . Romane] om  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> that which] what  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; touched] before touched A  $B^{l} L P^{l} P^{2} Q$ 10 too] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10-11</sup> and suspicious . . . to hold] and one that can hold A  $C^{l}$  HN L ins BL om Q, and one that will hold  $P^{2}$ 

his way, and thinks without doubt that he is in the right. He will weep very often; (some conceive upon a weaknesse and tendernesse of mind, habituated therin by custome; others say upon pietie and godly compassion:) At his Masses, in his Processions, at the fixing uppe his Jubilees, his Eys are still watering some times streaming with teares; in so much that for weeping he seemes another HERACLITUS, 5 to ballance with the last GREGORIE an other DEMOCRITUS for laughing: Touching his secret life, the Italians speake somewhat diversly, especially for his younger yeeres. But mens tongues are alwayes prone to attaint theyr Governours; and the worst men speake worst, as hoping them selves to lurke under the blemishes of theyr betters. For my part hearing no extraordinarie bad matter against him, but onely by 10 suspicion, I judge the best; and howsoever had rather preserve the credit of an ill man, than staine or impaire it in a good. For his yeeres he doth little exceed Three score and three: but is troubled with the dropsie, and that caused some say or accompanied with a thirstie infirmitie.

For a Prelat hee hath good commendation a savourer of learning, and advauncer of

<sup>1</sup> way] waies C' HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> in] at BL C' HN

<sup>4</sup> uppe] uppe of BL C' HN Q

<sup>5</sup> seemes] is seeming  $B^1$ 

<sup>6</sup> last] other  $B^1$ 

<sup>8</sup> attaint] taint C' HN ins BL; worst . . . worst] worse . . . worse BL C' HN

<sup>9</sup> as . . . lurke] in hope to lurke themselves  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; them selves to lurke] to lurke themselves Q; blemishes] blemish  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> had] I had BL C' HN Q; an ill] a bad B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> little] not much A BL  $C^{1}$  HN L  $P^{2}$  Q

<sup>12-13</sup> and three:] om  $A C^{l} HN L$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> that . . . say] (some say) caused  $B^{l}$ ; or] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> good] a good P; commendation] commendations  $B^{I}$ 

p. 189.15-p.190.1 a savourer . . . his Sea] om A  $B^2 C^1 HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL

them whose studies have bene to the advauncement of his Sea: an enemie to the licentious life of Friers, yea to the Pomp also and Secular bravery of Cardinals; howbeit more desiring reformation in both, than daring attempt it in eyther, for ought that yet appeares: very magnificall and ceremoniall in his outward comportment; in his private, austere and humble, as his friends say: in menaging the Church temporall goods 5 rather thriftie than liberall; but of theyr spirituall treasure of Supererogatorie works in Indulgences and Pardons, (which he useth not only as charitable reliefes of the needie, but as honourable gifts also to reward Princes that have presented him,) in these I should thinke him very exceeding wastfull, but that where the treasure is infinite there the spender in ordinarie accompt cannot be Prodigall. For a Prince hee hath beene 10 thought somwhat defective heretofore, as being neyther of deepe resolution nor of great spirit. But fortunate men are wise, and conquerours valiant. And surely this mans projects and attempts have so well prospered, what in reduction of the French King by prosecuting him to extremitie; what in the matter of Ferrara; what in working the great peace; (the honour whereof by the most is wholly attributed to the Pope, though 15 other say he was importuned to deale in it by the Spaniard, being so tyred and wasted out with troubling his neighbours, that in fine no desire no hope but in peace onely;)

12 valiant] and valiant  $B^{1}$ 

- 13-14 what . . . extremitie] om A Q
- 14 the great  $A B^{\prime} L P^{\prime} P^{2} Q$ ] great 29

15 by the most] oft  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; wholly attributed] attributed whollie Q

16 Spaniard] Spaniards  $P^{I}$ ; the Spaniard, being] him who was Q

<sup>2</sup> life] lives A; Friers] the Friers B'; Cardinals] the Cardinals B'

<sup>10</sup> accompt] estimation  $A P^2 Q$ 

<sup>13</sup> have] hath  $P^{l}$ ; have so well] so well have Q

<sup>17</sup> no desire no hope] he delighted not in any thing BL C' HN

that it hath purchased him the opinion not onely of a fortunate and wise Pope, but of one who doth sincerely affect the quiet of Christendome and thinks nothing remaining to the height of his glorie but to be the author of an universall league and warre against the Turke, against whom hee hath sundry times given ayde already. For which end it is conceived notwithstanding his abilitie and opportunitie extraordinarie, what by his 5 excommunications, and what by his ready army, to have righted himselfe; that yet he hath layd by his owne particular pretences as well against the great Duke of Tuscanie, for Borgo di San Sepulchro which belongs to the Church; as also and more principally against the Venetians, for Rovigo and the Polesine, which they have rent by warre and reteine from Ferrara; (not to mention that auncient quarrell touching the Patriarchship10 of Aquileia, whose Territorie even all Friuli theyr State hath usurped:) that no private temporall commoditie of his Church and Sea, might give impediment to the publike most necessarie good, in withstanding and repressing the graund enemie of Christendome. These thoughts surely are honourable; neyther unnecessary for his owne future safety, considering how neere a neighbour the Turke is to him, and 15

<sup>1</sup> it hath purchased] he hath purchased  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; not onely of] of not onely Q; wise] a wise  $B^{l}$  2 one] one also Q; who] that A

<sup>3</sup> the author] Author P'

<sup>4-5</sup> For . . . conceived] and for that ende  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> extraordinarie] om  $\overline{A} B^{1} L P^{1} P^{2}$ 

<sup>6</sup> and] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; that yet] yet that Q

<sup>6-7</sup> that yet he hath] yet as he A, yet hath he  $B^{\prime} L P^{\prime} P^{2}$ 

<sup>7</sup> Tuscanie] Tuscan  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> Borgo . . . Sepulcro] see explanatory notes; San Sepulchro] Sapolito  $B^{l}$ , Se Polchro  $P^{l}$ ; belongs] belongeth  $P^{l}$ ; and] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> Rovigo] Romgo C' HN ins BL; Polesine] Pollesina C' HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> from] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>11</sup> hath]  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$ , is said to have 29 ins BL

<sup>12</sup> temporall] nor temporall  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; his] this BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>13</sup> most necessarie] om  $A B^2 C' HN L P^2$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> thoughts . . . neyther] Surely then be thoughts honourable and not Q

how often his State hath beene aflicted by him, and sometimes enhazarded. But now for his neere neighbours the great Duke and the Venetians, as theyr States so theyr loves and his are but neighbourly: they thinking his growing to bee theyr stop and endaungering. But the Venetians perhaps feare him, and the great Duke hates him more: the Venetians as having still even painted in theyr great palace and dayly 5 before theyr eyes, the extremitie to which former Popes excommunications have brought them; (having theyr State as ill seated in regard of potent neighbours, who all gape after them upon any advantage, as any that I know againe in the world; the Turke confining and bordering with them on the East, the King of Spaine on the West, the Emperour on the North; the Pope on the South; who can never want pretence, they 10 holding that which they list not yield; besides some jealousies and discurtesies passed lately betweene them and the Pope and his Cardinalls: the great Duke not onely for that hereditarie enmitie first, and that personall discourtesie since, at what time affecting the Title of the King of Tuscanie, (whereof his wife is written Queene by som already,) and having got as is said the Emperours liking, the Pope denyed him, putting him off with15 a distinction, that hee was content hee should bee King inTuscanie, but not King of Tuscany, which scholasticall subtilities plaine suiters doe not love; but much more for

14 the King] King A BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{2}$ ; Tuscanie] Hetrucia  $B^{l} P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>1</sup> enhazarded] in hazard  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> Venetians perhaps] perhaps the Venetians Q

<sup>5</sup> as] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; still] om  $P^{2}$ ; even] om A  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> to] om  $A B^{1} P^{1} P^{2} Q$ ; have] hath  $BL C^{1} HN$ 

<sup>7</sup> them] them to  $A B^{1} P^{2}$ 

<sup>8</sup> advantage] advantage and opportunity Q

<sup>10</sup> the Pope] and the Pope  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>13</sup> that] for that P; at what time] and what for  $B^{1}$ ; what time] om  $P^{1}$ ; the] that  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> got] gotten  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; as is said] as it is said  $P^{\prime}$ ; putting] in putting  $C^{\prime}$  HN del BL

<sup>16</sup> that hee was] of Q; hee] as not hee Q; King] om C<sup>1</sup> HN P<sup>2</sup> ins BL; Tuscanie] Hetrucia B<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> Q

<sup>17</sup> Tuscany] Hetrucia  $B^{I} P^{2} Q$ ; doe not love] love not BL  $C^{I} HN$ ; more] more care  $B^{I}$ 

that correspondence of Conference and favour which is thought to bee betweene the Pope, and those popular Florentines, who distasted with theyr home governement once free, now almost servile, live both else-where abroad and at Rome in exceeding store; especially seeing not onely this Pope in the faction of his particular familie, but all Popes in the affection which the Papacie it selfe doth engender, doe naturally more 5 desire that theyr neighbours States should bee popular; as having the ground of theyr greatnesse in swaying the multitude. But generally the Dukes of Tuscanie will bee alwayes regardfull to hold the best correspondence with the Popes that may bee: as having theyr State more open to assault on that side, the rest beeing surrounded by the Appenine and the Sea. To conclude this Pope, where there is no privat cause of 10 disfavouring his person, or disallowing his place, carrieth the name of a good Pope: and they which do subtilize the points of goodnes more curiously, will say that PIUS QUINTUS was a good Prelat, but no good Prince; that SIXTUS QUINTUS, a good Prince, but no good Prelat; GREGORIE the Xiijth a good Prelat, a good Prince, but no good man; this Pope both good Man, good Prelat, and good Prince. 15

<sup>1</sup> that] the  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>4</sup> this] the  $B^{\prime} P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>5</sup> it selfe doth] om  $B^{l}$ , both  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> Dukes] Duke  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> more open] very often  $A C^{l} HN L$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> which] that  $B^{\prime}$ , subtilize] subtilly see  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; more curiously] more then curiously  $C^{\prime}$  HN, then del BL

<sup>13</sup> a good] was a good  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>14</sup> Prelat, a good Prince] Prince and Prelate BL C' HN Q

<sup>15</sup> good Prelate, and good Prince] good Prince, and good prelate  $B^{I}$ 

And so I leave him; wishing his dayly encrease in all parts of true goodnesse; whereof his Church hath too little I ween, and himselfe haply as other good men nothing too-much; and returne now to the Papacie.

# Of the Nations which adhere unto the Papacy, especially *Italy*

The next poinct wherein which commeth to be considered, is what power it is 5 of at this day in the world by reason of those Nations which eyther in whole or great part still adhere unto it, which are Italy with his Ilands; Spaine with his Indies, Germanie with his Skirts, (which I accompt the seventeene Provinces of the Low countries on one side, the thirteen Cantons of Swisse and three leagues of Grisons on an other, and Bohemia with Moravia and Silesia on a third:) and lastly the great united, 10 well seated, fruitfull, populous Kingdome of France, with his neighbours of Loraine and Savoy;(whom though Princes of the Empirewhensoever them selves list and find it for their profit, yet in regard of theyr greater affinitie to Fraunce both in language and fashions, which consociate also affections, I annex unto it:) of all which some briefe view seemes necessarie to bee taken. For as for Poland and Transilvania with 15 Valachia and the remaines of Hungarie; by reason of theyr neere and daungerous confining with the Great Turke together with the multitude of Religions which are

6 or great] or in great L, great] greater  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> all . . . goodnesse] om Q; true] om  $B^{T}$ 

<sup>2</sup> I ween] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; haply] happily A  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>3</sup> and returne now] returning  $C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; now] om  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>5</sup> wherein] om C' HN ins BL; of] om C' HN ins BL; the] this C' HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> accompt] count A BL  $C^{1}$  HN  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>9</sup> one] the one  $A BL C^{1} HN P^{2}$ 

<sup>10</sup> with] with his Marquisate of  $A L P' P^2$ ; Moravia and Silesia] BL, Moravia and Slesia  $C' C^2 29$ , Morania au Lesia HN; a third] the third C' ins BL

<sup>13</sup> to Fraunce] with Fraunce  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> fashions] fashion  $B^{\prime}$ ; consociate] associate  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; also affections] affections allso  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>15</sup> view] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; for] om Q

<sup>16</sup> Valachia . . . Hungarie] om Q

<sup>17</sup> Great] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

swarming in them, in Poland especially, (of which it is said by way of by-word, that if a man have lost his religion, let him goe seeke it in Poland, and he shall be sure to find it, or else make accompt it is vanished out of the world:) there is no great reckoning to be made of theyr force eyther way. Then England with the more Northerne Kingdomes, Scotland, Denmarke and Sweden: whose King notwithstanding is of the Roman faith 5 now, but hath few there that follow him:) they are accompted wholly to have cast of the Papacie. For albeit they make reckoning of many favourers in them as of fourtie thousand sure Catholikes in England alone, with foure hundred English Roman Priests to mainteine that Militia, (who upon quarrell with the Jesuites, affectors of superioritie, and disgracers of all that refuse to depend upon them, have instantly of late 10 demaunded a Bishop of the Pope, to bee chosen by them, and to bee resident among them, but are crost in that desire by the countermine of an Arch-priest, obtruded upon them by the practise of the Jesuites:) yet this is so small a proportion being compared with the whole, as not to be esteemed: especially seeing in Italy compted wholy theirs, there are full fourty thousand professed Protestants that have exercise of theyr 15 Religion also, in the Valleys of Piemont and Saluzzo; besides sundry Gentlemen

- 7 fourtie] foure C' HN ins BL
- 8 alone] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> in Poland] of Poland  $P^{l}$ ; have] hath  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> it is] That it is C' HN ins BL; vanished] banisged A; great] om B', greater P'

<sup>4</sup> eyther] any  $P^{I}$ ; Northerne] North  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL; Kingdomes] Kingdomes and countries of  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>6</sup> there] om Q; wholly to have] to have whollie  $A B^{I} BL C^{I} HN Q$ ; of] off  $BL C^{I} HN$ 

<sup>10-11</sup> of late demaunded] demaunded of late  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>12-13</sup> but are crost . . . Jesuites] om A  $C^{1}$  HN L  $P^{2}$  Q ins BL

<sup>13</sup> this is] is this  $B^{1}$ ; proportion] portion  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; being] there being Q

<sup>14</sup> with] to L Q

<sup>15</sup> there are] om Q; fourty] foure C' HN ins BL

in Piemont who live abroad and resort unto them. In Lucca also a great part are thought favourers of the Reformation and some of that sort there are scattered in all places: especially in the State of Venice. But theyr paucitie and obscuritie shall enclose them in a cipher. So that for Italy wee will accompt it wholly to stand for the Papacie.

## Of the lives of the Italians

True it is that the Princes and other free states of Italy little favour the Popes enlarging in his temporall dominion at home; beeing already of a large size in proportion with theirs; and especially for those pretences which his sea never wanteth, and those extraordinarie advantages which the concurrence of his spirituall supremacie by interdictions, excommunications, discharging oaths of obedience, doth give him 10 above all other in the world. Which they also above all other men in the world have greatest cause to feare; both in regard of the huge multitude of Priests, Prelates, and Friers, wherewith hee hath fortified him selfe exceedingly in all other states, and in theirs above all excessively; as also for that discontent which theyr cruell

12 the huge multitude] their huge companie  $B^{I}$ ; multitude] company  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> in Piemont] om C' HN ins BL; and] om P'; unto] to P'

<sup>2</sup> favourers] favourites  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, the] theyr  $P^{l}$ ; and] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> the State of ] om C' HN ins BL; especially . . . Venice] om Q

<sup>4</sup> wholly to stand] to stand wholly  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>6</sup> True it is that] though C' HN ins BL, For although A L  $P^2 Q$ ; of Italy] thereat C' HN  $P' P^2 Q$  ins BL;

favour] like  $C^{1}$  HN  $P^{1}$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> in] om C' HN Q ins BL

<sup>8</sup> wanteth] wants  $A C^{1} HN P^{2}$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> which the concurrence] with concurrence  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9-10</sup> supremacie . . . give him] doe give him by interdictions  $A B^{1} C^{1} HN L P^{1} del BL$ 

<sup>11</sup> above] which above A C' HN L Q del BL; other]  $A B^2 L Q$ , other Princes 29; they also] om P';

Which . . . world] they  $A B^{l} B^{2} om Q$ ; men in the world]  $om P^{l} P^{2}$ 

<sup>11-12</sup> above . . . multitude] which above all other they have greatest cause to feare, both in regard of this huge company  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> Friers] curates Q; exceedingly in all other] mightily in their  $A B^{l} B^{2} C^{l} HN$  ins BL, mightilie in those  $L, P^{2} Q$ ; all other states] their estates Q

<sup>13-14</sup> and ... excessively] om  $C^{l}$  HN L Q ins BL

<sup>14</sup> that] their Q

and crying extortions and oppressions, by monopolies and taxes, by impositions upon mens persons, upon theyr lands and goods, upon theyr viands and markets, upon theyr trades and labours, upon theyr successions upon theyr mariages, in summe upon all beneficiall or easefull actions, have bred in theyr owne miserable and consumed subjects; who wish rather that all Italy were reduced into the hands of some one 5 naturall Potentate, whose greedinesse how great soever they were able to satisfie; and of the Popes above all mens, who promiseth some more lenitie by his late example at Ferrara, where hee remitted many imposts which theyr late Dukes had raysed; than to bee thus dayly racked, fleyed and devoured, by so many petie tyrants as it were with theyr prolling Gabelliers: whose ambitions and emulations, whose prides and 10 pleasures, thirteene millions of yeerely revenew which Italy now yieldeth them is not able to exsatiate. Howbeit though as I said for these important causes, the Princes and States of Italy no way favour the Popes strength in his temporall at home; (considering withall what swelling and turbulent spirits mount sometimes into that chaire, who have purposely set Italy on a flaming fire, that in the sacking of many them selves might get

13 temporall] temporality BL C' HN

<sup>1</sup> and crying] impositions ins BL; and crying . . . taxes by] om L

<sup>1-4</sup> and crying . . . actions] As also, for that discontent which their cruell impositions, extortions, and oppressions  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2} Q$ ; upon mens . . . actions] extortions and oppressions L, by monopolies . . . . actions] om  $B^{2}$ 

<sup>4</sup> miserable and consumed] om  $A B^2 L P^2 Q$ 

<sup>7</sup> mens] men  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; promiseth] promised  $P^{l}$ ; some] om A  $B^{2}$  L  $P^{2}$  Q; some more] much  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> fleyed and] om BL  $C^{l}$  HN; devoured] demanded  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> Gabelliers] gabbilyards Q

<sup>12</sup> exsatiate] satisfy C', satiate A HN L P<sup>2</sup> Q ins BL; Howbeit] om A L P<sup>2</sup> Q; as I said] I say A C HN L P<sup>2</sup> Q ins BL; important] om A C<sup>1</sup> HN P<sup>2</sup> Q ins BL

<sup>14</sup> mount] mounted Q; who] om BL  $C^{1}$  HN

<sup>15</sup> on] in Q; fire] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; that] for  $P^{l}$ 

somewhat, for the advauncing of such as nature and bloud did cause them to love best:) yet on the contrary side for his spirituall power and soveraigntie abroad, they wish it upheld and restored if it were possible; both for the honour of theyr nation, which is thereby the tryumphant Queene of the world; and much more for the commoditie which by vicinitie they and theyrs reape thence in more aboundance than all other together, 5 what by sharing as occasion serves in his booties abroad, what by beeing alwayes in sight to receive favours at home, what by that which necessarily sticks to them in very passing through theyr territories. Then to exclude any innovation, theyr owne safetie and not quiet alone perswades them, it beeing daungerous in a body so full of diseased and discontented humours, to chaunge or stirre any thing, seeing all alteration set 10 humours a working: and one humour on foote quickneth up all other, what allured by sympathy what by antipathy provoked: the end whereof is eyther the dissolving of nature by length of conflicts, or the disburdening of nature by expelling that which before opprest it.

For this cause no audience to be given to the Reformation, as enemie to theyr 15 peace, which is the nurse of theyr riches and sole anchor of theyr safetie. For it were but simplicitie to thinke that conscience and love of truth did sway this deliberation: the

<sup>3</sup> upheld] upholden  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>4</sup> the world] their ~  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> necessarily] om  $A C' HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> theyr owne] the care of theyr owne  $C^{l}$  om BL HN

<sup>9</sup> diseased] diseases  $B^{I}$ ; discontented] ill-pleased Q

<sup>10</sup> change or stirre] stir or change  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>11</sup> a working]  $L P^2 Q$ , on working 29; on foote] a foote Q; what] and Q

<sup>12</sup> whereof] thereof C' HN ins BL; dissolving] dissolution Q

<sup>14</sup> opprest] did oppresse  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>16-17</sup> For it . . . conscience]  $om P^{l}$ 

world having in most places done Religion that honour, as to remove it out of those secret darke Cabinets of the heart, where the jealousie of some devout dreamers of the gardens of Paradise had imprisoned it; and advanced it, to the fairest sight and shew of the world, even to make a very maske or visard of it with eyes and mouth fairely painted and proportioned to all pretences and purposes. And other of yet more 5 gallant free spirit have given it a generall passe to goe whether it selfe list, so it come not neere them. It doth grieve me to speake, yea the thought of it must needs bring horrour and detestation, what a multitude of Atheists doe brave it in all places, there most where the Papacie is most in his prime; what renouncers of God, blasphemers of his sonne, villanizers of his Saincts: and scorners of his service: who thinke it a 10 glorious grace to adore the King of a Country, but to name or thinke reverently of the Creatour of the World to proceed from a timorous very base mindednes and abjectnes: of so deepe reach and judgement are these pedlers in theyr proportions, who know no other Magistrates but those of theyr parishes. These men are favourable alike to all

<sup>3</sup> to] unto C' HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> world] whole ~  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; to make] for to make BL  $C^{l}$  HN; very] om Q; or] or rather a very Q; maske or] om A; very maske ... it] mask of it, or rather, a very vizar C' HN L  $P^2$  ins BL; eyes and mouth] mouth, eyes, and nose A C' HN L Q ins BL; fairely] very fairely BL C' HN

<sup>5</sup> of yet] yet of C' HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> gallant] gallant and Q; free] and free BL C' HN; have] hath P'; a generall passe] generall passage C' om HN ins BL; goe] om Q; list] listeth C' HN ins BL; it come] that it come C' HN del BL 7 grieve] much grieve  $C^{I}$  HN del BL; thought] very thought  $C^{I}$  HN del BL

<sup>8</sup> multitude] huge multitude C' HN del BL; there] and there C' HN del BL

<sup>10</sup> sonne] onely begotten sonne C' HN del BL; thinke] doe thinke C' HN del BL

<sup>11</sup> the] a  $B^2 C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL; thinke] to thinke  $C^{\prime} HN Q$  del BL

<sup>12</sup> very base mindedness] timorous base-mindednesse BLC', verie impious minde HN, verie timorous A L, verie base timorous mindednesse  $P^2$ 

<sup>13</sup> know] doe knowe  $C^{\prime}$  HN del BL

<sup>14</sup> parishes] owne parishes  $P^{l}$ 

Religions: but can best endure that wherein they are least checkt, and may raunge with most impunitie. But for the Souldiarie of this age; (a profession and exercise in old time reputed for an only Schoole of vertue, but now infamed with all vice and villanie; in old time such that the wisest Philosopher thought it reason sufficient why the Lacedemonians were generally more vertuous than other Nations, because they 5 followed the warres more, at this day a cause in all places of cleane contrary effect:) these desperate Atheismes, these Spanish renouncings, and Italian blasphemings have now so prevailed in our Christian Camps, that if any refraine them hee shall be upbraided as no Souldier or gallant-minded man; that the very Turks have the Christians blaspheming of CHRIST in execration, and will punish theyr prisoners 10 sorely when through impatience or desperatnesse they burst into them; yea the Jewes in their Speculatons of the causes of the straunge successes of the affaires of the world, assigne the reason of the Turks prevailing so against the Christians, to be theyr blasphemies and blaspheamous Oaths, which wound the eares of the very Heavens, and cry to the high throne of Justice for speedie vengeance. As for Princes and great persons

9 or] nor  $A B^2 BL C' HN P^2$ 

<sup>2</sup> exercise] an exercise  $BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

<sup>2-3</sup> in . . . reputed] reputed in ould tyme  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>3</sup> reputed] so reputed Q; infamed] defamed BL C<sup>1</sup>, nyt flamed P<sup>1</sup>; vice] manner of vice C<sup>1</sup> HN del BL 3-4 but now . . . such] om O

<sup>5</sup> generally] om C' HN ins BL; more] om C' HN ins BL; Nations] men Q

<sup>6</sup> at this day . . . effect:)] assiduallie then anie man, but now informed with vice, and villainie Q; in all places] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> now] om Q; prevailed] prevailed att this date Q; refraine] restraine BL  $C^{I}$  HN

<sup>11</sup> when] whenas C' HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> to] unto C' HN ins BL; high throne of justice] throne of high justice Q; Princes and great persons]  $A B^2 C'$  HN L  $P^2 Q$ , great persons and Princes of whom it was said by the Spanish Frier, [see textual notes] that few went to Hell, and the reason, because they were few: 29 ins BL

of whom it was said by the Spanish Frier, that few went to Hell, and the reason, because they were few; it is a true thing and happie where ever it falls out that any of them hath any true and affecting sence of those first and undoubted grounds of Religion, to what sort or sect soever it propend. Theyr examples, I speake of many of them, which were able to be the soveraigne restorers of vertue, and re-establishers of an happie world, 5 with the endlesse blisse of many millions now perishing through theyr great default; are at this day the only ruine and despaire of goodnesse: having forgotten whose Lieutenants they are in the world, for what end they are placed, for what cause they are honoured; and most of all what a great accompt they have to passe at the last Auditt, when theyr favorites and fancy-feeding flatterers shall all shrinke from them, and 10 nothing but their owne deeds and deserts accompanie them. But all these Atheists in opinion or in conversation, (betweene whom small choise,) being reckoned or let passe to make uppe the number: yet hold I that from Italy more wishes than other helpe to States: where the greater do nothing but limbick theyr braines in the Arts of Alchymie and Ballancing; to enrich them selves by the one, drawing gold out of all things; and by

- 10-11 in conversation] conversation  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL
- 11 small] is small  $B^2 C^1 HN del BL$

<sup>1</sup> Spanish Frier] see explanatory notes; a true thing and happie] a rare thing and surely an happie  $A B^2 P^2$ ; true] rare  $P^1$ ; happie] surelie an happie  $BL C^1 HN L$ ; where ever it falls] wheresoever it falleth  $C^1 HN$  ins BL; out] out of them  $P^1$ ; that any] om  $C^1 HN$  ins BL; of them] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>1-3</sup> true and affecting . . . propend] extraordinarie store of religiousnesse of any sort  $A B^2 C' HN L P^2 Q$ ins BL

<sup>3</sup> speake] doe speake BL C' HN; were able to be] might bee C' HN Q ins BL

<sup>5</sup> an happie] a happie  $P^{l}$ ; great] om  $C^{l}$  HN Q ins BL; are] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, is L Q

<sup>6</sup> only] om Q

<sup>7</sup> the world] this world  $B^2 Q$ 

<sup>8</sup> a] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> these] of these  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; Atheists] whether Atheists  $L P^{2}$ 

<sup>12</sup> more] there are more B' C' HN del BL; helpe] helps C' HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> limbick] lambeck Q; Ballancing] Bilanciateing Q

the other to peise theyr neighbours and keep them of equall weight, there adding some helpe of theyr hand where the Scales are lighter: and the lesser States flee most to the protection of the Chiefe, as the Cities of Genova and Lucca, the Duke of Urbine, the Signor of Piambino, with certein other, who all recognize the King of Spaine for theyr Patron; as casting by him to bee sufficiently secured from the encroachments of those 5 other three; and compting that from him the united consent of all the rest will still preserve them, to whom his greatnessse is fearefull, and his growing would be pernitious. There have bene of them also, as the last Duke of Ferrara, who have enterteined both amitie and streight intelligence with sundry of the Protestant Princes of Germany, on purpose to hold theyr neigbours, and especially the Pope, in aw of 10 calling the Protestants in to their succour, if they should eyther assaile or otherwise provoke them. And thus much for Italy.

# **Of** Spaine

The next is Spaine, reputed wholly the Popes also; as having bene a long time governed by the most devoted King, and longer curbed in by the most cruell Inquisition, that ever the world had for the upholding of that way. Howbeit the state of Spain is not to be passed so lightly over: wherein though my selfe have never beene, yet by manifold

10 on] uppon  $B^{\overline{I}}$ ; aw] and BL  $C^{I}$  HN

<sup>1</sup> peise] poyse  $B^{\prime}$ , peaze Q; keep] to keep  $C^{\prime}$  HN del BL

<sup>2</sup> helpe] weight  $B^{1}$ ; of] with  $B^{1}C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> Genova] Genovay  $C^{\dagger}$  HN ins BL; Lucca] Luca  $C^{\dagger}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> recognize] recognizing  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>5</sup> secured] secure  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; from] for  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> have] A L  $P^2Q$ , hath C' HN, have apparently 29 ins BL

<sup>11</sup> the Protestant in] in the Protestants  $A P^{l} P^{2}$ ; in to ] to  $A C^{l} HN$  ins BL

enquirie and information from some of theyr owne, and from others who have bene in it, men of knowledge and credit; thus much do I conceive touching the state of theyr Religion. That as of a Nation which aimeth so apparently at the Monarchie of the whole West, it is at this day none of the most puissant to atchieve the same; their country being so generally exhaust of men, what eaten uppe by long warre, what 5 transplanted into theyr huge number of Indian Colonies, that theyr Cities remaine now wholly peopled, with women, having some old men among them, and many young children, whereof the grave attends the one, and forreign service the other, (a fit State for an Amazonian Empire to be revived in:) so likewise for a Kingdome that hath the surname of Catholike, none in greater daunger in the world, either wholly or in 10 great part to cast off Christianitie; unlesse grace from above and better wisdome do stay the encrease of those pestilent cankers of Mahometisme and Judaisme, which threaten the finall decay and eating out of Christianisme. And to carry this matter with an indifferent course of report, neither aggravating it so much as some do in theyr doubt and jealousie, nor yet extenuating it so much as other some in theyr confidence and 15 jolitie, seeing feare casts beyond, and hope short of the very daunger: there is in Spaine

9 likewise] see likewise  $P^{l}$ ; for] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>1</sup> from some] by some Q; from] on  $A C^{I} HN L Q$  ins BL

<sup>2</sup> touching] as touching  $BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

<sup>3</sup> as] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; which] that  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> so . . . exhaust] exhaust so generally P'Q

<sup>6</sup> transplanted] transported  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> of]  $om P^l$ 

<sup>11</sup> great] greater P'

<sup>12</sup> cankers] rankes  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14&#</sup>x27; report] repose  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; it] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> casts] casteth  $P^{l}$ , lightlie casts Q; beyond] beyond lightly  $A C^{l} HN del BL$ ; is] be Q p.203.16-p.204.1 casts . . . people] om  $P^{2}$ 

a sort of people of the Marrani as they terme them, who are baptized Jews and Moores, and many of them in secret with all circumcized Christians; who are spred over the whole Land, but swarme most in the South parts consining with Africa; and are in such store, that in many places as some say they exceed the true Christians by no small proportion. They which say least and speake favourably for the honour of Spain, 5 will say there are of them an hundred thousand Families; in which at the least an hundred thousand men able to beare armes.

All which though conforming themselves in some sort of outward shew unto the Christian Religion; yet are thought in hart to be utterly adverse from it, and to reteine an inward desire to returne to that superstition, from which theyr auncestours by rigor 10 and terror were driven. And the Jewes will say in Italy, that there come divers Spaniards to them to be circumcised there, and so away to Constantinople to plant in the East. The State of Spain is in often feare of these men rebelling, and especially that they would joyne with any enemies that should invade them. For although they are forbidden to have any armes, and yeerely search bee made for it over all the 15 Kingdome, in an unknowne and least suspected instant, yet is there no doubt but armed they are, and have theyr secret caves and devises to conceale them. This sort

<sup>1</sup> Marrani] Maurani  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, Narran  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>4</sup> that] as  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> least] least are Q

<sup>9</sup> adverse] averse  $\tilde{C}^2$ 

<sup>15</sup> bee] om L; the Kingdome] Spain  $A L P^2 Q$ 

p. 204.5-p. 205.3 They which say least . . . assurance.] moved to page 206.12 between bloud, and by marying C' HN, note about this move ins BL

continually growing by living quietly at home: and the other part decaying dayly by forrayne employment: what the issew may bee, though reason may probably conjecture, yet time onely and proofe can give assurance. That famous and fearefull Inquisition of Spaine was instituted first on purpose against these Mongrell-Christians, some hundred yeeres since: at what time when King FERDINAND by chasing the Jews, Moores, and 5 Arabians out of his dominions merited the name of King Catholike, great numbers of them choosing rather to make a change of theyr religion in shew, than of theyr Country in deed, consented to receive baptisme: which in secret they soone polluted or renounced by circumcision and other superstitions, wherein the Arabians and Moores concurred with the Jewes; and so continued with a false face and double hart, and 10 have transmitted both the one and the other to theyr offspring to this very day. But this Inquisition, being first as I said brought in to chastise those miscreants; (besides that in Arragon, a freer State than the rest, being received only for terme of Eightie yeeres, it is in right long since expired, and holdeth only by Title of the Kings pleasure and possession; and the Portugals also have lately renewed theyr old suit, together with 15

6 his dominions] the realm of Spaine  $A B^2 C^1 HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> That ... Inquisition] For as for the Inquisition  $A B^2 C^1 HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>3-4</sup> of Spaine] om  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> was] which was  $C^{l}$  HN L  $P^{2}Q$  del BL; first on] of  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL om A L  $P^{2}Q$ ; Mongrell-Christians] these men  $P^{2}$ , man Q

<sup>5</sup> when] om C' HN ins BL; FERDINAND] Ferdinando P; Moores] and Moores B'

<sup>7</sup> choosing] choose A, chose  $C^{1}$  HN L  $P^{2}$  Q ins BL

<sup>8</sup> consented] and consented  $B^{\prime} L P^{\prime}$ ; soone] om A C<sup>{\prime}</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> renounced] denounced  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] or  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> But] om  $\overrightarrow{A}$  C<sup>1</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup> ins BL

<sup>12</sup> being] om Q; as I said] om A  $C^{l}$  HN L  $P^{2}Q$ ; brought in] induced Q; besides that] received A L  $P^{l}Q$ 13 being received only] om A  $C^{l}$  HN L  $P^{l}P^{2}Q$  ins BL; Eightie] eighteen  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13-14</sup> it is in right] besides that, it is theirs in right  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL [A uses "there" for "theirs"] 15 also have lately] have now againe  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL, now againe have  $A B^{2} L P^{2} Q$ ; suit] state  $P^{l}$ 

theyr old offer of an huge summe of money, to buy out at leastwise the rigour and unjustice of it, in theyr countries and for theyr persons, which it is thought this young King hath meaning to accept, if the sweetnesse of Tyrannie, which by Courts of so voluntarie and lawlesse proceeding is principally supported, do give no hinderance: the Eye and edge of it hath beene so wholly of latter times converted to the rooting out 5 of the Reformed religion in all places, that the other sort by neglecting them have growne in strength, and by theyr strength now begin to despise their chastizers; whom feare, they say, enforceth often to winke at many things, which no eye open but needs must see. Thus fareth it with gardens, wherein greater care is taken to pull up the suspected herbs than to keep down the apparent weeds: what farther hopes this 10 Sect may have I know not. This is cleare, that a great part of the Spanish Nobilitie is mixed at this day with Jewish bloud, by marying of theyr younger brethren for wealthssake with the Jewes; upon whom in time, the elder fayling, the honour and house hath descended. But to leave these Marrani: An other pestilent Sect there was not long since of the Illuminati in Aragon; whose founders were an hypocriticall crew of theyr 15

<sup>1</sup> an huge . . . money] eighty thousand crownes C' HN L ins BL, eight hundred thousand crownes Q; buy] buy it C' HN L Q ins BL

<sup>1-2</sup> at leastwise . . . it] om  $C^{l}$  HN L Q ins BL

<sup>1-4</sup> an huge ... hinderance] eight hundred thousand Crowns, to buy it out in their Countries and for theyr persons, which it is thought this young king hath meaning to accept  $A B^2 P^2$ 3-4 if the sweetnesse . . . hinderance] om  $B^2 C^1 HN L Q$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> and] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; latter] late  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; latter times] last dayes  $P^{l}$ 6 Reformed] formed  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> a great] the greater  $P^{I}Q$ ; Spanish Nobilitie] Nobilitie in Spaine Q

<sup>12-13</sup> for . . . Jewes] with the Jewes for wealths sake  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>13</sup> the honour] honour  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> Marrani] Maurann P<sup>1</sup>

<sup>15</sup> of the Illuminati] om  $P^{I}$ ; an hypocritical] a hypocritical  $P^{I}$ 

Priests; who affecting in them selves and their followers a certein Angelical puritie, fell sodainly to the very counterpoint of justifying bestialitie. But these men and theyr light are quenched some while since. The last and obscurest sort are the poore persecuted Protestants, against whom all Lawes, all witts, all tortures are strongly bent. All which notwithstanding, there are thought to be no fewer than twentie thousand in 5 Sevil it selfe, who in hart are that way: amongst whom certein books of the Religion being secretly dispersed, the Inquisitours for theyr number-sake who were to be touched, were required to forbeare, and to provide some other way.

In summe, I have heard it acknowledged by some of theyr owne Country and religion, that among other things the scandalls of theyr Clergie and Friers, especially 10 in forging miracles in their Spirits and Images, do draw the people to a loathing and suspition of theyr way: and were it not for the Inquisition, hee thought generally they would fall away and turne Protestants in short time. They have in Spain as he told me a Crucifix, whose haire and nayles fall a growing now in his old age, as in a dead man executed; the rest not stirring: at which the devouter men of the Clergie jerk up their 15

<sup>1</sup> their followers] BL C' HN L, followers 29

<sup>3</sup> and] om Q; obscurest] the obscurest  $P^{l}$ ; the poore] theire poore  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>4</sup> all] and BL  $C^{l}$  HN; tortures] fortunes  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; all tortures] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> no] om Q; twentie] twelve Q

<sup>6</sup> the Religion] their Religion  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL om L Q

<sup>7</sup> the Inquisitors for] for the Inquisitors or Q

<sup>8</sup> touched] touched therein Q

<sup>9-10</sup> it acknowledged . . . religion] some of their owne Country and religion acknowledge  $A B^2 C^1 HN L Q$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> miracles] of miracles  $P^{l}$ ; do] doth  $A P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> and] om L; hee thought] it is thought  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> turne] turne to be Q; in short time] om Q; he told] is told C' HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> his] this  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> the rest] their rest  $B^{1}$ ; devouter] devout  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

eyes, and the wiser of the Laitie wag their heads. The holy Nun of Portugal, of whom the Spaniards taken prisoners in Eighty eight made so much vaunting; who had the fiue wounds bleeding on her, and the print of the Crucifix in the skin of her brest; to whom that Invincible Army repaired for Benediction to set forward theyr Victorie; is lately deprehended and condemned for a Sorceresse, by a generall complaint of that 5 whole Sister-hood against her; who hating her for her arrogance and watching her fingers, in fine discovered that the one was no other than a forced rawnesse of the flesh procured by fretting herbs and waters when shee meant to shew her selfe; and the other came by continual binding of a little graven Crucifix to the part so printed. The famous Lady of Guadalupa, who transporteth thorough the avre such prisoners in 10 Africa as yow them selves unto her, is said by some other to have her credit empaired, by occasion of a Fugitive servant, who being runne from his Master was suborned by the Friers to play that fleeing part, complaining that our Lady for the wickednesse of this age did restrain those graces, but yet that it was a godly act to maintein men in theyr devotions. In fine, he was disclosed and seized upon by his Master. But this is more 15

<sup>1</sup> wiser] wise  $B^{l}$ ; wag] wag easily  $A P^{l} Q$ , wag their heads easilie  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>2</sup> Eighty eight] 1588 BL C<sup>1</sup> HN; vaunting] talking of A C<sup>1</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup> Q ins BL

<sup>5</sup> deprehended] discovered A C' HN ins BL; by] A C' HN L Q, upon 29 ins BL; complaint of that A C'  $HN L P^2$ ] information of the 29 ins BL

<sup>6</sup> against her] om A BL  $C^{1}$  HN L  $P^{2}$  Q; and] om  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>7</sup> no other than] but  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> procured] caused  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; meant] went BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>9</sup> continual] a continual C' HN, a del BL; binding of ] om Q; the part] that part A C' HN L Q ins BL; part] part which was B' Q; so ] which was so A

<sup>10</sup> transporteth] transported  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>11</sup> unto] to A C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL; other] om C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL; to have] hath Q

<sup>12</sup> by occasion] om  $B^1$ ; being . . . was] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>13</sup> fleeing] flying  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> godly] verie godly  $B^1$ 

<sup>15</sup> seized upon]  $B^{1} P^{1} P^{2} Q$ , ceased on 29; more] most  $P^{2} Q$ 

certaine and of more generall report, that for the weeping and sweating of theyr Images, they have had a trick in all places to bore holes behind them, and put into them the newcut spriggs of a Vine; which being of a bleeding nature, and dropping easily thorough the thin plaister remaining unpierced, make shew of teares or sweat as they list. Yea some of theyr Italian Friers have confessed with all that theyr fashion is when theyr 5 grimmalls are all in tune for a Miracle, to enjoyne some seely old woman, in her confession, to say her devotions before the Altar where the Image prepared to play a miracle is seated: abusing the weaknesse of her sex and age to report that confidently. which her pronesse to thinke our Lady might extraordinarily love her, made her easily believe. Wise gentlemen who have bene present at theyr exorcising of Spirits have 10 observed plaine arguments of intelligence between the parties, as in the actors of an enterlude. Though that this should be always so were hard to avouch; the multitude of Indemoninati (whereof most are women) being so huge in Italy, (even as of witches in Savoy:) of which some are daily cured in shew by theyr exorcismes; but for one that is holpen almost twentie are eyther past theyr Curing, or otherwise (as in counterfeits) 15

9 her pronesse] this  $\sim Q$ 

10 who] that  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; theyr] the P

11 the actors] actors  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

12 be always so hard to avouch] away: and so were heard to avouch  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

14 which] whom  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>2</sup> put] to put  $B^1$ ; into] to  $\overline{C^1 HN ins BL}$ 

<sup>3</sup> thorough] throw  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>5</sup> is] *om Q* 

<sup>6</sup> all] om Q; to] for to Q; some] so Q

<sup>8</sup> is seated] doth stand  $A B^2 C^1 HN L Q$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> Indemoninati] the Indemoninati A BL C' HN, Indemoninati in Italy  $L P' P^2$ ; (whereof ... Italy.] in Italie whereof most be women being so huge A Q

<sup>15</sup> holpen] helped AP'; almost twentie are] twentie is C' HN ins BL; theyr] on Q

unwilling to be cured. But in summe, the falshoods in all these kinds are grown so ordinarie and palpable to them selves, that some of theyr better Prelates have removed and with drawne an image of our Lady, upon the broaching of a report that it discovered it selfe for a Wonder-worker. So unsavorie is the food of fooles to the tast of wise men: and such is Gods curse upon all forgerie and falshood, as in the end to over-throw that 5 which chooseth it for his foundation: as hath happened already in some places, and may with time in other.

## **Of** Germanie

Touching Germanie, I have seene an old estimate of it by such as favoured the Papacie, that in the beginning of the Empire of FERDINAND, there was not past one 10 twelfth part remaining Catholike: which now in my understanding must needs bee otherwise. For comprehending in it Bohemia with his appurtenances, I should thinke that neere a sixt part were devoted that way: theyr number being encreased, and perhaps doubled since that time, by the Sedulitie of many of the Prelats, and one other great Prince the Duke of Bavaria; who using the advantage of the Interim on theyr part, 15 have forced those Protestants which were in theyr States to quit eyther Religion or goods or Countrey. The same hath beene attempted by the Arch-Dukes of Austria, and

<sup>1</sup> But] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; falshoods ... are] falshood ... is Q

<sup>2</sup> better] om Q

<sup>3</sup> and] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>2-3</sup> removed ... Lady] caused an Image of our Ladie to bee taken away off his place C' HN L ins BL, have purposely caused a Ladie image [an image of our Ladie  $P^2$ ] to be taken awaie out of her place  $P^2 Q_{i,i}$  caused ... out of his place  $A B^2$ 

<sup>6</sup> his] a *P*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Touching] Touch  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> of the Empire of] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; FERDINAND] Ferdinando  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>14</sup> of the] om Q; the Prelats] their Prelats  $B^{1} P^{1}$ ; one] om C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL; other] of their Q

<sup>15</sup> Prince] Princes  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; Duke] Dukes  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>17</sup> or Countrey] and Countrey  $A B^{1} BL C^{1} HN L P^{1} P^{2}$ 

in some places as in theyr County of Tiroll effected. But in Austria it selfe not so; wherein the number of Protestants exceeds and is fearefull to theyr opposites: though the publike exercise of the Reformed religion is there no where allowed, and in some chiefe Cities, as Vienna wholly restrained. But the most part of the Country people are of it; so are halfe the Nobilitie. The Duke of Cleves a third Prince affected the same 5 way, hath shewed himselfe a little more moderate than some other, so advised by neighbourhood. The Free-Cties, which are of very great number and strength, have all save some very few, enfreed them selves from the Pope eyther in whole or in theyr greater part. And thus stands the State of the Empire for that poinct: conteyning in it a very huge Circuit of Territorie, full of mightie Princes and well-fortified Cities: that 10 if it were more strictly united under one Monarch, and not so rent into factions with diversitie of Religions, breeding endlesse jealousies, hart-burnings and hatreds, it needed no other help to affront the great-Turke, and to repulse all his forces to the securitie of Christendome.

But in this so unequall proportion of adherents to the Papacie, two things there 15 are which give them hope of better, if prosperous successe shall second theyr

<sup>1</sup> theyr] the  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>3</sup> publike exercise] A C<sup>l</sup> HN L Q, exercise 29, publike del BL; the] their C<sup>l</sup> HN Q ins BL; Reformed] om C<sup>l</sup> HN L ins BL; there ... allowed] restrained C<sup>l</sup> HN L ins BL; chiefe] of the chiefe P<sup>l</sup>; and] om B<sup>l</sup>
3-4 in some ... restrained] is restrained in some of their chief cities att Vienna Q, ... as Vienna A B<sup>2</sup>
4 Vienna wholly restrained] in Vienna C<sup>l</sup> HN L P<sup>l</sup> ins BL; part] om P<sup>2</sup>; people] om C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL
5 so] and so P<sup>l</sup>
6 a little] om Q
7 very] om B<sup>l</sup>
8 theyr] om C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL
9 And ... stands] om C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> Monarch] monarchie  $B^{I}$ ; so] om BL C<sup>I</sup> HN

<sup>13</sup> needed no] needes not C' HN ins BL; to repulse] repulse Q; all] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> give] gives  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; of] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; shall] doe A  $C^{l}$  HN L Q ins BL om  $P^{2}$ 

well-contrived projects. The one is the creating of the Emperours alwayes of theyr partie: whereof they assure them selves by these considerations. First, there is no House in Germanie at this day of such greatnesse as is requisit to with-stand the Turke in his encroachments the House of Austria set aside: who by their alliance or rather meere entirenesse with Spain, and by sundry elective Kingdomes, which runne 5 necessarily upon them, shall be alwayes able to make head against any power in the world; and by their owne state confining so immediatly with the Turks, shall be necessarily enforced, laying other thoughts aside, to employ the utmost drop of their bloud to keepe off. Next whensoever the matter groweth to election of a new Emperour, they shall alwayes have the casting Voyce with them or rather in them; 10 having entangled the States of Bohemia in such bonds and promises, (besides there is no other to make good choise of) that they accompt of this Kingdome as of a State halfe hereditarie. And lastly theyr late policie, now strengthened by usage, of declaring a King of Romans in the Emperours life-time, whilst his presence and power may govern the action, assures them that it shall always passe with them roundly and 15 quietly. The other ground of theyr hope, is the division of the Protestants into theyr

6 upon them] om Q; alwayes able] able allwaies Q

<sup>1</sup> well-contrived] well moulded and contrived  $B^{l}$ ; Emperours] Emperour  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; theyr] theyr owne  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>3</sup> such] that infinite C' HN ins BL; as is requisit] on Q

<sup>5</sup> Spain] the house of Spain Q; by] om  $C^{1}$  HN L Q ins BL

<sup>8</sup> laying . . . aside] om  $A B^2 C' HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> keepe] keepe him A L, keepe them  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; keepe off] rule him  $P^{2} Q$ ; groweth] grows A  $B^{l} P^{2}$ ; election] the election A  $C^{l} HN P^{2} Q$  ins BL; a new] another new  $C^{l} HN$  another del BL 10 with them] om  $P^{l}$ ; in them] them  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> to make good choise] whom they may make choyse  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, whom they can make  $A \perp P^{2} Q$ ;

good] om Q; they accompt] they make no other accompt  $B^2 C^l HN L del BL$ ; accompt . . . State] make no other accompt of it than as beeing  $A P^2 Q$ ; of this . . . State] of it, then as being  $C^l HN L$  ins BL 15 assures] doe assure  $C^l HN Q del BL$ ; that] om  $A B^l L P^l P^2$ ; always passe] pass allwaies  $P^2 Q$  16 the division] division  $P^l$ 

factions of Lutherans and Calvinists as they stile them: wherein the Ministers on each side have so bestirred themselves, that the cole which a wise man with a little moisture of his mouth would soone have quenched, they with the wind of theyrs have contrariwise so enflamed, that it threatneth a great ruine and calamitie to both sides. And though the Princes and heads of the weaker side in those parts, both Paltsgrave 5 and Lantsgrave, have with great judgement and wisedome, to asslake those flames, imposed silence in that poinct to the Ministers of theyr partie, hoping the charitie and discretion of the other sort would have done the like; yet falls it out otherwise, both the Lutheran Preachers rage as bitterly against them in theyr Pulpits as ever, and theyr Princes and people have them in as great detestation, not forbearing to professe 10 openly they will return to the Papacie, rather than ever admit that Sacramentarie and Predestionarie pestilence; for these two poincts are the ground of the quarrell, and the latter more scandalous at this day than the former. And some one of theyr Princes, namely the Administratour of Saxonie, is strongly misdoubted to practise with the Emperour for the joyning the Catholike and Lutheran forces in one, and by warre 15 to roote out and extinguish the Calvinists; the plausiblest motion to the Emperour that

13 the] their Q; one] om  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> on] of  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> theyrs] others  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; to] on  $B^{l} P^{l} Q$ 

<sup>6</sup> judgement and wisedome] wisedome and judgement  $BL C^{I} HN$ 

<sup>7</sup> theyr] the one  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> falls it out] it falleth out C' HN ins BL; both] om C' HN ins BL;

<sup>9</sup> as] om Q; as bitterly... Pulpits] hithertoo in their pulpits against the others as much  $B^{l}$ ; as bitterly... ever] against the other as much as ever  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; against them] om  $L P^{2} Q$ ; Pulpits] against the other L Q; against ... Pulpits] in their pulpits against the other A

<sup>11</sup> returne to the Papacie rather] rather returne to the Papacie  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>14</sup> the Administrator] Administrator P'; the ... Saxonie] om  $P^2$ 

<sup>15</sup> joyning] joyning of  $B^{1} P^{1} Q$ ; forces] sect  $C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>16</sup> plausiblest] most plausible C' HN ins BL; to] of C' HN ins BL

ever could happen. Neither is there any great doubt, but if any stay or agreement could bee taken with the Turke, all Germany were in daunger to bee in uprore within it selfe by intestine dissention. Howbeit all the Lutherans are not caried with this sterne humour, but they onely which are called the Lutherani rigidi: the greater part perhaps, which are the molles Lutherani, are quiet enough, neyther accompt otherwise of 5 Calvinists than of erring brethren; whom the Rigidi have (as is said) partly threatened to excommunicate as Schismatikes and Heretikes. To this lamentable extremitie hath the headinesse of theyr Ministers on both sides brought it; while in the peremptorinesse of theyr poore learning they cannot endure any supposed error in their brethren, whereof themselves even the best of them perhaps if they were sifted would bee found to bee 10 full enough, (such take I to be the condition of all men in this world;) and in theyr ignorance of all actions saue of theyr Schooles and Bookes, make more accompt of some emptie ill-shaped syllogisme, than of the peace of the Church and happinesse of the world: the end whereof will bee that theyr enemies shall laugh, when themselves shall have cause to weepe; unlesse the graciousnesse of God stirre up some worthy 15 Princes of renowme and reputation with both the sides, to interpose theyr wisdome,

<sup>1</sup> or] and C' HN ins BL

 $<sup>3 \</sup>text{ not} ] om Q$ 

<sup>4</sup> the] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; Lutherani rigidi] see explanatory notes

<sup>4-5</sup> perhaps, which are] which are perhaps  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> which] who  $B^{l}$ ; molles Lutherani] see explanatory notes; accompt] accompt they  $C^{l}$  HN O del BL 6 Calvinists] the Calvinists  $B^{l} C^{l} HN del BL$ ; of] as of A BL  $C^{l} HN$ ; Rigidi] rigid partie  $P^{l}$ ; have ... partly] partly have as is said partly L; threatened]  $B^2 C^1 HN$  ins BL, threaten 29 10 sifted] well sifted  $A B^2 BL C^1 HN L P^2 Q$ 

<sup>11</sup> in this] of this C' HN ins BL; and] that C' HN ins BL; theyr] the B'

<sup>13</sup> emptie] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> shall] will  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>16</sup> and] or Q; the sides] sides  $B^{1}C^{1}HNP^{1}P^{2}Q$  ins BL

industrie and authoritie, for the uniting these factions; or at leastwise for reconciling and composing those differences in some tollerable sort: a worke of immortall fame and desert, and worthy of none but them of whom this wicked base world is not worthy. But hereof I shall have occasion to speake in his due place. For this place it sufficeth that these intrinsicall quarrels are that which maketh theyr common enemies hold up 5 theyr heads; which quickneth theyr hopes to see the blades of these Reformers drawne one against another; that them selves beeing called in to the beating downe of the one part, may afterward in good time assaile also the other; in the meane season planting in all places theyr Colleges of Jesuites, as the onely corrosive medicine to fret out theyr adversaries. Now on the other partie the hopes are also not few; besides theyr 10 over-topping them so much in multitude and power. First the Germane bearing a naturall stiffe hate to the Italian for his winding and subtill wit, which despiseth and would ransacke him, but that hee opposeth a proud stoutnesse and intractible obstinacie, which serveth alwayes as a wall of defence to simplicitie, will hardly what tempering soever the Princes make, be brought ever in heart to re-affect the Papacie; whose 15 sleights and devises they are thoroughly acquainted with, and have in more detestation

<sup>1</sup> these] of these C<sup>l</sup> HN del BL
3 them] of them Q
5 quarrells] questions and quarrells Q; that] it A, the hopes C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL; common] om A C<sup>l</sup> HN L Q ins BL; hold] lift Q
6 which] and C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL; hopes] expectations C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL; drawne] unsheathed Q
8 assaile also] assalt Q; also] om C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL; in] om C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL
9 as] om Q
10 partie] part BL C<sup>l</sup> HN
11 them] of them B<sup>l</sup>
12 winding and] om Q
14 serveth] serving C<sup>2</sup>; hardly] hardly with P<sup>l</sup>

than any Nation whatsoever. And for theyr owne inward dissensions it is to bee hoped that though no course were taken to compound them, yet never will they bee so mad as to decide them by a generall open warre on both sides, having Turke, Pope, and Emperour, to joyne them in friendship. For although the contentions of brethren bee bitterest, yet a common strong enemie alwayes makes them friends againe. And as 5 for the Administratour so much suspected, who prolls as some say in these practises for his owne greatnesse, his authoritie is but short, and to expire within three yeeres. Then for the having of an Emperour of some more indifferent Family, though theyr desire bee in that poinct of all other greatest, yet theyr hope I suppose is least. And that which is seemes to be grounded upon the Elector of Colen, eyther if the old Elector 10 GEBARDUS TRUCHESIUS should live so long, whom in that case they might by force restore to his place, from which he stands now by force ejected, yet retaines his claime still and style of Elector: or if some other of that sea might be induced to follow the steps of two of theyr antecessours, who have turned Protestants; (of which course that place will bee alwayes in daunger by reason of such vicinitie and intermixing of 15

<sup>2</sup> course] course att all  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>3</sup> decide] deceave P'; on . . . having] having on both sides, the C' HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> contentions] contention  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> makes] maketh  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>6</sup> these] the  $C^{\prime}$ , sette HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> to expire] expire h  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> the] om  $C^1$  HN ins BL; of] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>9</sup> I suppose is least] is (as I suppose ) least BL C' HN

<sup>10</sup> seemes] seemeth  $B^{I}$ , seemed  $P^{I}$ ; upon] on  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>12</sup> he . . . ejected] by force he stands now ejected Q; stands] standeth P; ejected] rejected BL C' HN; retaines] retaineth P'

<sup>13</sup> style] title  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> antecessours] auncestors  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; course] cause  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] or  $B^{l}$ 

theyr State with Protestant Princes, besides that in Colen it selfe the Religion hath already footing;) or at leastwise might bee drawne to that civill indifferencie, as in regard of preserving theyr freedome of Election, to chaunge once in an age that Familie of Austria, wherein the Empire having continued these seven descents may in time bee established as by prescription. And lastly for the Jesuites, theyr great Patron and 5 planter the old Duke of Bavaria, having now as is said retired him selfe into their College, and resigned his state to his son MAXIMILIAN, who it is thought doth disfavour them as much as his Father doted on them; this and other such chaunges may give stay to theyr proceedings. But to leave these hopefull speculations on both sides, and to take matters in tearmes they stand now, and may so continue; the benefit 10 which the Papacie may expect from the Empire is rather to keepe matters in that stay they are than any way to restore it where it hath bene dispossessed. For although these Turkish warres should cease, which is not unlikely, considering the calme nature of both the Emperours, who take more delight in Chambers than Fields: yet shall our Christian Emperour be inforced still, in fortifying and maintaining garison all along 15 his frontiers, consining sundry hundred long leagues with the Turke, so to exhaust his

7 and] hath  $B^{I}$ ; resigned] made cession O

<sup>1</sup> the Religion hath] they have P'

<sup>1-2</sup> besides . . . footing] om Q

<sup>2</sup> leastwise] the leastwise C' HN del BL; might] which might A; as] om A B' L P'; that] om C' HN ins BL 3 regard of  $om C^{l} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>6</sup> as is said] as it is said B', om C' HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> this] these  $B^{\prime}$ ; chaunges] changeings  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>10</sup> tearmes] tearmes as Q

<sup>12</sup> dispossessed] ins BL, disposed  $C^{l}$  HN; these] the  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> not] but P; calme] om Q

<sup>14</sup> the] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; Fields] in Fields O

<sup>16</sup> consining . . . Turke,] and consines  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL: long] on  $P^{2}$ 

owne treasure, and employ his people, as that he will not be able to do elsewhere any extraordinarie matter, without help extraordinarie, which is never too ready. And time which may produce many accidents in his favour, may also produce in his disfavour as many; and so many more, as the ground out of which in those parts they may grow, is manifoldly larger against him than for him.

# Of the Low-Countries

Now for the Low-Countries, the Papacie hath two thirds with it; and of the Swissers and Grisons, two thirds against it: of the Swissers also the Protestants are lightly the wealthier, and the Papists the more war-like; which may suffice for those parts.

### **Of** Fraunce

Of Fraunce, how much the better it is knowne unto us at home, so much the lesse shall I need to speake much in his place. Neither is it very easie to proportion the parties, by reason they of the Religion are so scattered in all places. Yet in Poictou they have almost all; in Gascoignie an halfe; in Languedoc, Normandy, and other 15 West-maritim Provinces, a reasonable strong part; as likewise in sundry mediterran, of

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<sup>1</sup> as] so  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 2 too ready] over-readie $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 4 so] by so  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; more] the more  $B^{l}$ ; out of] on Q5 for] with Q7 it] it also  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN 7-8 of the Swissers also] om  $B^{l}$ 8-9 of the Swissers . . . war-like;] om Q9 more] the more  $B^{l}$ 12 unto] to  $A B^{l} P^{l}$ 13 his] this BL  $C^{l}$  HN; very] om Q14-15 they have] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 15 an] one  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>16</sup> part] partie B'; mediterran] mediterran partes B'C' HN del BL

of which Delsinat the chiefe. But whatsoever be the proportion of theyr number to theyr opposites, which is manifoldly inferiour, not one to twentie; theyr strength is such as theyr warres have witnessed; and especially that at this day, after such massacring them, so generall a rising of the whole Realme against them, by the utmost extremitie of fire and sword to exterminate them; they are esteemed to bee stronger than at any time 5 heretofore; in summe so strong that neither have theyr adversaries, I trow, any great hope, and themselves no feare to bee borne downe by warre. That the practises of peace by partialitie and injustice in theyr suits litigious (which hath already sorely bitten and afflicted theyr estates; by depriving them of place of Office and Honour in the Realme. by confining the exercise of theyr Religion into chambers or remote corners; did 10 not impoverish, abase, and disharten theyr partie, and so withdraw those from them, which would otherwise sticke to them; this is that which they have misdoubted, and which by the Edict now passed and verified they have fought to remedie. But looking a little more attentively into this partie I find that as conscience in what Religion soever. doth even in the mists of errour breed an honestnesse of mind, and integritie of life 15

8 by . . . litigious] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; sorely] om L; already sorely] sorelie allreadie  $B^{l} B^{2} P^{l} P^{2} Q$ 9 Honour] of Honour Q

- 10 by ] om  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; chambers or ] om Q; or ] and  $C^{1} HN$  ins BL
- 11 abase] debase C' HN ins BL; theyr] the C' HN ins BL
- 12 which would otherwise] that otherwise would  $B^{l}$ ; this is that] That is it *BL*  $C^{l}$  *HN*;

13 a little] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> of which] om Q; of . . . chiefe] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; be] is BL  $C^{l}$  HN; theyr number] the ~  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>3</sup> that] om Q; after] notwithstanding  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> the whole . . . them] against them of the whole realme Q; by] of PI; utmost] uttermost  $B^2 C^1 HN Q$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> I trow] om  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> hope,] ~ to winne BL C<sup>1</sup> HN, I warn A, I weene  $L P^2 Q$ ; no feare] not in ~ C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL; the] their C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> which] om  $B^{l}$ , and  $BL C^{l} HN$ ; have] on  $B^{l}$ ; which] that  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL; which by] by  $B^{l} B^{2} P^{l} Q$ ; they] on  $A B^{l} C^{l} HN Q$  ins BL

and actions, in whom it settleth, (of so divine and pure vertue is the love of the Creatour, which is the ground of all that merit the name of religious:) so also that in them which affect the greatest singlenesse, and in a manner a very carelessse simplicitie in theyr Religion, as contenting them selves with the possession of the rich treasure of truth, and for the preserving of it or them selves recommending those cares to God 5 onely, vet tract of affliction, much miserie, often over-reaching by subtiltie of adversaries, doth finally purge out those grosse-witted humours, and engender a very curious and advantageous warinesse in all theyr proceedings; having learned by experience the wisedome of that Aphorisme, that a small errour in the foundation and beginning of all things, doth prove in the proceeding and end of them a great 10 mischiefe. As hath fallen out in these men: who doe as farre here out-goe their opposites in all civill pollicies, as in other places they of theyr religion are lightly outgone by them. Which next unto divine blessing, which accompanieth good causes, where wickednesse or wilfull witlessenesse doth not barre against it; I accompt the chiefe reason of theyr present strength and assurance. By theyr providence in theyr 15 capitulations, by theyr resolutenesse in theyr executions, by theyr industrie and dexteritie in all occasions presented, they have possessed them selves of an exceeding great number of strong Townes and places: there is scant any office or estate can fall

- 6 affliction] afflictions  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; subtiltie of] subtill  $B^{l}$
- 7 doth] do  $B^{l}$ ; engender] doth engender  $C^{l}$  HN del BL
- 9 that Aphorisme] the Aphorisme C' HN ins BL
- 11 these] their BL C'; here] herein B' C' HN ins BL
- 12 theyr] the  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL
- 14 the] their BL C' HN
- 16 resolutenesse] resolutions BL C' HN
- 18 strong] great P'; and] or C' HN ins BL; or] of Q

<sup>1</sup> whom] what Q; of] om C' HN ins BL; is] as C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> all] all those B'

<sup>3</sup> which] that BL C<sup>l</sup> HN, greatest singlenesse] greatnesse singlenesse BL C<sup>l</sup>, greatnesse HN

void but they lay in by all meanes to get into it; they have their Synodes for theyr Church-affaires their Conventions and Councells for their Civill: theyr people is warlike and so will they continue them. Theyr onely want is of a Prince of the Bloud to grace them. For as for Leaders, a matter of so main importance they are still above theyr adversaries: having besides those three of principall and knowne name, 5 sundry other in Gascoignie of lesse place and degree, but in skill and prowesse not inferiour to the best. In fine, they have learned the wisedome of Spes sibi quisque, and μεμνησο απιξειν; the contrary where of before brought them so neere to theyr ruine. But now touching the weakenesse of them of the Romane Religion, in comparison of that strength which theyr multitude should promise much more may bee said. First 10 one great part of them are in heart of the Reformed Religion, though for worldly respects they hold in with the other: which also will begin to disclose them selves dayly, those things beeing now settled in reasonable good sort, which have hitherto beene but in motion. Secondly they are not all Papists that hold with the Masse. But the Catholikes are here divided into as different opinions, and in as principall matters 15 of theyr Religion as they esteeme them, as the Protestants in any place that ever I

6 sundry] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; in] of Q; prowesse] valour  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

- 12 which] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL
- 13 now] not BL  $C^{l}$  HN; good] om  $B^{l}$

<sup>1</sup> void] om Q but] but that  $C^{I}$  HN del BL

<sup>2</sup> their] om C' HN P' ins BL; and so . . . them] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>3-4</sup> Theyr . . . them]  $om A L P^{1} P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>4</sup> as for] om  $A C' HN P' P^2 Q$  ins BL; so] om  $C' HN Q P^2$  ins BL; still] om  $A C' HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> Spes . . . quisquam] see explanatory notes; and] etc.  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, om  $B^{2}$ 

<sup>8</sup> μεμνέσο απιστειν] see explanatory notes

<sup>11</sup> one] on P'; of] with C' HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> of . . . them,] om  $A C^{\prime} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

heard of: although theyr discretion and moderation is such as not to interrupt the common Concord with private opinionativenesse. The ground of which disagreement in opinion (as I take it) is the auncient diversitie in opinion betweene the Romane Church and the Gallicane: which as in many of theyr Ceremonies it differs much from the Romane, (as to omit sundry other in the Priests Lotions at Masse, and in theyr 5 walking hymns at solemne Matins and Vespers;) and in some of them rather runs with the usage of the Greeke Church, (as in theyr Holy-bread on Sondayes for them that doe not communicate:) so also in the very head-poinct of theyr Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, it holdeth the General Councell to bee above the Pope, which opinion is at this day very current and strong, even among such Catholikes as favour the Papacie. Which I 10 reckon for the first difference touching the State of theyr Church: which calleth into question in whom the very soveraigntie and supremacie thereof is placed. An other sort are there which hold theyr Church for the true Church, (although they acknowledge sundry errours and abuses of lesse importance both in doctrine and practise:) but for the Pope they hold resolutely that hee is that Antichrist, which sitting in the Temple, that 15 is in the true Church of God, (for even by his very being Antichrist some prove they are the true Church;) doth advance himselfe above God; as they thinke apparent by

14 and] of BL C' HN

<sup>1</sup> heard of have heard  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> the common] common Q; opinionativenesse] opinions  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; disagreement] disagreements  $C^{l}$ HN del BL

<sup>3</sup> in opinion] om  $A B^{1} L P^{1} Q$ ; as] om  $B^{1}$ , take] do take  $BL C^{1} HN$ 

<sup>4</sup> of theyr] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; it] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; Romane] Romane Church  $C^{l}$  HN del BL 5 other] om Q; Masse] the Masse  $A B^{l} P^{l} P^{2}$ 

<sup>6</sup> solemne Matins and] om A C<sup>1</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup> Q ins BL; runs] om B<sup>1</sup>

<sup>7</sup> on] upon  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>8</sup> Hierarchie] government  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> is at this day] at this day is  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>11</sup> theyr] the  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> are there] there are P'; for] to be C HN ins BL; acknowledge] do ~ O

dispensing with the Law of God; by merchandizing of soules in his purgatory pardons, releasing them in an other world whom divine sentence hath bound, as also by his indulgences for sinnes in this world; and not least of all by his arrogating the not possibilitie of erring, being a sacred propertie peculiar unto God, and not communicated but onely at times to his extraordinarie Prophets, as all Churches in the world besides 5 the Romane acknowledge. This sect spreads farre, and as them selves will say, of the learned sort three parts of foure consent in this opinion. And they which are most devoted to the Pope, and in that respect doe hate this crew above all other, confesse that the Lawyers are greatly infected with it: in which regard they also tearme these as in way of disgrace the Parliament Catholikes. These opinions prevayling amongst the 10 Catholikes of Fraunce, it is not to bee merveiled, that the Realme was so ready upon the Popes refusal to reblesse the King upon his sodain reconversion, to withdraw them selves utterly from the obedience of his sea, and to erect a new Patriarch over all the French Church, the now Archbishop of Burges; who was ready to accept it: and but that the Pope in feare thereof upon a second deliberation did hasten his Benediction, 15

<sup>1</sup> dispensing] his dispensing A BL  $C^{l}$  HN; merchandizing] the merchandizing BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>3</sup> sinnes] great summes of money  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; not least] lastly  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>3-4</sup> not possibilitie] impossibility  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL;

<sup>4</sup> sacred] om  $B^2 C' HN$  ins BL; unto] to B'

<sup>5</sup> to his] om  $B^{l}$ ; his] the  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> sect] sort  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> and] that  $BL C^{l} HN$ ; crew] realme  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> the Lawyers] Lawyers  $BL C^{l} HN$ ; with it] om  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL; they] some A, om  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL; tearme] some tearme  $C^{l} HN P^{l} P^{2} Q$  del BL

<sup>9-10</sup> in . . . disgrace] om  $AC' HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> These] The BL C<sup>1</sup> HN; prevayling] thus prevayling  $B^{1} P^{1} Q$ ; of] in  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>12</sup> his sodain] om  $A B^{l}$ ; his . . . reconversion] conversion to the  $BL C^{l} HN L$ ; reconversion] reconversion to them  $A B^{l} P^{2}$ 

<sup>12-13</sup> them selves] on BL  $C^{1}$  HN

<sup>14</sup> Burges] Bourges A, Bruges Q

it had beene effected to his utter disgrace and decay; as the very proffer and probabilitie of it will always hold him in awe, and in good temper of cariage towards this wavering Kingdom, and content to be re indifferent sway with them in any thing. As on the contrarie side his great doubt of the French unsoundnesse to him at the heart, will cause him the lesse to favor any of their footings in Italy. Now these men though they 5 dislike also of the Reformed Religion as having brought in an extreame innovation of all things, in steed of a moderate reformation of what was justly blameable: yet will carrie them selves alwayes of likelyhood in an indifferent neutralitie, rather than by extinguishing the one extreame to over-strengthen the other. A third part of this side wee may make the Royalists; who as much as they dislike the attempts of the 10 Protestants in alteration of Religion; so much and more doe they hate those mischievous courses taken against them by theyr adversaries; which have threatned so neere a ruine to the whole state of the Kingdome, that it may seeme halfe a miracle, that it hath ever recovered, being so long a time at the very poinct either of shivering in pieces, (as hath happ'ned heretofore to other Countries in like case,) or of rendring it selfe into the

<sup>1</sup> upon ... deliberation] om A C<sup>l</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup> Q ins BL; very] om C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> of it] thereof C' HN ins BL; always] om C' HN L Q ins BL; in] om  $B^2$ ; cariage] cariage allwaies B' L; towards this wavering] to his C' HN ins BL; wavering] om A L Q

<sup>7</sup> in steed] misled P'

<sup>8</sup> of] in  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> the one]  $A B^{1} L P^{1} P^{2}$ , one 29

<sup>12</sup> against . . . adversaries] by their adversaries against them  $A C' HN P^2 Q$  ins BL; which] who B'; a] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> of the Kingdome] om  $P^2 Q$ ; seeme] shew C' HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> happ'ned] happened  $B^{1}$ ; to] in  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; the] that BL  $C^{1}$  HN

servitude of the hatefull name of theyr neighbours. This part having by experience learned the wisdome to know, that the quarrell of Religion is but the cloke of ambition for the great ones at this day; that many traiterous intents passe under Catholike pretences; that the Protestant will alwayes be a sure enemie to the Spaniard, and to all his Favorites, partizans, and pensionaries; that whilst he may be suffered to enjoy 5 libertie of Conscience, without any disabling or disgrace in the State, he will be in all occasions ready to serve the King to his utmost, and forward by deserts to maintein his favour; that it is no so easie a matter to extirpate them as some think, having taken so deepe root in the Realme as they have, besides the favour of great Princes their neighbours abroad; who are engaged and embarked in the very same cause; and that 10 although it were to be wished for the happinese of the Kingdome, which during this diversitie and dissention in Religion, shall breed greater securitie to their neigbours than to them selves, that it were possible some course were taken for a finall reuniting of all in one profession; yet this being not to be hoped for in this exasperation of minds on both sides, must be commended to time, which works out many things; to occasion, 15 which effects even wonders on a sodaine; and finally to some generall good way to be

9 great] manie great  $\vec{A} B^{\prime} L P^{\prime} P^{2} Q^{\prime}$ 

<sup>1-2</sup> having . . . learned] having learned by experience  $P^2 Q$ 

<sup>2</sup> the cloke] a cloke C' HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> that many] many BL C' HN

<sup>4</sup> Protestant] Protestants  $B^1$ ; will alwayes be] wilbe always  $A B^2 P^1$ ; alwayes be a sure enemie] bee allwayes sure enemies  $B^1$ 

<sup>6-7</sup> be in all ocasions] in all occasions be  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> no] not  $C^{\prime} C^{2} HN Q$  ins BL; taken] om  $C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> very same] same very  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; that] that if  $A P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> in] into BL  $C^{l}$  HN; being not] not being Q

<sup>15</sup> to occasion] om  $B^{I}$ 

undertaken by the joynt consent of wise and worthy Princes, for effecting like unitie over all Christendome if it may be: In these considerations, this part which with his appurtenances is now the greatest, will never advise the King to become head of a partie againe, so long as hee may be absolute commaunder of the whole; having found that siding course in such strength of both parts to be a false ground and ruinous to them 5 that take it To these may be annexed those morall men, as they call them, who thinke not these diversities of opinions of any such moment, as that they ought to dis-joyne them who in the love of God, in the beliefe of the fundamentall Articles of Christian Faith, in integritie of life and honestie of conversation, (which are the greatest bonds,) remaine united; much lesse that they ought to enrage mens minds so farre, as to 10 cause them to take armes to decide the quarrell; which are not those instruments wherewith either error should be razed, or truth proved, or Religion planted. And finally to this partie may be added all those who affect a quiet world and peace above glorious troubles: which is the desire of those lightly, who in a midle degree of condition, possesse also a moderate temper of affections; which is ordinarily the 15 greatest part in all well-ordered Common-wealths; and withall the farre surest and firmest to the State. None of those will be easily drawn to enter into any violent course

<sup>1</sup> undertaken] taken  $C' HN P^2$  ins BL; joynt ... worthy] jointe and wise consent of worthy and wise Q 4 of] on Q; that] the B' C' HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> and] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins

<sup>9</sup> of life] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] an  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> enrage] infuriate Q

<sup>11</sup> those] the  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> proved] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> partie] parte  $B^1$ ; peace] a peaceable life  $B^2$ 

<sup>14</sup> glorious troubles] all things C' HN L Q ins BL; of those lightly] lightly of those B'

<sup>16</sup> the farre] farre  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>17</sup> those] these  $B^{I}$ 

against those of the Religion, so long as they have the discretion by no jealousie to provoke them. The last part is indeed of their vowed and sworn enemies, the Leaguers and Zeles as some name them; once the greatest and most favoured part of the Realme, at this day not so; theyr plausible pretences being now dismasked, and the disasterous success of theyr disordred actions, which hath brought things to the very 5 counterpoinct of that they aymed, and left nothing but a memorie of much trouble and misery, of the wasting of the people, the sacking of Cities, the harrowing and desolating of the Countrey, together with the imminent daunger of the utter overthrow of the Realme for ever, making them hatefull and despised in those very same minds, wherein they were erst-whiles enshrined with all devotion, which reasons have so abated also 10 the hawtinessse of theyr hopelesse heads; who lately breathed nothing but Crownes and scepters, but glory to theyr followers, but vengeance to theyr enemies: that now they are content to raunge with theyr fellows, and have turned their song of soveraignty into a more peaceable and calme tune, of *nec veterum memini latorve malorum*. Howbeit the

<sup>1</sup>Religion] reformed Religion C' HN del BL; the discretion] discretion C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> their] the C' HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> Zeles] rebels  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> the disastrous] their disastrous  $A C^{\prime} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>5</sup> of] in *BL* C' *HN*; disordred] disorderly *A BL* C' *HN* Q

<sup>6</sup> aymed] aymed at C' HN Q del BL

<sup>7</sup> of] with  $C^{l}$  HN L ins BL; Cities] the Cities  $B^{2}$ 

<sup>8</sup> together] om A C<sup>1</sup> HN L Q ins BL; the] om A B<sup>1</sup>; overthrow] overthrow for now B<sup>1</sup>

<sup>8-9</sup> of . . . ever] for ever of the realme  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> for ever] om  $B^1$ ; and despised] om Q; despised] despicable L; those] the Q; very same] same very  $P^1$  10 erst-whiles] erst Q

<sup>12-13</sup> but vengeance . . . fellows,] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> into] to A B' P'

<sup>14</sup> nec... latorve] see explanatory notes, memini veterum latorve  $B^{\prime}$ ; the] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

right Zeles, men of the basest sort lightly, and possessed with Friers, who fill them with very furies against the Religion, are as malicious and ragefull against the Protestants as ever; and thirst after nothing so much as to embrew them selves once againe in theyr bloud; they sticke not to professe and indeed had they heads and opportunities to accomplish. The number of these is exceeding great and desperate; 5 but impuissant, base and broken. With these joyne in heart in a manner all the Clergie; who compt the Religion and Reformation theyr bane, and the very calamitie of theyr estate for ever. A great errour among other, as was observed by the worthy Chancellour MONSIEUR DE L'HOSPITAL, in the plots and proceedings of the first Protestants of Fraunce, to alienate so respected and so potent a part of the Realme, by leaving them 10 no hope of any tollerable condition under theyr reformed estate; whom, by following the wiser courses of theyr moderate neighbours they might have gained to them in greatest part as others did.

Now this part which are the onely assured enemies of the Protestants, and of whom they may make accompt, that they will not faile them at a need, doth come 15 short of them perhaps in strength, though in multitude farre exceed them. Wherein this

2 very] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; the] their BL  $C^{l}$  HN

4 they] which they  $BL C^{\prime} HN L$ 

- 6 but] om  $P^{l}$ ; joyne in heart] in hart joyne  $B^{l} L P^{l}$ ; joyne . . . manner] in heart in a manner joyne  $B^{2}$ 7 the Religion] their Religion  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL
- 9 DE L'HOSPITAL] W.L.Hospital C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL
- 10 so] om  $C^{l}$  HN Q ins BL; by] they  $P^{l}$

<sup>1</sup> Zeles] Zedez  $B^{l}$ , zealous  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; men] om  $P^{l}$ ; basest] baser  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] are  $B^{l}$ , om  $P^{l}$ ; possessed] lightly possessed BL  $C^{l}$  HN; fill] inspirit  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>5</sup> to] would cor 29, A  $B^2 BL C' HN P^2$ ; exceeding] verie C' HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> theyr] the  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> may] om C' HN ins BL; not] never Q; doth] to Q

<sup>16</sup> farre] they farre C' HN ins BL; them] om Q; Wherein] whereas C' HN ins BL

is also not to be left unconsidered, that as in the body of man the humours draw still to the sore: so in a state all averse, and discontented persons doe associate them selves lightly to the part grieved and persecuted.

This take I to bee the present estate of the factions in Fraunce for matter of Religion: submitting my opinion, as in all other things, to bee censured and reformed 5 by whosoever with more experience and deeper judgement shall have waded in and weighed these actions and considerations. But to make my farre reach of conjecture for the time to come that will I not bee so sawcie as to doe in French affaires; whose mines are so full of Quicksilver that theyr nimble witts would take it perhaps in dudgen, that any should presume to imagine they would plod on in any one tenour, with that dull 10 constancie which theyr heavyer mettald neighbours doe use; being able even in freshest experience to boast, that theyr lightnesse of spirit; and mutabilitie of resolutions, hath sodainly recovered them from those tearmes of extremitie, which in the hands of any constant Nation in the world, had beene a very long cure, if not desperate and curelesse. But verily this diversitie and dissention in Religion, is still a very great weaknesse 15

- 9 theyr] the C' HN ins BL, perhaps theyr Q
- 10 presume to imagine] A BL  $C^{1}$  HN L  $P^{2}$ , imagine 29
- 11 constancie] conscience Q; freshest] fresh C' HN ins BL
- 12 hath] have B'
- 13 those] these  $B^{I}$ ; extremitie] extremities  $B^{I}$
- 15 diversitie and dissention] dissention and diversitie  $B^{I} P^{I}$

<sup>1</sup> is also not] allso is not  $B^{l}$ ; left unconsidered] least considered  $BL C^{l} HN$ ; man] a man  $BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; draw] do draw Q

<sup>2</sup> sore] sorest  $B^{i}$ ; averse] adverse  $B^{i}$ , of averse  $B^{2}$ ; discontented persons  $B^{i} B^{2} L Q$ ] discontented 29; doe] perhaps doe  $P^{i}$ 

<sup>4</sup> present estate] cause Q; matter] matters  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>6</sup> whosoever] whomsoever  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; experience ... judgement] judgement and deeper experience Q 7 actions and] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; my] any A BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{2}$  Q; of] or  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> time] times  $B^{1}$ ; will I not] will not I  $B^{1}$ ; mines] myndes  $\overline{B^{1}} L P^{1} Q$ 

and disease in theyr state, and such as wilbe alwayes a matter of jealousie among them selves, of assurance for theyr neighbours, of joy to theyr enemies.

# Of Lorain and Savoy

For Lorain, and Savoy, with the Wallesi who confine on Savoy, they runne wholly with the streame of the Papacie: though in both parts there are store of Protestants, 5 and that of men of the better sort but without any publike exercise of theyr Religion, save onely in some few out-skirts of Savoy neere Berna and Geneva. What Madam the Kings sister may affect in Loraine, or what contrariwise her selfe may suffer, time onely by triall is able to ascertein.

# An Estimate of the strength of the Papacy

10

These particulars thus admitted, it will bee no great difficultie to make some comparative Estimate of the whole strength of the Papacie, in respect of the Protestants, being the part now onely on foot against them. For as for the Greeke-Church, the case is evident, that though in number it bee graunted that they exceed any other; yet are they so oppressed under Turksh tyrannie, or removed so farre off, as 15 the Muscovites and some others, that they come not into any accompt in the survey of the strength which wee now speake of.

<sup>1</sup> jealousie] great jealousie Q

<sup>2</sup> for] to  $B^{\prime} P^{\prime}$ ; of] and  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>4</sup> Wallesi] Vallesi  $B^{1}$ ; on Savoy] om Q; wholly] wholy in a manner A BL C<sup>1</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup> Q

<sup>5</sup> are] be  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> of ] the  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; exercise] shewe  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; theyr] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>7</sup> in] om Q; few out-skirts] out Shyres  $C^{\prime}$  HN L ins BL, out-streetes Q; Madam] Queen M  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>8</sup> affect] effect BL  $C^{l}$  HN Q; what] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; what contrariwise] contrariwise what  $B^{l}$ 11 thus] once Q; no] too BL  $C^{l}$  HN

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{11}{12} \frac{11}{12} \frac{11$ 

<sup>12</sup> whole . . . Papacie] the protestants strength B'

<sup>13</sup> Protestants] Priestes  $C^{\dagger}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> is] is now Q; in number] om C' HN ins BL; it ... that] om B' Q

<sup>15</sup> are they] they are  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>16</sup> Muscovites] Muscovite  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; into any] to Q

<sup>15</sup> wee now] now wee  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

But for the Western or Latine Church, in the generall division into the part Reformed and part Papall, admitting them in number and circuit of Territorie to be neere equall (as considering the huge compasse of Germanie and that Empire possessed so wholly in a manner by the Protestants, I can make no other proportion:) in other poincts wee shall finde great odds and advantages for strength in different kinds on 5 both sides. First the Kingdomes and States of the Romish part, lying neerer the Sunne, are not onely in riches, both naturall of theyr soyle, and accessorie by greater opportunitie of traffike to all parts of the World, by manifold degrees superiour to theyr Northern adversaries, but also in a finenesse and subtiltie of wit; which having that other instrument of wealth to work by, doth farre passe in all ordinarie and orderly 10 actions, that robustnesse of body, and puissance of person, which is the onely fruict of strength that those colder climes doe yield. Though some times extraordinarily it is knowne and to bee graunted, that those septentrional inundations; by theyr very violence and multitude, as in people more generative, have so wildly deliviated over all the South; that as a raging tempest they have ravaged and ruined those powerfull and 15 flourishing Empires in the sodainnesse of an instant, which had bene many ages in

<sup>1</sup> the Western] Western  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; or] and  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; Church] Churches  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; part] the part  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>2</sup> and circuit] circuit Q; Territorie] territorries  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>3</sup> huge] whole Q; and that] an C' HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> so wholly] om Q; I] om P'; proportion] exposition C' HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> advantages] advantage C' HN ins BL; in different kinds] indifferent, kinde C' HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> of] on  $B^{\prime}$ ; Sunne] same Q

<sup>7</sup> of] to  $C^2$ ; greater] great  $\widetilde{C}^1$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> to all] throue ~ Q; manifold] manie Q; theyr] the  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> passe] surpasse  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> colder] cold Q; extraordinarily] om Q

<sup>14</sup> wildly deliviated] wholy diluviated  $C^{1}$  HN  $P^{2}$  ins BL; deliviated] deluviated cor 29,  $C^{2}$ 

<sup>15</sup> ravaged] ranged P'; ravaged and] om C' HN ins BL

rearing and spreading over the world.

But these have bene no other than as torrents or brooks of passage; soone up, soon downe; soone come, soon over-gone. Neither have the Northern people ever yet for all theyr multitude and strength, had the honour of being founders or possessours of any great Empire, so unequall is the combate between force and witt, in all matters of 5 durable and grounded establishment. An other poinct of great advantage in the selfe-same side is the uniting of theyr forces into fewer heads and mightier: which uniting is a very redoubling of strength in all things. They have on theyr part first and principally the Pope himselfe, seated royally and pontifically in the midst and chiefest, regarding the rich Sunne in his glorious rising, and the Moone in the heighth of her 10 beautifull walke: on his left hand, the Emperour, the auncient remaines of honour; on his right, the King of Spain, the new planet of the West; at his backe, the French king, the eldest Sonne of the Church; all mightie Monarchs, opposed as brasen Walls against his enemies on all sides: round about him are the lesser Princes and States of Italy, as matter rather of solace and honour than otherwise, and to exercise him selfe 15 upon, as his humours of favour or displeasure shall advise. Whereas on the contrary

<sup>1</sup> spreading] spreading it selfe  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>2</sup> as] om  $B^{1}$ ; as torrents] currentes  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; or brooks] om Q 6 great] om Q

<sup>7</sup> fewer] foure  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and mightier] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> very] om  $B^{\prime}Q$ ; strength] their strength  $B^{\prime}$ ; they part] eyther partes  $C^{\prime}HN$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> rich Sunne] right Sonn  $P^{i}$ ; his] high  $B^{i}$ 

<sup>11</sup> his] the  $B^{1}$ ; left] right Q; remaines] Romanes  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> right] right hand  $B^{T}C^{T}HN$  del BL, left Q; of the West] on the West BL C<sup>T</sup>HN

<sup>13</sup> all mightie] mightie  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> round] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{2}Q$  ins BL; are] And  $B^{l}C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> upon] om C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL; favour] favours C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL; or] and P<sup>2</sup>; shall] maie P<sup>2</sup>

part the only puissant Prince in any comparison with those other, is Her Maiestie of England: whose State is yet so divided from all the rest of the world, that it is the lesse fit in that respect for the rest to make head at. Againe the other have the Pope, as a common Father, advizer, and conductor to them all; to reconcile theyr enmities, to appease theyr displeasures, to decide theyr differences, and finally to unite theyr 5 endeavours in one course, to instance, to presse them, to remove stops, to adde encouragement, by ayd from him selfe; and above all things to draw theyr religion by consent of Councells to an unitie or likenesse and conformitie in all places; a principal pillar of stay to the unlearned multitude, of glory to them selves, of upbraiding to theyr enemies. Whereas on the contrary side, the Protestants are as severed or rather 10 scattered troups, each drawing a divers way; without any meanes to pacifie theyr quarrels, to take up theyr Controversies, without any bond to knit them, theyr forces or courses in one. No Prince with any preeminence of jurisdiction above the rest: no Patriarch or more to have a common Superintendence and care of theyr Churches, to be sollicitours of Princes for correspondence and unitie: no ordinary way to assemble 15 a generall Councell of theyr part, the only hope remaining ever to asswage their

8 an] eyther Q

9 of] and  $B^2$ , or  $C^1$  HN ins BL; of stay] om Q; upbraiding] upbraidings  $C^1$  HN ins BL

11 scattered] as scattered Q; a divers] adverse BL C' HN

<sup>1</sup> Prince] om Q; Her Maiestie of England] our Queen Elizabeth  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>2</sup> yet] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; lesse] least A

<sup>3</sup> Againe] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; a] the  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>4</sup> theyr] om Q; enmities] enemies  $B^2$ , iarres C' HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> and] om  $C^{\overline{I}}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> the Protestants] Protestants Q; are] om C' HN ins BL; severed] severed bandes B' C' Q del BL

<sup>12</sup> them] om  $B^1 C^1 HN$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> No] noble  $HNP^{l}$ ; with] without  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> Patriarch] Patriarch, one  $B^{1}P^{2}Q$ ; and] or  $B^{1}B^{2}C^{1}HNP^{1}Q$ , ins BL; Churches] Church  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>14-15</sup> to be ... Princes] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> correspondence] correspondencie  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

contentions, and the onely desire of the wisest and best minds among them. Every Church almost of theyrs hath his severall forme and frame of government; his severall Liturgie and fashion of service; and lastly some severall opinion from the rest; which though bee in them selves matters of no great moment, being no differences essentiall or in any capitall poinct; yea and some of them might serve perhaps to the Churches 5 great benefit: yet have they beene are and wilbe, so long as they continue in theyr present tearmes, causes of dislikes, of jealousies, of quarrels and daungers. In summe, what unitie soever is among them proceeds onely from the meere force and vertue of veritie; which all parts seeke for, which though it bee incomparably the best and blessedest, and that which alone doth unite the soule with God; yet for order in the 10 the world, for quiet in the Church, for avoyding of scandall, for propagating and encrease of what great power that other unitie is which proceeds from authoritie, the Papacie which stands by it alone, may teach us: in fine, both concurring attaine the prayse of perfection. These then are the advantages on the part of the Papacie. But now one disadvantage (such is the nature of all things) impeacheth and directeth all 15

- 5 capital poinct] point capitall  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; poinct] part  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL
- 5-6 yea . . . benefit] om  $A B^2 C' HN L P' P^2 Q$  ins BL

6 so] as B' C' HN ins BL

10 that] om B' BL C' HN

<sup>3</sup> opinion] opinions  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>4</sup> bee in them selves] in themselves they be  $A B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN L P^{\prime} P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>6-7</sup> in . . . tearmes,] om  $A B' C' HN L P' P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>7</sup> and] om Q; daungers] of danger  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>8</sup> among] amongst  $P^{l}$ , in Q; proceeds] proceedings tis Q

<sup>9</sup> parts] persons  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; seeke] doe seeke  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> stands] standeth  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; attaine] to attaine  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13-14</sup> in fine . . . perfection] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> directeth] diverteth BL  $C^{\prime}$  HN, dejecteth  $C^{2}$ 

other theyr forces; and that is theyr vicinitie with theyr graund-Enemie the Turk; who by Land and Sea presseth hard upon them, both Emperour, and Pope, and Monarch of Spain; and driveth them often times to such extasies and devisies, that Spain hath no other shift to cleare him selfe than by diverting him upon his owne deere brethren of Austria, and causing him to fall foule upon his friend the Emperour, wherein hee is 5 driven yet to a two-fold charge, both in bribing the Basha's to draw theyr Lord to Germany, and in supplying then the Emperour with money to withstand him. The Emperour on the other side calleth for ayde of the Protestants, without which the whole Empire were in daunger of wracking. The Pope, who above all other is in deepest feare, though not yet in the neerest; knowing that the finall marke which the Turk shootes 10 at is Italy, as thinking that to bee the lover now onely remaining to bee set up for the accomplishment and perfection of his Empire; and that his Warres with the Emperour are but to open that Land-passage, for asmuch as by Sea hee hath ever proved the weaker: bestirs himselfe on all hands, in the best sort hee is able, both in sending such avde as his proportion will beare, and especially in soliciting the Princes of his part 15

<sup>1</sup> other theyr] their other Q

<sup>2</sup> upon them, both] both uppon  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and Monarch] the Monarchie  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>3</sup> them] then BL  $C^{l}$  HN; and] of BL  $C^{l}$  HN; and devisies] of advisers Q

<sup>4</sup> shift] shifts  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; diverting] directing  $B^{l}$ ; him] om  $P^{l}$ ; upon] on  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> hee] yet hee Q

<sup>6</sup> yet] om Q; Basha's] Bashawe C' HN ins BL; to] into C' HN del BL

<sup>7</sup> supplying then the] supporting their C' HN ins BL; the] their  $C^2$ ; in . . . then] then in supplying Q 8 for . . . Protestants] callet the Protestants for his aide C' HN ins BL; which] whome C' HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> of wracking] to wrecking  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; above] of  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; in] in the PQ

<sup>10</sup> which] that BL C' HN; shootes] shooteth C' HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> lover] banner  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; remaining] om  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>12</sup> his] the  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> ever] alwaies  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; ever proved] proved ever Q

<sup>14</sup> hands] sides C' HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> soliciting] soliciting of  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; of] on Q

to enter into a common League and warre against him; giving over-ture of like desire for the Protestants also. But the Protestants would know what securitie of quiet they shall have from him selfe first, theyr neere and sterne and unappeaseable enemy; before they wast out them selves in giving ayde unto him, against a common enemie indeed, but one who is farthest off from them of all other, who as now is desirous enough to 5 entertein theyr friendship, and who at the worst hand carieth no more cruell hatred against them and theyr profession, neyther condemneth theyr religion more then the Pope theyr fellow-Christian.

Then for his Catholikes the Polakers, they clearly slip collar; both for the naturall hatred which as neighbours they beare the Germans; and for that they are in peace 10 and amitie with the Turke, paying him a certein tribute; and although his neere neighbours also, yet not in his way; which is not to the North, but to the Sunne and South parts and mainly and plainly to the conquests of Italy. The Venetians are content also to live rather as free tributaries to the Turk as they now are, than as slaues to Spaine; who in joyning with them heretofore in league against the Turk with Pope 15 PIUS QUINTUS, did contrarie to his oath and bond forsake them, and suffer them to bee

<sup>2</sup> of] and  $A B^2 BL C^1 HN Q$ 

<sup>3</sup> from . . . first] first from himselfe Q; unappeasable] unplacable  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> out] out so Q

<sup>5</sup> who] that  $A B^{1}$ 

<sup>6</sup> theyr] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] he Q; hand] hath  $B^{l}$ ; hatred] hate BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>9</sup> the Polakers] and ~  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> which as neighbours] om  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> him] om  $C^{I}$  HN Q ins BL

<sup>12</sup> also] om C' HN ins BL; to the North] unto ~ ~ C' HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> South] to the ~  $C^{l}$  HN Q del BL; content] contented  $P^{l}$ ; now are] are now  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> to] unto A BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{\overline{2}}$ 

<sup>15</sup> in joyning] joyning Q; with] and C' HN ins BL; league] leagues  $C^2$ 

<sup>16</sup> Quintus] Sixtus  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

beaten, being left alone to the Turks furie, and all this to the end that having theyr state utterly maymed and broken by the Turk, they might bee constrained wholly to cast themselves, theyr Signorie and Citie into the armes and embracements of Spaine for safeguard. With this unchristian treacherie have they charged him heeretofore; though now all beeing quiet, they are content to put an un-acceptable motion to silence, by 5 demaund of impossible conditions of securitie.

Then for Fraunce it is farre off, and lookes that the neerer bee as they ought most forward first; and requires also with reason some breathing time to revive himselfe, after his wearinesse by his late pangs. Lastly, Spaine hath so much to doe with England and the revolted Provinces, that hee thinks the time gained that the Turke forbeares 10 him. So that the end is, the whole burthen must rest on the Emperor, with that small helpe which Italy and some other yield him. And were it not his good fortune or rather Gods good providence that the very same plagues, which have ruined the glory and grace of Christendome, should now also infect the graund-Enemie thereof, namely Effeminatenesse and Avarice, whereof the one is the corruption of all sound 15 deliberations, and the other the quailer of all manly executions; which prevailing in his

5 to silence] of  $\sim Q$ 

8 requires] requireth B'

- 11 the end] in ~ ~ BL C' HN; is] on BL C' HN
- 12 which] that C' HN ins BL; other] others BL C' HN; yield] do yeeld C' HN del BL; or] om Q

<sup>1</sup> being] and Q

<sup>3</sup> Signorie] soveraignetie  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; Citie] theire Citie  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>4</sup> heeretofore] hithertoo  $B^{1}Q$ 

<sup>5-6</sup> by demaund] the demaunding  $B^{I} P^{I} Q$ 

<sup>7</sup> it] om Q; most] more  $B^1$ 

<sup>10</sup> thinks] thinketh  $B^{1} P^{1}$ ; forbeares] forbeareth  $A B^{1}$ 

<sup>13</sup> which] that  $BL C^{I} HN$ 

<sup>14</sup> also infect] infect also  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>15</sup> corruption] corrupter  $BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

state as they doe at this day, give hope that his tyrannie draweth towards his period: and for this present provide so, that a weake defendant may shift better having but a cowardly assailant: the matter would have growne to that extremitie by this time, as would have called the King of Spain with all his forces to some more honourable enterprises than hee hath hitherto undertaken. And this is the bridle which holds in 5 the Papacie with all his followers, from any universall proceeding by force against the Protestants: who herein are greatly advantaged above them, in that eyther theyr opposites lye betweene them and the Turke, or theyr Countries casting so much as they doe towards the North are out of his way, and no part of his present ayme. But these advantages and disadvantages of the Papacie equally weighed I suppose this 10 disadvantage more mischievous for the present as proceeding from outward force in the hands of an enemie; and the other advantages more stable for continuance, as springing from the inward strength of theyr owne wealth and order.

#### What Unity Christendome may hope for

This then beeing so, and that all things considered, there falls out if not such an 15 indifferencie and equalitie, yet at leastwise such a proportion of strength on both sides,

<sup>1</sup> state] estate BL C' HN; draweth] groweth A C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> this] the C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL; better] the better Q; but] no other than A B<sup>2</sup> BL C<sup>1</sup> HN P<sup>2</sup> Q

<sup>3</sup> the] this C' HN ins BL; to ... time] by this time to that extremity Q

<sup>4</sup> would] could BL C' HN

<sup>5</sup> which holds] that holdeth  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>6</sup> his] her *BL* C' *HN Q*; followers] fellows P'; any] an Q

<sup>7</sup> eyther] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>8</sup> Turke] Turks BL C' HN; theyr] in that their A C' HN del BL; casting]  $C^2$ , coasting  $B^2$  BL C' HN, costing 29

<sup>9</sup> part of his present] present parts of his Q; these] those C' HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> outward] the outward  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> for continuance] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> falls] falleth  $B^{1}$ ; falls out] om Q; an] om C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> leastwise] the leastwise C' HN P' del BL; strength] strength as P'; on] upon C' HN ins BL

as bereaveth the other of hope ever by warre to subdue them; (seeing as the Proverbe is, a dead woman will have foure to cary her forth, much lesse will able men bee beaten easily out of theyr homes,) and since there is no appearaunce of ever forcing an Unitie, unlesse Time which eates all things, should bring in great alterations: it remaineth to bee considered, What other kinde of Unitie poore Christendome may hope for, 5 whether Unitie of Veritie, or Unitie of Charitie, or Unitie of Perswasion, or Unitie of Authoritie; or Unitie of Necessitie, there beeing so many other kinds and causes of concord. A kind of men there is whom a man shall meet with in all Countryes, not many in number, but sundry of them of singular learning and pietie; whose godly longings to see Christendome reunited in the love of the Author of theyr name above 10 all things, and next in brotherly correspondence and amitie, as beseemeth those who under the chiefe service of one Lord, in profession of one ground and foundation of faith, doe expect the same finall reward of glorie, which proceeding from the Father and Prince of peace, rejecteth all spirits of contention from attaining it, have entred into a meditation whether it were not possible, that by the travaile and mediation of some 15 calmer minds than at this day doe usually write or deale on eyther side, these flames of

<sup>1</sup> them] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>2-3</sup> beaten easily] easily beaten  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>3</sup> easily] on BL  $C^{l}$ ; since] seeing  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> eates] eateth B' P'; should] shall P'

<sup>5</sup> bee considered] consider Q

<sup>8</sup> is] are A C<sup>1</sup> HN L ins BL; with in all] A BL C<sup>1</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup> Q, withall in 29; in] of Q

<sup>10</sup> theyr] the BL C' HN

<sup>11</sup> next] annexed C' HN ins BL; brotherly] fraternall Q; correspondence] correspondency P'

<sup>12</sup> profession] the possession  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> from] for  $B^{1}$ ; have] hath  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> mediation] meditation  $BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

<sup>16</sup> calmer] calme P'; than] that C' HN ins BL; doe] om BL C' HN

controversies might bee extinguished or asslaked, and some godly or tolerable peace reestablished in the Church againe. The earnestnesse of theyr vertuous desires to see it so, hath bred in them an opinion of possibilitie that it might bee wrought; considering first that besides infinite other poincts not controversed, there is a full agreement in the generall foundation of Religion, in those Articles which the twelve Apostles delivered 5 unto the Church, perhaps not as an abridgement onely of the Faith, but as a touch-stone also of the faithfull for ever: that whilest there was an entire consent in them, no discent in other opinions onely should breake peace and communion: and secondly, considering also there are in great multitude on both sides, (for so are they undoubtedly) men vertuous and learned, fraught with the love of God and of his truth above all things, 10 men of memorable integritie of hart and affections, whose lives are not deare unto them, much lesse their labors, to be spent for the good of Gods Church and people; by whose joinct-endeavors, and single and sincere proceedings in common conference for search of truth, that honorable Unity of Verity might be established.

# **Of Unity of Charity**

15

But if the multitude of crooked and side respects, which are the only clouds that eclipse the truth from shining now brightly on the face of the world, and the only

6 as an abridgement] an abridgement  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; but] but even  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

7 for ever] even for ever Q

<sup>1</sup> godly or] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; theyre] these  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>2</sup> earnestnesse] justnes  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> a full] A C' HN L Q, an 29, full del BL

<sup>5</sup> generall] om A C<sup>1</sup> HN L Q ins BL; Articles] same Articles C<sup>1</sup> HN del BL; twelve] om B<sup>1</sup>;

<sup>8</sup> other] their Q; onely] om  $A B^{l} L P^{l} Q$ 

<sup>9</sup> also] that  $L P^{I} Q$ ; they] there  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>10</sup> of ] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; his] the  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> proceedings] dealings  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13-14</sup> for search] or the search  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>16</sup> now brightly] more lightly  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

prickles that so enfroward mens affections as not to consider nor follow what were for the best, do cause that this chiefe Unity find small acceptation as is to be feared, at least-wise that the endlesse and ill fruicts of these contentions, which tend mainly to the encrease of Atheisme within, of Mahometisme abroad; which in obstinate the Jew, shake the faith of the Christian; taint the better minds with acerbitie, and load the 5 worse with poyson, which breake so out into theyr actions which themselves thinke holiest, namely the defence of Gods truth which each side challengeth, that in thinking they offer up a pleasing sacrifice to God, they give cause of wicked joy unto his and theyr enemie; that these wofull effects, with very tediousnesse and wearinessse may draw both parts in fine to some tollerable reconciliation, to some Unitie of Charitie, 10 at leastwise to some such as may be least to eythers prejudice. Let the one side give over theyr worshipping of Images, theyr adoring and offering supplications to Saincts, theyr offensive Ceremonies, theyr arbitrary Indulgences, theyr using of a language not understood in theyr devotions; all which themselves will confesse not to be necessary. to bee orders of the Church, and such as at pleasure shee may dispence with; yea 15 POPE CLEMENT the viith, gave some hope to the French King that hee would not be

- 5 the Christian] Christians  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; better] best Q; with] of  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; the] their  $P^{l}$
- 6 worse] words  $C^l$  HN ins BL; into] in  $C^l$  HN ins BL
- 8 to God,] L, to Gods, 29, unto God  $B^1$ ; unto his] to his  $B^1$
- 9 enemie] enemies  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; these] those  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; tediousnesse and] tedious  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 10 some tollerable] the same tollerable  $P^{l}$ ; to] or to  $P^{l}$ ; leastwise] the leastwise  $P^{l}$
- 11 one side]  $A B^{T} L P^{T} P^{2} Q$ , one 29

- 13 arbitrary] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; a] strange  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL
- 14 will] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; to bee] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> prickles] prickes  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; that] which BL  $C^{l}$  HN; so enfroward] shall forward  $P^{l}$ ; consider nor follow what were for] A L  $P^{2}$  Q, consider 29

<sup>2</sup> the best] and follow what were for BL C<sup>1</sup> HN; as is] as it is  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>4</sup> which] by which  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; in] om  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL; obstinate] obstinacy  $P^{l}$ ; Jew] Jewes  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> theyr adoring] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; supplications] supplication  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$  ins BL

stiffe in things of this qualitie, and that respect of time might justifie the alteration; and some of the latter Popes condiscend to them of Bavaria the Cup in the Sacrament. hoping that would content them, which since they or theyr successours have taken from them againe; on the other side, let the Protestants, such at leastwise as think to purge out that negative and contradictory humour, of thinking they are then rightest, when 5 they are unlikest the Papacie; then neerest to God when farthest from Rome; let them looke with the Eye of Charitie upon them as well as of severitie, and they shall find in them some excellent orders for government, some singular helpes for an encrease of godlinesse and devotion, for the conquering of sinne, for the perfecting of vertue; and contrariwise in them selves looking with a more single and lesse indulgent Eye 10 than they doe, they shall find that there is no such absolute or unreproveable perfection in theyr doctrine and Reformation, as some dreamers in the pleasing view of theyr owne actions doe fancie. Neyther ought they to thinke it straunge, they should bee amisse in any thing; but rather a very miracle, if they were not so in many. For if those auncient Fathers and Sages of the Church, with greater helpes, beeing nearer the times of puritie;

<sup>1</sup> respect] the respect BL C' HN, respit P'

<sup>2</sup> latter] later BL C' HN; condiscend] condescended  $B^2$  BL C' HN L; Bavaria] Bavaria about B'; in] of C' HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> content] have contented  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>3-4</sup> have ... again]  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$ , have againe inhibited 29 ins BL

<sup>4</sup> side] part *BL*  $C^{l}$  *HN*; leastwise] the leastwise  $P^{l}$ ; think] seeke  $C^{l}$  *HN ins BL*, that seeke  $P^{l}$ , thinke so Q 5 out] om Q

<sup>6</sup> then] and then  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; to] om  $B^{2}$ , when] when they are  $B^{l}$ ; them] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>7</sup> looke] I say  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>7-8</sup> in them] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> for] of  $C^{\dagger}$  HN ins BL; some] so  $B^{\dagger}$ ; an] om A BL  $C^{\dagger}$  HN  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>9</sup> perfecting] profiting  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> that] om C' HN ins BL; or unreproveable] om A C' HN L P'  $P^2$  Q ins BL

<sup>12</sup> the pleasing] their pleasing  $P^{l}$ ; view] wayne  $P^{l}$ ; owne] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>15</sup> with] who with  $A C^{1} HN P^{2} del BL$ 

with equall industrie, so spending theyr whole lives with lesse cause of insinceritie, having nothing to seduce them; notwithstanding were not able in the weaknesse and blindnesse of humane nature in this world, to sore up so high alwayes in the search of truth, as to finde out her right seat in the heighth of the Heavens; but some times tooke Errour dwellling neerer them in steed thereof, how lesse likely that our age, more 5 entangled with the world; farther removed from the usage of those faultlesse institutions, and so bitterly exasperated with mutuall controversies and conflicts, should attaine to that excellencie and perfection of knowledge; which it may be God hath removed from mans reach in this world, to humble and encrease his longing towards another world? And as the present time doth discover sundry errours in the former, 10 so no doubt will the future in that which is now present. So that ignorance and errour, which seldome goe severed, being no other than unseparable companions of man, so long as he continueth in this terrestriall Pilgrimage: it can be no blemish in them to revise theyr doctrine, and to abate the rigor of certein speculative opinions, especially touching the eternall decrees of God, the qualitie of mans nature, the use of his works;

6 farther] farre Q; the usage of] om C' HN ins BL; usage] use Q

9 humble and encrease] humble him and to encrease  $A B^{l} B^{2} P^{l} P^{2}$ ; longing]  $A B^{2} C^{l} HN L$ , longing desire 29 ins BL, living Q

13 in] to  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; this] his  $P^{l}$ 

15 his] om BL  $C^{l}$ 

<sup>1</sup> whole] om C' HN ins BL; insinceritie] L, unsinceritie 29

<sup>2</sup> the] their  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> humane] their humane  $C^{I}$  HN del BL; in] of Q

<sup>4</sup> out] om Q; heighth] highest Q; tooke] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> dwelling] to bee  $C^{\prime}$  HN del BL; them] om  $P^{\prime}$ ; likely] likely is it  $P^{\prime}$ 

wherein some of theyr chiefe Authours have run to such an utter opposition to the Romish doctrine, as to have exceedingly scandalized all other Churches withall, yea and many of their owne to rest very ill satisfied. The seat of Truth is aloft, of Vertue in the midst aiwaies; both places of Honour: but neither truth nor vertue draw to an utter extremitie. And as in some poincts of doctrine, so much more in theyr practise; in 5 order of government, and Ecclesiasticall degrees; in solemnities and statelinesse in the service of God; in some exercises of pietie, devotion, and humilitie, especially in set fastings accompanied with due contrition of heart and prayer; besides many other Ceremonies; they might easily without any offence of conscience at all, frame to draw somewhat neerer to theyr opposites than now they are. Which yielded on both sides, 10 a generall and indifferent Confession and summe of Faith; an uniforme Liturgie, or not repugnant if divers; a like or at least-wise not incorrespondent forme of Churchgovernment, to bee made out of the poincts which both agreed in, and to bee established so universally over all Christendome, that this all Christians should necessarily hold, this onely theyr Divines in pulpit should teach, and this theyr people in Churches 15

<sup>1</sup> theyr . . . Authors] them Q; run] come  $\overline{C'}$  HN ins BL; run to] ~ of P'Q

<sup>3</sup> of] that of  $C^{I}$  HN del BL

<sup>4</sup> midst alwaies]  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$ , midst 29, alwaies del BL; an] any  $B^{l}$ , om Q

<sup>5</sup> doctrine] theire doctrine  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>7</sup> some] the  $P^1$ ; exercises] exercise  $B^1$ 

<sup>8</sup> many] in many  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> any] om BL  $C^l$  HN

<sup>11</sup> Confession . . . Liturgie] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>11-12</sup> or not ... incorrespondent] a correspondent  $B^{1} C^{1} HN$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> out] om C' HN ins BL; which ... agreed] both should agree C' HN ins BL; bee] om B'

<sup>14</sup> so] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; over all Christendome] A L Q, throughout all Christendome  $C^{l}$  HN, in all Christian dominions 29 ins BL

<sup>15</sup> this onely] and this BL  $C^{l}$ ; pulpit] pulpits  $B^{l}$ ; doing] done  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

should exercise; which doing the Unitie of Communion should remain unviolated. For all other questions, it should bee lawfull for each man so to believe as hee found cause; not condemning other with such peremptorinesse as in the guise of some men of overweening conceipts: and the handling of all Controversies for theyr finall compounding, to be consided to the Schooles, to Councells, and to the learned languages, which are 5 the proper places to try them, and fittest tongues to treat them in.

### **Of Unity of Authority**

And all this to bee done by some generall Councell, assembled and composed indifferently out of both the sides; mens minds being before-hand prepared and directed to this issue and conclusion. But now if eyther the obstinatnesse of the Popes 10 ambition, or the wilfulnesse or scrupulositie of any opinionative Ministers, should oppose against and impeach this Unitie of Charitie; then the Unitie of Authoritie to bee interposed to assist it; that is the Princes of Christendome to presse this agreement, to constraine the Pope to content him selfe with that temporall state, which the skill of his Antecessors hath got and left him; and for his spirituall to bee such as the auncient 15 Councells had limited: and for all other gain-sayers, to silence or punish them. Now

9 the sides] sides  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2-4</sup> it should . . . compounding]  $\overline{om C' HN ins BL}$ 

<sup>3</sup> in the guise] is the guise  $A C^2 P^2 Q$ , men of] men Q

<sup>5</sup> to Councells] the Councells  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>6</sup> to try them] to try them them in  $P^{l}$ ; in] in and it should be lawfull for each man to beleve as he found cause; not condemning other with such peremptorines as the guise of some men of overweaning conceyte  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> obstinatenesse] obstinacie  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>11</sup> or scrupulositie] and scrupulositie  $A P^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> this] the B'

<sup>15</sup> Antecessours] ancestors C' HN ins BL; hath] have B'

<sup>16</sup> silence] censure C' HN ins BL; or punish] and punish P'

for the Princes with joinctly consent to do this, how many, how weightie motives to induce them? the service of Christ, the honour of Christian Religion, and the peace of Christendome, the strengthening of Christians, and the repulsing and overthrow of all Turks and infidels. And these in generall. In particular, the assuring of theyr owne lives and persons, which so many under pretence of Religion dayly conspire against; 5 the quiet and secure enjoying of theyr rich states and kingdomes; the transmitting of them to theyr posteritie without question or opposition; and lastly the delivery of theyr miserable subjects, (which should bee deare unto them as children,) from those extreame vexations of spirit and body, and those in estimable calamities in theyr estates and conditions, wherewith these dissentions in religion and effects thereof doe now 10 afflict them. And this is in generall the summe of the discourse of that kind of people: which doth shew them as they are for the most part to bee Protestants, though perhaps not running jump with theyr side in every thing although many of the other part are caried also with the same good zeale and affection to the like desire and invention; but these are of the more moderate sort of the Catholikes, and not of theyr Clergie, and 15 such lightly as have but an indifferent conceipt of the Popes claime and proceedings, of

11 the discourse] that  $\sim B^1$ 

16 lightly as have] as have lightlie Q

<sup>1</sup> joinctly] joynt A BL C<sup>l</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup>; consent] assent C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL; how weightie] have mightie C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL; to] BL C<sup>l</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup>, doe 29

<sup>2</sup> and] om  $A B^{1} BL C^{1} HN P^{2}$ 

<sup>3</sup> and] om  $B^1$ ; repulsing] repulse  $B^1$ 

<sup>9</sup> estates] states  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>10</sup> wherewith] which Q

<sup>12</sup> doth] doe BL C' HN; them] themselves Q; as] and BL C' HN; to bee] om C' HN ins BL; though] as though C' HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> although] also C' HN ins BL; are] bee BL

<sup>14</sup> also] om B C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL; invention] intention C<sup>1</sup> C<sup>2</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> more] om  $B^{\prime} P^{\prime}$ ; the Catholikes] Catholikes Q

which sort among the wiser part of the Laitie there are very many. But now in exacter consideration of this motion, there appeare for the effecting of it sundry difficulties so great, that they draw to bee next neighbours to so many impossibilities, whereof I will mention onely two of the chiefe. For as for the thing it selfe, I must confesse for my owne part, the greatest desire I have in this world, is to see Christendome reconciled 5 in the badge of theyr profession, (seeing Unitie is consecrated to Veritie, and both to God;) and that without the ruine and suberversion of eyther part, which cannot bee done but to the unexpressable mischiefe and miserie of both sides, and with the utter enhazarding of both Christendome and Christianitie, and thinke any kind of peace were better than these strifes, which did not prejudice that higher peace betweene God 10 and mens consciences. Then for the way they purpose, it seemeth for the generalitie of it, there is no other now left; seeing the opposition of extreames is no way defeazable, but by extinguishing the one, or drawing both to some temper and mildnesse of state. But in this case two things doe cleane disharten this hope. The first is the

untractablenessse of the Papacie to this course, who in so many conferences as they 15

<sup>1</sup> among] amongst  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; wiser] wysest  $P^{l}$ ; wiser part] wise sort  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; Laitie] Lay  $P^{l}$ ; there] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 2 appeare] appears  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 3 whereof] wherefor  $P^{l}$ 5 this] the  $C^{2}$ 6-7 (seeing . . . God;)] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 7 ruine and] ruine or  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; of] on  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 8 to the] with  $B^{l}$ ; of both] both of A BL  $C^{l}$  HN L 9 thinke . . . peace] that any peace  $C^{l}$  HN L  $P^{2}$  Q ins BL 10 these] those  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 12 defeazable] peaceable  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 13 temper . . . state] more temperate and mild estate  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] or L 14 case] cause  $B^{l}$ ; cleane] clerely  $P^{l}$ ; disharten] shorten  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; hope] Pope A 15 this course] it  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL, unto it A L  $P^{2}$  Q

have had in this age, have alwayes ere they departed very plainly discovered that they came not with such intent as to yield anything for peace, much lesse for truths sake, but onely to assay eyther by manifold perswasion and entreatie to reduce, or otherwise by wit to entrap and disgrace theyr adversaries, and if some one of them have shewed him selfe more flexible at any time, it hath beene his utter discredit with his owne partie 5 ever after. Which sterne proceeding of theyrs admitting the fundamentall positions whereon the Papacie is built, is good and necessary. For if divine Authoritie doe concurre with them in all theyr ordinances, Gods spirit assist them in all theyr decisions, all possibilitie of erring be exempted from theyr Pope and Church: what remaines there but onely that they teach we believe; they command, and the world obey? Indeed in 10 humane governments, where reason is shut out theyr tyrannie thrusts in; but where God commands to aske reason is presumption, to oppose reason flat rebellion. To this miserable necessitie have those assertions tyed them, which they have layd for theyr foundation; miserable to them selves and miserable to the whole world. For what can bee more miserable to any ingenuous and good mind than to have entangled 15 himselfe in such a labyrinth of perplexitie and mischiefe, as to have left no place of

- 7 is built] as built  $B^{I} P^{I}$ ; is good and] as good as  $C^{I} HN$  ins BL
- 8 all] and all  $C^{I}$  HN del BL

<sup>1</sup> had] made BL C' HN Q; departed] parted C' HN ins BL; very] om BL C' HN; that] om BL C' HN 2 much . . . truths] om Q

<sup>3-4</sup> by wit] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> utter] onelie utter  $B^1$ 

<sup>6</sup> ever] for ever C' HN del BL; Which] a very B'; the fundamentall] their fundamentall LQ

<sup>9</sup> be exempted] being exempted Q

<sup>10</sup> we believe] on Belieffe  $P^{I}$ ; obey] obeys  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>11</sup> thrusts] is thrust in  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>12</sup> commands] commandeth  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; reason] a reason  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>13</sup> those] their  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; tyed] astringed Q

<sup>14</sup> For] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> any] om C HN ins BL; ingenuous] ingenious Q; and] om C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> a labyrinth] labyrinths P'; place of] ~ for the C' HN ins BL;

acknowledging his errour, without ruining his estate; when as errour is onely purged by due acknowledging, and doubled by denying it, and to what a miserable push have they driven the World, eyther in theyr pleading against them with such force of evidence or in theyr learning of them and joyning with them, as to stop the mouth of the one, and hang the faith of the other, on this unnaturall paradox; I and my church cannot 5 possiblie erre, and this must you take upon our owne words to bee true. For as for theyr conjecturall evidence out of the Scripture, there seemes to bee as much or more for the King of Spains not erring, as there is for the Popes: it being said by the wisest, that the heart of the King is in the hands of God, a divine sentence is in his lipps, and his mouth shall not transgresse in judgement. 10

But now as by this meanes they have debarred themselves from acknowledging and consequently from controlling any errour in faith and doctrine: so on the other side to reforme any great matter in practise were to open the eyes and mouthes of all men against them; who now in the obedience of theyr blindnesse sticke fast unto them. Let them suspend from hence-forward the worshipping of Images, the fleeing to 15

4 learning of them] om A C<sup>1</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup> ins BL; and ... them] om Q; as] om B<sup>1</sup>

11 this] these  $C^l$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> errour] errors  $B^{\prime} C^{\prime} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>2</sup> due] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>3</sup> pleading] pleadings C' HN ins BL; force] sorte Q; of] with Q

<sup>5</sup> hang] to hang  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>6</sup> must] you must BL  $C^{l}$  HN; upon] on  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; owne] om A  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> there is] om Q; by the wisest] om  $C^{l}$  HN P ins BL;

<sup>9</sup> hands of God] hand of the Lord  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>12</sup> controlling any] being controlled of  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; faith and] matters of  $B^{2} C^{l}$  HN ins BL, matter of A L Q

<sup>13</sup> practise] their practise  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$  del BL

<sup>15</sup> hence-forward] hence forwards  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; the] their  $P^{\prime}$ ; fleeing] flying  $A P^{\prime}$ 

the patronage of Angells and Saincts by vowes and prayers: besides the great losse which it would bring unto the traine in daily offerings to theyr Saincts and Images; what a jealousie would it breed in the heads of their owne that they had led the world all this while on the blind side, and that other things perhaps were introduced for gaine, and corruptly contrived, as well as these. Then for theyr adversaries, theyr owne saying 5 is, yield one thing to them, and yield all; sith all hangs upon the same pin, and by the same string that any one doth. So that it seemeth not to haue beene unwisely conceived by him, who said, that to perswade the Pope to any such reformation, was to perswade him to yield up his Keys and Crowne, and to returne into the order of his Predecessours and other Patriarchs: which to do as yet hee sheweth no intention. 10

And although some one Pope should happen to be better affected, yet would it not prevaile unto any great proufe, being sure that his neerest both Counsellours and officers, his Cardinalls and Courtiers, yea his Church and whole State would oppose against him. Then to hope that though the Pope and his Sea should withstand it, yet the learned of his side might be induced in other places to accept and to apply them 15 selves to some treatie of accord; I dare avouch they know them not which have that

6 to] unto BL C' HN; and yield] yield  $B^2 Q$ ; pin] Prince C' HN ins BL

7 unwisely] universally HNP'

<sup>1</sup> the patronage of  $] om A C' HN L P^2 Q ins BL$ ; prayers: ] prayers for patronage  $A C' HN L P^2 Q del BL$ 2which] om P'; unto] to B'; the] their A BL C' HN; daily] their A C' HN ins BL; to their . . . Images] om  $A C' HN L P^2 Q ins BL$ 

<sup>5</sup> contrived] continued A BL C' HN; saying] maner of saying C' HN del BL

<sup>9</sup> his Keys] Keys P'; into] to C' HN ins BL

<sup>11-14</sup> And although . . . him] om  $A C' HN P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> the Pope] himselfe  $A B^2 C^1 HN P^2$  ins BL

<sup>15</sup> of] on  $P^{I}$ ; other] other some  $B^{I} P^{2}$ 

<sup>15-16</sup> to accept . . . selves] om A  $C^{l}$  HN Q ins BL

<sup>16</sup> I dare avouch] om C' HN ins BL; dare] dare not B'; have] would have C' HN del BL

conceipt of them. For although it were perhaps not-untruly said by a great Clerke of their owne, that the Popes not erring was but an opinion of Policie, and not of Theologie; to give stay to the Laitie, not stop to the Divines; of whom in such infinite controversies and jarrings, about interpretations of texts, and conclusions of science, wherein many have spent a large part of their lives, never any yet went neither at 5 this day doth go to be resolved by the Pope; as knowing it to be true which theyr owne Law delivereth, that in holinesse any old woman, in knowledge many a Frier might outgoe the Pope, but in power and authoritie the whole World was under him: yet at this day they do so generally all cling unto him and draw by his line, (as having no hope either of standing against theyr opposites, but only by him; or of unitie amongst 10 them selves, but only in him;) that touch him, and touch them; yea they thinke at leastwise some of them, the name of Papist, to bee as good a name and more necessarie at this day than that of Catholike; the one shewing theyr Unitie only with the body, and the other with the head of the Church, which is now more needfull. It remaines that

2 and] om BL C'HN

10 by] in *BL*  $C^{l}$  *HN* 

<sup>1</sup> although] though BL C' HN; by] of C' HN ins BL; Clerke] man C' HN Q ins BL

<sup>3</sup> not stop] and to steppe HN, and not stoppe  $Q_{i}$ , and no stoppe  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> any yet went] anie went yet  $B^2 Q$ 

<sup>5-6</sup> neither ... go] om  $A B^2 C^1 HN L P^2$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> Pope] Popes  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> any] many an BL  $C^{l}$  HN; in] and in  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> all cling ] cling all  $B^{1}$ , no] om Q

<sup>11</sup> that touch . . . them] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>11-12</sup> at least-wise] om  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>12</sup> the]  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$ , that rejected 29 ins BL; a name] om  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL; a name and more necessarie] a more necessarie name  $A L P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>13</sup> that] om BL C<sup>l</sup> HN Q; their Unitie only] only their unity A B<sup>l</sup> BL C<sup>l</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup>; and] om B<sup>l</sup> P<sup>l</sup> 14 remaines] remaineth B<sup>l</sup> P<sup>l</sup>

Princes take the matter in hand, and constrein the Pope and others to yield to some such accord. Indeed this were an only right way to effect it. For reason is a good Oratour, when it hath force to back it. But where are these Princes? They dreame of an old world, and of the heroicall times, who imagine that Princes will break their sleeps for such purposes. If there were at this day a DAVID in Spain, a JOSIAS in France, an 5 EZECHIAS in Italy, a CONSTANTINE in Germany; the matter were ended in very short time. But take men as they are, and as they are like to bee; being brought uppe in the midst of theyr factions and flatterers, where they seldome heare truth, and if a good motion by mischaunce be set on foot by one part, it is sure to be streight crossed thorough the watchfull and industrious envie of the other: the world may hold it selfe 10 reasonably if the Civill state be upheld in any tollerable termes, and not think that they should care greatly for reforming the Church, and much lesse for the uniting of the State Ecclesiasticall, the dissentions whereof have and dayly serve so many mens turnes.

And although it is to be acknowledged and thankfully commemorated, that this age hath not beene so utterly barren of good Princes, but that some have deserved to 15

<sup>1</sup> others] other  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; some] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1-2</sup> some such accord] such accord as they should thinke reasonable  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$ , some *ins BL*, as they should think reasonable *del BL* 

<sup>2</sup> an] om Q; right] om  $C^{\prime}Q$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> these] those BL C' HN; an old] old C' HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> very] a very  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>7</sup> men] them  $C^2$ ; and ... are] om Q

<sup>9</sup> mischaunce] chance  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>10</sup> and] om C HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> termes] manner BL C'; think] to think P'

<sup>12</sup> reforming] the reforming  $B^{\prime}$ ; the Church] of the Church  $B^{\prime}$ , the uniting | uniting  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>14</sup> although] though  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> so] om  $B^{1}$ ; that some] some  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; have deserved] have been deserved Q

be enrolled among those Worthies; yet the ambition and encroaching humours of certein, and want of correspondence requisite in other, have stopped perhaps those honourable thoughts and desseins, which might have else be employed for the universall good of Chirstendome. In summe, there is small hope remaining on this part; the world having extinguished the care of the publike good, by an over-care of theyr 5 private; and each projecting to passe his owne time smoothly over in pleasure, and recommending posteritie to the Starres and destinie. These reasons together with the long continuance of this division, whereby both parts are formalized and settled in theyr oppositions; in so much that at this day they are but very few in comparison of former times that are gained eyther way; do make me greatly despaire of any successe by 10 that course: and so esteem of that plot, as an honested harted desire, but no probable dessein; and as a cabinet discourse of speculative consideration, which practise in the world and experience doth need to rectifie.

### Of Necessity pressing to Unity

The next poinct is, whether NECESSITIE, which over-rules all frowardnesse, and commaunds all sturdinesse of humours and passions, may not presse to some Unitie;15 if the Turke still growing as hitherto he hath done, leave no hope for Christendome to

4 on] in  $B^{1}C^{1}HN$  ins BL

<sup>1</sup> be] have beene  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL; among] amongst  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> correspondence] correspondency  $B^{T}BL C^{T}HN P^{T}$ 

<sup>3</sup> might] om  $P^{l}$ ; might have] had  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; be] been Q

<sup>5</sup> the publike] publike Q

<sup>6</sup> his] theire  $\vec{B}^{T} BL C^{T} HN$ 

<sup>7</sup> destinie] Destinies  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> oppositions] opinions  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime}$ ; they] there  $C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> greatly despaire] dis payre greatly  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ 

<sup>11</sup> honest-harted]  $A L P^2 Q$ , honested harted 29 ins BL, honest heartie  $B^1 C^1 HN$ , honest hartied  $P^1$ 

<sup>13</sup> experience] in experience Q; doth] doo  $P^{l}$ ; rectifie] certifie  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> commaunds all] om A C<sup>l</sup> HN P<sup>2</sup> ins BL; presse] presse them om C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>17</sup> still growing] grow still great upon them C' HN ins BL; leave] he shall leave B' BL C' HN P'

subsist but in theyr inward Concord. It is true that a forreigne enemie is a reconciler of brethren, and that common danger holds them, together, so long as it lasteth, who else would flee a sunder upon every light occasion. But herein me thinks it commeth first to be considered, whether the Turk be so fearfull a Monarch as is commonly conceived, especially since his late so huge enlargement towards the East. That which most men 5 esteeme in him the grand cause of errour, seemeth to mee a chiefe argument of the contrary, at this present: and that is the very hugenesse of the Empires. For Empires are not then alwayes at theyr strongest, when at theyr biggest; there beeing a certeine due proportion in all things, which they breaking that exceede, as well as they that come short of; may bee compted to bee huge and vast, not great; since that is great 10 properly, which is great in his actions, which are often impeached by unwieldinesse in the big, as by weakenesse in the little. But if to this bee adjoyned, as it some times falls out, that there bee but a little soule to move this vast body, (which maketh some of the biggest men to bee neyther the wisest nor valiantest;) and that is, that the government,

<sup>1</sup> subsist] resist  $C^{l}$  ins BL; It is true] True it is  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; reconciler] Reconcile  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>2</sup> and] om Q; who] which  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> thinks] thinketh  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> errour] terrour BL  $C^{l}$  HN Q; mee] be  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>7</sup> very] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; the Empires] his Empire  $A P^{1}$ 

<sup>8</sup> not] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; alwayes] all wayes  $P^{l}$ , om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; when] when they are  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN, del BL; theyr] the  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; due] om  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> that exceede] they that exceede BL C' HN

<sup>10</sup> of] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; compted] accounted BL  $C^{l}$  HN; to bee] om  $C^{l}$  HN Q ins BL; not] but not  $B^{l} C^{l}$  HN, del BL; that] it  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>11</sup> properly] truely  $B^{l}$ ; his] the  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; often impeached] as often impeacheth BL, one as often impeacheth  $C^{l}$  HN, are as often impeached  $B^{l}$   $P^{l}$ ; by] by the  $B^{l}$ ; unwieldinesse] Q, unwildinesse 29, unwillingnesse HN  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> it some times falls] sometimes it falleth  $B^{1}Q$ 

<sup>13</sup> a little] little Q; the] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> the wisest] of the wisest A P'; and] om Q; that is,] om C' HN ins BL

which is the soule of a state, bee scant and feeble: not able to embrace nor to order so huge affairs: then is there no other greater presage of ruine, than very massinesse it selfe, which everie strong push or justle makes reele and totter, for want of that inward strength which were requisite to hold it stedie. And this take I to bee the State of the Turkish Empire at this day: which beeing a meere tyrannie, as ayming onely at the 5 mightinesse and securitie of theyr great Lord, the sole absolute commander, without any respect to the benefit of the people under him, save only so farre forth as may serve to beare up his greatnesse; and for that cause hee in his jealousie and distrust of his owne, keeping his Territories halfe desolate, wast, and unhabited, his subjects without heads of Nobilitie to lead them, without hearts to encourage them to seeke deliverie, 10 abasing them by all kind of bestial education, and oppressing them by all sorts of extortion and outrage, giving the Lands where hee conquereth to his Souldiers and Timarri: which scattered over all parts of his ample Empire, are the onely contented people and onely strength in effect hee hath, as beeing bound by theyr tenures to serve in his warre, whethersoever hee calls them: and without his charge: this beeing his 15 state, it is cleare, that the wildnesse and lying wast of his Country; is to the great

- 6 mightinesse] all-mightinesse Q; and securitie] om  $B^{I}$
- 7 to] of *Q*
- 7-8 to beare up] upon  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

14 onely] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; tenures] tearmes  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>1</sup> a] the C' HN ins BL; bee] is C' HN ins BL; to] om BL C' HN

<sup>2</sup> so huge affairs] such affaires being so huge Q; very] the very BL C' HN

<sup>8</sup> hee] om  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>9</sup> keeping] keeps P'; his] om C' HN ins BL; unhabited] un-inhabited BL C' HN

<sup>10</sup> deliverie] their liberty or deliverie  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>11</sup>abasing] abusing C' HN Q ins BL; kind of bestial] bestiall kinde of  $B^2$ 

<sup>12</sup> Lands] land C' HN ins BL; conquereth] conquered P'

<sup>15</sup> in his warre] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; calls] calleth A  $P^{l}$ 

diminishing of his owne wealth and revenew: which is lesse than some of our Christian Princes at this day, though his Empire much larger than all theyrs together: the unpopulousnesse together with the basenesse and feeblenesse of such as are, makes that no one Country is defence for it selfe but must have the concurse of many of the rest to assist it; and lastly the huge circuit of his soyle and confines, embracing as is 5 esteemed eight thousand mile of Land, and of Sea as many, is cause that his Timarri cannot assemble together but in very long time, wherin opportunities are often, lost besides the tiring both of themselves and theyr horses, ere they arrive. And the truth hereof is assured by fresh experience, hee having done no great matter in all this warre of Hungary, though none to speake of but Germanie, with some small helpe of Italy, 10 have opposed against him. But if wee farther consider the effeminatenesse of the education of theyr Great Lords in these times; a thing which they are advised and constreined unto, even contrary often-times to the manlinessse of theyr owne natures, (and all to keepe the Father from jealousie of his owne sonne, whose bravenesse of mind and warlinesse is still suspected;) and use having soaked once into theyr bones 15

- 9 hee] om Q; this] his  $P^{I}$
- 10 though none] om C' HN ins BL; but] onely C' HN ins BL
- 11 have] being B' BL C'; farther] om C' HN ins BL
- 12 Lords] Earles  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> some] some one  $A P^{l} P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>2</sup> Princes] Princes be  $B^{l} C^{l} HN P^{l}$ , del BL; much] be  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> makes] weake  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> defence] a defence C' HN del BL; for] unto P'; it selfe] himselfe C' HN ins BL; many] very many A  $B^2$  C' HN L Q del BL

<sup>6</sup> mile] miles  $A B^2 C^l C^2 HN$  ins BL; is] it is  $B^2$ , as many is  $BL C^l HN$ ; cause] the cause  $B^l BL C^l HN P^l$ 7 often] om Q; lost] sought  $P^l$ 

<sup>8</sup> tiring] trying C'; ere they arrive] before they arme C' HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> having] have Q; soaked once] once soaked BL C' HN

in youth, doth for ever after lose the sinnes of theyr manly dispositions, and subject them to the softnesse and basenesse of pleasures: considering also the avarice and corruption which raignes there; all peaces and warres, all friendships and enmities, all favours and wrongs, all Counsells and informations, being growne to bee saleable: if these bee as they are the signes of a diseased, and prognosticates of a dying 5 Monarchy, much more of a tyrannie; then surely have wee not now so great cause to dread him, as to blame our selues and our wranglings and vilitie, who choose thus in practising to exterminate each other, to trace out an unhonourable and fruitlesse life, at the end finding our selves in the very same or worse tearmes than when wee began; rather then establishing first a firme accord at home, to attempt with united love 10 zeale and forces, so just, so christian, so honourable, so rich a warre. And verily if but our Princes consining upon him, though agreeing among them selves for the most in Religion, were not so strangely infected with emulations, and home-ambitions, as to condiscend to pay tribute to the Turke in severall, for so doe they as a redemption each of theyr peace, (which yet hath no longer assurance than his pleasure, which with 15 double as much under-hand bribes and presents must be daily sweetned;) and which is

- 8 an un honourable] a dishonourable  $BL C^{l} HN$
- 9 in the very] at the  $BL C^{l} HN Q$

<sup>1</sup> lose] loose  $C^2$ ; lose the sinnes] loose the sinnews  $B^I BL C^I HN$ ; theyr] om  $BL C^I HN$ ; theyr manly] ever their virile Q; subject] assubject  $B^2 BL C^I HN$ 

<sup>3</sup> peaces] peace  $B^{1} C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL; warres] warre  $C^{1} HN$  ins BL; enmittes] amittees  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>5</sup> a diseased] the  $\sim C' HN$  ins BL; prognosticates] prognosticators BL C' HN, the prognosticators Q

<sup>7</sup> dread] ~ and redoubt Q; wranglings] wrangling  $B^{1}C^{1}HN$ , ins BL; and vilitie] om  $C^{1}HN$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> establishing] by establishing  $\tilde{P}^{I}$ 

<sup>10-11</sup> united love zeale] unitie, zeale, love  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> our] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; most] most parte  $C^{l}$  HN Q del BL

<sup>13</sup> strangely] strongly BL C<sup>1</sup> HN; emulations, and home-ambitions] emulation and home ambition  $B^1$ 

<sup>14</sup> each] each of them C' HN del BL om Q

<sup>15</sup> which yet] whereof it  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; hath] have  $P^{l}$ 

yet worse, when his list come to invade any one of them, (as hee doth for his very exercise and avoyding tumults at home;) the rest to hold off from giving succour to theyr neighbours, for feare of drawing a revenge upon them selves some other time which is the case of the Polonians and Venetians at this present, who scarcely dare so much as pray against him in theyr devotions, otherwise than in theyr harts, which I 5 ween they do duly: were it not I say that theyr private ambitions, feares and miscasts did drive them to make so abject and unchristian a choice, as to inthrall themselves into such bonds of tribute, and slaverie, to so proude, and insolent, and wicked an enemie rather then to joyne in our course for the rooting of him and his tyrannie out of this part of the world: it were not to bee so much doubted but the feare now on this side 10 would soone turne to the other; seeing that one good blow to a body so ill built and full of distempers, were able to put the whole in daunger of ruine and shivering. These reasons induce mee not to thinke that the daunger from the Turke should bee so great, as to enforce the Christians to runne mainly into an accord. And though it should, yet without other sounder working, by perfect composing of all inward discention, this 15 would be but a civill accord, and only for the time; which the feare once past, would

4 case] cause  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>1</sup> his] he  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; come] cometh  $P^{l}$ ; list] listeth  $B^{l}$ ; one] om  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>2</sup> avoyding] for avoyding Q; to] doe BL C' HN; succour] succours BL C' HN

<sup>3</sup> a] on C' HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> him] them C' HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> were] where C'; miscasts] mistrustes BL C', mistakes HN

<sup>7</sup> a] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>7-9</sup> as to . . . joyne in our]  $A B^2 C^1 HN L P^2 Q$ , rather than zealously and violently to joyne and pursue one certaine 29 ins BL

<sup>9</sup> to bee so much doubted] so much to be doubted  $B^{l}P^{l}$ ; on] of  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> ill] om C' HN ins BL; full] so full BL C' HN

<sup>12</sup> were] where P'; ruine] ruining BL C' HN

<sup>14</sup> into] to  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> sounder] sound  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>16</sup> the] this  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL, that Q

dissolve of it selfe, and the former contentions revive as fresh as ever. For the bond of common feare, is the strongest indeed of all other, but the shortest withall; which nothing during the daunger is able to breake, and the daunger once passed falls in sunder of his owne unsoundnesse. Howbeit if the Turks should set foot in Italy, and abate the Popes strength by possessing his state; then would I not doubt much, but 5 that both him selfe would be content, and all other Princes forward, that some such unitie as is before spoken of might be established. But that is a case as unlikely in short time, as in tract of time not impossible to happen, if some manly stout Turke should succeed these womanish.

There remaineth then the Unitie of perswasion only,which both sides now 10 seeme to rest on; each practising and hoping in processe of time to eat out the strength of the other by his industrie, in drawing away by perswasion his followers and adherents. Wherein the Protestant counteth his advantage so much the greater, in that Unitie of Veritie is it which himself perswaded of he perswadeth to others. And truth being so infinit degrees stronger than untruth, having God to blesse it, Heaven 15 and Earth and all the Creatures of God to witnesse it, and even falshood it selfe (which is always his owne cut-throat) by his crossing and contrarietie to yield confession unto

<sup>1</sup> fresh] freshlier  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>5</sup> but] om  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>10</sup> of ] A L, by 29

<sup>10-11</sup> now seeme] seeme now  $BL C^{\prime} HN P^{2}$ 

<sup>11</sup> seeme] do seeme Q; processe] tract  $A C^{1} HN P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>14</sup> Unitie] the  $\sim B' L P' Q$ ; it] that B'; himself... others,] hee perswadeth  $A B^2 C' HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL15 being] being by B'

<sup>16</sup> even] om  $C^{T}$  HN ins BL

<sup>17</sup> his owne] its owne  $B^{1}$ ; his crossing] its crossing  $B^{1}$ , owne crossing Q

it: unlesse the fault be exceedingly in the handler and pleader, must needs in the end, (maugre the malice of all enemies, and craft of all inventions,) prevaile and have victorie: although the utter abolishment of the Kingdom of Anti-christ, they referre with the Prophecie to the appearance of our Saviour in judgement and triumph now shortly approaching. On the other side the Papists hope, that theyr perswasion being 5 seconded by so great Princes authoritie, insinuated and farthered by so many collateral aids of motives and practices, leaving nothing unassaied which may prejudice, afflict, or annoy theyr opposites, and providing as they do a perpetuall succession of instruments, to be employed in each kind over all parts of Christendome; they shall in the end tire, eat out, and utterly consume the strength and stomack of theyr 10 unpolitike and divided adversaries. In the number whereof, though they score up all religions especially Christian, that acknowledge not the Pope, and the three-fold plenitude of his supernall, terrestriall, and infernall power; extending to Heaven in canonizing Saincts; to the lower parts of the world in freeing from Purgatorie; over the Earth in being the universall guide and Pastor of all men: yet are they not affected to 15 all theyr opposites in like sort, speaking of such as with whom they live and dayly converse. For to omit the Jew whom they mocke with his Messias so long in coming;

15 in being] being Q

<sup>1</sup> must] it must  $C^{\prime}$  HN del BL

<sup>3</sup> victorie] the victorie BL C<sup>l</sup> HN; abolishment] abolishing P<sup>l</sup>

<sup>5</sup> that] by Q

<sup>6</sup> insinuated and] om C' HN ins BL; farthered] fathered BL C' HN, facilitated O

<sup>7</sup> afflict] inflict  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> each kind] all kindes B'; over] and over C' HN del BL; over all] all over Q

<sup>13-14</sup> in canonizing] canonizing Q

<sup>14</sup> to the lower] the lower Q; in freeing] freeing Q

<sup>16</sup> as] and  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>17</sup> his] their BL C' HN

as also the Grecians, whom they pitie with theyr Patriarchs under Turkish slaverie: theyr hatred is to the Lutheran, the Author of theyr calamitie; but hatred and feare both of the Calvinist onely, whom they accompt the onely growing enemie and daungerous to theyr state. For as for the Lutheran, hee was long since at his highest: and if he itch and inch forward one way for an ell hee looseth an other, it is onely by a kind of boysterous 5 force and violence against the Calvinist; as in Strasbourg of late. The reason whereof besides the absurditie of their Ubiquitarie Chimera, hath perhaps beene in part also, for that theyr opinion tooke up his seat in Germanie, a stiffe people but an heavie; which cannot hold theyr own well, but gaine little upon other men: whereas the other falling upon a livelier mettall, of the French especially, who are alwayes stirring and 10 practising upon theyr neighbours, and more vehement for the while in whatsoever they affect; hath had a verie huge encrease in latter time, notwithstanding those Massacres which have been used to extinguish them, and is still growing forward in all places where once it taketh; and overtoppeth them now from whose root at first it sprang. This therefore by all meanes they seeke to represse, giving some blind hope to the 15 Lutheran of quiet and toleration, so hee will joyne against these, the fretters out of both.

7 also] om A

- 11 theyr neighbours] others Q
- 12 latter] later  $B^{I}$
- 14 it]  $om B^{1}$
- 16 these] these a while  $A C^{\prime} HN del BL$

<sup>1</sup> Grecians] Grecian  $B^{l} BL C^{l} HN P^{l}$ ; Patriarchs] Patriarch  $B^{l}$ ; under] and their  $B^{2}$ , Turkish] the Turkish  $BL C^{l} HN$ ,

<sup>3</sup> to] of C' HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> his] the BL C' HN; itch and] fetch an C' HN ins BL, ich an Q

<sup>5</sup> for] om  $B^1$ ; an other] another way  $B^1$ 

<sup>9</sup> cannot] will Q; well] will Q; other men] another Q

But of all places theyr desires and attempts to recover England, have been always and still are the strongest: which although in theyr more sober moods sundry of them will acknowledge, to have been the only Nation that tooke the right way of justifiall Reformation, in comparison of other who have runne headlong rather to a tumultuous innovation, (so they conceive it:) whereas that alteration which hath beene in 5 England, was brought in with peaceable and orderly proceeding, by generall consent of the Prince and whole Realme representatively assembled in solemne Parliament, a great part of their owne Clergie according and conforming themselves unto it; no LUTHER no CALVIN the square of theyr Faith; what publike discussing and long deliberation did perswade them to bee faultie; that taken away; the succession of Bishops and 10 vocation of Ministers continued; the dignitie and state of the Clergie preserved; the honour and solemnitie of the service of God not abased; the more auncient usages of the Church not cancelled; in summe, no humour of affecting contrarietie, but a charitable endeavour rather of conformitie with the Church of Rome, in whatsoever they thought not gain saying to the expresse Law of God, which is the onely approvable way in 15 all meere Reformations; yet notwithstanding in regard of the power and renowme of the

- 5 which] that  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL
- 6 proceeding] proceedings  $B^{I}$
- 7 whole] the whole O
- 10 faultie] faelty  $C^2$
- 12 service] word C' HN ins BL; abased] abused C' HN ins BL
- 12-13 of the Church] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins
- 16 meere] new  $BL C^{l} HN BL$

<sup>1</sup> always] long time Q

<sup>2</sup> although] om BL  $C^{1}$  HN; sundry] so many  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> tooke] walke C' HN ins BL; justisial] justifiable BL C' HN, injustifyable Q

Prince, and of theyr exemplarie policie in government of the state in regard that they concurring entirely with neyther side; yet reverenced of both, are the fitter and abler to worke Unitie betweene them, and to bee an umpire also director and swayer of all. whensoever there should bee occasion of assembling theyr Counsells, or of conjoyning theyr forces for theyr common defence; and especially for that it is the onely Nation of 5 the Protestant partie, able to encounter and affront theyr King-Catholikes proceedings for the rooting out of Heresie, as theyr actions both by Sea and Land have manifested: of all places in the world they desire most to recover it, making full accompt that the rest would then soone follow, and apply to them of theyr owne accord one after an other. But to as high a tide as they are risen in theyr desires thereof, to as low an 10 ebbe are they fallne in theyr hopes, being lesse now for ought I perceive than ever. having seene her Majestie so often and almost miraculously preserved: their treasons discovered; their excommunications vanished; their Armies defeated; their cartalls and books answered; their chiefe Champions discouraged, wasted, deceased, those that remaine, though many, yet few of abilitie; in so much but for some small remnant of 15 hope of alteration, which time and trouble as they imagine may yet bring, theyr

<sup>1</sup> government] the government Q; the state] state  $B^2$ 

<sup>2</sup> of] A BL  $C^{\prime}$  HN L Q, with 29; are] as Q

<sup>3</sup> director] and director  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; and] a  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> occasion] an ~  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; assembling] assembling of BL C HN; of conjoyning]  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL 11 than ever] om  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>12</sup> so often] om C' HN ins BL, kept P'; miraculously] so miraculously A

<sup>14</sup> Champions] Campions  $C^2$ 

<sup>15</sup> in so much] in summe that  $B^2$ ; much] much that  $P^1$ ; for some small remnant of] that few yet so Q; for . . . remnant] that for some hope  $P^2$ 

<sup>15-16</sup> but for . . . bring,] were it not for some hope of reformation which time may bring  $C^{l}$ , that but imagination they may yet bring *HN ins BL* 16 yet] om Q

founders were likely to withdraw from them ere long theyr stipends, which get them but a vaine name of fruitlesse liberalitie. And this is all I can say for any hope or meanes of this generall Unitie, and so must I leave and recommend it to God: as beeing both our best and now remaining onely policie, to addresse our united and generall supplications to his divine power and Majestie: that it may please him by that ever 5 springing fountaine of his goodnesse and gracious mercie, even beyond all humane hope, if it may stand so with his blessed will: and by such meanes as to his divine wisdome are ever in readinesse to effect those things which to mans witt may seeme impossible, to extend his compassionable and helping hand over his miserable, defiled, disgraced Church; persecuted abroad and persecuting it selfe at home; confined by 10 Tyrants into a corner of the world, and therein raging and renting it selfe in fitters; to purge out of mens minds that ambition and vanitie, which so bewitcheth them with the love of the pomps and glories of this perishing and ending world, which in the breathing of a breath they will loath and despise as nothing; and to ingraft in them a pure and single Eye, to behold that eternall truth, which seene breeds love, and loved 15 conducts to happinesse; to root out all gall and acerbitie on both sides, and to bend theyr harts to Charitie: that being reunited in the Pilgrimage of this life, this country of our

8 in readinesse] assisting Q

<sup>1</sup> likely] like P', more likely Q; ere long] om Q; vaine] om C' ins BL

<sup>3-5</sup> as . . . him] beseeching him Q

<sup>4</sup> now] now our  $B^1$ ; remaining onely] onely remaining  $A B^2 BL C^1 HN P^1$ 

<sup>7</sup> stand so]  $A B^2 BL C' HN L P^2 Q$ , so stand 29

<sup>11</sup> in] into P'; and] of B'

<sup>12</sup> the] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> ingraft] graffe  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> that] the C' HN ins BL; loved] love C' HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> acerbitie] bitternesse  $B^1$ 

terrestriall bodies; wee may after our service and course therein accomplished, ascend under the conduct of our Saviour before ascended, to our everlasting rest in the countrie of our celestiall soules; there in Societie and unitie of Saincts and Angells, to enjoy the happie Vision of the all-glorious Deitie and to sing his prayse for ever.

# Upon what ground the Pope suffereth Jewes and Grecians in Italy

5

I should here make an end concerning the Church of Rome, but that a question incident to the matter which was last spoken of, being moved by many, and diversely answered, doth summon mee to deliver up my conjecture also: and that is UPON WHAT GROUND of Equitie or policie, THE POPE SHOULD SUFFER both the JEWES and GRECIANS to have publike exercise of theyr Religion in Italy, yea in Rome it selfe 10 under his Holinesse nose; and onely the poore Protestant must bee excluded or besieged yea persecuted and chased if it bee possible out of the world, no view of his Religion to other, no exercise of it to himselfe permitted. For as for the Grecians, they have a Church at Venice, with an Archbishop of Philadelphia, a Bishop of Cerigo, and sundry other inferiour Priests to governe it: and the Italians also doe often repayre to theyr 15 Masse. They haue theyr Masse also in Greeke, with leavened bread and other schismaticall Ceremonies, at Rome it selfe, and in Naples they say theyr Priests reteine theyr wives still, by permission from the Pope; in regard that in those places they

<sup>2</sup> countrie] celestiall countrie Q

<sup>3</sup> our] om P'; celestial] om Q

<sup>7</sup> was last] last was  $B^1$ 

<sup>10-11</sup> his Holinesse] the Popes  $B^2$ 

<sup>11</sup> excluded  $\ldots$  yea] om  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2}$  ins BL; excluded or besieged] om Q

<sup>12</sup> bee] were  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>13</sup> For] om Q

<sup>14</sup> Cerigo] Osigo  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> inferiour] om C' HN Q ins BL; to] unto C' HN del BL

<sup>18</sup> theyr] the  $B^{1}$ ; those] these  $B^{1}$ 

acknowledge in some sort the Popes preeminencie and power: which at Venice they doe not, but a meere primacie of order, which the auncient Councells have thought good to give him. No more doe the Grecians in APULIA and CALABRIA, about OTRONTO and at CASSANA, nor in CORFU and other Ilands adjoyning to that cost, beeing the old remaines of the Occidentall Grecians and who have alwayes and doe still follow the 5 Greeke Church in all things: though those in CALABRIA and APULIA be subjects to the King of Spain, and in his power to root out whensoever himselfe listeth. And yet even in Italy it selfe doth he suffer them and theyr Religion: who never could bee induced to tolerate the Protestant in any the remotest corner of his huge scattered Monarchy: though the Grecians are condemned Hereticks even in matter of the Trinitie; and 10 perpetuall oppugners of the Papall right and authoritie. Then for the Jews they even swarme in most of the chiefe parts of Italy: at Rome especially; where the least number I could ever yet heare them esteemed at, is ten thousand and upward, though other say twise as many. They have their faire or at leastwise fine Synagogues both there and elswhere; theyr circumcision, theyr Liturgies, theyr Sermons in publike; and all that list 15 may resort unto them.

Yea in meanes of enriching them selves they are so much favoured, that in all places they are permitted to streine up theyr Usurie to eighteene in the hundred upon the

<sup>1</sup> in some sort] om  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> have] om  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> nor in Corfu] or in Cassa  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>6</sup> subjects] subject BL  $C^{l}$  HN; those] these  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>8</sup> could . . . tolerate] would suffer Q

<sup>11</sup> Then for] Concerning Q

<sup>12</sup> most] the most  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>13</sup> yet] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; upward] upwards BL  $C^{l}$  HN; other] others BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>14</sup> their . . . fine] there, at the least, fower or five  $BL C^{l}$ 

Christian (for among them selves they no where use it;) whereas halfe that summe in a Christian is not tolerated: which causeth many greedie and consciencelesse Christians to use these Jewes for theyr Brokers under hand in improving theyr unlawfull rents to the utmost proportion. They have also in some places, and it may be in all a peculiar Magistrate, to decide any controversie between Christians and them, with particular 5 direction to favour them in theyr trades. And lastly whereas France hath banished that race: in Avignon onely the Popes Citie they are harboured and reteined. Some answere to this demand in defence of the Pope, that the Church hath no authoritie to chastice the Jews, who never were within the Church, but are as enemies in even tearmes: whereas Protestants are eyther unnaturall and rebellious Children, who have flung out of the 10 Church, or the issue of such; against whom her authoritie is endlesse and unrestreined, to take all courses possible to reclaime them for ever. This answer seemes faultie: both as short of the question, seeing it extendeth not to the Grecians, who are in the very same roll of Heretickes and Schismatickes, flingers out of the Church: and for that there is difference between exercising jurisdiction in punishing an enemie, and not 15

<sup>1</sup> Christian] Christians P'; halfe] also C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> greedie and consciencelesse] of the A C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL om L P<sup>2</sup> Q

<sup>3</sup> these] many of those  $B^{1}$ ; for theyr Brokers] om  $A B^{2} C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL; to] unto  $A B^{1}$ 

<sup>4</sup> the] their BL  $C^{1}$  HN;

<sup>6</sup> whereas] where  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> they are] are they  $B^{l}$ ; and] or  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9-11</sup> but . . . Church]  $om P^2$ 

<sup>10</sup> Protestants] the Protestants A  $B^{1}$ , Protestant  $C^{2}$ 

<sup>11</sup> unrestreined] unrestrainable O

<sup>12</sup> seemes] seemeth  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>13</sup> of] to  $B^2$ ; very] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>14</sup> roll] rolle P'; and] om Q

<sup>15</sup> difference] a difference P'

harbouring and cherishing him, with his unlawfull and scandalous religion perpetually in our very bosomes; as is done in Italy, who have called the Jewes in thither, yea and still do entice them, whom, Fraunce and England and Spain have banished from them long since.

Other leaving these guirks of justice, hold by the texts of Charitie that it is a 5 Christian act to harbour a harmlesse enemie, and especially that it is of all other most befitting the Church, who hath hereby also better meanes to reduce them to the Faith: and so in fine to save theyr soules, which is the summe of her endeavours. And in fortifying this answer there is to be alleaged for the first poinct, that the Jews have theyr service in hebrew, and the Grecians in greeke, which Italy understandeth not; 10 yea and that they have purged the Hebrew Liturgie from all poincts wherein they did impugne or scandalize Christianitie: and for the second poinct, that the Jews are bound to repair at some times to the Christian sermons, by which means some few of them have been converted, and more may bee when God shall please so. But neither seemes this answer so perfect as were requisit. For the Jews make their sermons or 15 expositions of the Law in the Italian language; though the texts of Scripture they cite in the originall: and although they have purged theyr Liturgies as they say: yet leaving them Circumcision, they tolerate that which is now intolerable. And as for their gaining

<sup>1</sup> cherishing] cherishing of  $B^2$ ; with] and  $A B^2 C' HN$  ins BL; perpetually] om  $C' HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>3</sup> and England] England  $A B^{1} P^{1} P^{2}$ ; have] om  $P^{2} Q$ 

<sup>5</sup> texts] text  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>8</sup> her] their BL C' HN

<sup>10</sup> Grecians] Grecian  $P^l$ 

<sup>14</sup> please so] so please Q

<sup>15</sup> make] doe make BL C' HN

<sup>16</sup> texts] text BL C<sup>l</sup> HN; Scripture] Scriptures B<sup>l</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Liturgies] Liturgie P'

of any soules among them; if they gained not more Crowns, that reason would not stand. For if any credit may be given to the Hebréwes them selvs, as many Friers become Jews as Jews become Friers: of both sorts some; but few of eyther. But of the good provision they have taken to convert them, and of the fruits thereof, I shall speak hereafter. In the mean time this I aske; would they suffer the English Protestants to 5 have an English Church there, none understanding their Language neither in Service nor Sermons; yea and purging their Liturgie of whatsoever may seeme to impugne or deface their Religion, if there be any thing in it of that offensive quality? as for my part I know nothing but think rather with great judgement it was purposely so framed out of the grounds of Religion wherein both sides doe agree that their very Catholikes 10 might resort to it without scruple or scandall, if faction more then reason did not sway. Then for repairing to their sermons, they know by experience they will not be backward; specially having the opinion of great Divines (as some say) that it is not unlawfull. And lastly, what reason why they should not be as hopefull to gaine English mens soules, as Jews? yes theyr hope is greater: else would they not bee at such cost 15 upon the one abroad, and bestow so little labour upon the other at home. To this question they would answer: first that there were more danger of flocking away, theyr people, if they should but once have a bare view of our Reformed Churches, as being more infectious; and therefore no policie: and secondly to what purpose the making of

<sup>5-6</sup> to have] have P'

<sup>10</sup> doe] on BL C' HN

<sup>11</sup> if] of P'; reason] religion Q; sway] sway them B'

<sup>13</sup> Divines] men A C' HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> as] as well as  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>18</sup> but once have]  $A C^{l} HN L Q$ , have but 29 del BL; Reformed] on  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2}$  ins BL; as] by  $B^{l}$ 

any such motion; what need unto us, and to them what profit? This answere deduced from policie and profit I take to be the right answere also to the first principall question; and neither of the former drawne from Justice or Charitie. For there is no cause of any feare at all, either of the oppressed Grecian, or of the obstinate Jew, bearing a marke of ignominie and reproach in all places. Yes they remaine rather as examples and 5 spectacles among them of contempt and miserie, the one for his ungratefull refusall of CHRIST himselfe; the other for his sedition against Christs Vicar, as they inferre against him. Whereas to give the Protestants any foot among them were the next way to leave them selves no foot to stand on.

On the other side by extending pitie towards the afflicted and dismayed 10 Grecian, whom the hand of God hath layd as low as the very dust wee tread on, they sow some hope of ranging him selfe againe under theyr subjection: which were to them a reputation and strength inestimable, and such as cunningly by false bruits they cause the world dayly to feed on.

Then for the Jew, the profit by him is exceeding great, and greater in proportion15 of number than by the very Courtizans; and that as well to the Pope, as to other Princes

<sup>1</sup> unto] to  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> answere]  $om B^{1}$ 

<sup>3</sup> and neither] neither  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; the former] them Q

<sup>4</sup> oppressed] calamitous Q; bearing] being  $B^2$ 

<sup>6</sup> his] the  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> Christs Vicar] the Vicar of Christ  $A B^2 BL C^1 HN L Q$ 

<sup>8</sup> the Protestants] Protestant P', Protestants Q; among] amongst P'

<sup>10</sup> afflicted] afflicted, discomforted Q; and] om Q

<sup>11</sup> hand] verie BL  $C^{l}$  HN; we tread on] om A BL  $C^{l}$  HN Q

<sup>12</sup> sow] saw BL C' HN L; ranging] his ranging A P' Q; ranging him selfe] regaining him C' ins BL

<sup>13</sup> as] as they C' HN del BL; cunningly] they cunningly A, om Q; they] doo A, om C' HN ins BL

of Italy; to whom they pay a yearly rent for the very heads they weare, besides other meanes to racke and wracke them in theyr purses at pleasure. Which gaine, as it is a piece of the cause why the beastly trade of the one, so is it the entire reason why the trade of the other is permitted: they beeing used as the Friers to sucke from the meaner, and to bee sucked by the greater: in so much that the Pope besides theyr certein 5 tribute, doth some times as is said impose on them a subsedie of ten thousand Crowns extraordinary, for some service of State.

#### Of the Jewes Religion and usage

Now to consider a little what probabilitie of theyr conversion in those parts, and by the way to touch somwhat of THEYR RELIGION AND USAGE, thus stands theyr 10 case. They have a Religion though somwhat strange to our conceipts, as being framed not onely out of the Law of the old Bible, but also out of sundry the straunger opinions of the auncienter Philosophers, together with certein capriccious fancies and fables of the Rabbins; yet so handsomly pieced and glewed together, that one part seemes to hang to the other not absurdly. And that which they hold they are so perfit in, that they 15 will give both a profitable accompt thereof out of a certeine morall Philosophy and reason, wherein they are well seen; as also make some shew for it out of the Bible it

17 for] of B'

<sup>1</sup> other] the other  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> to racke and wracke] racking and wracking Q; purses] purposes  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>3</sup> the cause] a cause  $A C' HN L P^2$  ins BL; is it] it is B'

<sup>4</sup> trade] cruell trade A BL  $C^{1}$  HN  $P^{2}$  Q; as] by  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>5</sup> greater] greatest  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; in so much] in somme  $B^{2}$ 

<sup>6</sup> some] om Q; of] for  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> conversion] conversion there is  $C^{\prime}$  HN del BL; those] these  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>10</sup> stands] standeth B'

<sup>11</sup> somwhat] somthing  $B^{1} B^{2} P^{1} Q$ ; framed] made Q

<sup>12-13</sup> the straunger . . . certein] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> auncienter] ancient  $P^2 Q$ ; the] their  $A B^1 P^1 Q$ 

<sup>16</sup> profitable] probable A; thereof] of it  $C^{l}$  HN L  $P^{2}$  ins BL, a] om BL  $C^{l}$  HN

selfe: wherein they are the skillfullest men I believe in the World: and needs must be so, setting theyr Children to the Hebrew language at three yeers old, and following no other studie save of the Bible and writings upon it all theyr life long, except certain few that betake themselves to Phisick. Touching God and his nature, their opinions are for the most very honourable and holy, save that they deny the Trinity touching Angells. 5 but weake, and soyled with much poetrie: touching the nature and condition of man very exquisite and for the most part drawing neere unto truth. But for the three States of the soule of man they runne some more straunge courses; holding the creation of them all together before the bodies, with sundry of the auncient both Divines and philosophers the  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\psi\chi$ ooto of PITHAGORAS, (though not to different species;) 10 and PLATOES Purgatorie. Of vertue and Vice and mans course in both they think not much amiss; save that to the expiation of sinne they hold nothing necessarie: but the repentance of the sinner, and the mercie of the forgiver, which in that case is always ready. For reward it commeth wholly from the bounty of God, without desert: yet different in degree according to the works of each man. That the generall Law of 15 all men is the Law of Nature onely, which who so keeps, it shall lead him to blisse in

12 save] so  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; to the explanation] the explanation  $P^{l}$ 

 $<sup>1 \</sup>text{ be} ] om Q$ 

<sup>3</sup> writings] the writings Q; certaine] some  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> honourable] wholl Q

<sup>9</sup> before the bodies] om  $A B^2 C' HN L P^2 Q$  ins B

<sup>9-10</sup> Divines and Philosophers] and others  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> μετεμψιχοσισ ] see explanatory notes, om  $B^2$ ; PITHAGORAS] see explanatory notes; to different] different  $P^I$ 

<sup>13</sup> sinner] sinners  $C^{\prime}$  HN del BL, sinne  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>14</sup> reward] reward that  $BL C^{1} HN$ 

<sup>15-16</sup> That . . . men]  $om P^{l}$ 

what Religion soever: though the Hebrew unto whom Moses Law was peculiarly given by observing it shall have a greater prerogative of glory. They prefer the civill life before the solitarie, and mariage before Virginitie: as being to nature more agreeable, to mankind more profitable, and consequently to God more acceptable. Their beliefe of the end of the world, and of the finall judgement, of the restoring of mens bodies. 5 and of their happinesse everlasting in the heighth of the Heavens; is good in the generall. But as they think it a bad opinion, which some of great name have seemed to hold, that God in his everlasting and absolute pleasure should affect the extreame miserie of any of his Creatures, for the shewing of his Justice and severity in tormenting them; or that the calamitie, casting away, and damnation of some, should absolutely 10 and necessarily redound more to his glorie, than the felicitie of them all; considering that his nature is meere goodnesse and happinesse, and hath no affinitie with rigour or miserie: so contrariwise they thinke with ORIGEN, that Hell in the end shall be utterly abolished, and that the Divells them selves, after a long course of bitter repentance and punishment, shall find mercie at his hands that did create them; that the world may 15 entirely be restored to that puritie, wherein God at the first did make it; and to the

- $\overline{2}$  by observing it shall] shall by observing it Q; greater] on BL C' HN
- 4 to God] om  $P^{l}$
- 5 and ] on B'; mens bodies] mans body P'
- 6 everlasting] everlasting and absolute Q
- 6-7 the generall] generall A

10 them] him P'

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew] Hebrewes C' HN P' del BL; Moses Law] the law of Moses BL C' HN; peculiarly] particularly Q

<sup>7</sup> of great name] om A, men  $C^{l}$  HN L  $P^{2}$  Q ins BL; have seemed] seeme BL  $C^{l}$  HN L

<sup>8</sup> absolute] resolute P'

<sup>16</sup> entirely be] bee entirely A BL C<sup>1</sup> HN L Q, whollie  $P^2$ ; to] unto BL C<sup>1</sup> HN; God] Almightie BL C<sup>1</sup> HN; the first] that first  $B^1 P^2$ 

perfection and happinesse, whereto each part of it in his severall degree, was destined by him, from whom nothing but goodnes and blissfulnesse could proceed. Their Liturgie in the kind of it is not different from ours; consisting of Psalmes and Prayers, with sundry shorter Hymns and responds; of lessons, one out of the Law, and read by some chiefe person; and an other out of the Prophets, correspondent to the 5 former in argument; but read by some boy or meaner companion.

For they in no sort alow that degree of Honour, neither attribute they that authoritie, to any other part of the Bible, that they do to their Law: which they carie about their Synagogue at the end of service in procession, with many rich ornaments of Crowns and Scepters, the children kissing it as it passeth by them; and sometimes 10 make proclamation who will give most to their treasure to have the honour for that time for taking out the Law. But for the manner of performing theyr service, and theyr behavior thereat, it is different from all other that ever I saw. They chaunt it in a strange wild hallowing tune; with imitation some times of trumpets one ecchoing to the other,

<sup>2</sup> blissfulnesse] blessednesse B' BL C'

<sup>3</sup> Liturgie] Liturgies P'; it is] them are P'; different] much different C' HN del BL; of] in BL C' HN

<sup>4</sup> shorter] short  $B^{1} C^{1} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>5</sup> and] om BL  $C^{\prime}$  HN Q; to] unto BL  $C^{\prime}$  HN

<sup>6</sup> former] other  $P^{l}$ ; read] is read  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; meaner] meane  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> they] they will  $L P^2 Q$ ; in no . . . Honour,] will in no sort doe honour, C' HN ins BL; alow . . . of] do that A L Q

<sup>8</sup> carie] doe usually carie C' HN del BL

<sup>9</sup> service] their service BL  $C^{l}$  HN; rich] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> passeth] doth passe  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>11</sup> make] doe they make  $C^{I}$  HN del BL

<sup>12</sup> for] of  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL, att Q; out] out of BL  $C^{\prime}$  Q

<sup>13</sup> chaunt] charme Q

<sup>13-14</sup> strange wilde]  $BL C' HN L P^2 Q$ , strong wide 29

<sup>14</sup> imitation] imitating  $C^l$  HN ins BL; of trumpets one] and  $B^l$ ; of] om  $C^l$  HN ins BL; one] the one  $P^l$ ; ecchoing] ecchoing one  $B^l$ ; the other] another  $C^l$  HN  $P^2$  ins BL, one another Q

and winding up by degrees from a soft or silent whispering, to the highest and lowdest note that theyr voices will beare; with continuall great wagging of theyr bodies and exultation, as it were in some savage or raging solemnitie; sometimes all springing up lightly from the ground, and with as much varietie as wild worke will receive. They weare certein ornaments of embrodered linnen cast mantle-wise about theyr 5 shoulders, which are theyr Phylasters edged with knotted fringe acccording to the number of the Commandements, and serving as Locall memories of the Law. The reverence they shew is in standing up at times, and theyr gesture of adoration is bowing forward of their bodies, for kneeling, they use none, no more than the Grecians, neither stirre they their bonets in theyr Synagogue to any man, but remaine still covered. 10 They come to it with washed hands; and in it they burne Lamps to the honour of God. But for any shew of devotion or elevation in spirit, that yet in a Jew could I never discerne: but they are as reverent in theyr Synagogues as Grammar-boys in their schooles when their Master is absent: in sum, theyr holinesse is the very outward worke it selfe being a brainlesse head and a soule-lesse body: For circumcision, they use it 15 to the dead as well as to the living: yet no way think it necessarie for the infants

- 9 forward] forwards  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; than] than doe  $B^{l}$
- 12 in spirit] of spirit P; a Jew] Jew A, Jewes  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL
- 13 as] om P Q; in their] are at  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; their] om  $P^{2}Q$
- 15 it selfe] it Q; a] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; For] But  $P^{l}$

<sup>2</sup> note] notes B'; bodies] heades B'

<sup>3</sup> in some]  $B^{\prime} L Q$ , some 29; or] and  $C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL

<sup>5</sup> weare]  $BL C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$ , were 29

<sup>6</sup> Phylasters] Philacteries BL C<sup>1</sup> HN

<sup>8</sup> theyr] the C' HN ins BL; is] in C' HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> to the dead as well] as well to the dead  $B^{1}$ ; think] do think Q; for] to A Q; the infants] their infants  $B^{1}$ 

salvation. They are a subtile and advantagious people and wonderfully eager of gaine: in so much that who so deales with them needs let his witt goe with his beliefe, or else his findings shall come short of his expectings. As earnest to make Proselytes, as ever theyr auncestours: and as obstinate against CHRIST, as the Priests that condemned him. In other poincts they are perhaps rather to be commended than otherwise. They care 5 of avoyding Fornication is such that they marry their sonnes at Eighteen lightly. But Adulterie they would punish with death, if they had such libertie. When they breake the Law they come to theyr Rabbi for punishment: yet without any particular disclosing of their fault. They keep theyr Fasts and Feasts very duly: but as the Christians fast the night, so they the noone alwayes. They are charitable among them selves, leaving 10 no poore unrelieved, no Prisoner unransomed; which makes them good prize uppon every pretence. And although for theyr Usurie and guileful dealing, they are generally hated there and handled as very dogs: yet some of them I have knowne, men of singular vertue and integritie of mind, seeming to want no grace but the faith of a Christian. Each Synagogue hath his Rabbi, to expound their Law; to instruct their children; to 15 decide their differences.

8 come]  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$ , come voluntarily as penitents 29 ins BL

9 Feasts]  $A B^2 C' HN L P^2 Q$ , solemne Feasts 29 ins BL

11 no Prisoner] nor Prisoner  $P^{l}$ ; prize] price  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

13 as] like C' HN ins BL; very] om Q; men] om A B'

15 their Law] the Law A B' P' Q

<sup>1</sup> wonderfully] wonderfull  $BL C^{\prime} HN Q$ 

<sup>2</sup> needs] must] Q; goe] needes goe Q

<sup>3</sup> of] to  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; ever] ever were BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>5</sup> commended] condemned  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>6</sup> lightly] yeares  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>7</sup> punish]  $A C' HN L P^2 Q$ , punish according to the Law 29 ins BL; such] om C' HN ins BL

For their Messias, they say now, seeing he stayes so long, he shall bee a forerunner of the end of the World: and shall gather by his power all Nations into one fold, and so resigne them up into the hands of that eternall Pastour. But it seemeth they expect him out of the East, whether the Spanish Jewes fled, and have exceedingly multiplied. For those do they hold to be of the Tribe of JUDA; and these other in 5 Germanie and Italie of the Tribe of BENJAMIN; who in honour of the more noble Tribe and to correspond with them the better, do learne the Spanish tongue, which those still reteine.

## Of their Conversion in *Italy*

But now to come to the poinct which I principally entended, which is, what 10 probabilitie of their CONVERSION IN ITALIE; three great impediments besides their naturall and inrooted obstinacie, I suppose there are which hinder it: the scandalls of the Christians; the want of means to instruct them; and the punishment or losse which by their conversion they incurre. A scandall it is to see mans law directly preferred before Gods: to see so great a matter made of eating flesh on a Friday, and that Adulterie 15 should passe for so ordinary a pastime. A scandall are those Blasphemies darted uppe with hellish mouths against God and our Saviour, so ordinarily and openly, that

14 directly] om  $C^{1}$  HN Q ins BL

<sup>3</sup> But] and Q; seemeth] doth seeme BL  $C^{T}HN$ 

<sup>4</sup> whether] whither  $BL C^{1} HN$ 

<sup>5</sup> these] the BL  $C^{\prime}$  HN

<sup>6</sup> Italie of ] Italie to be of Q

<sup>7</sup> those] this  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>11</sup> of their] there is of their BL C' HN

<sup>13</sup> want] way  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>13-14</sup> by ... incurre] their conversion maketh them to incurre Q

<sup>15</sup> on] upon *BL*  $C^{l}$  *HN*; a Friday] Frydays  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>15-16</sup> Adulterie should] to let Adulterie Q

<sup>16</sup> those] all these  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

some of them are become very interjections of speech to the vulgar, and other some meere phrases of galantrie to the braver. A scandall is that forging and packing in miracles: wherin the Friers and Jews concur in equall diligence; the one in contriving, the other in discovering them. And surely this is an exceeding great scandall unto them; seeing truth is of so pure and victorious a nature, that it refuseth to be in league with 5 any falshood in the world, much more disdaineth to bee assisted by it: neither can there be a greater wrong done to a true conclusion, than to endevour to prove it by an untrue allegation. A scandall are the alterations which they are forced by the Inquisitors to make in theyr Authors and monuments of Antiquitie: thinking that these devises are our best evidences. But of all those alterations they keepe a note for a freer time. A 10 scandall is the vowing and praying to Angells and Saincts: which they hold to bee duties peculiar unto God onely, and so hath it bene esteemed among them in all ages. Yea and they note that the Christians pray more oft and more willlingly to Christs mother, than unto Christ him selfe or unto God. But the greatest scandall of all other, is theyr worshipping of Images; for which both Jews and Turks call them the 15 Idolatrous Christians. Now this is so much the greater and of more indignitie, for that

13 oft] often  $B^2 BL C^1 HN L Q$ 

<sup>2</sup> braver] Princes  $P^{I}$ ; that] the Q

<sup>5</sup> league] anie league Q

<sup>6</sup> any falshood] falshood Q; more disdaineth] less can abide Q

<sup>7</sup> a greater wrong done] don anie greater wrong Q.

<sup>8</sup> are] is Q; the] their Q

<sup>8-9</sup> forced . . . to make] forced to make by their Inquisitors B'

<sup>10</sup> those] these  $B^{\prime} P^{\prime}$ ; freer] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN, ins BL, after  $C^{2}$ 

<sup>12</sup> duties] the duties  $C^{l}$  HN, del BL, dutie  $C^{2}$ ; unto] to  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> unto] to  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> is so ... more] so much the more is of greater P'; greater and of more] more and of greater B' Q; greater] om BL C'

they generally conceive it to bee a thing which Christ himselfe expressly commanded; and that in the Gospel of Christ written by the Evangelists them selves, the Decalogue should bee recited with omission of the second precept; as one of their greatest Rabbins contested with me, being induced into that errour by some Catechismes of the Christians which he had seene with that fault. Now when they come to conference 5 with the Priests and Friers, (as sometimes they doe,) and upbraid this as a peremptory exception against Christ those good men deny it not, for feare of scandalizing their own, but letting it pass for current, that Christ whom the Jews call a Carpenter, was also an Image-maker or howsoever an Author of the worshipping of them; seeke to salve up the gash which they have made in the plain words of that Law which was written by the 10 finger of God, with their speculative playsters of distinguishing betweene the Images of the true God, and the Idolls of false Gods; of  $\delta ou \lambda \epsilon i \alpha$  and  $\lambda \alpha \tau \rho \epsilon i \alpha$  of intention instrumentall and finall in worship.

All which are the unsavourest druggs to the Jew in the world: who saith there was never Nation yet so blockish under the sunne, as to worship a stock and stone as a 15 finall object; but onely as a representation of some absent divinitie: and that the

<sup>2</sup> them selves] om Q; the] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; the Decalogue] that the Decalogue BL  $C^{\prime}$ 

<sup>4</sup> Catechismes] Catechisme  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>5</sup> fault] fold HN

<sup>6</sup> and] they BL C' HN

<sup>8</sup> Carpenter] Carpenters sone C' HN del BL; also] om BL C' HN Q

<sup>9</sup> seeke] they seeke  $B^2$ , seeking C' HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> gash] glosse HN

<sup>11</sup> Images] Image  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> of false] of the false  $C^{l}$  HN Q del BL;  $\delta ou \lambda \epsilon_{1\alpha}$  and  $\lambda \alpha \tau \rho \epsilon_{1\alpha}$ ] see explanatory notes 14 druggs] dregs  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14-15</sup> was never . . . yet] was never yet Nation in the world C' HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> Nation yet] Nation yet in the world P'; so . . . sunne] under the Sunne, so blockish C' HN ins BL 16 representation] represents BL C' HN

Heathen them selves call them every where the Effigies and Simulachra of other; yet such Effigies as that the divine power by his vertue did somtime inhabite and worke miracles by, even as our Lady doth in her Images, in infinite places of Christendome: whereby if the poore Idiot were deceived among the Pagans to think some-times that very Image some divine matter or person: as cleere is it that the like befalls infinite 5 simple Christians, seeing theyr Images eyther to grow, or to weepe and bleed, as they do often, and so infinite cures wrought by viewing or touching them. And for theyr degrees of worship betweene Gods Images and the Saincts, they cannot perceive them, they kneele to them alike; they pray to them alike; they vow to them alike; they incense them alike; they burn candles to them alike; they cloth them alike; they offer gifts to 10 them alike; the difference if it be any is in their mentall affections: which whether the blunt and undistinguishing witts of the vulgar do observe, they suppose a small measure of discretion may conjecture. In like sort for theyr distinction betweene the Images of the true God and of false Gods; they tell them that in other cases that might have this use but none in this Law; it being expounded in other places, as prohibiting this 15

<sup>1</sup> every where] om BL C' HN; the Effigies] theire Effigies B'

<sup>5</sup> divine matter or] om C' HN ins BL; matter] thiing P; is it] it is BL C' HN; infinite] divers BL C' HN Q 6 Images] image C' HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> cures] cares C' HN ins BL; or] and BL C' HN; And] And so B'; theyr] the Q

<sup>9-10</sup> they pray to them alike; they vow to them alike; they incense them alike; they burn candles to thm alike; they cloth them alike; they offer gifts to them alike;] they offer gifts to them alike; they Incense them alike; they burn candles to them alike, they clothe them alike, they pray to them alike; they vow to them alike  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> they cloth] cloth  $C^2$ 

<sup>12</sup> undistinguishing] undistinguished  $B^{I}$ ; they] I Q

<sup>13</sup> sort] manner  $B^{I}$ ; Images] Image  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> false] the false C' HN Q del BL; other] the other B'; cases] causes P'; this] the B'

<sup>14-15</sup> this use] his place C' HNQ ins BL

<sup>15</sup> none] now C' HN ins BL; places] passages Q; as] that as B' P'

base sensuall and seducing kind of worshipping even God himselfe by an Image, if any Image of God were possible to bee made: that thus the Law it selfe doth plainely deliver; thus they which received the Law understood it; thus all theyr holy Auncestours and learned Doctors have still interpreted; and thus hath their Nation in all ages believed. And therefore they say for theyr comming to the Christian Sermons, that 5 as long as they shall see the Preacher direct his speech and prayer to that little wooden Crucifix which stands on the Pulpit by him, to call it his Lord and Saviour, to kneele downe to it, to embrace and kisse it, to weepe upon it; (as is the fashion of Italy;) this is preaching sufficient for them, and perswades them more with the very sight of it to hate Christian Religion, than any reason that the world can alleage to love it. And these 10 bee the scandalls, which as I have heard them selves alleage, they take on that side; besides their Transubstantiation which they can at no hand disgest. The particular scandall from the Protestants, is their mutuall dissention which they hold to proceed from the want of the Unitie of truth in theyr foundation: otherwise save for their generall exceptions against Christianitie, they hold their Religion very conformable 15 to the Law of Nature, which they accompt the principall. But were all the unneedfull scandals in those parts removed, yet is there no good meanes there of the Jews

<sup>1</sup> base sensual and base and sensual C' HN ins BL; even om C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> plainely] very plainely  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>4</sup> interpreted] is it BL C' HN

<sup>7</sup> which] that B'; stands] standeth P'; his] this P'

<sup>8</sup> downe] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] om  $B^{l}$   $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and kisse it] it, to kisse  $B^{l}$   $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> these] those C' HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> as I have heard] I heard BL C' HN

<sup>12</sup> disgest] digest  $C^2$ ;

<sup>13</sup> scandall] scandalls  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; is] are  $B^{l}$ ; dissention] dissentions  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>14</sup> truth] the truth P'; foundation] foundations C' HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> accompt the] counte their Q

conversion. They complaine first, that the New Testament being the ground of our Religion, they cannot see it. That Italian translation which they had is called-in and taken from them. It is printed in Hebrew letters, but not in Hebrew language; at leastwise not such as they can understand. With Greeke and Latine their Nation never meddled. Besides which the Inquisitours have inhibited and taken from them all 5 Bookes that were published in that theame on eyther side, as well those that have beene written in defence of Christian Religion, as the contrarie against it; alleaging they will have no disputing in matter of Religion eyther way: much like to an Edict set up at Dola in the Franch County, where the Jesuites reside; forbidding any talke of God eyther in good sort or bad. Then lastly for those few Sermons they are bound to repaire to, 10 seldome where I have beene are they directed to the Jews or to the poincts they stick on, but hold on their usuall tenour, as respecting more the Christians. The last encouragement to men especially of their mettall, is that at their conversion to Christianitie they must quit theyr goods to the Christians. And the reason is for that in Baptisme they renounce the devill and all his works; part wherof are the Jews goods, 15

5 inhibited] forbidden Q

10 bad] in bad  $B^{I} L P^{I} Q$ 

12 usuall] om Q; more] meerely A C' HN L Q ins BL; last] om Q

<sup>1</sup> conversion] conversion used BL C' HN

<sup>3</sup> It] om  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>4</sup> such] in such  $A B^{\prime} P^{\prime} Q$ ; Nation] nations  $C^{\prime} HN$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> published] ever published BL C' HN Q; eyther] the other Q

<sup>7</sup> as] as also  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; the contrarie] on the contrarie  $P^{T}$ 

<sup>8</sup> disputing] dispute A, disputation  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> Franch] Franke B' HN, Frenc BL C'; Franch County] French Countrie Q

<sup>11</sup> where ... beene]  $\widetilde{om A B^2 C' HN L Q}$  ins BL; to the Jews or]  $om A B^2 C' HN L Q$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> encouragement] discouragement *BL*  $C^{l}$  *HN*; to men] of men  $P^{l}$ ; especially] especially  $B^{l}$ ; their mettall] that mettall  $P^{l}$ 

being gotten evther by them selves or by their Auncestors by Usurie. Now this is such a cold comfort to a man set on the world as that Nation is wonderfully: that for my part I have not heard of any converted in those parts, save some few Physicians with some of theyr children; who by friendship from the Pope have obteined dispensation to reteine theyr goods still, in as much as they were gotten by theyr honourable 5 profession. But if on the contrary side the Christians would againe in theyr Charitie give somewhat for the competent enterteinment of such as for Gods sake did give up theyr owne; I could not but well commend that rigour of Justice, which the bountifulnesse of this Mercie did mitigate and assweeten. But being no such matter there remains nothing for a Jew converted, but to bee Friered; a trade which of all 10 other they least can fancie, as being contrary, as they alleage, to nature it selfe, which hath made man sociable, and each helpefull unto other in all civill duties; a trade never commanded or commended by God; never practised or counselled by their renowmed Ancestors, who received continual instruction and inspiration from above, which none of their Patriarchs or Prophets have given example of; only in three or foure 15 thousand yeers ELIAS and some one other have bene found upon very extraordinary

9 this] his B'HN; mitigate] A BL  $C'C^2HN$ , intigate 29

14 continual] continuallie  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>1</sup> by themselves] of themselves A C' HN L Q ins BL; by their] of their A C' HN L Q ins BL; by Usurie] A  $B^{T}B^{2}LP^{T}Q$ , with usurie 29 3 few] om  $C^{T}HN$  ins BL

<sup>4</sup> from] to BL C' HN; obtained] received Q

<sup>5</sup> as much] for  $\sim B^1$ ; honourable] wholl Q

<sup>7</sup> the] their Q; as] as did Q

<sup>12</sup> unto] to  $A C^{1} HN ins BL$ 

<sup>13</sup> or] nor  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> their] those  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>16</sup> one] om O; have] hath  $C^{1} HN P^{1}$  ins BL

cause to have taken also an extraordinary course of life; though of other nature, and to other purpose, than the Votaries of our times. And these are the tearmes that the Jews stand in, in those parts; and so must I leave them to the mercifull cure of God: an unblessed and forsaken people; obstinate with in and scandalized with-out; indefatigable in theyr expectation, untractable in perswasion; worldly, yet wretched; 5 received of theyr enemies, but despised and hated; scattered over all Countries, but no where planted; dayly multiplying in number, but to the encrease of their servitude and not of their power; in summe, a long continued and marked example of Gods just severitie; to abate theyr pride that glorie even as they, in theyr Auncestours and Founders, Gods Temple and Oracles, many promises and prerogatives, long 10 continuance in honourable estate and glorie: (which things if they were sufficient to preserve any sea in the world, even their seat had bene preserved by them) and to proclaim to the whole world that there is no assurance of the favour, protection, and assistance of God, (without which all falls to ruine,) but in believing in his Son, and in keeping his Commandments. And this also may serve touching the Church of Rome 15 sufficient.

14-15 in keeping]  $A B^2 C^1 HN L Q$ , by keeping 29 ins BL

15 serve] C' HN, seem 29 ins BL

<sup>1</sup> nature,] nature, of better warrant Q

<sup>3</sup> stand in] ~ on  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; cure] care  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> and] om  $B^1$ ; scandalized] not unscandalized P

<sup>5</sup> perswasion] their perswasion Q; yet] and Q

<sup>8</sup> of] to C' HN ins BL; just] justice and B', justice HN

<sup>10</sup> Gods] of Gods Q; and Oracles] om  $B^{l}$ ; many] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; prerogatives] many prerogatives  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

<sup>11</sup> glorie] dignitie Q; if they were]  $A C^{l} HN L Q$ , were they 29 ins BL

<sup>12</sup> sea] seat C' HN ins BL; even] then even Q; and] also Q

# Of the Greeke Church and their Religion

Next followeth the GREEKE CHURCH, enthralled all in a manner save the Muscovites or the Candians, with some few other of no great name and number, under the Turkish-tyrannie. Of which Church, as their farre distance from us requireth not to speake much, so their uniformitie in miserie yieldeth not much to be spoken. For 5 theyr Religion, except onely theyr auncient errour touching the proceeding of the holy spirit from the Father alone, wherin they have long dissented from all the Latin or West-Church; in other poincts they seeme to stand in some middle tearmes of opinion betweene the Romanists and Protestants, yet so that in the more, they approach to the Church of Rome: and to the Protestants in the more weighty, or at leastwise more 10 dominative. With Rome they concurre in the opinion of Transubstantiation, and generally in the sacrifice and whole body of the Masse; in praying to Saincts: in auricular confession: in offering of sacrifice and prayer for the dead: and in these without any or with no materiall difference. They hold Purgatorie also and the worshipping of Pictures. But for Images they will not so much as endure them in 15 theyr Churches; as well for that proclivitie they have to traine away the ignorant into

<sup>2</sup> save] saving Q; the] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> or]  $B^{1} L P^{1} Q$ , and 29

<sup>4</sup> as] *om Q* 

<sup>7</sup> or] and B', all of the Q

<sup>8</sup> some]  $om P^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> Romanists] Romish C' HN ins BL; and] and the B' BL C' HN

<sup>9-10</sup> yet so . . . Protestants] om C' HN, yet for that in the more, they approach to the Church of Rome: and to the Protestants, in the more weighty, or at the leastwise more dominative B'Q, yet so that they approach to the Church of Rome in the more dominative, and to the Protestants in the more weightie P'ins BL

<sup>10</sup> leastwise] the leastwise BL C' HN; more] in the C' HN Q ins BL

<sup>12</sup> sacrifice] service BL C' HN

<sup>13</sup> of] *om P*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>14</sup> with no]  $A C^{l} HN L$ , no 29, with del BL

<sup>16</sup> that] the BL C' HN; into] into the BL C' HN; the] om C' HN ins BL

crime of Pagan-errour as also to avoyd that similitude betweene theyr Churches and the Heathenish Temples of Idolls, which imagrie doth cause. And for theyr Pictures, they kneele to two onely of Christ and our Lady: the rest they passe over with an ordinary reverence. For Purgatorie, they hold none in Hell or in the skirts thereof, or by any outward torment: but that the soules of the faithfull are not received into glory, till by 5 an extreame compunction and anguish of mind, they have worne out those flames, with which sinne and the pleasures thereof in this life defile them. In summe, those opinions which grew into the Church before that separation betweene the Greeks and the Latins, and all those Ceremonies which were common unto both, they still reteine; as theyr crossings, and tapers, with certeine other. But for those superstitutions which have 10 crept in in fresher memorie, or which were if as auncient, yet not so current; and in generall all those Canons of the Romish faith, which have bene thrust on the Church in these latter times, by the unaccomptable power and pride of the Papacie, tending to the advancement of theyr owne sea, and to the exempting of theyr Church and doctrine from tryall; by those Anabaptisticall fancies of the spirit that moves them, and 15 protects them from error in their consultations and resolutions touching matter of faith,

<sup>1</sup> Pagan-errour] Pagan errors  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; as] om Q

<sup>3</sup> onely] onely one Q; of] to BL  $C^{1}$  HN; our] the other of our Q

<sup>7</sup> sinne] the same  $C^{i}$  HN ins BL; defile them] inure Q

<sup>11</sup> in fresher] fresh  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; if] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> Romish] Romane BL; the Church]  $A B^{1} L P^{1} Q$ , them 29

<sup>12-13</sup> in these] in those  $B^{\prime} BL C^{\prime} HN$ 

<sup>15</sup> moves] mans  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and] or  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>16</sup> protects] protecteth  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; them] om Q; matter] matterrs  $B^{l}$ 

extenuating the sufficiency and authoritie of the Scripture in comparison of theyr spirit or Church guided by it; all these things they abhorre no lesse than the Protestant. They hold understanding requisite to concur with affection for the accomplishment of devotion in praying to God: and although theyr Liturgies are the same that in the old time, namely St. BASILS, St.CHRISOSTOMES, and St. GREGORIES translated, without 5 any bending of them to that change of language which theyr tongue hath also suffered: yet do they say that alteration is not so great but that theyr people with small accustoming understand the Liturgies well enough. But for praying by tale with St. DOMINICKS round compters, they esteeme of it no better than those Heathenish repetitions and unnaturall lip-labours which our Saviour censureth, Neyther can they 10 believe that the Apostle St. JAMES the lesser, who is painted under the Papacie with his great beads at his girdle, (even as MARY MAGDALEN lightly praying before a Crucifix,) was St. DOMINICKS disciple; but a wiser mans farre, and one that introduced a better fashion of praying if the world could have beene content to have followed his prescript. In like sort for the holy-water so much used under the Papacie; they believe no such 15 feare that the Devill should have of it, nor such force in it to purge sinne, as theyr neighbours doe teach. They repute it a very vaine opinion that the Church cannot erre,

9 of]  $om B^{I}$ 

17 it] it as  $B^1$ 

<sup>1</sup> Scripture] Scriptures  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> Protestant] Protestants  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>4</sup> are] be C' HN ins BL, the old] old B' P'

<sup>6</sup> also] om  $A C^{\prime} HN L$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> the] their  $B^{l}Q$ ; Liturgies] language  $C^{l}HN$  ins BL; for] on  $B^{l}$ ; for ... tale] by praying  $C^{l}HN$  ins BL8-9 St. DOMINICKS round counters] see explanatory notes

<sup>10</sup> censureth] censured  $C^2$ 

<sup>11</sup> St.] om  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>14</sup> could] would BL C' HN; content] contented C' HN ins BL; prescript] prescripts  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>15</sup> the Papacie] Papacy  $P^{l}$ 

both in the whole and every part thereof, and consequently that their neighbours of Rome had bestowed that paines better, which they have spent in proving and perswading that they cannot erre, in providing and caring more not to have erred. They acknowledge that there is sufficient doctrine in Scripture for salvation: though to the auncient usages of the Church, and writings of ancient Fathers, they yield due 5 reverence. Three things in the Pope they condemne especially; his pride, his cruelty, and his presumption most of all: his pride, in arrogating so exorbitant a jurisdiction over all the Church, contrarie to the decrees of auncient Councells, and upon no shadow of right or good foundation; but chiefly in usurping that temporall tyrannie over Princes and theyr States, in deposing of the one, and disposing of the other, at his absolute 10 pleasure: his crueltie in persecuting other Christians with such extremitie for theyr different opinions: his presumption in mounting up into the seat of God, by dispensing with the Lawes of God, and graunting pardons for sinne, and Liberaties out of Purgatorie; which they accompt to bee of those royall prerogatives incident to God onely. For as for the doctrinall foundation of those Indulgences, the over-plus of merits

4 sufficient] a sufficient Q

<sup>1</sup> every] in every BL C' HN; neighbours] om Q

<sup>2</sup> that] their  $C^2$ ; have] had Q

<sup>3</sup> more] om  $P^1$ 

<sup>5</sup> ancient] the A BL  $C^{\prime}$  HN L Q

<sup>6</sup> his] the  $C^2$ 

<sup>6-7</sup> his cruelty. . . pride,] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> all the Church] all Churches  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; so] of so  $B^{l}$ ; Councells] Counsells  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; no] om  $C^{2}$ 9 right or good] good or right Q; in usurping] usurping  $B^{l}$  P

<sup>10</sup> theyr] the  $C^{i}$  HN ins BL; deposing of] deposing  $B^{i}$ ; the one] them  $P^{i}$ 

<sup>12</sup> up into] to  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> Lawes] lawe BL C' HN; pardons] pardon C' HN ins BL; Liberaties] liberty C' HN ins BL, liberties Q; of] of all Q

<sup>14</sup> royall] *om Q* 

<sup>15</sup> foundation] foundations  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; those] these BL  $C^{l}$  HN; the] om  $C^{2}$ ; satisfaction] satisfactions  $B^{l}$  BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{l}$ 

and satisfaction in some, being more than they needed or than were to bee requited with any joyes of Heaven in theyr particular persons, and consequently remaine as a perpetuall treasure to the Church, to bee conferred by the Pope on his weaker and lesse deserving or rather lesse satisfying children, (for so is their opinion:) so farre are they from prizing merits at such an inestimable valew, that contrariwise they concurrre in 5 assertion with the Protestants, that it is unpossible for any creature to merit as by way of right the least dram of reward at his Creatours hands; the service of ten thousand millions of Worlds, beeing not able to adde any shadow of perfection to him, who is Perfection it selfe, having whatsoever is good or desirable within himselfe, even from all eternitie, in infinite degree, and with impossibilitie of any the least addition. But 10 whatsoever reward is bestowed on the creature, floweth forth from the meere bountie and graciousnesse of the Creatour: who as in goodnesse alone and meere grace did make him, so in goodnesse and meere grace also doth advaunce him unto that higher happinesse.

That service intermediall which he requires at his hand, is a gracious 15 disposition of sweetest harmonie from the unexplicable wisdome of a Lord and Father,

<sup>1</sup> than] om Q; were] were then Q; requited] required C' HN P' ins BL; with] of P'; any] the B' 2 in theyr] to theyr P'

<sup>2</sup> in theyi j to theyi F

<sup>3</sup> perpetuall] particular  $B^{1}$ 4 lesse] lesser *BL*  $C^{1}$  *HN* 

<sup>5</sup> inestimable] estimable  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; in assertion] on  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>6</sup> unpossible] impossible BL C' HN; way] anie way B'

<sup>10</sup> infinite] infinitie A BL C' HN; degree] of degree C<sup>2</sup>, degrees C' HN, ins BL

<sup>11</sup> on] upon  $A C^{1} HN$ , ins BL, floweth] it flowes Q

<sup>13</sup> so in ... also] so also in meere grace C' HN ins BL, meer grace and goodnes A; unto] to A B' P'

<sup>15</sup> at his hand,] om C' HN ins BL; a] om Q

<sup>16</sup> unexplicable] inexplicable  $B^{I} BL C^{I} HN P^{I}$ 

still abounding and still enlarging his hands, in all bountie and goodnesse towards his sonnes and servants; and destined to no other than to the creatures behoofe, to his benefit and advauncement only: that by his requisite endeavours in those honourable wayes, of wisdome and vertue, of love and thankfulnesse, and of imitating his maker in doing good in the world; hee may grow being assisted with divine grace and vertue, 5 to an higher degree of goodnesse, still perfiting more and more all the faculties and parts of his unperfit soule and nature; whereunto also an higher degree of glorie is proposed, and reserved by that great Rewarder in the heighth of the Heavens, as a full and finall accomplishment of his whole desires, and as the Crowne of his celestiall blessednesse. Now as in this opinion they agree in generall with the Protestants; so 10 do they mightily dissent from that doctrine touching the eternall Counsells of God; which CALVIN as some conceive first fully revealed, or rather introduced into the world; and since some of his friends and followers have seconded; as thinking it very injurious to the goodnesse of God, and directly and immediately opposite to his very nature. In regard whereof one of theyr Bishops hath written a booke against it, 15

14 very] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> and still] increasing and Q; still] om  $C^{T}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> than to] than  $B^{I} P^{I}$ ; behoofe, to his] meere A  $C^{I}$  HN L Q ins BL

<sup>4</sup> of imitating] in imitating  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> being . . . vertue] om  $A L P^{l}$ , and arrive Q

<sup>5-6</sup> being assisted . . . degree of] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> goodnesse, still] om  $L P^{l}Q$ ; more and more] om  $L P^{l}Q$ 

<sup>6-7</sup> faculties and parts] partes and faculties Q

<sup>7</sup> unperfit] om  $L P^{l} Q$ ; an higher] a higher  $P^{l}$ ; glorie] glorie which  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>8</sup> that] A C' HNL, the 29 ins BL; the great] a bountiful Q; as] and as P

<sup>9</sup> desires, and] deserts  $C^{1}$  HN Q ins BL

<sup>9-10</sup> celestiall blessednesse] flagrant eternal happinesse Q

<sup>10</sup> blessednesse] blessednesse is added  $B^1$ ; the Protestants] Protestant doctrine  $A C^1 HN del BL$ 12 fully] om  $B^1 P^1$ 

<sup>13</sup> world]  $A B^2 C' HN L Q$ , Christian world 29 ins BL; as] and as P'; followers] followes B' C' HN, ins BL

which hath bene sent to Geneva, and there received. Thus much of theyr doctrine; which though I know it may bee better and fullier had in theyr books, yet have I thought it not unconvenient to deliver thus in briefe, how I have found them also in speach and conference effected.

#### Of their Liturgies

Theyr Liturgies for the substance are those three I have named: all which they use for varieties sake, in the severall times and feasts allotted for them. For the forme and ceremonies they resemble much the Latins, though of the two the French Masse more than the Italian; not only in theyr holy-bread; but especially in theyr Altar, which with great mysterie as is said they both enclose from the people, that the Arcana of 10 those theyr ineffable crossings and convertings may not bee prostituted and polluted by unsanctifyed view; whereas the Romans finding no such vertue in that mysterie, lye faire and open on all sides to all eyes. In theyr host they use Leven, which the Latins avoid: and they elevate it forward; which the Latins doe backward: and neere the body of the Church; which the other doe at the Altar. In theyr crossings they are very 15 plentifull: but herein swarving from the Latins, that the Greeke (who is more nimble

7 times and feasts] feasts and times BL C' HN

11 theyr] om  $B^1$ 

13 faire and  $[om A B^{1}]$ ; on [in Q]; In for  $B^{1}$ ; Leven [in Q + in Q]; leavened bread  $P^{1}$ 

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5

<sup>2</sup> I know] om C' HN ins BL; bee] om C' HN ins BL; had ... books,] be taken out of their books C' HN ins BL; had] taken out L Q

<sup>2-3</sup> thought it not] A C' HN L, not thought it 29 ins BL; unconvenient] inconvenient BL C' HN; thus] thus much B', this BL C' HN Q

<sup>3</sup> also] om Q

<sup>6</sup> substance] most part C' HN ins BL; I have named] which named B'

<sup>8</sup> resemble much] much resemble  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>12-13</sup> finding . . open] om A C HN L Q ins BL, which lye open  $B^2$ 

<sup>14</sup> and] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; they] their  $C^{2}$ 

<sup>16</sup> that] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; Greeke] Greekes  $B^{l}$ ; is] are  $B^{l}$ 

therein) begins his crosse-barre on the right side, and the Latin on the left, each with his severall mysterie. They have also a mysterie in shifting and reshifting in one and the same Masse from one Altar to an other; which the Latins have not: who contrariwise in one Church have a dousen Masses sometimes all going at once to severall Altars; which the Graecians use not for ought I could see. They have much adoe with theyr lights, 5 in putting them out and in againe at severall times and parts of theyr service. And theyr Liturgie is intermedled much with singing; performed in a tune, neyther very artificiall, nor altogether neglected; but grave, alternated, and braunched with divers parts.

At the Creed, the Priest commeth forth to the doore of the Chancell, and holds up a little embroidered picture of Christ on the Crosse: towards which they doe 10 reverence and pronounce theyr beliefe. Theyr gestures of reverence, are the very same with the Jews; standing up and bowing forward theyr bodies at times. For kneeling they use none, save onely as they say one day in the yeere. At theyr comming in, they bow them selves thrice towards the Altar, and three times crosse them selves. At theyr departure, having taken theyr holy-bread, with kissing the Prelats hand from whom 15

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<sup>1</sup> begins] begineth P'; his] theire B'; crosse-barre] crosse C' HN ins BL; Latin] Latines B' P'1-2 each . . . mysterie] om P'

<sup>2</sup> mysterie in] om C' HN P' ins BL; mysterie . . . reshifting] shifting C' HN ins BL; and] or A

<sup>3-4</sup> in . . . have] have in a Church C' HN ins BL; in . . . sometimes] a dousen Masses sometimes in one Church  $B^2$ 

<sup>4</sup> sometimes all going at once] all going at once sometimes  $B^{i}$ ; at] A BL C<sup>i</sup> HN L Q, to 29 6 out and in] in and out Q; severall times and] om  $B^{i}$ 

<sup>7</sup> intermedled much] much intermedled BL  $C^{\bar{l}}$  HN; tune] tyme P<sup>l</sup>; very] om C<sup>l</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>9</sup> Priest commeth] Priests come A C' HN ins BL; to] A BL C' HN Q, at 29; Chancell] chancels C' HN ins BL; holds] hold C' HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> on the Crosse] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> gestures of] gesture, or  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; are] is  $B^{1}$ , om  $P^{1}$ 

<sup>12</sup> forward] forwardes C' HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> one] for one Q; the] a Q

<sup>14</sup> thrice] first Q; crosse] crossing  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>15</sup> the] theire  $B^1$ ; hand] handes  $B^1$ 

they receive it, they finally salute the Pictures of Christ and our Lady, kissing also theyr hands, which are plated over with mettall because of wearing. But the Grecians Pictures of Christ and our Lady are nothing like to the Latins; but as different as any ordinarie two faces that a man shall see. The most uniformitie therein that I have seene, is with us in England. For in Italy there is little, especially of our Lady: whose 5 very pictures which they say St. LUKE him selfe, partly did draw, and partly began, and Angells did finish, may argue more devotion towards her in the drawers, but small acquaintance: unlesse her face were very variable, or very sclender their skill: some where as at Loretto shee is painted like a blackamoore. In summe, they have so little knowledge of her countenance and favour, that in some places they will assemble 10 divers of theyr fairest Courtizans, (as I have heard it there reported,) to draw the modest beautie of a Virgin out of the flagrancie of Harlots.

# Of their Government

But to returne to the Grecians, and to come now to theyr GOVERNMENT; which is as the world knowes, that auncient, by Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, with 15 other Orders inferiour. Unto whom the people carrie exceeding respect and reverence a

6 which] as Q; they say] om  $P^{l}$ 

8 very . . . skill] their skill verie slender  $C^{l}$  HN Q ins BL

11 (as I have heard it there reported)] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> also] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> with mettall] om  $B^{\prime}$ ; because of] for  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; Grecians] Grecian  $P^{\prime}$ 

<sup>3</sup> our] of our  $B^{l}$ ; to] om  $C^{l}$  HN Q ins BL

<sup>4</sup> ordinarie two] two ordinarie  $\overline{C'}$  HN ins BL; therein] thereof B'

<sup>7</sup> Angells] an Angel BL C' HN P'; more]  $A B^2 C' HN L Q$ , perhaps 29 ins BL; towards] to B'; but small] than A C' HN LQ ins BL

<sup>9</sup> where] were  $C^2$ ; have] have heer  $B^1$ ; so little] a little  $P^1$ 

<sup>10</sup> countenance and favour] favour and countenance Q

<sup>12</sup> modest] most modest C' HN del BL; Virgin] virgo Q

<sup>14-15</sup> as the world knowes, that] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> that] it Q; other] theire  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>16</sup> respect] A C' HN L Q, respect and reverence 29 ins BL

as it were to the publike Fathers and Heads of theyr Nation, notwithstanding that calamitie wherein the Tyrannie of the Turk hath plunged them. They have also a religious Order amongst them of St. BASIL, the great founder of the East Monks; as Sainct BENEDICT of the West. These onely have theyr vowes of Chastitie and austeritie and may not marrie; which to the rest of the Clergie is not prohibited. They have also 5 their proper habit: but shaven they are not, for ought I could discerne; no more are theyr Priests, being a Ceremonie so bald, that the very Priests in Fraunce are ashamed of the marke, and few of them have it that can handsomly avoid it. But as in the multitude of theyr Religions, they differ much from the West Church, the Grecians having but this onely one order of St. BASIL, and the Latins having multiplyed therein to greater 10 store and varietie, than there are professions in a common-wealth, or trades in a Citie; so also in their use and course of life. For the Roman-Monks, by with-drawing them selves from the societie of other men, and living and dying within their solitarie Cloisters; do bereave the world of that benefit of dutie and service wherein each man is bound to the behoofe of other; alleaging in place thereof the blessings which 15

<sup>1</sup> publike ... Heads] fathers and publique heads Q; Nation] Nations P'; that] the Q

<sup>2</sup> plunged] plagued P'

<sup>3</sup> St.] Saint  $B^1$ , S. BL  $C^1$  HN; as] and BL  $C^1$  HN

<sup>4</sup> These onely] they may P'

<sup>5</sup> the Clergie] their  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>7</sup> the very] some  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> can handsomly] handsomly can P'

<sup>9</sup> Religions] religious orders BL C' HN

<sup>9-10</sup> but . . . one] one onlie A, only this  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> St.] S. BL  $C^{I}$  HN; greater] A L  $P^{I}$  Q, great 29

<sup>11</sup> there] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>12</sup> with-drawing]  $A B^{1} L P^{1} Q$ , the with-drawing 29

<sup>13</sup> societie] societies  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>13-14</sup> solitarie Cloisters] Cels  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> of dutie] and of the dutie  $C^{l}$  HN del BL

their assiduitie and fervor in prayer, not interrupted nor cured by secular conversements draw downe upon the world, as may bee godlily believed without farther proofe: where as the Greeke-Monks seeme to continue that auncienter and more approved institution of them, by spirituall meditations and exercises, and by severitie to make themselves fitter to serve in the Church of God in Ecclesiastical calling with exemplarie 5 holinesse; and accordingly their Prelats and other principall Priests, are chosen in most places out of their order in greatest part. These guides of their Church have a wonderfull care, continually pricked with the acerbitie of much feare and griefe of Hart, least their persecuted flock, gasping as it were in the helplesse and comfortlesse extremitie of all kinds and degrees of miserie, having famine of soule and great 10 blindnesse within; for want of pastors and means to maintein them; without seeing nothing but triumphs over Christ and scornes of his Religion; insolencies and violences against their persons, oppressions and extortions upon theyr goods, rapins and murderings of the very soules of theyr children, (a case to be bewailed with teares of bloud by all Christian harts that know it;) hearing the onely Anchor and stay of 15 their soules, which is their expectation of the comming of Christ and of future salvation.

8 continually] and are C' HN del BL; acerbitie] motion C' HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> their assiduitie] by their assiduitie  $B^{i}$ ; nor] or  $B^{i}$ ; cured] cooled A BL  $C^{i}$  HN  $P^{2}$  Q; secular] mundane Q; conversements] commercements  $C^{i}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> draw] nor drawne  $C^{l}$  HN del BL; as may . . . proofe] om A L  $P^{2}Q$ 

<sup>2-3</sup> as may bee . . . seeme to]  $om P^{l}$ 

<sup>2-4</sup> as may bee . . . them,] doe grow unto the Church, whereas the Grecians continue that more approved institution of them C' HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> by] in  $B^1$ 

<sup>6</sup> their] one of their  $B^{l} C^{l} HN del BL$ ; principall Priests] priests principall Q; most] many  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL 7 order] order and  $B^{l}$ 

<sup>9</sup> as it were] om A L Q; as it ... the] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; the helplesse] helplesse  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>10</sup> all kinds . . . of ] om  $A C^{l} HN L Q$  ins BL

<sup>11</sup> want of pastors]  $LP^2$ , lacke of a Pastor A C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL, want of plasters 29

<sup>12</sup> and] om Q; scornes] scorners  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>14</sup> murderings] murdering P'; of] upon C' HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> hearing] herin Q; their] the BL C' HN Q

dayly derided and blaspheamed by the pride of the mightie; and finally, seeing no shadow of any hope of deliverie from this long calamitie, under the burthen whereof they grone should in the end fall away and revolt to Turcisme; inviting them unto it with so many baits of ease, of wealth, of pleasures, of freedome, prosperitie and worldly glory: in which fearefulnesse of mind, the onely remedie remaining, is the 5 vertuousnesse of their owne example in constancie and patience, and the avoyding of all scandall to their people. Which is the cause that they wil not hear of reforming any thing; nor I suppose upon any presumption or obstinacy of mind, as disdaining reformation; but as trembling at alteration which must needs accompany it; lest their people perceiving so they had bin amisse in some things might suspect the 10 possibilitie of like errour in the whole; and so fall mainly whither the force of power and worldly prosperitie, a chiefe argument to the ignorant and vulgar minds, should sway them. As on the other side their doubt of farther inaspererating the Turk in his Crueltie against them, considering that in Greece and all those parts of Europe the Christians under the Turk do very manyfoldly exceed in number the Mahometans 15

6 and] of Q; the] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

- 8 nor] not  $B^{T}C^{T}HNP^{T}$ ; upon] for C HN ins BL
- 9 as] all  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL, om Q

10 perceiving so] so perceiving Q; so] how BL C<sup>l</sup> HN; had] have Q

11 so] om  $C^l$  HN ins BL

14 all] in all  $B^{I}Q$ 

 $<sup>2 \</sup>log om C' HN ins BL$ 

<sup>3</sup> grone]  $A C' HN L P^2 Q$ , grone and are consumed: 29 ins BL; should] om  $P^2$ ; unto it] thereunto C' HN ins BL

<sup>4</sup> with] om P; so many]  $A C' HN L P^2 Q$ , all the 29 ins BL; of ease, of wealth] om  $A C' HN P^2 Q$  ins BL; of pleasures] om Q; prosperitie] om  $A C' HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL; and worldly] of worldly  $A C' HN L P' P^2$  del BL

<sup>7</sup> scandall to] scandal of  $P^{l}$ ; reforming] any reformation of  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; any] of any  $A B^{2} L Q$ 

<sup>12</sup> to] of A; ignorant and] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> As] and BL C<sup>i</sup> HN Q; inasperating] exasperating C<sup>i</sup> HN Q ins BL

them selves: may be a cause why in their generall they hold so small intelligence and correspondence with the WEST-CHURCH of one side or other; and are like to continue so, whilst their thraldome and cause of that feare shall last: though in their particular they will declare a brotherly affection to both, and desire of the unitie of all in one truth. But for the Turk him selfe he maketh full accompt that whensoever the WEST-5 CHRISTIANS should stoutly invade him; the EAST-CHRISTIANS under him would run to theyr aid, if they saw any likelihood that they should prevaile. And this hath bene seene already more than once by example; and he provides accordingly.

# Of their Lives, and of the Muscovites

The MUSCOVITES are a great Church, a free and puissant; not schismatikes 10 from the Grecians, as some in disgrace of both deliver, though perhaps not fully concurring in all poincts. Neyther yet is it true which other of a contrarie conceipt have rumoured, that the Patriarch of Constantinople hath removed his Seat to Mosco, whether he went only to erect that Sea into an Archishoprick, which before it was not, and so returned. But the Turk to keepe the Muscovites from stirring against him; 15 doth cause the Tartarians to make often incursions and roads into theyr Countrie; that

3 their] that Q

12 yet] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>2</sup> correspondence] correspondency  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>4</sup> to] of  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; the unitie] unitie  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>5</sup> whensoever] when  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>6</sup> the East-Christians] these East-Christians  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>7</sup> hath] had Q

<sup>8</sup> provides] provideth BL C' HN

<sup>11</sup> Grecians] other Grecians A BL  $C^{\prime}$  HN  $P^{\prime}$   $P^{2}$ 

<sup>11-12</sup> fully concurring] concurring fully BL C' HN

<sup>13</sup> hath] had  $C^{1}$  HN L ins BL

<sup>15</sup> so] om C' HN ins BL; the Muscovites] his Muscovites P'

<sup>16</sup> doth cause] causeth BL C' HN; roads] roundes Q

so being held always in awe on an other side, they may have lesse stomacke, to embrace any thoughts or desseines of enterprizing or combining with other Christians against him. It were needlesse now to enter into any view of their LIVES: neither could it serve eyther way, to the honour or reproach of theyr Religion or governement; being maymed, interrupted and stopped in his operations of what qualitie soever, though his 5 tyrannie who striveth by all meanes to plant barbarousnesse amongst them; as knowing that neyther Civilitie did found his Empire, nor with civilitie could it long continue. But the case is generall and experience sheweth it in all places, that although a sweet mind and pure conversation bee the naturall fruicts of a sound beliefe and perswasion; yet the afflicted in all Religions grounded upon truth, how contrary soever 10 otherwise, are in their farre greatest part men of conscience and honestie; save onely where hopes draw other humours to them. For it cannot proceed from lesse than a vertuous affection to prefer the sinceritie of conscience before worldly glory; howsoever it may be stained with other erronious opinions. As on the contrarie side even the purest Religion in prosperitie, draweth to it an infinity of good companions and 15

14 other] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> held always in awe on an other side  $A L P^{l} P^{2}$ , always in inward awe from an other side 29 ins BL, held alwaies in awe on one side  $C^{l} HN$ ; have  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$ , have lesse legsure and withal 29 ins BL 1-2 to embrace] on the other side to imbrace  $C^{l} HN de$ ; BL; any  $A C^{l} HN L Q$ , any outward 29 ins BL

<sup>4</sup> eyther] any  $C^2$ ; the] their  $C^1$  HN ins BL

<sup>5</sup> and] or  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; though] through BL  $C^{l}$  HN

<sup>6</sup> striveth] strives A; by all meanes] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> did found] founded  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

<sup>8-10</sup> although . . . yet] om  $A C' HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL

<sup>10</sup> Religions]  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$ , Religions grounded upon truth 29 ins BL

<sup>11</sup> otherwise] om A C<sup>1</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup> Q ins BL; in their farre greatest] for the most C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> proceed] come  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>15</sup> infinity] A BL C<sup>1</sup> HN P<sup>2</sup> Q, infinite 29; of good companions and] om C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL

time-servers, who being trained up in the exactnesse of kitchin and cup-discipline, make theyr Rendez-vows always where the best Cheere is stirring; and follow Christ upon a sharpe devotion, but to his bread not to his doctrine. In which regard the fruicts of life in divers Religions and governments, are not to bee compared but where their prosperitie or adversitie are equall. And even so doth it fall out in this particular we 5 now speake of; where the Grecian, who is compted by the corruption of his Country to be naturally a false and craftie merchant, a seditious and stirring person in all kinds of government; is now become humble, obedient, grave and peaceable, and surely at divine service gives show of more devotion than the Romanists in any place for ought I haue yet seene. But the lamentable calamitie of this afflicted and distressed Church, 10 once flourishing in all worldly prosperitie and glory, now such as it hath pleased the rage of the wild bore to leave it, able to melt and dissolve even a marble heart into streames of mournefull teares, doth cause me in due sense of compassion of their miserie to presse with the humble petition of a mind pierced with griefe to the just

<sup>1</sup> time-servers] time serves  $C^2$ ; exactnesse] exactions C' HN ins BL; of kitchin] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> Rendez-vows] Randevous  $B^{l}C^{l}$ , Cendevous *HN*, endeavors *P*, rendevous *Q*; always] om  $C^{l}$  *HN ins BL* 3 to his] his  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>5</sup> or] and  $B^{l} C^{l} HN$  ins BL; And even . . . out] So falls it out  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL

<sup>6</sup> the corruption] corruption  $P^{I}$ 

<sup>7</sup> false and craftie] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; and stirring] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> grave] om  $C^{l}$  HN Q ins BL; surely] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL;

<sup>9</sup> gives show of more devotion]  $A BL C' HN L P^2 Q$ , giveth more shew of devotion 29 10 yet] om A

<sup>11</sup> prosperity and] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>11-12</sup> the rage of ] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> able] is able BL C'; melt and] om B' P' Q; even] om BL C' HN Q

<sup>13</sup> streames of mournfull] om Q; mournefull] om  $A C^{l} HN L$  ins BL; teares,] teares where astonishment did not withhold them  $P^{2} Q$ ; doth cause] and causeth  $BL C^{l} HN$ ; due] true  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL 14 miserie] miseries  $B^{l}$ ; presse] wish  $BL C^{l}$ 

Judge of the world, the Redeemer of mankind, and the Saviour of his erring people; to cast downe his gracious and pittifull Eys upon them; to behold on the one side his triumphant fierce enemie persecuting without end or measure, on the other side his poore servants troden downe and persecuted without helpe or hope or comfort; to breake and dissolve the pride and power of the one, and to comfort the astonished 5 and wasting weakenesse of the other with some hope of succour and finall deliverie, to inspire the hearts of Christian Princes their neighbours, compounding or laying aside theyr endlesse and fruictlesse, contentions to revenge theyr quarrell against the unjust opressour: to deliver now at length the Church of that bane, the world of that ignominie, mankind of that Monster of Turkish tyrannie, which hath too long ravaged and laid 10 desolate the earth. A small thing were it, if his revenew and treasure were only supplyed and maintained out of their goods and labours; or if their bodies and lives were onely wasted and worne out in his works and slaveries, it might be suffered. For goods are transitorie and death is the end of all worldly miseries. But to be forced to pay a tribute also of soules to his Mahomet; to have their forwardest and deerest 15

<sup>1</sup> the Redeemer] Redeemer  $C^{l}$  HN Q ins BL; the Saviour] Saviour  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; erring] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> gracious and] om C' HN ins BL; the one] one C' HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> triumphant] triumphing BL C' HN L Q; end or] om  $A B^2 C' HN L P^2 Q$  ins BL; side] om BL C' HN4 or hope] hope C' HN ins BL, of hope Q; comfort] strengthen and comfort Q

<sup>5</sup> breake and] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; and to comfort] to comfort  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; astonished and wasting] dismayed Q

<sup>8</sup> quarrell] quarrells P'; the] their C' HN ins BL

<sup>10</sup> of] the  $B^{1}$ ; which] that  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; too] two  $C^{2}$ , so  $P^{1}$ ; ravaged] raigned BL  $C^{1}$  HN

<sup>10-11</sup> laid desolate] laied the earth desolate  $C^{l}$  HN, laid wast ins BL

<sup>13</sup> wasted and worne out] worne out, and wasted  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>14</sup> is] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL; all] om  $B^{2}$ ; miseries] miserie  $B^{\prime}$ 

<sup>15</sup> forwardest] om C<sup>1</sup> HN ins BL

children snatcht out of their bosoms to be brought up in his impious and bestiall abominations, and to be employed in the murdering of them that begat them; and in the rooting out of that Faith wherein they were borne and baptized, and which only were able to bring their soules to happinesse: this surely is an anguish and calamitie insupportable, and which cryeth unto God in the Heavens for release. How long 5 shall the hatefull name of that cursed Seducer, upbraid the glorious and lovely name of our Saviour? How long shall his falshood insult over our faith? How long shall his barbarisme oppresse civility, and his tyrannie affront the true honour of all lawfull governement? But how long soever; this stands most sure for ever, that the judgments of God are just, and directed even in his sharpest and most rigorous chastisements to 10 the benefit of the world, and instruction of men; and sound to be that if in those people among which our Saviour himselfe conversed, at what time his beautifull steps honoured the world; if in those Churches which his Apostles so industriously planted, so carefully visited: so tenderly cherished; instructed and confirmed by so many peculiar Epistles and for whom they sent up so many fervent prayers, yea unto 15

- 5 cryeth] cryeth out BL  $C^{l}$  HN; release] reliefe  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL
- 6 the] that  $C' C^2 HN Q$  ins BL

9 most sure] firme  $BL C^{l} HN$ 

12 among] amongst A

<sup>1</sup> his] om Q; impious and bestiall] bestiall and impious P'; and bestiall] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>2</sup> the murdering] murdering  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>2-3</sup> the rooting] rooting  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> that Faith] the Faith  $\tilde{B}^{l} P^{l}$ 

<sup>4</sup> bring] conduct Q; their soules] the soule  $P^{l}$ ; an anguish and] a  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>8</sup> civility] our civility  $B^{1}$ , over civility  $P^{1}$ ; all] om Q

<sup>10</sup> even] om C' HN ins BL; sharpest and most rigorous] most rigorous and sharpest P'; and most rigorous] om C' HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> sound to be that]  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$ , sound to us besides other things, this admonishment a lowd, that 29 ins BL; if in] with  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL; in] om  $A C^{l} HN LQ$  ins BL

<sup>13</sup> the world] this world  $B^{l} P^{l}$ ; in] om  $A B^{l} P^{l}$ ; unto] to  $C^{l} HN$  ins BL

whom are remaining those particular letters which the spirit of the highest endited in the very Heavens, and sent downe unto them for a fore-warning and preventing of that plague which is since befalln them, if besides these spirituall prerogatives and graces, the puissance and glorie of the great Empire of the world, the Christian Empire of Rome, being translated unto them, and seated in their lapps, with promise of 5 perpetuitie to their present prosperitie, such then was the strength thereof: notwithstanding when they fell away from the first Zeale and Charitie; when knowledge the right mother of Humilities, made them swell, when they envied each others graces, which they ought to have loved; when abundance of all things bred wantonnesse in steed of thankefulnesse; in fine, when they forgot the author of all their blisse, and 10 fell one to snarling and biting at an other, in steed of putting up and forgiving offences, if not for the name of brother-hood yet for his sake who was father and equall Lord of both: it pleased God to suffer a base thiefe and a wicked, with a traine of desperate and forsaken Vagabonds, to the eternall reproach of all their wisdome and policie to advance himselfe so by his industrie and their securitie, and to grow to such an heighth

9 abundance] the abundance Q

- 13 suffer]  $A C' HN L P^2 Q$ , suffer that 29 ins BL
- 13-14 desperate and forsaken] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL
- 14 to]  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$ , should 29 ins BL

<sup>1</sup> particular] peculiar  $P^2$ 

<sup>2</sup> for] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL; and preventing] om  $C^{1}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> since] A C<sup>1</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup>, since through their great neglect 29 ins BL; besides] beside P<sup>1</sup>

<sup>5</sup> lapps] lap and  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> present] om  $B^{1}Q$ ; the strength] their strength A BL  $C^{1}$  HN L Q

<sup>11</sup> one] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; to] a  $P^{l}$ ; at] one  $C^{l}$  HN Q ins BL; steed] om  $P^{l}$ ; offences] of offences BL  $C^{l}$  HN  $P^{2}$ 

<sup>12</sup> name]  $A C^{1} HN L P^{2} Q$ , reconciling name 29 ins BL

<sup>15</sup> to grow] A C' HNL Q, grow 29, to del BL; to such] and to such C' HN, and del BL

in his successors and followers, as to be a terrour and amazement to all the world, to them selves in inexplicable and unsuccourable calamitie to strip them of all those graces and blessings, which ungratefulnesse would not acknowledge, pride and wantonnesse did abuse; and to heap on them as much miserie, as the furie of a barbarous and mercilesse tyrant can inflict upon such as have no meanes to appease him save theyr 5 calamitie alone, nor to with-stand him besides their patience; then surely we, who come short of them so farre in pledges of favour, and equall them in our faults; and they who have had in particular the like threatning caveats of cutting off and not sparing, notwithstanding all the vertues of their honourable Auncestours; may thinke it high time to enter into a more serious cogitation of our ways; to turne all our policies and 10 contentions against others, into an humble and sincere examination of our selves; that repentance and amendment may prevent those punishments which wickednesse hath deserved, and obstinacie now highly doth provoke.

# The Conclusion, touching only the Churches Reformed

It remaines that I should proceed to the CHURCHES REFORMED: of which there 15 are many things also to bee said. But the feare of having over-wearied your Grace with my length in the former, drawne on by multitude and varietie of matter, still freshly

10 our ways] their ~ C' HN Q ins BL; our policies] their ~ BL C' HN

12 wickednesse] our ~ C' HN del BL

17 the] my  $C^l$  HN ins BL

<sup>1</sup> and amazement]  $om B^{I}$ 

<sup>2</sup> in inexplicable] an unexplicable BL  $C^{\prime}$  HN; unsuccourable] insupportable O

<sup>3</sup> pride] om  $B^1$ 

<sup>4</sup> furie] cruelty  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>6</sup> nor] or  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>7</sup> of them] om Q

<sup>8</sup> and not sparing,] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN L Q ins BL

<sup>9</sup> all] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

<sup>13</sup> obstinacie . . . provoke] now obstinacie doth highly provoke to be executed Q

<sup>15</sup> remaines] remaineth  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; are] be  $P^{l}$ 

<sup>16</sup> the feare . . . with] om  $C^{\prime}$  HN ins BL

presenting it selfe contrarie to my opinion and first intention doth cause mee to deferre the rest till some other occasion. In the meane while I presume to offer this to your Graces good acceptance and favour, as a testimonie of that dutie and thankefulnesse which I beare and owe: so doe I also most humbly and gladly submit it, to bee censured and controlled by your Graces judgement and wisedome. For however, I have waded 5 herein with that uprightnes of mind I trust, which becommeth a lover and searcher of truth; and have also to my best avoyded that rashnes and lightnesse in beliefe, which they that are subject unto shall swallow downe many a morcell, which will fill them with wind in steed of good juyce and nourishment: yet viewing on the other side in such a multitude at this day, who perhaps with like integritie, equall warinesse, more 10 diligence, and manyfoldly more meanes of certeine information, have delivered eyther hystories or other particular Relations, how few have not stumbled upon many an errour, where they thought was nothing but plaine ground and truth: I cannot have that affiance or presumption of my good fortune, as to hope to be the man alone that should

2 I] as I  $A L P^2 Q$ 

6 I trust] om  $B^{l} P^{l}$ 

14 or] of Q

<sup>1</sup> opinion and first] intention C' HN ins BL; doth] doe P'

<sup>2-4</sup> I presume . . . submit it] it doth humbly and gladly submitte it selfe C' HN ins BL, doe humbly and gladly submitt it P'

<sup>3</sup> acceptance and favour]  $A L P^2 Q$ , acceptance 29

<sup>4</sup> also most humbly and gladly]  $A L P^2 Q$ , gladly also 29

<sup>5</sup> your . . . wisedome.] those of wisedome, experience and judgement  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL; judgement and wisedome] wisedome and judgement  $A L P^{2} Q$ ; however] howsoever  $A B^{l} P^{l} Q$ 

<sup>7</sup> in beliefe] of beliefe  $P^2$ ; which]  $A B^1 L P^1 P^2 Q$ 

<sup>8</sup> subject unto shall]  $A B^{l} L P^{l} P^{\bar{2}} Q$ , subject 29; many a morcell]  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$ , much 29 ins BL; will fill]  $A C^{l} HN L P^{2} Q$ , fills 29 ins BL

<sup>9</sup> with] but with A Q; wind] mudd Q; good juyce and nourishment] A C<sup>1</sup> HN L P<sup>2</sup> Q, nourishment 29, good juyce and del BL

<sup>10</sup> who] om  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

<sup>11</sup> information] informations C' HN ins BL

<sup>12</sup> few] few there are that C' HN del BL

<sup>13</sup> was] there was  $B^{I}$ ; and truth] of truth Q; that] any  $C^{I}$  HN ins BL

hit truth in all things. But rather as fore-seeing almost an impossibilitie of not often erring in matter of this large and scattered qualitie, depending also so much upon conjectures and reports: I do willingly subject whatsoever I have said, to be gain-said by the better information of any other; and shalbe always ready to make honourable amends to truth, by recalling and defacing whatsoever may seeme in any wise repugnant to it: as professing the truth onely, which I have sincerely and unpartially endeavored to deliver, to be the fruict of my desire; and the errors which I have incurred to be the weeds of my ignorance. So take I with all dutie, most humble leave of your Grace.

# From Paris. IX<sup>o</sup>. Aprill. 1599.

10

Copied out by the Authors originall, and finished,

#### 2. Octob. An. M.D C.XVIII.

<sup>1-2</sup> often erring] erring often  $B^{T}$ 

<sup>2</sup> so much] much  $B^{I} P^{I}$ 

<sup>2-9</sup> of this . . . Grace] om  $C^{l}$  HN ins BL

<sup>3</sup> willingly] very willingly B'; subject] submitt P'

<sup>4</sup> the better] better P'; information of any] reformation of manie Q

<sup>6</sup> repugnant to] to repugne BI; unpartially] impartially  $B^{I}$ 

<sup>7</sup> to deliver] om  $B^{1}$ 

<sup>8</sup> to be]  $om B^1$ 

<sup>11</sup> Copied . . . finished] om A

<sup>12 2,</sup> Octob An. M.D.C.XVIII] om A Q; XVIII] XIII  $C^2$ 

Most humbly at yr Graces command] inserted in  $L P^2 Q$ ; Edwin Sands [with 1599 intertwined with an underlining flourish] inserted in  $P^2$ 

# **EXPLANATORY NOTES**

Title page multum diuque desideratum much and long desired

Page 2 "amoris error" a mistake of love

Page 3 "vale in Christo et fruere" farewell in Christ and take delight
Page 14 "thrice a day, at sun-rise, at noone and sun set": Sandys is here describing the custom of saying a prayer called *The Angelus* from the Latin for the opening words: *Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariae* [The Angel of the Lord declared unto Mary]. The prayer is a reminder not only of the Annunciation of Christ's birth but also of his Nativity.

# Page 15 Placet Dominae the mistress decides

"chamming of their beads" refers to the set of prayers called *The Rosary*. The "beads" are a collection on a string or chain, of five sets of ten beads each (called aptly enough "decades") separated by a single, sometimes larger or different textured bead, and joined, in a circular fashion, with the first separate bead before decade one and the last separate bead of decade five omitted and replaced by a medallion or some figure of Christ or Mary from which hangs a further set of three single beads with a separate bead before and after, and ending in a crucifix. The Rosary was believed to have been suggested to St. Dominic, founder of the Dominican Order of Friars by a vision of Mary herself [hence the reference on page 287 to "Dominic's round counters"]. The prayer consists of a set of meditations on the "mysteries" of the life of Christ. The first five mysteries are called the Joyful Mysteries: the Annunciation (cf. also the *Angelus*), the Visitation of Mary to her cousin Elizabeth, the Nativity of Christ, the Presentation of the Infant Christ in the

Temple, and the Finding of the Boy Jesus after his loss in the Temple. The second set of mysteries for meditation are the Sorrowful Mysteries: the Agony of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, his Scourging at the Pillar, the Crowning of Christ with Thorns, his Carrying of the Cross and his Crucifixion. The mysteries of the third set are called the Glorious mysteries: the Resurrection of Christ, his Ascension into Heaven, the coming of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples, the Assumption of Mary into Heaven and the Coronation of Mary as Queen of Heaven. The meditator begins his prayer with the recitation of the Apostles' Creed, followed by one Pater Noster (the Lord's Prayer), three Aves, and a Gloria Patri (Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be. Amen). Then the name of the mystery to be meditated is recalled and the decade consists of one Pater Noster, ten Aves, and a Gloria Patri on the separate bead. The second meditation subject is recalled (or announced, if the prayer is a communal exercise) and the same separating bead is used for the Pater Noster of the second decade, and so on. After the five decades are concluded, one recited the prayer Salve Regina, Mater misericordiae [Hail, Holy Queen! Mother of mercy]. All fifteen decades are not necessarily to be said at once. The Joyful mysteries are prayed on Mondays, Wednesdays and the Sundays of Advent; the Sorrowful mysteries are contemplated on Tuesdays, Fridays and the Sundays of Lent, and the Glorious mysteries are meditated on Wednesdays, Saturdays and all Sundays other than those of Advent or Lent.

Page 18 "the thriftie opinion of that Disciple" refers to Judas; cf. John 12.3–8, Matthew 26.6–13, Mark 14.3–9.

Page 22 "bare saying of their beads thrice over" refers to the praying of the *Rosary*, see above page 15.

Page 23 "Purgatorie": an intermediate state after death for expiatory purification; specifically a place or state of punishment wherein, according to Roman Catholic doctrine, the souls of those who die in God's grace may expiate venial sins or satisfy divine justice for the temporal punishment still due to committed mortal sin. It was this "temporal" punishment that indulgences were intended to mitigate; hence their delineation as "30 000" years, for example, which exonerated the sinner from 30 000 years in Purgatory, or "plenary" which deleted the entire obligation of Purgatorial punishment.

Page 24 *Pro de functis* (sic) [for the dead]. Every Mass said at such an altar for a soul already dead could lessen that soul's time in Purgatory.

Page 25 Hic situm est corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi Here is placed the body of our Lord Jesus Christ

Conditur hoc tumulo He is laid in this tomb

toties quoties as often as you like

ab omni culpa et poena from every sin and punishment

Santa Maria de gli Angeli [Italian] Saint Mary of the Angels

Page 26 "St. Francis Cordon" : a cord or cincture worn by members of the lay fraternity of the Franciscans (called tertiaries), used to remind them of their allegiance to the principles of the Franciscan Order, and sometimes used as an instrument of self-inflicted penance. Page 27 "Jubilee" a period of time proclaimed by the Roman Catholic pope (ordinarily every 25 years) as a time of special solemnity and hence an occasion for the granting of a special plenary indulgence attached to the performance of certain specified works of repentance or piety.

Page 28 line 13 "the saying of their beads . . ." see above, page 15.

Page 35 "Geneva in hope of more libertie": John Calvin (1509-64) was persuaded by Guillaume Farel (1489-1565), the Swiss religious reformer, to stay at Geneva and assist in the work of reformation. A Protestant Confession of Faith was proclaimed, and moral severity took the place of licence. The strain, however, was too sudden and extreme and a spirit of rebellion broke forth under the "Libertines"; hence the "hope of more liberty". Page 36 *Montipii* [Italian] pawn shops

Page 39 de jure rightfully [i.e. legally]

Page 42 per fas et nefas through right and wrong

Page 75 "Councell of Trent": a General Council in the Roman Catholic Church held periodically in Trento, Italy, between 1545 and 1563, that attempted to find a political solution to the Reformation, clarified Roman Catholic doctrine, and initiated reform within the church.

Page 78 Animam pauperis the soul of a poor man

Page 104 "PARSONS": Robert Parsons (1546–1610), English Jesuit converted to Catholicism after his enemies forced his retirement as a fellow and tutor at Balliol. At Rome he entered the Jesuit order returning to England with the Jesuit Edmund Campion where he worked on Rome's behalf for a year before escaping to the continent where he became influential with the King of Spain.

Page 113 "Campian the Jesuite": Edmund Campion (1540–1581) was the first of the English Jesuit martyrs. Although ordained as a deacon of the Church of England, he yearned for the old religion and went to Douai to join the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits. He was recalled from his post as professor of Rhetoric at the University of Prague to accompany Parsons on the Jesuit mission to England. He was captured, racked, tried on a charge of conspiracy of which he was innocent, and hanged with others in 1581. Page 118 "CALVIN": John Calvin (1509–64), settled in Geneva where Farel persuaded him to remain and assist in the work of reformation. Through Beza he made his influence felt in France. He rendered powerful service to the cause of Protestantism by systematizing its doctrine and organizing its ecclesiastical discipline.

"BEZA": Theodore Beza (1519–1605) was a French religious reformer who became Calvin's ablest coadjutor and took on the responsibility for leading the church of Geneva upon Calvin's death.

"BOLSACK": Hieronymus Bolsec (d. c 1584) was an ex-Carmelite friar who opposed Calvin's doctrine of predestination at Geneva (1551), causing him to reformulate it . *testes domestici* witnesses of the household

Page 119 "Marprelate": Martin Marprelate was the screen from behind which a group of Elizabethan Puritans shot satirical shafts at their Church of England opponents, begun when the Star Chamber order of 1586 put control of the printing presses completely into the hands of Archbishop Whitgift and the Bishop of London.

Page 144 ANTIOCHUS [unclear which Antochus is meant here]: Antiochus III (242–187 B. C.), known as "the Great" was defeated at Thermopylae circa 189 and attacked a rich temple at Elymais to garner wealth to pay the tribute imposed on him, whereupon the people rose up against him and killed him. Antiochus IV (d. 163 A. D.), called Epiphanes, twice took Jerusalem, endeavouring to establish worship of the Greek gods and excited the Jews to a successful insurrection under Mattathias and his heroic sons, the Maccabees.

DOMITIAN: Titus Flavius Domitianus (A. D. 51–96) succeeded his elder brother, Titus, as Emperor of Rome in 81. He ruled at first well but later indulged in such cruel atrocities that a conspiracy was formed against him and he was assassinated.

"Mahomets Alcoran": Muhammad's Koran, the book composed of writings accepted by Muslims as revelations made to Muhammad by Allah.

Pages 152–3

Quae Phoebo pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo

# Praedixit, vobis furiarum ego maxima pando

That which the all-powerful father forecast to Phebus, [and which] Phoebus Apollo [forecast] to me, I, eldest of the Furies disclose to you. (Vergil, *Aeneid*, 3.251–2) Page 153 BELLARMINE: Robert Francis Romulus Bellarmine (1542-1621) was a Jesuit Cardinal and theologian who narrowly evaded election to the papacy after the death of Clement VIII. He was the chief defender of the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. Page 156 "Frier" refers to Martin Luther (1483–1546), once a friar of the Augustinian Order, whose anger at Rome's efforts to raise money by selling indulgences led him to draw up his ninety-five theses on indulgences which he nailed to the church door at Wittenberg.

Page 161 Indices Expurgatorii Lists of things to be purged

Page 168 FARNESI: Alessandro Farnesi (1468-1549), raised to the Papal Sea in 1534 as Paul III, founded the duchy of Parma and Placenza.

Page 175 Obits funerals or funerary; Viis et Modis by ways and means

Page 181 Curati [Italian] curates, parish priests; Piovani [Italian] (country) priests

Page 184 Ad hunc modum fiunt Pontifices Romani In this way are Roman Pontiffs made.

Page 191 Borgo du San Sepulchro [Italian] Street of the Holy Sepulcher

Page 201 "the Spanish Frier": John of the Cross (1542-91), co-founder with Teresa of Avila of the Discalced Carmelite Order.

Page 214 "Lutherani rigidi" strict Lutherans; "molles Lutherani" 'soft' [i.e. genial] Lutherans

Page 221 Spes sibi quisquam [Let] each person [place] his hope in himself

μέμνησο άπιστείν Remember to distrust

Page 227 nec veterum memini laetorve malorum I neither remember nor rejoice in ancient wrongs. (Vergil, Aeneid, 11.280)

Page 272 μετεμψχωσις

"PITHAGORAS" is the Greek philosopher, Pythagoras (6th c B. C.); all that can certainly be attributed to him is his *Metempsychosis*, this work on the transmigration of souls.

# Page 279 δουλεια bondage; λατρεια worship, service to God

Page 287 "St. DOMINICKS round counters" see Rosary above, page 15.

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