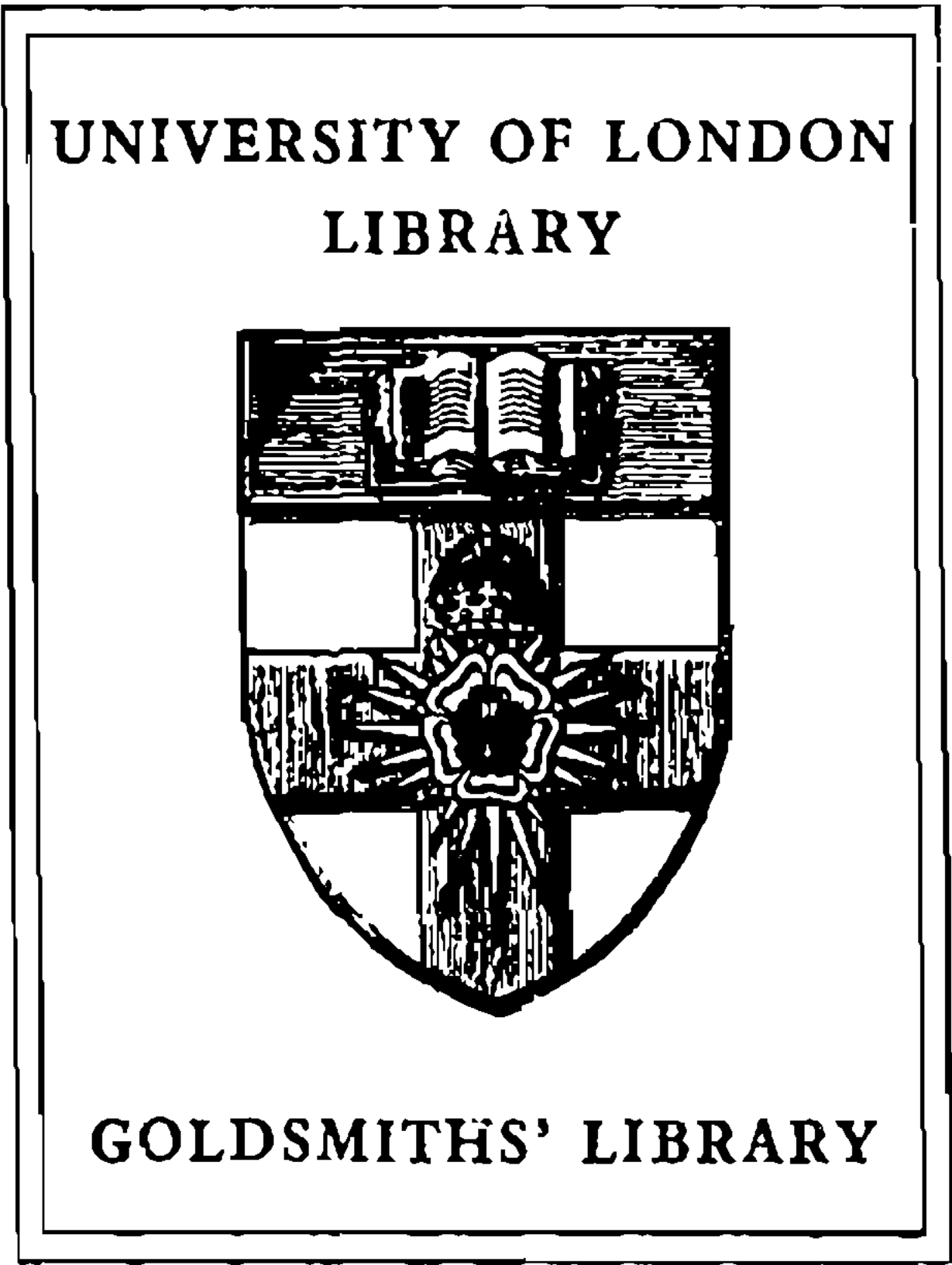


1555



A SHORT  
TREATISE  
OF  
POLITIQUE POWVER;

And of the true O B E D I E N C E which  
Subjects owe to K I N G S, and other civill  
G O V E R N O U R S.

Being an Answer to seven Questions:

VIZ.

1. Whereof Politique Power groweth, wherefore is was ordained, and the right use and duty of the same? Chap. I.
2. Whether Kings, Princes, and other Governours, have an absolute power and authority over their Subjects? Chap. II.
3. Whether Kings, Princes, and other politique Governours, be subject to Gods Lawes, and the positive lawes of their Countries? Chap. III.
4. In what things, and how farre Subjects are bound to obey their Princes and Governours? Chap. IV.
5. Whether all the Subjects goods be the Emperours or Kings owne, and that they may lawfully take them as their owne? Chap. V.
6. Whether it be lawfull to Depose an evill Governour and kill a Tyrant? Chap. VI.
7. What Confidence is to be given to Princes and Potentates? Chap. VII.

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Written by D. John Ponnet, D. D. and published in  
the raigne of Queene Mary, 1556.

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*It is better to trust in the Lord, then to trust in Princes. Psal. 118.*

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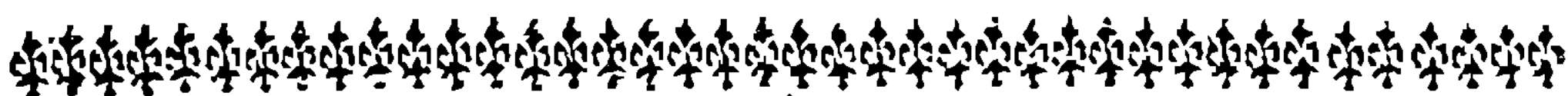
Reprinted in the yeere, 1642.

## To the gentle READER.



Content thy selfe to reade over this short Treatise, wherein is neither heresie, felony nor treason; but all that is written here in few, is meant for thy plentiful benefit, necessary admonition, and faithfull instruction. And albeit the Printer is not sure whether the Author be gone to God already (as by the discourse of the matter he seemeth to be) or yet still in this life; yet for as much as the gravity of the worke, the sobernesse of the stile, and the equity of the cause joyned with substantiall proofes, import a mighty zeale, and a fervent care of the Author for his Countrey, hee is pleased to put forth the worke, to the intent the travell of the doer be not lost, neither true English hearts frustrate at so worthy an instruction, unlesse they will willingly neglect their owne safeguard, the state of their Countrey, and the preservation of their posterity; God give thee (good Reader) a will to fore-see, and an heart to perceive, and a judgement to discern their owne state in time, and in Christ heartily well to fare, Amen.





## CHAP. I.

## WHEREOF POLITIQUE POWER

groweth, wherefore it was ordained, and the  
right use and duty of the same.



S Oxen, Sheep, Goats, and such other unreasonable creatures cannot for lack of reason rule themselves, but must be ruled by a more excellent creature, that is man: So man, albeit he have reason, yet because through the fall of the first man, his reason is wonderfully corrupt, and sensuality hath gotten the overhand, is not able by himselfe to rule himselfe, but must have a more excellent Governor. The Worldlings thought this Governour was their owne reason: They thought they might by their own reason do what they listed: not onely in private things, but also in publike; reason they thought to be the onely cause, that men first assembled together in companies, that Common-wealths were made, that policies were well governed, and long continued: but men see that such were utterly blinded and deceived in their imaginations, their doings and inventions (seemed they never so wise) were so easily and so soon (contrary to their expectation) overthrowne.

Where is the wisdom of the *Gretians*, where is the fortitude of the *Assyrians*? Where is both the wisdom and force of the *Romans* become? All is vanished away, nothing almost left to testifie that they were, but that which well declareth, that their reason was not able to governe them. Therefore where such as were desirous to know the profit and onely Governour of all, constrained to seeke further then themselves, and so at length to confesse, that it was one God that ruled all; by him we live, we have our being, and be moved: He made us, and not we ourselves, we be his people, and the Sheep of his pasture. Hee made all things for man; and man he made for himselfe, to serve and glorifie him. He hath taken upon him the Order and Government of man his chiefe creature, and prescribed him a rule, how he should behave himselfe, what he should do, and what he may not do.

This rule is the law of nature, first planted and grafted onely in the minde of man, then after for that his minde was through sin defiled, filled with darknesse, and incumbred with many doubts, set forth in writing in the ten Commandements, and after reduced by Christ our Saviour into these two words: *Thou shalt love thy Lord God above all things, and thy Neighbour as thy selfe: Whatsoever yee will that men do unto you, do ye even so to them.*

In this law is comprehended all justice, the perfect way to serve and glorifie God, and the right mean to rule every man particularly, and all men generally : and the onely stay to maintaine every Common-wealth. This is the Touchstone to try every mans doings (be he King or begger) whether they be good or evill. By this all mens laws be discerned, whether they be just or unjust, godly or wicked. As for example, Those that have authority to make laws in a Common-wealth, make this law, that no Pins shall be made, but in their own Countrey. It seemeth but a trifle. Yet if by this means the people may be kept from idlenesse, it is a good and just law, and pleaseeth God, for idlenesse is a vice wherewith God is offended: and the way to offend him in breach of these commandements: *Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not be a Whoremonger, &c.* For all these evils come of idlenesse. On the other side, if the people be well occupied in other things, and the people of another Countrey live by Pin-making, and uttring them: then if there should be a law made that they might not sell them to their neighbours of the other Countrey, otherwise well occupied, it were a wicked and an unjust law. For taking away the mean, whereby they live a mean is devised to kill them with famine, and so is not onely this Commandement broken: *Thou shalt not kill*, but also the generall law that saith: *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy selfe. And whatsoever yee will that men do unto you, even so do you unto them. For you your selves would not be killed with hunger.*

Likewise if there be a law made, utterly prohibiting any man that cannot live chaste, to marry: this is an unjust, an ungodly and a wicked law. For it is an occasion, that where with marrying he might avoid sin: he not marrying doth commit Whoredome in act, or thought, contrary to Gods will and commandement: *Thou shalt not commit Whoredome.*

Againe, a Prince forceth his Subjects (under the name of request) to lend him that they have, which they do unwillingly: and yet for feare of a worse turne, they must seem to be content therewith. Afterwards he causeth to be assembled in a Parliament such as perchance lent nothing, or else such as dare not displease him. Then to please him, remit this generall debt. This is a wicked, ungodly, and unjust law. For they do not as they would be done unto, but be an occasion that a great number be undone, their children for lack of sustenance perish through famine, and their servants forced to steal, and perchance to commit murder. So that if men will weigh well this order and law that God hath prescribed to man. *Thou shalt love thy Lord God above all things, and thy Neighbour as thy selfe. And whatsoever yee will that men do unto you, do yee even the same unto them:* they may soon learn to try good from evill, godlinesse from ungodlinesse, right from wrong.

And it is so plaine and easie to be understood, that no ignorance can or will excuse him that therein offendeth,

Against



Against the offenders of this Law, there was no corporall punishment ordained in this World, till after the destruction of the World with the great flood. For albeit *Cain* and *Lamech* had committed horrible murders, yet were they not corporally punished, but had a protection of God, that none should lawfully hurt them. But after the flood, when God saw his gentleness and patience could not worke his creatures to do their duties unforced, but iniquity prevailed, and mischief daily increased and one murdered and destroyed another: then was he constrained to change his lenity into severity, and to adde corporall pains to those that would not follow, but transgresse his ordinances. And so he made this law, which he declared to *Noah*: *He that sheddeth the blood of man, his blood shall be shed by man, for man is made after the Image of God.*

By this ordinance and law he instituteth politick power & giveth authority to men to make more laws. For he that giveth man authority over the body & life of man, because he would have man to live quietly with man that all might serve him quietly in holines and righteousness, all the daies of their life: it cannot be denyed, but he gave him authority over goods, lands, possessions, and all such things as might breed controversies and discords, and so hinder and let, that he might not be served and glorified, as he requireth. This ordinance also teacheth makers of laws, how they should behave themselves in making laws: that is, to set apart all affections, and to observe an equality in pains, that they be not greater or lesse then the fault deserveth, and that they punish not the innocent or small offender for malice, and let the mighty and great thief escape for affection. And out of this ordinance groweth and is grounded the authority for Magistrates to execute laws: for laws without execution be no more profitable, then Bells without clappers. But whether this authority to make laws, or the power to execute the same shall be and remain in one person alone, or in many, it is not expressed, but left to the discretion of the people, to make so many and so few, as they think necessary for the maintenance of the State. Whereupon in some places they have been content to obey such laws, as were made by one, as the *Israhelites* were with those that *Moses* ordained: the *Lacedemonians* with those that *Lycurgus* made: the *Athenians* with those that *Solon* gave them. And in some places with such as were made by certain outchosen men, as in *Rome* by the ten men. And in some they received none, but such as all the multitude agreed unto. Likewise in some Countries they were content to be governed, and the laws executed by one King or Judge. in some places by many of the best sort, in some places by the people of the lowest sort, and in some places also by the King, Nobility, and the people altogether.

And these divers kinds of States or Policies had their distinct names, as where one ruled, a *Monarchy*; where many of the best, *Aristocracy*: where the multitude, *Democracy*: and where all together, that is, a King,

the Nobility, and Commons, a mixt State: which men by long continuance have judged to be the best sort of all. For where that mixt State was exercised, there did the Common-wealth longest continue. But yet every kinde of these States tended to one end, that is, to the maintenance of justice, to the wealth and benefit of the whole multitude, and not of the Superiour and Governours alone. And when they saw that the Governours abused their authority, they altered the State: As among the *Israelites*, for the iniquity of the children of *Samuel* their Judge, from Judges to Kings: Among the *Romans*, for the tyranny and oppression that *Tarquinus* used over the people (as the chief occasion) and afterwards for his Sons lewdnesse (as the outward occasion) from Kings to Consuls, and so from Consuls (for their evill demeanour) to *Decem viri*, and *Trium viri*, that is, to ten Rulers, and three Rulers: and so from change to change, till it came to the State Imperiall: yee alwaies preserving and maintaining the authority, albeit they altered and changed the kinde of Government. For the *Ethnickes* themselves being led onely by the law of nature and their own reason, saw that without politike power and authority, mankinde could not be preserved, nor the world continued. The rich would oppresse the poore, and the poore seeke the destruction of the rich to have that he had: the mighty would destroy the weak, and as *Theodoretus* saith, the great fish eat up the small, and the weak seeke revenge on the mighty: and so one seeking the others destruction, all at length should be undone and come to destruction. And because this authority and power, both to make laws, and execute laws, proceeded from God, the Holy Ghost in Scripture calleth them Gods, not for that they be naturally Gods, or that they be transubstantiated into Gods (for he saith, they shall die like men, and indeed their works declare them to be none other than men) but for the authority and power which they receive of God, to be his Ministers here on earth in ruling and governing his people, and that the people should the rather obey them, and have them in honour and reverence, according to his ordinance.

And the wonderfull providence of God is herein to be well noted and considered, of all such as love and feare God, that in all places and Countries where Gods Word hath been received and imbraced, there for the time the people followed God, no tyranny could enter, but all the members of the body sought the prosperity and wealth one of another, for Gods Word taught them so to do. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God: (saith it) above all things, and thy Neighbour as thy selfe. And what yee will that men do unto you, do you even so unto them.* The fruits of his Word is love one of another, of what state or degree in this World soever they be. And the state of the policies and Common-wealths have been disposed and ordained by God, that the Heads could not (if they would) oppresse the other members. For as among the

*Lacedemo-*

*Lacedemonians* certaine men called *Ephori* were ordained to see that the Kings should not oppresse the people, and among the *Romans* the *Tribunes* were ordained to defend and maintaine the liberty of the people, from the pride & injury of the Nobles: So in all Christian Realms and Dominions God ordained meanes that the Heads the Princes and Governours should not oppresse the poore people after their lusts and make their wills their lawes. As in *Germany* betwene the Emperour and the people, a Counsell or Diet; in *France* and *England*, Parliaments, wherein there met and assembled of all sorts of people, and nothing could be done without the knowledge and consent of all. But where the people have forsaken God, and contemned utterly his Word, there hath the Divell by his ministers, occupied the whole Countrey, and subverted the good orders justice and equity, that was in the Common-wealth, and planted his unreasonable lusts for good lawes, as every man may see by the Realme of *Hungary*, which the *Turke* in our time hath occupied. And where the people have not utterly forsaken God and his Word, but have begun to be weary of it; there hath not God suffered Tyrants by and by to rush in, and to occupie the whole, and to suppress the good orders of the Common-wealth, but by little and little, hath suffered them to creep in, first with the Head, then with an arme, and so after with a legge, and at length (were not the people penitent, and in time converted to God) to bring in the whole body, and to worke the seats of Tyrants, as hereafter it shall be declared.

This is so manifest in most places, that it shall not need any particular example, wherefore it shall be the part of all Christian men to take heed, that in forsaking God, they bring not justly, the Divell and Tyrants to raigne over them. And those that be called to Counsels and Parliaments (and so to be makers of lawes, whereby the people should be bounden) not to neglect their duty, or to deceive the people of the trust and confidence that was put in them; for it is no little danger that may thereby follow unto them, both in this world, and in the world to come, for that man that takes upon him to doe any thing for another (being the thing never so little of value) and therein did use himselfe either craftily, seeking his owne gaine and profit, or shew himselfe not diligent, or not passing what became of the matter committed to his trust, our elders being men of honesty, judged and condemned for a most vild varlet, and dishonest person. And being men of wisdom, made a law (which continueth to this day) not onely that hee should make recompence for the hurt he did, but also that he should not be allowed afterward in the company or number of honest men, no more than an open thiefe; And this they did not by will, but by reason, not rashly, but advisedly, not by most voyces but by the more discreet heads, because they saw that men could not be alwayes present to doe their owne things, but of necessity must use the helpe and trust of others.

And



And againe, nature hath made every man apt for all things, but hath made one man more meet for one purpose than another : so that one having need of another, every one should be gladd to do for another. and all be tied together in an undissoluble strong band of friendship. And therefore was such false and unfriendly dealing taken to be most vile, because it did violate two the chiefest vertues and most necessary things, without which, mankind could not continue : faith, and friendship, for no man requireth another to doe any thing for him, whom he taketh not to be his friend, nor trusteth him, whom he thinketh not faithfull ; And therefore they thought him to be a very wicked and vile person, and not worthy the name of a man, that at one time, and in one thing, should thus undo the knot of friendship, and deceive him, whom hee could not have hurted, unlesse he had trusted him. Now, if nature, reason, honesty and law, doth so grievously punish him and cast him out of all honest mens companies, that is negligent in a trifle, how much more ought he to be punished and cast out of all mens sight, that is negligent in the greatest matters ? If he ought so sharply to be used, that deceiveth one poore man, how much more sharply ought he to be punished, and of all men to be abhorred (yea, cast to the Dogs) that deceiveth a whole Realme of ten or twenty hundred thousand persons ? If he be thus to be abhorred and punished, that is required to doe another mans businesse, and deceiveth him ? how much more ought they to be abhorred and hated, that take upon them to doe for others, not desired, but suing for it ; not called thereto, but thrusting in themselves ; not prayed, but paying, giving many liveries, procuring and making friends to give them their voyces, obtaining of great mens Letters and Ladies tokens, feasting freeholders, and making great banquetting cheere ; not by the consent of the party, but by force and strength, with troops of Horse-men, Bills, Bowes, Pikes, Guns, and such like kinde of qualities.

If this opinion be had, and judgement be given against a man that seeketh his owne gaine with the losse of his friends, in small things : what opinion may men have what judgement shall be given of those, that (to make themselves noble and rich) cut the throats of those that committed themselves, their wives, their children, their goods, yea, and lives, upon trust, into their hands.

If this judgment be given for worldly things, what judgement shall be given of those that wilfully goe about to destroy mens soules, and to make them a present to the Divell. so that they for a time may be his Deputies here on earth ? If men do thus abhorre and punish such unfaithfull and unhonest persons ; how much more will the Almighty God abhorre, condemne and exercise his judgement on them, that thus abuse the authority given unto them, and deceive and undo those poore Sheep of his, in whom (as his Ministers) they put in trust ?

Hearke, hearke, (while time of repentance is) to the sentence of God  
pro-

pronounced by the mouth of his Servant and Prophet *Esaia*, *Woe be unto you* (saith he) *that make unrighteous lawes, and devise things which be too hard to be kept, whereby the poore are oppressed on every side, and the innocents of my people are therewith robbed of judgement, that Widowes may be your prey, and that yee may rob the fatherlesse. What will yee doe in time of the visitation and destruction that shall come farre? To whom will yee run for helpe? Or to whom will you give your honour, that hee may keepe it? that yee come not among the prisoners, or lie among the dead?*

This terrible woe of everlasting damnation was spoken, not onely to *Ierusalem*, but to *Germany*, *Italy*, *France*, *Spaine*, *England*, *Scotland*, and all other Countries and Nations, where the like vices shall be committed. For God is just, and so hateth sinne, that he never leaveth it in any place unpunished; but the more common it is, the greater plagues and force doth he use to repress it: as we may learne by the examples of the Cities, *Sodome* and *Gomorah*, and *Ierusalem* his owne Citie. And besides the generall plague, he whippeth the authors of it with some speciall scourge, that they may be a spectacle not onely to those that are present, but also a remembrance to all that be to come.

But perchance some (that be put in trust and authority to make Statutes and Lawes) will say: Wee doe not willingly any thing against Gods honour, or the wealth of our Countrey, or deceive any that put their trust in us.

If any such thing follow, it is by reason that wee were ignorant.

Tell me. I beseech thee, if thou hadst hired one to be thy Shepheard, and thy sheepe should under his hand, by his ignorance miscarry: or if thy Horse-keeper taking wages, should (through his negligence) suffer thy horse to perish, wouldst thou not count him faultie, and looke for amends at his hands? Should ignorance excuse him? No, thou wouldst say, I hired thee, and thou tookest it upon thee. And so thou wouldst not onely force him to make satisfaction, but also wouldst thinke it just to have him punished: besides, to make himselfe more cunning than hee was, not to deceive any that put their trust in him. Then they are much to blame, that being put in trust in Courts and Parliaments to make Lawes and Statutes, to the advancement of Gods glory, and conservation of the liberties and Common-wealth of their Countrey, neglect their office and charge, being appointed to be not onely keepers of Gods people, not of Hogs, neither of Horses and Mules, which have no understanding, but of that deare Flocke which Christ purchased with the price of his heart-blood: but also as Physicians and Chyrurgions, to redresse, reforme, and heale, if any thing be amisse. And if a Physitian for lucre or other mens pleasure would take upon him the healing of a sore diseased person, and for lacke of knowledge, or upon other evill purpose would mi-

nister things to hurt or kill the person, were hee not worthy to be taken and punished as a Butcher, and a man-murtherer?

But yee will say, wee gave credit to others, and they deceived us. Thinke yee that this bold excuse will serve? Is it not written, that if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the pit? Did the plea that *Eve* made for offending in eating the forbidden Apple (when she said, the Serpent had deceived her) excuse her? Nothing lesse. She was not onely her selfe, therefore punished with such paines (as greater then death none could be devised) but also all her posterity.

Others perhaps, of you will say, wee dare doe no otherwise: If yee did, yee should be taken for enemies of the Governour, run into indignation, and so lose your bodies and goods, and undoe your children. O faint hearts; thinke yee, that your parents had left you as yee be, if they had been so faint hearted? Or thinke yee that this will serve your turne? Was it enough for *Adam* our first Father, when he fell with bearing his wife company in eating the forbidden Apple, to say, I durst not displease my wife? or to say, as he said, The woman whom thou gavest me, gave it me? No, it availed not but he and all his posterity were plagued for his disobedience, as we, and all that shall follow us, doe well feele, if we have any feare of God before our eyes.

When the brutish commons of *Israel* were so importune upon *Aaron*, that he, for feare was faine to make them the golden Calf; wherewith when *Moses* sharply charged him, he excused himselfe, saying: Alas, Sir, this seditious and raging brutish people would needs have mee perforce to doe it. God knoweth it was sore against my will: did this excuse, acquit him, crow you? No surely, if he had not repented, hee had beene as sure of hell fire for his labour, as they be, which have set up, or said the beastly *Papish Masse*, as the furious inforcement of the brutish Commons, or in pretence of obedience to the *Queenes* proceedings in *England*; unlesse they speedily repent, and renounce their wicked doing, as *Aaron* did his.

This yee have heard, not only whereof politrique power groweth, and of the true use and duty thereof but also what will be laid to their charge that doe not their duty in making Lawes. Now see what is said by God to the executors of lawes: *see what yee doe* (saith God) *for yee execute not the judgement of man, but of God; and whatsoever yee judge, it shall redound to you selves.* Let the feare of God therefore be before your eyes, and do all things with diligence. For with the Lord our God there is none iniquitie, neither difference of persons nor yet hath hee pleasure in rewards or bribes.

But of the Ministers of Lawes and Governours of Realmes and Countries, more shall be said hereafter.

## CHAP. II.

*Whether Kings, Princes and other Governours have an absolute power and authority over their Subjects.*

**F**OR as much as those that be the Rulers in the world, and would be taken for gods (that is. the ministers and Images of God here on earth, the examples and mirrors of all godlinesse, justice equitie and other vertues) claime and exercise an absolute power, which also they call a fulnesse of power, or prerogative to doe what they list and none may gainsay them: to dispence with the lawes as pleaseth them, and freely and without correction or offence do contrary to the laws of nature and other Gods Lawes, and the positive lawes and customes of their Countries, or breake them: and use their subjects as men do their beasts, and as Lords do their villaines and bondmen. getting their goods from them by hooke and by crooke, with *sic volo, sic jubeo*, and spending it to the destruction of their Subjects: the misery of this time requireth to examine, whether they doe it rightfully or wrongfully, that if it be rightfull. the people may the more willingly obey and receive the same: if it be wrongfull, that then those that use it, may the rather for the feare of God leave it. For (no doubt) God will come and judge the world with equity, and revenge the cause of the oppressed. Of the Popes power (who counteth himselfe one, yea. the chiefe of these kinde of Gods, yea, aboue them all, and fellow to the God of Gods) wee minde not now to treat: neither is it requisite. For all men, yea, halfe wise woman, and babes can well judge, that his power is worthy to be laught at: and were it not bolstred and propped up with Sword and Fagot, it would (as it will notwithstanding) shortly lie in the mire, for it is not built on the Rocke, but on the Sand; not planted by the Father of Heaven, but by the Divell of Hell, as the fruits do manifestly declare. But we will speak of the power of Kings and Princes, and such like Potentates, Rulers, and Governours of Common-wealths.

Before yee have heard, how for a great long time, that is, untill after the generall flood, there was no civill or politike power and how it was then first ordained by God himselfe, and for what purpose he ordained it: that is (to comprehend all briefly) to maintaine justice: for every one doing his duty to God, and one to another, is but justice. Yee have heard also, how States Bodies politike, and Common-wealths have authority to make lawes for the maintenance of the policie, so that they be not contrary to Gods Law and the lawes of nature: which if yee note well the question before propounded, whether Kings and Princes have an absolute power, shall appeare not doubtfull; or if any would affirme it, they bee shall not be able to maintaine it. For first. touching Gods Lawes (by which name also the laws of nature be comprehended) Kings and Princes are not joyned makers hercof with God, so that thereby or



themselves they might claime any interest or authority to dissolve them, or dispence with them, by this *Maxime* or principle, that he that may knit together, may loose assunder: and he that may make may mar: for before Magistrates were, Gods laws were. Neither can it be proved, that by Gods Word they have any authority to dispence or break them: but that they be still commanded to do right, to minister justice, and not to swarve, neither on the right hand, or on the left. Then must it needs follow, that this absolute authority which they use, must be maintained by mans reason, or it must needs be an usurpation: But what can reason say? If it be not lawfull, by no laws (no neither by honesty, for any mans servant to alter his Masters (a mortall mans) commandement: can reason say, it is lawfull for any person to alter Gods Commandement, or break it? That a mans servant may be wiser then his Master that he may be juster then his Master, that he may see what is more profitable and necessary to be done then his Master commonly it hapneth: and therefore he may have some apparent cause to alter or break his Masters commandement. But to say, that any creature is, or that any creature would seem in word or deed, to be more, wise than God, more just then God, more prudent and circumspect then God, or knoweth what is better for the Creature then the Creatour himself (as it must needs be said, that he doth, that taketh upon him to break or dispence with Gods Will and Commandement) what an horrible blasphemy is it? What Luciferous presumption is it?

If wee will not submit our selves to Gods judgement herein expressed by his Word. as Christians should, let us yet mark the sequell: and thereby gather Gods judgement, as *Ethiops* do. For when we have wrought our wits out, and devised and done what we can, we cannot so exclude God, but he will have a saying with us.

Gods Word, will and Commandement is, that he that wilfully killeth a man, shall also be killed by man: that is, the Magistrate. But this law hath not been observed, and alwaies executed, but Kings and Princes upon affection have dispensed and broken it, granting life and liberty to traytors, robbers, murderers, &c.

But what hath followed of it? Have they (whose offences have been so pardoned) after ward shewed themselves penitent to God, and thankfully profitable to the Common-wealth? No, God and the Common-wealth have had no greater enemies. They have added murder to murder, mischief to mischief, and of private malefactours, have become publike, and of men-killers they have at length grown to be destroyers of their Countrey, yea, and many times of them that saved them from hanging, and other just paines of the law. And no marvell for God doth not onely punish the principals and authors of such mischief but also those that be accessaries and maintainers of it, and plagueth iniquity with iniquity. Ye may likewise see, what fruits have followed, where Popes have dispensed, that marriages might be made contrary to Gods  
Laws.



laws. We shall not need to rehearse any, the end will declare all. But let us leave to reason that wherein nothing can be said for it. And let us come to that, wherein somewhat may be said: that is, whether Kings and Princes may do things contrary to the positive laws of their Countrey. As for example. It is a law positive, that a mean kinde of apparell, or a mean kinde of diet should be used in a Commonwealth, to the intent that men leaving the excesses thereof, whereof many occasions both to destroy nature, and to offend God follow, they might convert that they before evil spent, to the relief of the poverty, or defence of their Countrey.

For answer to this question, this division ought to be made, that there be two kindes of Kings, Princes, and Governours?

The one, who alone may make positive laws, because the whole state and body of their Countrey have given and resigned to them their authority to do: which nevertheless is rather to be counted a tyrant than a King, as *Dionysius*, *Philippus*, and *Alexander* were, who saved whom they would, and spilt whom they lust. And the other be such, unto whom the people have not given such authority, but kept it themselves: as we have before said concerning the mixt state.

True it is, that in matters indifferent that is, that of themselves be neither good nor evil, hurtfull or profitable, but for a decent order. Kings & Princes (to whom their people have given their authority) may make such laws & dispense with them. But in matters not indifferent, but goodly & profitably ordained for the Commonwealth, there can they not (for all their authority) break them or dispence with them. For Princes are ordained to do good, not to do evil: not to take away evil: not to increase it: to give example of well-doing, not to be procurers of evil: to procure the wealth & benefit of their subjects and not to work their hurt or undoing. And in the Empire where by the civill laws, the Emperors claim that the people gave them their authority to make laws, albeit they have been willing, and oft attempted to execute their authority, which some pick thanks (to please them) say they have by the laws yet have they been forced of themselves to leave off their enterprize. But such as be indifferent expounders of the laws, be of that minde that we before have declared: & therefore make this a general conclusion, and as it were a rule, that the Emperour willing any thing to be done, there is no more to be done, then the laws permit to be done. For (say they) neither Pope, Emperour, nor King may do any thing to the hurt of the people without their consent. *K. Antigonus* Chancellor, saying unto him, that all things were honest & lawfull to Kings, ye say true (quoth the *K.*) but to such Kings as be beasts, barbarous and without humanity: but with true and good Princes, nothing is honest, but that is honest indeed, and nothing is just, but that is just indeed. *Antiochus* the 3<sup>d</sup> *K.* of Asia, considering that as he was above the people, so the laws were above him, wrote general letters to all the Cities of his Countrey, that if they should perceive, that he by any letters, should require any thing contrary to the laws, they should think that such letters were obtained without his consent, and therefore they should not obey them.

Now if where the people have given their authority to their Governour to make such laws. yet can he not break or dispense with the positive laws: how much lesse may such Governours, Kings and Princes to whom the people have not given their authority, (but they with the people, and the people with them make the laws) break them, or dispence with them? If this were tolerable, then were it in vaine to make solemn Assemblies of the whole State, long Parliaments, &c? Yea (I beseech thee) what certainty should there be in any thing, where all should depend on ones will and affection? But it will be said, that albeit Kings and Princes cannot make laws, but with the consent of the people, yet may they dispence with any positive law, by reason that of long time they have used so to do, and prescribe so to do: for long custom maketh a law.

To this it may be answered, evill customes (be they never so old) are not to be suffered, but utterly to be abolished: and none may prescribe to do evill, be he King or Subject. If the laws appoint thee the time of thirty or forty years to claim a sure and a perfect interest of that thou enjoyest, yet if thou know, that either thy selfe or those by whom thou claimest, came wrongfully by it, thou art not indeed a perfect owner of it, but art bound to restore it. Although the laws of man do excuse and defend thee from outward trouble and punishment, yet can they not quiet the conscience, but when thy conscience remembreth, that thou enjoyest that is not thine, it will bite thee that thou hast done wrong: it will accuse thee before the Judgement Seat of God, and condemne thee. And if Princes & Governours would shew themselves half so wise, as they would men should take them to be, and by the example of others learn what mischief might happen to themselves, they would not (if they might) claime, much lesse execute any such absolute authority. No, neither would their Counsellours (if they loved them) maintaine them in it: nor yet the Subjects (if they did but consider their own safety and felicity in this life) would not if they might, suffer their Prince to do what him lusted.

For the one purchase to themselves a perpetuall uncertainty both of life and goods: and the other procureth the hatred of all, which albeit it be coloured and dissembled for a season, yet doth it at length burst out, and worketh the revenge with extremity.

There lack no examples to verifie this. It was driven into the head of the Emperour *C. Caligula*, that he was subject to no power, that he was above all laws, and that he might lawfully do what him lusted. This lesson was so sweet to the flesh, that it was no sooner moved than desired, no sooner taught then learned, no sooner heard then practised. First, by like that the Empire should not go out of his own race, he coupleth not with one, but with all his Sisters, like bitch and dog. He killeth his brother *Tiberius*, and all his chiefeft friends: he murdereth many of the Se-

natours

naours of *Rome*. He delighted to have honest men to be garshed, scorched, and cut in their faces, and so to make him pleasure; to have them cast to ravenous beasts, to be torne and devoured in his sight, or to be sawed asunder in the midst. It was a pleasant pastime for him, to see the Parents stand by, lamenting and weeping, whiles their children were tormented and killed. He used to complaine and lament, that no common calamity and notable miseries hapened in his time. He rejoiced much when newes were brought him of the slaughters of whole armies of men, great hunger, pestilence, townes burning, and openings of the earth, wherein many people were swallowed up. But the day he saw any of these himselfe, he needed neither meat nor drinke, but was so joycond and merry; and being gluttred with the pastime of every mans death, by himselfe (to procure a new appetite) hee devised another, if he could have brought it to passe. But when he could not have it done the memory thereof was so sweet, that hee oft desired; that is, that all the heads of the people of *Rome* stood on one mans neck, that he might with one swash cut it off. Many other noble acts by his absolute power he wrought; and at length he commanded that his Image should be set up in the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and there worshipped: as not unlike *Saint Gardiners* (for he hath done no small things) shall be shortly by anticipation in *England*. But what was the end of *Caligulas* absolute power when he had raigned three yeeres and ten moneths, his own household servants conspir'd against him and the General of his own army flew him.

¶ *Nero* the Emperour was of nature very modest, gentle and mercifull, and the first five yeeres of his raign, he behaved himselfe very vertuously. After other Countellors and Masters, then *Seneca* crept into his favours who told him that he might do what him lusted. He was soone perswaded thereunto. And to shew some proofe that he had well carried away their advice; hee killed his mother *Agrippina*. This cruell act did so move his wicked conscience, that he durst not come abroad in the Senate, but kept himselfe secret in his privie chamber. For hee feared the hatred of the people, and knew not what was best for him to doe. Hee lacked no flattering Counsellours. There were plenty that sought their owne profit and game, and the satistying of their lusts, more then their Princes honour and safety, and the Common-wealth of their Countrey. Say they: Sir, why should yee be thus amazed with the death of this Woman? she was of all people abhorred and hated; the people wonderfully rejoyce in your doing, and commend you above the Moon for so noble an act. They desire that yee will retorne into the City, that they may with triumph expresse how much their joy & gladnesse is, and how they love you for so noble a feat. These crafty knaves seeing how they might blind their Masters eyes, commanded in the Emperours behalfe, that all the people should come out of *Rome*, to meet the Emperour. The Senate in their best apparell cometh out, all other orders likewise.

wife after their degrees follow, and finally, man, woman and childe.

The Emperor, when hee saw them, thought all was done from the bottome of their heart. The Senate shewed such outward honour, the Commons so great love, every body pretended so great joy and gladnesse. And thinke yee, there were not about him that said, Doth not your Majesty well find all our sayings true? may yee not credit us in that we counsell and advise you? What followed? The Emperor imbrued with the blood of his Mother, and his unnaturall act commended by his wicked Councillors, ceaseth not from his crueltie, but earnestly goeth forward. He putteth away his wife *Octavia*. because she shewed to be barren. He marrieth his Harlot, called *Poppie*; Hee sendeth his wife *Octavia* into an Island; he bindeth her in chaines, and causeth her to be let blood in all parts: and fearing, lest feare would drive the blood to the heart, and so she live longer then he would, he setteth her in a bayne of hot water, that her blood might the sooner come out. But what becometh of his deare darling *Poppie*? he dallieth a while with his *Poppie*, and at length his hot love being turned into displeasure, he spurneth her being with child) on the belly and so she dieth. Too late he repented, but yet ceased not his cruelty. He killed his Master *Seneca*. he persecuted the Church of Christ most miserably, and so thinking that he might doe what him lusteth, and that all was well done, were it never so evil done, he never left off his cruelty, till the people finding occasion and opportunity to utter their dissembling hatred, slew him.

¶ But what thinke you? who were to be blamed for these cruel acts? He for doing them, or others for flattering him, or the Senate and people of *Rome* in suffering him? Surely there is none of them to be excused, but all to be blamed, and chiefly those that might have bridled him, and did not.

Hee is a good citizen that doth no evil (saith a noble wise man) but he is a better that letteth others, that they shall not doe hurt nor injustice to others. The blood of innocents shall be demanded, not onely at the hands of the shedders of blood, but also of those that make or consent to wicked lawes, to condemne innocents, or suffer their head to kill them contrary to just Lawes, or to spoile them of that they justly enjoy by the order of the Law.

Now, such Kings, Princes and Governours of Common-wealths have not, nor can justly claime any absolute authority, but that the end of their authority is determined, and certaine to maintaine justice, to defend the innocent, to punish the evil. And then so many evils and mischiefs may follow, where such absolute, and (indeed) tyrannicall power is usurped: let us pray, that they may know their duty, & discharge themselves to God & to the world, or else, that those which have the authority to reform them, may know and do their duty, that the people finding and acknowledging the benefit of good Rulers, may thanke God for them,

and



and labour every one to doe their duty : and that seeing the head is not spared, but evils in it punished, they may the more willingly abstaine from tyranny and other evill doings, and do their duties, and so all glorifie God.

## CHAP. III.

*Whether Kings Princes, and other politique Governours be subject to Gods Lawes, and the positive Lawes of their Countries?*

**T**HE that noteth the proceedings of Princes and Governours in these our dayes, how ambitious they are to usurpe others Dominions, and how negligent they be to see their owne wel-governed, might thinke, that they believe, that either there is no God or that he hath not care over the things of the world ; or that they thinke themselves exempt from Gods Lawes and Power. But the wonderfull overthrow of their devices (when they thinke themselves most sure and certaine) is so manifest, that it is not possible to deny, but that both there is a God, and that hee hath care over the things of the World. And his Word is so plaine, that none can gain-say, but that they be subject, and ought to be obedient to Gods Lawes and Word. For the whole Decalogue, and every part thereof is as well written to Kings, Princes, and other publike persons as to private persons. A King may no more commit Idolatry, then a private man: he may not take the Name of God in vaine, he may not breake the Sabbath, no more then any private man. It is not lawfull for him to disobey his parents, to kill any person contrary to the Lawes, to be a Whoremonger, to steale, to lie and beare false witness, to desire and covet any mans House, Wife, Servant, Maide, Oxe, Ass, or any thing that is anothers, more then any other, private man. No, hee is bound and charged under greater paines, to keep them then any other, because he is both a private man in respect of his owne person, and a publike in respect of his office, which may appeare in a great many of places, whereof part I will recite. The Holy Ghost by the mouth of a King and Prophet, saith, *And now yee Kings understand, be yee learned that judge the earth. Serve the Lord in feare, and rejoyce with trembling. Kisse the Sonne,* that is, receive with honour, lest the Lord be angry, and yee lose the way, when his wrath shall in a moment be kindled, And in another place thus: *The Lord upon thy right hand shall smite and breake in pieces even Kings in the day of his wrath.* Esaias also the Prophet) saith: *The Lord shall come to judgement against the Princes and Elders of the people.* Likewise saith the Prophet Micah, speaking to all Princes and Governours under the heads of the house of Jacob, and the Leaders of the house of Israel: *Hear yee Princes and Governours, saith Micah, Should yee not know what were lawfull and right? But yee hate the good, and love the evil, yee plucke off mens skins, and the flesh from their bones, yee chop them in pieces, as it were into a Caldron, and as flesh into a pot.*



Therefore, the time shall come, that when yee call unto the Lord hee shall not heare you, but hide his face from you, because that through your own imaginations yee have dealt so wickedly. And againe, he saith, O heare yee Rulers and Governours, yee that abhor the thing that is lawfull, and w<sup>re</sup>st aside the thing that is straight: yee that build up Sion with blood, your Majestie and Tyranny with doing wrong. For so may Sion and Ierusalem be well expounded; O you Iudges, yee give sentence for gifts: O yee Priests, yee teach for hire: O you Prophets, yee prophesie for money: yet w<sup>ill</sup> they be taken as th<sup>at</sup> se that hold upon God, and say: Is not the Lord among us? How can then any misfortune happen to us? But Sion (that is your Cities) for your sakes shall be plowed like a field: and Ierusalem (that is your Palaces) shall become an heape of stones, and the hill of the Temple (that is your Monasteries, Friceries, and Chauntries) shall become an high wood. The Holy Ghost also, by the mouth of King Salomon saith: Heare, O yee Kings, and understand; O learne yee that be Iudges of the ends of the earth; Give eare, yee that rule the multitudes, and delight in much people; for the power is given unto you of the Lord, and the strength from the highest, who shall try your workes, and search out your imaginations, how that yee being Officers of his Kingdome, have not kept the Law of righteousness, nor walked after his will. Horribly, and that soone, shall he appeare unto you, for upon the most high, hee will execute most severe judgement: Mercy is granted unto the simple, but they that be in authority shall be punished; for God, which is Lord over all, shall except no mans person, neither shall hee regard any mans greatnesse, for hee hath made the small and great, and careth for all alike, but the mighty shall have the sorer punishment. To you therefore (O Princes) doe I speake, that yee may learne wisdom, and w<sup>ill</sup> offend.

These sayings need no particular examples to confirme them, but looke on all Governours and Rulers named in the whole Bible, or in any other History; and among all yee shall finde, that none hath escaped Gods punishment, but alwayes their iniquity hath been plagued in themselves or their posterity.

The cause and manner of King Sa<sup>ul</sup>s punishment, and extinguishing of his posterity, is more commonly knowne then needeth any rehearfall. Roboam, because he would raigne as a Tyrant, and not be subject to Law, nor counsell, had ten Tribes of his Kingdome taken from him, and given to Ieroboam: who also forasmuch as he contented not himself to be subject to Gods written Word and Law, but fell to his own idolatrous inventions, and caused his Subjects to follow his proceedings: was so stripped from the inheritance of his Crowne, that his seed was utterly rooted out.

The end of Achab and Iesabel is well enough understood. And King Ioram for his stout-striving against Gods Lawes and the order of his Countrey, was so sore stricken of the Lord with horrible diseases that at length his guts for extreme anguish flew out of his belly. But whereto bring I out particular examples of Gods plagues and punishments upon Kings and Princes that would not be subject to Gods Lawe, & the laws

of nature, seeing the whole body of the Bible, and writers of prophane Histories be full of them?

Therefore seeing no King or Governour is exempted from the Lawes, Hand, and Power of God, but that he ought to feare and tremble at it, we may proceed to the other part of the question: that is, whether Kings, Princes, and other Governours, ought to be obedient and subject to the positive Lawes of their Countrey? To discusse this question, the right way and meane is, as in all other things, to resort to the fountaines and roots, and not to depend on the rivers and branches: For as if men should admit that the Church of Rome were the Catholique Church, and the Pope the Head of it, and Gods onely *Vicar* on earth, and not seeke further how hee cometh by that authority; then could no man say, but that all his doings (were they never so wicked) should seeme just: so if men should build upon the authority that Kings and Princes usurp over their Subjects, and not seeke from whom they have their authority, nor whether that which they use be just, there could be nothing produced to let their cruell tyranny. But for as much as wee see from whence all politique power and authority cometh, that is, from God: and why it was ordained, that is to maintaine Justice: we ought (if we wil judge rightly) by Gods Word to examine and try this matter.

Saint *Paul* treating who should do obedience, and to whom obedience should be done, saith: *Let every soule be subject to the powers that rule, for there is no power but of God.* There are that would have this word, *soule*, taken for man; not as he consisteth of soule and body both together, but only of the flesh; and that so by the word (*soule*) should be understood onely a wordly man, that is, a lay Man or temporall man (as wee terme it) and not a spirituall Man, and a Minister of the Church. Whereupon *Antichrist*, the Bishop of Rome, seeking for subjects to be under his Kingdome, hath taken for his subjects the *Clergie* with tagge and ragge, that to them belongeth: and hath made Lawes, that they should be his subjects, obedient to him, and not to the politique power and authority, whereunto he leaveth for subjects onely the temporality.

But in Scripture this word (*soule*) is taken for every kinde of man, as may appeare, when it saith, that all the soules (that is, man and woman) that were in the Ark with Noe, were eight. And that all the soules of the house of *Isaac*, which came into Egypt were threescore and ten. In which numbers, it cannot be denied but that there were as holy & as spirituall persons, as any are or were in the Kingdome of the Bishop of Rome. And *Christome* (a *Pope*) expounding this Text (*Let every soule be subject to the higher powers*) saith, yea, if thou be an *Apstle*, an *Evangelist*, a *Prophet*, or whatsoever thou art: for this subjection destroyeth not Religion. So that it cannot be denied but by this word (*soule*) is comprehended, every person, and none excepted. Now, touching this word (*Power*) some would have it interpreted for all those persons that execute justice, be he

Emperour, King, Major, Sheriff, Constable, Householder, or never so low: and some would have it to be interpreted only of Kings and chiefest Officers. But it is here to be taken for the ministry and authority, that all officers of justice do execute: and so it may appeare by Christs owne words, where he saith: *The Kings of the Nations rule over them, and those that exercise authority or power, be called gratius Fenefactours, or Seruants.* For as all men and women that seem to live together in the holy ordinance of Matrimony, be not man and wife, for it may be, that the man hath another wife living or the wife another husband, or that they came not together for the love of God onely, and to avoid sin, but for sensuality, and to get riches, and so the ordinance it selfe is one thing, and the persons, that is the man and woman another: even so is the politicke power or authority, being the ordinance and good gift of God, one thing, and the person that executeth the same (be he King or Emperour) another thing. The ordinance being godly, the man may be evill, and not of God, nor come therto by God as the Prophet *Usee* saith: *They have made them a King, & not through me, a Prince, & not through my counsel & will.*

Neither is that power and authority which Kings Princes and other ministers of justice exercise, only called a power: but also the authority that parents have over their children and Masters over their servants, is also called a power: and neither be the parents nor Masters the power it self but they be ministers and executors of the power, being given unto them by God: which also *S. Paul* in another place plainly sheweth, saying to *Titus*: *Warne them to be subject to the Principallities and powers.* Which some interpret, *Princes* and powers, to make a distinction between the Minister and the ministry. And it followeth: *to obey the officers* so that alwaies the difference may be perceived. So then, if by this word (*Soul*) is meant every person spirituall and temporall, man and woman: and by this word (*Power*) the authority that Kings and Princes execute, then cannot Kings and Princes but be contained under this generall word (*Soul*) as well as others. And they being but executors of Gods Laws, and iust ordinances, but also not exempted from them, but be bound to be subject and obedient unto them. For good and iust laws of man be Gods power and ordinances, and they are but Ministers of the laws, and not the laws it selfe. And if they were exempt from the laws, and so it were lawfull for them to do what them listeth, their authority being of God it might be said that God allowed their tyranny, robbery of their subjects killing them without law, and so God the author of evill: which were a great blasphemy. *Justinian* the Emperour well considered when he made this saying to be put into the body of the Laws. It is a worthy saying (saith he) for the Majesty of him that is in authority, to confesse that the Prince is subject to the laws, the authority of the Prince doth so much depend on the authority of the laws. And certainly it is more honour then the honour of the Empire, to submit

submit the Principality unto the laws. For indeed laws be made, that the wilful self-will of men should not rule, but that they should have a line to lead them, as they might not go out of the way of justice: and that (if any would say they did them wrong) they might allege the law for their warrant and authority. It is also a principle of all laws grounded on the law of nature, that every man should use himself and be obedient to that law, that he will others be bound unto. For otherwise he taketh away that equality (for there is no difference between the head and foot, concerning the use and benefit of the laws) whereby Commonwealths be maintained and kept up. What equality (I beseech you) should there be, when the Subject should do to his Ruler all the Ruler would: and the Ruler to the subject, that the Ruler lusteth? The good Emperour *Trajanus* (whom for his just behaviour the Senate of *Rome* took to be a god) being in possession of his office, and minding to shew, that he was not ordained to be a tyrant, but to see the people well governed, and that albeit he was the Minister of the laws, yet was he subject to the laws, took a sword, and gave it to the Captain of the Horsemen, and said: *Take this sword, use it for me against mine enemies in just causes: and if I my selfe do not justly use it, then use it against me.* *Zaleucus* the ruler and maker of laws to the *Locres*, when he made this law, that an advouceror should be punished with the losse of both his eyes, and his son had offended the same, albeit the people made great intercession that his pains might be pardoned him, he would not consent unto it, but pulled out one of his sons eyes, to fulfill and keep the law, he suffered one of his one eyes also to be pulled out.

But thou wilt say: What have we to do with *Ethnickes*? why should we be ordered by *Ethnickes* doings? I answer, that when *Ethnickes* do by nature, that thou art bound also to do not onely by nature, but by the laws of God and man, such *Ethnickes* shall rise in the universall judgement, to accuse thee, and work thy condemnation. The Bishop of *Romes* laws (which albeit he use not in himself, yet will he have them practised in others) say thus: *It is requisite and just, that a Prince obey his own laws. For then may he look, that others shall keep his laws, when he himselfe hath them in honour. Justice will, that Princes be obedient and bound to their own laws, and that they cannot in their own doings condemn those laws which they prescribe unto others. The authority of their saying is just and indifferent, if that they suffer not themselves to do that they prohibitt unto their people.* This saith the Bishop of *Romes* law. And upon this principle after, in the great generall Counsell of *Lateran*, which Pope *Innocent* the third held, it may seem, it was ordained and decreed (as they say) that when Kings and Princes that acknowledge no Superiours, should fall out among themselves, or should misuse their power and authority over their subjects, that then the matter should be heard and corrected by the Bishop of *Rome*.

But here it may be asked, who did this justice on Kings and Princes before that time, when it was but then committed to the Bishop of *Rome*?



To that at this time we shall not need to answer, for that we do not seek perfectly to know who should be judge, but onely to declare and prove, that Kings & Princes ought, both by Gods law, the law of nature, mans law, and good reason, to be obedient and subject to the positive laws of their Countrey, and may not breake them, and that they be not exempt from them, nor may dispence with them, unlesse the makers of the laws give them expresse authority so to do.

Who shall be the Kings Judges hereafter thou shalt heare.

#### CHAP. IV.

*In what things, and how far subjects are bound to obey their Princes and Governours.*

**A**S the body of man is knit and kept together in due proportion by the sinews, so is every Common-wealth kept & maintained in good order by obedience. But as if the sinews be too much racked and stretched out, or too much shrinked together, it breedeth wonderfull paines and deformity in mans body: so if obedience be too much or too little in a Common-wealth, it causeth much evill and disorder. For too much maketh the Governours to forget their vocation, and to usurp upon their subjects: too little breedeth a licentious liberty, and maketh the people to forget their duty. And so both waies the Common-wealth groweth out of order, and at length cometh to havock and utter destruction.

Some there be that will have too little obedience, as the Anabaptists: For they because they heare of a Christian liberty, would have all politike power taken away: and so indeed no obedience.

Others (as the English Papists) rack and stretch out obedience too much, and will needs have civill power obeyed in all things, and that whatsoever it commandeth, without respect it ought and must be done. But both of them be in great errors. For the Anabaptists mistake Christian liberty, thinking that men may live without sin and forget the fall of man, whereby he was brought into such misery, that he is no more able to rule himselfe, then one Beast is able to rule another: and that therefore God ordained civill power (his minister) to rule him, and to call him backe. whensoever he should passe the limits of his duty, and would that an obedience should be given unto him.

And the Papists neither consider the degrees of powers, nor over what things civill power hath authority, nor yet how far Subjects ought to obey their Governours. And this they do not for lack of knowledge, but of a spirituall malice, because it maketh against their purpose, that the truth should be disclosed.

If any Christian Prince should go about to redresse the abuses of the Sacraments (brought in and devised by the Papists to maintaine their Kingdom) to correct their abominable life, their whoredome, buggery, drunken-



drunkennesse, pride, and such like vices; then is he another *Ozias*, another *Osa*, an Heretique, a Schismaticke, cursed from top to toe, with *Booke, Bell, and Candle*, as blacke as a pot side: no obedience of the Subjects ought to be given to him. But if hee be contented to winke at their abominations, to run with them, to dishonour God, to commit Idolatry, to kill the true Ministers and Confessors of Christ, to destroy the poore Innocents which abhorre the *Papists* wicked vices, and be desirous that Gods Kingdom should be promoted, that is, be another *Ezekias*, a *Iosias*, a Catholique Prince, a deare Sonne of the Church, the Protector of the Church, the Defendor of the Faith, the Fosterour of the Church, a Confessor while hee liveth after his death a Saint (yea, a Saint Divell) Canonized with *Ora pro nobis*: when *Eelzebub* daunceth at his Dirge.

Such a one (say they) must be obeyed in all things, none may speake against his proceedings, for he that resisteth the Ordinance of God, and he that resisteth, purchaseth to himselfe damnation: as though to leave evill undone, and to doe good, were to resist the power. And here also they wring this saying of Saint Peter (*Servants obey your Masters, although they be from Lord and Christ*) to free Subjects under a King: as if bond-men and free-men were all one; and Kings and bond-mens Lords had like authority. So with violent wringing, and false applying of Gods health-giving Word, *Caiphas* and *Herod* rid cheek by cheek, and walk'd arme in arme, with both the swords and the Crosse before them. Friend to the one, friend to both; and he that is an Heretique with *Caiphas*, must be a traitor to *Herod*.

Thus they goe about to blear mens eyes, to confirme and increase their divellish kingdome. But Popish *Prelates* practises are no warrant to discharge a Christian mans conscience. He must seek what God will have him doe, and not what the subtilty and violence of wicked men will force him to do. He may not rob *Peter* to cloath *Paul*, not take from God his due to give it unto civill power; neither may hee make confusion of the powers, but yeeld unto every one that is his due, nor yet obeying the inferiours commandement, leave the Commandement of the Highest undone. *Yield unto Cesar, those things that be Cessars* (saith Christ) *and unto God, those things that be Gods*. Civill power is a power and Ordinance of God, appointed to certaine things, but no generall Minister over all things. God hath not given it power over the one, and the best part of man, that is, the soule and conscience of man, but onely over the other, and the worst part of man, that is, the body, and those things that belong unto this temporall life of man.

And yet over that part with the appurtenances, hath he not onely not given man the whole power, and stripped hir selfe quite of all the authority, but also he hath reserved to himselfe the power thereof. For we reade, that when civill power (his Minister) hath been negligent in doing his duty, or winked at the evill life of the people, God hath not holden his

his hand, but hath whipped and plagued such people, as hee did the *Sodomites*, *Gomorrians*, and divers times the *Jewes*.

And in our dayes his hand is not shortned, but he hath and daily doth plague Blasphemers, Whoremongers, Drunkards, Murderers, Thieves, Traytors, Tyrants, such as in mans sight no man durst, or at the least would touch: some with incurable plagues of their body, some with losse of their children, some with losse of their goods, and some with shamefull deaths.

And contrariwise, when the worldly powers have violently, tyrannously, over sharply, and wrongfully oppressed and condemned innocents, God (to testifie that hee hath also power of the body) hath many times in all ages mightily and miraculously delivered his people from the power of Tyrants: as the *Israelites* from *Pharaoh*, *Mordecheus* from *Haman*, *Susanna* from the lecherous Judges; *Shadrach*, *Mesach* and *Abed-nego*, from the burning Oven: *Daniel* from the Lions Den; *Peter* from *Herod*; and infinite other examples wee have in Scriptures and Histories. And the like have not wanted in our dayes also, if wee will advisedly consider the condition and state of our time; So that wee see God to be the Supreme power of the whole man, as well to punish as to deliver at his owne will.

God is the highest power, yea, the power of powers from him is derived all power. All people be his servants, made to serve and glorifie him. All other powers are but his Ministers set to over-see that every one behave himselfe as hee ought toward God, and to doe those things that hee is justly commanded to doe by God.

Whatsoever God commandeth man to doe, he ought not to consider the matter, but straight to obey the Commander: For we are sure, what he commandeth is just and right; for from him that is altogether just and right, no injustice nor wrong can come.

So did *Abraham*, when contrary to that seemed to be right, and just (yea, contrary to Gods generall Commandement) hee made himselfe ready to kill and offer in sacrifice his onely promised sonne *Isaac*, according to Gods speciall Commandement. So did also the Children of *Israel*, contrary to the generall Commandement (*Thou shalt not steale*) rob, and spoile the *Egyptians*, by Gods speciall Commandement. And so did *Phineas*, who albeit hee were no Magistrate, yet of a great zeale by the inward motion of Gods Spirit, thrust his sword thorow those two whom he found committing whoredome.

But contrary, in mans commandements, men ought to consider the matter, and not the man. For all men whatsoever, Ministry or Vocation they exercise, are but men, and so may erre. Wee see Counsels against Counsels, Parliaments against Parliaments, Commandement against Commandements, this day one thing, to morrow another. It is not the mans warrant that can discharge thee, but it is the thing it selfe that

that must justify thee. It is the matter that will accuse thee, and defend thee; acquit thee, and condemn thee: when thou shalt come before the Throne of the Highest, and everlasting power, where no temporall power will appeare for thee, to make answer, or to defend thee: but thou thy selfe must answer for thy selfe, and for whatsoever thou hast done. And therefore Christian men ought well to consider, and weigh mens commandements, before they be hastie to doe them, to see if they be contrary or repugnant to Gods Commandements and Justice; which if they be, they are cruell and evill, and ought not to be obeyed. Wee have this speciall Commandement from God the highest Power, oft repeated by the Holy Ghost. Forbeare to doe evill, and doe that is good. Saint Paul (the true teacher of obedience) teacheth, that civill Power and Princes be not ordained to be a terrour to those that doe well but to those that doe evill, and will not that men should doe whatsoever the power commandeth, but saith, wilt thou not feare the power? Doe that is good, and thou shalt have praise of it. for it is the Minister of God ordained for thy benefit, and not to thy destruction. But if thou doe that is evill, then feare: for it carrieth not the sword in vaine: for it is the Minister of God, a revenger and executioner, to punish him that shall doe evill. And therefore it is ordained, that evill might be taken away. Man must be subject, not onely for feare of punishment, but also for conscience sake. For not to obey the power, that defendeth the good and vertuous, and punish the evill and wicked, is dead worshipping. And the selfe-same also Saint Peter teacheth. Wherefore the marke that all men ought to shew at, is to doe good, and in no wise to doe evill, whatsoever commandeth it. If the Ministers of the civill Power command thee to honour and glorifie God, as God will be honoured, to defend (with thy person and goods) thy Countrey against the enemies, to doe such things as be for the wealth and benefit of thy Countrey: thou art bound to doe it: for it is good, and God will have thee to doe it. And if thou doe it not, thou sinnest against God, and justly deservest the punishment, not onely of the power, but of everlasting damnation; but if the Ministers of the civill power command thee, to dishonour God, to commit Idolatry, to kill an innocent, to fight against thy Countrey, to give or lend that thou hast, to such as minde the subversion and destruction of thy Countrey, or to maintaine them in their wickenesse, thou oughtest not to doe it, but to leave it undone: for it is evill, and God (the Supreme and highest power) will not that thou shouldest doe it. The Apostles in time of persecution did not onely give us an example so to doe, when the worldly powers would have had them to follow their proceedings, but also left us a lesson so to doe. God must be obeyed (say they) rather then men. And this lesson, even from the beginning before it was written, was by the Holy Ghost printed in mans heart. When Pharaoh the tyrant

commanded the Midwives of the Egyptians, to kill all the male children that should be borne of the Israelites wives: think ye, he did onely command them? No without doubt. Ye may be sure, he commanded not onely upon threatened paines, but also promised them largely: and perchance as largely as those do, that being desirous of children, procure the Midwives to say, they be with child, when the belly is puffed up with the dropfie or molle, and having bleared the common peoples eyes with processioning, *Te Deum* singing, and bonfire banqueting, use all ceremonies and crying out, whilst another birds egge is laid in the nest. But these good Midwives fearing God (the high Power) who had commanded them, not to kill, would not obey this tyrant *Pharaohs* commandement but left it undone.

When that jolly Queen *Iesabel* commanded, that the Prophets of God should be destroyed, that none should be left to speake against her Idols, but that all men should follow her proceedings: did *Ahabis* the chief officer to the King her husband say, your Grace doth very well to rid the world of them, for those that worship the true living God, cannot be but Traytors to my Sovereign Lord and Master the King your Husband, and to your Grace: and it is these heretickes, that bewitch and conjure you, that your Grace cannot be delivered of your Child, nor be quietly in your Bed: Let me alone; I will finde the meanes to rid you of them all, onely have your Grace a good opinion of me, and thinke in your owne? No, *Ahabis* (a man fearing God, and knowing this commandement to be a wicked womans will) did clean contrary to her commandement, and hid and preserved an hundred of the Prophets under the earth in Caves. When the wicked King *Saul* commanded his own household waiters, and familiar Servants, to kill the Priest *Abimelech* and his children, for hatred to *David*: did those his own nearest waiting servants flatter him forward, and say: your Majesty shall never be in safety and quiet so long as this traytour and his prating children (that are alwaies in their Sermons and Books, meddling of the Kings matters) be suffered to live? we will be your true obedient servants, we will beleeve as the King beleeveth. we will do as the King biddeth us, according to our most bounden duty of Allegiance, wee shall soon ease your Highnesse of this grief: other of your Graces Chaplains be more meet for that roome, then this hypocrite traytour? No, they used no such Court cruelty. but considering God to be the supream power, and seeing *Abimelech* (by his answers) and his household to be guiltlesse of such matter in forme and intent, as (by *Doeges* accusation) *Saul* charged him withall they refused to kill any of them, or once to lay violent hands upon them, but plainly and utterly (being yet the Kings true servants and subjects) denied to obey the Kings unlawful commandement. And when the same hypocrite *Saul* commanded his servants or Souldiers to kill noble *Jonathans* his son,



son, who for necessity had taken a little honey to recover his strength contrary to the King his fathers commandement: did they say, let us kill him as we be willed, so shall some of us be made the Kings lieutenants, we shall be an inch nearer to the succession, we shall have his lands possession, goods, and offices putted among us: let us not stick to do it. When he is dispatched out of the world, he can make no revenge, for dead men do no harme. No. no. clean contrary. They knew that innocent *Abels* blood did cry to the Lord, *Vengeance, vengeance, vengeance.* And that albeit *Cain* had a mark, that no man might lawfully kill him in this life, yet hangeth he now (as good Writers say) in chains in Hell. And therefore they would not obey the wicked & cruell tyrants commandement, but knowing that God will not have innocents blood shed, but innocents against tyrants defended, they took upon them the defence of the good son, against the tyrannicall hypocrite, and unnaturall Father. *Julian* the Emperour, albeit he was an Apostata from Christ, and a great persecutor of Christs Church, yet had he under him Souldiers that professed Christ. When he commanded them to set forward to fight for the defence of the Common-wealth, they obeyed him, and did it willingly: but did they before they were commanded, seek for the Christians, and bring them to the one and twen y Commissioners, or to the Bishops Colchouse? or when he willed and commanded them to destroy such as would not deny Christ, and follow his proceedings, worshipping Idols, did they bring them to the fire, and stand about, that they should not speak, and to see that none should come near them, to comfort and strengthen them in their faith? Or when they spake, did they cleave their heads in pieces with their Holberds, or stop their mouths with their bills? No, they confessed, that in that the Emperour of Heaven the Almighty God (and not the Emperour of the earth, a wicked man, and a rebell against God) was their Emperour and Captain: and therein they would not obey *Julian*, nor do that he commanded in that behalf. And this answer both *St. Ambrose* and *St. Augustine*, yea and the Papists (although they themselves do not so) propound and set forth for a Christian doctrine, and a Catholike example, how Christians and good subjects should behave themselves toward wicked Princes, and their wicked commandements: that is, in no wise to obey them, but to leave them undone. And as men ought not to obey their superiours, that shall command them to do any thing against Gods word, or the laws of nature: so may they not do that they shall command them contrary to civill justice, or to the hurt of the whole State. Neither will good Princes attempt or go about any such thing: for it is the next way to bring them out of their seats, and to make them of Kings no Kings. How can that head live and continue, where the body is consumed and dissolved? And how can that body be lusty, where the sinews (the laws) are broken, and justice (the marrow that should nourish it) utterly wasted and decayed?



*Alexander* the third King of *Syria* wrote thus to all the Cities of his Dominion that if he did command any thing that should be contrary to the lawes, they should not paule thereon, but that rather they should thinke it was stolne or forged without his knowledge, considering that the Prince or Governour is nothing else but the Minister of the Lawes. And this same saying of this most noble King seemed to be so just and reasonable, that it is taken for a common principle, how Subjects should know, when they should do that they be commanded, and when they ought not.

Likewise a Bishop of *France* called *Alexander* the third, wrote to an Archbishop, to do a thing which seemed to the Archbishop to be unreasonable, and contrary to the laws; the Pope perceiving that the Bishop was offended with his writing, and would not do that he required: desired him not to be offended but that if there were cause, why he thought he should not do that he required, he would advertise him, and he therewith would be satisfied.

This is a Popes saying: which who is so hardy to deny to be of lesse authority then a law? yea no fellow but above Gods Word? Whereupon this is a generall rule, that the Pope is not to be obeyed, but in lawfull and honest things. And so by good argument from the more to the lesse, that Princes (being but footstools and stirrop-holders to Popes) commanding their subjects that is not godly, not just, not lawfull, or hurtfull to their Countrey, ought not to be obeyed, but withstood. For the subjects ought not (against nature) to further their own destruction, but to seek their own salvation: not to maintain evill, but to suppress evill: for not only the doers, but also the consentors to evill, shall be punished, say both Gods and mans lawes. And men ought to have more respect to their Countrey then to their Prince: to the Common-wealth, then to any one person. For the Countrey and Common-wealth is a degree above the King. Next unto God, men ought to love their Countrey, and the whole Common-wealth, before any member of it: as Kings and Princes (be they never so great) are but members: and Common-wealths may stand well enough and flourish, albeit there be no Kings, but contrariwise without a Common-wealth there can be no King. Common-wealths and Realms may live, when the head is cut off, and may put on a new head, that is, make them a new Governour: when they see their old head seek too much his own will, and not the wealth of the whole body: for the which he was onely ordained. And by that justice and law, that lately hath been executed in *England* (if it may be called justice and law) it should appear, that the ministers of civill power do sometimes command that, that the subjects ought not to do.

When the innocent Lady *Jane* contrary to her will, yea by force, with tears dropping down her cheeks, suffered her self to be called

Queen.

Queene of England: yet yee see, because shee consented to that which was not by civill justice lawfull, shee and her husband for company suffered the paines of trayours, both heads buried in one pit.

When the blessed man of God *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did what hee might to resist to subscribe to King *Edwards* will, whereby his two sisters, the Ladyes *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, should have beene wrongfully dis-inherited: yet because he afterward (to content the Kings minde and commandement, yet indeed, to save the innocent King from the obedience of most wicked trayterous tyrants) did subscribe unto it against his will; was it not laid unto him by the wicked Judge *Morgan* (whom God not long after, plagued with taking away his wits that was a foole before) that hee ought not to doe any thing unlawfull, by commandement of any power? And so he (an innocent) picked out among a great number of very evill doers (to satisfie the Law) was condemned as a Traytor before hee suffered as a Martyr. Were not the Images and Roodlofts in *England* destroyed by authority of civill power? And doth not *Boner* the Arch-butcher of *London* for all that force them, that obeyed the authority (because hee saith it was not lawfull) to make them up againe at their owne charges? But *Boner*, thou that allowest nothing to be well done (by whatsoever authority it be done) except it be lawfull, nor nothing to be lawfull, that is not agreeing to thy Canon Lawes: I have to say to thee. Stand still awhile, whilst I rub thee. Tell mee plainly, and face not out a lie, as thou art wont: speake not one thing, and thinke another, as thy nature is; once in thy life tell the truth, and shame thy Master the Divell. If thou were the sonne of the earth by the fathers side, and of an arrant Whore by the mother, and so a bastard: by what authority sayest thou thy Masse, when thy Lawes suffer no bastards to be Priests without dispensation? how comdest thou to be a Bishop, when thy Lawes say, thou maist be no Priest? How be thy judgements lawfull, when thou by thy Canons mayest be no judge? All men know, that thy mother, when thou was begotten, wast an Whore.

The common voyce and fame saith, and the truth is, that albeit one *Boner* (a bare whip-jacke) for lucre of money, tooke upon him to be thy father, and then to marry thy mother, yet thou wast Parson *Savages* bastard: and of that race come thy cousins *Wimslow*, thy Arch-deacon of *London* (a meete eye for such a grosse head) and *Wimslow* his brother, and a great many more notable.

These things be so evident and plaine, that thou canst not (without blushing) deny them: neither thou wilt (I know) deny them. For thou boastest and braggest much, that thou comest of gentile blood.

But thou wilt say, thou hast a Bull of dispensation from the Pope. I require to know, what time it was granted. Thou saist, when thou

wast at *Rome*. It is even that I required. Thou wast indeed at *Rome*. Protector for the Princes Dowager, the *Queenes* Mother, in the cause of divorce betweene King *Henry* the eighth and her.

When thou sawest that no *Prebends*, no *Archdeacons*, no *Bishopricks*, were to be gotten by continuing on her part, thou betrayedst her cause, and becamest of *Councell* with the *King*. O noble *Councellour*. O severe and lawfull Judge.

A meete man to sit in condemnation of so many innocents : yea, more meet to stand on the *Tilbury*, then in a *Pulpit* : to be tved up in a *Road* *Frankie*, then walke in a *Princes Chamber* : to weare a *Tyburne-tippet*, then a *gray amise*. But what if thou have no *Dispensation*? What a murderer art thou of true *Englishmen*? What a tormentor of the people of God? How hast thou deceived the *Earles* of *Oxford* and *Suffex*, the *Lord Rich*, the *Majors* and *Sheriffes* of *London*, and many other of the *Nobility*, *Gentlemen* and *Commons*, forcing them to wash their hands in innocents blood with thee? What consciences may they have through thee? How canst thou salve their wounded soules? But thou wilt say, *It maketh no matter*. The *Clergie* is faire rid of a great many of enemies. *A dead man can doe no hurt*. But be thou certaine, thou wilt be deceived. Whatsoever becommeth of thy *Butcherly* body, I wish thy soule to be saved. Repent therefore in time : become *Paul* of *Saul*.

When the Prince of *Sebeck* called *Adonisebeck*, cut off the hands and feet of seventy Kings, and made them live by licking up the crums that fell under his Table, he thought those poore maimed men could doe him no hurt : but God payed him home ; for he himselfe had his hands and feet cut off, and was forced to picke up crums under the table, as hee had forced the other Kings.

King *Abimelech* caused his threescore and ten brethren by the *Fathers* side, to be all killed, because hee might raigue alone : hee thought all was cock-sure, and so did they that holpe him to execute so horrible an *Act*. But what? Did they escape? No, God suffered the *Divell* to make discord betweene the King and his deare darlings : and first they were justly destroyed by their King. and after hee himselfe having his head broken with a piece of a stone, let fall out of a weake womans hands, for shame willed his servant to kill him with a sword, that it should not be reported a woman had killed him. King *Ahab* and Queen *Iesabel* thought none should revenge poore *Naboths* death : but contrary to their expectation, by Gods justice, Dogs sossed and licked up the blood of them both. Queene *Athalia* thought her selfe sure when shee had killed all the Kings Progenie, but God served her with the like sawce ; she raigned not long, but she was killed. All the misery and mischief in the Realme of *Naples* came by a woman, called Queen *Iane* (a woman of much lust) who after she had been a while married to a noble Gentle-

Gentleman, and waxed weary of his worke, caused him to be hanged out of an open Gallerie in the top of the house (because no man should see him) and not after the poore thieves manner with an halter of *Hempe*, but with a rope of *Gold*, wrought with her owne and her sisters, *Madon Mary Maletesta*, their owne fingers. She triumpheth for a while, and after, besides an unspeakable number of privie marriages she made foure by day in a little space, but at length God plagued her, and shee was hanged in that place, where she before hanged her husband.

When those that conspired the death of the two brethren, the Admirall and the Protector had brought it to passe, so as they might rob the King, and spoyle the Realme at their pleasure: did they at length escape *Scot-free*? No, some of them by the just judgement of God were plagued, with the like punishment, with the same axe, upon the selfe-same blocke, and in the same place. And the rest hereafter are not unlike without repentance (which they shew not) to receive their rewards, either in themselves, or their Posteritie. O wonderfull workes, O just Judgement of God, that hateth those that doe evill, and destroyeth those that worke mischief, that abhorreth blood-thirsty people, and those that have double hearts and treble tongues.

But *Boner*, I may not leave thee thus. Give mee leave (*Savage Boner*) to dispute this matter of lawfull and not unlawfull, a little more with thee. If thou and the rest of the traytors thy companions should perswade the friendlesse Queene of *England* (whom yee have enchanted) to give over the townes of *Calice* and *Bardwicke* to a strange Prince, and contrary to her oath, not to diminish any part of the Rights of the *Crowne*, and liberties of the people, which *Kings of England* at their *Coronation* in times past made, and which shee also made to her subjects, when she was *Crowned*, before shee was a perfect *Queene*) she followed your *Counsell* and some noble *Personage* sent thither to deliver the keyes, and the *Deputie* and *Garrison* did not strike off the *Messengers* head, and set it on the Gates, but obeyed it, and not resisted it: were't not thou and thy fellowes traytors for perswading her so to doe? had not shee broken her oath and promise? was not the *Attourney* a Traytor for doing that hee was commanded? were not the *Deputy* and *Garrison* traytors for suffering it to be done? Answer, What canst thou say for thy selfe and thy fellowes? Guiltie, or not guiltie? Thou standest sure, What, not a word? Thou art sure, your good will, will stand you in as good stead, as the deed done. Neither doe yee passe, though the *Crowes* be fed with your carrion karcasses, and the Divell with your soules, so yee may leave behind you a fame, that by your traytory, the Laity of *England* was destroyed, and the spirituality restored to their pompe and Lordly power.

But



But thou wilt halter stop thy winde, *Bony*, let us know, what thou canst say for her. Sayst thou, Princes be not bound by their oathes and promises? enough. What for the rest? let them remember, that not long agoe, their neighbour, *Monsieur l'ordin*, Captaine of *Beloigne* was punished as a Traytor, for that by necessity and extremity of force he rendered up *Beloigne* to King *Henry* the eighth, and did not die in the defence of it. But thou wilt say, hee did it without commandement of his Master; and these shall doe it by commandement of their Masters. But what if the commandement be not lawfull? dost thou not say, thy selfe is not to be obeyed? Thou saist to others, that none may doe that is not lawfull for any commandement. But thou wilt say: It is the *Queenes* owne, and she may lawfully doe with her owne what she lusteth. What if it be denyed to be her owne? But thou wilt say, shee hath the Crowne by inheritance, and may dispose of the Realme, and every part of the Realme, as pleaseth her. But I answer; that albeit she have it by inheritance, yet she hath it with an oath, law and condition to keepe and maintaine it, not to depart with it, or diminish it. If shee have no more right to the Realme than her Father had, and her Father as much as ever any King of *England* had: what needed hee to require the consent of the Nobility and Commons (by Parliament) to give the Crowne to his daughter, or any other?

But thou wilt say, It was more then needed: for without consent of the Parliament, hee might doe with the Realme, and every part thereof, what it pleased him. Take heed what thou saist. If that be true, that King *Henry* might doe with it without consent of the Parliament: how is the Lady *Mary* Queen? Why might not King *Edward* his Sonne (a Prince borne in lawfull Matrimony, and right heire to the Crowne) bequeath the Crowne where he would, and as he did? Take heed what thou dost. If the King and Queene give thee a hundred pardons, yet shalt thou be found a ranke traytour to the Realme of *England*. For albeit the King or Queene of a Realme have the Crowne never so justly, yet may they not dispose of the Crowne or Realme as it pleaseth them. They have the Crowne to minister Justice, but the Realme being a body of free-men, and not of bond-men, hee nor shee cannot give or sell away the holds and ports (as *Calis* and *Harwicke*, or such like) without the consent of the Commons: for it was purchased with their blood and money. Yea, and thine owne Pope, lawes (whereby thou measurest all things to be lawfull, or not lawfull) say, that if a King or Governour of any Realme goe about to diminish the Regalities and Rights of his Crowne, hee ought to be deposed. Thus did Pope *Honorius* the third command, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his suffragans to deprive a King of *England*, which went about to walke sell and give away the Regalities of his Crowne, unless in time hee repented, & called back that hee had done. What canst

canst not deny it. But I see, *Emper*, I have chafed thee too much: thy cheekes blush and swell for very anger. *M. D. Chadsey*, *M. D. Pendleton*, *M. Cousins*, or some of you Chaplains, get my Lord a cup of Sacke, to comfort his spirits: My Lord and I agree almost like Bells: wee jarre somewhat, but not much, his Lordship meaneth, that men ought to be alwayes, but not at all times honest. But I say, they must be honest alwaies, and at all times. His Lordship would faine have a *Placard* or *proviso* for him and his, that they might sometimes (that is, from the beginning to the end of the weeke) play their parts. But I say, albeit his Lordship have such a priviledge, yet may no honest man at any time doe that is not honest, just and lawfull, by Emperors, Kings, Queenes: no, neither his commandement. For if those things which onely in mens opinions seeme to be unlawfull, may by no authory be done, and those that doe them, be no lesse to be punished, then if they had done them without authority: how much lesse may such things by any commandement be committed, that are indeed unlawfull; but shall be punished according to the deserts, by whatsoever power or authority they be executed? Men therefore ought to take heed, that by going about to come out of the smoke, they fall not into the fire: and by pleasing of men, they run not into the displeasure of God. If mens ordinances and lawes, or the Governours authoritie and commandement, were a sufficient discharge for men to doe whatsoever were prescribed or commanded unto them. tell mee (I beseech thee) why did *Esaïas* the Prophet suffer rather to be sawed in pieces, then to follow the proceedings of *Astolfes*? Why did *Daniel* not follow King *Darius* and his Counsells commandement, forbearing to worship the true God: but was content to be cast to the *Lions*? why did not the three Children, *Sedrach*, *Misach*, and *Abednego*, obey *Nebuchadnezzar*, in worshipping the golden Idoll, and so avoid the hot burning Furnace? Why did *Eliazars* submit himselfe to death, and not dissemble? Why did he not eat his owne meat, and abstaine from *Porkes*, that the King commanded the *Levites* to eat, contrary to the lawes, and say that hee had eaten it, as his old trusty friends of the Court counselled him? Why did he not sue for a Bull or Pardon of *Antipas*, that he might use his owne Religion, as our *English* *King* doe of the *Pope*, confessing his authority, which is the thing that hee onely passeth upon; and careth not how many soules hee led to the Divell? Why did not the seven brethren and their mother, obey the Kings commandement, and save their lives and goods, as the ancient *Catholicks*, and new *Protestants* doe, saying: all things be pure to the pure, and no Idolatry nor filthinesse can infect him that is pure and cleane? or why did they not say, as the *Presbyterian*s and *Papist*s did in times past, and as the Merchants, *Isidore* and *Teterson* with their double-tongued traine, and dissembling test, at this present say, that it is lawfull

(and no sinne) to say one thing, and meane another? to lie with the lips, so they have the truth in the heart? to deny God in words and workes, so they confesse him in thought and minde? to daunce with the Divell all day, and lodge with Christ at night? Why did *Paul* suffer so many imprisonments, so much beating, scourging and tormenting? And why at length did hee not save his life, and follow the Emperour *Nerues* commandement? Why did not the Prophets, the Apostles and so many thousands of Martyrs, follow the wicked tyrants commandements and proceedings, but resisted them, and with their blood testified that they allowed them not? But all these holy mens doings, in confessing and obeying the highest power God, and not the inferiour powers in wicked and evill things are commended and left by the Holy Ghost to us in holy Scripture to follow and doe the like. If mens lawes and commandements were a sufficient warrant to men, to doe whatsoever is commanded them: tell mee (I pray thee) to what purpose is suffering of persecution so oft repeated so earnestly taught, so highly commended in Scripture? Christ saith, *Hee that taketh not up his Crosse and followeth mee, is not meet for mee.* And againe: *Blessed be those that suffer persecution for righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdome of Heaven: Blessed are ye when men shall curse you, and persecute you, and speake all evill against you, lying for my sake: be glad and rejoyce, for your reward is plentiful in Heaven.* So did they persecute the Prophets that were before you. And the Apostle saith: *All that will live godly in Christ Iesus, shall suffer persecution.* And so in a great number of places of Scriptures.

By such persecution cannot be meant the injuries that private man doth to private man: for God hath ordained a meane, that is, the Magistrate to redresse them. But by persecution is meant the injuries and tyranny that the Magistrates and Governours exercise over Gods people. For they not contented to let a Christian man have justice in civill things against a *Papist*, nor an honest man against such a one as favoureth their proceedings, doe themselves spoile the *Christians*, and honest of their goods: and not onely spoyle them, but by all manner of force, violence and snares, seeke their life and blood, not onely in their owne countrey, but where they have no authority, because they will not obey their commandements, and follow their wicked proceedings.

God will have his tried by persecution, that the world may see, who love the chiefe power, more then the inferiour powers: his commandements, more then mens fond proceedings: the soule, more then the flesh; the sure and everlasting inheritance of Heaven, more then the uncertaine and temporall possessions of this world. Yea, he hath no other way to let the difference appeare to mens eyes betweene his servants, and Princes Parasites, then onely by persecution. *Papists,*  
*Turks*

Turks, Jews, Gentiles can dissemble. they can seem to fast; to pray, to give almes, to build Monasteries, and Chauntries, and to do outward workes gaie to the eye, because they would be accounted holy of men, but to refuse to do that is evill for justice sake, to be slandered, spoke evill of, whipped, scourged, spoiled of their goods, killed of the worldly Princes and tyrants, rather then they would disobey God, and forsake Christ, this can neither Papists nor Turks, Jews nor Gentiles, nor none other do, but onely the Elect of God. And yet God doth not so severely require of his people, that they should straight offer themselves to the Princes slaughterhouse, their necks to the halter, their heads to the block, their blood to make Princes puddings, their entrailes to make tripes, their quarters to be boiled or roasted: but he hath left them a speciall rule and commandement, whereby to guide themselves, that is, in all things to *seek first the Kingdome of God*. If he that is *persecuted*, feel in his conscience, that he may do God greater service and glory by suffering then by fleeing, he ought rather to suffer a thousand deaths, then to flee one foot. But if his conscience witness with him, that he may do God greater glory by fleeing then by tarrying, he ought not to tempt God with tarrying, but is bound by commandement to depart. *If they persecute you in one City (saith Christ) flee into another.* And he did not onely teach it, but did it himself, forsaking *Jerusalem*, and going into *Galilee*, when he heard *Iohn Baptist* was laid by the heels, because the time was not yet come, wherein he was appointed to glorifie God. And because God would have a refuge place, and sanctuary for his, when such tyranny and persecution should be executed, he would never suffer the power and ambitious tyrants, to make one perfect Monarchie of all, but when they had done their best to bring all together, and the string had been almost in the nick of the Bow, (as the proverb is) it hath suddenly slippt, and not onely destroyed the doer, but it hath fallen into a great many more shivers then ever it was before. Thus God dallieth and playeth with his Puppets, the Princelings of this World.

Wherefore since we be Gods people and servants; and he our Lord and the highest power: and the Princes of the World be but his Ministers and inferiour powers, ordained to do good, and not evill: we ought to *seeke chiefly to do Gods Commandements before all mens, to please God rather then men*. For the Princes (do they the worst they can) can take from men, their goods and lives: but God can take from us both *Souls and Body*, and cast both *Body and Soul* into Hell. And yet should not they be able to worke their will in this World, nor execute their malice, if men would behave themselves toward their Lord and Master God, as they ought. For as he can, so would he soon dispatch the world of tyrants. But because many be open enemies of God, and many dissemblers with God, God sendeth and



suffereth evill Governours (and will send worse) to plague the people for their iniquitie, and to try the faith of his Elect, from whom not one haire of the head can be taken without Gods will. And therefore seeking alwayes to doe that is good, they should alwayes eschue to doe that is evill, and commit the end to God.

But admit there be a great number that have drunke of the Whore of *Babylons* Cup, and thinke that their is neither Heaven nor Hell, and that Gods Word is but *frivols* matters; and that therefore (like *Sardanapalus*) they should seeke to eate and drinke, and serve their lusts, and nothing else: yet were this no sure way for them to doe that they would, if they should obey their Princes in whatsoever they commanded.

The nature of wicked Princes is much like to the *Aspidochelons*, which if they be suffered to have their snouts in the ground, and be not forthwith leaved, will suddenly have in all the body; or to the *Wesels*, that conveyeth in his whole body, where hee hath once gotten in his head. So they, if they be obeyed in any evill thing (be it never so little) will be obeyed in all at length. What letteth, but that they may not onely send for mens goods, but for their heads also, as the *Turke* doth to his best *Bassa*, and all his Subjects when it pleaseth him? Why may not they send for the Subjects children, and cause them to be killed, baked, and give it to their Parents in stead of other meate: and for a second course bring into them, the heads, secte, and hands, as King *Astages* did to *Harpagus*? All the Paper of *England* would not serve to set out the mitchieses that might follow, when Princes evill commandements should be obeyed and fulfilled. But men that be wise, may by a little consider the whole.

Seeing therefore God would not Princes commandements should be obeyed in all things, but will have his rather suffer a thousand deaths, then do any thing that is evill: and since also so many evils and mischietes may follow in this life, where wicked Princes wills may stand for lawes, men ought both for Gods sake and Commandement, abstaine to obey such commandements, and cleave unto this *Maxime*: *We must obey God rather than man*, for whose sake, if wee lose both goods and life, we ought to rejoyce, that wee be called to serve him, and not doubt, but as he is able to recompence it, so will he (according to his promise) reward it. And besides, also they ought to consider, that *Princes* be ordained for the wealth and benefit of the people, and not to their destruction: to maintaine common-wealths, and not to overthrow them; which rather then any man should consent unto, he ought (being a faithfull man to his countrey) to abide all losses, both of body and goods: For next after God, men be borne to love, honour, and maintaine their countrey.

## CHAP. V.

*Whether all the subjects goods be the Emperours and Kings own, and that they may lawfully take them as their own?*

**T**He Anabaptists wresting Scripture to serve their madnes, among other foule errors, have this: that all things ought to be common, they imagine man to be of that purity that he was before the fall, that is, clean without sin, or that (if he will) he may so be: and that as when there was no sin, all things were common. so they ought now to be.

But this mingling of the state of man before the fall, and of him after the fall much deceiveth them. For by the fall, and ever after the fall, this corruptible flesh of man is clogged with sin, and shall never be rid of sin, as long as it is in this corrup: World, but shall be alwaies disposed and prone to do that is evill. And therefore as one means to be the rather uncumbred of the heap of sin, God ordained that man should get his living by the sweat of his brows: and that he should be the more forced to labour, the distinction of things and property (*mine and thine*) was (contrary to *Plato's* opinion) ordained, as appeareth by these two laws: *Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbours Wife, nor his Servant, nor his Maide, nor his Ox, nor his Ass, nor any thing that is his.* Afterward indeed Scripture speaketh of communion of things, not that they ought so to be (for so Scripture should be directly against Scripture) but that there was such charitie among the people, that of their own free will, they gave and sold all they had, to relieve the misery of their poore Brethren: who for impotency, or for multitude of children, were not with their labour able to get sufficient to relieve their necessity. Nor of this so given might every man take as much as him lusted, but to every one (according to his necessity) sufficient was distributed. So that it stood in the liberality of the giver, and not in the liberty of the taker.

But there be some in these daies, not of the meanest or poorest sort, but of the chiefest and richest: that is, many wicked Governours and Rulers, who in this error excell the common Anabaptists. For the common Anabaptists do not onely take other mens goods as common, but are content to let their own also be common, which hath some smack of charity: for they themselves do no other, but that they themselves are content to suffer.

But the evill Governours and Rulers will have all that their Subjects have, common to themselves, but they themselves will depart with nothing, but where they ought not: no, not so much as pay for those things, that in words they pretend to buy of their Subjects. nor pay those poore men their wages, whom they force to labour and toyle in their works.

But the manner of comming thereby is so diverse, that it maketh the justnesse of their doings much suspected. For some do it underpretence to do the people good, some by craft and subtile means, colour their doings: and some of right (but without right) claim them for their own.

Of the first sort be those, that put great taxes and impositions on drink, for as much as the people with overmuch drinking become drunkards (and so sin against God) they would seem by making them pay as much, or more to them, as the drink is worth, they should force them the rather to abstaine from overmuch drinking, and so from sin. But in this it may appeare, they seek not abstinence from sin, and the wealth of the people, but their owne private profit. For if they had their eye to Gods glory, and the benefit of the people, and the vice to be taken cleane away: they would not crop off the branches of the Tree, and let the root grow: but they would root up the root, that it should no more grow. And some of this sort do it to this end, to make things better cheap. For (think they) if there were but little money, then must things be sold better cheap. As though it lay in them to make plenty and scarcity, and as though the one were not the bounteous benefit of God sent to them that feare and love him: and the other his plague justly powred on them that hate him.

This kinde of practise was, if not first found, yet used by the Emperour *Julian* the Apostata a tyrant and persecutour of the Christians (as before you have heard) who being a subtile man, and not having his Counsellors, Souldiers and subjects (at his devotion) ready to kill whom he would of the Christians (whom he knew for no private cause would rebell) meant by policy to murder them, spoiling them of that they had, and so not leaving them wherewith to buy to relieve their necessitie. Saith this enemy of God: *I will use you after your Christs Gospel.* For it saith: *Blissed be yee poore, for yours is the Kingdome of God.* And therefore I take from you all that yee have presently, that yee may the sooner come by that is promised you. Doubtlesse, if this way were as good and beneficiall for the Agents and doers of it, as it may be profitable for the subjects and sufferers: no doubt it were to be desired that it were done out of hand, rather then one minute of an houre deferred to be done. For the people from the lesse to the more, from top to toe, all be given to covetousnesse, scraping, snatching, and ketching.

And from Pope to the hedge Masse-monging Priest, all be given to subtilty, craft, lying, traytours, and false dealing. Their heart is so on their half-penny, that neither they consider their duty to God (no they know him not) nor remember how much they are bound to their Countrey: but upon a vaine hope to save their *owne* content either

either themselves to betray their countrey, or to suffer it to be betrayed of others, and one of them devoureth and eateth up another, that for a little while hee may the more live after his owne lust: Where contrariwise, poverty maketh men to remember, seeke, and call on God, to love and defend their countrey, one to love another like brethren, and finally, deviseth and worketh whatsoever good is. But none may pill or poll, rob or spoyle, or doe any mischief (saith the Apostle) that good may thereof follow: and specially Kings and Governours of people, whom, *because they be ordained to doe good, and should do nothing but well.* Christ called *Benefactors*, and not *Malefactors*. If they doe it whilst they pretend (but meane it not) to bring others to Heaven, they may be sure to bring themselves to hell.

The second sort be those that rob the people indeed, yet would not have their doings knowne. They walke in nets, and thinke no man doth see them. And of this kinde be those, that contrary to all lawes (both of God and man) and contrary to their oath, counterfeit the coyne that is ordained to runne between man and man, turning the substance from Gold to Copper, from Silver, to worse then Pewter and advancing and diminishing the price at their pleasure. For in coynes all lawes command, and equity will, that these foure things be observed and straightly kept. First, the purenesse of the matter, that it be not corrupted or counterfeited. Secondly, that it have the just weight. Thirdly, that it be not clipped. The last, that it be not at the Princes will sometime prized at a more value, and sometime at a lesse: For if a Prince might doe herein even what him lusteth: how might hee not lightly spoyle his Subjects of all that they have, or could come by. Which thing the great Divell and cut-throat of England (the *Papist's* god) (in his Sermon that he made at Pauls Crosse, upon this Theme *Now is the time to wake from sleepe, my brethren, for now is our joy and pompe more nigh then when we before dissembled to believe in Christ. Be of good cheere, my Disciples, our trouble is past, our joy is at hand*) letted not to bluster out. In this Sermon to bring the dead innocent and blessed King Edward (whom for his vertue hee hated) in hatred of the people: for he imputed to him (a child and a ward) the lewd and wicked behaviour of his cruell Counsellours, and said he marvelled that the people could suffer so great injury, to be robbed of their Prince by altering their coine from Gold to Copper, and Silver to Lead, and to pull it from twelve pence to fixe pence, and not rise against the King to redresse their injury. He saw that this and such like injuries were not tolerable in a Prince, and would have had the people do that against him (whom he for his vertue hated) which neither for this nor any vice he would have done whereas he seemed to favour. For at the beginning to maintain *Boligne* wars which he devised, to pull *K. Henries* minde from matters of religion, or (as afterward good likelihood appeared) to have him

taken.



taken in the warres, and carried to the Bishop of Rome: the same Divell Gardiner, was then the chiefe Counsellor to have the money abused, to maintaine the same. And now lately (when he hath broken his chaine) devised Rosemary pence, worse than ever any coyne was before, as the experience sheweth, they being at length cryed to be nothing.

The third sort of these evill Princes be those, that claime all their subjects goods for their owne, who alledge for them this mormon saying: *all things be the Emprours, all things be the Kings, all things be the Princes.* And as the Divell brought forth Scripture to serve his purpose against Christ; so they abhorring all other parts of Scripture, that teach them their office or Christian duty, picke out onely a piece that may maintaine their tyranny. It is thus written, say they, in the first Booke of Kings. *This shall be the right or law of the King that shall rule over you; hee will take your sonnes, and put them to his Chariets, and make his Horsemen of them, and they must run before his Chariot, and will make him Captaines of them over thousands, and over fifties, and will set them to aie his ground, and gather in his harvest, and to make instruments, of Warre and Carts. And of your daughters he will make them Oymmen-makers, his Cookes, and Bakers. And hee will take the best of your fields, and of your Olive trees, and give them to his servants, and he will take the tenth of your Seed, and of your Vines, and give it to his Lords and to his servants; And he will take the best of your men-servants, and women-servants, and young-men, and of your asses, and doe his worke with them; and hee will take the tenth of your Sheepe, and yee shall be his servants; but when yee shall cry out at that time upon your King, which yee shall have chosen you, the Lord will not heare you at that day.*

This piece of Scripture is their cloake; but it serveth no more a Kings wicked doings, then that of the wicked sonnes of Eli, and the sacrificers (whom men call Priests) to take out of mens pots, what piece them lusteth, or to take their portion raw, contrary to Gods Ordinance. For as in the one place it is called the right or law of the King: so is it in the other place called the right of the law of the Priests. But in no other of these places it is called the law or right that God appointed to Kings or Priests, which hee set out in other places, but such as they would usurpe over the people. Neither will this maintaine the purpose, that here he speaketh of a King, and not a Tyrant; for at the first a Kings name was as odious, and as much abhorred as a Tyrants. But this was spoke of the Prophet Samuel to feare the people, that they should not goe about to alter the order and policie that God had ordained; which if they did, they should feele what a plague it were to have a King given in Gods fury. And if they had onely sought to be ruled by one (as partly in this, that one alone ruleth a King doth differ from other Governours) they would have beene content with Samuel alone, who, as hee was appointed by God to rule alone over the Israelites, so did hee exercise and use his office most uprightly: but they would

would needs have a gallant and pompious King, one that should ride out with his Trumpets before him, a great troope of Horsesmen before and behinde him, his Guard altogether in filke, with their Holbeards about him, and every one to fall flat to the ground that should meet him, as the *Gentiles* had, who were indeed tyrants, as appeareth by the first, called *Nimrod*, who for his rebellion against God, and devouring of Gods people, was called *The stout Hunter* before, or against God. And in the same Kingdome of the *Israhelites*, God shewed by an evident terror to all Governours, that he did not allow such right, as the Prophet said, the King would use over his subjects. For when King *Achab* would have bought of his subjects, *Naboth* his Vineyard (which hee needed not to have done, if the subjects goods be the Kings) and he refused to sell it, as he might do, for by Gods Law, he had a property therein, from which without his will and consent, he could not be forced to depart, the King fretted so much, because he could not have his will, that he fell sicke in his bed, and would not eate. His wife, Dame *Isabel*, a woman full of malice and mischief (as that kind is very apt and prone to those vertues, and within short space doe so therein excell, as few men can in long time match them) taketh the matter in hand. What (saith she) be you a meet man to be a King over *Israel*, that will suffer such dishonour at your slaves hands, one that by your ancient prerogative, which hath continued these hundred and three score yeeres, (yea, from the first King of *Israel*) yee may use in body and goods, as pleaseth you? Fie for shame, pull your courage to you, arise, eate your meat, be merry, I warrant you the Vineyard. Out goeth a Commission in the Kings name, to certaine Commissioners, where *Naboth* dwelt, such as the *Queenes* Grace was sure, favoured her proceedings. Those shee requireth to cause *Naboth* to be indicted and condemned for an Heretique and a Traytor; and so to cause him to be stoned to death. Her will is forthwith satisfied, matter enough against *Naboth*, prisoner at the Barre, because she would so have it; no man might be admitted, nor durst speake the truth in the prisoners cause, lest they had beene clapped fast, and trussed up also for speaking against the King and Queen: no Quest durst quit him, for feare of kissing the *Fleet*; no lawes, no equity, no justice might defend the poore innocent. So the Vineyard is the Kings by the order of Law. Those newes be carried in poast to *Isabel*, she sheweth them to her Husband, wherewith he (as soone as he heard them) was recovered, and goeth to take possession of the Vineyard. But what followeth this cruelty and tyranny? Are not both the Kings Majesty, and the *Queenes* Highnesse within while after killed, and their blood licked up of Dogs, according as the Prophet declared to him in the Vineyard, when hee tooke possession of it? and all his house so destroyed, that there was not left thereof so much as a Dog to pisse against the wall?

Thus yee may see the end of lusty Lords and Ladies, that will have their lusts a law, and their will to be followed and obeyed of their subjects as a right indeed. The true right and prerogatives of a King, was written in a particular Booke by the Prophet *Samuel*, and laid up by the Arke, which Booke (among many other) was lost, yet who so lusteth to know it, may see it set out by God in the Booke of *Deuteronomy*. After that God had prescribed who should be their King, that is, no Aliene or Stranger, but one of their owne brethren; for naturally strangers doe not favour strangers. And a strange Prince seeketh by all meanes to destroy the naturall inborne, that hee may with quietnesse and surety enjoy and use that he commeth evill by, and so leave it to his succession: then is set forth the right and Prerogative of a King thus: When your King is made, he shall not keepe many horses: nor putting his trust in his Horsemen; he shall not bring the people againe into *Egypt*. Hee shall not have many wives, lest they alter his mind from God; neither yet great treasure of silver and gold. But when he is set in his Throne; he shall cause a copie of these Lawes and Statutes to be written out of the originall, remaining with the *Levites*, and the same he shall have with him all the dayes of his life, that hee may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe (not to breake) all the words and ceremonies that be commanded in the Law, and also to fulfill them in his doings: And he shall not be proud and haughty over his brethren, neither shall he swarve from the Law toward the right hand or left hand, that hee and his children may long raigne over *Israel*. But besides this Law appointed for all Kings, hee that will be accounted a Christian King or Governour, must remember, that hee is a Christian man, and that by being made a King, he is not exempt from the lawes and duty of a Christian man. which every one professeth in Baptisme; but as he is called and exalted above the rest of his brethren, so should he be an example to them of good living and vertue, in observing the Law, which saith as well to Kings as to beggers: *Thou shalt not steale; Thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy neighbours*, and so it stablisheth and confirmeth that every one may justly keepe that is his owne, and none may take it from him by any means against his will, be it King or Emperour.

And by the doings of *Samuel*, who, albeit he were not a King in name, yet had he (being the Lievetenant and Viceroy to God the chiefe King) as great authority as any King on the earth; it may appeare, that all things of the subjects be not the Kings owne proper: For if they had bene his owne, what needed *Samuel* (at the surrender of his office) to offer to make an account? And to whom I pray you? To any bribing Auditour? No, he offered to make it to God, and to the King that succeeded him. Behold (saith he) *I have done all that yee desired me, I have made you a King to rule you. My children yet shall be with you. But I am old, and bare-headed: that is, I cannot long continue, I have bene among you from a child,*

child, to this day. Lo, I am ready to make mine account before God and your King, for all things that can be laid to me by any of you. Whose Bullock have I taken? Whose Ass have I had? to whom have I done any violence or wrong? whom have I oppressed? of whom have I taken any bribes, to maintain him in his wickednesse, to wink at his faults, or to stop justice? let him come forth, and I will make satisfaction. And none of them could say, black was his eye.

No, saith Samuel, I take God and your King to witness against you. I am so heart, that ye shall not finde me yet in my fingers, but I am able to lay enough against you wicked people, &c.

O Samuel, Samuel, what King or Prince can lay to thee, as thou dost to the Israelites? They look not to make an account: no, they have counsell of crafty Alcibiades, how they may make no account.

But they cannot escape it, they shall meet with another manner of Auditour, then any of Monsieur Unquebonets prentices: they shall reckon before him, that hath all their doings truly totted, and faire engrossed already before hand, and where he shall in the day of his generall Audit, lay to Samuel, and all true Governours, that rule according to Gods rule: Well fare yee, yee good and faithfull servants, Comm, enter into your Masters joy: He shall contrariwise commit these oppressours and tyrants, not to the Lievtenant of the Tower, or to the Warden of the Fleet, but unto the Jaylour of Gehenna (to be chained in the Ward of eternall paine) and lay: Away with these deceivers of my people to the Dogs of Hell, yee were Masters, and not Ministers: ye were Beare-baiters, and not Bailiffes, ye were sroyes, and no Stewards.

But let us imagine an untruth, that all the subjects goods were the Princes, and that he might take them at his pleasure. Let us imagine, that the subjects were onely carnall men, without the knowledge and feare of God. Yea, and let it be granted also, that they were spoiled of all their Armour, and great Garisons set in every place to keepe them in obeisance, so that they had not wherewith to redresse their injuries, as nature would countell them: were this a way to make the people labour, when others should take the bread out of their mouths? Would they desire to live, to be in such misery themselves? Would they desire to increase the world with children, when they know that they should be left in worse case, then unreasonable beasts? No surely, and that ye may see by the work of nature in the people of the West-Indies, now called new Spain: who knew of Christ nothing at all, and of God no more then nature taught them. The people of that Countrey when the Catholike Spaniards came thither, were simple and plaine men, and lived without great labour, the Land was naturally so plentifull of all things, and continually the trees had ripe fruit on them. When the Spaniards had by flattery put in their foot, and by little and little made themselves strong, buikling Forts in divers places, they to get the gold that was there, forced the people (that were not used to labour)



labour) to stand all the day in the hot Sun, gathering Gold in the sand of the Rivers. By this means a great number of them (not used to such paines) died, and a great number of them (seeing themselves brought from so quiet a life, to such misery and slavery) of desperation killed themselves. And many would not marry, because they would not have their children slaves to the *Spaniards*. The women when they felt themselves with child, would eat a certain hearb to destroy the child in the womb. So that where at the coming thither of the *Spaniards*, there were accounted to be in that Countrey nine hundred thousand persons, there were in short time by this means so few left, as *Peter Martyr* (who was one of the Emperour *Charles the fifth* Counsell there, and wrote this History to the Emperour) saith, it was a shame for him to name.

This is the fruit, where Princes take all their subjects things as their own. And wherunto at length will it come, but that either they must be no Kings, or else Kings without people, which is all one. But thou wilt say: whereof cometh this common saying: all things be the Emperours, all things be the Kings? It cannot come of nothing. But by that that is already said. yee see that every man may keep his own, and none may take it from him, so that it cannot be interpreted, that all things be the Emperours or Kings, as his own proper, or that they may take them from their subjects at their pleasure, but thus it is to be expounded, that they ought to defend, that every man hath, that he may quietly enjoy his own, and to see that they be not robbed or spoiled thereof. For as in a great mans House, all things be said to be the Stewards. because it is committed to his charge, to see that every man in the house behave himself honestly, and do his duty, to see that all things be well kept and preserved, and may take nothing away from any man, nor mispend or waste and of his doings he must render account to his Lord for all: so in a Realm or other Dominion, the Realm and Countrey are Gods, he is the Lord, the people are his servants, and the King or Governour is but Gods Minister or Steward, ordained not to misuse the servants, that is, the people, neither to spoile them of that they have, but to see the people do their duty to their Lord God, that the goods of this world be not abused. but spent to Gods glory, to the maintenance and defence of the Commonwealth, and not to the destruction of it. The Princes watch ought to defend the poore mans house, his labour the subjects eale, his diligence the subjects pleasure, his trouble the subjects quietnesse. And as the Sun never standeth still, but continually goeth about the world doing his office: with his heat refreshing and comforting all natural things in the world: so ought a good Prince to be continually occupied in his Ministry, not seeking his own profit but the wealth of those that be committed to his charge. And therefore *Salusbury* King  
of

of Syria used to say; If men knew how much businesse, and how little quietnesse it were to doe the duty of a King, none would take upon him that office, if hee might have the Crowne for taking it up out of the mire; And *Antiochus* the great King also of Syria, when hee was driven out of his Countrey by *Sulpis*, the Captaine of the *Romans*, and had lost all *Asia*, and the Countries about; he thanked the *Romans*, that by their meanes he was delivered of so great a part of his cares. He saw it was so impossible for one man (were hee never so diligent and watching) to execute well so great a charge.

If these two great Kings (who knew not God, but thought themselves gods; that hoped not on everlasting life, but thought there was no other but this life: those that thought they could not be forced to make account of their doings to any person) thought it so great a charge to have a rule over Countries; how much more should such Princes, as pretend to be Christians, that know themselves mortall men, no gods; servants, no Masters; and who must (because God hath said it shall be so) make account for all their doings, for all soules, men, women and children, thinke their office and ministry an heauey burthen, and so give over seeking and hunting after their owne glory, their pompe, their pride; and seeke the glory of God, and the wealth (and not the destruction) of those that be committed to their charge, and tremble at this saying of *Chrysostome*: *I marvell that any Governour can be saved*, which is not spoken in vaine.

## CHAP. VI.

*Whether it be lawfull to depose an euill Governour, and his Tyrant?*

AS there is no better nor happier Common-wealth, nor a greater blessing of God, then where one ruleth, if hee be a good, iust, and godly man: so is there no worse, nor none more miserable, nor greater plague of God, then where one ruleth, that is euill, unjust, and ungodly. A good man knowing that he or those by whom he claimeth, was to such office called for his vertue, to see the whole State well governed, and the people defended from injuries: neglecteth utterly his owne pleasure and profit, and bestoweth all his study and labour to see his office well discharged. And as a good Physitian earnestly seeketh the health of his Patient, and a Shipmaster the wealth and safeguard of those he hath in his Ship; so doth a good Governour seeke the wealth of those he ruleth. And therefore the people feeling the benefit comming by good Governours, used in time past to call such good Governours, Fathers: and gave them no lesse honour, then children owe to their Parents.

An evil person coming to the government of any state, either by usurpation, or by election, or by succession, utterly neglecting the cause why Kings, Princes, and other Governours in Common-wealths be made (that is, the wealth of the people) seeketh onely, or chiefly, his own profit and pleasure. And as a Sow coming into a faire Garden rooteth up all the faire and sweet flowers, and whollome simples leaving nothing behind, but her own filthy dirt: so doth an evil Governour subvert the laws and orders, or maketh them to be wrenched or racked to serve his affections, that they can no longer do their office. He spoileth the people of their goods, either by open violence, making his Ministers, to take it from them without payment therefore, or promising and never paying: or craftily under the name of loanes, benevolences, contributions, and such like gay painted words, or for feare he getteth out of their possession that they have. and never restoreth it. And when he hath it, consumeth it, not to the benefit and profit of the Common-wealth, but on Whores, Whoremongers, dicing, carding, banqueting, unjust Wars, and such like evils and mischiefs wherein he daily delighteth. He spoileth and taketh away from them their Armour and Harnesse, that they shall not be able to use any force to defend their right. And not contented to have brought them into such misery (to be sure of his state) seeketh and taketh all occasions to dispatch them of their lives. If a man keep his house, and meddle in nothing, then shall it be said, that he fretteth at the state. If he come abroad & speak to any other, forth with it is taken for a just conspiracy. If he say nothing, and shew a merry countenance, it is a token, that he despiseth the Government. If he look sorrowfully, then he lamenteth the state of his Countrey. How many soever be for any cause committed to prison, are not onely asked but be racked also, to shew whether he be privie of their doings. If he depart, because he would live quietly, then is he proclaimed an open enemy. To be short, there is no doing, no gesture, no behaviour, no place can preserve or defend innocency, against such a Governours cruelty: but as a Hunter maketh wilde beasts his prey. Tolls, Nets, Snares, Traps, Dogs, Ferrets, mining and digging the ground, Guns, Bows, Spears, and all other Instruments, engines, devices, subtilties and means, whereby he may come by his prey; so doth a wicked Governour make the people his game and prey, and useth all kinds of subtilties, decents, crafts, policies, force, violence, cruelty, and such like devillish waies, to spoile and destroy the people, that be committed to his charge. And when he is not able without most manifest cruelty to do by himself that he desireth, then faineth he unjust causes to cast them into Prison, where like as the Bearwardes mustell the Beares, and tye them to the stakes, whiles they be baited, and killed, of Mastiffe, and Curs. so he keepeth them in chains, whilst the Bishops, and other his tormentours, and hereticall inqui-

inquisitors doe teare and devoure them. Finally, he saith, and denieth, he promiseth and breaketh promise, he sweareth and forsweareth, and neither passeth on God nor the Divell (as the common saying is) so he may bring to passe that he desireth. Such an evill Governour properly men call a Tyrant.

Now, for as much as there is no expresse positive law for punishment of a Tyrant among Christian men, the question is, whether it be lawfull to kill such a monster, and cruell beast, covered with the shape of a man.

And first for the better and more plaine prooofe of this matter, the manifold and continuall examples that have beene from time to time, of the deposing of Kings, and killing of Tyrants, doe most certainly confirme it to be most true, just and consonant to Gods judgement. The History of Kings in the Old Testament is full of it. And as Cardinall *Poole* truly citeth, *England* lacketh not the practice and experience of the same. For they deprived King *Edward* the second, because without law hee killed the subjects, spoyled them of their goods, and wasted the treasure of the Realme. And upon what just causes *Richard* the second was thrust out, and *Henry* the fourth put in his place. I referre it to their owne judgement. *Denmarke* also now in our daies, did nobly the like act, when they deprived *Christiane* the Tyrant, and committed him to perpetuall prison.

*Zacharias* the Pope that invented first the lamps in the Church, deposed *Chilperichus*, King of *France*, because hee was said to be a lecherous person, and an unprofitable Governour of the Realme: and forced him to be a Monke, and made *Pippin* (father of *Charles*) King of *France*.

Pope *Gregory* (as wee heard before) commanded that the King of *Hungary* should be deprived, because he diminished the Rights of the Crowne: unlesse he repented, and undid all that he had done.

A certaine King of *Portugale* was very negligent in his office: he consumed and wasted away the treasure of his Realme, hee oppressed his subjects, and misused them. Wherefore Pope *Innocent* the fourth made the Kings brother, the Earle of *Bolonia*, Coadjutor to the King, and gave him the whole charge of the Realme, discharged the people of their oath to the King, and commanded them to be obedient to the Kings brother in all things, as King. But the Popes learned Councell said, that he ought to have beene utterly deposed of the Crowne. These doings of Popes I rehearse not, as though their usurped authority were to be allowed, but for that yee may see, that it is no new thing to depose evill Kings and Governours; and that those that have the just authority, may, and ought for the like causes, doe as they did. For albeit the authority of the Pope be not lawfull, yet is the reason that moved them so to doe honest and just, and meet to be received and executed among reasonable creatures. And this law of nature to depose and punish wicked



wicked Governours, hath not beene only received and exercised in politique matters, but also in the Church. For the Canonists (the Popes owne Champions) grounding themselves upon this law of nature, say, that Popes who may be indeed (by their saying) the Lievtenant of the Divell, albeit they call themselves the Vicars of God, may be deprived by the Body of the Church; And so at one clap, in the Councell held at *Constance* in *Germany*, in the yeere of our Lord, 1415. were three Popes popped out of their places, *Gregory*, *John* and *Benedict*, and the fourth (called *Martin* the fifth) chosen. Afterward, in the Councell of *Basil* was Pope *Eugenius* served with that lawce. For the unluckinesse of the Countrey, the rest of the Popes have since refused, that any generall Councell should be kept in *Germany*, fearing lest they all having deserved as much as the other foure deposed, should have the like punishment. And thus they confirme their doings. If (say they) the Pope had not a Superiour, he might being suffered in his evill; bring the Church to destruction. And therefore if hee cannot otherwise be brought to amend himselfe, it is lawfull to use the law of nature, that is, to remove him from his office; for hee is no Bishop or Pope, that abuseh his Popedom and Bishopricke. An evill *Prelate*, and unreformable, seemeth not to be ordained by the Will of God; say the *Canonists*, alledging the words of *Saint Jerome*, upon the saying of the Prophet *Osee*, that a Prince or Judge is not alwayes ordained by God. And he bringeth for an example King *Saul*, against whom God said: Seeing the people have made themselves a King, and not a Ruler by mee, and not by my counsell; and yet God had chosen *Saul*. But yet, because hee was not chosen according to the Will of God, but according to the minde and desires of the simple people, God denied him to be ordained by his will and counsell. The *Canonist* also say, that albeit the Pope-dome by the Law of God, (as it is not indeed, saith the truth) yet that this man, or that, *Paul* or *July* is Pope, it cometh by the act of man. For the *Cardinals* representing the universall Church chose him. And therefore if he be not according to the Will of God, and for the wealth of the universall Church, that is, if hee be not one that seeketh Gods glory, and the wealth of *Christis Church*, he may be justly deprived, because they erred in choosing him. And God seemeth not to be against the putting out of such an evill person, but to favour and further it. For hee said: If the salt be unsavoury, it is good for no use, but to be cast out, and troden under foot of all men. And againe: If thy right eye be a let unto thee, pull it out, and cast it from thee: For it is better that one member perish, than that the whole body should be cast into Hell. And againe, say the *Canonists* (the Popes Lawyers) in rehearsing *Christis Words*: If our eye, foot, or hand offend us, let it be taken from the rest of the body; for it is better to lacke members in this world, then that they should carry the rest of the body into hell.

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By salt, eye, foot, and hands, is understood the Heads and Rulers, and not the other members and Subjects. And not onely the Heads and Rulers in the Church, but also in all Policies and Common-wealths.

Now, if it be lawfull for the Body of the Church to depose and punish a *Pope*, being the chiefe *Priest*, annointed not on the arme or shoulder, as *Kings* be, but on the head and hands. to declare an higher authority then *Kings* have; nor crownted with a simple Crowne. as *Emperours* and *Kings* be, but with a triple Crowne, to shew his Regality and power above all others: how much more by the like arguments, reasons and authority, may *Emperours*, *Kings*, *Princes*, and other *Governours*, abusing their office, be deposed and removed out of their places and offices, by the body or State of the Realme or Common-wealth?

By this Law and Arguments of the *Canonists*, and example of deprivation of a *Pope*, are all cloaks (wherewith *Popes*, *Bishops*, *Priests*, *Emperours* and *Kings*, use to defend their iniquity) utterly taken away. Say they; wee are Annointed, yee may not touch us; we are onely subject to God, and every man to us. God will have us (O most wicked *Popes*, *Bishops*, *Priests*, cruell and evill *Princes*) raigne to plague you people for your iniquity.

But here yee see the Body of every State may (if it will) yea, and ought to redresse and correct the vices of their Heads and Governours. And for as much as yee have already seen, whereof politique power and government groweth, and the end whereunto it was ordained; and seeing it is before manifestly and sufficiently proved, that *Kings* and *Princes* have not an absolute power over their subjects; that they are and ought to be subject to the Law of God, and the wholesome positive lawes of their Countrey: and that they may not lawfully take or use their subjects goods at their pleasure; the reasons, arguments, and law that serve for the deposing and displacing of an evill Governour, will doe as much for the prooffe, that it is lawfull to kill a Tyrant, if they may be indifferently heard. As God hath ordained Magistrates to heare and determine private mens matters, and to punish their vices; so also will he, that the Magistrates doings be called to account and reckoning, and their vices corrected and punished by the Body of the whole Congregation or Common-wealth. As it is manifest by the memory of the ancient office of the high Constable of *England*, unto whose authority it pertained, not onely to summon the *King* personally before the Parliament, or other Courts of Judgement (to answer and receive according to justice) but also upon just occasion to commit him unto ward.

*Kings*, *Princes* and *Governours* have their authority of the people. as all lawes, usages, and policies doe declare and testifie.

For in some places and Countries they have more and greater authority, in some place less. And in some the people have not given this au-

thority to any other, but retaine and exercise it themselves. And is any man so unreasonable to deny, that the whole may doe as much as they have permitted one Member to doe? or those that have appointed an office upon trust, have not authority upon just occasion (as the abuse of it) to take away that they gave? All Lawes doe agree that men may revoke their *Proxies*, and Letters of *Attorney* when it pleaseth them: much more, when they see their *Proctors* and *Attorneys* abuse it.

But now to prove the latter part of this question affirmatively, that it is lawfull to kill a tyrant: there is no man can deny, but that the *Heathens* (albeit they had not the right and perfect true knowledge of God) were indued with the knowledge of the Law of nature.

For it is no private Law to a few or certaine people, but common to all: not written in Bookes, but grafted in the hearts of men: not made by man, but ordained by God; which wee have not learned, received, or read: but have taken, sucked and drawne it out of nature; whereunto we are not taught, but made; not instructed, but seasoned; and (as *S. Paul* saith) *Mens conscience bearing witness of it*.

This Law testifieth to every mans conscience, that it is naturall to cut away an incurable member, which (being suffered) would destroy the whole body.

Kings, Princes, and other Governours. albeit they are the heads of a politique body, yet they are not the whole body. And though they be the chiefe members, yet they are but members: neither are the people ordained for them, but they are ordained for the people.

Upon this law of nature. and to conserve the whole body, the *Ethnicks* not knowing, that the soule is immortall, nor that there shall be a resurrection of the body, and soule to judgement: but thought the soule perished with the body, and that there was no difference betweene a brut beast, and mans life; thought it reasonable, and made it lawfull (by their positive law) for every man to kill a tyrant. And to encourage men to enterprise to kill a Tyrant, they esteemed the deed to be worthy so great reward, that they thought him worthy pardon that killed a Tyrant though he had killed his owne naturall father before. And besides this when they saw, that Tyrants used to have their bodies defended with great Garrisons and Guards of forraigne people, or kept themselves in strong Holds and secret Chambers so as none without great hazard and perill might come neere them: they propound great rewards to him that should destroy a Tyrant. Neither thought they rewards or gifts to be a sufficient recompence for so vertuous an act, but they used also to make the Image of him that killed a Tyrant, in brasie: and to set it up in the most solemne place of the City, for a perpetuall memory of the act, the commendation of the doer, and the encouragement of others to doe the like. They dedicated to his praise and honour songs and verses, and would have them taken of men as gods worthy immortality.

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Whereof came the name of Nobility, or how were those that be called heroicall or noble Personages, divided from others, & had in such honour and reverence, seeing all men came of one man . and one woman? Was it for their lusty Hawking and Hunting? for their nimble dicing, and cunning carding? For their fine singing and dancing? for their open bragging and swearing? For their false flattering and flatterring? for their subtile picking and stealing? for their cruell polling and pilling? for their merciless man murthering? for their unnatural destroying of their naturall Countreymen, and trayterous betraying of their Countrey? No, no, there was no such thing. The respect onely of their vertue and love to their Countrey brought them thereto. Because they revenged and delivered the oppressed people out of the hands of their Governours, who abused their authority, and wickedly, cruelly, and tyrangously ruled over them: the people of a gratefull and thankfull minde, gave them that estimation and honour. Of this kinde of Nobility was *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and such like.

Good Kings, Governours, and States in time past took it to be the greatest honour that could be, not to take Cities and Realms to their own use (when they were called to ayde and relieve the oppressed) as Princes do now adays: but to rescue and deliver the people and Countreys from the tyranny of the Governours, and to restore them to their liberty. So did the Romans, the Lacedemonians out of the tyranny of *Onabis*, and all Greece from the bondage that *Philippus* (*Demetrius* son) King of *Macedonia* had them in. So did the Noble men of the people of God also come to their high estimation and honour, as *Gideon*, *Barac*, *Iesse*, and *Samson*, who for the delivery of his Country from the power of the Idolatrous cruell Philistines, pulled upon himself present death. So that this principle that evill and evill doers ought to bee punished, and rotten members to be cut away, was no peculiar law of the Ethnicks, but it proceedeth of nature, and therefore common to all men, as it is plaine by the Chronicles, and experience of all ages, and purposely exemplified for our sure stay and learning, as well in the Book of Judges, as in many other Histories of holy Scriptures, according to the expresse Word and commandment (applyed to this sense and meaning) which saith: *Let evill bee taken out of the midst of the congregation, that the rest which heare of it, may be afraid, and not enterprise to do the like.* And Christ pronounced, that every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be cut down, and cast into the fire: much more the evill tree, that bringeth forth evill fruit. And albeit some do hold, that the manner and mean to punish evill and evill doers, is not all one among Christians (which be indeed that they professe in word) and Ethnicks, which think it lawfull for every private man (without respect of order and time) to punish evill: yet the laws of many Christians regions do permit, that private men may kill malefactours, yea though they



they were Magistrates, in some cases: as when a Governour shall suddenly with his sword run upon an innocent, or go about to shoot him thorow with a Gun, or if he should be found in bed with a mans wife, or go about to defloure and ravish a mans daughter: much more if he go about to betray and make away his Countrey to Forraigners, &c. Nevertheless, for as much as all things in every Christian Commonwealth ought to be done decently, and according to order and charity: I thinke it cannot be maintained by Gods Word, that any private man may kill, except (where execution of just punishment upon Tyrants, Idolaters, and trayterous Governours, is either by the whole State utterly neglected, or the Prince with the Nobility and Counsell conspire the subversion or alteration of their Countrey and people) any private man have some speciall inward commandement, or surely proved motion of God: as *Moses* had to kill the *Egyptian*, *Phinias* the Lecherous, and *Abul* King *Eglon*, with such like: or be otherwise commanded or permitted by common authority upon just occasion and comon necessity to kill.

But now perchance thou wilt demand, why Christian men never made expresse positive law of the kind of punishment of tyrants. Might it not be answered, as *Scdm* did (excusing that he had not made a law for such as killed their Parents (that no man would suspect, that so unnaturall a fact should be thought much lesse committed) or that those that should be the Ministers, yea the Images of God here in earth, charged both by God and man, to see the people defended from injuries, should so much abuse their office and authority, as to convert the sword to the destruction of them, whose Champions and defenders they ought to be? Yea rather of all to say (which is most certain) the simple people deceived by great oaths, and beguiled with faire promises, suffered their Governours to usurpe such authority and power over them, and so long winked and bare with their iniquity, that they were not able to take it from them.

But I beseech thee, what needeth to make one generall law to punish by one name a great many offences, when the law is already made for the punishment of every one of them particularly. If a Prince rob and spoile his subjects, it is theft, and as a theefe ought to be punished. If he kill & murder them contrary or without the laws of his Countrey, it is murder, and as a murder he ought to be punished. If he commit adultery, he is an adulterous, and ought to be punished with the same paines that others be. If he violently ravish mens wives, daughters or maidens, the laws that are made against ravishers, ought to be executed on him. If he go about to betray his Countrey, and to bring the people under a forraign power, he is a Traytour, and as a Traytour he ought to suffer. And those that be Judges in Commonwealths ought (upon complaint) to summon and cite them to answer to their crimes  
and.

and so to proceed, as they do with others. For the Prophet speaking unto those that have the rule in Common-wealths, and that be Judges and other Ministers of Justice, saith: minister justice to the poore and Orphan, pronounce the miserable and poor to be innocent, if he be innocent: take the poor, and deliver the needy out of the hands of the wicked. When ye sit to judge, ye shall not have respect of persons, whether they be rich or poor, great or small: feare no man, for ye execute the judgement of God, saith the Holy Ghost by the mouth of *Moses*. Judge not after the outward appearance of man, but judge rightly. saith Christ. God himselfe gave the example of punishment of evill Governours. For when the children of *Israel* had committed Idolatry, he commanded *Moses* to take the Princes of the People, and to hang them up against the Sun, that his wrath and fury might be turned from *Israel*.

When that doughty Dame Queen *Athalia*, the woman Tyrant (seeing after her son *ahaziah* was dead, that she was childlesse, and past hope to have any children) had killed all the Kings progeny (saving *Joas*, whom *Jebofab* *Jorams* daughter hid, and got with his Nurce out of the way) purposing to reign thereby in security, and to transpose the right of the Crown to strangers, or some other favourer of her cruell proceedings at her pleasure, by the help and subtilty of her trayterous Counsellours, and so went on in all abomination and cruelty without controuling a great space: Did her subjects suffer her in her wickednesse still unpunished, though she was the undoubted Queen. & chief Governour of the Land? No, no, But as soon as *Joas* was a little nurced up, and crept somewhat out of the shell, being a childe of seven years old: the Nobility and Commons feeling by experience what miserie it was to live under the Government of a mischievous woman, not onely guarded *Joas* with men, and all decent regall ceremonies unto the House of God (by the advice and appointment of *Jebojada* the high Priest) and there crowned him solemnly: but also when *Athalia* the Queens Highnesse came in, marvailing what a do there was, and perceiving the matter, rent her cloaths, howling and crying, as the manner of mad women is, especially in the hot seasons of the year: they laid hands on her (for all her crying, *Treason treason*) and when they had carried her out of the House of God, they slew her. And so was the Realm rid of a Tyrant, the right inheritour possessed in his regall state, the people made a new band with God to serve him sincerely according to his Word, and banished all Idolatry, and false Religion (which the Queen had set up and used) and the Common-wealth flourished afresh in her former peace and liberty.

The Prophet *Elias* being no civill Magistrate caused the K. & Queens Highnesse Chaplains, *Ebal* Priests, to be killed before *Achabs* face, because they were Idolaters, and taught and maintained false Religion, though:

though scarce so false and idolatrous, as the Popes Masse and Religion is. And when the Queens Majesty Dame *Iſabel* (that she *Divell*) saw *Iehu* come to her Palace, cryed and reviled him as a traytour. *Iehu* not passing upon her words (though she was his Sovereign Lady & mistress) cryed aloud, who is on my side, who? As though he had said, if there be any among you, that setteth more by Gods true Religion and their naturall Countrey, then by that idolatrous witch the Queen: cast her out at the window. And so two or three of her Privie Chamber threw her out to him, bursting her neck and bones against the Walls. And as soon as *Iehu* had trodden her under his feet, Dogs (as ye heard before) eat up her flesh, and licked up her blood

*Ioram* was known the King and right inheritor of the Crown of *Israel*. And yet when he saw *Iehu* and his company come toward him, he asked him whether he came in peace, *Iehu* said, what peace should there be, as long as the Whoredomes of thy Mother *Iſibel* and her witchcrafts be so great? And so for his Idolatrous tyranny and evil Government *Iehu* slew him. And many more such examples in Scripture we have, which (as the rest of the Bible is) be left for the instruction of all Christian Common-wealths in like case, as we want not also the like experience and examples even in these our daies. Because the remembrance of the horrible destruction of the evil Governours, and alteration of the Common-wealth in *Switzerland*, and certaine other places in high *Almaine*, now in our time is not very pleasant, I will purposely passe it over, albeit the matter is so fresh and green: yet still in all mens sights, that it is spoken of universally through the world. And was not *Petrus Aloysius* (Pope *Paul* the third son, and Duke of *Placenza*) justly slaine, now lately of his own people, because of the evil government, and tyranny he used among them?

And where this justice is not executed, but the Prince and the people play together, and one winketh and beareth with the others faults, there cannot be but a most corrupt, ungodly, and vitious State. which albeit it prosper for a season, yet no doubt at length they may be sure that unto them shall come that came to *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Jerusalem*, and such other, that were utterly destroyed.

And on the other side, where the Nobility and people look diligently and earnestly upon their authorities, and do see the same executed on their Heads and Governours. making them to yeeld account of their doings: then without faile will the Princes and Governours be as diligent to see the people do their ducy. And so shall the Common-wealth be godly and prosper and God shall be glorified in all. But thou wilt say, what if the Nobility, and those that be called to common Counsells, and should be the defendours of the people, will not or dare not execute their authority: what is then to be done? The people be not so destitute of remedy, but God hath provided another mean, that

is, to complaine to some Minister of the Word of God, to whom the keyes be given to excommunicate, not onely common people, for all notorious and open evils: but also Emperors, Kings, Princes, and all other Governours, when they spoile, rob, undoe and kill their poore subjects without justice and good laws. And whatsoever such Ministers of Gods Word bindeth upon those occasions here on earth, it is fast bound in Heaven before the face of God. And no mean to undoe it, by any good worke (much lesse by *Popes* pardons, or *Friers* prayers) without repentance of the party offending, and satisfaction made to the party offended, for the injustice and injury committed; and the mercy of God through the onely merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Example we have of *S. Ambrose*, who being no *Pope*, nor *Popes* Commissary, but Bishop of *Milaine*, excommunicated the Emperour *Theodosius*. Whose doings because thou maist the better know, I will in few words expresse the effect of the History. This *Theodosius*, albeit he were an Emperour, and a Christian man, yet was he of nature colericke, and much disposed to be angry: and as it seemeth, without consideration. It charged that in a sedition at *Thessalonica*, some of his officers were stoned to death, and some very evil intreated. He in a rage sendeth thither a number of mercilesse men of war, who making no difference betweene the authours of the sedition, and the innocent people, make an horrible slaughter of the poore people, man, woman and childe. Afterward the Emperour after his accustomed manner, came towards the Church, and Saint *Ambrose* met him at the Church dore, and would not suffer him to enter: but not onely told him. it was no place for murderers, but also did excommunicate him out of all Christian company, till hee repented and made satisfaction for the horrible murder committed by his Souldiers. The Emperour being brought up and instructed in the Word of God (as I would to God all Christian Princes were at this present) and knowing the office both of the Minister of Gods Word, and of an Emperour. obeyed; and returned weeping and crying to his Palace. Eight moneths after, came the feast of the Nativity of Christ: and *Ruffinus*, Lord great Master, or Steward of his house, came to the Emperour, whom he found very heave, weeping and sobbing. He being familiar with him, desired to know the cause of his sorrow. Ah *Ruffinus* (saith the Emperour) thou art merry, for thou seekest not my paines. I lament and mourne for my calamity. It is free for slaves and beggers to goe to the Church, and there to pray to God, but I may not come there; for Heaven Gates be shut to me. Chrills words goe not out of my heart: *Whatsoever yee bind on earth, shall be bound also in Heaven*. At length being encouraged by *Ruffinus*, that he might be absolved of Saint *Ambrose*, hee sendeth him before, to be a mean for him, and hee himselfe followed. But *Ruffinus* could not intreat the Bishop. After the Emperour cometh, but durst not enter into the Church, but without the dores.



dores fell on his knees to Saint Ambrose, and desired absolution. S. Ambrose said, hee was not meet to be absolved, for his comming was more like a Tyrant, one that would by force be absolved, than a Christian man that shewed himselfe penitent and sorry. No (saith the Emperour) I will not presume against the order of the Church, to enter in by force, but I humbly beseech thee to loose mee out of these bonds of excommunication, and that thou wilt remember the mercy that God useth; and that thou wilt not shut against me the Gate that God opened to all that be penitent. The Bishop asked him, What worthy repentance hee had shewed since the time hee had committed that wicked act, or with what medicine hee had healed those most grievous wounds? It is your part (saith the Emperour) to prepare the medicine, and mine to receive and use it. At length Saint Ambrose required there might be a Law ordained, that the execution of revenge should not be done suddenly, but delayd, so as it should not proceed of anger, and the Emperour made that law. Afterward hee was released of the excommunication; and comming into the Church, he made his prayers, not standing nor kneeling, but lying flat on the ground, pulling his haire, beating his brow, weeping, lamenting, and crying with David, *My soule cleaveth to the pavement, quicken mee O Lord according to thy Word:* and asked mercy and forgiveness. Thus yee see, what any Minister of the Church may doe upon the greatest Prince, if hee will execute his office and the power that Christ giveth him. But thou wilt say, what if the Minister passe not on his dutie, but be content to winke at all the vices of the Governours, be they never so wicked, so he may have a Bishopricke, a Deanary, a Prebendry, or a good fat Benefice, and live unpunished in all abomination? Yea, and what if there be such speciall grudges betweene the Nobility and Commons, that the one sort neither trusteth nor loveth the other, so as the one dare not open the necessity and meane of such correction, and redresse of the evill Governours vices, for feare, lest if the purpose come to light before hand, the matter be dashed, and the motioner leap headlesse for his labour, as it is in these dayes often seen: What shift then? Indeed there be certaine examples and patternes in the holy Bible, which I will not sticke to rehearse, though not expound, but wholly referre them to the further debating and judgement of thine owne conscience, through the Holy Ghost, by whose providence they are intolled for our learning.

Wee reade, that after the Lord God had sundry times delivered his people of *Israel* from wicked tyrants, with whom hee had plagued them for their wickednesse and Idolatry: at length when through abundance of wealth and quietnesse, they fell to a certaine carelesse security of life, not onely forgetting God and his holy sincere Word, but also seeking every one his owne singular selfe-gaine, with the hurt and contempt of his neighbour. God tooke from them their naturall liege Lord, the good Judge *Othniel*, and placed, yee (saith the Scripture) he strengthened a strange

strange Prince among them, an Idolatrous person and a wicked called *Eglon*. This *Eglon* used the matter so with bribing those *Israhites*, that for preferment would be Traytors to their naturall Countrey, and specially in bringing in a great power of *Ammonites* and *Amalekites* (two kinde of people in beggerly pride and filthinesse of life, much like to the common nature of *Italians* and *Spaniards*) as well to guard his person, as to fortifie the strong holds and munitions: that by and by seeing himselfe strong enough with his strangers and inborne Traytors, he brought the Countrey and people under his subjection by fine and force, so that he continued their ordinary Prince, and chief ruler eighteen yeares long. What oppressing of the poore? what robbing of the rich? what taking up of Corne and Vittall for the King and his strangers and no money paid for it? what taxes and payments the people were yoaked withall, what ravishing of mens wives, daughters, and servants, what heading and hanging of the naturall *Israhites* to make the strangers Lords and Gentlemen, what common miseries and continuall calamities there were during that space, no doubt it is unspeakeable.

But what remedy? No man durst make moane to his neighbour for feare of bewraying, none durst once whisper against the King, they must bend or breake, no remedy, patience perforce, all were faine to serve and please King *Eglon*. But at length they sent (as their yeerely accustomed manner was) a present to the King, by a witty messenger, called *Abud*: who having access to the King, said, *hee had to say unto his Majestie secretly from God*. And when the King had commanded all his servants away, so that *Abud* and the King were alone in his Summer Parlour, *Abud* thrust his dagger so hard into the Kings fat paunch, that there lay King *Eglon* dead, and *Abud* fled away.

Now, was this well done or evill? Forsooth the deed is so commended in Scripture, that the holy Ghost reporteth *Abud* to be a *Saviour of Israel*. But note by the way, the Text saith not, that *Abud* was sent of the people to kill the King, nor that hee told them what he intended: for by that meanes, one *Judas* or other would have betrayed him, and so should he have been hang'd drawne or quarter'd for his enterprise, and all his conspirators have lost both life, lands and goods, for their conspiracie; onely the Scripture saith, that *Abud* (being a private person) was stirred up onely by the Spirit of God.

Likewise when *Sisara*, Lievtenant Generall of King *Jabins* warres, fleeing from *Barac*, sought succour to hide his head, having long annoyed and hurt *Israel* with oppression and warres a woman named *Lael*, called him into her house, and hid him under a covering. Hee thought himselfe sure, and for wearinesse dropped fast asleepe.

*Lael* taketh a great long spiking naile, and driveth it with a Hammer, so hard into his braines, that *Sisara* troubled *Israel* no more, nor

never told who hurt him. *Mattathias* being by the Kings Commissioners required and commanded to conformance himselfe to the Kings proceedings (which was to commit Idolatry) as all his Countrey-men the *Jewes* had done (and as the like case standeth now in *England*) not onely refused to obey King *Antiochus* commandement, or to follow his proceedings in that behalfe, but also when hee saw a *Jew* commit Idolatry before his face. hee ranne upon the *Jew* in a great zeale, and slew him, and fell also upon the ordinary Commissioners sent from *Antiochus* the ordinary King of the Realme, and slew them out of hand. These examples need no further exposition, the Scripture is plaine enough. But if neither the whole State nor the Minister of Gods Word would doe their duty, nor any other lawfull shift before mentioned can be had, nor dare be attempted: yet are not the poore people destitute altogether of remedy: but God hath left unto them two weapons, able to conquer and destroy the greatest Tyrant that ever was, that is, *Repentance* and *Prayer*. *Repentance* for their owne sinnes. which provoke the anger and displeasure of God and make him to suffer Tyrants, Warres, Famine, Pestilence and all Plagues to raigne among the people. And *Prayer* that hee will withdraw his wrath, and shew his mercifull countenance. Hereof wee have not onely commandement, but also manifest examples in the Scriptures. For when the Arke of God was taken away from the people of *Israel* by the *Philistines* in battell, and the glory of *Israel* brought under foot (the people being miserably for their sinnes pressed and plagued by the *Philistines* twenty yeeres long) so that the people despairing of their honour and liberty. and seeing no Marshall weapon, nor helpe of man able to redresse their state, cryed and continued in lamenting their thraldome and grievous condition: at length by the advice and commandement of the good Prophet *Samuel*. the people fell to these two meanes: *Repentance* and *Prayer*, with *Fasting*: and the Lord God not onely delivered them out of the oppression of the *Philistines* unto their former liberty, but also gave them such victories, that the *Philistines* many yeeres after, durst not once move warre against them. Thus was also the cruell Tyrant *Herod* vanquished. The Apostles and people in the Primitive Church, lamenting their sinnes and calling to God for mercy, the Angel of God struck *Herod* sitting in his Throne in his princely apparell, making an oration to the people, and they comending it to be the voice of God, and not of man, and so hee was eaten up of lice or wormes. Likewise, when *Iulian* the Emperour, an *Apostate* had long persecuted the Church, at length, when the people fell to *Repentance* and *Prayer*, hee going into *Persia*, was slaine, and none of the family of *Constantine* (whereof hee came) after that was Emperour. And in like manner not long since, when that Tyrant Duke *George* of *Saxony* persecuted all such as professed the Word of God revived and pulled out of Purgatorie, by the worthy instrument of God,

D. *Luther*.

D. Luther and at length threatned, that he would burne and destroy the Vniuersity of *Wittenberg*, which when *Luther* heard, he went into the Pulpit, and exhorted every man to put on his Armour: that is, Repentance and Prayer. And soon after, God rid the world of that tyrant, and so not onely delivered his Church, but also augmented it with another Vniuersitie, called *Lipsia*, and all the whole Countrey of this cruell Duke was converted to Christs Gospell.

These be the wonderfull works of Almighty God, whose power is as great and as ready at a pinch, as ever it was; and his mercy as willing to be shewed, if his poore afflicted people would put on their Armour; that is, be sorry for their sins, and desire him to withdraw his scourges, and to hold his mercifull hand over them.

## CHAP. VII.

*What confidence is to be given to Princes and Potentates.*

WHEN the King of *Macedonia*, *Alexander* the great, heard the Philosopher *Anaxigoras* say, there were many worlds, the worme of ambition so tickled and troubled his heart, that the water gushed out of his eyes. And when he was asked, *what made him to weep? have I not just occasion to weep* (saith he) *that bearing of so many worlds; I am not yet Lord of one?* This worme without faile was the Devill, who not contented that Kings (the Ministers of God) should serve God in their vocation (to haue them the sooner fall from God, and serve him) putteth them in hope they shall be Lords of all the world, if they will take him for their chiefe Lord and Sovereign. But because he seeth the inconstancy of Kings, that they no longer abide by their oaths and promises, that they may thereby haue profit gain, and their desire, he doth not forthwith put them in possession, but to try their fidelity, he sheweth them by what means they shall come to it, putting to their good will, help, and industry. He doubteth not, but if he may bring them once into the puddle over the shoes, they will thorow thick and thin, whatsoever cometh of it, to come to that they looked for. These waies of the Devill proceed out of his school of practises, and they be in a generality, two: that is, *open force* and *secret subtilty*: the one whereof, that is, force and manhood, having oft tryed, and most times it hath not succeeded after their minde, they have not so much put in use, but have rather trusted on the other, that is, *subtilty* and *craze*, whereby they worke a great deal more mischief, then by open force and strength of men, and with lesse perill of themselves. For when they go about it by force, the Divell then Master is not able to warrant them the successe. For all victory and good successe cometh of God, who when he seeth the people (against whom the Devill and his Kings work) fall to repentance for their sins, he overthroweth his and their enemies



enemies with a fillip. as he did proud *Holifernes* and *Senacherib*: the one being slaine by the good and faithfull woman to God, and her Countrey, *Judith*: all his power being an hundred and twenty thousand footmen, and twelve thousand Archers on Horse-back destroyed by a few. And the others Army being an hundred fourescore, and five thousand persons, was destroyed by the Angell of God, without the work of man, and he forced to flee: and at his returne home was killed of his own two sons.

But the other means, that is, *subtily* and *craft* (which the World calleth *policy*) they more practice: and therein daily do so proceed, that within short time many of them have been Doctours: And they have a principle of this art, which is, that to come by a Kingdom, to come by that they desire, they may break all mens laws, all oaths, all promises, yea the laws of God and honesty. This art of *subtily* of Princes (otherwise called *policy*) consisteth chiefly in this, for a man to appear outwardly that he is not inwardly: to say one thing with the mouth, and thinke another in the heart: to smile upon him, whose throat he would gladly see cut: and so pretend to the eye all amity, benevolence, and love, where they beare greatest hatred, envie, and malice, till convenient time may be had with least danger, to execute their conceived mischief. And because they be not able alone to do their feats, looke where they can understand of any of their nature, then they retaine, to them give they great chains of Gold, feed them with great pensions and fees-promised. And yet they be not ignorant, that such vile men (as will for money betray their owne Countrey, and serve their wicked purposes) are like unto common Souldiers, and Launce Knights, who serve him that giveth a penny more: and will, when they may have greater bribes of another, soon buy and sell their present Master. For how is it possible for any man to think, that he whom he hath corrupted with rewards to serve his purpose, will or can be faithfull to him that is a stranger, that so well knoweth what they be, and findeth them false to their native Countrey: in the defence whereof all honest men be bound, and be content to bestow their life, their bloud, their goods, and whatsoever they have? Do not Princes use traytours, as men use Colquints, Turbith Elleborum, and such like poisons? that is, to serve their purpose, when they have neede of them, and after cannot abide their sight, no, nor their favour, but cast them out on the dunghill?

Yes doubtlesse, it is most certaine. When one had betrayed into *Cesars* hands certaine Towns: What said *Cesar*? I love treason, (saith he) but traytours I do abhor. So said also King *Antigenus*, I love traytours (saith he) whilst they betray, but when they have betrayed, and served my purpose, I utterly hate and abhor them.

*Antigenus*

*Aurelianus* the Emperour having long beleeged the City of *Tana* in *Asia*, and being without hope to get it by force, practised with one *Heracles* (a great rich man, and Citizen of the City, then being in the City) to betray the City to him.

This *Heracles* fearing lest if the City should be won by force, he should also lose his riches, and hoping of great gain by this bargain, consented to the Emperour, and did that he required. The Emperour as soon as he came into the City, caused this traitour *Heracles* to be killed (albeit he had done alone that for the Emperour, that all the Emperours power was not able to obtain for him) because he could not abide his sight, that had betrayed his Countrey, the deed was so horrible, and against nature. Yet because he would not seem to have done it for desire of his riches, he gave it to his children, whom he preserved. And writing to his friend the matter as it was done, sheweth that he could not love nor abide Traitors, nor that he could keep promise with such as should not be faithfull and loving to their Countrey. It is written of one called *Cecanus* King in *Bayerland* in *Germany*, that he invaded a Countrey sometime called *Carnia*, now called *Friisy* in *Italy*, and other places belonging to the Venecians, with a great power: and at the first meeting of him and the enemies, he overcame and killed one *Gisulfus* a Lombard, Duke of that Countrey. After that he beleeged a City, wherein *Romilda* the Dukes wife was.

She desiring to see this King, what manner of man he was, needed not to have his image pourtraid unto her, but looked over the Walls advisedly upon him. When she saw he was a goodly and faire person, she was by and by in love with him. She wisheth, that she might see him enter into her own hold. Meat nor drinke could do her no good, she could not sleep, she sobbeth, she howleth, she swooneth, she teareth her haire, and is more then halfe mad, for lack of her lust.

To be short, contrary to all honesty, and womanly shamefastnesse, she woleth him to be her husband: and having no regard of the love that every honest creature ought to beare to his Countrey, she promiseth to give him, City, Countrey, jewels, goods, and whatsoever she could poll of her subjects, and make for him, so that he would marry her. The King lacking no wit (or at least wanting no witty counsell) and knowing what perill might chance unto him, if he should seek to win it by force, taketh the offer.

And according to his promise he married her, and one nightooke paines . . . shake up her lecherous rotten ribs. In the next morning he leaveth his Chamber, and her Gates open free to every man: and (as some, God give them grace to repent in time, did to the wicked woman of *Eversham* in *Kent*, that not long since killed her husband) he gave every man liberty that would, to offer his devotion into her corporelle.

So at length, when he thought her tired, and her unsatiable lust somewhat stanch'd (for by like it would never have been fully glutted) he caused her to be thrust on a stake naked, that all men might see those ugly parts, which to satisfy, she was content to betray her naturall Countrey: and that it should be an example to all others, to take heed to do the like, he causeth the whole City to be clean overthrowen.

This may ye see, that Kings spare neither male nor female, great nor small, that for any respect betray their owne naturall Countrey: because they know, those can never be faithfull to strangers that be false to their Parent, their Countrey. And would to God they were as earnestly set to abstaine from doing evill, as in these examples they have been ready to do justice.

But what shall we need to bring forth examples of practisers, of strange and far Countries, when every man may finde plenty in his own? To what purpose shall it be, to alleadge those of a great many years past, when there be plenty every day fresh to be found? Onely to let men see by comparison of the old with the new, and the new with the old, the present with the past, and the past with the present, that the Divell hath alwayes been, is, and shall be the Devill: and such fetches as he hath used, such he doth and will use. And that his disciples, as they never forget the principles of their science, so have they at length their masters reward, worthy their deserts.

When *Wriothsley*, *Arundell* and *Southwell*, conspired with the ambitious and subile *Alcibiades* of England, the Earle of *Warwick* (afterward Duke of *Northumberland*) to pull the good Duke of *Somerset*, K. *Edwards* Uncle and Protector out of his authority, and by forging a great many of false letters and lies to make the Protector hated, brought to passe *Warwicks* purpose: who then for a while, but they three? *Wriothsley* that before was banished the Court, is lodged with his wife and son next to the King. Every man repaireth to *Wriothsley*, honoureth *Wriothsley*, saith unto *Wriothsley* (as the *Assirians* did to *Hammur*) and all things be done by his advice: and who but *Wriothsley*? *Arundell* is promised to be next to the King, Groom of his Stool, or Controulour of his Horse at the least. *Southwell* (for his whisking and double diligence) must be a great Counsellor in any wise. But what was the end? The Earl as crafty as the best (seeing that his desire should not take place, if these men might have that they hoped for) so handleth the matter, that *Wriothsley* is faine in the night to get him out of the Court to his own house: whereupon narrow examination, fearing, lest he should come to some open shamefull end, he either poisoned himselfe, or pined away for thought.

*Southwell* is committed to the Fleet, where being examined he confessed enough to be hanged for, and had gone very neere it had not his examiners upon hope of his amendment, breaking out of his eye,

but not out of his heart. obtained the Earles favour. And at the Earles suite, *Armed* hath his head with the Axe, divided from his shoulders.

And now at length was P. the Master of practises handled, that will have one part in every Pagent, if hee may by praying or paying. put in his foot: But before I proceed to speake of this Master of practises, it shall not be amisse that I tell you somewhat of his Master the Doctor of practises. For albeit this Doctor be now (but too late) thoroughly knowne, yet it shall be requisite, that our posteritie know what hee was, and by his discription see, how nature had shaped the outward parts, to declare what was within. This Doctor had a swart colour. or hanging looke frowning browes, eyes an inch within the head a nose hooked like a Bussard, wide nostrils like a Horse. ever snuffing into the wind. a sparrow mouth. great paws like the divell. tallons on his feet like a Gripe, two inches longer then the naturall toes, and so tied to with sinewes. that he could not abide to be touched, nor scarce suffer them to touch the stones.

And nature having thus shaped the forme of an outward monster, it gave him a vengeable wit, which at *Cambridge*, by labour and diligence he had made a great deale worse, and brought up many in that faculty: *Wrothsfley*, *Germaine*, *Gardiner*, (whom he caused speedily to be hanged, lest hee should have too much disclosed his Masters art) and among many other, this Master or Proctor of practises, whom wee are now entred to speake of.

This Doctor to give some signification of his nature and cunning to come aloft, that hee might doe the more mischief, betrayeth his Master, *Cardinall Wolsey*. and more then any other, laboureth the divorce between King *Henry* & the Dowager. And by and by he earnestly sought to have rid in the Kings boots: worse could not content him. But when hee saw that would not be, and considered it better to have store then one only paire (for so perchance hee might have found them sometimes not all cleane when hee should have used them, and also it should be a let to bring to passe that he purposed) he changeth his purpose: and because none should remember his practises before, nor suspect the rest to come. he shaveth his crowne as broad as a sawcer. and decketh himselfe with a white smocke, like a Porter of the *Stilyard*. But what needeth such circumlocution. when every body knoweth this Doctor of practises was called, *D. Steph. Gardiner*? After this, his luck was to be committed to the Tower, when *Tiburne* had been a place more worthy his deserts. His scholler. the Master or Proctor of practises, remembering how much he had prospered by the means of the Doctor, and bending his disposition to make thankfull requitall of part of his received benefits, putteth the Doctor in memory of an old lesson hee had taught him. that is, to give backe two foot with the Ram, that he might win the third. But whether this *D. Gardiner* was offended with his scholler



scholler the protector, for his over-ranck practising, or how it hapened, I cannot tell, I am sure that in this one, hee answered honestly: let my scholler goe on as he hath begun (saith hee) for *Gardiner* cannot play the Knave so. Words of *Gardiner*: but he was not unskill'd (I say) in the art of practises. No indeed he was excellent in that feat, as it well appeared; For when he had wrought and made sure the great marriage, to avoid the hatred of the people, hee made his scholler to father it, and to have the outward thanks; and no marvell of his cunning, for hee was his Master, and had studied longer the art then the Protector, and had a better wit, and spent ycerely the halfe of his Bishopricke in bribing, or else hee had lost his head long before: for his treasons were not altogether unknowne, albeit they were covered and hid.

But what doth this Master or Protector of practises? Doth he not dissemble with the Earle of *Warwicke*, serveth his turne in all that his wits would serve? But what at length becommeth of our practising P.? He is committed to ward, his Garter with shame pulled from his legge, his Robe from his backe, his Coat Armour pulled downe, spurned out of *Windsor Church*, trod under foot, and hee himselfe at length with great favour obtaineth, that hee might redeeme the rest of his corporall paines with open confession at the Barre in the Starre-chamber on his knees, of his bribery, extortion, dissimulation, ambition, robbing of the King, and such like vertues, whereby he became Noble.

If wee minded in this place to display the packing and practising of the Nobilitie and Counsell of *England*, in the sicknesse, and at the death of King *Edward* the fourth. for the pretended placing of the Lady *Jane* in the regall seat, and their sudden slipping the collar, and deceiving of one another: it were matter enough to teach men, how little confidence and trust ought to be given, either to the smooth countenances, faire words, confident promises, bloody oathes, or swearing upon the holy Euangelists, either yet in the letters and hand-writings of the Princes and Potentates of the world. They that were sworn chiefe of counsell with the Lady *Jane*, and caused the Queen to be proclaimed a bastard through all *England* and *Ireland*: and they that were the forest forcers of men (yea, under the threatened paines of Treason) to sweare and subscribe unto their doings, bewrayed the matter themselves under hand by their wives, and other secret shifts, and afterward became Counsellours (I will not say procurers) of the innocent Lady *Janes* death: and at this present are in the highest authority in the *Queenes House*, and the chiefest officers and doers in the *Common-wealth*.

And some of them that wrote most earnestly to a certain ancient Lord of the Realme (among many other, in the favour of the Lady *Jane*, hee bastarding and railing upon the Queene, were not ashamed within few dayes after (when the same Lord was locked up in the Tower, for his constant, although constrained obedience to the common order of the

the Counsell) to be his most strange and rough examiners on the contrary part, as though they themselves had never halted in the matter.

But I know these practisers answer: that if they had not used that vice, they should not only have stood in hazard themselves, but led of their privie purpose. Well. In the meane time it is enough that a man may not trust nor believe them. neither by their wordes, oathes, or hand-writings, further then hee seeth and heareth them. And scarcely so farre.

And, I pray you, hath not the Realme good cause to thanke and trust the *Potentates*, *Prelates* and *Parliament* men, for bandshing the sacred Testament and Gospell of God. with the sincere administration of his holy Sacraments. and for bringing the diveliish power of the *Romish Antichrist* into England againe. with his miserable *Massé*. and all *Papish* slavery? By the which they have not onely broken their oath and loyalty to God, and to the Imperiall Crowne of England, pulling eternall condemnation upon themselves and provoking the heavie hand of Gods wrath and plague upon their seed and upon the whole Realme, in compelling the people to sinne, by falling from the true service of the living God, into most wicked superstition and Idolatry (alas therefore) but also have beene. and are guilty of the innocent blood of sundry excellent and most godly learned men, and of many ether true Christian naturall *English-men* and women.

These practices need no *Painter*, the memory and sight thereof is not onely evident in mens eyes (to their hearts sorrow) but also raw in their stomacks, and not easie to be digested. God be mercifull unto miserable England.

But lo. whilst I am thus occupied; a new policie, a new, a new, a new wor yee that? *Paget* and *Mason*, albeit they have not one father and mother. yet be they sworne brethren: and albeit they be of sundry Universities, yet be they both of one study. Whatsoever *Mason* worketh, *Paget* uttereth; that the one inventeth, the other practiseth. By *Masons* working and *Pagets* devising, Sir *Peter Carow* went into *Flanders*. *Mason* pledging for his safeguard King *Philips* fidelity. and his owne honesty. Afterward he and Sir *John Cheke* being inticed both to come to *Brussels* to see the *Queenes* Embassadours, and havin<sup>r</sup> brought *Paget* on his way toward England, be in their returne taken by the *Provost Marshall*, spovled of their Horses and clapped into a Cart. their legges armes and bodies tyed with halters to the body of the Cart, and so carried to the Sea side, and from thence into the Tower of London. And before *Paget* came. Sir *Peters* man comming out of England, meeteth him, and asketh for his Master. *Paget* smileth, and saith nothing, but his Master was in health.

But how commeth this to passe? Marke well: The *Queene* thought *Paget* a meet man for her in all things, seeing that without cause shee suspected

suspected his Religion : and at his coming over, she (like a woman) uttereth to him what shee thought of him. and promiseth, if she may perceive his heart and mouth to agree together, shee would love him above all. He assureth her, that whatsoever she should will him, she should have done yea, he would doe more then she should require him.

Coming over, he bruted (that he liked not the State in England : for he is one of them that hangerh now on prophecies (but on a wrong thing) and therefore would be out of the way in the heat of the mad Moneth of May and pretendeth to come to the baines to London. But indeed his intent was to see, if he could practice with some of the Duke of Chivers men, to betray the poore Dutchesse of Suffolk, and some of the English Congregation at Wittenberg, that hee (to performe his promise) might present them to the Queene. But when he saw his purpose failed (God having better provided for his Dutchesse, to keepe her from Traytours hands) he cometh not to the baines, he needed them not at that time. But then hee caused Carow and Cheke (whom Mason had prepared ready to serve his turne) to be taken and carried away as before yee have heard. And at his returne, had great thanks, and the Queenes favour increased toward him. But his just reward yet is not come, let him not looke to speed any better then *Heraclio*, if he continue *Judas* still. I would wish he would in time become a *Peter*, I trust hee is not so farre past, but he may be prayed for. He is my good Lord, and *Mason* once my great friend, and neere neighbour. I wish them both well. Thus yee see the finall successe and reward of Traytors ; wherefore it is to be wondered, that such practisers which worke so much mischief for others, cannot take heed of the evil that is towards themselves. But Gods Word must be verified of the wicked ; Behold, the wicked travelleth with mischief (saith the worthy Prophet and King, David, a man of great experience) He hath conceived uncharitablenesse, and brought forth a lie ; hee hath graven and digged up a pit, but he shall fall himselfe into the pit that hee hath made : For the mischief that he mindeth to others, shall come on his owne head, and his wickednesse shall fall on his owne pate.

But for as much as all these fetches and practices be onely made and laid to deceive those that be honest, faithfull true, and naturall to their Countrey : it is requisite to treat how they may be avoyded. Deceit would not be knocked out with deceit, if it might so be, but honest men should alwaies, and at all times, deale plainly and honestly ; And therefore, the honestest mean before things be done, is to be wise and circumspect ; and to foresee the end, what mischief may follow, before they say suddenly, rashly and unadvisedly consent to any thing. To use such honest wisdom and fore sight is permitted both by Gods Word and nature. Yea, Gods Word and nature command honest men to use it : For those things that can but once be done, and whereon so great weight hangerh, ought to be well done. Therefore men ought

ought not to give credit to faire words, large promises, and great oathes (for these are the instruments to deceive the honest and well-meaning) but the fairer the words be, the larger the promises, and the greater the oathes, the more to suspect. For godly and honest things may be well enough done without painted and smooth words, faire promises and oathes. There ought to be such equalitie in doing of things, that such deceits need not. Onely subtilly and craft devised long writings, great promises, and many solemne ceremonies. When the great marriage was treated in the Privie Councell, and so great promises made, the old Duke of *Norfolk* said, they were golden words, but how shall they be performed, said hee? Afterward when it was propounded to the Lords in *Parliament* to be ratified, the Lord *Windsor* in like manner asked who should be surety for the performance thereof, and who should sue the forfeit? Neither of them lacked wisdom and foresight, to see that under painted paper much mischief was hid. Long experience had taught it the Duke, being long trained in *Princes* practises; and nature suffered not the other Lord to be utterly void of it. But both of them lacked that courage, magnanimitie and fortitude, that ought to be in Noblemen. But it might be, that they had it, but durst not utter it, partly, for that the one was in hope to recover that hee had a time lacked; and the other for feare to lose that hee had; but chiefly (as it may be gathered) because they saw their *Peeres* mouthes stopped. But let them be sure, all will not serve, if practisers parts may take place. For such things will be altogether overthrowne, or not meddled with; for at length the least let will be called to memory, they may be sure. And because publique matters of a Realme, that concerne all and every mans life, wife, children lands, goods and whatsoever cannot be treated upon by all men, but all must put their trust in a few; men ought to be wise and circumspect whom they trust. For there be too many that passe not what become of their neighbours, so they may prosper themselves; what become of the whole Realme, so their owne families may stand still. He that maketh sute to be a Deputy for a multitude, seemeth to sue for his owne vain-glory or profit. Those that send letters, not to chuse this man but to chuse such a man; have in their heads more then the universall wealth of all. Hee that bringeth letters to be preferred, meaneth not the benefit of them that he would serve. Hee that giveth money, and maketh great feasts, thinketh some other fetch, then the service of his neighbours. Hee that refuseth or releaseth his ordinary wages, looketh for some greater extraordinary reward. He that is alwayes, or oft at *Princes* platters, or in practisers palaces, cannot long continue the peoples true proctour. And therefore in *France* (as they write) none of the Senate and officers, upon paine of his head dare talke privately with another, nor take rewards or fees of any forraigne



Prince. For they are so jealous of the whole State, because they have beene so often deceived by practisers in their owne companies. Which lesson all wise men and honest men should learne, and by all means suspect Princes promises, and withstand practisers doings, and not believe one word that they say, though they be never so gentle: not ver their deeds, whatloever shine or shew of love they declare. Such a Realme as *England* is, is well governed, howloever it is gotten. But thou that art a true *Englishman*, seeing the catches and fallshood of these named, and such other as they be, looke in time to thy selfe, and to the State of thy naturall Countrey, and trust not unto them, though they use never so much flatering, though they speake never so faire, and though they give thee their hand-writing. Be thou *Promethew*, and not *Epimethew*. Remember that our Countrey-man *Adam Asieru* hath a great while beene the *Lord forein*s foole. Be taught therefore in time before thou be taken. Say not too late: Had-I-wut. Thou hast sufficient warning, God give thee grace to consider it, and use it.