Series Católica

# A Defence Against "The Execution of Justice in England"

*or*

## A True, Sincere & Modest Defence *of* English Catholics *that suffer for their faith both at home and abroad, against a false, seditious and slanderous libel, entitled:* "The Execution of Justice in England"

*wherein is declared how unjustly the Protestants do charge Catholics with treason; how untruly they deny their persecution for Religion; and how deceitfully they seek to abuse strangers about the cause, greatness and manner of their sufferings, with divers other matters pertaining to this pamphlet.*

*by*

Cardinal William Allen

Societatis Jesu

Founder of the English Colleges at Douai & Rome

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"A Defence Against 'The Execution of Justice in England'" or "A True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics That Suffer for their Faith Both at Home and Abroad, Against a False, Seditious and Slanderous Libel, Entitled: 'The Execution of Justice in England,' Wherein is declared how unjustly the Protestants do charge Catholics with treason; how untruly they deny their persecution for Religion; and how deceitfully they seek to abuse strangers about the cause, greatness and manner of their sufferings, with divers other matters pertaining to this pamphlet" by Cardinal William Allen, first published 1584, in the 1914 Edition in 2 Volumes, is here reprinted by Hail & Fire, 2009.

Category: Religion, Roman Catholic, Apologetic

**Cardinal William Allen** (1532-1594)
Societatis Jesu (Society of Jesus), Founder of English Colleges at Douai and Rome

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## Series Católica

These works have been placed online so that those of a Catholic as well as a Protestant and Gospel faith might become more familiar with the points of controversy, the resources and methods, the debate itself and the manner in which the Church and her theologians have historically managed the discourse in defense of tradition and Church law over the simple faith of the Gospel that was originally preached.

We especially encourage the reading of those Protestant and Reformed works prepared in defense of the tradition of the Gospel and of "the faith that was once delivered to the saints" (Jude 1:3).

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# A TRUE, SINCERE AND MODEST DEFENCE OF ENGLISH CATHOLICS THAT SUFFER FOR THEIR FAITH BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD, AGAINST A FALSE, SEDITIOUS AND SLANDEROUS LIBEL, ENTITLED: "THE EXECUTION OF JUSTICE IN ENGLAND."

*Wherein is declared how unjustly the Protestants do charge Catholics with treason; how untruly they deny their persecution for Religion; and how deceitfully they seek to abuse strangers about the cause, greatness, and manner of their sufferings, with divers other matters pertaining to this purpose.*

BY

WILLIAM ALLEN

VOL. I

WITH A PREFACE BY
HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

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# PREFACE.

To appreciate rightly the importance of this reprint of Allen's "A true sincere and modest defence of English Catholiques that suffer for their Faith both at home and abrode against a false seditious and slanderous libel intituled THE EXECUTION OF JUSTICE IN ENGLAND," it is necessary to recall the period and the circumstances of the time when it was written. Allen, born in Lancashire in 1532, had left England definitely in 1565. After a visit to Rome, which indirectly led to the fulfilment of a project long meditated of gathering together those who had been obliged to leave home in order to practise their religion freely, and at the same time of providing some means of preparing a succession of English Priests to keep alive the faith in England, he settled at Douai, and there, on Michaelmas Day, 1568, made a beginning of his College.

The first Seminary Priest to lay down his life was the Blessed Cuthbert Mayne, martyred at Launceston in 1577. In 1581 forty-three Priests were ordained at Douai, of whom no less than fifteen were ultimately put to death. And in the suc-

ceeding year each annual ordination prepared fresh victims for the hatred of the persecutors.

The coming of these companies of Priests ordained beyond the seas was a matter of deep concern and sore disappointment to those who were bent on separating England definitely from the Apostolic See, and of uprooting the Catholic Faith. They had treated the older clergy, survivors of those ordained under Queen Mary or earlier, with a certain clemency, looking forward to the day when these rapidly ageing men and the old belief would together die a natural death. And they now beheld descending upon the country younger men, full of zeal for the preservation of the older order in religion, and specially prepared and equipped to safeguard the faith of those who still believed, and to dissipate the errors and the prejudices of those who had been misled. A determined effort was made to exterminate the new-comers by death, if they dared to remain in the country. Such an outbreak of torture and bloodshed could not fail to excite astonishment and provoke hostile criticism on the part of Catholics in foreign countries; and, to justify the action of the Government, a pamphlet was issued entitled "The execution of justice," the whole object of which was to show that those who were suffering in England were condemned, not on account of their religious opinions,

but solely because they were traitors to their Sovereign. The tract was issued anonymously, but it is known that it was written by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer and principal minister to Queen Elizabeth. It is thus the highest authority for the contemporary official Protestant view of the position of the Seminary Priests.

Meanwhile political events had obliged Allen, in 1578, to leave Douai and to take refuge at Rheims, and it was there that, in 1584, he wrote the treatise which is now reprinted.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this work. It takes us at once to the very heart of the controversies which then divided, and still, unhappily, divide our country; and it makes us see again those controversies as they appeared to the eyes of those who were nearer than we are, by more than three hundred years, to the source and origin of the religious strife. Then the matters in real dispute were not obscured as they have since often been, either by forgetfulness of the cause of the contention, or by indifference as to its subject; but men on both sides knew perfectly well that the differences between those who desired to maintain the old order and their opponents were fundamental, and no mere superficial discord easy of adjustment. It is a clear-cut contest between Catholic and Protestant, terms unhesitatingly accepted

as true and adequate on either side, neither side using or caring for the modern euphemisms of Anglicans, or Anglo-Catholics, or non-Catholics. To be a Catholic was to recognize the authority of the "See Apostolique." To be a Protestant was to declare that the Pope of Rome has no authority within these realms. No one, then, would have ventured to assert that no radical change had taken place at the Reformation. It was felt that there was a conflict between the old religion and the new of so determined a character that the upholders of the new settlement of religion felt themselves compelled to inflict the penalty of death upon their opponents.

Allen, as the readers of his book will see, had a comparatively easy task in showing the futility of Lord Burghley's plea that our martyrs were put to death, not for their religion, but for high treason; and he bases his argument mainly on the fact that the practices now regarded and condemned as treasonable find no place in the old English law on treason, "so made and set down by Parliament in Edward the Third's time," but are truly Catholic customs and usages now for the first time in our history made treasonable by statutes passed solely in the interest of the new religion, and bearing no relation whatever to treason in its commonly accepted sense. It is an easy way of getting rid of

an opponent to declare treasonable the ordinances of his religion, such as " ministering the holy Sacraments, obeying the Apostolic See, persuading our friends to be Catholics, the Priesthood and the like," and then to condemn him to a traitor's death simply because he has practised what his religion prescribed. But he does not become a traitor thereby. In addition to this general argument, applied in many different ways, Allen replies at length to the various implications of participation in treasonable attempts urged by Lord Burghley, and shows that, however these attempts may be characterized in themselves, there is no shred of proof that any of our Martyrs were in any way connected with them.

Incidentally we get glimpses of Allen's opinion of the condition of Catholics in England at the period when he wrote. In the Preface he tells us how men " do glorify Our Lord God, that all the Clergy . . . and so many of the laity of all sorts constantly persist in their father's faith . . . and that the whole state . . . may yet be rather counted Catholic than heretical." In the eighth chapter he declares that two-thirds of the nation are " Catholic in their hearts, and consequently are discontented with the present condition of things ": and he speaks of the other " zealous and sincere Catholics " as being " marvellous many "

and " the number by God's goodness daily increasing." In the concluding chapter he bears testimony " to the infinite number of all estates that never consented to this iniquity," *i.e.*, the persecution. And he recalls the interest in the religious condition of England shown throughout the Christian world. " No Church, no Company, no Monastery or College of name in Christendom, that with earnest devotion and public fasts and prayers laboureth not to God for mercy towards us."

Thus, in a few pages, this treatise gives us an answer to the charge, still sometimes renewed, that those who gave their lives for the Catholic Faith in England in the sixteenth century were in reality men disloyal to Queen and country. More valuable still, in view of the attitude of so many among the most earnest of our fellow-countrymen at the present day, is the light thrown upon the recently-discovered continuity that, we are told, exists between the Established Church of England and the Catholic Church in England before the Reformation. To such a groundless theory the lives and deaths of our Blessed Martyrs are the best and most conclusive reply. They knew, and they gave their lives because they knew, that a fundamental change was being wrought in the religious condition of our country. To those who know their history,

—and this treatise is a fresh illustration of the real causes of their martyrdom,—continuity of the kind now so often asserted is a very grim travesty of fact.

FRANCIS CARDINAL BOURNE,
*Archbishop of Westminster.*

November 9th, 1913.

# EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE text from which this edition is reprinted bears no date, nor place, nor author's name, but is the original edition which appeared in 1584. It has been thought better to modernize the spelling, not only for convenience of reading, but also because it is well known that the printed version by no means coincides with the author's manuscript. Here and there a few changes have been made in the punctuation; but this has been sparingly done, lest the swinging stride of Allen's prose should be hampered. The marginal notes and headings have been with reluctance omitted; to have added adequate historical notes would have expanded the volumes beyond the designed limits. We are deeply indebted to the Rev. W. Bodkin, S.J., Rector of Stonyhurst, for the loan of the original copy belonging to the Stonyhurst library.

*Manresa House,*
*Roehampton, S.W.*

# CONTENTS


## CHAPTER I.

PAGE

THAT MANY PRIESTS AND OTHER CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND HAVE BEEN PERSECUTED, CONDEMNED, AND EXECUTED, FOR MERE MATTER OF RELIGION: AND FOR TRANSGRESSION ONLY OF NEW STATUTES WHICH DO MAKE CASES OF CONSCIENCE TO BE TREASON WITHOUT ALL PRETENCE OR SURMISE OF ANY OLD TREASONS OR STATUTES FOR THE SAME . 10

## CHAPTER II.

THAT FATHER CAMPION AND THE REST OF THE PRIESTS AND CATHOLICS INDICTED, CONDEMNED, AND EXECUTED, UPON PRETENCE OF TREASON, AND UPON STATUTES MADE OF OLD AGAINST TREASONS, WERE NEVER YET GUILTY OF ANY SUCH CRIMES, BUT UNJUSTLY MADE AWAY . . . . . 29

## CHAPTER III.

THAT WE NOW HAVE GREAT CAUSE TO COMPLAIN OF UNJUST PERSECUTION, INTOLERABLE SEVERITY AND CRUELTY TOWARDS CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND; AND THEIR PROTESTANTS NO REASON TO DO THE LIKE FOR THE JUSTICE DONE TO THEM IN QUEEN MARY'S AND OTHER PRINCES' DAYS, AND THE CAUSE OF THE DIFFERENCE . . . . . 48

## CHAPTER IV.

THAT OUR PRIESTS AND CATHOLIC BRETHREN HAVE BEHAVED THEMSELVES DISCREETLY, AND NOTHING SEDITIOUSLY, IN THEIR ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS OF THE BULL OF PIUS QUINTUS; AND THAT THEY CANNOT LAWFULLY BE PRESSED NOR PUT TO DEATH AS TRAITORS BY THE TRUE MEANING OF THE OLD LAWS OF THE REALM FOR THE SAME; WITH EXAMINATION OF THE SIX ARTICLES PROPOSED ABOUT THE SAID BULL . . . 76

# THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

ALBEIT the late pamphlet, entitled " The Execution of Justice," put forth in divers languages, for defence or excuse of the violent proceeding against Catholics in England, and for accusation as well of them at home as of us their fellows in faith abroad, passing forth without privilege and name either of writer or printer (even thence where such matter is specially current, and might easily have been authorized); and moving indiscreet, odious, and dangerous disputes of estate, replenished with manifest untruths, open slanders of innocent persons, and namely with immodest malediction and seditious motions against the chief Bishop, the Prince of God's people; though (I say) it might rightly have been reputed an infamous libel, either to be contemned, or with such freedom of speech refelled, as that manner of writing doth deserve: yet considering the matter, meaning, and phrase thereof to be agreeable to the humour and liking of some in authority; and the book not only not suppressed (as divers others of that argument, seeming over simple to the wiser Protestants, of late have been), but often printed, much recommended, diligently divulged, and sought to be privileged in foreign places, where for shame they durst not publicly allow it at home, yes, and in a

manner thrust into the hands of strangers, and therefore like to proceed (though in close sort) from authority: we are forced, and in truth very well contented and glad it hath pleased God to give this occasion, or rather necessity, to yield (for the answer of the said book) our more particular account, in the behalf of our Catholic brethren dead and alive, at home and in banishment.

Which we will do sincerely, as in the sight of Christ Jesus, the just Judge of the world, and all His saints, in such humble, mild, and temperate manner as beseemeth our profession, and the audience; which audience we crave with tears of the whole Church and Christian world, and of all that are placed in power and sublimity over us in our own country or elsewhere; that so our cause may be discerned both by God and man, and our unspeakable calamities, either by the intercession of many, relieved, or by the general compassion of all our faithful brethren, made to us more tolerable. Loth we are, and odious it may be counted, to speak in such matter as must needs in some sort touch our superiors; but God's truth and man's innocency are privileged, and may in humble seemly wise be defended, against whomsoever. And our pen (God willing) shall be so tempered herein, that it shall displease no reasonable reader, nor surely scare them (if it may be), against whom in our inculpable defence we are forced to write.

We have in this case examples enough of Christian modesty in the ancient apologies of holy Fathers in Christ his Church, as of St. Justin, Ter-

tullian, Athanasius, Hilarius and others, writing to their princes that persecuted, either by error or infidelity, the faithful people. Whose style and steps so long as we follow, we shall be blameless in the sight of all wise and good men; and offend none to whom the plain truth itself is not odious. As on the other side we have in our adversaries' late books, for immodest railing, contemptuous phrase, slanderous speech, blasphemous words, false, reproachful, seditious matter, and all inhonest scurrility, what to abhor and detest, and what to avoid, in these our writings, which we would have most unlike theirs, and not only allowable to our friends, but (if it were possible, and so pleased our merciful Lord to give us grace in their sight) not ingrateful to our persecutors, whose salvation (as Christ knoweth) we seek in all these our endeavours, together with the maintenance of truth, more than our own defence and purgation.

Whereupon otherwise, for our own only honour and interest, we would not so formally stand against so honourable adversaries in this world, if we thought their hearts (which are in God's hands) were not upon evident reason and remonstrance of our innocence, inclinable to mercy and better consideration of their own state and ours; or that their accusation of us afflicted Catholics, were not joined to the general reprehension of the whole Church, and the principal pastors thereof, whom by the law of our Christian religion we ought to respect more than our own lives, and in causes of our soul and conscience, to obey above any earthly prince, by

what other obligation soever we be bound unto him.

And as we would gladly pass in this our answer with such equability and indifference, that in defence of the spiritual power (which by our adversaries' importunity we are driven in manner against our wills to treat of) we might not justly offend the temporal, acknowledging in divers respects all humble duty to them both; so writing nothing that any man shall be able to prove untrue, either in fact or faith, we trust in the reader's equity, be he Catholic or Protestant, that in so faultless and necessary a defence of ourselves, and of our superiors, as also of the common cause of our Christian faith and conscience, he will not judge our writing seditious, slanderous or infamous libelling (as the nameless author of this invective, against whom we treat, unchristianly and uncourteously calleth other our brethren's books), recording only the heavy persecution, torments and deaths of Catholics, in such simple, plain and sincere sort, as indeed all things were done: and so as no man living can truly either charge the reporters of fiction or falsehood, or of any evil intention of defaming to strangers their superiors' dealings, in making relation of our dear country's most doleful calamities. For the things there done daily in public cannot otherwise be hidden from the world; and seeing they are passed by law, and order of pretended justice, there can be no cause why themselves should dislike the divulging thereof; except they acknowledge in their conscience some iniquity and dishonourable defect in their

proceedings, against the most innocent persons whom daily they torment and make away.

We are not so perversely affected (God be praised) as purposely to dishonour our Prince and country, for whose love in Christ so many have so meekly lost their lives; or to reveal their turpitude, which we would rather cover (if it were possible) from the eyes of the world with our own blood: but we set forth the truth of all these actions for the honour of our nation, which otherwise, to her infinite shame and reproach, would be thought wholly and generally to have revolted from the Catholic faith, and consented to all the absurdities and iniquities of this new regiment and religion, if none with zeal and extreme endeavour resisted such pernicious innovations. Where now as well our own people, as all strangers in the Christian world, perceiving the disorder to proceed but of the partiality of a few powerful persons abusing her Majesty's clemency and credulity, do glorify our Lord God, that in so great a temptation all the clergy in manner, and so many of the laity of all sorts, constantly persist in their fathers' faith, to the loss of goods, lands, lives, honours, and whatsoever besides: and that the whole state (excepting the authority of the Prince) may yet be rather counted Catholic than heretical: this is the honour of our nation in all places, which otherwise (for double revolt and recidivation into schism, and for extreme persecution) would be counted remediless, hopeless, and of all other places most infamous.

Secondly, we set forth these things for the memory and honour of such notable martyrs as have testified the truth of the Catholic faith by their precious death. Which was an ancient canon and custom of the primitive Church, which appointed certain special persons of skill and learning to note the days of every one's glorious confession and combat, that their memories might afterwards be solemnly celebrated for ever among Christians.

Thirdly, we do it to communicate our calamities with our brethren in faith, and the Church of other provinces standing free from this misery, both for their warning and our comfort, and to excite in them Christian compassion towards us; that thereby, and by their counsel and prayers, we may find mercy and relief at God's hands: by the example of the Oriental Churches afflicted by the Arians, which, as we may read in St. Basil, in their like distresses, made their general complaints by often letters and messengers, to the west Churches, standing more entire and void of that heresy and persecution.

Finally, we are forced to publish these things so particularly and diligently, to defend the doings of the said holy confessors and their fellows in faith, against the manifold slanders and calumniations of certain heretics or politics, unjustly charging them with treason, and other great trespasses against the Commonwealth, to avert the eyes of the simple from the true causes of their suffering; and to disappoint the holy personages (if they could) of the honour done to martyrs in God's Church.

For that is one special cause among many, why they had rather make them away for forged treason, or other feigned offences, than for profession of the truth, which in their heart they hate more than any crime in the world. St. Gregory Nazianzen lively expresseth the condition of all heretics in the behaviour of Julian the Apostate, thus writing of him: "He openly and boldly professing impiety, yet by colour of clemency covered his cruelty; and lest we should attain to the honours done customable to Martyrs (which he disdained to the Christians), he used namely this fraud and deceit, that such as he caused to be tormented for Christ's sake, should be thought and reported to be punished not for their faith, but as malefactors."

For discovery therefore of this sinful and deceitful dealing of our adversaries (who not contented with the death and torments of God's saints would punish them by ignominy after their life), we are driven to this dutiful office of their and the holy Church's defence, whose honour and innocency we may not betray for a thousand deaths.

Wherein we are not much terrified by the vain and vulgar exordium of the author of this invective which we now must refute, who beginneth above all art (after their manner) with a common sentence, as meet for us and our matter, as for him and his cause, telling us that it is a common usage of all offenders, and especially rebels and traitors, to make defence of their lewd and unlawful facts, by covering their deeds with pretence of other causes. Which speech, as it might be used where

any such trespass could be proved, so is it fondly said where no crime can be avouched; as in the process of this treatise shall be (by God's grace) most clearly convinced. And it might not only be applied by the old heathen or heretical persecutors against the first apostles and martyrs of Christ, being falsely charged with the same crimes as we be now, and answered for themselves as we do; but may much more be verified and found in public persons and commonwealths, when they err or commit iniquity, than in any poor, private, or afflicted persons, be they never so guilty. For princes and communities in disorder have a thousand pretences, excuses, and colours of their unjust actions; they have the name of authority, the shadow of laws, the pens and tongues of infinite at their commandment; they may print or publish what they like, suppress what they list; whereof private men, be they never so wicked or good, have not so great commodity.

For examples we need not to go far out of our own country or memory. For, when Richard the Third, intending to usurp the Crown of England, slew divers of the nobility, first most cruelly, and afterwards murdered unnaturally his own innocent nephews, what solemn libels, proclamations, orations, were put forward to justify his abominable iniquity! When the last Duke of Northumberland, for the like ambitious purpose, would have disabled and defeated traitorously both the noble daughters of his own sovereign and master, and by the title of his daughter-in-law, possessed himself of the

Crown; what a number of pamphlets and edicts were published on the sudden, for colouring of that foul treachery and intolerable treason! When Orange and his confederates revolted not long since from their natural Prince, the Scottish heretics from their lawful Sovereign, and other provinces for the same cause, from the unity and common faith of the Church; who hath not seen the infinite libels for their excuse in wickedness? That, therefore, they may sometimes fail in private men's causes for covering their sin and shame, happeneth far oftener and much more dangerously in powerable and public persons. And so it maketh no more against us than this writer himself, whether he hath published his libel by authority (as he will not seem) or of his own peculiar head and affection, which rather we are content to suppose.

Howsoever it be, we will be bold to examine in the treatise following, with such modesty and indifferency as is requisite in God's cause, his whole reprehension; and in the meantime till he can prove us or our brethren guilty of any crime, other than the exercise and profession of the Catholic faith, we will say with our Saviour: *De bono opere lapidamur;*[1] and with the Apostle: *De spe et resurrectione mortuorum judicamur, et propter spem Israel his catenis circundati sumus.*[2]

[1] "We are stoned for a good work."

[2] "Concerning the hope and resurrection of the dead we are called in question, and because of the hope of Israel are we encompassed with these chains." (cf. Acts xxiii. 6.)

## CHAPTER I.

That many Priests and other Catholics in England have been persecuted, condemned, and executed, for mere matter of religion: and for transgression only of new statutes which do make cases of conscience to be treason without all pretence or surmise of any old treasons or statutes for the same.

NOW to the principal points of the libel: we first affirm that the very front or title thereof (importing that no Catholics at all, or none of them whom they have executed, were persecuted for their religion), is a very notorious untruth, and contradictory to the libeller's own words in his discourse following where he confesses the under hand, *that some be corrected otherwise for religion:* or (if they will stand in the contrary) we appeal to the conscience and knowledge of all the Catholics and Protestants within the realm, who of their equity will never deny, that most prisons in England be full at this day, and have been for divers years, of honorable and honest persons not to be touched with any treason, or other offence in the world, other than their profession and faith in Christian religion.

Secondly we say and shall clearly convince, that, contrary to the pursuit of the same libel, a number have been also tormented, arraigned, condemned and executed, for mere matter of Religion, and upon the transgression of new statutes only, without any relation to the old treasons, so made and set down by Parliament in Edward the Third's

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Likewise Thomas Sherwood, a layman indicted, adjudged and put to death, for questions of the Queen's supremacy in causes spiritual, and other articles made capital by the new laws only, two years at the least before this fiction of conspiracy against the realm or person of the Princes was made or heard of. The same year was a reverend priest named Mr. John Nelson, condemned and executed for affirming (being driven thereunto by the commissioners' captious interrogatories) the Queen's religion to be heretical and schismatical: which is made death not by the old laws of the realm, nor by any other of any Christian country, but only by a statute made in the said thirteenth year of the Queen's reign: providing by a special clause, *that none shall affirm her Majesty that now is* (for it holdeth not in other Princes' cases to come) *to be a heretic or schismatic, under pain of incurring high treason and death.*

After this, Mr. Everarde Hanse was indicted and so condemned to death, (which he constantly suffered), only upon a statute made in the last parliament of all, (by which it is made a crime capital *to persuade any man to the Catholic religion*), into the compass of which law they violently drew the blessed man by calumnious interpretation of his speeches, when he affirmed (being urged thereunto), that the Pope was his superior in causes spiritual, *and had in such matters spiritual as good right, as he ever had in England, or hath at this day in Rome:* for which words though enforced from him, he was there presently indicted, ar-

raigned and condemned to death, and soon after most cruelly executed. Whose case, together with that of Mr. Nelson which goeth before, declareth what truth is in this libeller who writeth here in one place, *That none are for their contrary opinions in religion persecuted or charged with any crimes or pains of treason, nor yet willingly searched in their consciences for their contrary opinions.* And again within a leaf after he repeateth the same untruth saying: *Without charging them in their consciences or otherwise by any inquisition, to bring them into danger of capital law, so as no one was called into any capital or bloody question upon matters of religion, but have all enjoyed their life as the course of nature would.*

Here may be named also Mr. William Lacy, a worshipful gentleman, who was condemned to death not long since at York, for that he confessed he had obtained a dispensation for Bigamy of the Pope's holiness to be made Priest, and that according to the same dispensation he was made Priest, either of which points by their late laws of religion are deadly: and the latter point they make treason forsooth by this strange sequel, that when men take Holy Orders they give their oath of obedience to the Pope, who is a foreign enemy to Her Majesty and the Realm as these men affirm: and could the world ween, we were in such thraldom of this barbarous heresy? With this man was Mr. Kirkman, a happy priest also martyred, for that he acknowledged himself to have reconciled certain persons to the Catholic Church. For which likewise were

put to death Mr. Thomson, Mr. Harte, and Mr. Threlkeld afterwards, in the same city of York, never charged nor suspected of any other treasons than of hearing confessions, absolving and reconciling sinners to the favour of God and to the unity of the Catholic Church again: which both in the priest that absolveth, and in the party that is absolved, they have made to be the crime of lése-Majeste under this false and most unjust pretence, that all parties so reconciled are assoiled of their obedience to the Queen and do adhere to her enemy, and admit foreign jurisdiction, power, and authority, which is exercised in Confession for remission of sins.

These be the treasons and none other for which the blood of God's priests is so abundantly shed in our poor country these years.

Add to these the two famous confessors, Mr. John Slade and Mr. John Body, who both by certain interrogatories being driven to say their minds touching the Queen's challenge of supreme regiment ecclesiastical, (contrary to the asseveration of this libeller set down before), for confessing their faith of the Pope's spiritual sovereignty, and for denying her to be head of the Church of England, or to have any spiritual regiment, were condemned to death in public judgment at two divers sessions, and that at twice, (a rare case in our country), the latter sentence being to reform the former (as we may guess in such strange proceedings), which they perceived to be erroneous and insufficient in their own laws. Whereupon one of them was executed

at Winchester, the other at Andover in the same province: being never charged with disloyalty or old treasons, as not only by the records of their arraignment and condemnation we are able to prove, but also by their own speeches, and by the whole action of their Martyrdom, which is put in print by one of their own Protestants that was present, and is witnessed by thousands of others, that both heard and saw their deaths and judgment. I will (for example's sake) allege something out of the said printed pamphlet of that which was said unto them by the enemy at their martyrdom. *Confess your fault* (said one of the chief gentlemen and ministers of execution present) *for satisfaction of the world, in the cause of your death.* To which the holy confessor John Body answered, after protestation of his loyalty in temporal things: *You shall understand* (quoth he) *good people, that I suffer death for denying her Majesty to be supreme head of Christ's Church in England in causes ecclesiastical: other treasons, except they make the holy Mass, or saying Ave Maria, treason, I have committed none.* So his happy companion Mr. Slade condemned for the same only cause, was thus spoken unto in the hour of his agony by one Doctor Bennet, a great minister of their new congregation: *Let not the Pope* (saith he) *that unworthy Priest, be preferred before thine own natural Princess, who is the lawful supreme head of the Church next under Christ.* So that this minister, by whom we may not only perceive upon what statute and treason they were executed, but also, (which in another part

of this libel is without shame most boldly denied), that indeed the Queen is commonly of protestants called: *Supreme head of the Church.* So their preachers in pulpit do sound out daily as all men know: and their writers in books dedicated to her, (as Mr. Bridges against Dr. Saunders and Dr. Stapleton, and others) do term her expressly. Whereof the wiser sort (as we may see by this libel) are so ashamed, that they would have it given out (to strangers specially, who wonder at the monstrous title), that there is no such thing challenged of her, or given her by the new laws of Religion in England.

For which cause, and for that they had an intention straight to publish at home and in foreign parts, that none were put to death for any such matter of faith or religion, they suppressed the said printed pamphlet of the two men's martyrdom, and punished the author thereof, though he wrote in that point the plain truth as he heard and saw, but not discreetly enough, nor agreeable to the political practice they had then in hand, which was to persuade the world, that none were put to death for their conscience, nor that the Queen challenged any such title of Supremacy or Headship over the Church, which latter point it seems convenient to the politics of our Realm to disavow with such vehemence in this libel, as they give us the manifest lie for that we reprove them for it, for thus they write: *Which title (of headship of the Church) the adversaries do most falsely write and affirm, that the Queen's Majesty doth now use, a manifest*

*lie and untruth, etc.* Wherefore of this matter I am enforced in this place to speak a word or two by the way.

The truth is, that in the first year and Parliament of the Queen's reign, when they abolished the Pope's authority, and would have yielded the same authority with the title of *Supreme Head* to the Queen, as it was given before to her father and brother: divers specially moved by Minister Calvin's writing, (who had condemned in the same Princes that calling), liked not the term, and therefore procured that some other equivalent but less offensive, might be used. Upon which formality, it was enacted that she was *the Chief Governor as well in causes ecclesiastical and spiritual, as civil and temporal:* And an oath of the same was conceived accordingly, to be tendered at their pleasures, to all the spiritual and temporal officers in the Realm, by which every one must swear that in conscience he taketh and believeth her so to be: and that no priest or other born out of the realm, can have or ought to have any manner of power in spiritual matters over her subjects. Which oath is counted the very torment of all English consciences, not the protestants themselves believing it to be true; and of all true Catholics, as before it was deemed in her father a layman, and in her brother a child, very ridiculous; so now in herself, being a woman, is it accounted a thing most monstrous and unnatural, and the very gap to bring any realm to the thraldom of all sects, heresy, paganism, Turcism, or Atheism, that the Prince for

the time by human frailty may be subject unto, all our religion, faith, worship, service, and prayers, depending upon his sovereign determination; a thing that all nations have to take heed of by our example, for the redress of which pernicious absurdity so many of our said brethren so willingly have shed their blood.

In the first Parliament of her Majesty's reign it was indeed in a manner thrust upon her against her will; because otherwise there could have been no colour to make new laws for change of Religion; and this title of Chief Governess was thought to be a qualification of the former term of Headship. But in truth it is all one with the other, or rather worse, for in some kind of improper speech the King may be called the Head or Chief of the country, for that he is sovereign Lord and ruler of both persons spiritual and temporal, all sorts bound to obey his lawful civil laws and commandments, and so in that sense is he Head of the clergy and of all others.

But when in the new form of our statute it is expressly and distinctly added, that she is the only Supreme Governor even in all causes, *as well spiritual and ecclesiastical as temporal and civil;* and furthermore enacted that all jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities and pre-eminences ecclesiastical, as by any power spiritual have been or may be exercised, are taken from the Pope, (to whom Christ gave them in most ample manner,) and are united, or rather (as they say) restored by an old decree to the crown of England; this can have no ex-

cuse, neither true or likely sense in the world, making indeed a king and a priest all one, no difference betwixt the state of the Church and a temporal commonwealth; giving no less right to heathen princes to be governors of the Church in causes spiritual, than to a Christian king; it maketh one part of the Church in different territories to be independent and several from another, according to the distinction of realms and kingdoms in the world. And finally it maketh every man that is not born in the kingdom to be a foreigner also in respect of the Church; this and a thousand absurdities and impossibilities more do ensue, which for brevity we omit; only this which is in most men's memories we may not pass over, that the very same year that this new pre-eminence was given by law to the Queen, and the oath accordingly ministered to many, some having remorse of the matter, for to avoid danger, pretended for their refusal, that it seemed to them by the words of the oath and act, that the Queen might minister also the Sacraments, whereunto they would not swear by any means.

Whereupon in her next visitation of the clergy, a special injunction was printed and published by her commandment declaring that in truth she had no such intent, and that no such thing was implied in her title or claim of spiritual regiment, nor no other thing, nor more than was before granted to her father by the term of Supreme Head; requiring all her loving subjects to receive the oath at least in that sense, and so it should suffice her High-

ness. By which it is now clear, by their own authentical declaration that we speak no untruth (as this libeller saith), nor abuse not the world when we say she is called and taken for the Supreme Head of the Church of England; albeit (the thing itself being far more absurd, and of more pernicious sequel, than the makers of the law, who were mere laymen, and most of them unlearned, could then perceive), their followers now would disavow the same. For this article, therefore, as the famous Bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, and a great number more in King Henry the Eighth his days, so did these two last named martyrs, and divers others before them, most gladly and constantly yield up their lives, and so consequently died for mere matter of religion only.

And to end this point, we lastly refer the adversary to the late martyrdom of Carter a poor innocent artisan, who was made away only for printing a Catholic book *De Schismate*, in which no word was found against the state, the quarrel only most unjustly being made, upon a certain clause, which by no likely honest construction could appertain to the Queen's person, viz: that the Catholic religion should once have the upper hand of heresy, and *Judith* cut off the head of *Holofernes;* which they in their extreme jealousy and fear of all things would needs wrest against her Majesty.

And the place serveth here to say somewhat of the cause also of their racking of Catholics, which they would have strangers believe never to be done for any point of religion. As for example, (say

they in the addition to the end of the libel), none is asked by torture, *what he believeth of the Mass or Transubstantiation or such like.* As though (forsooth) there were no question pertaining to faith and religion, but touching our inward belief. Whereas indeed it concerneth religion no less to demand and press us by torture, where, in whose houses, what days and times we say or hear Mass, how many we have reconciled, what we have heard in confession; who resorteth to our preachings, who harboureth Catholics and priests; who sustaineth, aideth, or comforteth them; who they be that have their children or pupils in the Society or Seminaries beyond the seas; where such a Jesuit or such a priest is to be found; where Catholic books are printed, and by whom, and to whom they be uttered in England? Which things being demanded of evil intent and to the annoyance of the Catholic cause, God's priests, and innocent men; no man may by the law of God and nature disclose, though he be expressly commanded by any prince in the world, for that God must be obeyed more than man.

Yet these were the interrogatories for which the famous confessor Mr. Briant was tormented with needles thrust under his nails, racked also otherwise in cruel sort, and specially punished by two whole days and nights famine, which they attribute to obstinacy, but indeed (sustained in Christ's quarrel) it was most honorable constancy. The like demands were put to the blessed martyrs Campion, Sherwin, and others upon the torture and of this latter namely was asked where Frs. Persons and

Campion were, and whether he had said Mass in Mr. Roscarocke's chamber, and what money he had given him. Mr. Thomson, a venerable and learned priest was put to torments only to get out of him to what end he kept certain superaltaries, and where he intended to bestow them. The said young man Carter, of whose martyrdom we last treated, was examined upon the rack, upon what gentlemen or Catholic ladies he had bestowed or intended to bestow certain books of prayers and spiritual exercises and meditations which he had in his custody. Which may suffice to refute the adversaries' asseveration: *that none have been tormented for other matter than treason.*

But the words of Mr. Thomas Cottam uttered in fence at the bar, and thus verbatim left in writing, discovereth the case more plainly to the shame of this cruel heresy for advancement whereof so shameful things be committed. Thus therefore he spake and avouched openly in the presence of the rack-masters. "Indeed" (quoth he) "you are searchers of secrets, for you would needs know of me what penance I was enjoined by my ghostly father for my sins committed; and I acknowledge my frailty that to avoid the intolerable torment of the rack I confessed (God forgive me) what they demanded therein: but when they further urged me to utter also what my sins were for which that penance was enjoined me, (a loathsome and unchristian question) I then answered that I would not disclose my offences saving to God and to my ghostly father alone. Whereupon they sore tor-

mented me, and still pressed me with the same demand, and I persisted that it was a most barbarous inhuman question, and that I would not answer though they tormented me to death." Thus spake Mr. Cottam at his arraignment, wherewith the enemies being ashamed, the Lieutenant of the Tower there present began to deny the whole, whereupon Mr. Cottam replied again thus: "And is not this true? Here is present Dr. Hammon with the rest of the Commissioners that were at my racking, to whose consciences I appeal. God is my witness that it is most true, and you know that Sir George Cary did ask me these unnatural questions, deny it if you can? In truth all your tortures and demands every one were of no other treasons, but matter of mere conscience, faith, and religion, or else of such follies as I have rehearsed."

As for the moderation, great pity, and courtesy, which by your libel you would have the world believe her Majesty's ministers have ever used, in giving the torments to the persons aforesaid, and other Catholics, the poor innocents have felt it, and our Lord God knoweth the contrary. And we can put you in remembrance, that you did it with extreme rigour and despite, commonly upon no due presumption nor reasonable suspicion of discovery of any important matter thereby. Look in your records what suspicion of treasons or great matters you could have in young Sherwood, who was the first in our memory that was put to the rack for matters of conscience, then when no man dreamed of any these feigned new conspiracies?

See whether a portable altar be a sufficient cause to give the torture to a grave, worshipful person, not so much as suspected of treason, or any disobedience, other than in cases of conscience? Whether books of prayers and meditations spiritual, or the printing and spreading of them, be a rack-matter in any commonwealth Christian? Look whether your ordinary demands were of that weight and quality, as were to be answered by constraint of the rack? Let the world see what one confession of treasonable matter you have wrested out by the so often tormenting of so many, and what great secrecies touching the state (which you pretend so earnestly to seek for) you have found amongst them all? No, no, nothing was there in those religious hearts but innocence and true religion; it is that which you punished, tormented, and deadly hated in them. If they would have in the least point in the world condescended to your desires in that, or but once, for your pleasures, presented themselves at your schismatical prayers, all racking and treasons had been cleared and past.

Whereby all the world seeth, you did all for religion, not as for any conscience that way (wherewith most of you are not much troubled), but because the particular state of a number dependeth on this new religion. Remember whether you laid not Mr. Thomson on the rack, against all good use and order, before you ever examined him? What presumptions had you so pregnant that you must rack the famous man Father Campion about the Irish commotion, or collection of money for the

maintenance of the same? Or of any knowledge he had of killing the "Greatest," as you mystically speak in your book? Have you not ordinarily threatened men with the racks and dungeons, and sometimes brought them to the rack-house door, yea, and laid some on the rack, without either cause or intent to touch them, but only by those terrors to drive them to deny their faith, or to confess where they had said Mass, or other like things which you desired to know?

How often have you by famine and filthy dungeons tormented the happy young confessor Mr. John Hart, which could not now be after his condemnation for anything else but for his religion, and because he would not yield to one Reynolds, a minister, with whom you appointed him to confer? For what other cause did you threaten the torture to Mr. Osborne, but to make him confess that he had said Mass before the true noble confessors of Christ, My Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham? And which is more intolerable, is not your rack used or threatened to force men by the fear thereof to speak things against truth by your appointment, and specially for false accusation of innocent gentlemen? John Nichols, himself a Protestant, and one of your own instruments, hath acknowledged so much in public writing, affirming that Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower, enforced him to accuse divers gentlemen by name of high treason, whom he never knew; which he did, to avoid his threatened torments, as he writeth.

We speak nothing of the pitiful extremities you

have brought divers unto by horrible fetters, stocks, dungeons, famine; or of the death of well near twenty happy Catholics at once, infected and pestered in York prison, where they perished by the unmercifulness of the Protestants, of whom by no pitiful complaints they could obtain liberty or fresh air, for the saving of their lives, without condescending to go to their abominable service. We tell you not here, again, that for the more affliction of Catholics (a thing to be marked and lamented of all Christian hearts), that you have profanely made choice of Sundays and great Holidays to practise your torments upon them, after the old fashion of the pagans, rather than upon workdays: that you bring other Catholic prisoners near to the place of torment, to hear their brethren's sorrowful cries; and eftsoons lead some, newly taken from the rack, under their fellow-prisoners' windows and to their doors, that by hearing their pitiful complaints, sighs and groans, proceeding of infinite pains, they may relent in religion.

Of all which inhuman dealing, we will not impeach the superior magistrate, much less the Sovereign, but surely the inferior ministers of that pretended justice cannot be excused of most cruel and sacrilegious dealing towards God's priests and other innocent persons. And as for the particular handling of Father Campion and Mr. Briant (whom the libellers made examples of their mild and gentle entertainment upon the torture), we refer all indifferent readers to the said Briant's own Latin epistle of that matter. And for the other, they say

true indeed that after his first racking, and at the time of the Protestants' disputes with him in the Tower, he was not so bereaved of his hands but he might with pain write or subscribe his name; but afterwards, upon his second or third racking, he was so benumbed that he could neither take the cup and lift it to his mouth, nor draw off his cuff at the bar; nor straight after his last torment, nor many days following, had he any feeling or use of his limbs, as he confessed to his keeper asking him how he felt his hands. "Not evil" (quoth he) "for I feel them not at all."

The like we could prove of Mr. Paine the priest's tormenting, and divers others; but this is enough to control these shameless untruths of the libeller, and to make demonstration of the pitiful violences, slanders, and tribulations, which our brethren have constantly borne, and yet do bear, for profession of their faith, which to some rebuke of our nation we would never so particularly utter here and elsewhere, if our blameless defence drove us not thereunto. And specially for that we would christianly give warning to all princes and provinces that yet happily enjoy the Catholic religion, and the only true liberty of conscience in the same, to take heed by our miseries, how they let this pernicious sect put foot into their states, which by promise of liberty and sweetness at the beginning, entereth deceitfully, but when she is once in, and getteth the mastery, (as she often doth where she is not in season constantly resisted), she bringeth all to most cruel and barbarous thraldom, procuring her

followers to hate and persecute the Church, their own only true and old Mother, far more deadly than the heathens themselves do, and turneth all the laws made by godly Popes and princes for punishment of heretics and malefactors, to the spoil and destruction of innocent men and Catholics, for whose defence they were made.

Into which misery our country, to us most dear, being fallen and having no other human helps to recover it and our Prince and peers (excepting this case of heresy, of excellent good nature and clemency) with millions of souls that there do perish; we will not fear nor fail to pray and ask it of God with tears and blood, as we have begone: *Donec misereatur nostri:* till he be merciful both to us and to our persecutors.

Our days of affliction cannot be long, their felicity will have an end, both sides shall shortly have their doom, where the dealings of us all shall be truly discussed, and the just shall stand with great constancy against them that vexed them. Interim in the testimony of a guiltless conscience in all things whereof we be accused by our adversaries, and in joyful expectation of that day, we will continue still this work of God to our own and our country's salvation: *Per infamiam et bonam famam,*[1] as the Apostle willeth us; and through other miseries whatsoever man's mortality is subject unto.

[1] "Through ill repute and good repute."

## CHAPTER II.

That Father Campion and the rest of the priests and Catholics indicted, condemned, and executed, upon pretence of treason, and upon statutes made of old against treasons, were never yet guilty of any such crimes, but unjustly made away.

HITHERTO we have made it clear that divers (contrary to the drift of this libel) have been condemned and put to death, either without all law, or else only upon new laws by which matter of religion is made treason. Now it followeth, and is next to be considered, whether such other as were accused and appeached of old treasons upon a statute made in the days of Edward the Third, in the 25th year of his reign, were indeed guilty of any such crimes.

The intent of that law is to register divers cases that were to be deemed treason, in which the first and chief is: to conspire or compass the death of the Sovereign, or to levy men of arms against him, and thereof can be by open fact convinced. Upon which special clause Father Campion (good man) and his fellow priests and Catholic brethren were, to the wonder of the world, arraigned. Namely indicted that at Rome and Rheims the last days of March and May in the 22nd year of her Majesty's reign, they compassed the Queen's death, the subversion of the state, and invasion of the realm; feigning (for better colouring of the collusion) the foresaid places, days, and times when this conspiracy should be contrived.

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looked for: by whom the Protestants began to fear lest great alteration in religion, whereon they think their new state (that is to say) the weal of a very few in comparison, dependeth, might ensue: they thought good by their long exercised wisdom, to alter the whole accusation from question of faith and conscience, to matter of treason. Which being resolved upon, they went about by divers proclamations, libels, and speeches, first to make the people believe that all Catholics, and especially Jesuits and such priests and scholars as were brought up in the Seminaries or Colleges out of the Realm, were traitors. And for their better persuasion gave out one while there was a marvellous confederation of the Pope, King of Spain, Duke of Florence and others, for the invasion of the Realm. But that being shortly proved nothing, they feigned that the said Jesuits and priests were confederated with the Irish quarrel, and to give more colour of somewhat, they sticked not to rack Father Campion extremely for search of that point.

But this fiction failing, they found out another as foul: that the death of the Queen and divers of the Council was contrived (forsooth) in the Seminaries of Rome and Rheims, of which conspiracy in fine they resolved to indict them, as they did, and pursued them to death for the same, with such evident partiality, default of justice and equity, as was in that court (once most honourable for justice) never heard or read of before.

Such as pleaded against them to make them odious in judgment discoursed (as this libel now

doth) first of the nature and horror of rebellion in general, and then of a rebellion in the North for religion a dozen years before, when the parties there accused were young boys in the schools and universities of the realm: of the Pope's Bull of excommunicating the Queen a good many years before any of them came over sea, or ever saw Pope, Rome, or Rheims; yea, when some of them were yet Protestants in England: they discoursed also of the rebellion in Ireland by Stukeley, Saunders and others, none of which men, divers there arraigned, ever saw or knew in their lives. Of their being made priests by the Pope's authority, and of their obligation and obedience to him being the Queen's enemy: of their authority to absolve and reconcile in England, received from him: of their coming in at the same time, when they were in arms in Ireland, as though they had not entered their native country and exercised those spiritual functions seven years before, or could not then exercise them but in favour of such as took arms against the Queen.

And when these generalities were uttered only to make them odious, and amaze the hearers with those that should have to judge of their guiltiness or innocency, the good fathers and priests made just exceptions against such vulgar invectives as could not touch them that there stood in judgment, more than any other priest or Catholic in the realm; and many of the points such as they were sure none should have been arraigned for in King Edward the Third's time, upon whose statute never-

theless the indictment was pretended to be drawn: humbly praying the Judge and Bench that they would more directly, plainly, and sincerely pass on them for their faith and exercises of the Roman religion (for proof whereof they should not need to seek for so impertinent and far-fetched matter), which they openly professed and desired to die for, with all their hearts: or if they would needs proceed against them as for treason, in the sense of the old laws of our country; that then it would please them to aggravate no farther to their disadvantage and death either other men's faults or matter of pure religion, but to come to the indictment, and to the particular charge of every person there arraigned, which was of conspiring the Queen's death. Whereof if they could by any proof or sufficient testimony of credible persons convict all or any of them, than their death to be deserved: if not, their innocent blood upon all that should be accessory to the shedding thereof, a crime that crieth for vengeance at God's hand when it is done but by private malice and mischief, but committed in public place of judgment by authority and pretence of law (as in the case of Naboth and of Christ our Master) it is in the sight of God most horrible, and never long escapeth public punishment: from which our Lord God of His mercy save our poor country even by the prayers of these holy martyrs, for whose blood it is otherwise highly deserved.

Therefore all other idle and vagrant speeches, odiously amplifying either the Pope's, Jesuits',

Seminaries', Doctor Saunders' or any other man's peculiar actions for religion or otherwise, set apart (whereupon as the Counsellers then at the bar, so now the writers of this libel voluntarily and vainly do only stand and make their rest), there is nothing in the world that can prove effectually these men's lawful condemnation, nor avow the justice of that execution (which the libeller taketh upon him to do, but in truth no whit toucheth the matter), having only such allegation and testimony as may convince Father Campion and his fellows with him arraigned, to have compassed the Queen's destruction, or invasion of the Realm.

What other things soever they were guilty of; or what affection soever they bear, in respect of their contrary religion, to their Prince and State; or what treasonable opinions (as they fondly call them) concerning the excommunication or depriving the Queen, were afterwards discovered in them; or what other reasonable cause in respect of the adversaries' fear and jealousy over the state, or doubt of the times then troubled, the officers then, or the libellers now, to satisfy the people or the world abroad, do allege for their accuse; none of all those things can justify that execution, so long as the matter for which they were only indicted cannot be proved, nor the statute of King Edward the Third, upon which they pretend to have indicted them, is transgressed by them.

Therefore as the whole treatise of our adversaries' defence is too wide from the purpose: so specially are the four reasons, which for the reader's

ease (as they term it) and for the pith and sum of the whole discourse, they have put at the end of their libel in a rank together: by which the discreet reader may take a taste of their deceitful dealing in the whole book.

Every reason should conclude that the priests were executed upon no charge of new religious treasons, but upon old statutes only for matter of conspiracy, in which sense no one of them in truth doth conclude.

And the first reason cometh only to this end: that her Majesty, contemning the Pope's bulls for a good while, at length spying them to be dangerous, revived former laws for prohibition of them within her dominions. Which argument being laid for the ground of all, hath neither the conclusion looked for against those priests in particular, nor truth of narration in the premises. For neither were there any such bulls and excommunications which (they say) were tolerated or contemned for certain years; none at all (I say) of that kind published in her days before that one of Pius V. mentioned in the next argument following: neither were there extant any old statutes (that we know) to be revived, against such excommunications in any such sense as they will seem to make them.

The second argument proveth only that Felton for publishing Pius V. his Bull, was by their laws condemned and put to death, and was the first that was executed for matters coming from Rome: whereupon how substantially it is inferred that Father Campion and his fellows were not con-

demned for religion, but for transgression of old statutes of treasons, let the wise consider: and withal, let the learned in our laws determine whether the bringing in of a bull of excommunication from Rome were treason in the days and by the statute of King Edward the Third.

Thirdly, they reason thus: the people raised rebellion in the North; *ergo* her Majesty cannot be blamed for using force against them, and punishing the authors of the same: which maketh little against the persons here named.

Fourthly, that the Pope stirred to rebellion and succoured the Irish; therefore she hath great reason to search out all seditious persons, as priests and Jesuits be; and so to try, condemn, and execute them. Neither of which reasons have any further sequel in the sight of any reasonable and indifferent man, than to punish them that are by lawful trial proved to be partakers of these actions; which was impossible to do in any of the priests' cases arraigned: neither was any of the said commotions laid in particular to any one of them all at the bar, though impertinently such matters were for a deceitful flourish often (as in this libel) touched.

And whereas by prevention of some objections either made or that may be made, that these poor religious priests, scholars, and unarmed men could not be any doers in the wars of England or Ireland; the libel maketh a solemn rhetorical tale, for answer: that though they were not in the field to fight, yet they might by their counsel, encour-

agement, and persuasion, be partakers of the same crime, and executed as accessory to the other treasons: which needed not so many superfluous words in so short a work; all the world confessing that the ministers, messengers, espials, and abettors of offenders, are often no less punishable than the principal actors. But in sincere dealing it had been to be proved that Father Campion and those other holy men were secret workers and aiders of the Northern and Irish commotion, whereof neither now in this book, nor then at the bar, any one word is alleged.

All is full of wild and waste words artificially couched to abuse the ignorant, that knew not the state of this disputation: all running to this old issue, that her Majesty hath reason to punish traitors; but no word to convince them of these or any other old treasons for which they were indicted, nor to reprove us that boldly upon evident demonstration, yea and certain knowledge, do testify before God and man, that they were not guilty of those offences of which they were indicted, and for which they were by unlawful calumniation and violence cast away, as in the face of the world; but in the sight of our Lord attained a precious death, and the glory of the saints everlastingly.

When it came to the very point of the accusation, and all roving and railing talk against Pope, Rome, religion, seminaries, bulls, Masses, preachings, reconciliations, Agnus deis and beads (with which they larded all their evidence, though of such things they professed not to condemn them), was to be

set aside, and now by witness to be proved that they were guilty of the foresaid conspiracy against the Queen's person, &c., two or three such fellows were sought out and procured to give testimony against them, as first professed themselves to be heretics, and therefore by St. Augustine's judgment, were not to be heard against a Catholic priest. Secondly (seeing heresy maketh no exception in England) they were known to be otherwise common cousiners, lost companions, saleable for a souz, and bought by the enemy to betray them and bear witness against them. Thirdly, some of them charged in the face of the court with shameful adultery; with double or triple murder; and other like horrible crimes pardoned for this purpose. Fourthly, they were discovered both then and afterwards of notorious falsehood, incongruity, and discord of times, persons, places, and other circumstances; and their iniquity eftsoons disclosed by their own fellow.

And to see now the men of God, so many, so excellent for virtue, so famous for learning, religion, zeal, and devotion, to hold their lives upon the conscience of such notorious atheists and outcasts of the world; yea (as in Mr. Paine's case) upon the bare word of one of them only, against divine and human laws (requiring two witnesses at the least): it was surely very pitiful to behold, but not marvellous to us that considered the condition of our time, and easily foresaw that these holy men's deaths were now designed and thought necessary for our politics, for conservation of their

state, as the libeller here subtilly insinuateth, that it was to be done in regard to the dangerous time when the Pope's forces were in Ireland, and more in preparation to follow as well into England (as he cunningly feigneth to make the necessity of this justice more excusable) as also into Ireland: as though he would say: that by some one pretence or other, for terror and example, they were to be found guilty and so dispatched.

Well, thus their good witnesses gave in evidence of things spoken and contrived in Rome and Rheims which were known to be most false of all that were in either place the times and days by them named: and whatsoever was either truly or falsely testified to be done or said in either of the two places by any English there dwelling, it was unjustly applied to all and every one of these good men now standing in judgment; yea it served against some that were never in either place in their life, as against Mr. Ford and Mr. Collington; as also against Father Campion that dwelt a thousand miles off in Prague; occupied by his superiors in teaching and preaching, wholly estranged from all Englishmen and English affairs, otherwise than in his prayers, for above nine years together; not ever seen or known to divers that then were arraigned with him in judgment, as conspirators in one and the same treason, before they met there together at the bar, nor ever known to the witnesses themselves. The same served against Mr. Shert that had not been in either place of many years afore. Against Mr. Briant also and Mr.

Richardson that never had been in Rome, nor in Rheims of eight months before the time wherein the false witnesses feigned the conspiracy to have been there contrived. Yea and against Father Bosgrave it served also, that was neither seminary man, nor sent by the Pope or Superior, nor acquainted with any other English priests that returned home, nor of the cause of their coming, having been so long absent in the North parts of the world, that he had in a manner forgotten his own language, repairing home himself for his health only: and yet all or the most part of these men, being so different amongst themselves in age, life, state, calling, place of abode, time of absence from their country, and in the cause, manner, and purpose of returning, were condemned together at one bar, for one and the self-same particular treason, for conspiring (forsooth) her Majesty's death at Rome and Rheims, such and such days, which in itself hath most manifest contradiction.

But yet when these things were, for the impossibility of the fact, laid down and opened at the bar by the holy confessors themselves, it prevailed nothing, though otherwise also the evidence were given by such persons and of such matters, as it was neither possible nor credible that they could be guilty. It was found sufficient for their condemnation that they had kissed the Pope's foot; that they were his scholars and had received "Viaticum" from him; that they had seen or spoken with Cardinals in Rome; and were made priests either there or at other places; and finally,

sent home by authority of their Superiors accounted enemies in the present state of our country. Which things, together with the partial, unwonted, and unlawful dealing used in the proceeding of that day of their judgment, and the known innocent quality and trade of the persons, cleareth them against this libel, and all other false accusation whatsoever.

But most of all everyone's sincere protestation, in the hour of their honourable conflict and martyrdom, that they were ignorant of all conspiracies, and most innocent of that for which they were condemned in particular, cleareth them thoroughly in the judgment and conscience of every reasonable man, seeing it is not probable that such men would against their consciences and against the truth have avouched a falsehood at that instant, to the present and everlasting perdition of their souls, which would not relent in any point of their faith to save only their temporal lives.

And this is also an invincible proof of their innocency, and that all was for religion, and nothing in truth for treason, that if they would have confessed the Queen to be their Chief in causes spiritual, or relented in their religion, they should have had life and pardon, which was preferred to every one of them, not only at the execution, but often before. Yea, for once going to their heretical service, any of those whom they pretend to be so deep traitors, might have been quit with favour, as also with great thanks and goodly preferments.

And plain it is, that now at the hour of their death, being past further fear of man's laws, if

they had meant anything against the Queen's person, or had received order by their Superiors, or had thought it agreeable to their spiritual profession, to deal in other matters than religion and conversion of souls by preaching, persuasion, prayers, and other priestly means, they might have spoken their minds boldly now at their passage and departure from this world; as since that time we understand that a certain worshipful lay gentleman did, who protested both at his arraignment and at his death, that her Majesty was not his lawful Queen for two respects: the one for her birth, the other for the excommunication, her Highness having neither sought dispensation for the first, nor absolution for the second. But none of all our priests made any such answer, nor otherwise uttered any unlawful speech that might either offend her Majesty, or the State present, irritate enemy, or scandalize friend.

All their confessions both voluntary and forced by torments, are extant in the persecutors' hands. Is there any word soundeth or smelleth of conspiracy?

They have all sorts and sexes of Catholics in prison for their faith, and divers honourable personages only upon pretence of dealing and conversing with them. Hath any one of all the realm, in durance or at liberty, by fair means or foul, confessed that ever either priest or Jesuit persuaded them in Confession or otherwise, to forsake the Queen? That ever they were absolved on that condition? That ever they received Agnus-deis at

their hands, or other spiritual token for earnest, or pressed to rebel or join with the enemy? As this slanderous libel doth not so much avouch (for that were intolerable) as by guileful art insinuate, without all proof or probability.

Wherein, as at the place of their judgment, the magistrate professing that nothing should be prejudicial unto them that touched only their religion (yet indeed had no other matter for their conviction but the functions of their order and priesthood), so this libeller now, pretending their treasons to be old and of another sort, and acquitting them for their Romish tokens, ceremonies, books, beads, and opinions (as he speaketh), yet cunningly windeth himself about in words, and only condemneth them in the end for the same, not as capital (forsooth) in themselves, but as serviceable to the Pope, and appliable to the benefit of rebels at home or abroad. So cunningly they play in such man's lives and deaths as our country was unworthy of.

But now when these innocent persons were condemned, and so many of them as they thought was necessary for their practice executed, they perceived great scruples and suspicious conceits to rife in all men's hearts and heads about the fact and unwonted proceeding, no man either so evil or ignorant as to take them guilty of those crimes whereof they were appeached, and every man not so wise as to spy that it was done of necessary policy without much regard of conscience or divinity. They knew also that one John Nichols, a Min-

ister and Protestant (who gave the first false overture of this sinful stratagem), touched by God, absented himself at their condemnation and death, and afterwards cried the innocent men mercy on his knees, confessing both by word and letter authentically recorded, that partly upon his motion they had condemned innocent blood, and that himself was forced by certain persons in authority (whom for honour sake we will not name though he named them) to commence such a foul tragedy. Considering therefore all these things, and desiring to cover the foulness of the fact as much as might be, as well in respect of their own people manifoldly discontented, and specially impatient of such injurious proceedings, as also of strangers, to whom the rare virtues of Father Campion and of some of the others were known: (besides other violent means by severe punishments and proclamations to stay the hard speeches and conceits of the people therein), they caused some of them that yet were not executed, to be examined upon certain Articles, six in all, clean of another purport than their former accusation of killing the " Greatest " (as our libel speaketh) all which articles do concern only the authority and fact of Pius V. of famous memory, in censuring the Queen by excommunication and deprivation for heresy; and what they thought, or how far they allowed of the same.

Whereunto, because they did conjecture their answers would be odious in the sight of the simple, and specially of zealous Protestants (as it fell out indeed) they devised to publish and read them to

the people at the martyrdom of the rest, that thereby they might at least conceive that they were worthy of death for other causes, though not for that whereof they were condemned, and so either less pity them, or less mark the former unjust pretenced matter of their condemnation.

And this cunning course they have followed ever since in defence of that pretended justice, and is the whole conveyance of this libeller now: who, to defend the execution of their cruelty towards these Saints of God, bestoweth his labour only to prove, that they have been tried by the six Articles concerning the Excommunication, and that there was found a note after Father Campion's death touching the same Bull, procured for the interpretation and force thereof, and brought from Rome by Father Persons' and the said Father Campion's suite that Mr. Hart confessed the Bull in such and such sort to bind, and otherwise not to stand in force: whereby only he goeth about to persuade the world and specially strangers unacquainted in our affairs, the said men to have been traitors, and justly punished, as though new crimes either found out or done after the sentence of their death passed, yet after the execution of the same, could justify their condemnation passed before.

But the world looked for some justification of that former judgment and verdict of court, which was passed with such great solemnity against those innocent men before, upon transgression (as was pretended) of an old statute, for compassing the Queen's death. For as for all other declamations

and invectives, be they true or be they false, they cannot excuse the fact from plain murder, nor condemn them after they be dead for other crimes than they were convicted of in their lives. Which the libeller himself confesseth in these express words, after his idle work and words: "Upon refusal to answer to these questions directly" (saith he) "as they might have been justly convicted of treason, so yet where they not thereupon condemned": (Which yet is false, for they have lately executed divers priests as Mr. Haddock, Mr. Hemmerford and others most cruelly only about the matter of excommunication of the Queen!) "But upon their other former actions both abroad and in the realm." But what those actions were, and how they were proved to be committed particularly by those, whom we avouch to be unjustly condemned upon old treasons, and to be only killed for their religion; that should have been your whole endeavour (Sir) to shew, all other superfluous railing or recital of pretended offences (for which yourself confess they were not condemned), being out of force to maintain the defence of your pretended justice, nor yet to stay the Christian world and Church of God from accounting them martyrs whom you have murdered.

Against whose holy ashes and memories you can struggle no more than the old heathen and heretical persecutors did, to defame those glorious men of the primitive Church whom they executed in pretence of like treasonable trespasses, who yet (notwithstanding their enemies' manifold endeavours to stay the honours due to them after their deaths) by

Christ and His Church's judgment have gotten the victory over their adversaries, and so remain as glorious in heaven and earth, as their persecutors be infamous through all the world.

What worldly honour the two King Henrys of England had (I mean the second and eighth), which in the days of their reign, no doubt, was great: or what esteem soever the Princess present and her greatest ministers have now, by the height of their room and fortune in this life; it is but a very dream, shadow, or phantasy, to the glory of Thomas of Canterbury, John of Rochester, Chancellor More, Father Campion, and the rest; whom fame and felicity followeth upon their deaths, and upon such contradiction of sinners seeking to disgrace them. As also in the contrary part, the persecutors' glory dieth with their authority, if not before; and they are commonly better known to posterity by executing of such men (though to their shame), than by other their facts in their life whatsoever. And so doth God protect His saints; *A contradictione linguarum*, from the gainsaying of tongues, and giveth the victory of the world by the fortitude of their faith in Him.

But of the six Articles concerning the Bull of Excommunication, more shall be said in the next chapter and other places following; that their innocency therein also may appear, and the slanderous libeller be repressed every way.

## CHAPTER III.

That we now have great cause to complain of unjust persecution, intolerable severity and cruelty towards Catholics in England; and their Protestants no reason to do the like for the justice done to them in Queen Mary's and other Princes' days, and the cause of the difference.

THE libeller, by sophistical reasons and popular persuasion, going about to make men think the English persecution to be nothing so violent as is divulged, nor anything comparable to the justice exercised towards the Protestants in the reign of the late Queen Mary, telleth of hundreds of our scores, as also of the qualities of them that then suffered, of their innocency in all matters of State, and treason, and such like.

To which we say briefly, clearly, and to the purpose: that we measure not the matter by the number, nor by the severity of the punishment only or specially, but by the cause, by the order of justice in proceeding, by the laws of God and all Christian nations, and such other circumstances; whereby we can prove Queen Mary's doings to be commendable and most lawful, the other, towards us and our brethren, to be unjust and impious.

The difference is in these points: You profess to put none to death for religion: you have no laws to put any man to death for his faith; you have purposely repealed by a special statute made in the first year and parliament of this Queen's reign, all

former laws of the realm for burning heretics, which smelleth of something that I need not here express: you have provided at the same time that nothing shall be deemed or adjudged heresy, but by your parliament and Convocation: you have not yet set down by any new law what is heresy, or who is a heretic. Therefore you can neither adjudge of our doctrine as of heresy, nor of us as of heretics; nor have you any law left whereby to execute us: and so, to put any of us to death for religion, is against justice, law, and your own profession and doctrine.

But nevertheless you do torment and punish us, both otherwise intolerably, and also by death most cruel; and that (as we have proved) for Agnus-deis, for ministering the holy Sacraments, for our obedience to the See Apostolic, for persuading our friends to the Catholic faith, for our priesthood, for studying in the Society or colleges beyond the seas, and such like, which you have ridiculously made treason; but afterwards (being ashamed of the foul absurdity) acknowledge them to be matters of religion and such as none shall die for. And therefore we most justly make our complaint to God and man, that you do us plain violence, and persecute us without all equity and order.

On the other side, Queen Mary against the Protestants executed only the old laws of our country, and of all Christendom made for punishment of heretics, by the canons and determination of all Popes, Councils, Churches and ecclesiastical tribunals of the world, allowed also and authorized

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heresy, wherein they were first brought up; seeing they cannot be deemed to have professed that sect in their baptism, (or, as idly this poor divine addeth, in their Confirmation,) which was first taught them by their masters of error, according to the time or place of their first education: but are to be instructed how that their profession in baptism was of the true, Catholic, received, and known Christian faith, dispersed over the world in Christ His Church; whereunto they afterwards stand bound, and consequently by all law both divine and human may be enforced, albeit their actual baptism or education were never so much amongst heretics.

So that, as no law of God or man can force us to be Protestants; no more can any reason be alleged, nor just excuse made, for either young or old, why being baptized or brought up amongst Arians or Calvinists, they may not be forced to return to the Catholic Church and faith again.

And we may marvel in what age or world those people were born, which the libeller noteth to have been burned in Queen Mary's time; having never heard (as he sayeth) of any other religion than that for which they suffered? For the sect which they pretended to die for was not extant in England above five or six years before in the short reign of King Edward the Sixth, or rather of his protector; for before that, in King Henry's days, the same profession was accounted heresy, and the professors thereof were burned for heretics, and that by public laws, no less than in the reign of Queen

Mary. But the truth is, that because we Catholic Christian men do justly ground ourselves upon the former profession of our faith notoriously known to be, and to be called Catholic; these men apishly would imitate our phrase and argument in a thing as far differing as heaven and hell.

Thirdly we say that we have just cause to complain of this present persecution; for that the manner of it is such, and the proceeding so conformable to the old pagan, heretical, and apostatical fashion and dealing against God's Church and children that nothing can be more like.

They hated all Catholics, and counted them traitors, so do you. They specially persecuted bishops, priests, and religious; so do you. They killed them indeed for their belief, but yet pretended other crimes more odious, and especially matters of conspiracy and rebellion against the civil magistrate; so do you. They drove the innocent, by captious interrogatories, into dangers of laws that never offended the laws; so do you. They pressed men by torments to deny their faith, under colour of trying their secret intents against the Prince; so do you. They punished and have put to death one Catholic for another man's fault of the same profession, and, upon general supposals common to all of the same faith, made away whom they list; so do you. I refer the indifferent readers to the persecution of Julian the Apostate; of the Goths and Vandals in Italy and Africa.

It is not only the slaughter of many, and them specially the priests of God, which is most proper

to heretical persecution; but the other infinite spoil of Catholic men's goods, honours and liberty, by robbing them for receiving priests, hearing Mass, retaining Catholic schoolmasters, keeping Catholic servants; mulcting them by twenty pounds a month (which by their cruel account they make thirteen score a year) for not repairing to their damnable schismatical service. By which a number of ancient gentlemen fall to extremity, either of conscience, if for fear they obey, or of their undoing in the world, if they refuse. The taking of their dear children from them by force, and placing them for their seduction with heretics (which violence cannot be done by the law of God to Jews themselves); the burning of our priests in the ears; the whipping and cutting of the ears of others; carrying some in their sacred vestments through the streets; putting our chaste virgins into infamous places appointed for strumpets; and other unspeakable villianies, not inferior to any of the said heathenous persecutions.

They have pined and smothered in their filthy prisons above thirty famous prelates; above forty excellent learned men; of nobles, gentlemen, and matrons a number; whose martyrdom is before God as glorious as if they had by a speedy violent death been dispatched; every dungeon and filthy prison in England full of our priests and brethren; all provinces and princes Christian witnesses of our banishment. In all this we yield them our bodies, goods, country, blood and lives; and nothing will quench their hatred of our priesthood, faith, and

profession. Thus in all causes we suffer, and yet they would not have us complain; they say all is sweet, clement, and merciful in this regiment. But as we said, we no otherwise complain of this persecution against us, but as it is exercised for that faith and quarrel which the laws of God and man approve and justify in us: That it is done by the sheep and subjects of God's Church against their own prelates and pastors, to whom in causes of religion they are bound to obey by the express word of God.

When the lawful magistrate bearing sword by God for punishment of offenders putteth thieves, heretics, or murderers to death, who accounteth it cruelty? who complaineth of persecution? But when contrariwise, by any violent disorder, the malefactors get head and take heart in a commonwealth, and kill a lawful officer, judge, or superior; that is a cruel and horrible fact, though it be done but in one or two persons, instead of a thousand wicked men executed by just laws. So when the Prince and Prelate proceed together against such as by the sentence and law of the Church of Christ are adjudged to be heretics and injurious to God, that is justice; but when the temporal Prince or lay people rebel against their own bishops, to whom in spiritual matters they are bound by God's word to give ear under pain of damnation; yea, when mere laymen and most of the wholly unlearned disorderly take upon them to prescribe unto their own pastors what they should believe, how they should minister the Sacraments, force upon

them false and impious oaths and articles, and that in Parliament, where the bishops by the laws of our country having the principal suffrages, and the rest of the whole Convocation representing the Church of England, honourably and uniformly resisted; whom these men afterward deposed of their honours, took their pulpits, churches, titles and prerogatives from them, imprisoned their sacred persons, and abused some of them, namely the noble Confessor and Bishop of London, by all sorts of villainy. This, lo, is a persecution indeed, where the sheep, subjects and inferiors violently oppose themselves against them whom the Holy Ghost hath placed to be the guides, governors, and curates of their souls. Yea, when they depose, disauthorize, spoil, punish, imprison their own rulers, God's anointed priests, and give warrant by wicked laws to the temporal powers, to visit, correct, judge, and discern of the doctrine of their masters in religion; that is a persecution, sedition, and rebellion in the highest degree.

And we may truly say hereof to our lost country with the Prophet: *Populus tuus sicut hi qui contradicunt sacerdoti*:[1] the state of the persecution being wholly agreeable to the mutiny of Chore, Dathan, Abiron and their confederates in the desert against their lawful priests and governors; yea properly against the high priesthood of Aaron, as our country's revolt now is against the See Apostolic, and all lawful spiritual regiment proceeding from the same.

[1] "Thy people is as those who contradict the priest."

And therefore the libeller guilefully in respect of the simple, but fondly and falsely in our eyes, disproveth our lawful refusal to obey men before God, and our resistance in matter of conscience by the example of Chore's conspiracy; which toucheth all their rebellions from the See Apostolic and Catholic Church, and confirmeth all our endeavours for maintenance of the same against what adversaries soever.

And their rebellion is the more plain, and persecution more hateful and intolerable for that they have not only unnaturally done this violence to their own spiritual rulers, but thereupon also have chosen at their pleasures, and intruded into their places a sort of greedy wolves; unordered apostates; amarous and godless companions; the very filth and channel of the Realm; who for hatred of the Catholic faith from which they are renegades, and through a kind of competency or emulation of the true bishops (whose rooms by secular force they unjustly have invaded and do detain), bear such unquenchable malice to the true anointed clergy, and to their obedient followers, that they cease not to incite the powers of the realm against us, and exercise themselves under the pretended title of their usurped dignities and other temporal commissions, the greatest tyranny and cruelty in the world, standing in fear of their state so long as they see any true bishop or Catholic man alive. Whose actions are the rather intolerable for that they know, and it hath been proved in open court, that they not only usurp those places against God's

and the Church's laws; but that they were not made and invested according to the new laws of the realm, specially made for creation of them.

So as our true pastors being vexed, spoiled, tormented and slain against law, nature, and all reason, by temporal men having no authority in causes ecclesiastical; and by a new forged clergy that exerciseth no jurisdiction, but by evident usurpation against both the canons of the Church, and the laws of our country: who is of so dull a wit as not to see the difference of the discipline of the Church and realm done towards offenders in Catholic times and states by lawful authority, both spiritual and temporal, and the unjust persecution of the Church and her children now, proceeding of neither lawful authority temporal nor spiritual?

Therefore let not the libeller here so much extol the equity and mercy used in her Majesty's regiment to certain of the old principal clergy, because they put them not to death as they have done others sithence. Cicero will not stick to tell them what a benefit is done to an honest man when his purse is taken from him, and yet his life saved; and what thanks are to be rendered in that case to the benefactor. What courtesy soever was shewed at that time more than afterwards to such as followed (which in good sooth was no other than instead of a present quick dispatch on gibbet, to allow them a long and miserable life, or rather a lingering and languishing death, in durance, desolation, and disgrace; a far worse kind of persecution, as St. Hilary noteth against Constantine the Arian Em-

peror, than any other); but whatsoever it was that moved them not to put such to present death as they have done some of the younger sort afterwards, no difference of cause there was, the latter sort being indeed no more traitorous or disloyal than the former.

This may perhaps be the chief cause: that persecutors lightly at the beginning use of purpose and policy gentle allurements, hoping that way to gain the grace of all sorts: which is the reason that Julian the Emperor in the beginning was much noted of clemency; but in fine when he saw he could not extinguish the Christian faith by art, his former hypocritical lenity was at length turned into extreme fury.

In our country, at the first entrance of heresy, they had all the principal clergy, and divers chief Catholics in prisons or places at commandment, where they could not exercise their functions; and being ancient men most of them, they knew they could not live long. Whereof divers having been in high offices hard before, had shewed pleasures to some Protestants that should have else suffered for their heresies or treasons in Queen Mary's days; who now by saving some of the said bishops' lives, thought to requite their courtesies in part. They little thought that these old holy Confessors, being worn out by years and imprisonment, a new generation would rise to defend their old bishops' and fathers' faith.

Wherein perceiving now after twenty five years struggling against God's Church, all their human

counsels to be frustrate; and that they can have no rest in their heresy, nor security of their state, depending (as they think) thereupon; they are now in greater furies and rage towards us, making challenge for our ancestors' faith, than they were with the said holy bishops; though to say truth, in respect of the others' high calling and unction, to degrade only and imprison one of them, was greater punishment than twenty deaths to us, being to them but punies and their pupils, and most obedient children of their pastoral dignity.

But where the libeller pretendeth us to be guilty of other treasons and trespasses than they were, and therefore punished by death rather than they; as also pressed by these new questions of the bull and other capital matters, as they never were; we avouch both assertions to be untrue: neither our treason being other than matter of our conscience and religion more than theirs were; nor yet they (being indeed so quiet and obedient subjects as you confess them to have been) were always free from such or other bloody and quarrelling demands, as now are put to us, for entangling of our blood. Whereof as well the honourable Confessor and Bishop of London may be an example, before any excommunication of the Queen was heard of; as other prelates and prisoners of that time and rank convened afterwards, about nine years ago; and had interrogatories concerning the bull of the very same sense and peril as these that quiet and Catholic men are now tempted even to death withal.

As for the high praises and special testimony

of wisdom, learning, and loyalty, that it liked the maker of the libel to give in particular and in very nice fashion and myriad terms to certain of the chief clergy; though it be but the sweet salve of Joab to Amasa, kissing and killing both at once (for within six lines he crieth shame and reproach to them all): yet it is a condemnation to him and his fellows that presumed to dispossess so noble, wise, and learned prelates; and to prefer the judgment and verdict of men ignorant and profane before such men's sentence even in matters of religion: and much more to put into their places a number of uncircumcised Philistines, taken of the rascality of the whole realm; and of such only as could and would fill my lords of the Courts' hands with the benediction given to Esau: in respect of whom, or of any or all the rout that suffered for heresy in Queen Mary's days, the poorest and worst that be in trouble for religion at home, or in banishment for the same abroad (of whom this libeller upon either his malicious heretical humour or artificial policy, to diminish their credit with the people, or their grace with the princes and prelates abroad, under whose protection they live, speaketh so contemptibly, and in part so reproachfully and slanderously), may be in all life and behaviour accounted saints.

It is a shame to follow the libeller's folly in the pursuit of such childish things; but he compelleth us, and therefore we be forced to compare our cases and persons to theirs that were burned in our country for heresy and apostacy not long before.

The libel therefore maketh a glorious muster of archbishops, (so he speaketh by *enalage numeri*); for indeed there was but one, and he a notorious perjured and often relapsed apostate; recanting, swearing, and forswearing at every turn; and at the very day and hour of his death, sacrilegiously joined in pretended marriage to a woman, notwithstanding his vow and order (the very first and principal cause of the English calamity). Other bishops or clergymen were there none of all the pack that was burned (though two or three of them had unjustly usurped some prelates' rooms) but were of the basest (for most part), worst, and contemptiblest of both sexes.

Now for these we yield unto the libeller,—first, fourteen noble and most worthy bishops at one time, such as himself upon evil intent commended even now so highly (and indeed they were inferior in virtue and learning to none in Europe), who all were deprived of their honours and high callings, and most of them imprisoned and spitefully used in all respects; besides the famous confessor Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, and a number of bishops of that country. Next we yield you in banishment two worthy English prelates of the same dignity, the one dead, the other yet alive in Rome; three elected bishops now departed this life; we name the honourable Abbot of Westminster; four Priors or Superiors of religious convents; with three whole convents put out of their possessions either into prison or out of the realm.

In the same case were a dozen of famous learned

deans, which next to the bishops do hold the chief dignities in the English Cathedral churches; fourteen archdeacons; above three score canons of Cathedral churches; not so few as a hundred priests of good preferment in Queen Mary's time; besides many a one made in our banishment and since martyred; fifteen heads or rectors of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, men of great importance in those universities and in the commonwealth; and with them and the rather by their good example and provocation, not many years after, many of the chief professors of all sciences; and above twenty doctors of divers faculties for conscience sake fled the realm, or were in the realm imprisoned. And both at the first and in divers years since hath many of the very flower of the universities come over both into the Society, Seminaries, and other places, famous for learning. Where through God's goodness and the great benignity of prelates, princes, and Catholic people, they have passed their long banishment in honest poverty; and some in worshipful calling and rooms in universities with as much grace and favour as to foreigners could be yielded: in no place (thanks be to our Lord God) impeached of crimes or disorder; whereof we can show the honourable testimony of the best where we have lived in all nations.

And for our Christian comportment both at home in affliction, and abroad in banishment (though we be subject to infirmities as other sinful creatures be), we dare stand with all the Protestants in the world. Which we be forced against this infamous

libeller to speak more liberally and confidently, for that he so shamefully and against his own knowledge writeth: "That very few are fled for religion other than such as were not able to live at home but in beggary, or discontented for lack of preferment which they gaped for unworthily in universities and other places; or bankrupt merchants etc." Where the poorest wretches and worst amongst us that in this tedious time of twenty-five years' absence from our country, will relent and return to them, may be most welcome, received with joy and triumph, and made jolly fellows in their new synagogue. *Ita nusquam facilius proficitur, quam in castris rebellium*"[1]; as one saith. So earnestly they woo every poor apostate, lewd scholar, and lost companion; that for weariness of banishment, loose life, or impatience, looketh homewards towards heresy or carnal liberty and license again. By which allurements yet the world knoweth how exceeding few you gain or get from us; whilst we in the mean space (through God's great grace) receive hundreds of your ministers, a number of your best wits, many delicate young gentlemen, and divers heirs of all ages, voluntarily fleeing from your damnable condition, and seeking after God; and many of them also become priests or religious, even now when you hate, contemn, and punish priests so deadly. This is the work of God, marvellous both in your eyes and ours; and cannot by human force, fear or policy be dissolved.

[1] "So nowhere is promotion more easily found than in a rebel's camp."

Count your cards therefore better, and look not only of so many famous clergymen, and the daily increase of them against your violent laws (Sir Libeller), but count, if you dare for shame, among your beggars and bankrupts in Queen Mary's time (as you dishonestly term us now) so many noble and valiant Earls, Barons, Knights, Esquires and gentlemen, that have either suffered prison, or as their conscience led them, stood in arms for defence of their faith and Christian knighthood: not against their Prince or country, but as against such as abused her weak sex and former years of her youth to the establishing of themselves and their heresy; or have forsaken their honourable callings, offices, and livelihoods in their countries for defence of the Christian faith; of which I could name you a noble number of all degrees, able and ready to defend by sword (excepting the respect they have to their Prince and dear country) their religion and honourable actions against all the heretics in the world that defame them.

Whose most worthy order and knighthood the libeller seeketh to disdain, by naming the noble Earl of Westmoreland. Whose peculiar life and actions, or any other particular person of what condition soever though we go not about nor need to defend against malicious envy and detraction of heresy; yet surely notwithstanding his youthful behaviour whatsoever (which he learned there amongst you, and is not so strange in camp or court, you wot well Mr. Libeller), he is able to prove that you slander him extremely; and we can witness that

he liveth in good health and honourable charge in the service of the King Catholic: as we also can tell you that the renowned Count of Northumberland died a saint and holy martyr. For what former quarrel or cause of his death soever there was, yet was he a true martyr, in that he was offered his life if he would alter his religion; as divers others were of the same action in the North; and all other priests pretended to be condemned for other treasons.

Which life and living in as much as they refused for Christ and His faith when it was offered; they be in the number of Saints and Confessors, no less than if they had died only for the same.

And therefore when the adversary chargeth Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow with treason for affirming such to be martyrs in this sense; he showeth himself ignorant; as he is malicious in bidding us enrol Somerfield in the number of our martyrs. As perhaps before God he is, if he were distract of his wits, or furious (as all men say, and the libeller confesseth) to whom cannot be imputed whatsoever he did in alienation of mind; and to his enemies shall be imputed murder whatsoever was done against him in that his state: or specially (which is the most common opinion proved by many probabilities) if the poor gentleman were dispatched of purpose and appointment; (as the friar that accused the Duke of Lancaster was, and many others; and as the Protestants said John Hun was in Lollard's tower); for prevention of the discovery of certain shameful practices about the condemnation

and making away of the worshipful, valiant and innocent gentleman Mr. Arden, whose case like to Naboth's, and his words of wishing the Queen in heaven (as it is reported), were so partially or rigorously scanned by the malice of his great and potent professed enemy, that many years hath sought his ruin, together with his zealousness in the Catholic faith, brought him to his most pitiful end, to the great regret of the whole country. But the importunity of the adversary hath brought us somewhat out of our intended course.

To return back therefore to our famous prelates, deposed in this Queen's days, the principal whereof was Archbishop of York, and High Chancellor of the realm (the Primate of Canterbury being deceased before). Which worthy man this libeller hypocritically commendeth for his loyalty, though in religion differing from them; thereby to make the Queen Majesty's mercy towards him a pattern (forsooth) of clemency not to be matched, as he wisely writeth, in Queen Mary's time. Which Queen notwithstanding pardoned a number of heretics and rank condemned traitors, both of life and lands, whom we could name, and all the world knoweth yet alive. And further he addeth (which is a notorious untruth) that the said prelate voluntarily left his Chancellorship and Archbishopric. Where all wise men will witness with him and for him, that he was most unjustly, with the rest of his suffragans and brethren bishops, for refusing to take that absurd oath of the Queen's supremacy, and to use the new Calvinistical service in his pro-

vince, deposed by violence from his spiritual function and dignity.

Whose courage and resistance for quarrel of God's religion (how loyal and obedient soever the libeller would make those men in comparison of us; thereby to insinuate, that the more bloody rigour is used now towards us than in the beginning towards them,) was such in them, and especially in the said Archbishop; that he worthily, and as became his excellency, refused to anoint or crown the Queen's Majesty that now is, though it appertained to his special office to do the same, the Metropolitan being dead, as hath been said before. And so did all the rest of the bishops refuse the same until with much ado they obtained the Bishop of Carlisle (the inferior almost of all the rest) to do that function. Which is here remembered by me for that the libeller of his good discretion recordeth it for special courtesy of that man towards his Princess. Which refusal, of him specially that by office should have done the same, might in reason have been construed to as heinous and treasonable a purpose, as most things that afterwards have been done for the Catholic cause by any of the later years, if the malice of that time had been as ripe then, as now it is against God's Church and priests.

The cause why they durst not then nor could be adduced by any human fear or authority to invest her, was for that they had evident probabilities and arguments to doubt that she meant either not to take the oath or not to keep the same, which

all Christian kings (and specially ours in England) do make at their coronation for maintenance of holy Church's laws, honours, peace, and privileges, and other duties due to every state, as in the time and grant of King Edward the Confessor.

They doubted also lest she would refuse, in the very time of her sacre, the solemn divine ceremony of unction (accustomed in the consecration of all Christian princes), through the evil advices of certain young counsellors, being then in the heat, prime, and pride of their heresy, whereby great scandal might arise, and hurt to the realm. Which they the rather doubted, because they saw (not long before) her Highness at her first entrance to that high estate, command a certain bishop, even the same of Carlisle now named, standing ready to say Mass before her (a strange case in a woman towards a bishop) not to elevate the holy consecrated Host, but to omit that ceremony, because she liked it not. Which the said bishop, to his great honour, refused to obey. A thing that in one of us poor men now perchance would be accounted high treason and disloyalty towards our Sovereign.

And of this his courage in God's cause it never repented him; but for doing the other office at the Coronation, when he saw the issue of the matter, and both himself and all the rest of his sacred order deprived, and the Church's holy laws and faith, against the conditions of her consecration and acceptation into that royal room, violated, he sore repented him all the days of his life; which were, for that special cause, both short and wearisome afterwards unto him.

Otherwise doubtless all the bishops, and the rest of the principal of the inferior clergy did stoutly and worthily as could be wished, and as was possible in that sudden assault of heresy; fearing at the same time their personal peril so little, that they were many of them of that mind that it should be good to use the censure of excommunication against her Highness and some of her leaders into that revolt so dangerous and shameful to the State, so lately reconciled to the See Apostolic, and by oath and promise of all estates confirmed.

But the wiser of the bishops, or at least the milder sort, persuaded the contrary for many inconveniences that might ensue; and so they rather resolved the matter to be remitted to the high Pastor of Christ's universal Church, than to be executed by them that were her subjects, not without peril perhaps of some further tumult, scandal and trouble to the whole clergy; whom they would have interpreted to have done it of malicious and rebellious mind, rather than of love and duty; of which all such censures indeed do proceed, howsoever the party affected and sick in soul (especially princes, except they be very well trained in the fear of God) accept the same; well remembering that many kinds had killed their pastors in like causes.

All this we put down that no man be abused by the enemy to think that the reverend prelates at the first were less zealous (which he calleth more loyal), or more obedient to the Prince in lawful things, than we their scholars and offspring be; or less loyal than they, and therefore more punish-

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yea, sometimes into waters (we speak of knowledge) and at length into banishment. Which who seeth not how miserable a thing it is, when their whole families must either perish of famine at home, or beg in strange lands abroad; in which case both their goods are seized on (as the world knoweth) and their possessions fall to the Princess' hands, or into the fist of some lost companion, which shall upon favour obtain the gift to make spoil of the same.

And yet this good writer, so nicely, to colour their cruelty towards Catholic gentlemen, setteth down the matter as though cases of conscience, religion, or of the See Apostolic were but in some degrees, in some little part punished, and not with loss of lands nor death at any time persecuted; when he and all the world knoweth, that they may and do by those wicked laws of theirs, disinherit, put to perpetual prison and to death, divers of the laity. We refer them to the worshipful Mr. Trugeon's case, who liveth in prison so many years of alms after the spoil and rapine of so goodly possessions. We refer them to the laymen put to death of late at Winchester and Andover; to so many fled for religion of the best nobility and gentry, wholly sacked and spoiled of all they possessed; and so many hundreds more, vexed, pillaged and spoiled at home, as they have not wherewithal to expel famine from themselves and their families. And which is yet more, we tell you, that there can never a Catholic nobleman in the realm, if by any show of religion, or moderation in life,

he give the enemy the least suspicion in the world of his good affection that way, be sure of his life, lands, and state one day. For by one false pretence and calumniation or other, they will entrap him, imprison him, and in fine, (except God marvellously protect him) they will overthrow him and his whole family, and transfer all his honours sometimes to his chiefest enemies. Yea all this often against the Princess's will; being led against her own natural inclination to such things, by the violent domination of certain that overrule her and the whole realm, so as no Catholic can be sure of his lands or life, longer than the adversary list.

God knoweth we do not amplify in the sight of strangers the calamities of Catholics in our country; whose chains, dungeons, spoils, flights, disgraces, deaths, if all the world could see with their eyes, as we do feel, all the princes Christian would take compassion, and account our complaints most just and necessary.

Wherein our miseries are multiplied, that such libellers as these do by false reports and misconstruction of our sentence in religion guilefully go about to defame us with foreigners. As for example, when here this fellow sayeth that there be divers gentlemen Catholics in England that hold, "The Queen ought not to be governor over any her subjects in her realm, being persons ecclesiastical, and yet are not persecuted to death for the same, etc." For their prosecution and persecution I have made it plain before. But for their holding of any such assertion, I must and do say that it

is slanderous, and most untrue. For there is a great difference to say she is not to rule the bishops in causes ecclesiastical, or in matter of ministering the Sacraments, preaching, and doctrine; and to say she is not Queen or governor over the clergy, or that priests or ecclesiastical persons be not her subjects. For they are also bound, yea even monks and religious, as St. Chrysostom sayeth (which this libeller in another place allegeth ignorantly to prove that in all matters such ought to obey their temporal princes), they are bound (I say) to order and obedience of their kings; and to observe their temporal and civil laws made for peace, tranquility, and temporal government of their people; and to do them all honour and service in that behalf; as the libeller right well knoweth that all Catholic bishops and prelates of the Church ever have done, and do at this day, both in our Realm and in all other Realms abroad to their lawful kings, yea to heathen kings also; though in matters of religion and of their spiritual charge, neither heathen nor Christian kings be their superiors, or ought to direct them, but rather to take direction from them.

Thus then over and above all former recounted calamities, by opprobrious tongues, lying lips and pens, we be persecuted for defence of our fathers' faith and the Church's truth. The cause whereof putteth the difference between our martyrdom, and the due and worthy punishment of heretics; who shedding their blood obstinately in testimony of falsehood, against the truth of Christ and his holy Spouse, and out of the unity of the same, are

known malefactors, and can be no martyrs, but damnable murderers of themselves.

One only thing belonging to this passage is yet behind, which we must answer too, briefly. The adversary telleth us that the martyrs of their sect in Queen Mary's time, "denied not their lawful Queen nor maintained her enemies, as ours do." A strange boldness to avouch a lie without necessity which all the world can disprove at the first sight. For how say you (Sir) was not your Archbishop (named here for the principal of all your martyrs) convicted and condemned openly of high treason? Even for waging soldiers for Duke Dudley (a hateful name to England since Henry the Seventh's time; ever aspiring, but still unfortunate to itself and followers) against the Princess that was then, and her Highness that is now?

Was not your next martyr, Superintendent Ridley, a high traitor, publicly preaching and proclaiming at Paul's Cross in London, both Queen Mary and this Queen to be bastards, and to have no right to the crown? Did not your famous Superintendent now of York (yet no martyr, howsoever he hath suffered of late some heavy crosses for other causes of homely quality,) boldly publish the same in Cambridge; as also your confessor Jewel of Salisbury had done the like in Oxford if he had not been in time prevented? Were not all the pack of your Protestants confederated or acquainted with Wyatt's conspiracy and open rebellion against their prince and country, with other wicked attempts against the State of that time, as they have been since, well near against all the

states and provinces christened? But of this you must needs hear more anon.

But it is a world to see the cunning winding of this libeller. For being ashamed as it seemeth, or else in doubt of that which he had boldly affirmed before, he now cometh to foist in a word to salve all (as he thinketh) and that is: "That at their death they denied not their Queen, etc." And in such deceitful cobbling in of words, he passeth no line lightly without fraud. But for answer hereof, we say: that what they did at their death or the day after, God knoweth: but it is plain that in their life they were notorious rebels, as most of that sect be. And how many of our men (I pray you, sir,) of whose lives and deaths so great numbers can bear witness, denied their obedience, or meekly prayed not for the Queen at the very place and time of their execution? Every one of them as they lived exemplary for duty and loyal behaviour to all their superiors both temporal and spiritual; so yielded they their happy life and blood in all apostolical patience, peace, and meekness, for the faith wherein they, our country, and all converted nations in the world, were baptized; and for the very same belief wherein the old glorious martyrs of God's Church gave up their lives.

This faith, this Church, this cause, severeth our true martyrs from the notorious malefactors of the contrary side. And so giveth us just cause to complain of persecution; and the enemy no reason at all; of what number, name, obstinacy, age, or quality soever they be that have suffered for their heresy.

## CHAPTER IV.

That our priests and Catholic brethren have behaved themselves discreetly, and nothing seditiously, in their answers to the questions of the Bull of Pius Quintus; and that they cannot lawfully be pressed nor put to death as traitors by the true meaning of the old laws of the Realm for the same; with examination of the six Articles proposed about the said Bull.

IN times of heretical regiment, where politics have all the government, though religion be sometimes pretended as a thing whereof they make their advantage for the affairs specially intended, yet indeed the first and principal care is of their temporal state, and so consequently of the Prince's and their own well-being in this life; the lot whereof they often prefer with Esau, before the weal of the world to come, the blessing of Jacob, or the kingdom of Christ; which is His reign and regiment spiritual in the Church, the house of His glory and our salvation on earth.

Contrariwise in Christian Catholic commonwealths the chief respect is and ever was (as it ought to be) of the honour of God, the good of holy Church, the salvation of the souls of their people; and so to pass through these secular things as eternal joys be not lost, and put in hazard.

In which difference of things you shall easily perceive, that in the days of disorder and error the faults done against the Prince, or so said to be done, are far more odious and punishable, than whatsoever is directly done against God; against

the Commonwealth, than against the Church; against the body, than against the soul; more ado about Cæsar's tribute than about God's due. As in the time and regiment of Jeroboam; when all the care was how to manage matters so, that the kingdom of Israel might be severed from Judah, and so established in itself that no spiritual union by worship in Jerusalem might reduce the divided tribes to their former state again; and all things tending to that reunion were grievously punished, but matters of faith and religion wholly contemned.

In our country when God and His kingdom had the first place, the terrene state the second (as in truth it ought to be; and where it is otherwise, whatsoever is pretended, Christ hath no place at all,) then were the crimes committed against God first and principally punished; as blasphemy, schism, and such like; and secondly, treasons and trespasses done against the Prince and country; whereof Queen Mary's days and regiment may be an example, when without the forgery of new or false treasons, the lately named Archbishop and other principal heretics, being convicted of conspiracy and open traitorous actions, might have justly suffered for the same; but yet were rather burned for heresy, as for their more heinous crime; and which a Christian prince ought to regard far more than anything committed against his regality.

But now, and ever when the superiority temporal hath the preeminence, and the spiritual is but accessory, dependent, and wholly upholden of the other, error in faith is little accounted of, whatso-

ever their pulpit men (to make themselves and their patrons sport) bawl of such matters; and all our doings, endeavours, and exercises of religion are drawn to treasons and trespasses against the Queen; themselves protesting, in all their doings, that they meddle not with us for our doctrine whatsoever; thereby either insinuating that our religion is true, and indeed by the judgment of their own conscience nót punishable, or else that they care not for it, nor what we believe, no further than toucheth their prince and temporal weal; wherein yet they wipe so hard as they draw blood.

For, finding no errors, heresies, or false opinions concerning God and His worship worthy to condemn us of, and being ashamed of their statutes of new treasons (as it seemeth); they have found out a new fault, and a term for the same, not usual either in writers of our schools and divinity, or in their own laws, which they call traitorous assertions, treasonable and malicious opinions against the Queen, as in a former like pamphlet, evil affection or evil disposition towards her Majesty; which is now the only and proper point they pursue against us both in judgment and writing. For which as of late they have put divers to death; so by the same they try (as they say) whether Papists be traitors or no, and accordingly to use them. And for the better trial thereof, they propose unto all men whom they list make away or otherwise endanger, certain demands which in effect are these that ensue:

Whether the Bull of Pius V. against the Queen's Majesty be a lawful sentence, and ought to be obeyed by the subjects of England?

Whether the Queen's Majesty be a lawful Queen, and ought to be obeyed by the subjects of England, notwithstanding the Bull of Pius V. or any other bull or sentence that the Pope hath pronounced or may pronounce against her Majesty?

Whether the Pope have or had power to authorize her subjects to rebel or take arms against her, or to invade her dominions; and whether such subjects so doing, do lawfully therein?

Whether the Pope have power to discharge any of her Majesty's subjects, or the subjects of any Christian prince from their allegiance or oath of obedience to her Majesty, or to their Prince for any cause?

Whether Dr. Saunders in his book of the Visible Monarchy of the Church, and Dr. Bristow in his book of Motives (writing in allowance, commendation, and confirmation of the said Bull of Pius V.) have therein taught, testified, or maintained a truth or a falsehood?

If the Pope do by his Bull or sentence pronounce her Majesty to be deprived, and no lawful Queen, and her subjects to be discharged of their allegiance and obedience unto her; and after, the Pope or any other by his appointment and authority do invade this realm; which part would you take, or which part ought a good subject of England to take?

Wherein if you say nothing, or refuse to answer sõmewhat in contempt or derogation of the See Apostolic; then are you judged no good subject, but a traitor. Whereby let all princes and people Christian bear witness of our miseries and unjust afflictions; who are enforced to suffer death for our only cogitations and inward opinions, unduly sought out by force and fear, and yet not condemned by any Christian school in the world, nor uttered by us but upon forcing interrogatories; we having committed nothing by word or deed against our Prince or laws, but doing all acts of honour and homage unto her, and suffering meekly what punishment soever she would lay upon us for our religion. For so most part of all sorts of Catholics have done both in England and Ireland for this twenty five years space; only a very few nobles of both countries taking once arms for their defence, in all this long time of intolerable affliction; (the like patience you shall hardly find in Protestants, as their furious rebellions against their Sovereigns in France, Flanders and Scotland do testify:) our nobles and gentlemen having borne all those anguishes of body and mind, with loss of honours, country, lands and liberty for so long time, have both at home and abroad obeyed her with such loyalty, as subjects ought to do their Sovereign, never took arms in all England upon the Bull of Pius V. nor any time since the publication thereof: (contrary to the deceitful division of those times, things and actions set down by the libeller, placing that after, which was done before

the Bull was published), but have shewed themselves in all cases as serviceable as before.

The clergymen also, whether religious, priests, or students of the two colleges in Rome and Rheims, whether they were in the service of their country at home, or in the schools absent, did all in manner (notwithstanding the said censure of His Holiness) use all due reverence and respect, uttering in no preaching speech or book, no nor at the hour of their death and martyrdom, nor ever before in any their confessions to the magistrate, any disloyal word against her Majesty. No (which we further avouch) not any one priest of the Society or seminaries can be proved by the adversary to have absolved in secret Confession any one man living from his allegiance; or to have ever either in public or private dissuaded any one person in the realm from his obedience in civil causes to the Queen.

Furthermore it is certain that never priest had any such commission given hitherto by either the Pope's Holiness or such other Superiors in religion or college, to deal in any such matters touching the Queen, neither is there any such thing implied in either the authority or act of reconcilement; howsoever the jealous enemy hath found knots in those rushes that of themselves are smooth. As the contrary is doubtless most true; the governors of the students always of purpose prohibiting, and as much as in such numbers of all sorts (not all ever having discretion to season their zeal) could be, providing that in the course of our school questions and

controversies concerning the Pope's preeminence, no matter of depriving or excommunicating princes should be disputed; no, not so much as in generalities, and much less the particularizing of any point in our Queen's case. Which matter notwithstanding it be determinable by divinity, and do come in course to be handled in schools as other questions do; yet because it is incident to matter of state (as now our country most unfortunately standeth), and consequently might be interpreted by the suspicions to be meant of her, whose case men liked lest to deal in, it was thought best to pass over all with silence.

Which moderation was kept in all places and persons of our nation, two only learned men of great zeal and excellence indeed—Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow—excepted, who had their special reasons to do as they did which we will neither defend nor reprove. But many Catholics were sorry therefor, and wished the matter so offensive had never been touched, but committed only to higher powers, and especially to God's judgment, that He might, either in this world or the next (where both Popes and princes must come to their accounts), discern of the controversy betwixt our two superiors, the one being our spiritual Head and Sovereign, who is the higher and in matter of religion rather to be obeyed, the other our temporal Prince, to whom likewise in such sort and matter as the Holy Scripture appoint us, we owe all duty and obedience.

Whereupon afterwards not only Dr. Bristow

omitted in his second edition or abridgment of his book that odious point, not fit at the time to be handled, but Dr. Saunders also (though his former treatise was not, of any stranger Catholic and learned, in any part disliked, being more free therein because they be not entangled by authority and sway of laws as we are), yet called he in, and suppressed to his life's end, a very learned book made in defence of Pius V. his sentence, and printed above fourteen years since; no copy thereof that is known being now extant. Which course of moderation all Catholics of all sorts both spiritual and temporal have followed ever since, restraining (as much as in them lay) the rigour of that sentence.

And the blessed martyr Father Campion himself, as it recited in the story of his arraignment, falling in talk with a certain principal Cardinal in Rome at his first arrival there (a dozen years sithence, and not many after the Bull was published), he being asked of English affairs, and how the Catholics so much distressed held yet out, and what effect the excommunication had, answered that the Bull was troublesome to them, and cause of the Queen's more heavy hand upon them, insinuating that it were good it were mitigated, so that it should not bind the subjects, but that they might obey her as their lawful Princess, notwithstanding any contrary sentence of the See Apostolic before given. Which good office of speech and meaning the adversaries were not ashamed to charge him withal in his judgment.

As their folly and partiality are also so great

herein, that in this libel they specially put down, to prove both the said good Father and his Superior the Rev. Fr. Robert Persons, guilty of treason; for that they made special suit unto His Holiness that now is, to qualify the censure of his predecessor, at least so far that it might not bind or make culpable any her Catholic subjects in conscience for obeying and serving her as their Sovereign; howsoever it stood against the Protestants, who neither looked nor cared to be discharged of it; as the Catholics for conscience sake, most desired to be free. They knew His Holiness would not wholly alter that censure, the case standing with the principal party as it did before his predecessor's sentence. They knew the Queen and Protestants themselves made no account thereof, nor desired to be loose. They knew it singularly pertained to the safety of her person and the quiet of the state, that the Catholics were persuaded they might lawfully obey her as their Queen and Governess, notwithstanding the said sentence. They knew the subjects would gladly do that with safety of conscience, as a way far more secure for both themselves and the Queen which they did before only for fear. They knew they could not profitably proceed in their spiritual work of confessing, converting and reconciling the subjects to the Holy Church, except they might by Apostolic warrant resolve them for their lawful obedience to the Queen. They thought good where neither the Pope could be induced, without the repentance of the party, to call in the censure, nor the Queen to yield to any

condition that way; rather thus to seek for mitigation, than to leave it in full force still: and finally, rather thus by moderation and sweetness to temporize betwixt both their Superiors; to see whether God might not move the heart of her Majesty, wholly lying in His hand, to enter into some good conditions for her reuniting to the communion of the Christian world; the only way of saving her realm in this world, and her soul in the next.

Alas, what evil office have these good Fathers done herein? What treason is committed more now, than if they had desired His Holiness to have discharged the Queen and Protestants also of all bond of that Bull? How could either they or the rest of the priests do more dutifully and discreetly in this case, than to provide that all such with whom they only had to deal, might stand free and warranted in their obedience, and to commit the rest that cared not for excommunication to the judgment of God?

By all which we may see the notable discreet and sincere dealing of Catholics all this while, about fifteen years, that this sentence hath been extant and published; and their manifold endeavours to mitigate and ease the burthen thereof, in all such as might thereby have remorse to obey and acknowledge the Queen's regality. Never writing of the matter, nor dealing in it, but to the end of pacification, public rest, and security of the state, brought into brandle and doubt by this unhappy alteration in religion. And so they might have had all the learned of our nation either silent in the question

of the excommunication, or mitigators of it still, had not the unwise and very impolitic importunity of certain in government (seeking by all direct or indirect drifts the blood of poor Catholics) forced men to their needful defence and interpretation of their meaning herein; yea verily to seek with diligence the truth of the matter, which of purpose they did not let pass before, as a thing impertinent to their edification or valuation.

Which they did the rather, for that Pius V. the author thereof being departed, his successor Gregory XIII. that now happily sitteth in the Apostolic throne, never revived the same (that we know of); but by connivance and expectation of our Queen and country's return to Holy Church's peace, and to the society of other Christian kings, suffered the sentence after a sort to die, specially so far as it concerned the Catholics (as is said): even as the like censure of excommunication and deprivation published by Paul III. against King Henry the Eighth did pass over in peace to his dying day, by the patience of other Popes following; and the many hopes and proffers which the said King made of his return to the Church's obedience again, though, prevented by death, it pleased not God to make him worthy of the same.

And this was the Catholics' honest desire and behaviour touching the excommunication ever since the publishing thereof, until now of late, when by their interrogatories and new order of most bloody, unlawful, and unwise search of men's consciences, not deeds, words, or writings, but very inward

opinions, thoughts and cogitations of heart, are wrung out of men by the questions before rehearsed. Whereby not only divers holy priests that have suffered, but also some other being strangely and cunningly brought into this odious and dangerous matter of state, and pressed against their wills to say their cogitations; they did notwithstanding as much as was possible, avoid any ways so to determine or answer, as might be prejudicial to their allegiance; which they observed, not only whilst they had hope of life, but even after their condemnation also, and at the very last hour of death.

Some meekly and discreetly declined from the question one way, some another; but all with great show of honesty, fidelity, and innocency. One (as Father Campion) answered: they were controversies and questions not determinable in that court, but in school.

Another, that he thought the Pope, that gave the sentence, might err in some cases, that is, though not in doctrine, yet in fact, for want of information, proofs, and other circumstances needful in such cases to be observed; but whether he did err or no, and abuse his authority in this censure, that he referred to God, himself not being sufficient to judge of his Superior's doings.

Some said they never saw the Bull in their life, and therefore could not answer of the sense or force thereof, nor be guilty of any crime towards her Majesty, contained in the same; no nor should ever have much thought or heard of it, had not the other now revived the matter.

One or two answered that they were not so learned as to discuss ex tempore all those matters contained in their demands, but that they esteemed of all in general as the holy Catholic Church teacheth, which is (said they) the Roman Church.

Some said there were or might be causes, as if a prince should fall to apostacy, Arianism, or such like, that deserved excommunication and deprivation; in which case the Pope might discharge the subjects from their obedience; but of the Queen's particular case they would not talk at all.

To be short, some being demanded what they would do, or advise others to do, if the matter should come to a battle for religion, as it fell out in Ireland, answered: they would do when that happened (which they trusted would not so chance) as good priests ought to do, that is, pray for peace, and that truth and justice in war might prevail.

In all which you see: on the one side, how carefully all men eschewed to utter their opinions in any other words but such as could, in truth, no way give offence to the Queen or state; on the other, into what marvellous perplexity the ministers and maintainers of heresy are brought, that cannot but by such violent means be secure in their sect, nor uphold their foul practices against God, the Church, and their own country.

Let our Christian brethren of all nations judge of the causes, means, and measure of our calamities. We never procured our Queen's excommunication; we have sought the mitigation thereof; we have done our allegiance notwithstanding; we have an-

swered, when we were forced unto it, with such humility and respect to her Majesty and Council, as you see; no man can charge us of any attempt against the realm, or the Prince's person: Yet, not content with this, they will know that we will do hereafter, if such or such a thing should chance; they will sound all the Catholics' hearts in the realm, and (which is more than Antichristian violence) they will punish them as traitors by death most cruel, for their only thoughts. Yea, (which God Himself doth not) for future faults never committed, nor perhaps ever like to come to pass.

Which search of men's future facts or intentions, whereof they themselves have neither knowledge nor rule beforehand, is unnatural, intolerable, and to commonwealths most pernicious; and were able to make all the Catholics of the realm to be wholly desperate; not finding their loyal behaviour (shown in all kind of office and service to their Prince) sufficient to save their lives, but may be examined of these captious and deadly chapters; of their inward opinions and purposes to come; when the magistrate, or any man's one powerful enemy list require it. Especially now when their vulgar ministers give it out generally that all those whom they call Papists be in their hearts traitors, and this libeller saith, those aforesaid questions are most proper to try them.

Into such thraldom of body and soul that barbarous heresy brought us, and them also into those hazards of their state; which they pretend to be the causes of these their so extraordinary proceedings,

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tune demands, that if (which God forbid) the Queen by supposal, should fall to Arianism, apostacy, or atheism (whereunto man's frailty is subject) she might be deprived, and her subjects discharged of obedience to her. This is the only treason which they have tried out of Catholics, which for all that cannot be treason, how plainly or voluntarily soever it were spoken; much less being wrested out by commandment and subtle drift of interrogatories.

The libeller sayeth nothing is punished in us for question of conscience or religion; but yet this is such in the sight of all reasonable men in the world. For it is a mere matter of divinity, if not defined for us, yet at least disputable in school as themselves will confess. It concerneth the Pope's supremacy and power Apostolical, for which this libeller affirmeth and repeateth often that none be endangered of life or limb in England. This proposition (I say) or any other equivalent to it, viz: that the Pope hath power to excommunicate or deprive a prince in case of heresy or apostacy; and consequently, to absolve his subjects from their oath and obedience to him; or to stand in defence of themselves and the Catholic faith against him: cannot be proved treason by the statute of Edward the Third, upon which only he saith we be condemned for traitors. Whosoever should avouch the same in any Christian country in the world, or in our own country, in the time of the said King Edward had held the same opinion, should not, nor could not have been convicted of treason, trea-

sonable assertion, or evil affection to the Prince or country; because it standeth with the honour and safety of the whole commonwealth, and the rulers thereof, so far to be subject and obedient to Christ and His Church, that they count themselves no longer to stand or reign rightfully, than they stand and reign for the advancement of God's truth and kingdom in earth, which is His Church.

What treason had it been to Queen Mary (whose regiment for an example of their grief and our contentment this libeller so often allegeth) if in school, book, or pulpit, it had been affirmed, that for heresy or atheism a prince, or herself, might be deposed.

If in the famous university of Paris, or honourable college of Sorbonne, that conclusion of divinity were defended, that the Pope in case of heresy might censure their king; would that trouble his most Christian Majesty, who desireth no longer to reign than he doth advance the glory of Christ? The like might be said of the other great Monarch of Spain, who would not have his own issue (which God Almighty bless) succeed him, if it were not Catholic. No more would the Emperor's sacred Majesty; no nor the Pope's Holiness (in spiritual affairs and regiment of our souls, superior to all the rest) count any of his own subjects traitors, for holding that in case of heresy or apostacy he might be deposed or lose the right of his place and dignity.

We ask here the libeller, by what law or custom, canon, civil or national of our country or other,

is this made treason? Or why it should be more treason in England than in any other place? Seeing no law hitherto hath passed by authority against the same; nor any opinion to be counted prejudicial to any prince or state; no affection treasonable that is true in divinity; for that no truth agreeable to God's law and man's can be contrary to the lawful sovereignty of any power or potentate on earth.

But you will say (and that is all you can say) that though the general proposition that princes for heresy may be deposed, were true; yet the application thereof to her Majesty in particular, may be treason; for that it is made high treason by act of Parliament in the thirteenth year of the Queen's reign for any to call her a heretic or a schismatic, under pain of death.

To which we answer, first, that our affirming that she may be deposed for heresy, doth not at all avouch her to be one; no more than the like assertion of the King of Spain would imply him to be such a one, or us to think him such a one. And therefore if your own conscience accuse yourselves, or give you suspicion that whatsoever is said toucheth you, it is you that apply the general speech to your own particular, and not we. Secondly we say that your said law may bind us that by subjects not to speak so unreverently of her to whom God hath given power over us in this life, as to call her heretic, infidel, or schismatic (for those be the terms of your slander) though we should know her damnably to err in religion; but the Pope is not

subject to that law, but he may according to the authority given unto him, determine by the laws of God and holy Church, who is an heretic; and so will the learned of foreign schools whether you will or no, apply the definition of heresy or of an heretic, to what person they please.

As for us, and our brethren executed, you know none ever called the Queen heretic voluntarily, contemptuously, or maliciously, as your statute runneth; but when they were driven by you of set purpose to offend the law, so to have some quarrel to make them away.

For example of your charitable and no less politic dealing in such matters, we will set down the holy martyr John Nelson's case. This man being brought before the magistrate, was demanded what religion he was of. To which when he boldly answered that he was a Catholic, they further asked what he thought of that religion and service which was used in England; and to that when he answered that he took it to be heretical and schismatical, then (quoth they) "What is schism"? "A voluntary revolt" (said he) "from the Roman and Catholic Church." "Well, then" said the magistrate, "Go to; what thinkest thou of the Queen, is she a schismatic or no?" For of anything said before they had no just pretence of law to condemn him of treason. The man of God answered that he never so called her for reverence of her high dignity; nor could tell (for that he knew not her Majesty's meaning) whether this religion were established by her special commandment and authority or no; and

therefore humbly prayed them not to urge him wittingly to commit any crime, wherein hitherto he had never offended. But they would not so cease; but said they could well resolve him in that, that indeed this English religion was established by her, and by her maintained. The confessor still refused to answer, saying that he knew not so much, for all that, of her mind and conscience, but it might proceed rather of some of her ministers more than of herself: in which sort (as St. Augustine noteth) a man may be deceived by heretics, but yet properly no heretic: *Haereticis credens, et non proprie haereticus*. But because they would needs have the poor man's death, they left him not so; "But what," say they, "if she were the author of this religion, then whether were she a schismatic or heretic, or no?" The confessor being loth to exasperate the Prince on the one side, and more loth to offend God or give scandal on the other; after he had paused a while and asked strength from above, finally he said: "If she be the setter forth and defender of this religion, then she is a schismatic and heretic indeed." And so they got the holy person into the compass of their law, for which afterwards he was martyred.

Now we do appeal to the equity of all Christian people how loth our brethren be to offend by word or deed the honour of the Queen; and after what a shameful captious sort they be forced to do or say that which the enemy chargeth them withal, even to death. Alas, it is not Catholics that apply those universal truths of schools to the particular case of

our state, but it is their own uneven drifts, questions, fears, and suspicions that make them imagine and convert all to themselves. As also it is their error in regiment (well near as may be doubted incorrigible) that hath brought themselves to these perplexities, and us to these coacted miseries and complaints.

Lastly we say, that howsoever any one Catholic or other hath been driven or shall be forced hereafter to offend against the said statute of supremacy or heresy, or against any new law made in that behalf; yet in equity they cannot be pursued to death for that cause; seeing our adversary protesteth here publicly in his libel, that no other trespasses shall be objected to us as matter capital, saving treasons so made by the old laws of the realm. As we for our parts eftsoons do protest and avow before God (seeing we are now enforced to treat of these affairs) that whatsoever we have said or shall say in this our defence or remonstrance touching the former articles and demands about the bull, neither hath been nor shall be by us anywise spoken, meant or applied, against our natural Princess or country; howsoever any suspicious, malicious, or guilty mind shall peradventure construe or apply the same. Neither shall the matter be otherwise treated of by me in this place, but in such general terms as the schools use; without touching any particular person now living; referring the application of all to God's Church and to the chief pastors thereof; and to the conscience of every good Christian reader to whose hands this

book may chance to come. As on the other side, we will not busy ourselves to defend every private man's writing or action concerning the matter of the excommunication, but will without partiality and personal quarrel, for a common apology of us all, declare and prove these assertions of the Pope's power and superiority over kings in cases of heresy, apostacy, and other like, to be agreeable to God's word, and not treasonable nor undutiful to any prince or state in the world; but beneficial to all and every commonwealth under heaven, whose government is contained within the prescript of Jesus Christ our Redeemer's law.

But first before we come to the declaration of Catholic doctrine concerning the Church's authority in censuring and deposing princes for matter of religion, it shall not be amiss perhaps to set down the judgment and practice of Protestants in the same case. Which though it weigh little or nothing with us, as being altogether both done and spoken of seditious and partial affection to their heresy, and against the lawful magistracy of God; yet the adversary, seeing his own masters against him, shall well perceive that the resisting of princes and magistrates in cause of religion, as also the subjects taking arms for their defence in such a case, is no way to be accounted treason, but most lawful, according to their new gospel.

And first their grand-master, John Calvin, putteth down his oracle as a conclusion approved of their whole sect and confraternity in these words. *Abdicant se potestate, terreni principes, dum insur-*

*gunt contra Deum: inmo indigni sunt qui censeantur in hominum numero. Petius ergo conspuere oportet in illorum capita, quam illis parere, ubi sic proteruiunt ut velint spoliare Deum suo iure, etc.* Which in English is thus: "Earthly princes do bereave themselves of all authority when they do erect themselves against God, yea they are unworthy to be accounted in the number of men; and therefore we must rather spit upon their heads, than obey them; when they become so proud or perverse that they will spoil God of His right," and to the same place I further refer the reader for his instruction.

For declaration of which text, and for cutting of all cavillation about the interpretation of his words, their brother Beza shall speak next, who alloweth and highly commendeth in writing the fighting in France for religion against the laws and lawful King of that country, saying in his epistle dedicatory of his new testament to the Queen of England herself: "That the nobility of France (under the noble Prince of Condé) laid the first foundation of restoring true Christian religion in France, by consecrating most happily their blood to God in the battle of Druze. Whereof also the ministers of the reformed French churches (as their phrase is) do give their common verdict, in the confession of their faith thus: We affirm that subjects must obey the laws, pay tribute, bear all burthens imposed, and sustain the yoke even of infidel magistrates, so for all that that the supreme dominion and due of God be not violated."

Zwinglius, likewise a cater-cosen to the Calvin-

ists in religion, writeth thus: "If the Empire of Rome, or what other sovereign soever, should oppress the sincere religion, and we negligently suffer the same, we shall be charged with contempt, no less than the oppressors thereof themselves. Wherefore we have an example in the fifteenth of Jeremiah, where the destruction of the people is prophecied, for that they suffered their King Manasses, being impious and ungodly, to be unpunished."

And more plain in another place. "When kings," saith he, "rule unfaithfully and otherwise than the rule of the Gospel prescribeth, they may, with God, be deposed, as when they punish not wicked persons, but specially when they advance the ungodly, as idle priests, etc., such may be deprived of their dignity, as Saul was."

And what our English Protestants write or think of this matter, you shall well perceive, by their opinion and high approbation of Wyatt's rebellion in Queen Mary's days. Whereof one of their chief ministers called Goodman thus speaketh in his treatise entitled, "How Superior Magistrates ought to be obeyed": "Wyatt did but his duty, and it was the duty of all others that profess the Gospel, to have risen with him, for maintenance of the same. His cause was just, and they all were traitors that took not part with him. O noble Wyatt! thou art now with God, and those worthy men that died for that happy enterprise," etc.

What the Scottish ministry defineth in this question is plain, by the verdict of John Knox their

mightiest prophet; the arguments of a treatise of this matter being set down by himself thus: "If the people have either rashly promoted any manifest wicked person, or else ignorantly chosen such a one as after declareth himself unworthy of regiment above the people of God (and such be all idolaters and cruel persecutors) most justly may the same men depose and punish him."

So Luther also, the Protestants' Elias, being asked his opinion of the Almans confederacy made at Smalcalde against Charles V. their lawful and noble Emperor, answered: "That indeed he was in doubt for a time whether they might take arms against their supreme magistrate, or no; but afterwards seeing the extremity of things, and that religion could not otherwise be defended, nor themselves, he made no conscience of the matter, but either Cæsar, or any waging wars in his name, might be resisted."

Sledan also recorded that the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave gave this reason of their taking arms against their supreme magistrate: "For as much," say they, "as Cæsar intendeth to destroy the true religion and our ancient liberty, he giveth us cause enough why we may with good conscience resist him, as both by profane and sacred histories may be proved."

The same writer reporteth the like of the ministers of Magdeburg; declaring how the inferior may defend himself against the superior, compelling him to do against the truth and rule of Christian laws.

By all which you see that to resist the magistrate, defend themselves in cases of conscience, and to fight against the superior for religion, is a clear and ruled case, and no treasonable opinion at all against the Prince, if we will be judged by Protestants, wherein their known facts be far more notorious than their writings. For that Beza, and other the chief ministers of the French Calvinistical Congregations, were themselves in field against two or three of their natural liege lords and kings.

Zwinglius also, the unfortunate father of our English faith, was killed in battle, as all the world knoweth; and thereby it is evident that the instance of Dr. Saunders, who followed of zeal the late commotion in Ireland, cannot be so much objected to the Catholics' reproach as the adversary would have it seem; whose report notwithstanding of the manner of his death, is also a very slanderous untruth.

The Protestants of Flanders held it for a most certain truth (by the approbation also and solicitation of England), that they might rebel against their supreme magistrate for religion, when by force of arms they altered all, and deposed their sovereign. Which ought the more to weigh with the English Calvinists for that (as I have signified) their pudding lay also in that fire. As likewise it is well known that themselves have been the chiefest procurers and doers in the depriving of the lawful and anointed Queen of Scotland, and for her further affliction have kept her also in captivity these fourteen years together.

And here in these cases of their own no treasona-

ble propositions, no resisting of " God's anointed," no disobeying the king " as being the most precellent," no overruling the person " that acknowledgeth no superior in earth, but holdeth only of God," (for all these terms the libeller seemeth to make great advantage of against the resisters of our Queen, and deposing of her Majesty by the See Apostolic) can have place or bear sway. But when it cometh to a point of their own fresh and flourishing religion, then neither unction nor lawful succession, nor any other princely prerogative can serve lawful magistrates, or save them from their subjects fury; the English brethren ever specially assisting the rebellion as well by their divinity as otherwise by force of arms to their power.

The question therefore is not (neither is it material to the purpose which the libeller so much flourisheth very idly) of the Prince's lawful creation or consecration; but whether a Prince lawfully invested and anointed may be for any cause, namely for matter of religion, resisted by his subjects. We say that the Protestants of all sects do both hold and practise it, England itself specially allowing of the same. And therefore there is no treason in this case, if we follow the present divinity of England; nor new example, if we respect the furious attempts and rebellions of Scotland, Flanders, France and Germany, against their superiors, for maintenance of their heresies, and all well allowed by the ministry of every province. And upon these examples you should look (my Masters of England) when you make so much ado for one poor

commotion made in defence of the Catholics, in twenty six years space of the greatest persecution and tribulation that ever was since the Goths and Vandals' times. Where if the Queen had holden her ancestors' faith, and had ruled over so many Protestants but a quarter of the time, afflicting them as she hath done Catholics (though perhaps not herself so much as her unmerciful ministers) her Majesty should have seen other manner of attempts against her state and quietness than have fallen by Catholics either in England or Ireland in this her reign. Which her long prosperity in government proceedeth specially of the said Catholics timorous conscience, quietness of nature, love of order and obedience, and great detestation of garboils, stirs and troubles.

Which the very heretics themselves have often reproachfully and scornfully imputed unto them openly, saying to some of great account whom they had afflicted extremely: What will you, or what dare you? Your hearts we know and your wishes; but you are very cowards and beasts that be Papists. We stand in no fear of your forces or whatsoever you can do against us. Yea the very ministers will out of pulpit protest that the Papists shall never have the world for them, come what change of prince or laws soever, for they will fight for it to death.

Which challenge and vaunt they make on every hand so boldly, and yet very indiscreetly, because they see the Catholics more sad, grave, honest and quiet natured men, consisting of devout and aged

persons and of godly women; whereas the Protestants now in possession of the state, goods and government, are risen (most of the principal) by alteration, spoil and faction; their chief followers youthful persons, venturous and desperate; and the rest, both of laity, and specially clergy, entangled by the new present commodities and pleasures (which this new religion yieldeth in all fleshly lusts and turpitude) are impatient, vindictive, restless, and furious; and in a very few (in comparison of Catholics and quiet men) make a great show and a terrible muster in the sight of quiet, honest and peaceable persons.

Now these violent and factious men, when the Prince and laws go for them, they make their advantage thereof; but if they be against them, they break all bonds of obedience, despise domination, make spoil and havoc of all things, and run headlong into all most destestable disorders.

If you mark them you shall perceive they make their market most in the minority of princes or of their infirmity; as in England in King Edward's time; in France under the deceased two young brethren of his Majesty that now is; in our country again by the infirmity of the Princess' sex that now reigneth, otherwise truly of most excellent gifts, but always a woman, easily seduced, and not hardly led and drawn by those whom she either trusteth or feareth, in which case commonly the more gentle or innocent the sovereign is, the more violent is the government, through the abuse of their simplicity by the tyranny of such as occupy under them principal authority.

How this sort of men abused the years, sex and benignity also of the noble lady now Queen of Scotland, whose fortune thereby hath been so hard, as the world now seeth; and withal, how they have abused her most high and excellent son's minority, to the advancement of their sect and selves, no man can be ignorant. And now when that rare Prince is come to years of knowledge, and thereby like to espy and punish the wicked treachery and treasons of those that have so abominably abused his infancy and mother's sex; they barbarously, by the counsel of wicked ministers (the rascality of the realm), seized upon his royal person, and sithence being delivered by God from his enemies' hands, they stick not to tell him to his face that he was erected by them to defend this new and barbarous Gospel of theirs; and only upon fear of his further years they seek to put his noble person to death.

This, lo, is the devotion of Protestants towards their Prince, agreeable to their former opinions recited before. But of their divinity we make no further account than is requisite for this dispute now in hand with their fellow Protestants, and with those specially of England, who are the principal protectors of all these practices coloured by religion, whereof yet they have no further care than concerneth only their own interest. But it is sufficient for us that with these men (if we may believe either their words or deeds) it is no treason to resist the sovereign for defence of religion; nor no treasonable assertion to hold that a lawful prince may be deposed in case of revolt from God. And so say also on the other side all Catholic men and

schools in the Christian world concerning this point. But yet here is the difference between Catholic Christians and rebellious heretics: that these good fellows, following their own deceitful wills, and uncertain opinions, without rule or reason, do adjudge, by their private folly and phantasy, that thing to be error and idolatry which is indeed true religion; and do condemn for God's enemies such their lawful sovereigns as holy Church (which herein must be our chief informer and judge) doth allow for most just, godly, sacred, and Catholic princes.

The Catholics, contrariwise, as men of order and obedience, not trusting their own particular imaginations or partial affections, which might lead opinionative and restless brains to raise rebellion at their pleasure, under pretence of religion (whereof the Protestants have given us pitiful example these years past, whensoever the wicked desired change of governors and estate) do commit the direction of matters so important to the Church and to the chief governors of their souls who can judge by the Scriptures, Canons and Councils, what is heresy; who is a heretic; what prince is worthy to be excommunicated; who to be deprived; who is incorrigible; who may be expected in hope of amendment; who not; in what season and sort, to the least disturbance and most benefit and safety of the kingdom or place annoyed by such unworthy princes, the thing must be executed.

The Church is not partial in these things, as we that be subjects may be; it is not decent that inferiors should determine at their pleasures of their

superiors. What way therefore can we take in Christian religion more seemly and sure in conscience for these affairs than to hearken to the high priest of God's Church, by whose direction our consciences, in this case, cannot lightly err, or surely not so perniciously, when we follow them to whom Christ hath given the charge of our souls, and must render account thereof to Him, as to the supreme Bishop of all, by Whom and for Whom only all kings do reign. Catholics therefore (as you see) agree with the other in the point of deposing and resisting kings for religion, but yet do differ in the manner, as far as reason and conscience differ from fury and frenzy.

About which matter I will now set down some Catholic writers, albeit but few, for brevity's sake; yet of such excellent credit as shall be able to instruct and satisfy any reasonable conscience in this case; as also to be our brethren's defence against all those that charge them so deadly with these treasonable propositions.

Thomas Aquin, that glorious saint and clerk, whose only sentence weigheth more than all the Protestants wits and words in the world, saith thus: "Postquam princeps est denunciatus apostata, omnes inferiores et subditi absoluuntur a præstito juramento et obedientia illi debita"; that is to say: "After a prince is one denounced to be an apostate, all his inferiors and subjects are assoiled of their oath made unto him, and of their obedience due unto him." This case therefore is plainly resolved upon by the greatest of all the school doc-

tors, and therefore can be no treasonable assertion or opinion. Upon which words of St. Thomas the famous professor of our own time Francis Toledo writeth further thus: " Nota (saith he) quod eadem est ratio de excommunicato, quia cum primum quis est denuntiatus excommunicatus, omnes subditi absoluuntur ab eius obedientia. Licet enim sit notorium crimen principis, non absoluuntur vasalli a juramento, ut bene dicit Cajetanus, ante denuntiationem ab Ecclesia; qua facta, non solum sunt absoluti ab obedientia, sed tenentur non obedire; nisi forte propter periculum vitæ, vel damnum bonorum temporalium. Et sic de Henrico octavo in Anglia factum est: cui etsi subditi postquam denuntiatus esset excommunicatus, tenebantur non obedire; tamen quia is crudelis erat, et illos vel vita vel bonis privasset, excusati fuerunt subditi, illi adhuc obediendo." Which is in English: " Note " (saith he) " that albeit St. Thomas named only an apostata, yet the reason is all one in the prince's case that is excommunicated. For as soon as one is denounced or declared an excommunicate, all his subjects be discharged of their obedience. For though the crime of a prince be notorious, yet before declaration thereof be made by the Church, the vassals are not assoiled from obedience, as Cajetanus well holdeth; which declaration being made by the Church, they are not only discharged of their loyalty but are bound not to obey him any more; except it be for fear of their lives, or loss of their temporal goods. As it was in England in the time of Henry VIII., whom though the subjects were

bound not to obey after he was denounced excommunicate; yet for that he was a cruel man, and would either have killed or spoiled them, they were excused in obeying him." Thus doth this notable schoolman write; neither do we know any Catholic divine of any age to say the contrary.

We will not allege the Canon laws, which for that they be the decrees specially of Popes, whom our adversaries account partial, shall weigh little with them; though they be authentical in all the lawful tribunals of the Christian world, and make all heretics (not only after they be namely and particularly denounced, but by the law itself, *ipso facto*, as soon as they be heretics, or *de jure* excommunicated for the same) to be deprived of their dominions, though the subjects, until denunciation, need not take knowledge thereof.

Only it is not good to omit the definition and words of the famous Council of Lateran, celebrated above 300 years since; wherein there were Patriarchs and Archbishops 70, Bishops 412, and other prelates 800. In all, of the most chosen learned men of all nations, 1282; with the ambassadors of the Roman Emperor, of the King of Jerusalem, of England, of France, of Spain, and of Cyprus, as also of other Christian states; than which there can be no surer judgment upon earth; which assembly, representing the whole Christian world, would never agree upon any assertion traitorous. These then are the words of their most renowned decree, put only in English for brevity's sake.

"If any Lord temporal, required and admon-

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# A TRUE, SINCERE AND MODEST DEFENCE OF ENGLISH CATHOLICS THAT SUFFER FOR THEIR FAITH BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD, AGAINST A FALSE, SEDITIOUS AND SLANDEROUS LIBEL, ENTITLED: "THE EXECUTION OF JUSTICE IN ENGLAND."

*Wherein is declared how unjustly the Protestants do charge Catholics with treason; how untruly they deny their persecution for Religion; and how deceitfully they seek to abuse strangers about the cause, greatness, and manner of their sufferings, with divers other matters pertaining to this purpose.*

BY

WILLIAM ALLEN

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# CONTENTS.


## CHAPTER V.

OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND DEPRIVATION OF PRINCES FOR HERESY AND FALLING FROM THE FAITH; SPECIALLY OF WARS FOR RELIGION; AND OF THE OFFICE AND ZEAL OF PRIESTS OF THE OLD AND NEW LAW IN SUCH CASES . . . . . 1

## CHAPTER VI.

THAT IT IS MUCH TO THE BENEFIT AND STABILITY OF COMMONWEALTHS, AND SPECIALLY OF KINGS' SCEPTRES, THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWIXT THEM AND THEIR PEOPLE, FOR RELIGION OR ANY OTHER CAUSE FOR WHICH THEY MAY SEEM TO DESERVE DEPRIVATION, MAY RATHER BE DECIDED BY THE SUPREME PASTOR OF THE CHURCH, AS CATHOLICS WOULD HAVE IT; THAN BY POPULAR MUTINY AND PHANTASY OF PRIVATE MEN, AS HERETICS DESIRE AND PRACTISE . . . . . 33

## CHAPTER VII.

OF THE LATE WARS IN IRELAND FOR RELIGION: HOW THE POPE MAY USE THE SWORD: AND THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWIXT TEMPORAL PRINCES AND HIM, OR THEIR RESISTING HIM IN SOME CASES OF THEIR WORLDLY INTEREST, CAN BE NO WARRANT TO THE PROTESTANTS TO CONTEMN HIS CENSURES OR AUTHORITY IN MATTER OF FAITH AND RELIGION . . . . . 53

## CHAPTER VIII.

THAT THE SEPARATION OF THE PRINCE AND REALM FROM THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH AND SEE APOSTOLIC, AND FALL FROM CATHOLIC RELIGION, IS THE ONLY CAUSE OF ALL THE PRESENT FEARS AND DANGERS THAT THE STATE SEEMETH TO STAND IN. AND THAT THEY UNJUSTLY ATTRIBUTE THE SAME TO THE POPE'S HOLINESS, OR CATHOLICS; AND UNTRULY CALL THEM ENEMIES OF THE REALM . . . . . 85

## CHAPTER IX.

THE CONCLUSION, CONTAINING A CHARITABLE MOTION, AND A JOINDER WITH THE LIBELLER TOUCHING SOME MEANS OF TOLERATION IN RELIGION, AND CEASING OR MITIGATING THIS CRUEL PERSECUTION . . 141

## CHAPTER V.

Of excommunication and deprivation of Princes for heresy and falling from the faith; specially of wars for religion; and of the office and zeal of priests of the old and new law in such cases.

PRINCES being not subject to superiors temporal, nor patient of correction or controlment by their inferiors, may easily fall to grevious disorders, which must tend to the danger and ruin of whole countries.

In respect whereof great spirit, power, courage, and freedom of speech have been from the beginning granted by God, as well ordinary to priests, as extraordinary to some prophets and religious persons in all ages and times, both of the New and Old Testament.

So by God's great providence (who by His prophet warned kings to take discipline, and to serve Him in fear, lest in His ire He should suffer them to fall to iniquity) the first kings of his peculiar people had lightly some prophets or priests in manner as overseers, that might from time to time charge them boldly, and as it were by office, with their enormities, and namely with their fall from faith and the God of their fathers, to denounce His threatenings, yea and execute the same upon them, at sometimes if need so required. Which ministers of their Lord God all godly princes did hear, honour and obey; as contrariwise the kings that

were wicked and disloyal to God have ever sought cruelly their death and destruction, that so their wickedness might pass without controlment.

Saul, the first temporal king that ever the Jews (being then God's peculiar people) had, though chosen and inspired by God, was for all that led and directed by Samuel so long as he was in order. But afterwards for aspiring to spiritual function, and other disobedience, was by God's appointment and sentence (pronounced by the said Samuel) deposed of his kingdom, and another named David anointed by him. Which Saul now after his deprivation, or after, as it were, his excommunication by Samuel, was invaded by an evil spirit that provoked him to kill not only David, that was now made the rightful owner of his crown, but also to seek for Samuel's death; yea, and to command all the holy priests of Nobe (four score and five in number, as Holy Scripture recounteth) to be slain and murdered in most pitiful wise, as traitors to him, and favourers of David the competitor of his kingdom. And so it was done at last; though at the beginning his guard refused to execute so vile and horrible an act; and in this sort he remained enemy many years against God and Samuel, and kept the kingdom by tyrranical force notwithstanding his deposition.

David, nevertheless, in whom was the right of the crown, was lawfully up in arms, with one of the principal priests whose name was Abiathar, that escaped the foresaid murder; not of such power as the pretenced king was; till at length the usurper

(whom, as St. Augustine deduceth, he might lawfully have killed, but would not) being slain in battle, David obtained his right, first of a part of the kingdom, and afterwards of all the rest; which Isboseth did for two years, by the pretended right of Saul his father, usurp.

By which it is plain that the priests and prophets of God, being the executors of his sentences and rule of the people in such doubtful and partial times of variety for claim and competency, are most subject to the hatred of usurpers, as also to death and danger for the same.

You see in what sort also Jeroboam, king of Israel, had a special prophet sent to him to denounce the intended judgments of God against him and his posterity, for his schism and separation of his people from the old ancient true worship of God in Jerusalem, and for erecting of a new altar in Bethel (in which all schism and division from the Apostolic See is properly pre-figured), and for creating of a wicked clergy out of Aaron's order; I mean new, hungry, base, and inordered priests (the pattern of heretical ministers) thrust up, out of the array and orderly succession and creation of Apostolic priesthood; a crime so highly afterward both in him and his stock (according to God's former denunciation) revenged, that none of his house was left. Yet he fondly sought to apprehend the man of God and to kill him for bringing this news, which he accounted high treason against his regality. Ozias also, or Usia, king of Juda, puffed up with intolerable pride (as the Scripture sayeth)

and not contented with his kingly sovereignty, but presuming to execute spiritual and priestly function, was valiantly by Azarias and four score priests with him assailed, and thrust out of the Temple by force. At what time, for that he threatened the priests of God and resisted them with violence, he was stricken with a filthy leprosy, and so not only thrust out of the Temple, but by their authority, severed also from all company of men (a special figure of the priests' power to excommunicate for heresy as well princes as others, in the new law); and finally the regiment of his kingdom was committed to his son. A clear example that priests may use arms, and repress impiety by forcible way, where it may serve to the preservation of religion and the honour of God.

But the office and zeal of good priests is notably recommended unto us in the deposition of the wicked Queen Athalia. She, to obtain the crown after Ochozias, killed all his children; only one, which by a certain good woman's piety was secretly withdrawn from the massacre, saved and brought up within the Temple for seven years' space. All which time the said Queen usurped the kingdom; till at length Joiada, the high priest, by opportunity called to him forces both of the priests and people, proclaimed the right heir that was in his custody, anointed and crowned him King, and caused immediately the pretended Queen (notwithstanding she cried treason, treason, as not only just possessors but wicked usurpers use to do) to be slain with her fautors at her own court gate. Thus do priests

deal and judge for the innocent and lawful princes (when time requireth) much to their honour, and agreeable to their holy calling.

No man can be ignorant how stoutly Elias (being sought to death by Achab and his queen Jezabel that overthrew holy altars, and murdered all the true religious that could be found in their land) told them to their face that not he or other men of God whom they persecuted, but they and their house were the disturbers of Israel; and slew in his zeal all the said Jezabel's false prophets, fostered at her table, even four hundred at one time; and so set up holy altars again. How he handled the idolatrous king Ochozias, his captains and messengers, wasting them and a hundred of their train by fire from heaven; till the third captain was forced to humble himeslf upon his knees unto him.

How he had commission to anoint Hazael, king of Syria, Eliseus, a prophet for himself, and Jehu, king of Israel, and so to put down the son and whole house of Achab; which thereby lost all the title and right to the kingdom for ever.

This prophet and his successor Eliseus were so famous in this service of God for the chastisement of irreligious princes that in holy Writ it is thus said of the former: "He cast down kings, destroyed them, and plucked the honourable from their seats." And of the second, in the same place: "that he never feared prince, nor could be overcome by any." And in another place: "Whosoever escapeth the sword of Jehu, the sword of Eliseus shall slay him."

By which examples of holy Scriptures we see, first: that anointed and lawfully created kings may be deposed; secondly: for what causes they were deprived; thirdly, that as in the creation and consecration of kings, so also in their deprivation, God used the ministry of priests and prophets, as either ordinary or extraordinary judges or executors of His will towards them.

For though neither these priests nor prophets were superiors to their own kings or sovereigns in their temporal states and regiments; nor lords or masters of their crowns and kingdoms; yet for that they held their dignities and sovereign authorities of God, and were bound to occupy and use the same, with what forces soever they had, to the advancement of His religion, and to the true worship and honour of their supreme Lord and Master; as also to the benefit and preservation of His people in faith and fear of Him; the priests and prophets (that then had the principal and direct charge of men's souls and religion, and were in spiritual matters superiors to their own princes) rightly opposed themselves in all such actions as tended to the dishonour of God, destruction of religion, and to the notorious damage of the souls of them over whom they did reign; and in the behalf of God, executed justice upon such as contrary to their obligation and first institution abused their sovereign power, to the destruction of true religion, and advancement of idolatry, heresy, or such like abomination. In which cases, and all other doubts and differences betwixt one man and another, or be-

twixt prince and people, that priests, and namely the high priest should be the arbiter and judge, and the interpreter of God's will towards His people, is most consonant both to nature, reason, the use of all nations, and to the express Scriptures.

For in God's sacred law thus we read: *Si difficile et ambiguum apud te indicium esse prospexeris inter sanguinem et sanguinem, causam et causam, lepram et non lepram,*" etc. If thou foresee the judgment to be hard and ambiguous betwixt blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosy or no leprosy, and find variety of sentences among the judges at home, rise and go up to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, and thou shalt come to the priests of Levi's stock, and to the judge that shall be for the time; thou shalt ask of them, and they will judge according to the truth of judgment; and thou shalt do whatsoever they say that have the rule of the place which God shall choose, and shall teach them according to his law; thou shalt not decline neither to the right hand nor left. And if any shall be so proud as not to obey the commandment of the priest that shall for that time minister unto the Lord thy God, by the sentence of the judge let that man die, and so thou shalt remove evil from Israel, and all the people hearing shall fear and take heed, that hereafter they wax not proud."

Thus far in the holy text, generally without all exception, subjecting in cases of such doubts as are recited, all degrees of faithful men, no less kings than others, to the priests' resolution. Yea, immediately order is given how their kings (which yet

were not when that was written, but afterwards by their motion to be created) should be elected; that none could be chosen to rule over them, being the people of God, that were not true believers and worshippers of him, according to the ceremonies of their laws and religion. Which laws they might not take, make, or moderate themselves, but receive of the priests of the Levitical tribe; and thereby learn to fear God and keep his words and ceremonies; expressly also appointing and warning them, or as it were covenanting with them and him whom they should create or have for their king, that he should not against God's express commandment, bring back at any time his people into Egypt, that is to say, from the liberty of his faith and true service, to the bondage of idolatry and false religion.

Which condition was afterwards to be implied in the receiving of any king over the people of God and true believers for ever, viz: that they should not reduce their people by force or otherwise from the faith of their forefathers, and the religion and holy ceremonies thereof, received at the hands of God's priests and none other: insinuating that, observing these precepts and conditions, he and his son after him might long reign; otherwise, as by the practice of their deposition in the books and time of the kings it afterwards appeareth (whereof we have set down some examples before) the prophets and priests that anointed them, of no other condition but to keep and maintain the honour of God and His true worship, deprived them again when

they brake with their Lord, and fell to strange gods, and forced their people to do the like.

And this it was in the Old Law. But now in the New Testament, and in the time of Christ's spiritual kingdom in the Church, priests have much more sovereign authority, and princes far more strict charge to obey, love, and cherish the Church; of which Church it was said by prophecy: "Kings shall be thy fosterfathers, and queens thy nurses": and again: "Kings' breasts shall nourish thee, and every kingdom that serveth not thee shall perish." In which Church without fail is the supereminent power of Christ's priesthood, Who with His iron rod bruiseth the pride of princes that rebel against His Spouse and kingdom in earth, like a potter's potsherd; and hath right in His Church over all kingdoms, to plant and pluck up, to build and destroy, afore whom all kings shall fall down, and all nations shall do him service.

Now Christ's priestly prerogative, passing His own regal dignity (much more excelling all other human power of the world), in most ample and exact terms is communicated to the chief Priest and Pastor of our souls, and secondarily to the rest of the governors of the Church, in other manner of clauses than any earthly princes can show for their pretenced spiritual regiment. Fie on that secular pride and wilful blind heresy so repugning against God's express ordinance; and yet is of wicked sect-masters and flatterers upholden to the eternal calamity of themselves, and of millions of others.

Now all Christ's sheep, without exception, be they

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threaten to come to his contemners in rod of discipline. So did he excommunicate a principal person in Corinth for incest; not only by spiritual punishment, but also by bodily vexation, giving him up to Satan's chastisement. As he corporally also corrected and molested with an evil spirit Himineus and Alexander for blasphemy and heresy. Finally he boldly avoucheth that his power in God is to revenge all disobedience, and to bring under all lofty hearts to the loyalty of Christ, and of the Apostles and Saints in this life. *Nescitis* (quoth he) *quoniam Angelos judicabimus, quanto magis secularia*? "Know you not that we shall judge Angels, how much more secular matters?"

In all which there is no difference betwixt kings that be faithful, and other Christian men; who all, in that they have submitted themselves and their sceptres to the sweet yoke of Christ, are subject to discipline and to their pastor's authority, no less than other sheep of his fold.

And although the state, regiment, policy and power temporal be in itself always of distinct nature, quality, and condition from the government ecclesiastical and spiritual commonwealth called the Church or Body mystical of Christ; and the magistrate spiritual and civil divers and distinct; and sometimes so far that the one hath no dependence of the other, nor subalternation to the other in respect of themselves; (as it is in the Churches of God residing in heathen kingdoms, and was in the Apostles' times under the pagan emperors), yet now where the laws of Christ are received, and the bodies

politic and mystical, the Church and civil state, the magistrate ecclesiastical and temporal, concur in their kinds together (though ever of distinct regiments, natures, and ends), there is such a concurrence and subalternation betwixt both, that the inferior of the two (which is the civil state) must needs (in matters pertaining any way either directly or indirectly to the honour of God and benefit of the soul) be subject to the spiritual, and take direction from the same.

The condition of these two powers (as St. Gregory Nazianzen most excellently resembleth it) is like unto the distinct state of the same spirit and body or flesh in a man, where either of them having their proper and peculiar operations, ends, and objects, which in other natures may be severed (as in brutes, where flesh is and not spirit; in Angels where spirit is but not flesh): are yet in man conjoined in person; and nevertheless so distinct in faculties and operations, that the flesh hath her actions peculiar, and the soul hers; but not without subalternation or dependence. Where we see evidently, that in case the operations of the body be contrary to the end, weal and just desires of the soul, the spirit may and must command, overrule, and chastise the body; and as superior, appointeth fasting and other afflictions, though with some detriment to the flesh; commanding the eyes not to see; the tongue not to speak; and so forth. So likewise the power political hath her princes, laws, tribunals; and the spiritual her prelates, canons, councils, judgments, (and these, when the princes

are pagans) wholly separate; but in Christian commonwealths joined, though not confounded; nor yet the spiritual turned into the temporal, or subject by perverse order (as it is now in England) to the same; but the civil (which indeed is the inferior) subordinate, and in some cases subject to the ecclesiastical: though so long as the temporal state is no hindrance to eternal felicity and the glory of Christ's kingdom, the other intermeddleth not with her actions, but alloweth, defendeth, honoureth, and in particular commonwealths obeyeth the same.

Yet where it is otherwise, and the temporal power resisteth God, or hindereth the proceeding of the people to salvation; there the spiritual hath right to correct the temporal, and to procure by all means possible, that the terrene kingdom give no annoyance to the state of the Church, which now adorned in the New Testament with the power of Christ's priesthood, and with several and distinct officers, appointed by the Holy Ghost, must needs so far excel the terrene state and dominion, as the sun passeth the moon, the soul the body, and heaven the earth. By reason of which excellency and preeminence above all states and men, without exception of prince or other, our Lord proclaimeth in His Gospel, that whosoever obeyeth not or heareth not the Church, must be taken and used no otherwise than as a heathen.

This being so plain, and in truth so beneficial to the very kings and commonwealths themselves, that the preservation of both specially standeth upon this concurrence with the Church and priesthood,

and with the due subalternation of the temporal to the spiritual regiment; and which all kings (that be not for punishment of their own and their people's sins obdurate, and prepared by God's judgment to be an example of His power and justice) most gladly acknowledge; yet there be so many either flatterers of princes that so say; or heretics that so think; that the ministers of Christ's most dear Spouse, of His very Body mystical, His Kingdom and House on earth (whom at His departure hence He did endow with most ample commission, and sent forth with that authority that His Father had before given unto Him) have no power over princes to denounce or declare them to be violators of God's and His Church's laws; not to punish them either spiritually or temporally; not to excommunicate them; not to discharge the people of their oath and obedience towards such as neither by God's laws nor man's a true Christian may obey.

Wherein it may please the gentle readers to inform their consciences partly by what is said before, and specially by that which followeth. Where they shall find that straight upon the first conversion of kings to the faith, as the good and godly have ever obeyed the Church, and submitted themselves to ecclesiastical censures and discipline; so the evil and obstinate could never orderly discharge themselves from the same, without evident note of injustice, tyranny and irreligiosity; and were either in fine brought to order and penance, or else to confusion both temporal and eternal.

About thirteen hundred years ago Babylas,

Bishop of Antioch, excommunicated the only Christian king or Emperor that then was (as some count Numerius, as others Philip) for executing a prince that was put to him for a hostage. Whereupon, as evil kings sometimes do, he martyred his Bishop; whom St. Chrysostom and others reckon for the most famous martyr of that time, because he gave both by his constancy and courage in God a notable example to all bishops of their behaviour towards their princes; and how they ought to use the ecclesiastical rod of correction towards them, whatsoever befall to their persons for the same.

After the said prince had murdered his own pastor, then holy Pope Fabian, for that he was the general Shepherd of Christendom (or as some think Fabius the successor of Babylas) pursued the said Emperor by like excommunication, and other means, till at length he brought him to order and repentance.

Afterwards St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, excommunicated the elder Theodosius the Emperor; put him to public penance among the rest of the people; commanded him to put off his kingly robe; to leave his imperial throne in the chancel, and to keep his place among the laity; and prescribed him after eight months' penance to make a temporal law for proviso against the occasions of such crimes as the said Emperor had committed, and for which he was excommunicated.

This was another world than we now are in; marvellous courage and zeal in bishops for God's cause; much humility and obedience in princes.

Then was there no flatterer so shameful nor heretic on earth so impudent, as to make the temporal kings above all correction of God's Church and their own pastors; nothing being more common in the histories of all ages than that princes have received discipline.

As when Anastasius the Emperor was excommunicated by Symmachus; Lotharius and Michael Emperors, by Nicholas the First; and particular princes by their provincial bishops; as we see in the records of all nations. Therefore we will stand only upon more famous and ancient examples.

Innocent the First excommunicated Archadius the Emperor and his wife Queen Eudoxia, for that they disobeyed and persecuted their bishop St. Chrysostom. We will report the judicial sentence briefly, because it is much to the purpose and full of majesty:

"O Emperor (said Pope Innocent well near 1200 years ago) "the blood of my brother John Chrysostom crieth to God against thee. Thou hast cast out of his chair the great Doctor of the world; and in him by thy wife's (that delicate Dalila) her persuasion hath persecuted Christ. Therefore I (though a poor sinful soul) to whom the throne of the great Apostle St. Peter is committed, do excommunicate thee and her, and do separate you both from the holy Sacraments, commanding that no priest or bishop, under pain of deprivation, after this my sentence come to their knowledge, give or minister the said Sacraments unto you."

Thus did this blessed Father (whom St. Augus-

time exceedingly commended in his time) deal with this Emperor and wicked Queen, the cause of her husband's fall and offences, and at length brought them to penance. But when in process of time some princes, through God's just judgment and the people's sin, were fallen to such contempt of religion (as it lightly happeneth by heresy and apostacy) that excommunication, being only a spiritual penalty, or other ordinary ecclesiastical discipline would not serve; then as well bishops as other godly persons, their own subjects, did crave aid and arms of other princes, for their chastisement; as most holy and ancient Popes (even in these old days when the Protestants confess them to have been godly bishops) did incite Catholic kings to the same; that those whom the spiritual rod could not fruitfully chastise, they might by extern or temporal force, bring them to order and repentance, or at least defend their innocent Catholic subjects from unjust vexation.

There is no war in the world so just or honourable, be it civil or foreign, as that which is waged for religion; we say for the true, ancient, Catholic, Roman religion; which by the laws of holy Church and all Christian nations, is adjudged to be the only true worship of God; and unto the obedience of which all princes and people have yielded themselves, either by oath, vow or Sacraments, or every of these ways. For this, it is godly and honourable to fight in such order and time as we be warranted in conscience and law by our supreme pastors and priests; and not for wild condemned heresies,

against most lawful Christian Catholics, kings and priests; as the rebellious Protestants and Calvinists of this time do, without all order, law, or warrant of God or man. As the arms taken for defence of godly honour and inheritance in such sort and difference from heretical tumults as is said, are so much more commendable and glorious; for that no crime in the world deserveth more sharp and zealous pursuit of extreme revenge (whether it be in superiors or subjects) than revolting from the faith to strange religions.

" Whosoever seeketh not after the Lord God of Israel, let him be slain " said King Asa, admonished by Azarias the prophet, " from the highest to the lowest without exception." And all the people and many that followed him and fled to him out of Israel from the schism there, did swear and vow themselves in the quarrel of the God of their forefathers. And they prospered and deposed Queen Maacha, mother to Asa, for apostacy, and for worshipping the venereous god called Priapus.

For that case also in Deuteronomy express charge was given to slay all false prophets, and whosoever should avert the people from the true worship of God, and induce them to receive strange gods, and new religions; and to destroy all their followers were they never so near us by nature. And in the same place, that if any city should revolt from the received and prescribed worship of God, and begin to admit new religions, it should be utterly wasted by fire and sword. Neither pertaineth this to poor men only, but to the governors

and leaders of the people most of all; as we see in the Book of Numbers, where Moses, by the commandment of God, caused all the princes of the people to be hanged upon gibbets against the sun, for communication in sacrifice with the Moabites; and the rest of the people every one by the hand of his neighbour to be put to the sword for the same fault; wherein Phinees the priest of God, by slaying a chief captain with his own hands, deserved eternal praise, and the perpetuity of his priesthood. By Moses also his appointment, the faithful Levites slew 24,000 of their neighbours, brethren and friends, for committing idolatry and forsaking the true God. Marry in all this (as you see by the examples alleged) the prophets and priests must direct them for the cause and action, that they err not of phantasy, partiality, pride, and pretence of religion, as heretics and rebels do, but the quarrel must be for the old faith, service and priesthood, against innovation; and directed and allowed by those which by order and function have charge of our souls.

As we read also in the book of Numbers that the captain and all the people were commanded to go in and out, that is, to proceed in wars according to the order of Eleazar the priest. Such were the wars of Abia and other kings of Juda, that brought most justly and prosperously against the schismatical Israelites, and justly possessed the cities which they conquered in those wars. As also Edom and Lobua revolted from king Joram for religion, even because he forsook the God of their forefathers,

and could never be recovered to the same again. Wherein also the example and zeal of the children of Israel was very notable; that they would have denounced war against the tribe of Ruben and Gad, only for erecting (as they took it) a schismatical altar out of the only place where our Lord appointed that sacrifice should be done unto His honour.

So, much more since Christ's law and religion was established, divers great and honourable fights have been made for the faith, against princes and provinces that unjustly withstood and annoyed the same.

So in old times of the primitive Church, the Christian Armenians lawfully defended themselves by arms against their emperor Maximinus. And the Catholic people of divers provinces have often by force defended and kept their bishops in their seats against the infidels; but specially against the commandment of heretical emperors; yea, and resisted them in defence of their Churches, and the sacred goods of the same. As the citizens of Antioch defended their Church against the Emperor Galerius his officers. St. Basil and St. Ambrose's people defended them against the invasions of heretics. And not the people only, which may do things of headiness, without counsel or consultation (of whom St. Ambrose saith, being willed to assuage their fury, that it lay in him not to incite them himself, but had no means oftentimes to repress them); but the bishops of countries so persecuted by heretical princes have justly required help of other Christian kings and nations.

For so holy Athanasius (who knew his duty to his Sovereign well enough, and in what case he might resist him) asked aid against Constantius the Arian and first heretical Emperor (whom Pope Felix declared to be a heretic) of his own brother Constance, Catholic Emperor of the West; for fear of whose arms the said Arian restored Athanasius and other Catholic bishops to their churches and honours again; though after this Catholic Emperor's death the other more furiously persecuted Athanasius than before.

Likewise against Valens the Arian Emperor; Petrus, successor to Athanasius, and brother to St. Basil, did seek to the Pope of Rome for succour, as all other afflicted bishops and Catholics ever did. So did Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople, crave aid of Theodosius the younger against the King of the Persians that persecuted his Catholic subjects, and was thereby forcibly deprived, and his innocent subjects delivered.

So did holy Pope Leo the First persuade the Emperor, called Leo also, to take arms against the tyrant of Alexandria for the delivery of the oppressed Catholics from him and the heretic Eutychians; who then threw down churches and monasteries, and did other great sacrileges. Whose words for example's sake I will set down. "O Emperor" (saith St. Leo) "if it be laudable for thee to invade the heathens, how much more glorious shall it be to deliver the Church of Alexandria from the heavy yoke of outrageous heretics, by the calamity of which Church all the Christians in the world are injured."

In brief; so did St. Gregory the Great move Gennadius the Exarch to make wars specially against heretics as a very glorious thing. And so ever have holy bishops most intermeddled in cases of heresy and injuries done unto God's Church (as a thing properly subject to their correction), by excommunication, or what other way soever God hath given them commodity of; which also is to be used and executed according to the differences of times and persons.

The holy bishops most lawfully (and so sometimes they did) excommunicate the Arian emperors, and have warranted their Catholic subjects to defend themselves by arms against them. But they always did not so; because they had no means, by reason of the greater forces of the persecutors. As there is no question but the Emperors Constantius, Valens, Julian and others might have been by the bishops excommunicated and deposed, and all their people released from their obedience, if the Church or Catholics had had competent forces to have resisted.

Yea, the quarrel of religion and defence of innocency is so just, that heathen princes, not at all subject to the Church's laws and discipline, may in that case by the Christians' arms be resisted, and might lawfully have been repressed in times of the pagans, and first great persecutions, when they vexed and oppressed the faithful; but not otherwise (as most men think), if they would not annoy the Christians, nor violently hinder or seek to extirpate the true faith and course of the Gospel. Though

St. Thomas seemeth also to say, that any heathen king may be lawfully deprived of his superiority over Christians.

Howsoever that be, plain it is that kings that have professed the faith of Christ and the defence of His Church and Gospel may be and have been justly both excommunicated and deposed, for injuries done to God's Church, and revolt from the same; as sometimes also for other great crimes tending to the pernicion of the whole people subject unto them.

But to speak specially of matter of religion, and the crimes thereunto belonging, Leo the Third was excommunicated and deprived of all his temporalities in Italy by Gregory the Second. For defect also in religion and of the Church's defence, were the Greek emperors discharged, and the Empire translated to the Germans by Pope Leo the Third. As afterwards divers German emperors for notable injuries done to God's Church, for sacrilege and for heresy, by godly discipline of the Church, and by the diligence of sundry Popes, have been brought to order, or in fine deposed; or else where they would not obey Christ's Vicar, either in themselves, or in their posterity, have been notoriously by God confounded. As Frederick the First, Frederick the Second, Otho the Fifth, Lewis the Third, Lewis the Fourth, and whom we name last (because we must say somewhat more of him) Henry the Third (or as some call him) the Fourth, by Gregory the Seventh, which example the libeller and other heretics most mention, for that the said

Henry so obstinately resisted (though otherwise by the invincible courage and constancy of the Pope often brought to penance and extremity), that in fine by arms he drove the said Pope out of his See, and placed an Antipope, that is to say, one so opposite to Christ's Vicar, as Antichrist shall be against Christ. Which by arms and patronage of this wicked emperor, usurped and occupied the Apostolical throne against the true Pope Gregory the Seventh, whom the libeller (after the vulgar vein of rebellious heretics) vouchsafeth not the name of Gregory the Seventh, but calleth him commonly Hildebrand; as the heretics, when they were in arms in Germany against their Emperor, would not name him Charles the Fifth, nor Emperor, but Charles of Gaunt.

And now because this good and notable Pope was not able in fine to resist the emperor's forces, (the which emperor, as all the histories of that time record, was a most wicked, sacrilegious, simoniacal and heretical person) the adversaries of God's Church do triumph (as the libeller here doth) over the blessed man; as Herod might have over John Baptist, whose admonition was taken in so evil *gré*, that it cost him his life; as also the executing of the Church's sentence, which is God's, hath done to many a prophet and bishop in the world.

By which event of things whosoever measureth the right of causes will make a good religion and a good defence of the execution of justice. For so most tyrants might be justified, for a time, against all the saints of God. This Gregory, say they, was

in fine banished by the emperor; and so was St. Chrysostom by Archadius and Eudoxia, and died in banishment, as Gregory the Seventh did; yet they were but homely Christians that would justify the Emperors, and condemn St. Chrysostom.

And indeed this Pope, whom they specially hate because (as it may be thought) he was the first man that authentically condemned the Berengarians' heresy, and in open disputation refuted it; though certain of the said Emperor's flatterers, and enemies of the See Apostolic (as the fashion of our heretics is at this day), wrote slanderous libels against him; yet was he a very notable good man and learned, and did suffer whatsoever he did suffer for mere justice, in that he did godly, honourably, and by the duty of his pastorship, whatsoever he did against the said Emperor. Whereof we could allege all the best writers of those days, or near that time, but that we should be tedious. Of whom yet this one grave testimony of Baptista Fulgosius, a noble and learned man that was Duke of Genoa above a hundred years past, we shall not let to set down as we find it in Latin: "Constantissimus habitus est Gregorius septimus Pontifex, qui quod Henricum tertium Imperatorem propter aperta nimis simoniae crimina, pro pastorali officio reprehendebat, gravibus ab eo injuriis affectus est: itaque injuriarum magnitudine compulsus, Henricum Gregorius ut haereticum Imperii honore privavit. Cum autem Henricus solvi ecclesiastica censura non emendatione vitae sed armis quaereret; alium creare Pontificem enixus, capta Urbe obsidere

Gregorium coepit. Quae mala cum Gregorius pateretur, nunquam tamen a justo proposito dimoveri potuit." That is: "Gregory the Seventh was notable for his constancy; who for that according to his pastoral charge, he had admonished Henry the Third, Emperor, to leave his known impiety of simony, was by manifold intolerable injuries vexed by the said Emperor; and by the greatness of his wickedness, was compelled to deprive him, as a heretic, of his Imperial dignity. But Henry seeking not by amendment of his life, but by arms, to be absolved from the censure, he went about to set up a new Pope, and besieged the city of Rome, and brought the Pope into great distress. In all which miseries Gregory could never be removed from his just purpose." So he writeth of the parties both, and of the horrible crimes for which the Emperor was most justly in the sight of all good men deposed. Thus Trithemus reporteth in brief of the wickedness of this Emperor: "Episcopatus, Constantiensem, etc." "He sold the bishoprics of Constance, Bamburgh, Mentz, and divers other for money; those of Augsburg and Strassburg for a sword; that of Munster for sodomy; and the abbacy of Fulde for adultery. Heaven and earth witness and cry out of these; and for the same abominations he standeth excommunicated and deprived, and therefore hath no power nor just title to reign over us Catholics."

But to go forward; this same Gregory the Seventh did the like commendable justice upon the King of Poland, Bolislaus the Second; as well ex-

communicating as depriving him for murdering of his bishop St. Stanislaus at the very altar. Against which sentence though he stood by force and contempt for a time, yet at length he was forsaken and resisted wholly by his subjects, fled, and in fine slew himself.

For heresy also was George King of Boemland excommunicated, and thereupon by the forces of the King of Hungary at length actually deprived. As also John Albert had half of his kingdom of Navarre taken from him by Ferdinand surnamed Catholic of Aragon, for that he gave aid to Lewis the Twelfth, being excommunicated by Julius the Second. For great injuries also done to holy Church, and for persecution of bishops and religious was John, one of our kings of England, with his whole land interdicted, and brought (after long struggling against God and the See Apostolic) to yield his crown to the courtesy of the Pope's Legate, and to make both his Realms of England and Ireland tributaries. The authentical instrument whereof John Bodin saith he hath seen.

For like causes, and namely for that he was vehemently suspected of the murder of the blessed bishop St. Thomas of Canterbury, was Henry the Second driven by Alexander the Third to order and penance. A number of the like examples more we might recite, of our country and of the Christian world; whereby not only the practice of the Church in all ages may be seen, but also Catholic men warranted that they be no traitors, nor hold assertions treasonable, false, or undutiful, in answering or be-

lieving that, for heresy or such like notorious wickedness, a prince (otherwise lawful and anointed) may be excommunicated, deposed, forsaken or resisted by the warrant of holy Church's judgment and censure.

Whereunto we will add only the sentence of Gregory the Great and first of that name, whom the adversaries confess to have been both learned and holy. Who being as they know many hundred years before Gregory the Seventh, and our special apostle, practised the point we now stand on, and therefore likely to be believed of all reasonable men. He therefore in the form of his privilege granted to St. Medard's monastery, thus decreeth: "Si quis (inquit) Regum, Antistitum, Judicum, vel quarumcunque personarum saecularium hujus Apostolicae authoritatis et nostrae praeceptionis decreta violaverit, cujuscunque dignitatis vel sublimitatis sit, honore suo privetur." "If any king, prelate, judge, or what other secular person soever that transgress this decree of our authority and commandment, of what pre-eminence or height soever he may be, let him be deprived of his dignity."

This was the right and power of St. Gregory; and this hath been the faith of Christian men ever since our country was converted; and never subject called in question much less accused of treason for it, till this miserable time; and least of all made or found treason by the old laws in King Edward the Third's reign, as is pretended; howsoever by their new laws they may and do make what they list a crime capital.

And ever since the said St. Gregory's time, or thereabout, all kings in Christendom, specially those of Spain, France, Poland, and England, take an oath upon the holy Evangelists at their coronation, to keep and defend the Catholic faith; and ours of England expressly, to maintain also the privileges and liberties of the Church and clergy, given by King Edward the Confessor and other faithful kings their ancestors.

Whereof St. Thomas of Canterbury putteth his Sovereign Henry the Second in memory both often in speech, and expressly in an epistle written to him in these words: "Memores sitis confessionis quam fecistis et posuistis super altare apud Westmonasterium, de servanda Ecclesiae libertate, quando consecrati fuistis et uncti in Regem a praedecessore nostro Theobaldo." "Keep in memory the confession which you made and laid upon the altar at Westminster, touching the keeping of holy Church's liberties, when you were consecrated and anointed King by my predecessor Theobald."

And the Patriarchs of Constantinople took an instrument of such as were to be crowned emperors (specially in the times of heresy), wherein they made the like promise and profession, to keep and defend the Faith and decrees of holy Councils. So did the Patriarch Euphemius in the coronation of Anastasius; Nicephorus, in the investing of Michael; and others in the creation of other emperors of the East. And Zonoras writeth that the Patriarch of Constantinople plainly told Isaac Commenus the Emperor, that as by his hands he

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men must hold and obey him to what infidelity soever he fall; then we were in worse case than heathens, and all other human commonwealths. Which both before Christ and after, have had means to deliver themselves from such tyrants as were intolerable, and evidently pernicious to human society and the good of the people; for whose peace and preservation they were created by man, or ordained by God.

The bond and obligation we have entered into for the service of Christ and the Church far exceedeth all other duty which we owe to any human creature. And therefore where the obedience to the inferior hindereth the service of the other which is superior, we must by law and order discharge ourselves of the inferior.

The wife, if she cannot live with her own husband (being an infidel or a heretic) without injury and dishonour to God, she may depart from him, or contrariwise he from her, for the like cause: neither oweth the innocent party, nor the other can lawfully claim, any conjugal duty or debt in this case.

The very bondslave, which is in another kind no less bound to his lord and master than the subject to his Sovereign, may also by the ancient imperial laws, depart and refuse to obey or serve him if he become a heretic, yea *ipso facto* is made free.

Finally the parents that become heretics lose the superiority and dominion they have by law or nature over their own children.

Therefore let no man marvel that, in case of heresy, the sovereign loseth his superiority and

right over his people and kingdom, which cannot be a lawful Christian state or commonwealth without due obedience to Christ and to the Church's laws; but may well consist and not perish at all by the change of their prince or king. Not any one person being simply necessary for the preservation of the same, as some one (being a heretic and enemy to religion) may be, and lightly is (if he be suffered), the destruction thereof.

And thus much may (as we trust) suffice with all reasonable indifferent persons, for defence of our brethren's answers touching the question of excommunication or deposition of princes by the Pope; whereof by occasion more shall be said in the next chapter and others following, the libeller's importunate insolency enforcing us thereunto; like as the Civil magistrates' most captious and bloody conceits constrained some of our blessed brethren before their martyrdoms to speak more thereof than otherwise they desired; though nothing so much as by warrant of God's word and Holy Writ they might have done.

## CHAPTER VI.

That it is much to the benefit and stability of Commonwealths, and specially of kings' sceptres, that the differences betwixt them and their people, for religion or any other cause for which they may seem to deserve deprivation, may rather be decided by the supreme Pastor of the Church, as Catholics would have it; than by popular mutiny and phantasy of private men, as heretics desire and practise.

THE libeller once or twice in his discourse seditiously calleth upon the monarchs and princes of the world, warning them of the doubtful and servile state they be in while the Popes may be suffered to make and unmake kings and princes at their pleasure, and to license their subjects to resist them.

And the man perchance might have his tale heard if he spake to the simple sort, or to such kings as feared neither God nor man; nor sought otherwise, nor any longer, to uphold their estates, but by desperate force and practice, and for their own time, without regard of their posterity. But speaking to them whose wisdoms sustain the world; whose crowns are worn and swords are borne for Christ and His Spouse; whose glorious ancestors partly first rose, and partly were established, and themselves yet safely stand and happily flourish (which our Lord God long continue) by the benediction of the See Apostolic, and good intelligence and correspondence with the high bishops of the same; good audience hardly can they look for.

The example of some other princes Protestants about them, forsaking the fellowship of the Catholic and Apostolic See, and specially of King Henry the Eighth first, and his son and daughter after him, in England; a man, a child, and a woman, not only severing themselves from the same, but annexing to their regality by strange laws all Apostolical and Papal power spiritual, with infinite emoluments made by confiscation of all religious men's lands and goods in the whole realm (which was the beginning of that new ecclesiastical regiment): these things (being of greater temptation than the libeller's bare words) could yet never move the Emperor, nor either of the great monarchs, nor any other king of wise counsel in the world, to break with God's Church and the chief pastors thereof; knowing by the records of all ages since Christ, that what princes or potentates soever have formally opposed themselves to Christ's Vicar, and refused to communicate with him in the faith and fellowship of the Catholic Church, were ever in themselves or their posterity confounded, and their kingdoms overthrown or brought to miserable servitude of Turk or other heathen tyrant.

It is not the good fortune of a few years' felicity that moveth the grave and sage governors of the world (though the libeller, to make fools vain, urgeth their good luck in England much, since their breach with God's Church): but they will look farther about them, and see the events of these strange attempts in us, and the judgments of God for the same; not only till the end of King Henry

the Eighth his race (who was "Radix peccati") but afterwards, if our Lord defer his sentence so long, to some new generations to come. Over which, as upon the Prince and State present of our country, we humbly on our knees, with continual tears, desire God to have mercy; and to avert His indignation from them and us: that the princes and people of the world may rather be edified by the example of our conversion and return to God's Church, than be instructed by the sight of our punishment and confusion.

But now for the conceit that this good man would drive into men's heads, that no state should be in safety if the Pope might deprive the prince at his pleasure; it is a bug fit only to fear babes. All wise men in the world that either see the present times, or look back into the ages past, know that the Pope neither challengeth nor usurpeth nor useth any such authority at his pleasure, to depose or exalt whom he list. And all learned divines confess that he hath not any direct or immediate jurisdiction or superiority over the temporalities, civil states, or regalities of secular princes or magistrates; and therefore cannot dispose of their kingdoms nor actions, alter nor abrogate their laws, as he daily doth and may do at his good pleasure, of prelates, bishops, and priests' affairs, upon whom he hath direct power and jurisdiction; but that he may only intermeddle indirectly with temporal princes, as he is the chief officer under Christ, and hath charge of their souls, and thereby hath to look whether their regiments tend any way to the injury

of the Church and true religion, or to their own and their subjects' damnation, as in case of Schism, heresy, apostacy, idolatry, sacrilege. and other intolerable defects in government; for which he, being their bishop, is bound to admonish them sundry times with all lenity; if that serve not, to excommunicate them; and if they contemn that, then be they esteemed as heathens, and unworthy of superiority over God's people.

This is not to depose kings at his pleasure; nor is cause sufficient why any just and Christian prince should stand in doubt of the Pope's censures; only such as be heretics, or intend to shake off the yoke of Christ, and their faith in Him, have cause in their conscience to doubt both the Church's discipline, and the plagues of God; which will nót fail them, howsoever by human force and violence they protect themselves for a time from His Minister's sentence and sweet corrections.

All just and Catholic kings are so far from doubting or misliking God's ordinance, and the practice of the See Apostolic herein, that they perceive it most necessary for the stability of their kingdoms, and the continuance of their posterity in the glory thereof, that for their regiment in faith and life they stand in some reverent awe of their chief pastors. Which is a necessary and honourable bridle of princes in their youth, and all the days of their life, to stay them from dangerous disorders, and so to temper them in their government, that they may reign long and happily over their people; where otherwise they might fall into

infinite calamities, and be either forsaken, deposed, or shamefully destroyed by their own subjects, whether they be deprived by holy Church's censure or no.

Neither doth any godly Christian prince at this day (as we think) wish their empire, either in themselves, their children, or posterity to dure any longer than they continue in the Catholic faith, and the communion of the See and Church Apostolic; nor would suffer any of their name or blood to reign after them, that were like to be heretics; but rather would disinherit or execute them with their own hands, than fear or expect their deposition by the Pope.

Therefore though with such as feel their own fault it soundeth evil to hear of the authority and usage of God's Church in censuring kings, yet it troubleth not any just and lawful prince; especially when by their wisdom and experience they may perceive that princes, above all other, both good and evil, be subject to human casualties; and may fall and lose their kingdoms by a hundred accidents of mutinies and rebellions of their subjects, or by external or domestical wars of competitors or enemies. To all which, the Pope's high authority and interest giveth great stay and moderation, in deciding the controversies of titles, and causes of civil or foreign wars; and by his manifold endeavours of pacification and composition, whereof all the kings and states Christian, have at sundry times of their distresses received singular profit; as appeareth in the histories of the wars betwixt our

nation, France and Scotland; and in our own civil tumults, which have been often appeased by the meditation of the Pope; both parties deferring to him as to the high Priest and general Arbiter of Christian princes and people (being to all indifferent without all partiality) the decision of those things which otherwise could not by laws nor by arms, without lamentable destruction and much blood, be determined. Whereby princes of less power, injured by the greater and mightier, have ever found succour and redress; and just kings, distressed by their rebellious subjects, have had singular assistance.

As we may see in the stories both of our own country, where the Popes have sent divers legates to the barons, being up against their lawful sovereigns, to admonish them to lay down their arms; and when they would not, excommunicated them; by which means many a king with us hath kept his crown, which otherwise had been deprived, by tumultuous and popular sedition. And no less in the examples of other nations, and that in our own memories; having experience of divers blessed Popes' diligence, in aiding the two great monarchs, as well by the power temporal which God hath given them, as by ecclesiastical censures against their rebels; and large spiritual graces and benedictions bestowed upon all that would faithfully adjoin to the repression of the seditious subjects, and the preservation of the Sovereign.

The Apostolic Bishop is not an enemy to superiority and domination, which he knoweth best to be

of God, as his own high estate is; but a spiritual and most loving parent and common Father of all Christians, and especially of princes. He seeketh not their depositions, nor maintaineth revolts from them, no not then when, to his infinite grief, he is forced sometimes (though marvellous seldom) to give sentence for the people and subjects against the prince; but useth needful discipline towards them for their salvation.

Let the grave and wise men of all nations consider with us, whether princes be in more danger of their state by the lawful pastors of their souls that judge by God's spirit, by counsel, deliberation, order and authority, without malice, hatred, or partiality; or by heretics, seditious and rebellious persons, that deal by erroneous conscience, phantasy and fury.

The Protestants plainly hold in all their writings and schools, and so practise in the sight of all the world, that princes may for tyranny or religion be resisted and deprived. We and all Catholics likewise affirm that for heresy, and some other great enormities, they may be excommunicated and further censured. But the Protestants would have themselves and the subjects to rebel and throw down their superiors, on their own head and wilfulness; and themselves be judges of their sovereign's deserts and religion. Now we demand of the libeller, that giveth princes so friendly warning of their dangerous estates, if Popes may use such authority over princes, whether the kings of Christendom (whom their own sect-masters confess may be deposed)

stand not in far greater hazard of their dominions and persons by the brutish and seditious people armed always with fury, and often also (as at this present) with heresy, than they are of Popes?

It was not the Pope that gave license or encouragement to the people of Scotland to take arms against their natural liege and Queen, to imprison her, and to cause her by fear of death to resign her crown. It is not the Pope that emboldened them barbarously to restrain their noble young king, and so often to rebel against him; though neither they for his religion have any reason to deprive him, nor the Pope's Holiness (otherwise than for the justice of his quarrel against his rebels) any cause to defend him. It was not the Pope that licensed the subjects of the King Catholic to fight so long and obstinately against their lord and master; nor that encouraged them to deprive him of his sovereignty and ancient inheritance. It was not the Pope that hath hazarded three mighty kings, his most Christian Majesty that now is, and his two crowned brethren before him, of their states, and bereaved them of many great parts and cities of their kingdom; or that went about to deprive them, even in the time of their innocency and young years. Popes use to defend innocents, not to destroy them in their nonage, or to abuse their minority. And such is otherwise the manifold hazard of kings by rebellions, that in our own country the child hath deposed his father; the uncle his nephew; the wife her own husband; and most commonly the worse and more wicked, the more godly and innocent.

And we marvel much, this libeller that would seem to be such a statesman and a counseller to foreign kings, could find no danger to them and their countries, saving of the Pope's power over them; which in very truth, by Christ's special providence, is the greatest protection, guard and stay that innocent princes and their people can have; the awe and reverend respect of his holy authority keeping thousands from rebellion and intrusion; and a number of just princes in their empires, which else had been in divers countries overthrown.

The Protestants cannot prove by example of all nations and times since Christ, that any one hath been deposed that was not proved to be a notorious heretic or evil man. On the other side, rebels, and namely heretics, by unlawful means, deprive commonly none but innocent, just, and holy princes; unto whose barbarous cruelty this libeller would have their sacred Majesties rather thrall and obnoxious, than to submit themselves to the sweet yoke of Christ's kingdom and priesthood; or to concur in happy unity with such as Christ and the Holy Ghost have placed over the Church for the guiding of her people to salvation, and that also in worldly peace and tranquility as much as in them lieth. Which is their chief honour and greatest guard that may be both to prince and people; as the contrary motion of wicked men to sow debate between prince and pastors is surely more unnatural, than to put discord betwixt the body and the soul in the regiment of a man's person. Wherein as the whole frame is best governed and preserved when

the flesh can be contented to be ruled by the spirit, so no doubt the temporal power consisteth most safely, and endureth longest, when it hath good correspondence and subordination to the spiritual; which seeketh ever all advancement and safety to the secular powers appointed by God, for the worldly weal of their subjects. Which terrene felicity (necessary for the clergy also in this life no less than for others) is always by the state ecclesiastical most zealously maintained against the disturbers of peace, concord, and due obedience to superiors.

And therefore, as the Church of God, and namely the See Apostolical, hath received (in respect of the honour due to Christ and his principal Apostle St. Peter) infinite exaltation, by the Christian kings of all nations; so on the other side, the Popes of all ages have sought by all means possible, to advance to honour, glory and increase, Christian kings and states not only spiritually, which is their first and chief care, but also temporally; whereof every nation Christian hath had sufficient proof.

But to say nothing of Catholic kings or countries which gladly acknowledge the benefit, and will avouch the right and just title of any their dominions received of the See Apostolic or adjudged theirs by the same: (for though the libeller would make them ween it were a base and perilous matter to stand at the Pope's courtesy in such things, yet he can persuade none of them that they hold any piece of their states by evil conscience which is

fallen unto them that way, by the Pope's warrant; nor is he so eloquent as to make them yield up the same to their old owners again): the states and Princes Protestant must either acknowledge the benefit and just possession of divers high dignities, title, and crowns received by the said See of St. Peter, or else they be neither kind nor wise.

Is not the Imperial dignity the highest human pre-eminence that can be in this world? And can the German Protestants deny but that they hold or had that of the Pope? For where some wrangle that it came by election of the people of Rome, that is most false, and contrary to all histories and reason. Dare they deny the Pope to have had lawful power to translate the empire out of Greece? Or will they say their Emperor that now is, and all other his predecessors since Charles the Great, were usurpers, as they should be if the order or disposition of the holy See were not lawful? No Protestant nor other man in his wit will so say; and especially no Alman,[1] to the glory of whose nation this thing so much pertaineth. This nation therefore hath no cause to complain of the high spiritual authority by which itself hath been a hundred times more advanced than hindered or diminished.

As likewise the order of the Election, and (which all men esteem for a title of most high dignity) the Electorship itself was given to certain princes of Germany by Gregory the Fifth, who as the Magdeburg historians themselves speak, being a German and desirous to adorn his native country with some

[1] *i.e.*, German.

excellent honour, devised that the election of the king (which after his coronation by the Pope, should also be called Imperator and Augustus) should only pertain to the Germans.

Now let the heretics speak and yield their reason, who took the matter so much in dudgeon these last years past, that the Pope should intermeddle with the displacing of the Elector of Cologne. What! a Pope to depose an Elector! said they. As though a Pope might not deprive an unworthy apostate bishop of his See and Electorship, who first created and gave unto that nation and to that See both Elector and Electoral dignity itself. Let them tell us why his authority is not as great in depriving for just cause, as his power was sufficient to establish that honour in Germany.

And let the libeller, that accounteth it so unworthy a thing that some Popes have given censure upon the princes of the holy Empire, be demanded who established that high state in that country? And whether he that had power to do that can want any warrant to deprive an evil or wicked person of the Empire? And in brief, let him be asked whether that noble nation have not received more dignity and profit temporal than hurt and hindrance by that papal power over kingdoms, which this man in his seditious pride so much abhorreth?

But to come to that which we and the libeller best of all do know, and toucheth us English more near at home, and may be an instruction and proof of the cause in hand to other strangers abroad. Surely if the people of our country knew their own

good, and were grateful as they were wont to be (for now this brutish heresy hath made them without affection, as St. Paul speaketh of such unnatural sectaries), they would acknowledge that as to the See Apostolic they owe their first faith and Christianity (not only for converting the Britons who were the ancient inhabitants of the land, but also the English themselves afterwards, and that in very memorable sort; reconciling them eftsoons again to holy Church after their relapse, and endowing their princes and prelates with such singular prerogatives as no particular Church or commonwealth in the world, with the good grace of all other Christian states be it spoken, had greater or more honourable): So would they in like manner, besides these spiritual favours, confess themselves indebted for the temporal advancement of our princes, received from the same See Apostolic; seeing the regiment and lordship of Ireland was, by the Pope's only gift, bestowed upon our sovereigns in the time of Pope Adrian the Fourth, and King Henry the Second, four hundred years agone; they having no other title thereunto in the world but by this grant of the See Apostolic. Which title notwithstanding, we doubt not but that our English Protestants will account sufficient even unto this day: and King Henry the Eighth, being fallen from the Church, and making himself of a member the head thereof in his realm, went forward upon this title, and of his own new Papal authority, from the Lord of Ireland made and called himself the King thereof. Which style was

afterwards (as we take it) by due authority of the Pope confirmed to Queen Mary. So desirous hath been always the holy See of Rome to increase our princes with all due honour, and to enlarge their dominions. None of which titles, prerogatives, authorities or dignities (though received only or principally by the Pope's favour or gift) any one of our kings, of what religion soever, was yet so wilful to reject or let go, or yet so nice in faith as to make scruple of conscience to receive or retain as lawfully possessed, whatsoever they have obtained that way; though ungrateful persons acknowledge no benefit therein.

And not only large kingdoms so obtained, princes are contented to keep without scruple; but hold also all other titles of honour annexed by His Holiness to their regal dignities upon what cause soever; as is to be seen in sundry great and mighty monarchs of Christendom, upon whom divers high titles have been bestowed by the See Apostolic, for their most Christian and heroical endeavours for the Church, and their zeal against heretics and infidels: as "Catholic" in Spain; "Most Christian" in France; and such like elsewhere; and in our country a style no less honourable than the former, that is, "Defender of the Faith." Which style and title all the Protestants in the world do know that it was given by Pope Leo the Tenth to King Henry the Eighth, for his defence of the Catholic Roman faith by writing, yet extant under his own hand, against Martin Luther. And albeit the cause for which it was given be now quite

altered, and the Pope's authority from which it was received extremely impugned; yet the right thereof coming only from that authority now accounted so unlawful, none of our kings will leave, or will renounce the same, as indeed we wish they should not, for that it notably putteth them in mind what Church and faith it is that they are bound to defend; and against what kind of men they bear the sword which God hath put into their hand.

We might add to this the singular and incomparable favours and daily benefits done by His Holiness that now is to our nation, above all his predecessors assuredly excepting St. Gregory the Great, our first Apostle, whose divine grace and example of charity he so zealously doth imitate towards us, not only for the salvation of the whole deceived country, but for the particular relief of many hundreds of all sorts, ages, and sexes, that are driven by violence of cruel persecution, into divers Catholic provinces, and are forced to leave their country and whatsoever is dear unto them, to learn that faith in which all their forefathers so honourably lived and died. By which his rare benefits, his happy name (as Gregory the First) must needs be in English memories immortal; *malgré* this ungrateful heresy, to which (we hope) he shall once be the bane.

Of the said Gregory the Great his more than common love of our souls, we have (besides other apostolical charity) this grateful example: that His Holiness, receiving great sums of money in those days out of France, and having intelligence that

there were dispersed through that province numbers of English children bought as bondslaves for doing of all drudgery for their master's profit (as the state of servitude required), and that they lived there in thraldom both of body and soul, unbaptised; the blessed Father taking deep compassion of their miserable case, specially because they were of that nation which was then newly gained by his travail unto Christ; he wrote letters to his receiver in those parts, that he should not make the French money (which was there to be received) over to Rome by exchange, but employ it in France where it was current, upon charitable uses; specially therewith to deliver English children from servitude, and to bring them into Italy by troops, having good grave priests to oversee and instruct them in the faith; and if any dangerous sickness should fall to any of them in the way, to baptise them. So as he did not only procure our people's salvation at home by sending in divers learned men to preach and teach the Gospel, under the conduction of holy St. Augustine our apostle; but also by education abroad of great numbers of our nation, to his great charges temporal. So did this renowned Pope and Doctor for our country to bring it from paganism to Christ, and through God prevailed; and deserveth for the same immortal glory both in heaven and earth. And no less truly doth Gregory the Thirteenth for reconciling our country from heresy deserve; both bringing up abroad great numbers of the nation at his own charges in godly discipline, and the same faith that the foresaid St. Gregory

his patron and predecessor first caused to be taught to our forefathers; and also disposeth of many fit persons endued with zeal and spiritual power, to return in peaceable, humble, and apostolic manner to their country, there to teach the deceived, and to reconcile them by spiritual power and priestly function to the unity of God's Church again, out of which they are most sure to perish; and not by raising rebellion or tumults, as this libeller most falsely pretendeth.

Which holy function for that they have done (by God's great grace and goodness) with far more fruit and increase of the Catholic religion, and notorious damage of heresy, than Protestants feared at the beginning; therefore have they subtlely and falsely turned all these heroical endeavours of His Holiness, and good offices of God's priests, into matters of state and treason; and would make all princes and people abroad believe (that are not acquainted, as necessity hath driven us to be, with the practice of the first Apostles and Fathers of the primitive Church, achieving the conversion of many cities and countries in no other sort than our brethren most godlily and dutifully do attempt in our nation) that all our preaching, persuading, praying, offering sacrifice, hearing confessions, absolving, reconciling; having of beads, crosses, images, and the like; were seditious, rebellious, traitorous, and plain conspiracy against the Queen's Majesty and realm. Yea they would so far (if they could) abuse the patience and simplicity of Christian people both of their own country and

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that is possible as well by corporal as spiritual relief. He hath at this day some of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in Constantinople, Alexandria, and elsewhere soever is any opportunity to gain souls: in the dominions of the Turk; in Muscovia likewise, and other provinces addicted to the errors of the Grecians. He hath instituted seminaries for the Greeks, Armenians and Sclavonians; he hath placed colleges of the Society and seminaries in Suetia, Livonia, Polonia, Bohemia, Transylvania, for Scotland also, and specially for the noble province of Germany. Yea, his pastoral solicitude reacheth even to the East Indies; where in Japan he hath founded this last year past and maintaineth a goodly college, not without his great expenses.

Thus he doth in the cause of Christ, from one end of the world to another, whilst his and holy Church's miserable adversaries waste their time in wrangling and wrestling against the truth. And there is none of all these nations of what sect or sort soever, that can be so suspicious or malicious as to interpret His Holiness' meaning as the English do; or that conceive any fear of treasons, confederacies, invasions, or destructions of their countries, as our men dream of.

The Germans, though all be not Catholics, but many much altered by their unadvised following of Martin and other as mad sectaries; yet they all count it a singular honour and profit to their nation that they have so famous a college in Rome itself; as our nation did of old, when it had there a great school, about a thousand years ago built by king

Offa, and afterwards a hospital. Where now we of England be come, by this wicked heresy, to be so careless of our public profit and honour, that we contemn and maliciously condemn a gift far more excellent than ever was bestowed upon our country before in foreign places, and most devilishly do hate the giver.

Wherein the heretics in this libel and otherwise shew such ignorant and barbarous mockery touching the term of "Seminaries" (as though they were estranged from all actions of the Christian world, throughout all which, that term and calling is so common; namely, since the godly decree of the holy Council of Trent, giving order for the erection of such nurseries for the clergy) as it is too ridiculous in our English heretics to make themselves sport at it; as they wisely do in this libel also at the name of the Pope's "Bulls," by pretty allusion as they think (but indeed with small grace) resembling them to the bubbles of water; with such scornful companions the Church of God hath now to deal. But, for defending of the Society, seminaries, and the sending of priests into England, the men of those orders and quality have age and ability to answer for themselves; and it is done to our hands plentifully in their Apology, which the adversaries shall never answer with reason and credit. And therefore of that matter enough.

## CHAPTER VII.

Of the late wars in Ireland for religion: how the Pope may use the sword: and that the differences betwixt temporal princes and him, or their resisting him in some cases of their worldly interest, can be no warrant to the Protestants to condemn his censures or authority in matters of faith and religion.

BUT the adversary objecteth that whatsoever the Pope doth or may do by his bulls, excommunications, institution of seminaries or other such like spiritual endeavours, may either be contemned or neglected by the example of her Majesty, who regarded not his doings against her so long as he sat still in his chair; but when he rose up in anger, and left " Verbum " the word, and took " Ferrum " the sword (against St. Bernard's direct advice to Eugenius, saith this libeller); yea, and when contrary to the Scriptures he drew forth the sword, which Christ commanded Peter to put up into the scabbard, and invaded by his forces her Majesty's kingdom of Ireland; then (saith this good man) she could do no less but use such resistance by arms and otherwise as was requisite for her own defence.

Whereat we marvel less indeed, for that before she had contemned the Pope's spiritual rod of excommunication, and all ecclesiastical admonition and censure, which is the high Priest's and Church's most proper weapon; and is more to be feared of all faithful persons (as holy St. Augustine saith) " than to be hewed in pieces with the sword, burned

with the fire, or torn asunder of wild beasts"; and is a punishment so dreadful, that even when it is known to be executed without just cause by some error or wrong information, it may not be contemned. Therefore where that was not regarded, we know there could be no scruple to withstand any other martial attempt against Pope or whomsoever; neither could it seem strange.

But at this all the world may wonder, and it is marvellous in our eyes, why the Pope's hostility in Ireland should condemn so many innocent priests and Catholics that never were in Ireland, nor ever were acquainted with the action of that country, or any other rebellion against the Queen in either of her kingdoms. Put down to the world (if you can) any one word, writing, or approved witness, that any Jesuit, priest, or seminary man of all those whom you have executed these late years, were either authors, persuaders, or dealers therein; and then you may have some shadow of defence for your justice. Prove only that His Holiness ever communicated his doings or intentions (whatsoever they were that way) to any one of them all, and we will confess that you have reason in the rest. If Pius V. addressed Doctor Nicholas Morton sixteen years since about the matter of the excommunication into England; shall all priests and Jesuits be deemed traitors therefore? If Doctor Saunders either upon his own zeal and opinion of the justness of the quarrel, or at the Pope's appointment, were in the wars of Ireland employed for defence of the Catholic religion against the Protestants; may you

by your laws, or any other divine or human ordinance, condemn therefore to death a number that never knew either the man or the matter? Some pretence you may have to be offended with the Pope, and perhaps lack no laws to punish the said two Doctors, that never were either of the Society or seminaries; but to make all the priests and Catholics at home or in banishment traitors thereby, it is too unreasonable; and to murder so cruelly one man for another's fault is too foul and intolerable iniquity.

And as for His Holiness' action in Ireland, we that are neither so wise as to be worthy, nor so malapert, as to challenge to know his intentions, counsel, and disposition, of those matters, can nor will neither defend nor condemn it. Only this is evident, that those small succours that were given by him to the Irish, or rather suffered at their own adventure to go into those wars, came upon the importunate suit of the sore afflicted Catholics, and some of the chiefest nobility of that country. Of whose continual complaints, known calamities, and intolerable distresses of conscience and otherwise, it may be he was moved with compassion, and did that in cause of religion (against one whom he took in his own judgment rightly by his predecessor's sentence to be deposed; and in a quarrel in his sight most just and godly), which both her Majesty and other temporal princes stick not to do very often towards their neighbours (with whom otherwise they pretend good amity and no breach of their league at all) in cases which either they esteem law-

ful, or at least behoofful for their own estate and affairs.

And it is a strange case that these men should with such full mouth cry out against the high Priest and Pastor of God's Church, for using the sword, or giving his consent thereunto, against a prince not any way his superior if no way his subject; whereas the ministers and masters of their sects both in Flanders, Scotland and other places do not only counsel and persuade subjects to take arms against their own lawful princes and sacred kings, but also do practise and in person oppose themselves against them; yea in Scotland against a prince of their own religion.

For tell me (Sir Libeller if you please) were not the ministers of Scotland the principal fans and firebrands of the last conspiracy and open rebellion against his Majesty's person and the State of that country? Were not they in person at Stirling and elsewhere both in field and counsel with the Earls of Angus, Mar, and other rebels against his royal person? Were not all their pernicious machinations of betraying their country and their prince's blood detected by the Earl of Gory, before his late beheading for that conspiracy? Are not Patrick Galloway, minister of St. John's; Andrew Pollard, subdean of Glasgow; James Carmichael, minister of Haddington; Andrew Hay, parson of Renfrew; Andrew Melvin, professor of divinity in St. Andrew's, and divers other chief ministers of that country, fled into England for this traitorous fact, and there received, cherished, and protected?

And since that time, whereas in a Parliament holden in Edinburgh by his Majesty and all the three states of Scotland begone the 19th of May last past, certain laws were amongst others enacted for the restraint of these Ministers' tumultuous authority, and to bring them under their own bishops' jurisdiction (a thing so reasonable and consonant to God's word as nothing can be more, and practised not only in England among their fellow-sectaries, but also throughout all Christendom, disorderly and seditious Geneva only excepted); and when these laws that were made by authority of the three estates, and published not only in the Council-house called Tolbooth, but also at the Cross of Edinburgh, by heralds at arms for the State; did not Robert Pont and Walter Baquanquel (two most impudent and rebellious ministers of that town, by the consent and provocation of James Lawson, chief preacher there, as afterwards appeared) oppose themselves in public against the King's authority (thereby to raise up some commotion) by their open protestation, made by instrument in the hands of George Wakeson, public notary and town-clerk of that city; and did not all these three named ministers by night fly presently into England after their insufferable insolency; and are there received, harboured, and maintained?

Again; in the last Parliament before this, being about two years agone, did not these ministers (intending thereby some dangerous revolt and seditious defection) demand of their King in most

impudent wise, to be admitted into the Parliament, as equal, or above their bishops, whom they deny by God's word to have any supereminent authority? Is not this one of their articles for which their archbishop of St. Andrew's doth withstand them; and hath been of late in England to confer with the Protestants of that country about the same? Is it not another of their articles, that it is a heresy for any prince to call himself "Head of the Church" within his own realm? and that he may be excommunicated and deposed by the ministers? Have not they excommunicated and held out by violence these two years and more, their archbishop of Glasgow elected by the King, named Mr. Robert Montgomery, until now, that this last Parliament of May hath absolved and restored him unto his archbishopric again?

You exclaim against the Pope being the first and chief prelate of all Christendom (even by your own confession) for giving his consent that anything be done or attempted by arms and violence against any lawful or anointed prince whatsoever; be it for religion or any other never so rightful or just cause in his conceit; but what would these good fellows of your Gospel do if they had his authority, his power, and his pretence against foreign princes of a contrary religion, seeing in quarrel of faction and favour of rank traitors they deal thus against their own Liege, and against their own anointed sworn King, of their own country, blood, education and religion; who as he never justly offended them in any sort, so hath he by infinite favours and graces

bound them unto him in all most dutiful allegiance.

Again; as in the rebellions of Scotland, so likewise in Flanders and France, hath England these late years yielded no aid to the subjects against their lawful princes? Have not their banners been openly displayed upon their ancient friends' and confederates' walls? Have they not holden their towns from them by main force? Have they not many ways stirred and succoured with men, money and munition, the rebellious subjects of all countries near about them? Yea, have they not in divers parliaments, and namely in the parliament holden in the fifth year of her Majesty's reign, 1563, as also in another parliament in the 13th year of her reign, 1571, published in print that the chief confederations (moving the whole assembly of Calvinists both of the clergy and temporality gathered in those parliaments to grant those two great "subsidies") were in respect of the "inestimable charges" (for such is their own phrase) sustained by the Queen in maintenance of the rebellious heretics, their dear brethren, against their liege lords and sovereigns of France, Scotland, and other places? Is it not now a special rule in government amongst the worldly Machiavellians, to maintain their own repose by their neighbours' trouble? If this be usual in all other cases, and of many not much reprehended, for the advantage of the temporal state of any prince, is it only so great a marvel that the Pope should do that for zeal of true religion, which other kings do for matters of far less importance? And if our conjecture may serve

anything in this matter, perhaps he was the rather ready to do this for Ireland, for that the See Apostolic hath an old claim unto the sovereignty of that country, and that before the covenants passed between King John and the same See. Which challenges princes commonly yield not up, by what ground soever they come. Though for this Pope present (whom God long preserve) we may be bold to say that he had rather have the two islands Catholic, than the real possession of all the world; for the salvation of the people whereof, no doubt he would spend in Apostolic wise his own blood; so great an enemy he is to our nation.

But the libeller saith he should use the "Word" and not the "Sword," according to St. Bernard's admonition. Well, let us then stand to that holy Father's judgment herein, and the matter will be more easily tried; as also the fraud of this faithless libeller, by our faithfully repeating the whole sentence, shall be discovered, and withal the Scriptures (alleged for the same purpose) expounded. "Propter hoc" (saith he) "magis aggredere eos, sed verbo non ferro. Quid tu denuo usurpare gladium tentes, quem jussus es ponere in vaginam? quem tamen qui tuum negat, non satis mihi videtur attendere verbum Domini dicentis sic; Converte gladium tuum in vaginam. Tuus ergo et ipse, tuo forsitan nutu, etsi non tua manu evaginandus: alioquin si nullo modo ad te pertineret, et is, dicentibus Apostolis, Ecce duo gladii hic: non respondisset Dominus, satis est, sed nimis est. Uterque ergo Ecclesiae, et spiritualis scilicet gladius et

materialis; sed is quidem pro Ecclesia, ille vero ab Ecclesia exercendus est; ille Sacerdotis is militis manu; sed sane ad nutum sacerdotis et jussum Imperatoris." That is in our tongue: "For that cause thou shouldst the rather set upon them, marry with the word, not with the sword. Why seekest thou again to usurp the sword which thou wast commanded to put up into the scabbard? Which sword for all that, whosoever denieth to appertain to thee, seemeth to me not to mark the word of our Lord thus speaking: 'Return thy sword into its scabbard.' Therefore even the sword is thine, at thy beck perhaps to be drawn, though not by thine own hand; for otherwise if it should no way belong to thee, when the apostles said to Christ, 'Lo, two swords here,' he would not have answered them that it was enough, but that it had been too much. Therefore, both the swords belong to the Church, the spiritual and material; but the material is to be used for the Church, the other by the Church. The spiritual by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of the soldier and commandment of the emperor, but at the priest's appointment." So far this holy Father in the very place alleged by the adversary.

Whereby we see that though it be not always comely nor commendable for priests, which should be the authors and persuaders of peace to all princes and people, to be given to blood, wars and destruction (especially by their own hands); or without great cause to use external force and violence against offenders; yet the sword may be

drawn for their defence, and is to be drawn according to their counsel and direction.

Whereunto we add further, that though the apostles were taught and counselled evangelical meekness by that metaphor of putting up the swords, and had prescribed to them a sweeter form of governing their flock than the heathen or other temporal powers use towards their subjects; yet all temporal or corporal punishment was not thereby prohibited to the rulers of the Church. As we see by the example of St. Peter himself, who, after the said prohibition, did not only feed with the word, but struck also corporally even to death Ananias and Saphira. Which as he might do lawfully by miracle, so his successors now may do the like by ordinary justice. Which example we use the rather for that the said St. Bernard useth it for proof of the very same matter, when he saith: "Qui locum Petri tenet, potest uno ictu extinguere Ananiam; uno, Simonem Magum." "He that occupieth St. Peter's room may with a word destroy Ananias; and at one word, extinguish Simon Magus."

And the next epistle before that, speaking also to Eugenius the Pope, he saith thus: "Ad hoc enim constitutus es super gentes et regna, ut evellas et destruas; ut aedifices et plantes": "For that end art thou constituted over nations and kingdoms; that thou mayest pluck up and build and plant, etc." Wherein, as in other execution of justice, though the Pope as a mortal man may sometimes do things out of season, and without good success; even then, when the cause he would advance is most godly

and lawful (as we read in the first of the Machabees of the priests' unfortunate fight against the heathen); yet to make this a general rule (as this libeller doth) that the Pope may no ways use the sword for defence of justice or religion, is most false and absurd.

The true way of defence for English Protestants in this case touching the wars of Ireland, and for impugnation of the Pope concerning his allowing or assisting the same, should be (in my opinion) not to affirm absolutely (as our fond and most ignorant libeller doth) that the Pope may no way fight or take arms at all (for that is against a known truth; and not only we, but all Catholics in the world will therein stand against him); but rather for condemnation of His Holiness' actions, to prove that his cause was not just; her Majesty not to stand rightly excommunicate; not any way to be a heretic, as Pius V. declared: and consequently her subjects in no case to remain absolved from their oath and obedience: of which points we may not at all dispute, seeing our defence is only general, that the Pope may in some cases excommunicate; for some causes deprive; and in many respects fight and wage war for religion.

And it may be thought that the Protestants would never deny this, but in regard of their own particular interest in some private case only. For they will not affirm, neither doth it displease them (as we think) that Pius V., the last Pope, was an author of the late league and wars against the Turk, and had also his captains and banners displayed

in that renowned battle against him by the same. Against whose arms the Turk notwithstanding might as well have alleged the Scriptures, as now our Protestants do, to make him put up his sword. For in truth if it be lawful for him to occupy his forces which God hath given him, against the heathen, that be in no way under his jurisdiction; much more may he employ them against those whom he accounteth as rebels to the Church, which be properly under his correction; first, in respect of their souls, and then secondly, of their temporal goods; so far as is requisite to their souls' good.

All which is most true, even in consideration of his priestly and Apostolical function only; as is plain in Phinees, whose priesthood was established upon his zealous pursuing the enemies of God to death with his own hand. But further marking that the high priests of God's people have been lightly in all ages temporal princes also, and judges of the world, not only in spiritual but in worldly affairs too; there can no doubt remain but they may use their forces temporal to the maintenance of justice.

Melchisedech the exemplar of our new priesthood, was both a priest and a king; and always in the law of nature, the eldest of the principal stocks were both kings and high priests; as St. Jerome witnesseth. So is it plain that Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the like, had the rule spiritual and temporal over their families and people. And so likewise in the law, Moses was both the high temporal officer, and also a chief priest. Heli

judged not only in temporal, but spiritual causes forty years together. Finally, the Machabees, Judas, Jonathas, Simeon and others, were both godly high priests, wise judges in politic, and valiant captains in martial affairs. Even so, the chief Bishops of Christ's Church, our supreme Pastors on earth, by God's providence and by the grants of our first most Christian emperors and kings, and by the humble and zealous devotion of the faithful princes and people afterwards, have their temporal states, dominions, and patrimonies, whereby they most justly hold and possess the same, and are thereby lawful princes temporal, and may most rightfully by their sovereignty make wars in their own or other men's just quarrel, as occasion shall urge them thereunto.

And whatsoever the enemies of God's Church and See Apostolic do bark or blaspheme against the Pope's high pre-eminence in these things (as they do no less indeed against all spiritual sovereignty) there is no king nor man in Christendom that hath better title to his state, or so many years of prescription for rightful possession; or so long and sure protection from God, in such infinite mutability of states and kingdoms; or such great likelihood of constancy and continuance, as hath the temporal state of the See Apostolic. For, as for the spiritual function and power thereof it shall not fail till the day of judgment, though (to use St. Augustine's words) heretics never cease to bay and bark on every hand round about it.

As these human succours of temporal things be

often necessary for the Church's peaceable regiment, and the double honour due to the chief Pastors of our souls; so the free gift of such things by devout princes and people is marvellously commended in the example of Barnabas and others, who out of devotion sold their lands and goods, and dedicated the price thereof to God's Church by the disposition of the Apostles, humbly laying the same down at their feet. As on the other side, the profane persons that disdain such honours and livelihoods of the Church, and seek to defraud her of the same, may be warned by the terrible death of Ananias and Saphira, which they suffered by St. Peter's word, for their like sacrilegious fact and conceit. For if these were thought worthy to be thus excommunicated (seeing it was excommunication according to St. Augustine's judgment) and withal were so extremely punished corporally for withholding (upon pretence perhaps of a little better consideration of their necessity to come) a piece only of that which they promised to God before, in the Church's behalf, and yet was not actually bestowed; how much more do they deserve excommunication and death, or rather damnation perpetual, that endeavour to spoil the Mother and Mistress of all Churches in the world of her prerogative and patrimony; and sacrilegiously to rob her not of some part of their own gifts, but of all that by the devotion of others, the first and most faithful princes, hath been for the honour of Christ and his chief Apostle, with great alacrity and good will bestowed that way. The which alms and patri-

mony dispensed by the godly prudence and charity of the Apostolic Bishops redoundeth more to the avail of God's Church and the poor thereof, to Christ's honour, and to the benefit of all Christianity (be it spoken without comparison and to the honour of God alone), than any temporal prince's patrimony living, though many of their worldly abilities be far greater than any Pope's are or ever have been. Which every indifferent man that beholdeth the immortal works of charity which this one blessed Pope hath done in the days of his High Priesthood, must of necessity confess.

Whereof we thought meet to make some mention in this place; for that both other Protestants are not ashamed to accuse the Holy See of robbery and rapine in getting and holding the temporal state which now it hath so many ages occupied to the great honour of God, as also for that this libeller often glanceth at some injuries which he pretendeth to have been done by the Pope's tyrannous and excessive power, as he termeth it, to the princes of the world in this case; sometimes seditiously and subtlely suggesting to the Emperor, and other the greatest and best kings of Christendom, to abridge his power; sometimes craftily commending them, upon a devilish and deceitful fiction of his own, that they only tolerate his title and jurisdiction for a time and of policy, so far as they see it is not prejudicial to their own states; otherwise neither caring for his curses, excommunications, canons, nor commandments, no more than the Protestant princes do, who have withdrawn from him in their states

all, both temporal emoluments and spiritual prerogatives.

Of which restraint, limitation, or plain contempt of the Pope's power and censures, the writer allegeth certain examples of divers Catholic kings and countries, that the English may seem to have done no new thing in this their shameful revolt from the See Apostolic, and contempt of the ecclesiastical curse and excommunication. Which this profane atheist affirmeth none but the simple people to fear or care for; wise men and princes to have no scruple or conscience at all in such matters, but to resist by arms all laws and ordinance as they list.

For proof whereof he bringeth (to no purpose) how divers kings of France have by their laws pragmatic restrained the Popes of divers claims, prerogatives and profits; how they in England in old time limited and abridged his jurisdiction by the law specially called " Praemunire "; how the noble emperor Charles the Fifth feared not their curses when by his captains he beseiged, took, and sacked Rome, imprisoned and ransomed the Pope himself; how his son the King Catholic now reigning nothing respected excommunication when his army was led before Rome walls by the conduction of the Duke of Alva; how King Henry the Seventh resisted the Pope in [? the trade in alum]; and his niece Queen Mary herself (as much as she was devoted to the Roman religion) withstood him in favour of her cousin Cardinal Pole against Doctor Peto about a Cardinal's hat; the bringer of which hat and the Bulls for the said Peto she did forbid to enter the

realm, commanding them to be stayed at Calais; and finally that Cardinal Pole himself having the Queen for him in the cause, had no fear to disobey the Pope's commandments, and his threatened excommunications and curses; but continued Legate and made the other poor Peto, being an Observant friar, to go a-begging still. Thus much in sense saith the libeller in defence of their resistance of the Pope, and contempt of his censures.

But look attentively into the particular reasons and examples of this his discourse, and you shall find nothing but fraud and falsehood. First, it is a most impious and godless conceit that the Emperor, and other great kings and potentates of Christendom either of old or at this present, have suffered or do yet endure the Pope to command or have jurisdiction in their countries only for some respects in policy, and so far as they list, rather than upon conscience and for religion; when it is certain that his spiritual authority and high prelacy over all faithful princes and people (as instituted by Christ, clearly deduced out of the Scriptures, approved by decrees of ancient Councils, testimonies of all the old Doctors, and by both imperial and national laws of the Christian world) is acknowledged in conscience of all Catholic kings that have been, or yet be within the happy unity of holy Church. And it is a most shameless slander of their sacred Majesties, that this atheist would make the world believe that pretending conscience, devotion, religion and sincerity in their obedience to the See Apostolic, they do all indeed of policy. As

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(which you shall not as we think read in any other of the heretics' writings of these days) the Queen's spiritual power, which she challengeth against the Pope's supremacy, her REGALITY; seeking by all means possible, wholly to extinguish the hierarchy and prelacy of Christ's Church; and concluding all in kingly authority. Whereby, as also by the scriptures which they foolishly in the sight of wise men, but to the simple persuasively allege: "That all men must obey the king as the chief or precellent"; they exclude Peter from his high spiritual function, which he had in the time of Nero, and give unto the said Nero as his regality no less than now they yield both papal and all other bishoply and ecclesiastical authority in England to the Queen, as a piece of her "Regality."

As though there were no difference between a king and a priest. As though there were no distinction betwixt Christ's Body mystical, and a body politic or human commonwealth. As though Christ had given his said Body, Spouse and spiritual Commonwealth to be governed either unto kings and emperors (who were then and some hundred years afterwards, persecutors of His Church and faith, and yet had as large, whole, and perfect "Regality" as any faithful prince hath); or unto Christian kings afterwards, who are by receiving Christ's sweet yoke and faith made children and members of the Church, and not heads thereof. As though our Saviour had not in His time appointed special officers for the regiment of His Church; or the Holy Ghost afterwards not placed apostles, pre-

lates, pastors, and doctors, to govern the same even to the end of the world.

This devilish confusion of things, and attributing all spiritual sovereignty to the temporal prince and power, which the scripture calleth for distinction sake "Humanam creaturam," (if it be permitted) will take away the very life and essence of the Church of God, and of all religion, and will plane the way to Antichrist, who shall by the title of his only "Regality" destroy (if it be possible) all power spiritual and temporal, and set himself to be adored above whatsoever is named in heaven or earth.

Woe be to our nation and to the sins of our people which God hath suffered to be the first example of this abominable converting of the spiritual power and regiment of our souls into our King's Regality. And fie on this godless libeller and his profane intention; that by the defence of this special turpitude of our kings and country, so foully slandereth also other most godly princes, with his shameful surmise that they do but permit in their dominions the Pope's authority of policy, and no further than is for their advantage. Whose impudent calumniation may easily be refuted by their Majesties' zealous devotion, and most sincere obedience to His Holiness in all matters of faith and religion (wherein his superiority specially and properly consisteth); by their daily royal offices done against heretics for defence of the Roman See and faith; and by open profession of the same both in their lives and deaths; by their continual re-

sistance of the enemies thereof to their infinite charge; yea and often to the hazard of their persons, crowns and dominions; by the due observation of the holy decrees of the See Apostolic as far as the great looseness of this time, and the manifold importunity of heretics and atheists will permit; by exact justice done in many of their kingdoms upon the rebels of the Church and Holy See; and finally, by their continual intelligence with His Holiness in all their affairs of conscience and religion; and the use of all his spiritual graces, indulgences, and benedictions with as great humility as the poorest Catholic man in the world.

But the adversaries telleth us for all this that divers princes and countries before named have abridged, limited, and resisted the Pope's doings and authority. To which we say, that in such cases we should not stand always upon examples, but rather on reason and law. For a man might say that Herod killed John the Baptist; Philip made away Babylas; Theodosius banished St. Chrysostom; Constance persecuted Athanasius; King Henry of England caused to be murdered his Primate and holy Metropolitan Thomas of Canterbury; and many more have resisted the bishops and pastors of their own souls, whereof divers have been sorry, and sore repented their iniquities afterwards, as our King Henry the Second amongst other. Whose examples may not be made a rule how kings should behave themselves towards their prelates. God forbid! No more in this other kind we now speak of, need we to allow all the prag-

matics, praemunires, or other national decrees and provisions which every particular prince hath made, or may make (though in conscience Catholic) by which the Pope's jurisdiction and pre-eminences in some sort and in some cases are abridged and limited.

As on the other side again, we neither need nor will condemn the same; because they be not of things more spiritual, but either plain temporal or mixed; such as had either by the prince's laws, or custom of countries, been granted of devotion to the See Apostolic before, and afterwards upon farther consideration by the difference of times, or of less devotion, revoked, upon pretence of preservation of the temporal state; and benefiting particular provinces, unto which the emoluments and large privileges yielded before to the chief bishop and other of the clergy, might seem some hindrance; or else were of that nature that the supreme Bishop might indeed of reason challenge, as things incident to his high office, and requisite for the better administration of the same; but yet not such for all that as were necessarily or by divine laws appertaining directly to his spiritual regiment and jurisdiction; and therefore might by his wisdom either be tolerated (as many things in this case be which he alloweth not) for avoiding of scandals, or for other detriment of souls; or by composition (for the better retaining princes and provinces in ecclesiastical peace) be condescended and agreed unto; the limitation or immunition of his accidental rights, honours, and pre-eminences, nothing seemed

so material unto him as the salvation and preservation of kingdoms and countries in the unity of Christ's faith and Church.

There is no human prerogative, be it holden never so rightly, or given never so justly for the honour of Christ and his high office, but he may either himself for just causes yield it up; or by violence either of persecutors or carnal and worldly persons be bereaved thereof. Only his pre-eminence and prelacy over our souls and over all Christian countries and persons, be they public or private; and whatsoever our Saviour granted to the Prince of the Apostles (upon whom He builded His whole Church, and to whom and to his successors He gave the keys of heaven; with full commission to bind, loose, punish, pardon, feed, confirm in faith, decide and determine, etc.) this he cannot yield; this can no earthly power take from him; this doth no Catholic king or country restrain him of; neither ever were there any laws made in France, Spain, or in our own country (so long as it was Catholic) for abridging his apostolical and mere spiritual authority in the premises.

Though otherwise, as it falleth out in a man's person, wherein (as the Apostle writeth and as we all feel) the flesh resisteth the spirit, and contrariwise the spirit the flesh; each one of them seeking after a sort to enlarge his own limits and commodities by some hindrance of the other; which combat and conflict notwithstanding, is either tolerable or not damnable so long as the inferior, which is the flesh, by over greedy appetite of her own

advancement, destroyeth not the superior, which is the soul: so doubtless in a Christian commonwealth, the spiritual and temporal state being joined together as it were in one body, must needs keep some moderate strife and combat for maintenance of either of their limits in external regiment; which may be borne withal of each side, so long as neither part seeketh over obstinately the destruction of the other, but do agree and conjoin in preservation of the principal.

But where the body politic (as it is now in our miserable country) by intolerable disorder doth strive not so much with the See Apostolic and Body mystical of Christ for things either indifferent or not merely necessary to the spiritual regiment, but by evident rape and violence against the laws of God and man, bereaveth Christ's Vicar of his whole sovereignty, high Priesthood and Prelacy; and the Catholic Church of all the rights and dowries which our Master her Spouse endowed her withal; and tyrannically draweth all to the Prince's Regality altering by the authority thereof the whole faith and true worship of God into abominable apostacy, schism, and desolation; there the libeller can find no example in any Christian laws or countries throughout the world, in any age, to prove his purpose; though vainly and impertinently he alleges these Concordats of France and other nations; as also the compositions of England with the Pope, or what orders and laws soever besides, either lawful or unlawful, concerning restraint of any Papal or ecclesiastical power; which serve nothing at all

for defence of the late English general and most impudent revolt from the unity of God's Catholic and Apostolic Church.

Many things might the worldlings of our country even in Catholic times attempt for their own advantage against the commodities of the Church. Our kings and others, in times of dissension with certain Popes of their days, might drive the weaker to unequal conditions, and serve their own ambitious humours to the Church's disadvantage. Some laws might also pass by the powerableness of princes in their own dominions, the See Apostolic utterly reclaiming against them; which though they were not directly against any point of faith or religion, yet might be very prejudicial to the state ecclesiastical and liberties of holy Church; as the law of "premunire" was, which is mentioned by the adversary; against which divers Popes (especially Gregory the Eleventh and Martin the Sixth) opposed themselves earnestly; and dealt with King Edward the Third and Henry the Sixth for abrogating the same; which they both promised to do, but never did; and consequently it remaineth still in its first unconscionable force (if the makers had any such meaning as their followers have found out); for that it may by calumnious interpretation be used at the only pleasure of the prince, to the confiscation of all Churchmen's goods, imprisonment of their persons, and destruction of the whole clergy; whereof King Henry the Eighth, in the beginning of his schism, gave a horrible example. Which iniquity the libeller himself is not ashamed

to commend, and to propound to other princes for imitation.

These injustices and the like may be by some kings committed and are (as we have said) for peace and charity's sake borne by them who are taught by their Master, and by the Apostolical bishops of the primitive Church, to set more by one soul than by all the honours, goods, and privileges in the world otherwise. So that, God be honoured, whether causes at the first instance, or by appeal only be deferred to the Court of Rome or no; whether the Pope, prince, clergy, or people, appoint the pastors or no (a thing diversely used in divers ages); the Church can bear all, and turn all to good, so long as the true faith and substance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction be not destroyed.

Wherein yet this may be comfortable to all obedient children of the Church, and worthy to be considered of discreet persons; that in all, or surely in most part of such limitations, restraints diminishings, or alteration of the Pope's and Church's authority, things have afterwards so fallen out that wise men heartily wish no change ever had been made. And for the evidence thereof we refer all men to the pondering of this one point specially among many, concerning the nominations and elections of bishops, abbots, and other prelates; whether the world went not as well when such things passed canonical election, or the Pope's provision, as it hath done since, or hereafter is like to do. At the beginning of such alterations men pretended reasons for the particular Church's

commodities of sundry nations, which a few years' experience, and the event of things, have in most matters controlled.

But were it well or evil, it can neither be example or warrant to our present country to destroy abbeys, kill the religious, murder God's priests, imprison all the sacred persons of bishops throughout the realm; to hate, blaspheme, abolish all authority and jurisdiction of Apostolical; yea and to make a solemn public prayer in the litany, "That God would deliver our country from the Pope," instead of that which the whole Christian world devoutly singeth and sayeth daily: "Ut Dominum Apostolicum et omnes ecclesiasticos ordines in sancta religione conservare digneris."[1] Would any man think that either they should fall to such barbarousness, or to such impudency, as to defend so gross impiety by the examples of other Catholic kings, countries and times, in the cases aforesaid?

Or can it be possible they could imagine the difference between King Henry the Seventh and the Pope that then was, about [? the trade in alum], should warrant her Majesty that now is, or her counsellors, to stand against the high priest of God, and to go to law with him for his spiritual Prelacy? What a gross-head is this libeller, or rather what a deceitful person (for he cannot be so rude as not to know the difference of things so far distant) that allegeth the wars sometimes fallen out betwixt certain Popes and princes about their temporal inter-

[1] "That Thou wouldst deign to preserve the Apostolic Lord and all ecclesiastical rulers in holy religion."

est, to prove that Catholic kings care not for the Pope; or that themselves may resist him by arms, and contemn his authority in matters of faith and religion.

Wherein his examples also are very evil chosen, when he goeth about to make us believe that Charles the Fifth cared not for the Pope's excommunication and curse, because his soldiers under the conduction of Bourbon committed horrible violence and villainy in the city of Rome against His holiness, the cardinals, and all other whom they found there as their prey. Where indeed the said noble Emperor, though then very young, yet was neither consenting thereunto nor had any knowledge of the disorder till it was done, purging himself thereof afterwards to the Pope very humbly; and the said Bourbon author of that wicked enterprise, by God's mighty hand and judgment, and for a sign how highly that impious fact displeased His divine Majesty, was slain suddenly, and as it is thought the first of all other upon the wall of the suburbs. Let all those that take such examples take heed of the like ends.

As for the loyalty of the most Catholic King that now is of Spain to the See Apostolic; notwithstanding what temporal differences soever have fallen, or may fall out between them, it were so much idleness to stand upon, against this fond wrangler. And the Duke of Alva, his Majesty's general, behaved himself even at that time when he had his army before Rome (as well of his own singular devotion as by his king's commandment) most religiously

and honourably; without any violence in the world, or damage to the city, other than the waste of a few places of pleasure, vines, and orchards about the walls; for which this good fellow with whom we deal maketh much moan (as it seemeth); where indeed he would rather have wished the whole city both sacked and sunk for devotion.

But these princes (saith he) cared not for the Pope's curses when they thus pursued their claims both by arms and law. The truth is, that the Pope excommunicateth not every one that either resisteth him in temporal goods or matter of emoluments of their peculiar churches or countries, whether it be by laws or arms; and therefore there is no cause why in such cases where no censures are usually published this libeller should say: "They regard no curses, nor anathematizings, etc." Neither then also when the injury done to Holy Church or Apostolic See seemeth so evident to the Popes that there may appear some reasonable cause of excommunicating the impugners, and the parties so censured in the contrary side, upon persuasion of their right, do persist notwithstanding in the defence thereof; not then (I say) do they contemn the censure (as is untruly conceived by the adversary), but rather abstaining from the holy sacraments, and company of such as to them by law are forbidden, do use humble means towards His Holiness for his better information in the cause; and do seek that the matter may be ended by good order of composition, or arbitrament of other princes and godly persons. Or if (in such causes of strife for worldly commodi-

ties, where the temporal prince may sometimes either have the right on his side, or seem to himself in conscience, or by the judgment of godly, learned and indifferent men to have it) we grant that he may without fear of censures, by arms or otherwise pursue his just claim without impeachment of his obedience in spiritual affairs; may therefore sacrilegious persons, as heretics, apostates, and open obstinate offenders, contemn at their pleasures, and violently resist the sentence of holy Church? No, there is no match in these matters.

What if the late Queen Mary of England stayed the messenger of the Pope bringing a discharge of the late renowned Cardinal Pole from his authority legatine; and a cardinal's hat for a person (though very godly) yet known to be unfit, till His Holiness might be better informed of the man and of the whole matter; as immediately he was, with all diligence and humility, by the said most devout Princess; should this be an example or encouragement to others of plain disobedience and revolt? Or wholly to abandon the Pope's authority, and to invest a woman (which is against nature) in his supremacy and spiritual charge over all her subjects' souls? No, surely; no more than of reason it should have served her Majesty's Council (sitting once in consultation together of the case) to deny entrance to the Nuncio Apostolico sent by Pius the Fourth about the third year of her Highness' reign to require and beseech her in God to send some of her learned men to the general Council of Trent then in hand, as most other great potentates of

Christianity did, bringing with him a safe conduct for their peaceable passage, audience, and entertainment; notwithstanding their contrary religion and faction.

So did the English Council then make their advantage of that unlike fact of the late noble Queen, at once both to maintain their unlike separation from the Christian world and the fellowship of other Catholic kings; as also (and that perhaps especially) to cover the ignorance, fear, and insufficiency of their superintendents; who though her Majesty and others of the nobility were well inclined to send some of them for the honour of the realm; yet for fear of burning (as they pretended) but indeed for fear of the Catholics' learning and their own shame, the good fellows made all the suit under hand they could, that none might be enforced thither. And so at length it was agreed; and moreover, that His Holiness' ambassador should not so much as be heard, or suffered to come within the realm; upon the warrant (I say) of the foresaid unlike example of the former Queen Mary.

Which also serveth them further ever since, not only to renounce all the old authority, power, and interest of the See Apostolic over our country, and to make the chief Bishop thereof a mere stranger, as other worldly princes of the provinces about us, that have nothing to do with our affairs (whose messengers yet and ambassadors for needful intercourse and mutual intelligence by the law of nations they willingly admit, either in peace or wars as

occasion serveth); but also to make him a Devil, an Antichrist, and worse than the Turk himself, whose messengers (as the world seeth) may have audience with them, and good correspondence; whereas the Pope can have none. Whereby is discovered the misery of wicked heresy, and the extreme hatred that rebellious children do bear to their mother, whom they unhappily have forsaken, and obstinately resist to their own perdition. And this shall be sufficient to show how wrongfully and unreasonably this libeller hath sought to defend their English general revolt from the Church of of Rome; and their contempt of His Holiness' censures, by the examples of some Catholic princes' differences and worldly debates with certain Popes and prelates of the same; upon matter of far different nature and quality from faith and religion.

## CHAPTER VIII.

That the separation of the Prince and Realm from the unity of the Church and See Apostolic, and fall from the Catholic religion, is the only cause of all the present fears and dangers that the State seemeth to stand in. And that they unjustly attribute the same to the Pope's Holiness, or Catholics; and untruly call them enemies of the Realm.

JEROBOAM, for the better establishing of his sovereignty over the ten tribes, thought it a high policy to divide the temporal lot and partage, which by God's appointment was fallen unto him, from all communion and society with the other remaining in Jewry, and serving their Lord in the temple at Jerusalem. And therefore instituted for himself and his people strange gods, new ways of worship, other unordered base priests, and several places to serve in; and all upon this human imagination, that if his people at their sundry appointed times should go up to the Temple to do their sacrifice and other rites according to the law; as also converse with the priests and people of the other party, and be subject to them in matters of conscience and religion as they were bound; that then they might easily be induced or much tempted to return to Solomon's successors in Jerusalem again; and that his people being subject to him only in temporal matters, and not in religion, he might seem to be but half a king. Yea, as at this day our Protestants (for flattering the person whom hereby they will ruin) use often to say of our ancient kings of

England and of other Catholic countries abroad, that they were but half kings in their own realms, if we compare their authorities with the ample regality of her Majesty now reigning; whose jurisdiction extendeth above the old wont, to all causes spiritual no less than temporal.

Well, so thought Jeroboam then, and so did he; and was (no doubt) most highly commended for the device by his politics that were about him. But yet this thing which was esteemed so prudently done for preservation of his state, was after as well by the mouth of God's prophet, as by the miserable event of things, proved within a very few years, to be the only destruction of his whole house, and perpetual calamity of his people.

The secular prudence of the children of this world compared to the true wisdom of the godly, and resisting any way the course of virtue and salvation, is found in fine always deficient, and in truth folly. But it never appeareth so weak, deceitful and pernicious as when it opposeth itself to the ordinance of God, to the force of His Spirit and truth, and to the Spouse, Kingdom and Priesthood of Christ. In which case the giant's building of Babel prevailed not; the proposition of Achitophel was dashed; the purpose of Herod for murdering of Christ in his cradle, lest he should bereave him of his crown; and of the Jews afterwards in prosecuting his death to save their state and country from the Romans, was turned to their own destruction. Saul found how hard it was to spurn against the spur. Julianus cried out "Vicisti Galilee," that

is " Thou hast the victory of me, Man of Galilee " (so that apostate of contempt called Christ); and finally, true it will ever prove, that there is no counsel against God, nor no long peace to any that resist Him.

And therefore those princes and people only to be happy both in this world and in the next, and their States alone lawful and durable, that have learned faithfully to submit their sceptres to Christ's sweet yoke; and to join their terrene kingdoms with the Priesthood and Spouse of Him by Whom all kings do reign; of Whose Church it is said long sithence by the Prophet, and proved by the experience of all ages, that the nation and people that serveth her not shall perish; whosoever hear and obey her not must be accounted as ethnics; whosoever despise her and her governors, despise Christ Himself; whosoever refuse her regiment and superiority, specially for matters of faith and religion, and would rather have a king over them to lead both their body and souls; do not so much refuse to be ruled by God's priests, as they reject Christ Himself, being not contented that He should reign over them. Finally, whosoever do give to Cæsar that which is due to God, preposterously preferring the temporal prerogative of worldly princes before the spiritual power of the priests of the new Testament; directly do repine against God's ordinance, and shall at length prove (with what human prowess, power, or prudence soever they sustain their factions) that they have unevenly and unadvisedly matched their combat.

The house they impugn is founded upon an impregnable rock; there is no tempest of heathen, heretical, or domestical persecution, nor no storms of weather or water that can overthrow it; hell itself and the powers thereof cannot prevail against it. And to the end that the Menroths and other new evangelical Giants of our country mistake us not, nor beguile themselves in their desperate contradiction against the City of God; St. Augustine telleth them, it is the See and succession of the Church of Rome which is so invincibly guarded. These be his words: "Count the priests from the very See of Peter, and in that order of Fathers who and to whom hath succeeded; that same is the rock which the proud gates of hell do not overcome."

The chosen corner stone of this building is, by the prophets and by Christ's own declaration such, as whoever falleth upon it shall be broken, and on whom it falleth it shall crush him in pieces. Not only the faith of Peter by our Lord's own promise and protection being infallible, but the Apostolical regiment, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, shall endure to the end of the world. Which hath already borne down by her patience and constancy all the heathen emperors, against whom the high throne of Christ's Priesthood in earth, and tribunal of faith and religion, was placed and preserved by the mighty arm of God in the very chief city and seat of their empire for divers hundreds years together after Christ's ascension; notwithstanding all the human means of worldly policy or tyrannical cruelty that could be devised or exercised against

them. Those great monarchs in that time more doubting and fearing the Popes in their poverty and persecution, and more loth to have them in their own city of Rome so near them (if they could have chosen) than any other powerable competitor or emulator of their empire; as St. Cyprian saith of Decius the Emperor in regard of Pope Cornelius, who was therefore afterwards (as all other his predecessors before him) martyred.

By the same promise and like assistance of the Holy Ghost the same See hath worn out all the old heretics, of far greater power, pride, and learning, than these Protestants be; sustained not only by some particular princes of certain provinces, but by divers most mighty emperors, persecuting the Catholic bishops, priests and others, through the whole Roman world as heavily as now some smaller princes Protestant do within the bounds of their dominions only. The same See hath gone through all other distresses, foreign and domestical; standeth and flourisheth now (notwithstanding all the threats, molition and machination of her forsakers) in all virtue, strength and glory. Never more loved, honoured and regarded of the Catholic kings in the world. Never more reverenced and obeyed of the Church's children; never more feared of her forsakers. As we may see by the desperate and most obstinate course they take in our poor afflicted country: not so much thinking to defend themselves by the daily shedding of most innocent men's blood, as basely to wreak their unquenchable anger at the See of Rome, which they fear must be the instru-

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Into what desolation all Africa was finally brought by the schism and sect of the Donatists: how the heresy of the Arians, after the wearisome toil almost of the whole world for many years discharged itself at length into Mahometism: how the division of the Oriental Church from the See of Peter hath been the loss of liberty, and the eternal destruction of so many noble, most free, and flourishing provinces of that part, no man can be ignorant. As also not see into what hazard and extreme perils these devilish doctrines of our days, and the seditious followers of the same, have brought the glorious kingdom of France, with the States of Flanders, Germany, Poland, and most of the north parts of the world near unto us. Which consideration draweth us also into the doleful account of our English present fears and miseries; and much more to the foresight of our calamities to come: seeing clearly by the records of our country, that no nation hath oftener sustained general alteration of the state and government than ours; nor yet ever any violent change or mutation, but for some notable contempt of the house of God. As appeareth by the sundry invasions and conquests made on us; and by the notes which Gildas the Wise, Venerable Bede, and other men of experience and foresight, have in their monuments set down, which were too long, and needless to rehearse.

Only this is ever to be borne in mind; that when our kings of England had good intelligence with the Pope, and mutual offices of love and honour passed betwixt them; and our body politic and civil

magistrate had all godly and charitable correspondence with the spiritual commonwealth of Christ's Church, and the prelates thereof: then had we a most happy and victorious country, blessed of God with all spiritual and temporal benediction. In such sort surely, that to remember only what grace and glory our realm hath received, by joining and submitting itself to the laws and regiment of holy Church, might make our hearts joyful, if the consideration of this our present infelicity, by severing ourselves from the same, did not eftsoons turn all to inconsolable sorrow.

Truly whatsoever is or hath been singular to our country's honour either in church, city, university, college, school, monastery, library, or any part of the commonwealth, not least renowned in the world, all came of the Catholic religion; and the greatest part of the famous prelates of our nation. As likewise what piety, justice, fidelity, conscience, devotion, fear of God, peace, order, obedience, truth and honesty was once in any state of men; it can be referred to no other but to the godly discipline, forcible doctrine, and manifold graces of the Church and her holy sacraments; as on the contrary, the waste of all goodness is now by many years' experience found to proceed of the Protestants, not only fruitless, but pernicious preachers and doctrine. Who by invading the old honourable rooms of most noble prelates (founded neither by them nor for them) have made pitiful spoil of the goodliest ecclesiastical states and monuments almost in all Chrsitendom. And by taking away the

daily dreadful sacrifice, confession, chastity, fidelity, obedience, humility, order, and all honesty of life and manners, have given our people doleful experience of the deadly fruit of their schism and revolt from the See Apostolic and Catholic communion of the faithful world.

Which we are forced to treat of here more largely, through the importunate and odious vaunting of this libeller concerning their felicity and unwonted prosperity in England, since their breaking from the unity of the Church of Rome; specially since the Queen (saith he) was cursed and excommunicated by the Pope, all matters have gone luckily. Not talking at all of the realm or people's increase in religion, devotion, conscience, fidelity, honour, and honesty; for therein the difference and decay from the old manners in all estates is too notorious and lamentable to behold. Never so much injustice, never so much extortion, never so much theft, never so much pride, ebriety, gluttony, riot, and all other sin and abomination. But only (as though he knew no other world or heaven but this) he profanely and proudly in sundry places of his little book, maketh repetition of their good luck in this life; of their abundance in wealth; of their long peace; of the fruitfulness of their fields ever since the Pope's curses. Much like to the irreligious tyrant that never liked his luck better than after he had committed sacrilege, and robbed sacred things. So this triumphant libeller braggeth: "That the Queen hath reigned as long as three Popes; five times as

long as Queen Mary her sister; in such felicity, that any other prince of Christendom would be glad to have some piece of her good fortune."

Which too profane and proud cogitations and comparisons of this writer, we will not attribute to her Majesty or to her prudent counsellors, who have yet more feeling and sense in such things than to make so much of a few years more or less reign, and other terrene felicity; that either her Majesty should pronounce of herself (as surely she will not) the words of that mystical woman of the Prophet Isaiah: "I sit a queen, and widow I am not, and mourning I shall never see," or that her wise counsellors should admire her happiness for this thing, and second her with such applause as the people used to Herod, in the height of his arrogancy and proud proposition: "Voces Dei, non hominis." [1] They are all too wise (I say) and over well experienced to do or say thus; for they know the judgments of God incontinently following. They are not ignorant that before ruin the heart is exalted. They cannot forget the variableness and inconstancy of mortal things, with the sudden fall of very fortunate persons. They have read of Policrates king of Samos, whose prosperity being extraordinary, he was by his friends, and specially by the king of Egypt advised to procure for himself some grief and alteration of fortune, lest some memorable calamity should in the end ensue, as indeed there did. Which example St. Gregory Nazianzen thinketh in this case worthy to be re-

[1] "The Voice of God, not of man."

membered. They cannot but esteem St. Austin's judgment of good credit in this matter, who thinketh that nothing is more dangerous or unlucky to a Christian than to live long in continual prosperity.

Wherefore, all this vanity and triumphant flourish proceedeth only from the vein of our libeller, who is one of that popular stamp which in the Psalm blessed the people that had their barns and butteries full, their sheep pregnant, their cattle fair and fat, all void of ruin, care, and clamour; where Christian men must measure their matters otherwise, and say with the prophet: "Beatus populus cujus Dominus Deus ejus"; "That people is happy whose Lord and Master is God": without Whom, and out of Whose house (which is the Church) all human felicity is but matter of more damnation; and truly where it is extraordinary, ever a very sore sign of everlasting perdition. Which we do not say for that we account not this terrene felicity a great benefit of God oftentimes, as well to private persons, as specially to commonwealths: or that we reckon this few years' prosperity of our country anything comparable to the constant honour and felicity of our forefathers' days: but for that it maketh no certain, nor often no probable proof, of God's favour towards them that enjoy the same, being likely common to good and evil; though of the two more ordinary to the wicked and worser sort than to the better; because Lazarus often receiveth evil in his life, as the greedy glutton doth the contrary. Yet our libeller thought it a good popular per-

suasion to the vulgar sort of men that have fastened their eyes and hearts only on these present delights and commodities, never thinking on the life to come.

But now we must go further with this vaunter, and be bold to tell him that our country is in no such blessed state as he would make the sillier sort at home, or strangers abroad that feel not our miseries, to believe. For though a few persons in respect of the rest (not surely the third man in the realm, having given themselves to follow the present condition of things, and putting their conscience, reason, and religion to silence, to be partakers of the pleasures and commodities which there the world yieldeth by the spoil of infinite Catholics and honest innocent men of all sorts) are advanced to riches and degree; and do reckon their present state a terrestrial paradise, feeling their own wealth, and not regarding other men's woe; yet indeed knowing as we do that the far greater part of our country of all degrees are brought to ruin, misery, or extreme danger and desolation, as well themselves as their posterity, for the raising of others unto this pleasure, plenty, and felicity which they have now for some years enjoyed; we must needs confess and testify, that the body of the realm generally was never in such extreme misery.

First and foremost for the clergy (which was, and is in truth wheresoever it remain, and ought to be in all Christian commonwealths the first and principal order of honour; and in ours, for number, learning, wisdom and excellency of all kinds, in-

ferior to none in Europe); it is wholly destained and destroyed as the world knoweth; the chief prelates, bishops and others all spoiled of their dignities and livelihoods, thrust into prisons, forced into banishment, till by manifold and long miseries they be almost all wasted and worn away. These then so many, so notable, and so worthy, for whom both God, nature, and their place of birth, do challenge a part of this so much praised prosperity, feel none of it: but for mere conscience and confession of that truth, which their holy predecessors laid and left with them "in depositum," have lost their terrene lot; and either are dead, or have passed so many years in misery, as these other good fellows their intruders, have lived in joy and felicity; who indeed are "Filii hominum, qui nubunt et nubuntur"; that is, certain fleshly companions, unordered apostates, and contemptible ministers; who entering into the right and rooms of others, provided not for them, do think all fair weather in England; and have good cause to like of the luck of these later years, which maketh true men mourn while such thieves be merry.

Secondly; if we go from spirituality to temporality, and do make our consideration of all orders and degrees of men and of the whole corps and communalty of the land; we shall find by reason, experience, and substantial conjecture, that the whole being divided into three parts, two of them are inclined to Catholic religion in their hearts, and consequently are discontented with the present condition of things. Of which Catholics so many

as follow the world, and dissemble their religion for fear of laws; as they be (notwithstanding their dissimulation) many ways known and discovered, mistrusted, doubted and hated of the Protestants, and generally kept under, injured, disauthorised, and watchfully overlooked; and thereby in continual misery and discontentment; so also in respect of their own consciences, being forced to swear to such articles of this new faith, and her Majesty's ecclesiastical "Regality," as they assuredly believe to be most wicked, untrue, and impossible; as also to receive such falsified sacraments as they in their hearts condemn to the pit of hell, and know to be poison to their own souls, and to their friends' who for compassion sake do receive with them; and finally being constrained to hear and hire such ministers as daily read, speak, and preach nothing but blasphemy against Christ's Vicar, Church, sacraments, saints and all-Holies; they are enforced to live, and, alas, often also to die, in infinite distress of mind and torments of conscience, passing all other human miseries. So as all these have little part of this goodly joy whereof this libeller speaketh; but do live in perpetual anguish, wishing sometimes (which we have seen and heard) with many a sigh and groan, that her Majesty would be content with half their goods, so that she would grant them liberty but in secret sort, to have the use but of the holy sacraments; and sometimes lamenting their manifold infirmities, and impediments of wife and children, for whose only needful relief they continue in that damnable state of schism.

Now for the other zealous and sincere Catholics, being marvellous many throughout the whole realm, and the number by God's goodness daily increasing, such we mean as know it is not enough to salvation to believe with heart, except, when occasion is given, they confess with mouth; these being no small part of the land; of the greatest calling, some; of honour, worship, wealth and substance, many; the rest, of the honestest, orderliest, and best-beloved of the whole country; taste not of the pleasures of this libeller's paradise; but have passed these years in greater griefs, fears and miseries, than any man's pen or tongue can express; not the tenth part of their calamities discovered by any of our brethren's books, epistles, pictures, or complaints.

If our fellows in the Catholic faith through Christendom could conceive that in heart, which these confessors do in deed feel, and we often with our eyes behold; they would with infinite tears bewail our case, and with daily devout prayers, procure God's mercy towards us, as we trust they do. If they might see all the prisons, dungeons, fetters, stocks, racks, that are through the realm occupied and filled with Catholics; if they might behold the manner of their arraignment even among the vilest sort of malefactors: how many have been by famine, ordure, and pestiferous airs, pined away: how many by most cruel death openly dispatched: how many have suffered proscription and condemnation to perpetual prison: how many have been spoiled, and otherwise grievously punished by for-

feiting to the Queen 100 Marks for every time they hear Mass: how many gentlemen and other persons of wealth are wholly undone, by losing thirteen score pounds by the year for not coming unto the heretical service: how many have lost all their lands and goods during life for flying out of the country for their conscience sake: how many of the most substantial, profitablest, and persons of greatest hospitality in divers provinces, are chased out of their own houses by spials, promoters and catchpols: how many wander in places where they are not known, driven into woods, yea, surely, into waters, to save themselves from the heretics' cruelty: how many godly and honest married couples most dear to one another, by the imprisonment, banishment, flight, of either party, are pitifully sundered: how many families thereby dissolved; into what poverty, misery, and mishap their children are driven: what number thereby run over sea into most desperate wars and fortunes; or by better luck and fortune go to the seminaries or other service, to pass their time during their parents' calamity. And for such as be of the vulgar sort of honest husbandmen or artizans (of which condition innumerable be Catholics in our country); they being not able to pay that impious Mass-mulct, much less the forfeiture for not coming to the Calvinists' preaches and service, are most cruelly and barbarously whipped in the open market-places; as both elsewhere and specially of late, a blessed number in the city of Winchester (most pitiful to behold) were so used. Others have their

ears cut off; others burnt through the ear; and others otherwise (of both sexes) contumeliously and slavishly abused.

These then, and a thousand more, which we need not to rehearse, being the miseries of the better sort and bigger number of the realm; and they falling upon them 'for their fathers' faith, and no other crime in the world committed either against prince or country; as the libeller himself confesseth for the principal clergy, and for many good subjects of the laity; who therefore, he saith, are not punished by any capital pain; as though the loss of liberty, lands, dignities, grace and goods, were no punishment. But these calamities (we say) being common to our whole state of the realm, and to the greatest part of the rest; shall we say the state is blessed? this regiment fortunate? all is peaceable and plentiful in England? Where indeed only a few newly raised by other men's fall, are made happy by other men's infelicity; and where a very small number, in comparison, have divided the wealth, honours, offices, and pleasures of the whole land among themselves; and do manage the country by their favourites, to the discontentment, disgrace, and destruction of the justest gentlemen in the same.

Now this condition and present fortune of certain men, that have by her Majesty's lenity, and by alteration of the Catholic religion into heresy, thus advanced their particular, is by these men called the state; and their abundance, peace, and prosperity, the happiness of the whole realm. Where

the happiness of a king and country is the weal of the subjects no less than of the sovereign; and where wicked men (as thieves, murderers, heretics, and others like) be in misery and bear the pains of the laws; and not where God's priests, the Church's children, and true Catholics (for whose defence and protection both kings and all just laws are made) be in continual trouble and vexation. To conclude, then, the greatest and best part of our country being in the extremest worldly misery (besides the torment of conscience which pass all other pain) that ever men were in, since Christianity was founded; the adversary's brag of the English felicity is too vain, fond and frivolous.

But going further with this politic, or atheist (whether you will), that measureth all by worldly felicity; deeming the Pope's anathema or curse to be void towards us, or rather turned into blessing, by the good success the Protestants of our country have had in all their life and doings, since the publishing of the same: we will set aside the misery of so great numbers of particular men named before, and presume for the clearer proceeding in this cause that the present happiness of some Protestants were the peace and prosperity of the whole realm and state; and that being admitted, yet we have to tell the man, and shall prove it now in the sight of all indifferent people, that our country and state is in the greatest misery, most dangerous terms, that ever it was, since or before the Conquest, and far in worse case than any country of Christendom: which notwithstanding (he saith) would wish any piece of the English felicity.

It were a hard matter to persuade this to a thriftless yonker, a vulgar reader, a common person, or such a one as brutishly beholdeth and esteemeth the present pleasures or profits that he enjoyeth with licentious liberty, above all that may fall to him or his, be it wealth, be it woe, afterwards for ever; but to wise men, and specially to such as have charge of commonwealths, it is nothing difficult; who if they know not of themselves (as likely they do by the law of nature) precepts of policy, and holy Scriptures; yet they may easily be induced to consider, that the present peace and pleasure of a common body or state, or the calm of a few years (if it be either procured or supported by unjust and dishonourable means, or be joined with evident perils, present or to come) is indeed no true prosperity, neither in common nor in particular; but rather a prognostication of God's great plagues to come, and of the future miseries either to fall afterwards in our own days, or to our posterity.

No weal public is happy without justice, honour and security. If our wealth be obtained by spoil or sacrilege, it is unjust. If our peace be maintained by our neighbours' wars, it is injurious and dishonourable. If no respect be had for the continuance, security, and stability of this good fortune we seem to be in, then either we or our posterity shall feel as much woe, as we now do joy.

Of the revolt from the See Apostolic, alteration of religion, spoil of churches and clergy (by which they made their entry into this new blessedness) how just and lawful it was, we will not now stand

upon; nor show what ignominious practices and plaguy injustice they have used to sustain the same, far differing from the old royal dealings of our kings and country; who either by lawful open wars, or honourable leagues and assured amity, procured their rest and peace.

To make the subjects of Scotland first, then of France, and last of all of Flanders, and divers other States, to rebel against their lawful princes: to imprison some; to surprise the towns of others; to seize upon the money of others; to hazard the persons of others; to maintain horrible civil garboils in all the country near us, and against all their next neighbour princes (with whom otherwise they pretend good amity and intelligence); to be confederate with all the infamous heretics and rebels of these days, yea surely, with the Turk himself; finally, by sundry piracies, proditions, spieries, and foul arts, to afflict and cozen the world round about us; what conscience, honour or equity can be in this course? None at all surely. Neither can our peace and prosperity, by such dishonourable and sinful means maintained, ever be secure or durable; but always full of fear, danger and doubtfulness, as well to the authors of so foul and unwonted proceedings, as to the people; though the simplest of this latter sort, averted by the present peace and pleasure of a few years, cannot espy their future misery so easily as those which, having led both their Sovereign and her subjects by strange paths into these perplexities, are now themselves come almost both to their wits' and to their world's end;

having neither God to stand for them, Whom they have highly offended by forsaking Him and abolishing His holy service, honour and Sacraments; nor any prince or State sure unto them; every of which they have so notoriously annoyed in the times of their distresses, that they can look for no office of true friendship at their hands.

In all which God hath so wonderfully overwrought their human counsels, that seemed to such as had no deep insight in things present, nor much foresight or care of what was to come, to be full wise and far to excel the compass of our old fathers, or any foreigners at this day; and therefore our nation, by the passing prudence of certain counsellors, to stand in peace and joy, when all their neighbours about us by their devices were in misery: God Himself (we say) hath so controlled these wise follies, by the contrary events of every of their sinful devices, that the world may see and wonder at God's ways, and how different they be from man's cogitations; and how far the sound counsels of such as be truly wise, differ from the present and pregnant wits, or desperate adventures of such as manage all matters for their own present and particular, without regard of the general end or their own posterity.

See you not how even God Himself hath defeated their drifts in Scotland, and brought the matter by marvellous means of his providence to the just contrary issue of that which they shot at? Were not their endeavours even so crossed in France, in every of the three brethrens kings' days,

where they have been always frustrated of their purposes, and lost both their unthankful labours and their money? To what end their intelligence with the rebellious states of Flanders, or with the apostate of Cologne or other their correspondents will come, they partly perceive, and may acknowledge therein (as all other wise men do) the mighty, just, and provident hand of God. When our Protestants consider of these things deeply, and attend the issue of all their extraordinary proceedings, and as men out of all aim now and compass of their intended course, can go no farther, without desperate overthrow and hazard of all; what misery they may be in let wise men judge, howsoever themselves cover their perplexed cogitations from the vulgar sort, by telling them of fair weather, and of their plenty of corn and cattle, long reign and prosperity of her Majesty above all Popes and princes of her days. But the origin of all the former dishonourable and desperate plots, and of the extreme fears and miseries they many ways show themselves to be in (and indeed are, notwithstanding the pretence of their prosperity) is their first fall from the God of their forefathers, and the alteration of Catholic religion into this Calvinism or atheism by which our realm hath so long perished. Though this libeller and other English new writers (no wiser nor better than children or bears, that are offended with the rods, stones, or staves, wherewith they be beaten, neither looking at the cause nor chief author of their punishment) attribute their troubles or apprehended fears to the excommunication, and to

the godly endeavours of Catholic priests, instructing the people peaceably to their salvation.

And how much this forsaking of holy Church, faith, and communion of all Christian people displeased God, and how unwisely it was done in respect of the temporal state and safety of our prince and country, the same Lord God hath in their own days, that were the authors thereof, revealed; as otherwise natural reason and experience, if they were never so void of conscience and religion, might have foretold them. But, alas, their own particular advancement and infinite ambition, which they thought should not have so free course if the old state of religion had continued, either brought them into error of judgment (as it commonly happeneth), or else (which is no rare case either) made them against their own knowledge follow that which was so pernicious both temporally and spiritually.

For who could not see, though his judgment, reason, or reading were never so small, that all great alterations in commonwealths are dangerous? Let but an attempt be made to change your temporal statutes and national laws into the civil laws; change but your customs that now you be guided by, in many things; change your form of government, which is now a monarchy into another kind of regiment; what infinite broils would it bring? But there is no alteration so perilous as of religion; and of that religion which was planted by our first Apostles; received from the Mother Church of Christendom; confirmed by miracles; approved by

all the laws, councils, customs, and tribunals of the Church, for to be the only true worship of God, and consonant to His sacred word and will. What counsel could be more dangerous in the world than this? They could not but think that the subjects of the realm, so many of them being Catholic, so lately reconciled to the Church, and by public embassy, oath, and promise to His Holiness, avowed never to fall again into schism, could not but be much discontented. They could not but see what heart-sore it would be to all those that depended on the old honourable clergy, to behold the deprivation and imprisonment almost of the whole order; and another fleshly company intruded into their rooms, whom no man almost liked of, and since are more and more taken and proved to be the filth of the land.

They were not ignorant that the Pope and See Apostolic (now the second time so contemptuously forsaken) could either of conscience or duty to his flock, or his own honour, not use one time or other the rod of the Church's discipline, which is excommunication, against the offenders. Which howsoever they thought by error of religion they might contemn, and by power withstand; yet they could not be so far overseen, that such censures (by which many a man's conscience at home might be pierced, and of which any foreign prince abroad, as time and advantage served him, would perhaps make his profit) might not seem to them very like to breed more troubles than were to be wished.

They looked not well about them, if they foresaw

not that their defection from the Pope, who is most dearly confederated with all the Catholic and mighty kings of Christendom, might not breed a great alienation of their hearts from us, and an occasion of much inconvenience and danger to our country. Their wisdoms and experience of the divers bloody conflicts fought in our fathers' days for religion in Switzerland, and in our country in King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth's late days; and the doubtful event of such things might have forewarned them of the like that might fall, and since have fallen, as well in England as Ireland; where all the country being in good will Catholic, they might easily perceive with what a general torment of conscience, and danger of civil war, the new religion were to be enforced upon them.

Fear is never a sure nor long keeper of his master. And because no prince ruleth his subjects so securely by force and fear, as by love and liking, how could they not conceive that all Ireland, and a great piece of England, was ever to be entertained in subjection by power and plain awe, and nothing by love and sweetness. And which is of more perilous sequel in this case, and ought most of all to have been by them foreseen is, that the diversity of religion, joined with the censure and sentence of the See Apostolic, may make such alteration in the opinions of many otherwise most loyal subjects, that divers may seem to obey only of fear and nothing of conscience. Which conscience of the subjects, doubtless, is the only sure pillar of the sovereign's estate.

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through all these perils, and have had so many victories against what enemies soever, at home or abroad; and that therefore all was wisely done and luckily. To which we say, that if all prove well in the end, it is better for them: and that it is not so properly pertaining to prudence to escape dangers when they fall (which good luck, fond men also sometimes have by fortune) as to prevent and provide that no dangers fall; and to fly from such things whereof evident perils must needs ensue.

But in this matter of religion, God Himself also hath checked their worldly purposes and conceits marvellously. For where they had thought by severity of such strange laws as were never made in any commonwealth heathen or Christian, and wearing them away, by yielding all churches, pulpits, schools, offices, honours, and commodities, to men of their own sect and creation; and by what other extremity, policy, or diligence soever, to have in a few years extinguished the name and memory of faith Catholic; they now yearly and daily find the number, zeal, constancy, patience, and knowledge of the children of the Catholic Roman Church so to increase in all orders, sexes and degrees of men, that they may see and confess that "Digitus Dei est hic" [1]; and that if they persist "Novissimus error ipsorum erit peior priori." [2]

Once they show themselves to be so terrified by God in the blood and death of so many martyrs, which they, in a kind of extreme desperate obsti-

[1] The finger of God is here.
[2] Their last state is worse than the first.

nacy and obduration, do daily kill; and yet are so appalled by the truth and the common sense of all men, that they dare not, or are ashamed to execute them for religion, whereby even now in the vaunt of their wealth, peace, and prosperity, they show such extraordinary fears, as is wonder to behold.

Wherein their misery is so lamentable (as we construe it) the perplexity which God hath driven them unto, so terrible; that there is not a poor priest can enter to say Mass, but they imagine he bringeth their destruction. There cannot a ship appear on any coast, nor any prince's preparation for his own affairs, but it is for invasion of the realm. There can be no college founded to relieve men's banishments abroad, no entertainment given to any Catholic either in camp or court, but all is against their state; every man crying out: "Quod venient Romani, et tollent locum et gentem nostram."[1]

So long as our Realm was in the unity of the Catholic Church, and lived either in just wars, or honourable peace with our neighbours; was there any such extreme fears of present invasion? Was there such mustering? Such diligent watch and swearing against the Pope at every port? Such examination of passengers? Such ado generally, and such mistrust of the subjects' fidelity? Such jealousy over all men, as though the whole realm were a camp, that feared and expected every hour some secret camisado? Is this the felicity and security that the libeller so much glorieth of, whereof he saith other countries wish some part? Surely,

[1] The Romans will come and will destroy our nation.

a moderate fortune with security, is without comparison much better than all the pleasures in the world with perplexity. And it seemeth by outward signs, that there is no nation in Europe which standeth this day in so doubtful terms as ours doth. Woe be to our sins therefore.

Which we say not upon any likelihood of any such present dangers as seem there now so extremely to be feared; or for that the priests of God or other Catholic men, can possibly be any cause thereof, which is indeed no more but this: "Deum non invocaverunt; illic trepidaverunt timore, ubi non erat timor." [1] God only hath driven them unto it, to give them some sense of their misery, and some remorse of their revolt from him, and motion of repentance.

But our consideration is specially of the dreadful and most desperate case our whole country, every order, and each particular man thereof, is in, by the uncertainty of the next heir to the crown; yea by the certainty of most bloody civil and foreign wars among such a number of competitors, such diversity of religions, such ambitious spirits that already make their packs and complots for the same; all our rest, peace, and felicity whatsoever depending upon a few uncertain days of one sole person's life, well grown in years, subject to casualities, and under the hand of the omnipotent Lord that taketh away when He listeth the spirits of princes, and is terrible upon the kings of the earth. It were too

[1] They feared not God: they trembled with fear there where was no cause for fear.

miserable for any noble or gentleman, or other person either of possession, wealth, or issue in the whole land, not to know, or not to care, to whom his livelihood should descend after him; but to provide for his own time only, and to let them go by the ears and scramble for it afterwards. Far more miserable, unnatural, and lamentable it is to see such a noble whole realm and public state driven to these straits and incomparable distresses that almost it looketh for no longer life and being, and no person subject thereunto, for longer peace, wealth and use of their own goods, than her Majesty liveth: that is to say, for ten, twenty, more or less years, as it pleaseth God to allot her. Which thing being an evident demonstration, and palpable proof, of our greatest calamity; the deceitful adversaries shame not to turn the same notwithstanding to the high commendation of their government; telling the people how happy they be by the same, and how needfully they have to pray and provide for the preservation of her Majesty's person, by whose only life they enjoy so great felicity; afterwards all to be in extremes.

Which the counsellors themselves stick not to confess and publish; as you may read in an oration made by one of them upon the accident that fell by the rashness of a certain serving man, discharging his piece at random, and striking one of the watermen in the Queen's barge, near her Highness' person then present. In which oration he acknowledgeth nothing to be looked for after her death but confusion, persecution, blood, vengeance, wars,

spoil, ravishments, and all other maledictions that the world can yield; and ten thousand more than (as he sayeth) can be by him foreseen. Not doubting to conclude that that day we shall be the most miserable men in the world; in the meantime only enjoying all felicities, heavenly and worldly, by her life.

Thus much hath that honourable person of our general calamity. In the meantime, the matters are so ruled that we must account ourselves happy, if our commonwealth stand during the life of her Majesty. This is (alas) the felicity of our country, praised and admired by them that esteem only the present uncertain pleasure of a very few years, without regard of the posterity; but of wise men deemed for the highest misery that can be; nothing in a common body being praisable that is not joined with security and durability.

Wherein our distress is more markable that it is not only not prevented in so many years of God's patience, and general foresight of the miseries, by the grave counsellors and all other wise men; but (which is more pitiful and unnatural) it is by special laws and capital penalties provided to the contrary, that none may know or name the next lawful heir and successor under pain of high treason; nor any make claim, or challenge any future right therein, except her Highness' natural issue. Whereby under pretence of preserving their present state, they are contented to plunge their whole posterity into eternal or very long miseries. Yea and (which passeth all dishonour to the realm

and to her Majesty's person) to insinuate, that though the next in blood and lawful succession to her Highness, may not challenge or be named; yet only her natural may be advanced thereunto. Which had been shameful enough, and to much injury to the next of lawful blood, if it were granted to the issue of a king gotten out of lawful matrimony; but to prefer the natural of a Queen (in whose person, by reason of her sex, fornication were fouler, and the fruit thereof nothing so capable) that passed all shame and honour; procured (no doubt) or set down in statute, by some wicked forgeries, of such as sought to dishonour her Majesty contrary to the meaning of the whole parliament, which (as we think) did never deliberate of that special article, though it be extant in the printed and published copies of the same.

Howsoever it be, our misery herein is notorious, and the old glory and felicity of our realm (the guides thereof wittingly and willingly beholding it, and consenting thereunto) so fadeth and falleth to nothing in all men's sight, that we cannot complain enough of our instant calamities, nor attribute them to any other cause than to God's judgments, whereby first (as the Italian sayeth) a man's brain is taken away when God intendeth to punish him, lest he should by providence avert the intended plague.

This our country's scourge, proceeding wholly of our notorious forsaking the Catholic Church and See Apostolic, began first in King Henry the

Eighth, being " radix peccati " of our days (as the Scripture speaketh of Antiochus) upon that his most unjust title and challenge of the headship and supreme government of the Church, whence all these extremities are ensued sithence. Which king God plagued marvellously straight upon his revolt, both spiritually and temporally. For within a very short space (by his sufferance) he killed his own wife, mother to her Majesty that now is; whom he loved so impotently a little before, that for her sake he both divorced himself from his former wife (with whom he had lived so honourably twenty years together) and from the unity of the Church (which he and his predecessors had been in nine hundred years before); and shed the blood of the learnedest, worthiest, and to himself the best beloved of all his realm.

After that he married and remarried, killed and dismissed both wives and friends as often and as many as he thought good; in such intemperate sort as the like hath never been seen. He was in such torment of conscience, and such perplexity, for his revolt and other sacrileges, that sometimes he went about to join with Protestant princes in religion; sometimes (thrice at least after his fall) to reconcile himself to the Pope again. Which thing our Lord, for his greater punishment, suffered him not to bring to good effect; but to die in passing anguish of mind for the former offences, and all the strange sacrileges committed, by forcing into the world well near a hundred thousand professed persons; and

by the destruction of ten thousand religious houses and churches in one year, as one testifieth of him in this epigram:

> Millia dena unus templorum sustulit annus.
> Quam timeo in poenas vix satis unus erit.[1]

And he that without all fear of God brake so many thousand holy men's wills and foundations, had his own testament broken, falsified, and forged before his bones were thorough cold; and that Roman religion which he, by force of his own newly challenged supremacy, and by sharp laws and human devices and punishments maintained during his life, and was by him specially recommended unto such as he gave the government and education of his son, was immediately abolished, and the whole realm altered into Zwinglianism, which of all other sects he most abhorred.

And for his issue, leaving behind him three goodly and towardly children: first, Edward of marvellous expectation, whom God took away in his young years, even then when he was towards marriage: and after him his elder sister Mary, who living long a virgin, married at length only for desire of issue, and for the benefit of the realm; which our Lord did not accomplish by her, but took her away within few years; and lastly the Queen's Majesty that now is, whom for her youth and great likelihood that way, every man verily looked straight that she would have taken some noble

[1] "Ten thousand churches hath one year destroyed: how I fear that one year will scarce suffice for punishment."

prince, either stranger or subject, having proffer of the best in Christendom, and herself not seldom making semblance of good liking that way, and of much love to many. Which yet the same Lord God, for the due punishment of the said king her father, would not suffer; but by little and little, causing the realm to fall to this desolation that now we see it in; and the whole stock and issue of the said King, contrary to all hope and expectation, to fail and be frustrate.

Wherein, it is but a small comfort and remedy for these our public distresses, that the libeller so often, by shameful flattery, and odious (we daresay) to the Queen's Majesty herself, telleth us she is "a Maiden Queen"; seeing that with the Protestants it is no great merit or praise to be a virgin; who compare the state of married persons in all points of dignity unto virginity, preferring it also in some. And with us Catholics, in this case of the realm's extreme danger, even sacred and professed virgins have been justly taken out of their better life, and by dispensation married. And would God instead of her Majesty's virginity (so that it had stood with God's will and hers) we might rather have had for the realm's safety, issue of her body in honourable wedlock. In which state there is godly continency also, and perhaps (as things stand) as meritorious and glorious to herself as her virginity.

But all are signs of God's ire towards our poor country; the evil luck whereof and of King Henry is so much more, that this noble line and issue now failing, they will not suffer us to go to the next of

the same royal blood descending from the renowned Prince Henry the Seventh, grandfather to her Majesty, by whose victorious entry, happy marriage and issue, all diversity of former claims of the crown and most cruel civil wars were ended, and the conjunction of the two royal houses of Lancaster and York fortunately achieved. But by most shameful packing of certain Puritans and ambitious persons with the emulous house, and contrary faction to the family of this said noble Prince Henry the Seventh, would bring all to skambling and as they hope, gape after, and work for, to their own post. That so by God's just judgments our country should at once fall into two extreme miseries; both by forsaking God and the Catholic religion on the one side; as also by refusing, and too shamefully abusing the only next true and lawful heir; and consequently the whole blood of King Henry the Seventh, on the other side. Wherein our fears might be the less if they would or could prevent the said mischiefs by declaring at least now at length the heir apparent. But herein also our future calamities are showed to be inevitable, except God use mercy above human means. For the matter is so far past and overruled by certain, that they can now scarce enter into any deliberation of the succession (as they imagine) without extreme peril, which they had rather put off to the end of the Queen's life and their own, than have it to fall presently in their days. Our Lord God turn all to the best, and to that end that most shall tend to His glory, what deserved confusion soever fall unto us.

This yet we cannot but lament and marvel at in this cause; that the conjunction and uniting the two noble realms of England and Scotland into one Monarchy, which we have sought for with so many cruel battles, and so much blood of both nations, being now offered by God and nature in the sweetest and (doubtless) most indifferent sort that can be; and in two persons, mother and son; the one for approved prudence, virtue, patience, constancy, courage in adversity, and equal love of both the countries; the other for the rarest towardliness in all princely parts of any of his age in all Christendom; both of our flesh and blood, and the nearest of all the beloved race of Henry the Seventh, most proper for this purpose, and even, as it were, provided by God Himself; cannot yet be accepted: but sought by unjust laws, shameful practices, imprisonment of the one, raising rebellion against the other, either utterly to be defeated, or made uncertain of their certain right, and forbidden to challenge or utter the same: while others intending usurpation, upon the next lawful successor's uncertainty, make their profit and pack, for achieving their ambitious purpose. Of whom, as well the Queen as the whole state present stand in far more danger, than they could ever do by the public acknowledging of the lawful heir; which yet is their pretence in concealing the same from the realm.

Into these straits, lo, on every hand, is our poor country brought by the judgments of God, whilst our libeller and other Protestants tell the simple people of their fair weather, and present abundance

of all things, to avert their minds from the foresaid endless miseries. Which for our forsaking the faith of our fathers, all wise men extremely fear, and certainly expect, if we return not to our Lord God, and unite ourselves again to the Catholic and Roman Church, which we have so unworthily left, and cruelly persecuted. Out of whose company and obedience there is neither salvation in the next, nor any true peace and security in this world: which both Christian charity and natural love towards our dearest country, friends, flesh and blood, causeth us so often and earnestly to inculcate: "Ut gens absque consilio sapiat, et novissima provideat."[1]

Alas, it is neither Pope nor priest (as the libeller untruly affirmeth, and many deceived men simply may suppose) that desireth their destruction: the one as a most loving Father and Pastor, with unspeakable pains, solicitude, groans, tears and expenses, and the other by voluntary death, and shedding of their own blood, seeking their brethren's salvation, and the reconcilement of their country to Christ and His Vicar. But they only are in truth (and so will in the end prove) most capital enemies to our Queen and country, that first were authors to her Majesty to forsake the Church and See Apostolic; and do still animate her and the realm, after so many signs of God's wrath towards them, to contemn the authority and censures of the same; and violently to resist by force of arms and bloody laws the supreme Pastor of God's faithful people;

[1] "That the nation without counsel may become wise, and may look to the end."

as though he used the rod of correction towards offenders upon malice, hatred, or partiality, and not of entire affection, love, and charity.

Moses and Aaron resisted Core and his confederates, and executed God's sentence upon them, and were not their enemies. Samuel denounced and executed God's sentence against Saul; Elias against Jezabel; and other prophets and priests against other kings without all malice and with much love. No otherwise than John Rochester, Sir Thomas More, and others did; who resisted upon great love and duty to their Sovereign, dissuading both his divorce from the Church and from his wife. Which kind of men be neither traitors nor enemies to be resisted by sword or laws; but they are only such adversaries as our Saviour commandeth the faithful to agree withal in the way, for divers dangers following. And those men in such a case are only wise and godly counsellors, her Majesty's true subjects, and worthy members of the commonwealth, that humbly exhort her Highness not to be beguiled by her present fortune, or to think obstinate and forcible resistance of the Pope or Church's sentence of excommunication to be her most security; but to see what Theodosius the Elder did when he was excommunicated by St. Ambrose; to remember how Theodosius the Younger behaved himself in the cause of St. Chrysostom, for whose unjust banishment the said Emperor's father and mother were excommunicated. Consider well what the end of the controversy was betwixt King Henry the Second and the Pope and Bishop of Canter-

bury in his time; and afterwards between King John and the See of Rome and clergy in those days; that all these in fine (as mighty princes as they were) yielded and reconciled themselves to the See Apostolic. A thing that after a little heat or headiness of young princes be past, was and ever shall be found in fine the only sure and honourable way before God and the world, to keep themselves and their realms from perdition.

Which danger her Majesty's father (in whom this revolt of our days and country began) both before once or twice, and specially towards his death saw; and earnestly sought to avert from his posterity by the like reconciling himself to the Church. Which yet, through God's judgments, he had not time to accomplish in himself; but was achieved afterwards most honourably in his eldest daughter, not only for conscience sake otherwise, but especially for effectuating her said father's great desire therein as some of her chief counsellors (to whom he had communicated his mind in that matter) did publicly testify to the whole realm at Paul's Cross. Would God our sins and the realm's could suffer her Majesty's wise counsellors to consider of the case with such sincerity as were requisite for themselves and us all; who by their better or worse election in this one matter are like either to be long happy or unhappy for ever.

We trust the intolerable flattery of this libeller or other like (telling her Majesty that she hath no superior but God, none above her but the Almighty; none that she need to fear or care for

but Him; and therefore that she hath not to regard any sentence of Pope or others) cannot much move any of their wisdoms; this being a most shameful heresy and untruth, that a king hath no superior in matters of his soul and conscience. When not only the general Pastor of the whole Church is his superior, if he be one of Christ's flock or fold (all the sheep whereof without exception by our Master's express sentence were committed to Peter and his successors' feeding and government); but also other prelates of his own kingdom that have charge of his soul; to whom likewise he oweth all Christian obedience in spiritual affairs, no less than the poorest man in the realm. For kings were not excepted from St. Paul's rule and admonition given to all the faithful, in these words "Obedite praepositis vestris et subiacete eis"; "Obey your prelates and be subject to them," whereof he yieldeth immediately the cause: "For that they watch as being to render account of your souls."

If princes then have souls, they must needs be under the account and charge of prelates; if they have prelates, they must obey them and be subject unto them; if they be bound to obey them, and be subject unto them, they must acknowledge them for their superiors. How then say these wicked flatterers that kings and queens have no superiors, none to be subject unto, but God? That they be the chief even in causes ecclesiastical, and in matters of religion, soul, and conscience, within their realms? That neither Pope nor prelate can excommunicate them, or use other discipline for

correction of them, when they fall from their faith?

If Theodosius the Emperor had had such bolsterers of his pride about him, or so little grace and wisdom as to have given ear to them; he would little have esteemed St. Ambrose's authority, sentence, and censure upon him. But he was more happy and Christian than to plead his superiority in such matters above his bishop; or to challenge exemption or impunity in this world for whatsoever he did or believed, and only to be reserved to God. And it is a singular note of irreligiosity in our days, that these profane heretics and godless persons do prefer human things before divine; the regiment temporal before spiritual; the body before the soul; earth before heaven; regality before priesthood; and this life before the next and all eternity. Which is an evident demonstration that all tendeth in this heresy to plain paganism and Epicurism; esteeming and admiring none but such as be in worldly height, power, and dignity, that can yield them these transitory honours, pleasures, and preferments.

But the truth of this matter may and ought to be learnt, partly of the old, glorious, and most excellent doctors and bishops of the primitive Church, and partly by the behaviour of the first great emperors and kings that were professors and defenders of the Catholic faith. "What is more honourable" saith St. Ambrose "than that the emperor be called a child of the Church? For a good emperor is within the Church, and not above the Church." And St. Chrysostom admonishing

priests of their duty in keeping from the holy altar great offenders, expressly warneth them to use their authority therein, even towards kings, or whatsoever they be. "Whether" saith he "he be Duke, Prefect, or crowned Prince that would unworthily approach, forbid him; the authority and power is greater than his." So St. Gregory Nazianzen speaketh to his own emperor: "The love of Christ hath made you subject to my power and to my tribunal, for we have our sovereignty, and that more excellent and perfect; unless the spirit should subdue itself to the flesh, and heavenly things yield to the earthly. Which my liberty of speech I fear not, O Emperor, but thou wilt allow, seeing thou art a holy sheep of my sacred fold, and a pupil of the great Pastor, and well instructed by the Holy Ghost from thine infancy."

Also St. Athanasius plainly avoucheth and proveth the Emperor Constantius the Arian to be the precursor of Antichrist, in that he made himself judge and superior in causes ecclesiastical over bishops; and that his arrogated pre-eminence and exercise of jurisdiction in such matters (which our gentle libeller calleth in our Queen, her Majesty's "Regality") is "Abominatio desolationis" foretold by Daniel. What would this holy Father have said if he had seen Cromwell made the Vicar General to King Henry "in spiritualibus"; and sit among and before all the bishops and archbishops of the realm in their convocations? If he had heard tell of "Sigillum Reginae ad causas ecclesiasticas"; of her commissioners and courts;

of her deposing and creating bishops, and determining of religion at her pleasure? Kings neither Catholics, neither heretics, ever went thus far; being much more capable than any woman can be. Of which sex St. Chrysostom sayeth thus: "When it cometh to the government of the Church and charge of souls, all womankind must needs give place."

That not only Athanasius the Great but the ancient Osius, Leontius, St. Hilary and others did so sharply reprehend it in that heretical king Constantius, might have forewarned our country and her Majesty's counsellors to have taken heed, as well of the like absurdity, as of the suspicion of heresy that in men's heads might be engendered thereby; seeing that such as first attempted it were notorious Arians. But to give the same and far more superiority to a woman (whereof, as you see by St. Chrysostom she cannot possibly be capable) that passeth all the barbarous flattery and folly in the world; and maketh our nation a very fable to all nations, and to posterity.

Which, in truth, is not to make her next to God in her realm (as the libeller saith) but to make her the god of her people. From which cogitation, though of herself having so many means to put her in mind of her mortality, we doubt not but she is very far: yet truly this abominable and blasphemous adulation of some about her Highness, may breed great temptations. As we see in certain of the old heathen emperors, who never rested until they were adored with divine honour. The next

step unto which is (doubtless) to say and believe that a temporal king is above the priest in causes ecclesiastical; or that in a Christian commonwealth the next dignity to Christ or God is not the priest but the prince; and so arrogate the regiment of the Church to a Queen, which St. Paul expressly testifieth to be given to bishops, saying: "Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops to rule the Church of God," &c. Touching which our English singular absurdity, it is the greatest pity in the world to see them so many years, after so much holy blood protesting against that iniquity, and so many learned men's admonitions, persist in the same; and to allege still those Scriptures so impertinently for the princes usurped spiritual sovereignty, by which Claudius or Nero (in whose days and of whom the Apostle spake specially) might as well challenge to be above SS. Peter and Paul in the government of the Church and in causes ecclesiastical, as any Christian king that now liveth. For when St. Peter admonished the Christians to whom he wrote "to be subject to the king as excelling or pre-eminent" (which place our adversary so confidently allegeth) first, can any man be so dull or obstinately blind as to think that he prescribeth any other duty towards the king than was common both to the pagan princes at that time persecuting the Church, and to Christian kings afterwards protecting the Church? Secondly: can any Protestant be so peevish to pretend hereby that the heathen emperors, by reason of this subjection to them that

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faith and exercises at their commandment, nor obey them before God and their holy pastors, in matters of faith and conscience. For stopping of all which false and slanderous tongues, St. Peter required them to obey their princes in all worldly, temporal and civil matters; to pay their tribute, keep their civil laws, live peaceably and lowly amongst them; yea and to pray for them, whether they tolerate the Christian religion or persecute the same.

Lastly: could our libeller and his fellows be in truth so gross as not to consider, that though the Apostles and holy bishops of those first times (when the emperors were yet heathen and strangers to Christ and His Church), could have no superiority over them, nor use any discipline towards them, the other acknowledging no duty or subjection to the Apostles or spiritual governors of the faithful people; yet now when the princes of the world have submitted themselves and their people to the gospel of Christ and to His sweet yoke, and are become members and children of the Church; as the spiritual power oweth in worldly things honour and obedience to his temporal sovereign; so likewise, that the secular power must of reason yield honour and subjection to the spiritual, in affairs of faith, soul, and religion; either of them having means in their kind of superiority to force by laws, penalty and discipline; the other to obedience and due subjection, if either should rebel against the other? Wherein because the spiritual power consisteth in things "quae sunt ad Deum" and that concern our souls, and the conducting of them to

life and peace everlasting; and the temporal pertaineth principally to the good and tranquility of this transitory life; comparing them both together, it must needs be confessed, that the spiritual is the higher, nearer, and liker to the Sovereignty of God over His reasonable creatures, than is the terrene power or "Human creature" as the Apostle here termeth the king and his presidents.

So as every power both spiritual and temporal being of God (as St. Paul teacheth) and obedience and subjection due to both in their kind, though in several subjects, causes, and respects; yet is it most clear that of the two the ecclesiastical power and regiment is more excellent. In respect whereof, St. Ignatius giveth this order in honouring and respecting our superiors: "Honour God the Author and Lord of all, and the bishop as the prince of priests, being the image of God and holding his princedom of Him and his priesthood of Christ. And after him you must honour also the king. For none is to be preferred before God nor equal to Him, nor more honourable in the Church than the bishop, exercising the priesthood of God for the salvation of the world. Neither is any equal to the king in the host or camp, procuring peace and benevolence to the other princes under him. For he that honoureth the bishop shall be honoured of God; and he that dishonoureth him shall of God be dishonoured. For if any man rising against the king is worthy of damnation, how can he escape God's judgments that attempteth anything against or without the bishop? For priesthood is the chief

and sum of all man's good; which whosoever disgraceth dishonoureth God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, the chief Priest of God," etc.

And if any man list farther to see what the old Christian emperors thought and acknowledged in this matter; and how they behaved themselves towards God's priests in all causes of religion and spiritual affairs; and with what honour, privilege, and prerogative they respected their persons and holy calling even in temporal causes; let him read in Sozomenus how Constantine the Great behaved himself towards the bishops in the first Council of Nice; and St. Augustine's 162nd epistle of the same emperor's contentment to ask pardon of the bishops for taking upon him to deal in the cause of Caecilian, properly pertaining to them; and St. Ambrose's epistle 32 of Valentinian the Elder's law, that in ecclesiastical causes none should individually deal that were not of the same order. The like he writeth of the emperor Gratian's behaviour in the Council of Aquileia. And to be brief, let him read the Emperor Justinian's sixth constitution, where he putteth the true difference betwixt the priesthood and the empire, and preferreth that before this, saying thus: "The greatest gifts of God among men is the priesthood and the empire; of which two the former having the administration of divine things, the other of human, both proceeding of one beginning, to adorn man's life," etc.

And thus it is, even in those countries where the Church and civil state concur in one common-

wealth; and where like as the prelates be in some respect and causes subject to the temporal prince; so again the prince and state reciprocally in spiritual matters, are obedient to the Church and prelates; either of them deferring due honour to the other; but the spiritual sovereignty ever preferred among the faithful; though for worldly power, force, and glory (most necessary to keep the people in awe and order) kings do likely exceed the other. Which exterior show and splendour of princes, the prelates of their several dominions do most humbly by all service and office maintain.

But now for the Pope (chief of all bishops and Christian people) being in respect of his temporal state, subject to no prince or potentate of the world; and for his spiritual dignity and jurisdiction far passing all the prelates of particular churches and provinces; his principality being in neither kind subject or subaltern to any other: he must needs be greater and more peerless without all exception and limitation. And though his state and authority temporal be not holden or challenged by God's express law immediately of Him, as the spiritual supremacy is, which he hath and holdeth immediately and directly of Christ; yet it is God's great providence that since the emperors and kings have been christened, and submitted themselves to the obedience of Christ and His Church; that the chief Bishop should for the honour of Christ and his high dignity, be made free from all subjection by the princes' and emperors' own grants, and be pos-

sessed of the capital city of all the world. Which could never have been brought to pass, nor so many worlds continued in the revolutions, changes, and overturnings of so many kingdoms, states, and great monarchies round about him, had it not been done by God's special pleasure and ordinance; to the end that being subject to none, he might with more liberty, less danger, and greater indifferency, do justice to all; and use discipline without fear or respect of persons, as well towards great as small. Which, if he were subject to some secular princes, as most other bishops are, could hardly be done.

In which case also some of our ignorant heretics (as among others this libeller) be so insensible that they stick not to allege the saying of St. Paul; "That every soul must be subject to superior power"; to prove thereby (as it seemeth) that the Pope should be obedient to our Queen, or to some or other particular king. As though every person should be subject to every power, or to any other than to him that hath superiority over him; or in any other matters than wherein he hath superiority and may command. Or as though God had only ordained secular power, and commanded obedience thereunto, and not appointed spiritual power and prelacy with charge of subjection unto the same also. With such gross fellows the Church hath to do, that neither have sense, reason, nor religion; and which allege that for obedience to earthly powers only, which either in express words, or by necessary sequel, much more commendeth subjection to spiritual powers.

As with like blindness the man also allegeth this our Saviour's sentence: "The kings of the Gentiles have rule over them, but you not so," to prove that Popes should arrogate no temporal authority, but feed only, as he saith Peter did, and many of the next Popes after him. Which he would never have cited if he had known that hereby only all tyrannical domination used among the heathen princes is forbid to all Christian magistrates both spiritual and temporal; and not any just rule, superiority or regiment over others, to either kind. Or if he had considered that feeding containeth not only preaching, but also all kind of just means and holy endeavours for the propagation of the Gospel and men's salvation, according to the difference of times, persons, and places, as excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures and corrections. Which things at least pertaining to the spiritual powers directly, our adversaries should admit and humbly obey; and if they so would do, they should never need to fear either the Popes, or other men's swords whereof they make so much impertinent brabble.

Marry they pretend some zeal in the matter; affirming that the Popes of Rome, before they had these great temporal states, and followed Christ and the Apostles in humility, dilated the limits of Christ's Church and the faith more in one hundred years, than the later Popes have done with their swords and curses in five hundred years. To which we say that they seem now not only desirous to have his temporal power and sword taken from him (as they

pretended by their former speeches and allegations), but also his spiritual weapon and exercise of discipline towards offenders, called here by the libeller, his curse. Which, no doubt, they used of old upon such as were subject to the Church and their regiment, no less than the Popes do now, and somewhat more; though they could not then, before kings were converted to the faith, use any discipline or authority over them, much less any human forces; for that they had not then such worldly preeminence as was due to their high calling in Christ, and as afterwards God hath endued them withal; but were for some hundred years persecuted and put to death by the enemies of Christ's faith and glory. In which state it seemeth the adversaries would have them still, being miscontent that they have either forces to fight against the Turk, or to pursue heretics that will not obey their spiritual sentence or rod of excommunication.

As for conversion of peoples or nations to the faith, whether there were more brought to Christ in those days, and in the poorer worldly condition of Popes, than afterwards in the days of their wealth, is not to the purpose to dispute; but whether this state of things be more agreeable to the time present, and for the conservation of princes and people already converted, or rather the first poor Apostolical condition, that is to be considered of wise men. Though the libeller shall hardly prove that more nations have been wholly converted in the time of the Pope's poverty and adversity, than afterwards in their greatness.

This is sure; that our own English people, the most part of Germany, Poland, and other northern countries, besides the inhabitants of the east and west Indies and other extreme parts of the world, have specially been either first converted, or recovered since by the holy travail of these later Popes. And further we may be bold to say that the Pope only by the powers temporal and spiritual that God hath given him, doth more at this day for conversion and gaining of Panims, Turks, Jews, Moors, heretics, schismatics and other infidels, than all the Protestants put together in the world; besides other infinite immortal acts of charity which he doth in many parts of Christendom, which he could never do, if he had not such temporal abilities, as thereunto, and to the upholding of his high and peerless dignity above all particular prelates and princes, were requisite.

But of the prerogative of the spiritual power as well in this high Priest, who is subject to none on earth, as in other prelates of particular provinces, who are often subject to other princes, we have said enough to repress the pernicious flattery of the libeller and the like; that would exempt every secular person from all submission and obedience to their pastors. Only leaving to all the wise of our country these few lines of St. Ambrose, for a warning and watchword in this cause, and for the end in manner of all our dispute: "Mandatur," saith he, "Trade basilicam. Respondeo, Nec mihi fas est tradere; nec tibi accipere (Imperator) expedit. Domum privati, nullo potes jure temerare;

domum Dei existimas auferendam? Allegatur; imperatori licere omnia, ipsius esse universa. Noli te gravare (Imperator) ut putes te in ea quae divina sunt, imperiale aliquod ius habere. Noli te extollere; sed si vis diutius imperare, esto Deo subditus: scriptum est, Quae Dei Deo, quae Caesaris Caesari; ad Imperatorem palatia pertinent, ad sacerdotem ecclesiae: publicorum tibi moeniorum ius commissum est, non sacrorum." In English. "The commandment was this: Give up the Church; I answer, that it is neither lawful for me to deliver it, nor expedient for thee, O Emperor, to receive it. Thou canst by no right violate any private man's house, and thinkest thou the house of God may be taken away? But they say, the emperor may do what he list, and that all are his. I answer, O Emperor be not so much abused, as to think that thou hast any imperial right in divine matters. Extol not thyself, but if thou list hold thine empire long, be subject to God; for it is written 'The things that are God's to God, and that are Cæsar's to Cæsar.' The palaces pertain to the emperor, the churches to the priest. The charge of the common walls of the city are committed to thee, and not the charge of sacred things."

So he spake to Valentine the emperor. And so we say to our Princess, and to all such as have charge under her Highness of our country; that this libeller, and who else soever, by loathsome and base flattery extolling her regality and secular sovereignty above priesthood and the Apostolic authority; thereby exempting her from all obedi-

ence and subjection to Christ's Church and to those whom the Holy Ghost hath placed over the same Church on earth, do shamefully abuse them, to their and the realm's destruction, except God be merciful above our merits.

We tell them plainly and sincerely, with the said glorious Doctor and Saint, and thereupon will pledge our lives in this world and our souls everlastingly, and that without detracting any obedience due to her temporal sovereignty in spiritual matters, that her Majesty hath no charge, authority, or power over the Church or ecclesiastical affairs, no more than the poorest soul in her realm; nor so much neither, till she be a member and obedient child of the Church and See Apostolic. With this only exception, that for the height of her dignity, and by her special oath and obligation, she is bound more to defend and protect the Church than her subjects be.

And finally, upon all the proofs, reasons and authorities that have gone before, we avouch that besides God Almighty, every temporal prince christened hath his pastor also, and specially the general Governor of the whole Church, for his superior on earth in all causes of soul and conscience; to whose orders in matter of religion he is bound to obey under pain of damnation; and that God's just judgments are near the princes and countries whatsoever that will not obey Him, but violently resist His ordinance, and by Antichristian pride, do challenge power not lawful to be yielded unto them.

## CHAPTER IX.

The Conclusion, containing a charitable motion, and a joinder with the Libeller touching some means of toleration in religion, and ceasing or mitigating this cruel persecution.

AND now though in the deep conceiving of this our country's incomparable offence, our hearts be wholly oppressed with fear and heaviness; yet either the force of our peculiar affection towards our flesh and blood, driving us to hope for better than is deserved; or the largeness of God's immeasurable mercies yielding, contrary to man's demerits, pardon upon repentance, do cause us oftentimes to expect grace and mercy rather than extreme rigour and judgment.

In which cogitation it cometh often to our minds, that if anything avert God's ire from our Prince and country, it is the abundance of holy blood shed these late years, and ever since the first revolt. Which though by justice it might cry rather to God for vengeance (and so it doth in respect of the impenitent and the clamour thereof shall never be void) yet we trust it sueth for mercy, specially in respect of the infinite number of all estates, that never consented to this iniquity. It is the heroical endeavour of a great many zealous priests and worthy gentlemen that continually offer not only their prayers, and other devout and religious offices, but themselves in sacrifice, for the salvation of their best beloved country. It is the ardent and in-

cessant care of His Holiness, seeking our reconcilement with charity unspeakable. It is the general conjunction of all Christian minds in the whole world, towards our recovery. No Church, no company, monastery or college of name in Christendom that with earnest devotion and public fasts and prayers laboureth not to God for mercy towards us. Finally; even those things and persons that the adversaries account to be the cause of all their troubles and fears, are indeed the only hope of God's mercy, their own pardon, and our country's salvation.

In which case, to deal as freely for a farewell, and as charitably with the libeller as he would seem to conclude with us; we wish no more for performance of that he proposeth and partly promiseth, but that he were assured of her Majesty's and the Council's mind therein; or were of such credit with them, that he could bring that to good effect which in covert words he pretendeth, towards us; which is: "That he doubteth not but that her Majesty would shed no more the blood of her natural subjects, nor use any more bodily punishments at all, if they would desist from their practices abroad, from their writing of railing books, and from wandering in disguised apparel within the realm; and would employ their travail in the works of light and doctrine, according to the usage of their schools; and content themselves with their profession and devotion." So the man speaketh, howsoever he meaneth. But, alas, if any mercy, just or tolerable treaty were meant, or ever had

been offered to Catholics upon any reasonable conditions whatsoever, our adversaries had never needed to have fallen to such extreme proceedings with their own flesh and blood; nor ever had any such troubles, fears, or dangers been thought upon, whereof now they have so much apprehension. If any pitiful ear had ever been given by the superiors to the incessant groans, cries, tears and supplications of their Catholic subjects, desiring but relief of their infinitely distressed consciences, tormented by damnable oaths, articles, and exercises of Calvinism, that were forced upon them; if they might have had either by licence or connivance, in never so few places of the realm, never so secretly, never so inoffensively, the exercise of that faith and religion which all our forefathers since our country was converted, lived and died in; and in which themselves were baptized; and from which by no law of God nor man they can be compelled to any sect or rite of religion which they nor their forefathers ever voluntarily accepted or admitted. If of all the noble churches, colleges, and other inestimable provisions of the realm, founded and made only by Catholics and for Catholics, and for no Protestants nor any their sacrilegious ministers at all, some few had been permitted to the true owners, and to that true worship of God for which they were instituted: if they might have obtained any piece of that liberty which Catholics enjoy in Germany, Switzerland, or other places among Protestants; or half the freedom that the Huguenots have in France and other countries; yea, or but so

much courtesy as the Christians find among the very Turks; or very Jews among Christians; upon any reasonable or unreasonable tribute which hath been often in most humble and lamentable sort offered and urged: or, to be short, if any respect, care, or compassion in the world had been had either of Catholic men's souls, bodies, or goods; our adversaries should never have been troubled nor put in jealousy of so many men's malcontentment at home, nor stand in doubt of the departure and absence of so great a number of nobility and principal gentlemen abroad; they should never have had such colleges and seminaries in other princes' dominions erected and furnished with English youths, the issue whereof is now, and perhaps will be hereafter more and more wonderful to the world. They should not have been controlled in their heresy so zealously and effectually by the priests created at home of old, or lately ordained and sacred abroad; there should have been no cause of writing so many books for defence of our innocence, and the faith of our forefathers; and for our just complaint to the Christian world of the intolerable rigour or cruelty used against us.

In all which books no Protestant in England is able to reprove the writers of any untruth or slander, railing, immodesty, or misbehaviour towards our secular Princess or persecutors; whatsoever the libeller without proof affirmeth here. Wherein I avow him to be so much destitute of truth, as he is not able to allege one line, or sentence, or any one example out of our writings to the contrary;

as on the other side, neither he nor any one else can clear our adversaries, the enemies of God's Church, of any one point of fact or doctrine wherewith they be by us charged.

Lastly: the said priests which pass into England, of whose covert working, disguising and close keeping they so much complain, as though that were enough to prove them traitors, would have appeared openly in their own priestly habit, and have done their holy functions in the sight of all men, if in any sort whatsoever they had been permitted. As also at this present, not only upon her Majesty's grant and desire (insinuated here by the libeller) for them to use openly their devotion, doctrine, and profession according to the manner of their schools; but upon any sufficient warrant of safety, they are further also than that, most ready and willing to give an account of all their doctrine publicly in the Universities of England, or before her Highness and Council wheresoever. A thing which by many books, petitions, and supplications, our brethren have often humbly and instantly asked, and could never yet obtain.

The libeller putteth us in hope that if the priests and seminary men would deal openly, the persecution and blood should cease. And we assure him that the persecution first ceasing and her Majesty's pleasure herein understood, which is the natural order, and not contrariwise, all priests, religious, and Catholics will appear, and present themselves; and will do all such Christian exercises, duties, and

functions, as now by persecution they are forced to do in secret, in the face of the whole realm: no man, thanks be to God, being ashamed of his order, faith, profession, or Master: though everyone be bound otherwise by the law of our religion to save himself so long as it shall please Christ, from the persecutor. And it is a great sign of our priests' and Catholics' innocency, and of our adversaries' ignorance and malice, that, seeking to appeach a Christian man or priest of treason, they have no more to lay against him than that he showeth not himself openly, but dealeth secretly; and weareth another habit than is belonging to his degree.

The holy king and prophet David, in place of danger, did not only otherwise cover his person often and fled from his enemies; but feigned himself a plain madman before Achis king of Geth in all his behaviour, to escape peril. How often do we read in the Evangelists that our Saviour fled, that He did hide Himself, that He walked not openly, that He went up to Jerusalem on the feast day not openly, but in covert? Who can be ignorant that it was no offence for Nicodemus that he came to Jesus in the night for fear of the Jews? Who knoweth not that the Apostles, as well before as after the coming of the Holy Ghost, kept themselves often secret in private parlours and chambers, as the first holy bishops of Rome (for fear of their persecutors) kept their meetings, mysteries, and councils in caves and grots under the ground? How can they forget what holy Athanasius did in the days of his persecution; or not be mindful how

holy Barlaam feigned himself in apparel and all other behaviour a merchant, to gain prince Josophat to the Christian faith? Or of the notable example of the holy martyr and bishop Eusebius Samosatenus, who in the time of Constantius the Arian emperor, seeing many churches occupied by the heretics and void of true pastors, went like a soldier through Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, making priests and deacons, and ministering the Sacraments to the Catholic people, destitute of their holy rights then by the Arians, as they be now in England by Calvinists?

The case is ruled in all divinity, that any religious, priest, or Christian, to avoid danger of his person, may in the places of infidels leave the habit of their profession or usage, and cover themselves from the enemy by any disguise. And if we knew not the art and cunning of heresy, we might wonder to see our Protestants so religious now as to require of our priests to go priest like, with open and present danger of their lives; when their own clergy at home make scruple to use distinct attire from the vulgar, and account it plain superstition to wear any religious or clerkly apparel at all. But yet I must confess that they have good reason to wish every one of our priests would show himself openly; for so they might soon make an end of all (as they think) and attain the victory that they desire. But our Master admonishing His disciples that He would send them as sheep amongst wolves, warneth them, and us in them, that men should not only be simple as the dove, but wise as the ser-

pent; specially among wolves, that is heretics, which are of all creatures most cruel and subtle.

But to return to our purpose, and to the libeller's proffer of mitigation or ceasing this persecution, upon condition we would deal no more in secret, but openly. We protest before God and all His saints, that we will, upon any reasonable security of our persons, liberty of conscience, permission to exercise Christian Catholic offices, to the salvation of our own souls and our brethren, do the same things publicly which we now do secretly, in all peaceable and priestly sort as hitherto we have accustomed; and that so those things which now you suspect to be done against the state (for that they be done in covert) may plainly appear unto you nothing else indeed but mere matter of conscience and religion; as in verity they are.

Therefore, if such as govern our state under her Majesty at this day, cannot be induced to revoke themselves and the whole realm (which were absolutely the best) to the former Catholic state and condition wherein their ancestors left it, and themselves found it, in respect perhaps of some little check or dishonour which they may conceive would ensue by acknowledging their former error; though in sincere truth it must needs prove finally more dishonourable and dangerous to persevere; yet at the least, let their wisdoms consider, that their principal worldly error was that in the beginning, or long since, they gave not liberty of conscience to Catholics (being far the greater and more respective part of the realm) as other of their religion

and profession have done, to their own great advantage, in Germany and other provinces adjoining. Which error no doubt might yet in great part or wholly be redressed, if they would but now at length have some pity of their people; the greater part whereof languisheth away in body and soul most lamentably, only upon an obstinate punto and formality (as is thought) of some few particular adversaries, who will not seem to yield in any one iota or circumstance, though never so much commodity might ensue thereof.

Which matter of liberty of conscience we move not perchance for our own benefit so much, as for our adversaries' weal and worldly security, whereof they will seem to have both mistrust and solicitude. And perhaps the wisdom of God will sound otherwise, and say to us, "Nescitis quid petatis"[1]; judging it to be far more to His honour and glory, and the briefer way to salvation of our whole nation, and of more souls in particular that we should pass through this persecution, and win our own and our brethren's salvation by our blood. And indeed if the German Catholics had been so restrained, persecuted, and put to death, as the English have been these years; and had not gone by halves with the Protestants as in some places they have done: they had had perhaps far more Catholics at this day, and them more zealous; and their whole nation, perchance, reduced ere this; which now, for the Protestants, standeth not

[1] 'You know not what you ask.'

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tinguish the Catholic party, overcome the holy Church, or prevail against God. There can no Herod kill Christ in His cradle; nor any Pharaoh drown our male sex and destroy God's people; nor any Aman extirpate the stock of Jacob. Let them seek with all desperation to diminish, bridle, spoil, impoverish, disgrace and extinguish the whole generation of Catholics at home and in banishment: let them by artificial libels (as this against which we have written) and otherwise by most impudent lies and fiction slander us, charge us with treasons and other trespasses, "Mentientes, propter Christum"; belying us for Christ's sake: let them confederate themselves against us with all the Protestants, Turks, sectaries and atheists in the world; yet the Catholics (that is, the seed of God) will increase in number, power, and zeal; the priests will not leave off to follow their dutiful trade, with more spirit, diligence, devotion, patience, and constancy than ever before; remembering the advertisement of their Master, that he shall be saved that persevereth to the end; as also that worthy record left in Scripture of Isaiah the great and faithful prophet: "qui spiritu magno vidit ultima"[1] as the Holy Ghost sayeth of him, for that his courage never failed him in God's service to the end. The persecutors be now no stronger than they were of old. The Church is no weaker than she had wont to be. Her Assistant and Defender is as near her as ever He was. We are no better

[1] 'Who in his great spirit saw the last things.'

than our forefathers. We less fear death, and less set by our lives than ever before. Our counts are cast and allowed. It is better to die in this apostolical fight and combat "Quam videre mala gentis nostrae et sanctorum":[1] assuring ourselves that to be undoubted which St. Leo writeth: "Nullo crudelitatis genere destrui potest Sacramento Crucis fundata religio. Non minuitur persecutionibus Ecclesia, sed augetur"; that the religion founded in the Sacrament of Christ's Cross, can be destroyed by no kind of cruelty. The Church is not diminished by persecutions, but increased. And that St. Augustine saith: "Nemo delet de coelo constitutionem Dei; Nemo delet de terra Ecclesiam Dei." "From heaven no one blotteth out the appointment of God; none blotteth out the Church of God from the earth."

LAUS DEO.

[1] 'Than to see the evils of our nation and of the saints.'

## Series Católica

These works have been placed online so that those of a Catholic as well as a Protestant and Gospel faith might become more familiar with the points of controversy, the resources and methods, the debate itself and the manner in which the Church and her theologians have historically managed the discourse in defense of tradition and Church law over the simple faith of the Gospel that was originally preached.

We especially encourage the reading of those Protestant and Reformed works prepared in defense of the tradition of the Gospel and of "the faith that was once delivered to the saints" (Jude 1:3).

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