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THE  
SUMME  
AND  
SUBSTANCE  
OF THE  
CONFERENCE

Which it pleased his Excellent Majesty to have with the  
Lords Bishops, and others of his Clergie (at which the  
most of the Lords of the Council were present) in his  
Majesties Privie-Chamber, at *Hampton Court Jan. 14.*  
1603.

17  
1735

CONTRACTED BY  
WILLIAM BARLOW, *bp. of Lincoln*  
DOCTOR OF DIVINITY, AND DEAN OF CHESTER.

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*Whereunto are added some Copies (scattered abroad)  
unsavory, and untrue.*

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1804

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1845

## ADVERTISEMENT.

**B**ISHOP BARLOW's account of the Hampton-Court Conference, as a single tract, is now become scarce, and is not frequently to be found entire in books of history, or in collections of tracts. It was published about a century ago, in a work called the PHŒNIX; considered then as a tract no where to be found, but in the closets of the curious. The frequent references to it, lately made by certain writers, have induced the Editors of the "Churchman's Remembrancer" to bring forward this interesting Account, in full confidence that it will prove an acceptable present to the public, and be serviceable to the cause of sober religion. With respect to the authority of the piece as an authentic report of the Conference, there has been, as must be expected, some little debate; the adherents to the worsted party affecting to call in question the veracity of the good Bishop, whilst the victorious receive it as a true and faithful narrative.

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rative. The objections to this account of Bishop Barlow are to be seen in the writings of James Peirce, and Daniel Neale. Peirce, in his *Vindication of the Dissenters*, a work which we believe has long enjoyed the rank of a text book among that party, confidently speaks of this Account as a false one, and gives a more true and exact one from Mr. Calderwood. He argues that Bishop Barlow's account cannot be a true one, because it represents Dr. Raynolds, who was celebrated for one of the most famous divines of his age, as talking at the Conference in a stupid, silly, and childish way; and asserts, that the Bishop repented upon his death-bed of the wrong he had done Dr. Raynolds and his brethren. Neal says, That this Conference was published at large only by Dr. Barlow, who being a party, says Fuller, set a sharp edge on his own, and a blunt one on his adversaries weapons. He quotes Peirce to shew, that Drs. Sparks and Raynolds complained, that they were wronged in that relation; that Dr. Jackson declared that Barlow repented of it upon his death-bed; and that Calderwood, by means of Patrick Galloway, has set things in a different light. He further says from Peirce, (which Peirce gives from an old Pamphlet,) " It is  
 " very certain that Bishop Barlow has cut off  
 " and concealed all the speeches that his  
 " Majesty

“ Majesty made against the corruptions of the  
 “ Church, and the practices of the Prelates,  
 “ &c. That the Puritans objected to the  
 “ account of the Conference by Dean Barlow,  
 “ as published without the knowledge, advice  
 “ or consent of the other side.” (Hist. of the  
 Pur. Vol. 1.) So much for the objections  
 against the Account of this Conference, which  
 originate for the most part with Peirce. On  
 the other side of the question, we offer the fol-  
 lowing observations and authorities.

Peirce boldly calls Bishop Barlow's, a false ac-  
 count; but, for ought to be seen in his Vindica-  
 tion, there is nothing brought to prove it so.  
 That “ Calderwood's should appear at first sight  
 “ vastly different from Bishop Barlow's rela-  
 “ tion,” appears neither strange nor at all incre-  
 dible; and surely he would not have us consider  
 the mere circumstance of the difference of the  
 two relations, as any proof that Barlow's is  
 false. Calderwood was a Presbyterian; he sends  
 his brief account, *adopted* from a letter of Pa-  
 trick Galloway, a Presbyterian, to the Presby-  
 tery at Edinburgh. But we must not forget,  
 that Calderwood's History is a posthumous  
 work, extracted from materials written by him,  
 during his retirement in Holland; “ whither he  
 “ had been driven by James and his Privy-  
 A 4 council,

“ council, for his singular obstinacy and info-  
 “ lence;” says Skinner. (Eccl. Hist. of Scot-  
 land, V. 2. p. 265.) Barlow’s Account is not  
 the report of himself alone, nor of the Confer-  
 ence *at large*, as Neale erroneously speaks.  
 He desires the reader to take it “ but as an  
 “ *extract*, wherein is the substance of the  
 “ whole. Intercourse of speeches, says he,  
 “ there occasioned, would cause prolixity,  
 “ without profit. What every man said, point  
 “ device, I neither could nor cared to observe.  
 “ The vigor of every *objection*, with the sum  
 “ of each answer, I guess, I miss not. For the  
 “ first day, I had no help beyond mine own ;  
 “ yet some of good place and understanding  
 “ have seen it, and not controled it, except for  
 “ the brevity : For the two last, out of divers  
 “ copies, I have selected what you see,” viz.  
 “ those of the Bishop of London, Deans of  
 “ Christ-Church, Winchester and Windsor,  
 “ the Archdeacon of Nottingham, and mine  
 “ own.” (See, To the Reader.) Peirce’s quo-  
 tation from an old pamphlet, produced to  
 “ throw light” upon the question, has not the  
 effect upon us, to make us see our way the bet-  
 ter. It is without a name : we cannot there-  
 fore appreciate its authority. The design of it is  
 precisely that which might be expected from the  
 disappointed party. It complains that “ Bar-  
 “ low’s

“ low’s account was published only by the Pre-  
 “ lates, who are partial, without the know-  
 “ ledge, advice or consent, (how extraordi-  
 “ nary!) of the other side, and so (most  
 “ clearly!) deserving of no credit; that the  
 “ ministers were unfairly used, &c. And  
 “ concludes with affirming, that *all* and *every*  
 “ *one* of the arguments and assertions pro-  
 “ pounded in the Conference against them,  
 “ by any Prelate, are most vain and frivolous;  
 “ and that they would, if permitted, deliver in  
 “ one week’s space, a full answer to any of  
 “ them.”

This is a bold assertion, and a very formi-  
 dable challenge. But if the statement and com-  
 plaint of the Puritans had been just, why did  
 they not give the public, as they were in duty  
 bound, *their* sum and substance of the Confer-  
 ence? If the Bishop’s was false, why did they  
 not set forth a true and correct account? Yet  
 so it has happened, that no account of any note  
 has come down to us, but that of Bishop Bar-  
 low: and this, notwithstanding there were feve-  
 ral able men at the Conference, of the Puritan  
 party, who filled the country with grievous com-  
 plaints of their hard treatment, and of the false-  
 hood and partiality of the Bishops’ account.

Peirce argues that Barlow's account cannot be true, because he represents Dr. Raynolds, "who  
 " was one of the most celebrated divines of his  
 " age," as talking at the Conference in a stupid, silly, and childish manner. We are inclined to leave Dr. Raynolds's character for learning untouched: But it must be observed, that this very circumstance, of his stupid and childish talking at the Conference, furnishes an unanswerable proof of Dr. Barlow's veracity, as an historian. For, says Fuller, (an author who, Strype was obliged to confess, says Peirce, was a little inclined to the Puritans, and therefore no objectionable authority with the Vindicator of the Dissenters,) " It is generally said, that  
 " Dr. Raynolds fell much beneath himself:  
 " besides, no wonder, said the Nonconformists, that Dr. Raynolds a little lost himself,  
 " whose eyes were partly dazzled with the light  
 " of the King's majesty, partly daunted with  
 " the heat of his displeasure." (p. 21.)

In answer to Peirce's assertion, that " Bishop  
 " Barlow repented upon his death-bed, of the  
 " wrong he had done Dr. Raynolds and his  
 " brethren, which, he says, was attested by Dr.  
 " Henry Jackson," take the following passage from Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians. (373.)  
 He adopts the Bishops' account without reserve,

serve, and says ; “ The sum and substance of  
 “ this Conference collected by the hand of Dr.  
 “ Barlow, then Dean of Chester, can hardly be  
 “ abbreviated to a lesser compass without great  
 “ injury to the King and conferees.” And  
 afterwards, “ The truth and honesty of whose  
 “ collections having been universally approved  
 “ above 50 years, hath been impugned of late  
 “ by some sorry scribblers of the Puritan faction ;  
 “ and a report raised of some retractation which  
 “ he is fabled to have made at the time of his  
 “ death, of the great wrong which he had  
 “ done to Dr. Reynolds and the rest of the mil-  
 “ lenaries ; the silliness of which fiction hath  
 “ been elsewhere canvassed, and therefore not  
 “ to be repeated in this time and place. But  
 “ for the clearing of that reverend person from  
 “ so foul a calumny, we shall not make use of  
 “ any other arguments than the words of K.  
 “ James, who tells us, in his proclamation of  
 “ the fifth of March, That he did not con-  
 “ ceal that the success of that Conference was  
 “ such as happeneth to many other things,  
 “ which moving great expectations before they  
 “ be entered into, in their issue produce small  
 “ effects. That he found mighty and vehement  
 “ informations, supported with so weak and  
 “ slender proofs, as it appeared unto him and  
 “ his council, that there was no cause why any  
 “ change

“ change should be in that which was most im-  
 “ pugged; viz. the book of Common Prayer,  
 “ &c.” It is probable that Heylin, when  
 he mentions, “ that the filliness of the fiction  
 “ has been elsewhere handled,” alludes to his  
 Postscript at the end of the Quinquarticular  
 Hist. in which he shews the very weak ground  
 upon which the story of Dr. Barlow’s repent-  
 ing stands. “ First, says he, the man is dead  
 “ from whom we are to take our greatest light,  
 “ in so dark a business. Secondly, the credit of  
 “ the figment resteth on two common vouchers,  
 “ that is to say, J. M. and H. I. as easy to be  
 “ found, and as honest folk, as Nicholas Nemo  
 “ in Utopia, or Madam Charity of the Oude-  
 “ meon Street in Mantinea. Thirdly, it must  
 “ needs seem strange to a sober reader, that  
 “ this great truth should lie concealed, like a  
 “ spark raked up in ashes, 55 years, and then  
 “ blaze out of a sudden, when it was not  
 “ thought of. And, fourthly, I had once the  
 “ happiness to be exceeding well acquainted  
 “ with Master Thomas Sparks, and Master  
 “ William Sparks, the only sons of Dr. Sparks,  
 “ before remembered; and having had many  
 “ opportunities of discoursing with them about  
 “ that Conference, and their father’s acting in  
 “ the same, I never heard the least word from  
 “ either of them, of any wrong done, or sup-  
 “ posed



“ posed to be done, by Dr. Barlow, in drawing  
 “ up the substance and abridgement of it: so  
 “ that I doubt not, but that it will appear on  
 “ the full debate, that Dr. Barlow is more  
 “ wronged in his fame by these libellers pam-  
 “ phlets, than ever Dr. Raynolds had been in-  
 “ jured by that learned Prelate.”

Peirce is not satisfied with running down the  
 authority of Barlow, in the unwarrantable man-  
 ner we have shewn; impatient with his ill suc-  
 cess, perhaps, he contradicts a fact, and opposes  
 to it his probable conjecture. “ Dr. Ray-  
 “ nolds, says he, (154) *was not chosen* by our  
 “ side to manage the Conference; he and the  
 “ rest were *probably pitched upon* by the Bishops,  
 “ and then called to it by the King.” Unfor-  
 tunately for the credit of James Peirce, a well  
 known Biographer of godly preachers, stiled  
 by Calamy, a man of great plain-heartedness  
 and sincerity, (whom J. P. is not averse to  
 quote upon proper occasions,) thus writes.  
 “ Chaderton was one of the four divines for the  
 “ Conference at Hampton Court, *chosen by the*  
 “ *ministers* that desired a reformation in church  
 “ Government, and for his learning and suffi-  
 “ ciency was the same year chosen to be one of  
 “ the translators of the Bible.” (Clarke’s life of  
 Chaderton, p. 169.) The reader will determine  
 what

what degree of respect is due to such a writer as this.

Neale, the author of the History of the Puritans, follows Peirce's account; and adopts his objections and errors in almost every particular. We observe no original objections against Barlow's account, nor any argument offered to support those of Peirce. We mention him now, to notice one of many disingenuous tricks, to serve his purpose and his party. Fuller, in his Church Hist. of Great Britain, gives this Conference in the form of dialogue; representing the persons there present, speaking in the first person. But he appears to follow Bishop Barlow in the substance of what is related, in all material points. At the conclusion he says, that, "Some Nonconformists complain that this Conference is partially set forth onely by Dr. Barlow, Dean of Chester, their professed adversary, to the great disadvantage of their divines. And when the Israelites go down to the Philistines to whet all their iron tools, no wonder if they set a sharp edge on their own, and a blunt one on their enemies weapons." (B. 10. p. 21.) Now, who but the Puritan Historian, could have converted this passage, into a positive condemnation of Barlow, for partiality? Neale's words are these, "Dr. Barlow, being  
" a party

“ a party, says Fuller, set a sharp edge on  
 “ his own, and a blunt one on his adversaries  
 “ weapons.” The reader will observe, that  
 Fuller says no such thing. He says that the Non-  
 conformists said so. But the Puritan Historian,  
 judging perhaps that Fuller’s name would cut  
 a figure among his Worthies, by this sly trick;  
*ut mos est, et fieri solet*, makes him at once his  
 own!

That valuable Historian Strype, is very strong  
 and explicit in favour of Barlow’s Account.  
 “ That the very truth might appear, says he,  
 “ there was an *authentic* relation of it; (viz.  
 “ the Hampton Court Conference,) written by  
 “ one of the divines there present, viz. Barlow,  
 “ Dean of Chester; and that, by the Arch-  
 “ bishop’s own order, imposing this work upon  
 “ him; which therefore we may conclude was  
 “ carefully reviewed by himself. And that it  
 “ might be more exact and compleat, it was  
 “ compared and enlarged by the writer, (before  
 “ it was published,) with the notes and copies  
 “ of the Bishop of London, the Deans of  
 “ Christ-Church, Winchester, Windsor, and  
 “ the Archdeacon of Nottingham.

The reader will now be enabled to form a  
 judgment for himself, with respect to the au-  
 thencity

thencity of Bishop Barlow's work. With respect to ourselves, when we consider that Bishop Barlow's account of this famous Conference is admitted, by all parties, to be the only one set forth, and is accordingly by all parties continually quoted; that it was set forth, not upon his own authority alone, but with the assistance and allowance of several of the great men then present; that no objections to the authenticity of this account, of any consequence, were brought forward for a considerable time after it took place; and that the best of those objections were weakly and suspiciously urged, and never proved; when we see two writers on the Puritan side, confessedly their best hands, one, quoting his author to make him speak what he never intended, another confidently denying what a writer of their own affirms to have happened, and then proceeding to give a probable conjecture, in opposition to a matter of fact: without hesitation, we offer this Tract to the notice of the public, as well deserving attention; it has passed the ordeal of its enemies utmost malice, and is found to be a true and faithful work.

*Dec. 17, 1804.*

TO THE  
R E A D E R.



*THIS* Copy of the Conference in January last, hath been long expected, and long since it was finished: impeachments, of the divulging, were many; two main above the rest: one, his\* untimely death, who first imposed it upon me, with whom is buried the famousest glory of our English Church, and the most kind encouragment to paines and study: A man happy in his life and death; loved of the best while he lived; and heard of God for his decease; most earnestly desiring, not many dayes before he was stroken, that he might not (yet) live to see this Parliament, as neer as it was.

*The other, an expectation of this late Co-*

\* Archiepisco. Cantuar.

mitial Conference, much threatned before, and triumphed in by many; as if that Regal and most honourable proceeding, should thereby have received his counterblast, for being too forward. But his Majesties Constancy having, by the last, added comfort and strength to this former, which now, at length, comes abroad, therein, good Reader, thou mayest both see those huge pretended Scandals (for which our flourishing Church hath been so long disturbed) objected and removed; and withall behold the expresse and vive Image of a most learned and judicious King, whose manifold gifts of Grace and Nature, my scant measure of gift is not able to delineate, nor am I willing to enumerate, because I have ever accounted the personal commendation of living Princes, in men of our sort, a verbal Symonie; Such Flies there are too many, which puffe the skin, but taint the flesh. His Majesties humble deportment in those sublimities, will be the eternizing of his memory, the rather, because *καταπεψαι τὸν ὄλβον*, to digest so great Felicity without surfet of surquedry, is a virtue, rare in great personages, and that,

which

*which the King of Heaven feared, even the King of his own choice would want. The more eminent he is, in all princely qualities, the happier shall we be : our duty, as we are Christians, is Prayer for him ; as we are Subjects, Obedience to him ; as we are men, acknowledgment of our settled state in him ; Our unthankfulness may remove him, as it did the mirror of Princes, our late famous Elizabeth. She rests with God, the Phoenix of her ashes reignes over us, and long may he so do to Gods Glory, and the Churches good, which his excellent knowledge beautifieth, and government adjoynd will beatifie it. An hope of this last we conceive by his written Βασιλικον : a Specimen of the other, in this Interlocutory Conference : whereof take this, which is printed, but as an Extract, wherein is the Substance of the whole. Intercourse of speeches, there occasioned, would cause prolixity without profit : what every man said, point devise, I neither could, nor cared to observe ; the vigor of every objection, with the summe of each answer, I guesse I misse not : For the first day, I had no help beyond mine own ; yet*

*some of good place and understanding, have seen it, and not controlled it, except for the brevity: for the two last out of divers\* Copies, I have selected and ordered what you here see: in them all, next unto God, the Kings Majesty alone must have the Glory: Yet to say, that the present State of our Church, is very much obliged to the reverend Fathers, my Lords of London and Winton, their pains and dexterity in this businesse, were neither detraction from other; nor flattery of them. His Highnesse purposed to compose all quarrels of this kind, hereby, and supposing He had settled all matters of the Church, it pleased him so to signify by Proclamation after it was done: but there is a triple generation in the World, of whom the Wiseman speaketh, † Marry I say nothing (for even private speeches cannot now passe without the smear of a Black Cole.) In one rank whereof you may place our Hercules Limbomastix,*

\* Ep. Lond. Deanes of Christch. Winchest. Windfor. Archdea. Nottingh. and mine own.

† Pro. 30. 12. 13. 14.



whom it might have pleased, without this Gnathonicall appeal, to have rested His Majesties determination, and being a Synoptical Theologue ἐν πλατῆι, and angry that he was not, so, κατ' ἐπιτομῆν, have learned the difference in Divinity, between *viam Regis*, and, *viam gregis*.

Many Copies of divers sorts have been scattered and sent abroad, some partial, some untrue, some slanderous. What is here set down, for the truth thereof shall be justified: the onely wrong therein, is to his Excellent Majesty, a syllable of whose admirable speeches, it was pittie to lose, his words as they were uttered by him, being as Solomon speaketh, \* like Apples of Gold, with pictures of Silver; and therefore I request thee, good Reader, when thou comest to any of his Highnesse speeches, to turn Martial his *Apostrophe* upon me.

Tu malè jam recitas, incipit esse tuus,  
and I will take it kindly. If thou be honest,

\* Pro. 25. 11.

*and courteous, thou wilt rest satisfied, and that is my content : to lay a pillow for a Dog, sorts neither with my leisure, nor purpose. Farewell.*

Thine in Christ Jesu.

W. BARLOW.





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THE  
FIRST DAYES  
CONFERENCE.

THE day appointed was, as by his *Majesties* Proclamation we all know, *Thursday* the the 12. of *January*; On which there met at *Hampton* Court by nine of the clock, all the Bishops and Deanes, summoned by letters, namely, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Worcester*, *S. Davids*, *Chichester*, *Carleil*, and *Peterborow*; the Deanes of the Chapell, *Christs-Church*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, *Pauls*, *Chester*, *Winsor*, with Doctor *Field*, and Doctor *King*, Arch-Deacon of *Nottingham*: who though the night before, they heard a rumor that it was deferred till the fourteenth day, yet according to the first summons, thought it their duty to offer themselves to the Kings presence, which they did, *At which time it pleased his Highness to*  
B *signifie*

*signifie unto the Bishops, that the day having prevented, or deceived him, he would have them return on Saturday next following: On which day, all the Deanes and Doctors attending my Lords the Bishops, into the presence Chamber, there we found sitting upon a form, Doctor Reinolds, Doctor Sparkes, Master Knewstubs, and Master Chaderton, Agents for the Millenary plaintiffes. The Bishops entring the privy Chamber, staid there, till commandement came from his Majesty, that none of any sort, should be present, but only the Lords of the Privie Council, and the Bishops, with five Deanes, viz. Of the Chapel, Westminster, Pauls, Westchester, Salisbury, who being called in, the door was close shut by my Lord Chamberlain.*

After a while, his excellent Majesty came in, and having passed a few pleasant gratulations with some of the Lords, he sat down in his Chair, removed forward from the cloth of State a pretty distance; *Where, beginning with a most grave, and Princely Declaration of his general drift in calling this assembly, no novel device, but according to the example of all Christian Princes, who in the Commencement of their Reign, usually take the first course for the establishing of the Church, both for Doctrine, and Policie, to which the very Heathens themselves had relation*  
in

*in their Proverb, A Jove Principium, and particularly, in this Land, King Henry the 8. toward the end of his Reign; after him King Edward the 6. who altered more; After him Queen Mary, who reversed all; And last the Queen of famous Memory, so his Highness added (for it is worth noting, that his Majesty never remembred her, but with some honourable addition) who settled it as now it standeth; Wherein, he said that he was happier than they, in this, because they were fain to alter all things they found established, but he saw yet no cause so much to alter, and change any thing, as to confirm that which he found well settled already; which state as it seemed, so affected his Royal heart, that it pleased him both to enter into a gratulation to Almighty God, (at which words, he put off his hat) for bringing him into the promised Land, where Religion was purely professed, where he sate among grave learned and reverend men, not, as before, elsewhere, a King without State, without Honour, without Order, where beardlesse boyes would brave him to his face, and to assure us, that he called not this assembly for any Innovation, acknowledging the government Ecclesiastical, as now it is, to have been approved by manifold blessings from God himself, both for the increase of the Gospel, and with a most happy and glorious peace; yet because nothing could be so absolutely ordered, but something might be added afterward thereunto, and in*

any State, as in the body of man, corruptions might insensibly grow, either through time or persons: and in that he had received many complaints, since his first enterance into the Kingdome, especially through the dissentions in the Church, of many disorders, as he heard, and much disobedience to the Lawes, with a great falling away to Popery; his purpose therefore was, like a good Physician, to examine and try the complaints, and fully to remove the occasions thereof, if they prove scandalous, or to cure them, if they were dangerous, or, if but fricolous, yet to take knowledge of them, thereby to cast a sop into Cerberus his mouth, that he may never bark again, his meaning being, as he pleased to profess, to give factious spirits, no occasion hereby, of boasting or glory, for which cause he had called the Bishops in, severally be themselves, not to be confronted by the contrary opponents, that if any thing should be found meet to be redressed, it might be done, (which his Majesty twice, or thrice as occasion served, reiterated) without any visible alteration.

And this was the sum, so far as my dull head could conceive and carry it, of his Majesties general speech. In particular he signified unto them the principul matters, why he called them alone, with whom he would consult about some special points,



points, wherein himself desired to be satisfied; these he reduced to three heads: First, concerning the Book of Common-Prayer, and Divine Service used in this Church. Second, Excommunication in the Ecclesiastical Courts. Third, the providing of fit and able Ministers for Ireland.

In the Book he required satisfaction about three things. First, about Confirmation; first for the name, if arguing a Confirming of Baptism, as if this Sacrament without it were of no validity, then were it blasphemous: Secondly, for the use, first brought upon this occasion; Infants being Baptized, and answering by their Patrini, it was necessary they should be examined, when they came to yeares of discretion, and after their profession made by themselves, to be confirmed with a Blessing, or prayer of the Bishop, laying his hands upon their heads, abhorring the abuse in Popery, where it was made a Sacrament and corroboration to Baptism.

The second was for Absolution, which how we used it in our Church, he knew not, he had heard it likned to the Popes pardons, but his Majesties opinion was, that, there being only two kinds thereof from God, the one general, the other particular: for the first, all Prayers, and Preachings do import an Absolution: for the se-

cond, it is to be applied to special parties, who having committed a scandal, and repenting, are absolved: otherwise, where there precedes not either excommunication, or penance, there needs no absolution.

The third was private Baptism, if private for place, his Majesty thought it agreed with the use of the Primitive Church; if for persons, that any but a lawfull Minister might Baptize any where, he utterly disliked; and in this point his Highnesse grew somewhat earnest against the Baptizing by Women and Laikes.

The second head was Excommunication, wherein he offered two things to be considered of, first, the matter: second, the person. In the matter, first, whether it were executed (as it is complained) in light causes; second, whether it were not used too often. In the Persons, first, why Laymen, as Chancellors and Commissaries should do it? second, why the Bishops themselves, for the more dignity to so high and weighty a censure, should not take unto them, for their assistants, the Dean and Chapter, or other Ministers, and Chaplains of gravity and account: and so likewise in other censures, and giving of Orders, &c.

The last for Ireland, his Majesty referred, as  
you

you shall in the last dayes Conference hear, to a consultation. His Highness (to whom I offer great wrong, in being as *Phocion* to *Demosthenes*, κόπιστῶν λογῶν the Hatchet to cut short so amiable a speech) having ended, the Lord Arch-Bishop, after that, on his knees, he had signified how much this whole Land was bound to God, for setting over us a *King*, so wise, learned, and judicious, addressed himself to enform his Majesty of all these points in their severall order.

And first, as touching Confirmation, he shewed at large the antiquity of it, as being used in the Catholique Church ever since the Apostles time, till that of late some particular Churches had unadvisedly rejected it. Then he declared the Lawful use of it, agreeable to his Majesties former speech, affirming it to be a meer calumny, and a very untrue suggestion, if any had informed his Highness, that the Church of *England* did hold or teach, that without Confirmation, Baptism was imperfect, or that it did adde any thing to the vertue, and strength thereof. And this he made manifest by the Rubricks in the Communion Book set before Confirmation, which were there read.

My Lord of *London* succeeded, saying, that

the authority of Confirmation, did not depend onely upon the Antiquity and practice of the Primitive Church, which out of *Cyprian*. Ep. 73. and *Hieron. adversus Luciferian*. he shewed, but that it was an institution Apostolical, and one of the particular points of the Apostles Catechism, set down and named in expresse words *Heb. 6. 2.* and so did Master *Calvin* expound that very place, who wished earnestly the restitution thereof in those reformed Churches, where it had been abolished. Upon which place the Bishop of *Carleil* also insisted, and urged it both gravely and learnedly. *His Majesty called for the Bible, read the place of the Hebrews, and approved the exposition.*

Something also the Bishop of *Durham* noted, out of the Gospel of Saint *Matthew*, for the imposition of hands upon Children. The conclusion was, for the fuller explanation, that we make it not a Sacrament, or a corroboration to a former Sacrament, *That it should be considered of by their Lordships, whether it might not, without alteration (whereof his Majesty was still very wary) be intituled an Examination with a Confirmation.*

Next in order, was the point of Absolution, which the Lord Arch-Bishop cleared from  
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all abuse, or superstition, as it is used in our Church of *England*: reading unto his Majesty, both the Confession in the beginning of the Communion Book, and the Absolution following it, wherein, (saith he) the Minister doth nothing else but pronounce an absolution in general. *His Highness* perused them both in the Book it self, liking and approving them, finding it to be very true, which my Lord Arch-Bishop said: But the Bishop of *London* stepping forward, added, it becometh us to deal plainly with your Majesty: there is also in the Communion Book, another more particular and personal form of absolution, prescribed to be used in the order for the Visitation of the sick: this the King required to see, and whilst Master Dean of the Chapel was turning to it, the said Bishop alleged, that not only the Confessions of *Augusta*, *Boheme*, *Saxon*, which he there cited, do retain and allow it, but that Master *Calvin* did also approve such a general kind of Confession, and Absolution, as the Church of *England* useth, and withall, did very well like of those which are private, for so he terms them. *The said particular Absolution in the Common Prayer Book being read, his Majesty exceedingly well approved it, adding, that it was Apostolical, and a very good Ordinance, in that it was given in the*  
*name*

*name of Christ, to one that desired it, and upon the clearing of his conscience.*

The Conclusion was, that it should be consulted of by the Bishops, whether unto the Rubrike of the general Absolution, these words, Remission of sins, might not be added for explanation sake.

In the third place, the Lord Arch Bishop proceeded to speak of Private Baptism, shewing his *Majesty*, that the administration of Baptism by Women and Lay-persons was not allowed in the practice of the Church, but enquired of, by Bishops in their Visitation, and censured; neither do the words in the Book inferre any such meaning: *Whereunto the King excepted, urging and pressing the words of the Book, that they could not but intend a permission, and suffering of Women, and private persons to Baptize.* Here the Bishop of *Worcester* said, that indeed the words were doubtful, and might be pressed to that meaning, but yet it seemed by the contrary practice of our Church, (censuring Women in this case) that the compilers of the Book did not so intend them, and yet propounded them ambiguously, because otherwise, perhaps, the Book would not have then passed in the Parliament, (and for this conjecture, as I remember,  
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he cited the testimony of my Lord Arch Bishop of *York* :) whereunto the Bishop of *London* replied, that those learned and reverend men, who framed the Book of Common Prayer, intended not by ambiguous termes to deceive any, but did, indeed, by those words intend a permission of private persons, to Baptize in case of necessity, whereof their Letters were witnesses, some parts whereof he then read, and withall declared that the same was agreeable to the practice of the antient Church; urging to that purpose, both *Act. 2.* Where 3000. were Baptized in one day, which for the Apostles alone to do, was impossible, at least improbable; and besides the Apostles, there were then no Bishops or Priests: And also the authority of *Tertullian*, and Saint *Ambrose* in the fourth to the *Ephesians*, plain in that point, laying also open the absurdities and impieties of their opinion who think there is no necessity of Baptism, which word Necessity, he so pressed not, as if God without Baptism could not save the child; but the case put, that the state of the Infant, dying unbaptized, being uncertain, and to God only known; but if it die Baptized, there is an evident assurance, that it is saved. Who is he that having any Religion in him would not speedily, by any means, procure his child to be Baptized, and rather ground his action upon  
Christ's

Christ's promise, than his omission thereof, upon Gods secret judgment?

*His Majesty replied, first to that place of the Acts, that it was an Act extraordinary, neither is it sound reasoning from things done before a Church be settled and grounded, unto those which are to be performed in a Church stablished and flourishing: That he also maintained the necessity of Baptism, and alwaies thought, that the place of S. John, Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua, &c. Was meant of the Sacrament of Baptism, and that he had so defended it against some Ministers in Scotland, and it may seem strange to you my Lords, saith his Majesty, that I, who now think you in England give too much to Baptism, did 14 Moneths ago in Scotland argue with my Divines there for ascribing too little to that holy Sacrament. Insomuch that a pert Minister asked me, if I thought Baptism so necessary, that if it were omitted, the child should be damned? I answered him, No, but if you, being called to Baptize the Child, though privately, should refuse to come, I think, you shall be damned. But this necessity of Baptism, his Majesty so expounded, that it was necessary to be had, where it might be lawfully had, id est, ministred by lawful Ministers, by whom alone, and by no private person, he thought it might not, in any case be adm-*  
*ministred;*



*nistred; and yet utterly disliked all rebaptization, although either Women or Laikes had Baptized.*

Here the Bishop of *Winchester* spake very learnedly, and earnestly, in that point, affirming, that the denying of private persons, in cases of necessity, to Baptize, were to cross all Antiquity, seeing, that it had been the ancient and common practice of the Church, when Ministers at such times could not be got, and that it was also a rule agreed upon among Divines, that the Minister is not of the Essence of the Sacrament. *His Majesty answered, though he be not of the Essence of the Sacrament, yet is he of the Essence of the right and lawful Ministry of the Sacrament, taking for his ground the commission of Christ to his Disciples, Mat. 28. 20. Go Preach and Baptize.*

The issue was a consultation, whether into the Rubrick of Private Baptism, which leaves it indifferently to all Laikes or Clergy, the words, Curate or lawful Minister, might not be inserted, which was not so much stuck at by the Bishops. *And so his Majesty proceeded to the next point, about Excommunication, in causes of lesser moment: First, whether the name might not be altered, and yet the same Censure be retained:-*

*tained*: Or fecondly, whether in place of it, another Coercion equivalent thereunto might not be invented and thought of. A thing very eafily yielded unto of all fides, becaufe it had been long and often defired, but could not be obtained from her Majesty, who refolved to be ftill *ſemper eadem*, and to alter nothing which ſhe had once fetled.

And thus the Wednesday ſucceeding, being appointed for the exhibiting of their determinations in theſe points, and the *Monday* next immediately following this preſent day, for the Opponents to bring in their Complaints, we were diſmiſſed after three hours, and more ſpent; which were ſoon gone; ſo admirably, both for underſtanding, ſpeech, and Judgement, did his *Majeſty* handle all thoſe points, ſending us away, not with contentment only, but aſtoniſhment, and, which is pitiful, you will ſay, with ſhame to us all, that a *King* brought up, among Puritans, not the learnedſt men in the World, and ſchooled by them; ſwaying a Kingdom full of buſineſſe, and troubles, naturally given to much exerciſe, and reſt, ſhould in points of Divinity ſhew himſelf as expedite and perfect, as the greateſt Scholars, *And moſt induſtrious Students, there preſent, might not out ſtrip him.* *But this one thing I might not omit, that*

*his Majesty should professe, howsoever he lived among Puritans, and was kept, for the most part, as a Ward under them, yet since he was of the age of his Sonne, ten years old, he ever disliked their opinions, as the Saviour of the World said, Though he lived among them, he was not of them.*

Finis primæ diei.

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THE  
SECOND DAYES  
CONFERENCE.

ON Monday, *January* sixteen, between 11. and 12. of the clock, were the 4. Plaintiffes called into the privy Chamber, (the two Bishops of *London*, and *Winchester* being there before) and after them all the Deanes, and Doctors present, which had been summoned, *Patr. Galloway* sometime Minister of *Perth* in *Scotland*, admitted also to be there, the Kings Majesty, entring the Chamber, presently took his Chair, placed as the day before (the noble young Prince, sitting by upon a stool) where making a short, but a pithy and sweet speech, to the same purpose, which the first day he made, *viz. Of the end of the Conference, meet to be had he said by every King, at his first entrance to the Crown; not to innovate the Government presently established, which by long ex-*  
*perience*

perience he had found accomplished with so singular blessings of God, 45. yeares, as that no Church upon the face of the Earth more flourished, than this of England. But first to settle uniform order through the whole Church. Secondly, to plant unity for the suppressing of Papists and enemies to Religion. Thirdly, to amend abuses, as natural to bodies politick, and corrupt man, as the shadow to the body, which once being entred, hold on as wheels, his motion once set going. And because many grievous complaints had been made to him, since his first entrance into the Land, he thought it best to send for some, whom his Majesty understood to be the most grave, learned and modest of the agrieved sort, whom being there present, he was now ready to hear at large, what they could object or say; And so willed them to begin: Whereupon they four kneeling down, Dr. Reinolds the foreman, after a short Preamble gratulatory, and signifying his Majesties Summons, by vertue whereof, they then and there appeared, reduced all matters disliked, or questioned, into these four heads.

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved in purity according to Gods Word.

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2. That good Pastors might be planted in all Churches to preach the same.

3. That the Church government might be sincerely ministred, according to Gods Word.

4. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of Piety.

1. For the first, he moved his Majesty, that the Book of *Articles* of Religion, concluded, 1562. might be explained in places obscure, and enlarged where some things were defective. For example, whereas *Art.* 16. The words are these: *After we have received the holy Ghost, we may depart from Grace:* Notwithstanding, the meaning be found, yet he desired that, because they may seem to be contrary to the Doctrine of Gods Predestination and election in the 17. *Article*, both those words might be explained with this, or the like addition, Yet neither totally, nor finally; and also that the nine assertions Orthodoxal as he termed them, concluded upon at *Lambeth*, might be inserted into that Book of *Articles*.

2. Secondly, where it is said in the 23. *Article*, that it is not lawful, for any man, to take upon him the office of Preaching or administering the  
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the Sacraments, in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, D. *Rein.* took exception to these words, In the Congregation, as implying a lawfulness for any man whatsoever, out of the Congregation, to preach and administer the Sacraments; though he had no lawful calling thereunto.

3. Thirdly, in the 25. *Article*, these words touching Confirmation, grown partly of the corrupt following the Apostles, being opposite to those in the Collect of Confirmation in the Communion Book, upon whom after the example of the Apostles, argue, saith he, a contrariety each to other; the first, confessing Confirmation, to be a depraved imitation of the Apostles; the second, grounding it upon their example, *Act.* 8. and 9. as if the Bishop in Confirming of children, did by his imposing of hands, as the Apostles in those places, give the visible graces of the holy Ghost, and therefore he desired that both the contradiction might be considered, and this ground of Confirmation examined.

Thus farre Doctor *Rein.* went on without any interruption: But, here, as he was proceeding, the Bishop of *London*, much moved to hear these men, who some of them the Evening before,

and the same morning, had made semblance, of joining with the Bishops, and that they sought for nothing but unity, now strike to overthrow, (if they could) all at once, cut him off, and kneeling down, most humbly desired his Majesty, first, That the ancient Canon might be remembered, which saith, that *Schismatici contra Episcopos, non sunt audiendi*. Secondly, that if any of these parties were in the number of the thousand Ministers, who had once subscribed to the Communion Book, and yet had lately exhibited a Petition to his Majesty, against it, they might be removed and not heard, according to the Decree of a very ancient Council, providing, that no man should be admitted to speak against that, whereto he had formerly subscribed.

Thirdly, he put D. *Reinolds* and his Associates in minde, how much they were bound to his Majesties exceeding great clemency, in that they were permitted, contrary to the Statute, 1 *Eliz.* to speak so freely against the Leiturgy and Discipline established. Lastly, forasmuch as that he perceived they took a course tending to the utter overthrow of the orders of the Church, thus long continued, he desired to know the end which they aimed at, alleging a place out of Master *Cartwright*, affirming that  
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we ought rather to conform ourselves in orders and Ceremonies to the fashion of the *Turks*, than to the *Papists*; which Position he doubted they approved, because, contrary to the orders of the Universities, they appeared before his Majesty in *Turky* gownes, not in their Scholastical habits, sorting to their degrees.

*His Majesty perceiving my Lord of London to speak in some passion, said, that there was in it something which he might excuse, something that he did mislike: excuse his passion he might, thinking he had just cause to be so moved, both in respect, that they did thus traduce the present well settled Church Government; and also, did proceed in so indirect a course, contrary to their own pretence, and the intent of that meeting also: yet he misliked his sudden interruption of D. Rein. whom he should have suffered to have taken his course and liberty, concluding, that there is no order, nor can be any effectual issue of disputation, if each party might not be suffered, without chopping, to speak at large what he would. And therefore willed that either the Doctors should proceed, or that the Bishop would frame his answer to these motions already made: although, saith his Majesty, some of them are very needlesse: It was thought fitter to answer, lest*

the number of objections increasing, the answers would prove confused.

Upon the first motion, concerning falling from Grace; The Bishop of *London* took occasion to signify to his Majesty, how very many in these daies, neglecting holiness of life, presumed too much of persisting of Grace, laying all their Religion upon Predestination, If I shall be saved, I shall be saved; which he termed a desperate Doctrine, shewing it to be contrary to good Divinity, and the true doctrine of predestination, wherein we should reason rather *ascendendo*, than *descendendo*, thus; I live in obedience to God, in love with my neighbour, I follow my vocation, &c. Therefore I trust that God hath elected me, and predestinated me to Salvation: Not thus, which is the usual course of argument, God hath predestinated and chosen me to life, therefore though I sin never so grievously, yet I shall not be damned: for whom he once loveth, he loveth to the end. Whereupon he shewed his Majesty out of the next *Article*, what was the doctrine of the Church of *England*, touching Predestination, in the very last Paragraph, *Scil.* We must receive Gods promises, in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture and in our doings, that the will of God is to be followed, which

we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God: *which part of the Article his Majesty very well approved, and after he had, after his manner, very singularly discoursed on that place of Paul, Work out your Salvation with fear and trembling; he left it to be considered, whether any thing were mete to be added, for the clearing of the Doctor his doubt by putting in the word often, or the like, as thus, We may often depart from Grace; but in the mean time, wished that the Doctrine of Predestination might be very tenderly handled, and with great discretion, left on the one side, Gods omnipotency might be called in question, by impeaching the doctrine of his eternal predestination, or on the other, a desperate presumption might be arreared, by inferring the necessary certainty of standing, and persisting in grace.*

To the second it was answered, that it was a vain objection, because, by the Doctrine and practice of the Church of *England*, none, but a licenced Minister, might preach, nor either publikely or privately administered the Eucharist, or the Lords Supper. *And as for private Baptism, his Majesty answered, that he had taken order for that with the Bishops already.*

In the third point (which was about Confirmation)

mation) was observed either curiosity, or malice, because the *Article* which was there presently read, in those words; These five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, &c. are not to be accounted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following the Apostles, &c. Infiuateth, that the making of Confirmation to be a Sacrament, is a corrupt imitation; but the Communion Book, aiming at the right use, and proper course thereof, make it to be according to the Apostles example; which his Majesty observing, and reading both the places, concluded the objection to be a meer cavil. And this was for the pretended contradiction.

Now for the ground thereof, the Bishop of *London* added, that it was not so much founded upon the places in the *Acts* of the Apostles, which some of the Fathers had often shewed; but upon *Heb. 6. 2.* Where it is made, as the first day he had said, a part of the Apostles Catechism; which was the opinion, besides the judgment of the holy Fathers, of Master *Calvin*, and *D. Fulke*, the one upon *Heb. 6. 2.* as upon *Saturday* he had declared; the other upon *Acts. 8. vers. 27.* where with *S. Augustine*, he saith that we do not, in any wise mislike that ancient

tient Ceremonie (of imposition of hands, for strengthning and confirming such as had been Baptized,) but use it in ourselves, being nothing else, but as Saint *Austen* affirmeth, Prayer over a man to be strengthened and confirmed by the holy Ghost: or to receive increase of the gifts of the holy Ghost, as Saint *Ambrose* saith; and a little after alludeth unto *Heb. 6. 2, &c.* Neither need there any great proof of this (saith my Lord) For confirmation to be unlawful, it was not their opinion, who objected this, as he supposed; this was it that vexed them, that they had not the use thereof in their own hands, every Pastor in his Parish to confirm, for then it would be accounted an Apostolical institution; and willed Doctor *Rein.* to speak herein what he thought: who seemed to yeild thereunto, replying that some Diocesse of a Bishop, having therein six hundred Parish Churches (which number caused the Bishop of *London* to think himself personally touched, because in his Diocesse there are 609, or thereabouts) it was a thing very inconvenient to commit confirmation unto the Bishop alone, supposing it impossible that he could take due examination of them all, which came to be confirmed. To the fact, my Lord of *London* answered, for his Majesties information, that the Bishops in their Visitations, give out notice to them, who are desirous either to  
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be themselves or to have their children confirmed, of the place where they will be; and appoint either their Chaplaines, or some other Ministers, to examine them which are to be confirmed, and lightly confirm none, but either by the testimony, or report of the Parsons or Curates where the children are bred, and brought up. To the opinion he replied, that none of all the Fathers ever admitted any to confirm but Bishops alone; yea even Saint *Jerome* himself, though otherwise no friend to Bishops, by reason of a quarrel between the Bishop of *Jerusalem* and him, yet confesseth, that the execution thereof was restrained to Bishops only, *Ad honorem potius Sacerdotii, quàm ad legis necessitatem.* Whereof, namely of this Prerogative of Bishops, he giveth this Reason, *Ecclesiæ salus in summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendit; cui si non exors quædam & ab omnibus eminentes detur potestas, tot in Ecclesiis efficerentur scismata, quot Sacerdotes.* My Lord Bishop of *Winchester* challenged Doctor *Reynolds*, willing him, of his learning, to shew where ever he had read, that Confirmation was at all used in ancient times by any other but Bishops; and added withall, that it was used, partly to examine Children, and after examination, by imposition of hands (which was a Ceremonie of blessing among the *Jews*) to blesse them and pray over them: and partly

partly to try whether they had been Baptized in the right form or no. For in former ages Baptism was administred in divers forts: some gave it, *In nomine patris & filii, &c.* Others, *In nomine patris majoris, & filii minoris*, as the *Arrians* did; some, *In nomine patris per filium, in spiritu sancto*; Others not in the name of the Trinity, but in the death of Christ, &c. Whereupon the Catholick Bishops were constrained to examin them who were Baptized *in remotis*, far from them, how they were taught to believe, concerning Baptism; If it were right, to confirm them; if amisse, to instruct them.

His Majesty concluded this point, first by taxing Saint *Jerome* for his assertion, that a Bishop was not *Divinæ ordinationis* (the Bishop of *London* thereupon, inserting, that unlesse he could prove his ordination lawful out of the Scriptures, he would not be a Bishop 4 hours) Which opinion his Majesty much distasted, approving their calling and use in the Church, and closed it up with this short Aphorism, *No Bishop, no King.* Secondly, for Confirmation, his Highness thought, that it sortd neither with the authority, nor decency of the same, that every ordinary Pastor should do it: and therefore said, that for his part, he meant not to take that from the Bishops, which they had so long retained and enjoyed;

*injoyed; seeing as it pleased him to adde, as great reason, that none should confirm without the Bishops licence, as none should preach without his licence, & so referring, as the day before, the word Examination, to be added to the Rubrick in the title of Confirmation in the Communion Book, if it were thought good so to do; he willed Doctor Rein. to proceed.*

Who after that he had deprecated the imputation of Schism, with a protestation, that he meant not to gall any man; goeth on to the 37. Article, wherein he said these words, The Bishop of Rome hath no authority in this Land, not to be sufficient, unlesse it were added, nor ought to have. Whereat his Majesty heartily laughed, and so did the Lords: the King adding an answer, which the Rhetoricians call, ἐγώττημα ἐλέγχικον; What speak you of the Popes Authority here? *Habemus jure quod habemus; And therefore, in as much as it is said, he hath not, is is plain enough, that he ought not to have.*

This, and some other motions, seeming to the King and Lords very frivolous, occasion was taken, in some by-talk, to remember a certain description, which Master Butler of Cambridge made of a Puritan, *vis.* A Puritan is a Protestant



tant frayed out of his wits. But my Lord of *London*, there seriously put his Majesty in mind of the speeches, which the *French* Embassadour Master *Rogne* gave out concerning our Church of *England*, both at *Canterbury* after his arrival, and after at the Court, upon the view of our solemn Service and Ceremonies; namely, that if the reformed Churches in *France* had kept the same Orders among them which we have, he was assured that there would have been many thousands of Protestants more there, than now there are; and yet our men stumble and strain at these petty quilllets, thereby to disturb and disgrace the whole Church.

5. After this, the Doctor moved that this proposition, The intention of the Minister is not of the Essence of the Sacrament, might be added unto the Book of *Articles*, the rather, because that some in *England* had preached it to be essential. *And here again he remembered the nine Orthodoxal assertions concluded at Lambeth. His Majesty utterly disliked that first part of the motion for two reasons: First, thinking it unfit to thrust into the Book every position negative, which would both make the Book swell into a Volume as big as the Bible, and also confound the Reader: bringing for example the course of one Master Craig in the like case in*  
Scotland,

Scotland, who with his, I renounce and abhor, his detestations and abrenuncations, did so amaze the simple people, that they, not able to conceive all those things, utterly gave over all, falling back to Popery, or remaining still in their former ignorance. Yea, if I, said his Majesty, should have been bound to his form, the confession of my faith must have been in my Table-Book, not in my head. But because you speak of Intention, saith his Highnesse, I will apply it thus. If you come hither with a good intention, to be informed, and satisfied where you shall find just cause, the whole work will sort to the better effect; But if your intention be to go as you came (whatsoever shall be said) it will prove that the Intention is very material, and essential to the end of this present action. To the other part for the nine Affertions, his Majesty could not suddenly answer, because he understood not what the Doctor meant by those Affertions or propositions at Lambeth; but when it was informed his Majesty, that by reason of some controversies, arising in Cambridge, about certain points of Divinity, my Lords Grace assembled some Divines of especial note, to set down their opinions, which they drew into nine Affertions, and so sent them to the Univerſity, for the appeasing of those quarrels; then his Majesty answered; First, that when such questions arise among Scholars,

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the quietest proceeding were, to determine them in the Universities, and not to stuff the Book with all conclusions Theological. Secondly, the better course would be to punish the broachers of false Doctrine, as occasion should be offered: for were the *Articles* never so many and found, who can prevent the contrary opinions of men till they be heard?

Upon this the Dean of *Paules* kneeling down, humbly desired leave to speak, signifying unto his Majesty, that this matter somewhat more nearly concerned him, by reason of a controverſie between him and some other in *Cambridge*, upon a propoſition, which he had deliverd there; Namely, that whoſoever (although before juſtified) did commit any grievous ſin, as Adultery, Murder, Treason, or the like, did become, *ipſo facto*, ſubject to Gods wrath, and guilty of damnation, or were in ſtate of damnation (*quoad præſentem ſtatum*) untill they repented; adding hereunto, that thoſe which were called or juſtified according to the purpoſe of Gods Election, howſoever they might, & did ſometimes fall into grievous ſins, and thereby into the preſent ſtate of wrath and damnation; yet did never fall, either totally from all the Graces of God to be utterly deſtitute of all the parts and ſeed thereof, nor finally from juſtification,

but

but were in time renewed by Gods Spirit unto a lively Faith, and Repentance; and so justified from those sins, and the wrath, curse and guilt annexed thereunto, whereinto they are fallen, and wherein they lay, so long as they were without true repentance for the same. Against which Doctrine, he said, that some had opposed, teaching, that all such persons as were once truly justified, though after they fell into never so grievous sins, yet remained still just, or in the state of justification, before they actually repented of those sins; yea, and though they never repented of them, through forgetfulness or sudden death, yet they should be justified and saved without repentance. *In utter dislike of this Doctrine, his Majesty entred into a longer speech of Predestination, and reprobation, than before, and of the necessary conjoyning repentance and holiness of life with true faith: concluding, that it was hypocrisie, and not true justifying faith, which was severed from them: for although Predestination and Election depend not upon any qualities, actions, or works of man, which be mutable, but upon God his eternal and immutable decree and purpose; yet such is the necessity of repentance, after known sins committed, as that, without it, there could not be, either reconciliation with God, or remission of those sins.*

Next to this, Doctor *Reinolds* complained, that the Catechism in the Common Prayer Book, was too brief, for which one by Master *Nowel* late Dean of *Pauls* was added, and that too long for young Novices to learn by heart: requested therefore, that one uniform Catechism might be made, which, and none other, might be generally received; it was demanded of him, whether if, to the short Catechism in the Communion Book, something were added for the Doctrine of the Sacrament, it would not serve? His Majesty thought the Doctors request very reasonable: *But yet so, that he would have a Catechism in the fewest and plainest affirmative terms that may be: taxing withal the number of ignorant Catechisms set out in Scotland, by every one that was the Son of a good man: insomuch, as that which was Catechism Doctrine in one Congregation, was in another scarcely accepted as sound and Orthodox, wished therefore, one to be made and agreed upon, adding this excellent, gnomical and Canon-like Conclusion, that in reforming of a Church, he would have two rules observed. First, that old, curious, deep and intricate questions might be avoided, in the Fundamental instruction of a people. Secondly, that there should not be any such departure from the Papists in all things, as that because we in some*

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*points agree with them, therefore we should be accounted to be in error.*

To the former, Doctor *Reinolds* did adde the prophanation of the Sabbath day, and contempt of his Majesties Proclamation, made for the reforming of that abuse, of which he earnestly desired a straighter course for reformation thereof, and unto this he found a general and unanimous assent.

7. After that, he moved his Majesty, that there might be a new Translation of the Bible, because, those which were allowed in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eight, and *Edward* the sixt, were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the Original. For example, first, *Galatians* 4. 25. the Greek word  $\sigmaυφοιχεĩ$  is not well translated, as now it is; Bordereth, neither expressing the force of the word, nor the Apostles sence, nor the situation of the place.

Secondly, *Psalm* 105. 28. They were not obedient; The original being, They were not disobedient.

Thirdly, *Psalm* 106. verse 30. Then stood up *Phinees* and prayed, the Hebrew hath, Executed judgment. To which motion, there was, at the present, no gainfaying, the objections

tions being trivial, and old, and already in print, often answered; only my Lord of London well added, that if every mans humour should be followed, there would be no end of translating. *Whereupon his Highnesse wished, that some special paines should be taken in that behalf for one uniform translation (professing that he could never, yet, see a Bible well translated in English, but the worst of all his Majesty thought the Geneva to be) and this to be done by the best learned in both the Universities, after them to be reviewed by the Bishops, and the chief learned of the Church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council; and lastly, to be ratified by his Royal Authority. And so this whole Church to be bound unto it, and none other. Mary, withall, he gave this caveat (upon a word cast out by my Lord of London) that no Marginal Notes should be added, having found in them which are annexed to the Geneva translation (which he saw in a Bible given him by an English Lady) some Notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and favouring too much of dangerous, and traitterous conceits. As for example, the first Chapter of Exodus and the nineteenth Verse, where the Marginal Note alloweth Disobedience unto Kings. And 2. Chro. 15, 16. the note taxeth Afa for deposing his Mother, only, and not killing her: And so concludeth this point as all the rest, with a grave and judicious advice. First, that errors*

*in matters of Faith might be rectified and amended. Secondly, that matters indifferent might rather be interpreted, and a glosse added; alleging from Bartolus de regno, that, as better a King with some weaknesse, than still a change; so rather a Church with some faults, than an Innovation. And surely, saith his Majesty, if these be the greatest matters you be grieved with, I need not have been troubled with such importunities & complaints, as have been made unto me; some other more private course might have been taken for your satisfaction, and withall, looking upon the Lords, he shook his head, smiling.*

8. The last point (noted by Doctor *Reinolds*) in this first head, for Doctrine, was, that unlawful and seditious Books might be suppressed, at least restrained, and imparted to a few: for by the liberty of publishing such Books, so commonly, many young Scholars and unsetled minds in both Universities, and through the whole Realm, were corrupted and perverted; naming for one instance, that Book entitled, *De jure Magistratus in Subditos*, published of late by *Ficlerus* a Papist, and applied against the Queens Majesty that last was, for the Pope: The Bishop of *London* supposing, as it seemed, himself to be principally aimed at, answered, first, to the general, that there was no such licentious divulging of those Books, as he imagin-



ed, or complained of, and that none, except it were such as Doctor *Rein.* who were supposed, would confute them, had liberty by authority to buy them: Again, such Books came into the Realm, by many secret conveyances, so that there could not be a perfect notice had of their importation: Secondly, to the particular instance of *Ficlerus*, he said, that the Author *De jure*, &c. was a great Disciplinarian; whereby it did appear, what advantage that sort gave unto the Papists, who *mutatis personis*, could apply their own Arguments against Princes of the Religion: but for his own part he said, he detested both the Author, and the Applier alike. My Lord *Cicill* here taxing also the unlimited liberty of the dispersing and divulging these Popish and seditious Pamphlets, both in *Pauls Church-yard*, and the Universities, instanced one lately set forth, and published; namely, *Speculum Tragicum*, which both his Majesty and the Lord *H. Howard*, now Earl of *Northampton*, termed a dangerous Book both for matter and intention: and the Lord Chancellor, also dividing all such Books into *Latine* and *English*, concluded, that these last, dispersed, did most harm: yet the Lord Secretarie affirmed, that my Lord of *London* had done therein what might be, for the suppressing of them; and that he knew no man else, had done any thing in

that kind but he. *At length, it pleased his excellent Majesty, to tell Doctor Rein. that he was a better College-man than a States man; for if his meaning were, to tax the Bishop of London, for suffering those books, between the Secular Priest, and Jesuites, lately published, so freely to to passe abroad; His Majesty would have him and his Associates to know, and willed them also to acquaint their Adherents and Friends abroad therewith, that the said Bishop was much injured and slandered in that behalf, who did nothing therein, but by warrant from the Lords of the Council, whereby, both a Schism between them was nourished, and also his Majesties own cause and Title handled: The Lord Cicil affirming thereunto, that therefore they were tolerated, because, in them, was the Title of Spain confuted.*

The Lord *Treasurer* added, that Doctor *Reinolds* might have observed another use of those Bookes, *viz.* that now by the testimony of those Priests themselves, her late Majesty and the State were cleared of that imputation, of putting Papists to death for their consciences only, and for their Religion, seeing, in those Books, they themselves confess, that they were executed for Treason. Doctor *Reinolds* excused himself, expounding his complaint, not meant of such

such Books, as had been printed in *England*, but such as came from beyond the Seas, as Commentaries both in Philosophy and Divinity. And these were the parts of the first head, concerning Purity of Doctrine.

Touching Pastors { *Resident,*  
                                   { *Learned.*

To the second general point concerning the planting of Ministers learned in every Parish: *It pleased his Majesty to answer, that he had consulted with his Bishops about that, whom he found willing and ready, to second him in it: inveighing herein, against the negligence and carelesnesse, which he heard of many in this land; but, as Subita evacuatio, was periculosa, so subita mutatio. Therefore this matter was not for a present resolution, because to appoint to every Parish a sufficient Minister were impossible, the Universities would not afford them. Again, he had found already, that he had more learned men in this Realm, than he had sufficient maintenance for; So that maintenance must first be provided, and then the other to be required: In the mean time, ignorant Ministers, if young, to be removed, if there were no hope of their amendment; if old, their death must be expected, that the next*

*course may be better supplied*: And so concluded this point, with a most Religious and Zealous protestation, of doing something dayly in this case, because *Jerusalem* could not be built up in a day. The Bishop of *Winchester* made known to the King, that this insufficiency of the Clergy, be it as it is, comes not by the Bishops defaults, but partly by Lay Patrons, who present very mean men to their cures; whereof, in himself, he shewed an instance, how that since his being Bishop of *Winchester*, very few Masters of Arts were presented to good Benefices: partly, by the Law of the land, which admitteth of a very mean tolerable sufficiency in any Clerk, so that if the Bishop should not admit them, then presently, a *Quare impedit* is sent out against him.

Here my Lord of *London*, kneeling, humbly desired his Majesty (because he saw, as he said, it was a time of moving Petitions) that he might have leave, to make two or three.

First, that there might be amongst us, a Praying Ministry another while; for whereas, there are, in the Ministry, many excellent duties to be performed, as the absolving of the penitent, praying for, and blessing of the people, administering of the Sacraments, and the like; it

it is come to that passe now, that some sort of men thought it the only duty required of a Minister, to spend the time in speaking out of a Pulpit; sometimes, God wot, very undiscreetly, and unlearnedly: and this, with so great injury and prejudice, to the celebration of Divine service, that some Ministers would be content to walk in the Church-yard, till Sermon time, rather than to be present at publick prayer. He confessed, that in a Church new to be planted, preaching was most necessary; but among us, now long established in the faith, he thought it not the only necessary duty to be performed, and the other to be so profanely neglected and contemned. *Which motion his Majesty liked exceeding well, very acutely taxing the hypocrisie of our times, which placeth all Religion in the ear, through which, there is an easy passage, but Prayer, which expresseth the hearts affection, and is the true devotion of the mind, as a matter putting us to overmuch trouble (wherein there concurre, if Prayer be as it ought, an impartial consideration for our own estates, a due examination to whom we pray, an humble confession of our sins, with an hearty sorrow for them; and repentance not severed from Faith) is accounted and used as the least part of Religion.*

The second was, that till such time as learned  
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and sufficient men might be planted in every Congregation, that Godly Homilies might be read, and the number of them increased, and that the Opponents would labour to bring them into credit again, as formerly they brought them into contempt. Every Man (saith he) that can pronounce well, cannot indite well.

*The Kings Majesty approved this motion, especially, where the living is not sufficient for maintenance of a learned Preacher; as also in places, where plenty of Sermons are, as in the City, and great Townes. In the Countrey villages where Preachers are not near together, he could wish Preaching; but where there are a multitude of Sermons, there he would have Homilies to be read divers times: And therein he asked the assent of the Plaintiffs, and they confesse it. A preaching Ministry, saith his Majesty, was best, but where it might not be had, Godly prayers and exhortations did much good. That that may be done, let it, and let the rest that cannot, be tolerated. Somewhat was here spoken by the Lord Chancellor, of livings rather wanting learned Men, than learned Men livings. Many in the Universities pining, Masters, Batchelors, and upwards: wishing therefore, that some might have single coats, before other had dublets, and here*

here his Lordship shewed the course, that he had ever taken, in bestowing the Kings Benefices; my Lord of *London*, commending his Honourable care that way, withall excepted that a dublet was necessary in cold weather: the Lord *Chancellor* replied, that he did it not for dislike of the liberty of our Church, in granting one Man two Benefices, but out of his own private purpose and practice, grounded upon the foresaid reason.

The last motion, by my Lord of *London* was, that Pulpits, might not be made pasquils, wherein every humorous, or discontented fellow might traduce his superiors. *Which the King very graciously accepted, exceedingly reprovving that, as a lewd custome; threatning, that if he should but hear of such a one in a Pulpit, he would make him an example: concluding with a sage admonition to the opponents, that every Man should sollicite & draw his friends to make peace, and if any thing were amisse in the Church officers, not to make the Pulpit the place of personal reproof, but to let his Majesty hear of it: yet by degrees.*

*First, let complaint be to the Ordinary of the place, from him to go to the Arch-Bishop; from him, to the Lords of his Majesties Counsel, and from*

from them, if in all these places no remedy is found, to his own self. Which caveat his Majesty put in, for that the Bishop of London had told him, that if he left himself open to admit of all complaints, neither his Majesty should ever be quiet, nor his under-officers regarded: seeing, that now already no fault can be censured, but presently the Delinquent threatneth a complaint to the King: and for an instance, he added, how a Printer, whom he had taken faulty, very lately answered him in that very kind.

Doctor Rein. commeth now to *Subscription*, (which concerneth the fourth general head, as he first propounded it, namely, *The Communion Book*,) taking occasion to leap into it here, as making the urging of it to be a great impeachment to a learned Ministry, and therefore in-treated, it might not be exacted as heretofore, for which many good Men were kept out, other removed, and many disquieted. To subscribe according to the statutes of the Realm, namely, to the Articles of Religion, and the Kings Supremacy, they were not unwilling. The reason of their backwardnesse to subscribe otherwise was, first the Books *Apocrypal*; which the *Common-Prayer Book* injoynd to be read in the Church, albeit, there are, in some of those

Chapters



Chapters appointed, manifest errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures: the particular instance, which he then inferred, was, *Ecclus.* 48. 10, where he charged the Author of that Book, to have held the same opinion with the *Jewes* at this day, namely, that *Elias*, in person, was to come before Christ, and therefore, as yet, Christ, by that Reason, not come in the flesh; and so, consequently, it implied a denial of the chief Article of our redemption; his Reason of thus charging the Author, was, because that *Ecclus* used the very word of *Elias*, in person, which the Prophet *Malachy*, *Cap.* 4. doth apply to an *Elias* in resemblance, which both an Angel, *Luke.* 1. and our Saviour Christ, *Mat.* 11. did interpret to be *John Baptist*. The answer was, as the objection, twofold. First, general, for *Apocrypha Books*; The Bishop of *London* shewing, first, for the antiquity of them, that the most of the objections made against those Books were the old Cavils of the *Jewes*, renewed by Saint *Jerome* in his time, who was the first that gave them the name of *Apocrypha*, which opinion, upon *Ruffinus*, his challenge, he, after a sort, disclaimed, the rather, because a general offence was taken at his speeches in that kind, first, for the continuance of them in the Church out of *Kimedoncius*, and *Chemnitius*, two modern writers.

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The Bishop of *Winton* remembered the distinction of Saint *Jerome*, *Canonici sunt ad informandos mores, non ad confirmandam fidem*, which distinction he said, must be held for the justifying of sundry Councils. *His Majesty in the end, said, he would take an even order between both, affirming, that he would not wish all Canonical Books to be read in the Church, unlesse, there were one to interpret, nor any Apocrypha at all, wherein there was any error, but for the other, which were clear, and correspondent to the Scriptures, he would have them read, for else, saith his Majesty, why were they printed? And therein shewed the use of the books of Machabees, very good to make up the story of the persecution of the Jewes; but not to teach a man either to Sacrifize for the dead, or to kill himself.*

And here his Highnesse arose from his chair, & withdrew himself into his inner chamber a little space, in the mean time a great questioning was amongst the Lords, about that place of *Ecclus.* with which, as if it had been their rest and upshot, they began afresh, at his Majesties return; *Who, seeing them so to urge it, and stand upon it, calling for a Bible, first shewed the Author of that book, who he was, then the Cause why he wrote that Book, next analyzed the Chapter it self, shewing the precedents and consequents thereof;*

thereof; lastly, so exactly and Divine like, unfolded the summe of that place, arguing, and demonstrating, that whatsoever Ben Sirach had said there of Elias, Elias had in his own person, while he lived, performed and accomplished, so that the Sufurrus, at the first mention, was not so great, as the astonishment was now at the King his sudden and sound, and indeed, so admirable an interpretation; concluding, first, with a serious check to Doct̄or Reinolds, that it was not good to impose upon a Man, that was dead, a sense never meant by him: Secondly, with a pleasant Apotrophe to the Lords; *What, trow ye, make these Men so angry with Ecclesiasticus? By my Soul, I think he was a Bishop, or else they would never use him so. But for the general, it was appointed by his Majesty, that Doct̄or Rein. should note those Chapters in the Apocrypha books, where those offensive places were, and should bring them unto the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterb. against Wednesday next; and so he was willing to go on.*

The next Scruple against Subscription was, that old *Crambe bis posita*, that in the common Prayer Book, it is twice set down, *Jesus said to his Disciples*; when as by the original text it is plain, that he spake to the Pharisees. To which it was answered, that for ought that could appear by the places, he might speak as well to  
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his *Disciples*, they being present, as to the *Pharisees*. But his Majesty keeping an even hand, willed that the word *Disciples* should be omitted, and the words *Jesus said*, to be printed in a different letter, that might appear, not to be a part of the Text.

The third objection against Subscription, were *Interogatories in Baptism*, propounded to Infants, which being a profound point, was put upon Master *Knewstubs* to pursue: who in a long and perplexed speech, said something out of *Austen*, that *Baptizare* was *credere*, but what it was, his Majesty plainly confessed, *Ego non intelligo*, and asked the Lords what they thought he meant? it seemed that one present conceived him, for he standing at his back, bad him urge the punct, urge that punct, that is a good point. My Lord of *Winton* aiming at his meaning, shewed him the use thereof out of Saint *Austen*, and added the Fathers reason for it, *Qui peccavit in altero, credat in altero*; which was seconded by his Majesty (whom it pleased, for the rest of the matters which followed, himself alone to answer, and justly might he appropriate it to himself, for none present were able with quicker conceit to understand, with a more singular dexterity to refute, with a more judicious resolution to determine than his Majesty: herein

herein being more admirable, that these points, wherein some thought him prejudicial to the contrary, all of us supposed him to have been but a stranger to them, he could so intelligently apprehend, and so readily argue about them,) it was, I say, seconded by his Majesty; first.

By Reason that the question should be propounded to the party whom it principally concerned.

Secondly, by example of himself to whom interrogatories were propounded when he was crowned in his Infancy, *King of Scotland*.

And here his Majesty, (as hereafter at the end of every objection he did) asked them whether they had any more to say.

Master *Knewstubs* took exceptions to the Cross in Baptism, being in number two.

First, the offence of weak brethren, grounded upon the words of Saint *Paul*, *Rom.* 14. and *1 Cor.* 8. *viz.* The consciences of the Weak, not to be offended: which places his excellent Majesty answered most acutely, beginning with that general rule of the Fathers: *Distingue tempora, & concordabunt Scripturæ.* *Shewing here the difference of those times and ours, then a Church*

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*not fully planted, nor settled, but ours long established and flourishing; then Christians newly called from Paganism, and not thoroughly grounded, which is not the case of this Church, seeing that Heathenish Doctrine, for many years, hath been hence abandoned.*

*Secondly, with a question unanswerable, asking them how long they would be weak? whether 45 yeares were not sufficient for them to grow strong? Thirdly, who they were pretended this weaknesse: For we, saith the King, require not now subscription of Laiks and Idiots, but Preachers and Ministers, who are not still, I trow, to be fed with milk, but are enabled to feed others.*

*Fourthly, that it was to be doubted, some of them were strong enough, if not headstrong, and howsoever they in this case pretended weaknesse, yet some, in whose behalf they now spake, thought themselves able to teach him, and all the Bishops of the Land.*

His objection against the Crosse, consisted of three Interrogatories; First, whether the Church had power to institute an external significant sign? to which was replied; first, that he mistook the use of the Crosse with us, which was  
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not used in Baptism, any otherwise than only as ceremony.

Secondly, by their own example, who make imposition of hands in their ordination of Pastors, to be a sign significant.

Thirdly, in prayer, saith the Bishop of *Winton*, the kneeling on the ground, the lifting up of our hands, the knocking of our breasts, are Ceremonies significant; The first, of our humility coming before the mighty God; The second, of our confidence and hope; the other, of our sorrow and detestation of our sins, and these are, and may lawfully be used. Lastly, M. Dean of the Chapel remembred the practise of the *Jews*, who unto the institution of the Pascheover, prescribed unto them by *Moses*, had, as the Rabbins witnesse, added both signes and words, eating fowre herbs, and drinking wine, with these words, to both, Take and eat these in remembrance, &c. Drink this in remembrance, &c. Upon which addition and tradition of theirs, our Saviour instituted the Sacrament of his last Supper, in celebrating it with the same words, and after the same manner; thereby approving that fact of theirs in particular, and generally, that a Church may institute and retain a signe significant: which satisfied his Majesty exceeding well.

*And here the King desired to have himself made acquainted about the antiquity of the use of the Crosse, which Doctor Reynolds confessed to have been ever since the Apostles times; but this was the difficulty, to prove it of that ancient use in Baptism. For that at their going abroad, or entering into the Church, or at their prayers and benedictions, it was used by the Ancients, desired no great proof: But whether in Baptism, Antiquity approved it, was the doubt cast in by M. Deane of Sarum, whom his Majesty singled out, with a special Encomion, that he was a man well travelled in the Ancients: which doubt was answered, ob signatis tabulis, by the Dean of Westminster, (whom the Kings Majesty, upon my Lord of Londons motion, willed to speak to that point) out of Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, and others, that it was used in Immortali lavacro: which words being a little descanted, it fell from one, I think it was my Lord of Winchester, obiter, to say, that in Constantine his time, it was used in Baptism. What quoth the King, and is it now come to that passe, that we shall appeach Constantine of Popery, and superstition? if then it were used, saith his Majesty, I see no reason, but that still we may continue it.*

Master *Knewstubs* his second question was, that put case, the Church had such power to adde



adde significant signes, whether it might there adde them, where Christ had already ordained one; which he said was no lesse derogatory, to Christs institution, as he thought, than if any Potentate of this Land, should presume to adde his Seal to the great Seal of *England*. *To which his Majesty answered, that the case was not alike, for that no sign or thing was added to the Sacrament, which was fully and perfectly finished, before any mention of the Crosse is made, for confirmation whereof, he willed the place to be read.*

Lastly, if the Church had that power also, yet the greatest Scruple to their Conscience was, how farre such an ordinance of the Church was to bind them, without impeaching their Christian Liberty? *Whereat, the King, as it seemed, was much moved, and told him, he would not argue that point with him, but answer therein, as Kings are wont to speak in Parliament, Le Roy s'avifera, adding withall, that it smelled very rankly of Anabaptism: comparing it unto the usage of a beardlesse boy, (one Master John Black) who the last Conference his Majesty had with the Ministers in Scotland, (in December, 1602.) told him, that he would hold conformity with his Majesties ordinances, for matters of doctrine; but for matters of Ceremonie, they were to be left in Christian Liberty to every man, as he*

*received more and more light, from the illumination of Gods spirit, even till they go mad, quoth the King, with their own light : but I will none of that ; I will have one doctrine, and one discipline, one Religion in substance, and in ceremony : and therefore I charge you never to speak more to that point, (how far you are bound to obey ?) when the Church hath ordained it. And so asked them again, if they had any thing else to say.*

Doctör *Reynolds* objected the example of the Brazen Serpent, demolished and stamp't to powder by *Ezechias*, because the people abused it to Idolatry, wishing that in like sort, the Cross should be abandoned, because in the time of Popery, it had been superstitiously abused. Whereunto the Kings Majesty answered divers wayes. First, quoth he, though I be sufficiently perswaded of the Cross in Baptism, and the commendable use thereof in the Church so long ; yet, if there were nothing else to move me, this very argument were an inducement to me, for the retaining of it, as it is now by order established : For inasmuch, as it was abused, So you say, to superstition, in time of Popery, it doth plainly imply, that it was well used before Popery. I will tell you, I have lived among this sort of men, (speaking to the Lords and Bishops,)

shops,) ever since I was tenne years old, but I may say of myself, as Christ did of himself, Though I lived amongst them, yet since I had ability to judge, I was never of them; neither did any thing make me more to condemn, and detest their courses, than that they did so peremptorily disallow of all things, which at all had been used in Popery. For my part, I know not how to answer the objection of the Papists, when they charge us with Novelties: but truly to tell them, that their abuses are New, but the things which they abused we retain in their Primitive use, and forsake only the Novel corruption. By this argument we might renounce the Trinity, and all that is holy, because it was abused in Popery: (and speaking to Doctor *Reynolds* merily) they used to wear hose and shooes in Popery, therefore you shall now go bare-foot.

Secondly, quoth his Majesty, what resemblance is there between the Brazen Serpent, a material visible thing, and the sign of the Crosse made in the Aire?

Thirdly, I am given to understand by the Bishops, and I find it true, that the Papists themselves did never ascribe any power or spiri-

tual grace to the Signe of the Croffe in Baptifm.

Fourthly, you fee, that the material Croffes, which in time of Popery were made, for Men to fall down before them, as they paffed by them, to worship them (as the Idolatrous *Jews* did the Brafen Serpent) are demolished, as you defire.

The next thing which was objected, was, the wearing of the Surplis, a kind of garment, which the Priests of *Iſis* uſed to wear. Surely, ſaith his Maſteſty, untill of late, I did not think that it had been borrowed from the Heathen, becauſe it is commonly tearmed, a Ragge of Popery, in ſcorn; but were it ſo, yet neither did we border upon Heatheniſh Nations, neither are any of them converſant with us, or commorant amongſt us, who thereby might take juſt occaſion to be ſtrengthned, or confirmed in Paganifm, for then there were juſt cauſe to ſuppreſſe the wearing of it: but ſeeing it appeared out of antiquity, that in the celebration of divine Service, a different habit appertained to the Miniſtry; and principally, of white Linnen, he ſaw no reaſon, but that in this Church, as it had been, for comelineſſe, and for order ſake, it might be ſtill continued. This being his con-  
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stant and resolute opinion, that no Church ought further to separate itself from the Church of *Rome*, either in Doctrine or Ceremony, than she had departed from herself, when she was in her flourishing and best estate, and from Christ her Lord and Head. And here again he asked, what more they had to say.

D. *Reynolds* took exceptions at those words in the Common Prayer Book, of Matrimony, *With my body I thee worship*. His Majesty looking upon the place; I was made believe, (saith he) that the phrase did import no lesse than Divine worship and adoration: but by the examination I find, that it is an usual English tearm, as a Gentleman of worship, &c. And the sense agreeable unto Scriptures, Giving honour to the wife, &c. But turning to Doctor *Reyn.* (with smiling saith his Majesty) Many a man speakes of *Robin Hood*, who never shot in his Bow: if you had a good wife yourself, you would think all the honour and worship you could do to her, were well bestowed.

*The Dean of Sarum mentioned the Ring in marriage; which Doctor Reyn. approved, and the King confessed that he was Married withall; and added, that he thought they would prove to*  
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*be scarce well Married, who are not Married with a Ring.*

*He likewise spake of the Churching of women, by the name of Purification, which being read out of the book, his Majesty very well allowed it, and pleasantly said, that Women were loth enough of themselves to come to Church, and therefore he would have this, or any other occasion to draw them thither.*

And this was the substance and summe of that third general point. At which pawse, it growing toward night, his Majesty asked again, if they had any more to say: If they had, because it was late, they should have another day; but M. Doctor *Reynolds* told him, that they had but one point more, which was the last general head; but it pleased his Majesty, first to ask what they could say to the Cornerd Cap? They all approved it: *Well then, said his Majesty, turning himself to the Bishops, you may now safely wear your Caps: but I shall tell you, if you should walk in one street in Scotland, with such a Cap on your head, if I were not with you, you should be stoned to death with your Cap.*

In the fourth general head touching Discipline, Doctor *Reyn.* first took exception to the committing

committing of Ecclesiastical censures unto Lay-Chancellors; his reason was, that in the Statute made in King *Henry* his time, for their Authority, that was abrogated in Queen *Maries* time, and not revived in the late Queens daies: and abridged by Bishops themselves 1571. Ordering that the said Lay-Chancellors should not excommunicate in matters of Correction, and *An.* 1584, and 1589. Not in matters of instance, but to be done onely by them, who had power of the Keies: *His Majesty answered; He had already conferred with his Bishops, about that point, and that such order should be taken therein, as was convenient, willing him in the mean time, to go to some other matter, if he had any.* Then he desireth, that according to certain provincial constitutions, they of the Clergy might have meetings once every three weekes.

First, in Rural Deanries, and therein to have Prophecyng, according as the reverend Father Arch-Bishop *Grindall*, and other Bishops desired of her late Majesty\*.

Secondly, that such things as could not be resolved upon there, might be referred to the Archdeacons Visitation, and so

\* 1. Cor. 14.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, from thence to the Episcopal Synode, where the Bishop with his Presbytery, should determine all such points, as before could not be decided.

At which speech, his Majesty was somewhat stirred; yet, which is admirable in him, without passion, or shew thereof; thinking that they ayimed at a Scottish Presbytery, which, faith he, as well agreeth with a Monarchy, as God and the Devil. *Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasures censure me and my Council, and all our proceedings: Then Will shall stand up and say, It must be thus; then Dick shall reply and say, nay Marry, but we will have it thus. And therefore, here I must once reiterate my former speech, Le Roy s'avifera: Stay I pray you, for one seven years, before you demand that of me: and if then you find me purisy and fat, and my wind pipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you: for let that Government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath, then shall we all of us have work enough, both our hands full. But Doctor Reynolds, till you find that I grow lazy, let that alone.*

And here, because that Doctor *Reyn.* had twice before obruded the Kings Supremacie; first,



first, in the Article concerning the Pope; Secondly, in the point of subscription; his Majesty at those times said nothing: *But now growing to an end, he said, I shall speak of one matter more; yet somewhat out of order: but it skilleth not.* Doctor Reynolds quoth the King, *you have often spoken for my Supremacy; and it is well; but know you any here, or any elsewhere, who like of the present Government Ecclesiastical, that find fault or dislike my Supremacy?* Doctor Reynolds said, *No.* Why then, said his Majesty, *I will tell you a Tale.* After that the Religion restored by King Edward the Sixth, was soon overthrown, by the succession of Queen Mary here in England, we in Scotland felt the effect of it. Whereupon Master Knox writes to the Queen Regent, (of whom without flattery, I may say, that she was a vertuous and moderate Lady,) telling her that she was Supream Head of the Church, and charged her, as she would answer it before Gods tribunal, to take care of Christ his Evangill, and of suppressing the Popish Prelates, who withstood the same. But how long, trow ye, did this continue? Even so long, till by her authority, the Popish Bishops were repressed, he himself, and his Adherents were brought in, and well settled, and by these meanes made strong enough, to undertake the matters of Reformation themselves. Then loe, they began to  
make

*make small account of her Supremacy, nor would longer rest on her authority, but took the cause into their own hand, and according to that more light wherewith they were illuminated, made a further Reformation of Religion. How they used that poor Lady my Mother, is not unknown, and with grief I may remember it: who, because she had not been otherwise instructed, did desire, only a private Chapell, wherein to serve God after her manner, with some few selected persons, but her supremacy was not sufficient to obtain it at their hands: And how they dealt with me in my minority, you all know, it was not done secretly, and though I would, I cannot conceal it. I will apply it thus. And then putting his hand to his Hat, his Majesty said, my Lords, the Bishops, I may thank you, that these men do thus plead for my Supremacy: They think they cannot make their party good against you, but by appealing unto it, as if you, or some that adhere unto you, were not well affected towards it. But if once you were out, and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy. No Bishop, no King, as before I said. Neither do I thus speak at randome, without ground, for I have observed since my coming into England, that some Preachers before me, can be content to pray for James King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith,*

*but*

but as for *supream Governor*, in all causes, and over all persons (as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil*) they passe that over with silence, & what cut they have been of, I after learned. After this, asking them, if they had any more to object, and *Doctor Reyn.* answering no; His Majesty appointed the next *Wednesday* for both parties to meet before him, and rising from his Chair, as he was going to his inner Chamber, *If this be all, quoth he, that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of this Land, or else do worse.*

And this was the fumme of the second dayes Conference, which raised such an admiration in the Lords, in respect of the King his singular readynesse, and exact knowledge, that one of them said, he was fully perswaded, his Majesty spake by the instinct of the Spirit of God. My Lord *Cicil* acknowledged, that very much we are bound to God, who had given us a King of an understanding heart. My Lord Chancellor passing out of the privy Chamber, said unto the Dean of *Chester*, standing by the door; I have often heard and read, that *Rex est mixta persona cum Sacerdote*, but I never saw the truth thereof till this day.

Surely, whosoever heard his Majesty, might  
justly

justly think, that title did more properly fit him, which *Eunapius* gave to that famous Rhetorician, in saying, that he was, βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἔμπυχου καὶ περιπατῶν μεσεῖον, A living Library and a Walking Studie.

*Finis secundæ diei.*

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THE  
THIRD DAYES  
CONFERENCE.

UPON *Wednesday, January 18.* all the Bishops, aforementioned, attended at the Court, and the Deanes: who were all called into the Privy Chamber, and who so else my Lord Arch-Bishop appointed, (for such was his Majesties pleasure) whereupon the Knights and Doctors of the Arches, *viz.* Sir *Daniel Dunne*, Sir *Thomas Crumpton*, Sir *Richard Swale*, Sir *John Bennet*, and Doctor *Drury* entred in. As soon as the King was set, the Lord Arch-Bishop presented unto him a note of those points, which his Majesty had referred to their consideration, upon the first day, and the alteration, or rather explanation of them in our Liturgie.

1. Absolution or Remission of finnes, in the Rubrick of Absolution.

F

2. In

2. In private Baptism, the lawfull Minister present.

3. Examination, with Confirmation of Children.

4. *Jesus* said, to them; twice to be put into the Dominical Gospels, instead of *Jesus* said to his Disciples.

*His Majesty here taking the Common Prayer Book, and turning to private Baptism, willed, that where the words were (in the Rubrick, the second Paragraph) They Baptize not Children, Now it should be thus read; They cause not children to be baptized; and again in the same paragraph, for those words; Then they Minister it, it should be; The Curate, or lawful Minister present, shall do it on this fashion. Concluding very gravely, that in this Conference, he aimed at three things principally; First, The setting down of words fit and convenient; Secondly, Contriving how things might be best done, without appearance of alteration; Thirdly, Practised, that each man may do his duty in his place.*

*After this, his Majesty fell into discourse about the high Commission, wherein he said, that he*

*understood, how the parties named therein, were too many and too mean; that the matters they dealt in were base, and such as Ordinaries at home in their Courts might censure; that the branches granted out to the Bishops in their several Diocesses, were too frequent and large. To which, my Lords Grace answered severally. First, for the number, it was requisite it should be great, for otherwise, he must be forced, as oft-times now it fell out, to sit alone, because, that albeit all the Lords of the Privy Counsel were in, all the Bishops, many of the Judges at Law, and some of the Clerks of the Council, yet very few, or none of them, sitting with him at ordinary times, some of meaner place, as Deanes, and Doctours of Divinity, and Law, must needs be put in; whose attendance his Grace might with more authority command and expect. Secondly, for the matters handled therein, he said, that he oftentimes had complained thereof, but saw that it could not be remedied; because, that the fault may be of that nature, as that the ordinary jurisdiction might censure it: but eftsoones it falls out, that the party delinquent is too great, and so the Ordinary dare not proceed against him; or so mighty in his state, or so wilful in his contumacie, that he will not obey the Summons or censure; and so the Ordinary is forced to crave help at*

the High Commission. To the third, his Grace said, that it concerned not him to make answer thereunto, for such Commissions have been granted against his will oftentimes, and without his knowledge for the most part. My Lord Chancellor therefore offered it to his Majesties wisdom to consider, if such Commissions should not be granted to any Bishop, but such as have the largest Diocesses, *which his Majesty well approved: and added withall, that those Bishops who have in their Diocesses, the most troublesome and refractory persons, either Papists, or Puritans: but of this, as also of the other things found fault with herein, he willed those to consult, to whom should be appointed the review of the Commission.* And here that point had ended, but that one of the Lords, (I think verily rather upon misinformation, than set purpose,) pleased to say, that the proceeding thereby, was like unto the *Spanish* Inquisition, wherein men were urged to subscribe more than Law required; that by the Oath *Ex officio*, they were enforced to accuse themselves; that they were examined upon 20, or 24. Articles, upon the sudden, without deliberation, and for the most part against themselves: for the evidence thereof, a letter was shewed of an ancient Honourable Councillor, written to the Lord Archbishop, *Anno. 1584*, of two Ministers of *Cambridge*shire,



*bridgehire*, then or thereabouts, examined upon many Articles, and in the end deprived. The Lord Arch-Bishop answered, first, to the matter, that in the manner of proceeding, and examining, his Lordship was deceived: for if any Article did touch the party any way, either for life, liberty, or scandal, he might refuse to answer, neither was he urged thereunto. Secondly, to the letter, being in a cause twenty years since determined, he could not answer the particulars, but if his answer to that letter were found out, he doubted not, but as it did satisfy that honourable Councillour when he lived, so it would also sufficiently clear this complaint before his Majesty.

My Lord of *London*, for the matter of Subscription, shewed his Highness the 3. Articles which the Church-men of *England*, are to approve by Subscribing; namely, the Kings Supremacy, the Articles of Religion, and the Book of Common Prayer. All which it pleased his Majesty himself, to read, (and after a little glance given, that the mention of the Oath *Ex officio*, came in before his due time) he dilated, first, how necessary Subscription was, in every well governed Church; that it was to be urged, for the keeping of peace: for as Laws to prevent killing, did provide there should be no quarrel-

ling; so to prevent greater tumults in the Church, subscription was requisite. Secondly, because the Bishop is to answer for every Minister, whom he admitteth into his Diocesse, it were fittest for him, to know the affection of the party before his admittance, the best way to know him, and to prevent future factions, was to urge his subscription at his first entrance: for, *Turpius ejicitur, quàm non admittitur hospes.* Thirdly, as subscription was a good meanes to discern the affection of persons, whether quiet or turbulent; *Withall it was the principal way to avoid confusion: concluding, that if any, after things were well ordered, would not be quiet, and shew his obedience, the Church were better without him, he were worthy to be hanged. Præstat ut pereat unus, quam unitas.*

Touching the Oath *Ex officio*, the Lord Chancellor, and after him the Lord Treasurer, spake both for the necessity, and use thereof in diverse Courts, & cases. *But his Excellent Majesty preventing that old allegation, Nemo cogitur detegere suam turpitudinem, said, that the Civil proceedings only punished facts, but in Courts Ecclesiastical, it was requisite, that Fame and Scandals should be looked unto. That here was necessary, the Oath Compurgatorie, and the Oath Ex officio too; and yet great moderation should*

should be used, first, In gravioribus criminibus : and Secondly, in such, whereof there is a publick fame : Thirdly, in distinguishing of publick Fame, either caused by the inordinate demeanor of the offender, or raised by the undiscreeet proceeding in trial of the fact : as namely in Scotland, where the lying with a wench (though done privately, and known, or scarce suspected by two or three persons before) was made openly known to the King, to the Queen, to the Prince, to many hundreds in the Court, by bringing the parties to the stool of Repentance, and yet perhaps be but a suspicion only. And here his Majesty so soundly described the Oath Ex officio : First, for the ground thereof : Secondly, The wisdom of the Law therein ; Thirdly, The manner of proceeding thereby, and the necessary and profitable effect thereof, in such a compendious, but absolute order, that all the Lords and the rest of the present Auditors, stood amazed at it : The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury said that undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special assistance of Gods Spirit. The Bishop of London upon his knee, protested, that his heart melted within him, (as so he doubted not, did the hearts of the whole Company) with joy, and made haste to acknowledge unto Almighty God, the singular mercy we have received at his hands, in giving us such a King, as since Christ his time, the like he

thought had not been, whereunto the Lords with one voice, did yield a very affectionate Acclamation. The Civilians present confessed, that they could not in many houres warning, have so judicially, plainly, and accurately, and in such a brief manner have described it.

*After this, his Majesty committed some weighty matters to be consulted of, by the Lords and Bishops; First, for Excommunication, in causes of lesse moment the name or censure to be altered, secondly, for the high Commission, the quality of the persons to be named, and the nature of the causes to be handled therein. Thirdly, for recusant Communicants; for there are three sorts, saith his Majesty, of Papists: Some, first, which come to Sermons, but not to service and prayer; secondly, some which come to both them, but not to the Communion; thirdly, a number which abstain from all. That inquiry might be made of all those, who were of the first, second, or third rank, concluding therein, That the weak were to be informed, the wilful to be punished.*

Here my Lord Chancellor mentioned the writ *De Excommunicato capiendo*, which his Honor said did most affright the Papists, of all other punishments, because by reason of that they were

were many wayes disabled in law : therefore he would take order, if his Majesty so pleased, to send that writ out against them freely without charge, and if they were not executed, his Lordship would lay the Under-sheriffes in Prison, and to this the King assented.

*The fourth thing to be consulted of was for the sending and appointing of Preachers into Ireland, whereof, saith his Majesty, I am but half a King, being Lord over their bodies, but their soules seduced by Popery, he much pittied, affirming, that where there is not true Religion, there can be no continued obedience : nor for Ireland only, but for some part of Wales, and the Northern borders, so once called, though now no borders : the men to be sent, not to be factious, or scandalous, for weeds will be weeds, wheresoever they be, and are good for nothing, but to be piked over the wall, therefore they should single out men of sincerity, of knowledge, of courage.*

*The last was, for provison of sufficient maintenance for the Clergie ; and withall, for the planting of a learned and painful Minister in every Parish, as time shall seroe.*

*To every of these, his Majesty willed that several Commissioners*

*Commissioners of his Councel and Bishops should be appointed by the Lords upon the dissolving the assembly present.*

And thus having conferred of these points with the Bishops, and referred other some of them, as you heard, to special Committies, his Majesty willed, that Doctor *Reyn.* and his associates, should be called in, to whom, he presently signified, what was done, and caused the alterations, or explications, before named, to be read unto them. A litle disputing there was, about the words in Marriage, *With my body I thee worship*, and arguing no other thing to be meant, by the word worship, than that, which Saint *Paul* willeth, 1. *Cor.* 7. 4. the man thereby acknowledging, that hereby he worshipeth his wife, in that he appropriateth his body unto her alone: nor any more, than that which *S. Peter* counselleth, 1. *Pet.* 3. 7. That the man should give honour to his wife, as the weaker vessel; yet for their satisfaction should be put in, *With my body I thee worship*, and honour, if it were thought fit; and so his Majesty shut up all with a most pithy exhortation to both sides for Unity, perswading diligence in each mans place, without violence on the one party, or disobedience on the other, and willed them to deal with their friends abroad to that purpose:

purpose: For his Majesty feared, and had some experience, that many of them were ticklish and humorous; nor that only, but labourers to pervert others to their fancies; he now saw that the exceptions against the Communion Book, were matters of weaknesse; therefore if the persons reluctant be discreet, they will be won betimes, and by good persuasions; if indiscreet, better they were removed: For many by their factious behaviour were driven to be Papists. Now then of their fruits he shall judge them, obedience and humility being marks of Honest and good men, & is expected of them; and by their example and persuasion of all their sort abroad, for, if hereafter, things being thus well ordered, they should be unquiet, neither his Majesty, nor the state, had any cause to think well of them.

To which, they gave all their unanimous assent, taking exceptions against nothing that was said or done, but promised to perform all duty to the Bishops, as their Reverend Fathers, and to joyn with them against the common adversaries, and for the quiet of the Church.

Only, Master *Chatterton*, of *Emmanuel College*, kneeling, requested that the wearing of the Surplis, and the use of the Crosse in Baptism,

tism, might not be urged upon some honest, godly, and painful Ministers in some parts of *Lancashire*, who feared, that if they should be forced to them, many whom they had won to the Gospel, would slide back, and revolt unto Popery again; and particularly, instanced the Vicar of *Ratesdale* (he could not have light upon a worfe,) for not many years before, he was proved before my Lord Arch-Bishop, as his Grace there testified, and my Lord Chancellor, by his unseemly, and unreverent usage of the Eucharist, dealing the bread out of a basket, every man putting in his hand, and taking out a peece, to have made many loath the Communion, and wholly refuse to come to Church.

*His Majesty answered, that it was not his purpose, and he durst answer for the Bishops, that it was not their intent, presently, and out of hand to inforce those things, without Fatherly admonitions, conferences and perswasions premised; but wished, that it should be examined, if those men by their pains and preaching, had converted any from Popery, and were withall men of quiet disposition, honest of life, and diligent in their calling; if so, Letters should be written to the Bishop of Chester, (of whom his Majesty gave a very good testimony) to that purpose,*



pose; if not, but that they were of a turbulent & opposite Spirit, both they, & others of that unquiet humor, should presently be enforced to a conformity: and so for that point, it was concluded, that my Lord Arch-bishop should write to the Bishop of *Chester*, his Letters for that matter.

My Lord of *London* replieth, that if this were granted, the Copy of these letters (especially, if his *Majesty* had written, as at first it was purposed) would flie over all *England*, and then others, for their confines, would make the same request, and so no fruit would follow of this Conference, but things would be worse than they were before.

Therefore he humbly desired his *Majesty*, that a time should be limited, within which compassè, they should conform themselves. *To which his Majesty readily assented, and willed, that the Bishop of the Diocessè, should set them down the time, and in the mean while conferre with them, and if they would not yield, whatsoever they were, to remove them, after their time expired.*

No sooner was that motion ended, but down falls Master *Knewstubs*, and he requests the like  
favour

favour of forbearance, for some honest Ministers in *Suffolk*, telling the King, it would make much against their Credits in the Country, to be now forced to the Surplis, and the Crosse in Baptism. My Lords Grace was answering; Nay, saith his *Majesty*, let me alone with him. *Sir*, saith the King, you shew your self an uncharitable man, we have here taken paines, and in the end have concluded of an unity, and uniformity, and you forsooth, must preferre the Credits of a few private men, before the general peace of the Church: this is just the *Scottish Argument*; for when any thing was there concluded, which disliked some humors, the only reason why they would not obey, was, it stood not with their credits to yield, having so long time been of the contrary opinion; I will none of that, saith the King, and therefore, either let them conform themselves, and that shortly, or they shall hear of it. My Lord *Cicill* put his *Majesty* in mind, of a word his Highnesse had used the day before, namely, of Ambling Communion, saying, that the indecency thereof, was very offensive, and had driven many from the Church: And here Master *Chatterton* was told of fitting Communion in *Emanuel College*; which he said was so, by reason of the seats so plac'd as they be, yet that they had some kneeling also.

Finally,

Finally, they joyntly promised to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be the Kings mind to have it so. His Majesties gracious conclusion was so piercing, as that it fetched tears from some on both sides. My *Lord of London* ended all, in the name of the whole company, with a Thanksgiving unto God for his Majesty, and a prayer for the health and prosperity of his Highnesse, our gracious Queen, the young Prince, and all their Royal Issue.

His *Majesty* departed into the inner Chamber: All the *Lords* presently went to the Council Chamber, to appoint Commissioners for the several matters before referred.

FINIS.

## THE PREFACE.

*M*ANY Copies were sent me, whereof some were so shamelessly untrue, and I assure you so obscene, that I think his Majesty would have been as much offended with me for Printing, as with the Authors for dispersing them; I have chosen thereof the best and cleanliest, which do here under follow.

*I give no Censure, neither know I the disperser, let the Reader conferre and judge, Rectum est iudex sui & obliqui.*

## THE FIRST COPY.

*January, 15. 1603.*

SIR, I cannot conceal from you the good success which it hath pleased God to send us, by the Conference which his *Majesty* had with the Bishops. at the Court. There appeared none but the Bishops. which were with the King above three hours. *Canter. Lond. Wint.* fell down on their knees, and desired, that all things might remain, lest the Papists should think we have been in an error. The King replied, that in 42. years corruptions might creep in.

He spake of Confirmation, private Baptism, the Cross, dumb Ministry, Non residence, the Courts, which he promised to amend, especially he spake bitterly against private Baptism, saying, he had as lieve an Ape as a Woman should baptize his Child, and against Courts, which he said he would put down. The *Lord* Chief Justice, and the *Lord* Keeper spake much against them, and the *Lord Cecill* against Excommunications by *Lay-men*. M. Dean of the  
G Chapel

Chapel speaking something to the King in his ear, the Bishop of *London* insolently said unto him, Doctor *Montague*, speak out, that we may hear you, and seek not to crosse us. At their departure they said, that if the King should use the *Ministers* in such sort, as they were used, they would be too insolent. The King said, they were his subjects, and if he would not hear them, then they had just cause to complain. The Bishops brought forth many Popish arguments, which the King very earnestly answered, and learnedly, more than ten times calling them Papiſh arguments, and said, by those reasons they might prove Popery. The Bishop of *Wincheſter* said, that if he took away private Baptiſm, he overthrew all antiquity. The Bishop of *Peterborow* brought forth a foolish argument, with much diſgrace to himself. The Bishops having taken *Wednesday*, to conſider of the Kings ſpeech, the Ministers came to the King on *Monday* at nine of the clock. Honest men about the Court are comforted. Conformitans hang down their heads, and the Bishops men curſe the Puritans.

*Sic explicit prima dies.*

ANOTHER

## ANOTHER COPY.

I Have sent you the declaration of the Conference, the which was in this manner: the first day the Bishops of *Canterbury*, *London*, and *Winchester*, making earnest sute, that all things might stand as they did, lest the Papists should take offence, who might say, we would perswade them to come to a Church, having errours in it; and the Puritans will say, they have been persecuted long. The King answered, That the best state would gather corruptions, and that it was no Argument for them to say, They would not be cured of the Pox, because they had it 30. years. He concluded against Absolution, Confirmation, private Baptism, the dumb and scandalous Ministers, Pluralities, the Courts, and the authority of the Bishops by the high Commissioners, &c. The second day the Ministers were convented before the King, who answered fearfully and modestly: the Bishop of *London* behaved him-

self insolently, saying these are *Cartwrights*  
 Schollars, Schifmatikes, breakers of your Ma-  
 jesties Laws, you may know them by their  
 Turkey gownes and filk Turkey Grogaram. The  
 third day, they met all, where the King spake  
 much to unity, that they might joyn against  
 the Papists. All the three daies the King be-  
 haved himself admirable to the beholders, grant-  
 ing to the Ministers their earnest request, that  
 the Ceremonies of the Crofs in Baptism, and  
 the Surplises, reverent for antiquity, should not  
 be urged upon the consciences of the Ministers,  
 so that they were peaceable men, and that they  
 should have time to consider of them, many  
 hundreds being resolved rather to have lost their  
 places, than to have yielded to those supersti-  
 tions, against which they had preached. The  
 last day the Bishop of *Canterbury* was intreated,  
 to be a meanes that the Ceremonies might not  
 be pressed: but he answered, they had been  
 urged as necessary, and should be so still. But  
 it pleased God to move his Majesty to a more  
 peaceable course: the Bishop of *Peterborow*  
 came in with his argument about Baptism, which  
 the King made void to his great reproach: The  
 King said many times, that the Bishops reasons  
 were Popish, and that they might establish Po-  
 pery by them: it is thought that the King will  
 be shortly in *Huntington-shire*. The Lord  
 Chancellor,



Chancellor, the Lord *Cicill*, the Lord *Chief Justice*, and the *Attorney Generall*, must set down some course for the high Commiffion, and the spiritual Courts.

A THIRD COPY.

Some of the speeches that are bruted, upon M.  
Doctōr *Reynolds's* return to Oxon, concerning  
*the late conference before his Majesty.*

1. **T**HAT the Kings Majesty did gratifie  
Master Doctōr *Reynolds* in every thing  
which he propofed: or that Doctōr *Reynolds*  
obtained and prevailed in every thing he did de-  
fire.

2. That if any man report the contrary, he  
doth lie, or that they should give him the lie,  
from M. Doctōr *Reynolds*.

3. That thefe things now obtained by the re-  
formers, were but the beginning of reformation:  
the greater matters are yet to come.

4. That my Lord of *Winton* flood mute, and  
faid little or nothing.

5. That

5. That my Lord of *London* called Doctor *Reynolds* Schismatick indeed (he thanks him for it) but otherwise said little to purpose.

6. That the Kings Majesty used the Bishops with very hard words, but imbraced Master Doctor *Reynolds*, and used most kind speeches to him.

7. That my Lord of *Canterbury*, or my Lord of *London*, falling on his knees, befought his Majesty to take their cause into his own hands, and to make some good end of it, such as might stand with their credit.

*FINIS.*

That my Lord of Canterbury  
shall have the same (as he has him)  
and shall have the same (as he has him)

That my Lord of Canterbury  
shall have the same (as he has him)  
and shall have the same (as he has him)

That my Lord of Canterbury  
shall have the same (as he has him)  
and shall have the same (as he has him)

FINIS







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*Barlow, William, b.p. of Lincoln, d. 1613.*

The summe and substance of the conference, which it pleased His Excellent Majestie to have with the lords bishops, and others of his clergie (at which most of the lords of the councill were present) in His Majesties privie-chamber, at Hampton Court, Jan. 14. 1603. Contracted by William Barlow ... Whereunto are added some copies (scattered abroad) unsavory, and untrue. (Clerkenwell, Eng., Bye and Law, printers, 1804)

xxii, 87 p. 22½<sup>cm</sup>.

I. C. copy imperfect : half-title? wanting.

1. Hampton Court conference, 1604. I. Title.

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