

AN HOMILY AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION  
THE FIRST PART.

As God the Creator and Lord of all things appointed his angels<sup>1</sup> and heavenly creatures in all obedience to serve and to honour his Majesty, so was it his will that man, his chief creature upon the earth, should live under the obedience of him his<sup>a</sup> Creator and Lord; and for that cause God, as soon as he had created man, gave unto him a certain precept and law, which he, being yet in the state of innocency and remaining in Paradise, should observe as a pledge and token of his due and bounden obedience, with denunciation of death if he did transgress and break the said law and commandment. And, as God would have man to be his obedient subject, so did he make all earthly creatures subject unto man; who kept their due obedience unto man so long as man remained in his obedience unto God. In the which obedience if man had continued still, there had been no poverty, no diseases, no sickness, no death, nor other miseries, wherewith mankind is now infinitely and most miserably afflicted and oppressed. So here appeareth the original kingdom of God over angels and man and universally over all things, and of man over earthly creatures, which God had made subject unto him; and withal the felicity and blessed state which angels, man, and all creatures had remained in, had they continued in due obedience unto God their King. For, as long as in this first kingdom the subjects continued in due obedience to God their King, so long did God embrace all his subjects with his love, favour, and grace; which to enjoy is perfect felicity. Whereby it is evident that obedience is the principal virtue of all virtues, and indeed the very root of all virtues, and the cause of all felicity.

But, as all felicity and blessedness should have continued with the continuance of obedience, so with the breach of obedience,

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*Margin Notes:* In order for 1st and 2d sentences: Ps. 96:8 [97:7], and 102 [103]:20, and 148:2; Dan. 3:58 [Song of the Three Holy Children 37], and 7:10; Matt. 26:53; Col. 1:16; Heb. 1:4, 14; Rev. 19:10. Gen. 2:17. Gen. 1:28.

<sup>a</sup> of him his] of his *from* D.

<sup>1</sup> Adorate cum, omnes angeli ejus. *Ps* 96:8, *Vulg.* Worship him, all ye gods. *Ps.* 97:7, *Auth. Vers.*

and breaking in of rebellion, all vices and miseries did withal break in, and overwhelm the world. The first author<sup>δ</sup> of which rebellion, (the root of all vices and mother of all mischiefs,) was Lucifer, first God's most excellent creature and most bounden subject; who, by rebelling against the Majesty of God of the brightest and most glorious angel is become the blackest and most foulest fiend and devil, and from the height of heaven is fallen into the pit and bottom of hell. Here you may see the first author and founder of rebellion and the reward thereof. Here you may see the grand captain and father of all rebels:<sup>b</sup> who, persuading<sup>ε</sup> the following of his rebellion against God, their Creator and Lord, unto our first parents Adam and Eve, brought<sup>ζ</sup> them in high displeasure with God; wrought their exile and banishment out of Paradise, a place of all pleasure and goodness, into this wretched earth and vale of all misery;<sup>η</sup> procured unto them sorrows of their minds, mischiefs, sickness, diseases, death of their bodies; and, which is far more horrible than all worldly and bodily mischiefs, he had wrought thereby their eternal and everlasting death<sup>θ</sup> and damnation, had not God by the obedience of his Son Jesus Christ repaired that which man by disobedience and rebellion had destroyed, and so of his mercy had pardoned and forgiven him: of which all and singular the premises the holy Scriptures do bear record in sundry places. Thus you do<sup>ι</sup> see, that neither heaven nor paradise could suffer any rebellion in them, neither be places for any rebels to remain in. Thus became rebellion, as you see, both the first and greatest<sup>κ</sup> and the very root of all other sins, and the first and principal cause both of all worldly and bodily miseries, sorrows, diseases, sicknesses, and deaths; and, which is infinitely worse than all these, as is said, the very cause of death and damnation eternal also.

After this breach of obedience to God and rebellion against his Majesty, all mischiefs and miseries breaking in therewith and overflowing the world, lest all things should come unto confusion and utter ruin, God forthwith, by laws<sup>λ</sup> given unto mankind, repaired again the rule and order of obedience thus by rebellion overthrown: and, besides the obedience due unto his Majesty, he not only ordained<sup>μ</sup> that in families and households the wife should be obedient unto her husband, the children unto their parents, the servants unto their masters, but also, when

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*Margin Notes:* δ Matt. 4:9, 25:41; John 8:44; 2 Pet. 2:4; Jude 6; Rev. 12:7. ε Gen. 3:1 &c; Wisd. 2:24. ζ Gen. 3:8–9 &c., 17, 23–24. η Rom. 5:12 &c, 19 &c. θ Gen. 3:17. ι Gen. 3:16; [Eph. 6:1–5].

<sup>b</sup> of all rebels] of rebels *from* 1582. <sup>c</sup> of all misery] of misery 1623. <sup>d</sup> you do] do you *from* 1582. <sup>e</sup> and greatest] and the greatest *from* 1582.

mankind increased and spread itself more largely over the world, he by his holy word did constitute and ordain in cities and countries several and special governors and rulers, unto whom the residue of his people should be obedient. As in reading of the holy Scriptures we shall find, in very many and almost infinite places<sup>κ</sup> as well of the Old Testament as of the New, that kings and princes, as well the evil<sup>2</sup> as the good, do reign by God's ordinance, and that subjects are bounden to obey them; that God doth give princes wisdom, great power, and authority; that God defendeth them against their enemies, and destroyeth their enemies horribly; that<sup>λ</sup> *the anger and displeasure of the prince is as the roaring of a lion, and the very messenger of death*; and that *the subject that provoketh him to displeasure sinneth against his own soul*; with many other things concerning both the authority of princes and the duty of subjects.

But here let us rehearse two special places out of the New Testament, which may stand in stead of all other. The first out of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and the thirteenth chapter, where he writeth thus unto all subjects. [Rom. 13:[1–7].] *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For princes are not to be feared for good works, but for evil. Wilt thou then be without fear of the power? Do well; so shalt thou have praise of the same; for he is the minister of God for thy wealth. But, if thou do evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword for naught; for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must be subject, not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake. For this cause ye pay also tribute; for they are God's ministers, serving for the same purpose. Give to every man therefore his duty; tribute to whom tribute belongeth; custom to whom custom is due; fear to whom fear belongeth; honour to whom ye owe honour.* Thus far are St. Paul's words. The second place is in St. Peter's first<sup>f</sup> Epistle, and the second chapter [1 Pet. 2:[13–18].], whose words are these. *Submit yourselves unto all manner of ordinance<sup>g</sup> of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be unto the king, as unto the chief head; either unto rulers, as unto them that are sent of him for the punishment of evildoers, but for*

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*Margin Notes:* κ Job 34:30; and 36:7; Eccles. 8:2, and 10:16–17, 20; Ps. 18:50, and 20:6, and 21:1, and Ps. 144:1; Prov. 8:15. λ [Prov. 19:12; 16:14; 20:2.]

<sup>f</sup> first] omitted 1623. <sup>g</sup> manner ordinance] manner of ordinances 1623.

<sup>2</sup> Qui regnare facit hominem hypocritam propter peccata populi. Job 34:30. *Vulg.*

*the cherishing of them that do well: for so is the will of God, that with well doing ye may stop the mouths of ignorant and foolish men: as free, and not as having the liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but even as the servants of God. Honor all men: love brotherly fellowship:<sup>3</sup> fear God: honour the king. Servants, obey your masters with fear; not only if they be good and courteous, but also though they be froward. Thus far out of St. Peter.*

By these two places of the holy Scriptures it is most evident that kings, queens, and other princes, (for he speaketh of authority and power, be it in men or women,) are ordained of God, are to be obeyed, and honoured of their subjects; that such subjects as are disobedient or rebellious against their princes disobey God, and procure their own damnation; that the government of princes is a great blessing of God, given for the common wealth, specially of the good and godly, (for the comfort and cherishing of whom God giveth and setteth up princes,) and, on the contrary part, to the fear and for the punishment of the evil and wicked; finally, that if servants ought to obey their masters, not only being gentle, but such as be froward, as well, and much more, ought subjects to be obedient, not only to their good and courteous, but also to their sharp and rigorous princes. It cometh therefore neither of chance and fortune (as they term it), nor of the ambition of mortal men and women climbing up of their own accord to dominion, that there be kings, queens, princes, and other governors over men being their subjects; but all kings, queens, and other governors are specially appointed by the ordinance of God.

And, as God himself, being of an infinite majesty, power, and wisdom, ruleth and governeth all things in heaven and in earth,<sup>h</sup> as the universal Monarch<sup>u</sup> and only King and Emperor over all, as being only able to take and bear the charge of all; so hath he [Ecclus. 17:[17].] constitute,<sup>i</sup> ordained, and set earthly princes over particular kingdoms and dominions in earth, both for the avoiding of all confusion, (which else would be in the world, if it should be without such<sup>k</sup> governors,) and for the great quiet and benefit of earthly men their subjects, and also that the princes themselves, in authority, power, wisdom, providence, and righteousness in government of people and countries committed to their charge, should resemble his heavenly governance, as the

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*Margin Note:* μ Ps. 10:16, and 45:6, &c; and 47:2.

<sup>h</sup> and in earth] and earth *from* 1582. <sup>i</sup> constitute] constituted *from* C. <sup>k</sup> without such governors] without governors *from* 1582.

<sup>3</sup> Τῆν ἀδελφότητα: fraternitatem. *Vulg.*

majesty of heavenly things may by the baseness of earthly things be shadowed and resembled. And for that similitude that is between the heavenly monarchy and earthly kingdoms well governed our Saviour Christ in sundry parables saith,<sup>ξ</sup> that *the kingdom of heaven is resembled unto a man a king*.<sup>4</sup> And, as the name of *the King*<sup>ο</sup> is very often attributed and given unto God in the holy Scriptures, so doth God himself in the same Scriptures sometime vouchsafe to communicate his name with earthly princes, terming them *gods*; [Ps. 82:6] doubtless for that similitude of government which they have, or should have, not unlike unto God their King.

Unto the which similitude of heavenly government the nearer and nearer that an earthly prince doth come in his regiment, the greater blessing of God's mercy is he unto that country and people over whom he reigneth: and the further and further that an earthly prince doth swerve from the example of the heavenly government, the greater plague he is<sup>1</sup> of God's wrath, and punishment by God's justice, unto that country and people over whom God for their sins hath placed such a prince and governor. For it is indeed evident, both by the Scriptures and by daily<sup>m</sup> experience, that the maintenance of all virtue and godliness, and consequently of the wealth and prosperity of a kingdom and people, doth stand and rest more in a wise and good prince, on the one part, than in great multitudes of other men being subjects; and, on the contrary part, the overthrow of all virtue and godliness, and consequently the decay and utter ruin of a realm and people, doth grow and come more by an indiscreet and evil governor than by many thousands of other men being subjects. Thus say the holy Scriptures. *Well is thee, O thou land*, saith the Preacher [Eccles. 10:17.], *whose king is come of nobles, and whose princes eat in due season, for necessity and not for lust*. Again,<sup>ο</sup> *A wise and righteous king maketh his realm and people wealthy*: and, *A good, merciful, and gracious prince is as a shadow in heat, as a defence in storms, as dew, as sweet showers, as fresh watersprings in great droughts*. Again, the Scriptures, of indiscreet and evil princes, speak thus [Eccles 10:16]: *Woe be to thee, O thou land whose king is but a child, and whose princes are early at their banquets*. Again,<sup>υ</sup> *When the wicked to reign, then men go to ruin*.<sup>5</sup> And again, *A foolish prince destroyeth*

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*Margin Notes:* ξ Matt. 18:23, and 22:2. ο Ps. 10:16, and 14, and 47:2 &c; Matt. 22:13, and 25:34. σ Prov. 16:[15, and 19:12] and 29:[4]. Eccles. 10:[17]. Is. 32:1–2]. υ Prov. 28:[12, 16] and 29:[4].

<sup>1</sup> he is] is he 1623. <sup>m</sup> by daily] daily by from 1582.

<sup>4</sup> ἄνθρωπῳ βασιλεῖ: homini regi. *Vulg.*

<sup>5</sup> Regnantibus impiis ruinae hominum. *Prov. 28:12. Vulg.*

*the people:* and, *A covetous king undoeth his subjects.* Thus speak the Scriptures, thus experience testifieth, of good and evil princes.

What shall subjects do then? Shall they obey valiant, stout, wise, and good princes, and contemn, disobey, and rebel against children being their princes, or against indiscreet and evil governors? God forbid. For first what a perilous thing were it to commit unto the subjects the judgment, which prince is wise and godly and his government good, and which is otherwise; as though the foot must judge the head; an enterprise very heinous, and must needs breed rebellion. For who else be they that are most inclined to rebellion, but such haughty spirits? From whom springeth such foul ruin of realms? Is not rebellion the greatest of all mischiefs? And who are most ready to the greatest mischiefs, but the worst men? Rebels therefore, the worst of all subjects, are most ready to rebellion, as being the worst of all vices and furthest from the duty of a good subject; as, on the contrary part, the best subjects are most firm and constant in obedience, as in the special and peculiar virtue of good subjects. What an unworthy matter were it then to make the naughtiest subjects, and most inclined to rebellion and all evil, judges over their princes, over their government, and over their counsellors, to determine which of them be good or tolerable, and which be evil and so intolerable that they must needs be removed by rebels; being ever ready, the naughtiest subjects, soonest to rebel against the best princes, specially if they be young in age, women in sex, or gentle and courteous in government; as trusting by their wicked boldness easily to overthrow their weakness and gentleness, or at the least so to fear the minds of such princes, that they may have impunity of their mischievous doings. But, whereas indeed a rebel is worse than the worst prince, and rebellion worse than the worst government of the worst prince, that hitherto hath been, both are rebels<sup>n</sup> unmeet ministers, and rebellion an unfit and unwholesome medicine, to reform any small lacks in a prince, or to cure any little griefs in government; such lewd remedies being far worse than any other maladies and disorders that can be in the body of a commonwealth.

But, whatsoever, the prince be, or his government, it is evident that for the most part those princes whom some subjects do think to be very godly, and under whose government they

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<sup>n</sup> are rebels] rebels are *from* 1582.

rejoice to live, some other subjects do take the same to be evil and ungodly, and do wish for a change. If therefore all subjects that mislike of their prince should rebel, no realm should ever be without rebellion. It were more meet that rebels should hear the advice of wise men, and give place unto their judgment, and follow the example of obedient subjects; as reason is that they whose understanding is blinded with so evil an affection should give place to them that be of sound judgment, and that the worse<sup>p</sup> should give place to the better: and so might realms continue in long obedience, peace, and quietness.

But what if the prince be undiscreet and evil indeed, and it<sup>q</sup> also evident to all men's eyes that he so is? I ask again, what if it be long of<sup>6</sup> the wickedness of the subjects that the prince is undiscreet or<sup>r</sup> evil? Shall the subjects both by their wickedness provoke God for their deserved punishment or give them an undiscreet or evil prince, and also rebel against him, and withal against God, who for the punishment of their sins did give them such a prince? Will you hear the Scriptures concerning this point? *God, say the holy Scriptures [Job 34:30], maketh a wicked man to reign for the sins of the people.*<sup>u</sup> Again, [Hos. 13:11], *God giveth a prince in his anger*, meaning an evil one, *and taketh away a prince in his displeasure*, meaning specially when he taketh away a good prince for the sins of the people, as in our memory he took away our good Josias, King Edward, in his young and good years for our wickedness. And contrarily the Scriptures do teach,<sup>ψ</sup> that God giveth wisdom unto princes, and maketh a wise and good king to reign over that people whom he loveth, and who loveth him. Again [1 Sam 12:[14-15, 25].], *if the people obey God, both they and their king shall prosper and be safe, else both shall perish*, saith God by the mouth of Samuel. Here you see that God placeth as well evil princes as good, and for what cause he doth both. If we therefore will have a good prince either to be given us or to continue, now we have such a one, let us by our obedience to God and to our prince move God thereunto. If we will have an evil prince (when God shall send such a one) taken away, and a good in his place, let us take away our

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*Margin Note:* ψ 2 Chron. 2:[11-12] and 9:[8, 23]. Prov. 16:[10].

<sup>p</sup> worse] worst *from* 1582. <sup>q</sup> and it] and is 1623. <sup>r</sup> is undiscreet or] is undiscreet and *from* 1571.

<sup>6</sup> long of: caused by, owing to, more properly written along of.

O she was naught, and long of her it was

That we meet here so strangely. — *Shakespeare, Cymbeline*, V, 5.

<sup>7</sup> See before, p. 552, note 2.

wickedness, which provoketh God to place such an one over<sup>s</sup> us, and God will either displace him, or of an evil prince make him a good prince, so that we first will change our evil into good. For will you hear the Scriptures?<sup>a</sup> *The heart of the prince is in God's hand: which way soever it shall please him, he turneth it.* Thus say the Scriptures. Wherefore let us turn from our sins unto the Lord with all our hearts, and he will turn the heart of the prince unto our quiet and wealth. Else for subjects to deserve through their sins to have an evil prince, and then to rebel against him, were double and treble evil, by provoking God more to plague them. Nay, let us either deserve to have a good prince, or let us patiently suffer and obey such as we deserve.

And, whether the prince be good or evil, let us, according to the counsel of the holy Scriptures, pray for the prince; for his continuance and increase in goodness, if he be good, and for his amendment, if he be evil.

Will<sup>t</sup> you hear the Scriptures concerning this most \*necessary point? *I exhort therefore, saith St. Paul [1 Tim. 2:[1–3].], that, above all things, prayers, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks\* be had for all men, for kings and all that are in authority, that we may live a quiet and peaceable life with all godliness: for that is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, &c.* This is St Paul. counsel. And who I pray you, was prince over the most part of Christians,<sup>u</sup> when God's Holy Spirit by St. Paul's pen gave them this lesson? Forsooth, Caligula, Clodius,<sup>x</sup> or Nero; who were not only no Christians, but pagans, and also either foolish rulers, or most cruel tyrants. Will you yet hear the word of God to the Jews,\* when they were prisoners under Nabuchodonozor king of Babylon, after he had slain their king, nobles, parents, children, and kinsfolks, burned their country, cities, yea, Hierusalem itself, and the holy temple, and had carried the residue remaining alive captives with him unto Babylon? will you hear yet what the prophet Baruch saith unto God's people being in this captivity? *Pray you, saith the prophet [Baruch 1:11[–13].], for the life of Nabuchodonozor king of Babylon, and for the life of Balthasar his son, that their days may be as the days of heaven upon the earth; that God also may give us strength, and lighten our eyes, that we may live under the defence of Nabuchodonozor king of Babylon and*

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\*former lines 19–29\*

*Margin Note:* α Prov. 21:1], Ezra 7:[27].

<sup>s</sup> an one over] a one over *from* C.    <sup>t</sup> Will] Well 1582, 1623.    <sup>u</sup> of Christians] of the Christians 1623.    <sup>x</sup> Clodius] Claudius 1623.



*under the protection of Balthasar his son, that we may long do them service, and find favour in their sight.*<sup>8</sup> *Pray for us also unto the Lord our God, for we have sinned against the Lord our God.* Thus far the prophet Baruch his words; which are spoken by him unto the people of God, of that king who was an heathen, a tyrant, and cruel oppressor of them, and had been a murderer of many thousands of their nation and a destroyer of their country, with a confession that their sins had deserved such a prince to reign over them.

And shall the old Christians, by St. Paul's exhortation, pray for Caligula, Clodius,<sup>y</sup> or Nero? shall the Jews pray for Nabuchodonozor? these emperors and kings being strangers unto them, being pagans and infidels, being murderers, tyrants, and cruel oppressors of them, and the destroyers<sup>z</sup> of their country, countrymen, and kinsmen, the burners of their villages, towns, cities, and temples? and shall not we pray for the long, prosperous, and godly reign of our natural Prince, no stranger (which [Deut. 17:15] is observed as a great blessing in the Scriptures)? of our Christian, our most gracious Sovereign, no heathen nor pagan prince? Shall we not pray for the health of our most merciful, most loving Sovereign; the preserver of us and our country in so long peace, quietness, and security; no cruel person, no tyrant, no spoiler of our goods, no shedder of our bloods,<sup>a</sup> no burner and destroyer of our towns, cities, and country.<sup>b</sup> as were those, for whom yet, (as ye have heard,) Christians, being their subjects, ought to pray? Let us not commit so great ingratitude against God and our Sovereign, as not continually to thank God for this<sup>c</sup> government, and for his great and continual benefits and blessings poured upon us by such government. Let us not commit so great a sin against God, against ourselves, and our country, as not to pray continually unto God for the long continuance of so gracious a ruler unto us and our country. Else shall we be unworthy any longer to enjoy those benefits and blessings of God which hitherto we have had by her, and shall<sup>d</sup> be most worthy to fall into all those mischiefs and miseries which we and our country have by God's grace through her government hitherto escaped.

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<sup>y</sup> Clodius] Claudius 1623. <sup>z</sup> and the destroyers] and destroyers *from* 1582. <sup>a</sup> of our bloods] of bloods 1623. <sup>b</sup> and country] and countries D. *and from* 1582. <sup>c</sup> this] his 1623. <sup>d</sup> her, and shall] her, shall 1623.

<sup>8</sup> ...et ut det Dominus virtutem nobis, et illuminet oculos nostros, ut vivamus..., et serviamus..., et inveniamus gratiam in conspectu eorum. *Vulg.*

What shall we say of those subjects (may we call them by the name of subjects?) who neither be thankful nor make any prayer to God for so gracious a Sovereign; but also themselves take armour wickedly, assemble companies and bands of rebels, to break the public peace so long continued, and to make, not war, but rebellion; to endanger the person of such a gracious Sovereign; to hazard the estate of their country, for whose defence they should be ready to spend their lives; and, being Englishmen, to rob, spoil, destroy, and burn in England Englishmen; to kill and murder their own neighbours and kinsfolk, their own countrymen; to do all evil and mischief, yea, and more too than foreign enemies would or could do?<sup>9</sup> What shall we say of these men who use themselves thus rebelliously against their gracious Sovereign; who, if God for their wickedness had given them an heathen tyrant to reign over them, were by God's word bound to obey him and to pray for him? What may be spoken of them? So far doth their unkindness, unnaturalness, wickedness, mischievousness in their doings, pass and excel any thing and all things that can be expressed or uttered<sup>c</sup> by words. Only let us wish unto all such most speedy repentance, and with so grievous sorrow of heart as such so horrible sins against the Majesty of God do require, who in most extreme unthankfulness do rise, not only against their gracious Prince, against their natural country, but against all their countrymen, women, and children, against themselves, their wives, children, and kinsfolks, and, by so wicked an example, against all Christendom, and against whole mankind of all manner of people throughout the wide world; such repentance, I say, such sorrow of heart, God grant unto all such whosoever rise of private and malicious purpose, as is meet for such mischiefs attempted and wrought by them.

And unto us and all other subjects God of his mercy grant, that we may be most unlike to all such, and most like to good, natural, loving, and obedient subjects; nay, that we may be such indeed, not only shewing all obedience ourselves, but as many of us as be able to the uttermost of our power, ability, and understanding to stay and repress all rebels and rebellions

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<sup>c</sup> or uttered] and uttered 1623.

<sup>9</sup> This Homily was occasioned by the rebellion which broke out in the Northern countries under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland about the middle of November 1569. See *Camdeni Annales an. 1569. pp. 164–168, ed. 1615: Strype's Annals of the Reformation, ch. LIV.*

against God, our gracious Prince, and natural country, at every occasion that is offered unto us.

And, that which we all are able to do, unless we do it, we shall be most wicked, and most worthy to feel in the end such extreme plagues as God hath ever poured upon rebels. Let us all make<sup>f</sup> continual prayers unto Almighty God, even from the bottom of our hearts, that he will give his grace, power, and strength unto our gracious Queen Elizabeth, to vanquish and subdue all, as well rebels at home, as foreign enemies; that, all domestical rebellions being suppressed and pacified, and all outward invasions repulsed and abandoned, we may not only be sure and long continue in all obedience unto our gracious Sovereign, and in that peaceable and quiet life which hitherto we have led under her Majesty with all security; but also that both our gracious Queen Elizabeth, and we her subjects, may all together, in all obedience unto God the King of all kings<sup>g</sup> and unto his holy laws, lead our lives so in this world in all virtue and godliness, that in the world to come we may enjoy his everlasting kingdom. Which I beseech God to grant, as well to our gracious Sovereign, as unto us all, for his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God and King immortal, be all glory, praise, and thanksgiving world without end. Amen.

Thus have you heard the First Part of this Homily: now, good people, let us pray.

#### THE PRAYER.<sup>h</sup>

O most mighty God, the Lord of hosts, the Governor of all creatures, the only Giver of all victories, who<sup>i</sup> alone art able to strengthen the weak against the mighty, and to vanquish infinite multitudes of thine enemies with the countenance of a few of thy servants calling upon thy Name, and trusting in thee; defend, O Lord, thy servant, and our Governor under thee, our Queen Elizabeth, and all thy people committed to her charge.

O Lord,<sup>k</sup> withstand the cruelty of all those which be common enemies as well to the truth of thy eternal word, as to their own natural Prince and country, and manifestly to this crown and realm of England, which thou hast of thy divine providence

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<sup>f</sup> us all make] us make *from* 1582. <sup>g</sup> of all kings] of kings *from* 1582. <sup>h</sup> The Prayer] The Prayer as in that time it was published 1623. <sup>i</sup> victories, who] victories, and who 1623 *after the third and the fourth Parts of the Homily, but not in the other places.* <sup>k</sup> charge. O Lord] charge, and especially at this time, O Lord A.

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assigned in these our days to the government of thy servant, our Sovereign and gracious Queen.

O most merciful Father, if it be thy holy will, make soft and tender the stony hearts of all those that exalt themselves against thy truth, and seek either to trouble the quiet of this realm of England, or to oppress the crown of the same; and convert them to the knowledge of thy Son, the only Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ; that we and they may jointly glorify thy mercies.

Lighten, we beseech thee, their ignorant hearts to embrace the truth of thy word; or else so abate their cruelty, O most \*mighty Lord, that this our Christian region,<sup>1</sup> with others that\* confess thy holy Gospel, may obtain by thine aid and strength surety from all enemies without shedding of Christian blood; whereby all they which be oppressed with their tyranny may be relieved, and they which be in fear of their cruelty may be comforted; and finally that all Christian realms, and specially this realm of England, may by thy defence and protection continue in the truth of the Gospel, and enjoy perfect peace, quietness, and security; and that we for these thy mercies, jointly all together with one consonant heart and voice, may thankfully render to thee all laud and praise; that we, knit in one godly concord and unity amongst ourselves, may continually magnify thy glorious Name; who, with thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, are one eternal, almighty, and most merciful God. To whom be all laud and praise world without end. Amen.

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\*former line 12\*

<sup>1</sup> region] religion 1582, realm 1623.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY  
AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION.<sup>a</sup>

As in the First Part of this Treaty of obedience of subjects to their princes, and against disobedience and rebellion, I have alleged divers sentences out of the holy Scriptures for proof; so shall it be good for the better both<sup>b</sup> declaration and confirmation of the said wholesome doctrine, to allege one example or two out of the same<sup>c</sup> holy Scriptures of the obedience of subjects, not only unto their good and gracious governors, but also unto their evil and unkind princes.

As king Saul was not of the best, but rather the worst sort of princes, as being out of God's favour [1 Sam. 15:11, 22, 35] for his disobedience against God in sparing in a wrong pity the king Agag, whom Almighty God commanded to be slain according to the justice of God against his sworn enemy; and, although Saul of a devotion meant to sacrifice such things as he spared of the Amalechites to the honour and service of God, yet Saul was reproved for his wrong mercy and devotion, and was told that obedience would have more pleased him than such lenity; which sinful humanity, saith holy Chrysostom,<sup>1</sup> is more cruel before God, than any murder or shedding of blood, when it is commanded of God. But yet how evil<sup>β</sup> soever Saul the king was, and out of God's favour, yet was he obeyed of his subject David, the very best of all subjects, and most valiant<sup>γ</sup> in the service of his prince and country in the wars, the most obedient<sup>δ</sup> and loving in peace, and always most true and faithful to his sovereign and lord, and furthest<sup>d</sup> off from all manner rebellion.<sup>e</sup> For the which his most painful, true, and faithful service king Saul yet rewarded him not only with great unkindness, but also sought his destruction and death [1 Sam. 18:9, 25, 29] by all means possible; so that David was fain to save his life, not by rebellion, nor any<sup>f</sup> re-

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*Margin Notes:* Chrysos. Tom I, Hom. 1 adversus Judacos. β 1 Sam. 16:14–15; 18:10, 12; 19:9, 20. γ 1 Sam. 17:26 &c., 18:27, 19:5, 8; 23; 27. δ 1 Sam. 16:23, 19:4, 24:9.

<sup>a</sup> Rebellion.] Rebellion. The Second Part. A–E. <sup>b</sup> both] *omitted after E.* <sup>c</sup> same] *omitted after 1574.* <sup>d</sup> furthest] *furdest A–D.* <sup>e</sup> manner rebellion] *manner of rebellion from 1582.* <sup>f</sup> nor any] *or any from 1582.*

<sup>1</sup> Κἂν φείσηται τις καὶ φιλανθρωπεύσῃται παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκεῖνῳ [sc. τῷ Θεῷ], φόνου παντὸς ἀνοσιωτέρα γένοιτ· ἂν ἢ φειδώ. Chrysost. adv. Jud. Orat. IV, Opp. I, 617 B.

sistance, but by flight [1 Sam. 19:19; 21; 22.] and hiding himself from the king's sight. Which notwithstanding, when king Saul upon a time came alone into the cave where David was [1 Sam. 24:3–8.], so that David might easily have slain him, yet would he neither hurt him himself, neither suffer any of his men to lay hands upon him. Another time also David, entering by night with one Abisai [1 Sam. 26:6, 9.], a valiant and a fierce<sup>g</sup> man, into the tent where king Saul did lie asleep, where also he might yet more easily have slain him; yet would he neither hurt him himself, nor suffer Abisai, who was willing and ready to slay king Saul, once to touch him. Thus did David deal with Saul his prince, notwithstanding that king Saul continually sought his death and destruction.

It shall not be amiss unto these deeds of David to add his words, and to shew you what he spake unto such as encouraged him [1 Sam. 24:4.] to take his opportunity and advantage to slay king Saul, as his mortal enemy, when he might. *The Lord keep me, saith David [1 Sam. 6 &c.], from doing that thing, and from laying hands upon my lord, God's anointed. For [1 Sam. 26:9–10 &c.] who can lay his hand upon the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless? As truly as the Lord liveth, except that the Lord do smite him, or his days shall come to die, or that he go down to war, and be slain in battle, the Lord be merciful unto me, that I lay not my hand upon the Lord's anointed.*<sup>2</sup> These be David's words, spoken at sundry times to divers his servants provoking him to slay king Saul, when opportunity served him thereunto.

Neither is it to be omitted and left out, how, when an Amalechite had slain king Saul, even at Saul's own bidding and commandment [2 Sam. 1:7, 9.] (for he would live no longer now, for that he had lost the field against his enemies the Philistines,<sup>h</sup>) the said Amalechite making great haste to bring first word and news thereof unto David, as joyous unto him for the death of his mortal enemy, bringing withal [2 Sam. 1:10.] the crown that was upon king Saul's head, and the bracelet that was upon his<sup>i</sup> arm, both as a proof of the truth of his news, and also as fit and pleasant presents unto David, being by God appointed to be king Saul his successor in the kingdom; yet was that faithful and godly David so far from rejoicing at these news, that he rent his clothes, wept [2 Sam. 1:12.], and mourned, and fasted; and so far off from thanksgiving to the messenger, either for his deed in killing the king,

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<sup>g</sup> and a fierce] and fierce *from* 1582. <sup>h</sup> Philistines] Philistins 1582, Philistims 1623. <sup>i</sup> upon his] about his *from* 1582.

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 110, note 5.

though his deadly enemy, or for his message and news, or for his presents that he brought, that he said unto him [2 Sam. 1:13–16.], *How happened it that thou wast not afraid to lay thy hands upon the Lord's anointed to slay him?* whereupon immediately he commanded one of his servants to kill the messenger, and said, *Thy blood be upon thine own head; for thine own mouth hath witnessed against thyself, in confessing that thou hast slain the Lord's anointed.*

This example, dearly beloved, is notable, and the circumstances thereof are well to be considered for the better instruction of all subjects in their bounden duty of obedience, and perpetual fearing of them from attempting of any rebellion or hurt against their prince. On the one part, David was not only a good and true subject, but also such a subject as both in peace and war had served and saved his prince's honour and life, and delivered his country and countrymen from great danger of infidels, foreign and most cruel enemies, horribly invading the king and his country: for the which David was in singular<sup>k</sup> favour with all the people [1 Sam. 18:16, 30.]; so that he might have had great numbers of them at his commandment, if he would have attempted any thing. Besides this, David was no common or absolute subject, but heir apparent to the crown and kingdom, by God appointed [1 Sam. 16:12 &c.] to reign after Saul; which, as it increased the favour of the people that knew it towards David, so did it make David's cause and case much differing from the case of common and absolute subjects. And, which is most of all, David was highly and singularly in the favour of God. [1 Sam. 18:12.] On the contrary part, king Saul was out of God's favour [1 Sam. 15:11, 18:10, 12.] for that cause which is before rehearsed, and he as it were God's enemy, and therefore like in war and peace to be hurtful and pernicious unto the commonwealth; and that was known to many of his subjects, for that he was openly rebuked [1 Sam. 15:[19], 22, 26.] of Samuel for his disobedience unto God; which might make the people the less to esteem him. King Saul was also unto David a mortal and deadly enemy, though without David's deserving; who by his faithful, painful, profitable, yea, most necessary service had well deserved, as of his country, so of his prince; but king Saul far otherwise; the more was his unkindness, hatred, and cruelty towards such a good subject both odious and detestable. Yet would David neither himself slay nor hurt such an enemy, for that he was his prince and lord; nor would suffer any other to

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<sup>k</sup> in singular] in a singular 1623.

kill, hurt, or lay hand upon him, when he might have been slain without any stir, tumult, or danger of any man's life.

Now let David answer to such demands as men desirous of rebellion do use to make. Shall not we, specially being so good men as we are, rise and rebel against a prince hated of God, and God's enemy, and therefore like not to prosper either in war or peace, but to be hurtful and pernicious to the commonwealth? No, saith good and godly David, God's and such a king's faithful subject, and so convicting such subjects as attempt any rebellion against such a king to be neither good subjects nor good men. But, say they, shall we not rise and rebel against so unkind a prince, nothing considering or regarding our true, faithful, and painful service, or the safeguard of our posterity? No, saith good David, whom no such unkindness could cause to forsake his due obedience to his sovereign. Shall we not, say they, rise and rebel against our known, mortal, and deadly enemy, that seeketh our lives? No, saith godly David, who had learned the lesson that our Saviour afterward plainly taught [Matt. 5:44.], that we should do no hurt to our fellow subjects, though they hate us and be our enemies, much less<sup>1</sup> unto our prince, though he were our enemy. Shall we not assemble an army of such good fellows as we are, and by hazarding of our lives and the lives of such as shall withstand us, and withal hazarding the whole estate of our country, remove so naughty a prince? No, saith godly David; for I, when I might, without assembling force or number of men, without tumult or hazard of any man's life, or shedding of any drop of blood, have delivered myself and my country of an evil prince, yet would I not do it. Are not they, say some, lusty and courageous captains, valiant men of stomach, and good men's bodies, that do venture by force to kill or<sup>m</sup> depose their king, being a naughty prince and their mortal enemy? They may be as lusty, as<sup>n</sup> courageous, as they list, yet, saith godly David, they can be no good nor godly men that so do: for I not only have rebuked, but also commanded him to be slain as a wicked man, which slew king Saul mine enemy; though he, being weary of his life for the loss of the victory against his enemies, desired that man to slay him. What shall we then do to an evil, to an unkind prince, an enemy to us, hated of God, hurtful to the commonwealth, &c? Lay no violent hand upon him, saith good David; but let him live until

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*Margin Notes:* Consist of alternating "The demand." and "The answer." by questions and answers respectively.

<sup>1</sup> less] *so in all.*    <sup>m</sup> kill or] kill and *from* 1571.    <sup>n</sup> lusty, as] lusty, and as 1595, lusty and 1623.



God appoint and work his end, either by natural death, or in war by lawful enemies, not by traitorous subjects.<sup>o</sup> Thus would godly David make answer: and St. Paul, as ye heard before,<sup>3</sup> willeth us to pray also<sup>p</sup> for such a prince.

If king David would make these answers, as by his deeds and words recorded in the holy Scriptures indeed he doth make, unto all such demands concerning rebelling against evil princes, unkind princes, cruel princes, princes that be to their good subjects mortal enemies, princes that are out of God's favour, and so hurtful or like to be hurtful to the commonwealth; what answer, think you, would he make to those that demand whether they (being naughty and unkind subjects) may not, to the great hazard of the life of many thousands and the utter danger of the state of the commonwealth and whole realm, assemble a sort of rebels, to put in fear, or to depose or destroy,<sup>q</sup> their natural and loving Princess, enemy to none, good to all, even to them the worst of all other, the maintainer of perpetual peace, quietness, and security, most beneficial to the commonwealth, most necessary for the safeguard of the whole realm? What answer would David make to their demand, whether they may not attempt cruelly and unnaturally to destroy so peaceable and merciful a Princess?<sup>r</sup> What, I say, would David, so reverently speaking of Saul, and so patiently suffering so evil a king, what would he answer and say to such demands? What would he say, nay, what would he do to such high attempters, who so said and did, as you before have heard, unto him that slew the king his master, though a most wicked prince? If he punished with death, as a wicked doer, such a man, with what reproaches of words would he revile such, yea, with what torments of most shameful deaths would he destroy such, hellhounds rather than evil men, such rebels, I mean, as I last spake of? For, if they who do disobey an evil and unkind prince be most unlike unto David, that good subject, what be they who do rebel against a most natural and loving Prince? And, if David, being so good a subject that he obeyed so evil a king, was worthy of a subject to be made a king himself, what be they who are<sup>s</sup> so evil subjects that they will rebel against their gracious Prince

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*Margin Note:* By parentheses: An unnatural and wicked question.

<sup>o</sup> either by—subjects] either in war by lawful enemies, not by traitorous subjects, or by natural death A. <sup>p</sup> to pray also] also to pray 1623. <sup>q</sup> to put in fear, or to depose or destroy] or to depose, to put in fear, or to destroy 1571–1595; either to depose—destroy 1623. <sup>r</sup> a Princess] a Prince 1623. <sup>s</sup> who are] which are 1623.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 557, lines 19–29.

worthy of? Surely no mortal man can express with words,<sup>t</sup> nor conceive in mind, the horrible and most dreadful damnation that such be worthy of, who, disdain to be the quiet and happy subjects of their good prince, are most worthy to be the miserable captives and vile slaves of that infernal tyrant Satan, with him to suffer eternal slavery and torments.

This one example of the good subject David out of the Old Testament may suffice, and, for the notableness of it, serve for all.

In the New Testament the excellent example of the blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of our Saviour Christ, doth at the first offer itself. When proclamation [Luke 2:1 &c.] or commandment was sent into Jewry from Augustus the Emperor of Rome, that the people there should repair unto their own cities and dwellingplaces, there to be taxed; neither did the blessed Virgin, though both highly in God's favour, and also being of the royal blood of the ancient natural kings of Jewry, disdain to obey the commandment of an heathen and foreign prince, when God had placed such a one over them; neither did she allege for an excuse, that she was great with child, and most near her time of deliverance; neither grudged she at the length and tediousness of the<sup>u</sup> journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem, from whence and whither she must go to be taxed; neither repined she at the sharpness of the dead time of winter, being the latter end of December, an unhandsome<sup>x</sup> time to travel<sup>y</sup> in, specially a long journey, for a woman being in her case; but, all excuses set apart, she obeyed, and came to the appointed place: where at her coming she found such great resort and throng of people, that, finding no place [Luke 2:7] in any inn, she was fain, after her long, painful, and tedious journey, to take up her lodging in a stable, where also she was delivered of her blessed Child; and this also declareth how near her time she took that journey. This obedience of this most noble and most virtuous lady to a foreign and pagan prince doth well teach us, who in comparison to her<sup>z</sup> are most base and vile, what ready obedience we do owe to our natural and gracious Sovereign. Howbeit in this case the obedience of the whole Jewish nation [Luke 2:3] (being otherwise a stubborn people) unto the commandment of the same foreign heathen prince doth prove, that such Christians as do not most readily obey their natural gracious sovereign are far worse than the

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<sup>t</sup> with words] worth words E, 1571.   <sup>u</sup> tediousness of the] tedious 1623.   <sup>x</sup> unhandsome] unfit 1623.   <sup>y</sup> travel] so A, travail B *and most others*.   <sup>z</sup> to her] of her *from* 1574.

stubborn Jews, whom yet we<sup>a</sup> account as the worst of all people.

But no example ought to be of more force with us Christians than the example of Christ, our Master and Saviour; who, though he were the Son of God, yet did always behave himself most reverently to such men as were in authority in the world in his time; and he not rebelliously behaved himself, but<sup>a</sup> openly did teach the Jews to pay tribute unto the Roman Emperor, though a foreign and a pagan prince; yea, himself with his Apostles paid tribute unto him; and finally, being brought before Pontius Pilate,<sup>β</sup> a stranger born and an heathen man, being lord president of Jewry, he acknowledged [John 19:11] his authority and power to be given him from God, and obeyed patiently the sentence of most painful and shameful death, which the said judge pronounced and gave<sup>δ</sup> most unjustly against him, without any grudge, murmuring, or evil word once giving. There be many other<sup>b</sup> examples of the obedience to princes, even such as be evil, in the New Testament, to the utter confusion of disobedient and rebellious people: but this one may be an eternal example, which the Son of God, and so the Lord of all, Jesus Christ, hath given to us his Christians and servants; and such as may serve for all, to teach us to obey princes, though strangers, wicked, and wrongful, when God for our sins shall place such over us. Whereby it followeth unavoidably, that such as do disobey or rebel against their own natural gracious sovereigns, howsoever they call themselves or be named of others, yet are they indeed no true Christians, but worse than Jews, worse than heathens, and such as shall never enjoy the kingdom of heaven, which Christ by his obedience purchased for true Christians, being obedient to him the King of all kings, and to their prince, whom he hath placed over them. The which kingdom, the peculiar place of all such obedient subjects, I beseech God our heavenly Father, for the same our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, to grant unto us. To whom with the Holy Ghost be all laud, honour, and glory now and for ever. Amen.

Thus have you heard the Second Part of this Homily: now, good people, let us pray.

The Prayer as before.<sup>c</sup>

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*Margin Notes:* α Matt. 17:25 &c.. Mark 12:17. Luke 20:25. β Matt. 27:2. Luke 23:1. δ Matt. 27:26. Luke 23:24.

<sup>a</sup> yet we] we yet 1623. <sup>b</sup> many other] many and divers other *from* 1582. <sup>c</sup> as before] as in that time it was published 1623, *and then the Proper itself.*

THE THIRD PART OF THE HOMILY  
AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION.<sup>a</sup>

As I have in the First Part of this Treatise shewed unto you the doctrine of the holy Scriptures as concerning the obedience of true subjects to their princes, even as well to such as be evil, as unto the good, and in the Second Part of the same Treaty confirmed the said<sup>b</sup> doctrine by notable examples, likewise taken out of the holy Scriptures; so remaineth it now, that I partly do declare unto you in this Third Part, what an abominable sin against God and man rebellion is, and how dreadfully the wrath of God is kindled and inflamed against all rebels, and what horrible plagues, punishments, and deaths, and finally eternal damnation doth hang over their heads; as how on the contrary part good and obedient subjects are in God's favour, and be partakers of peace, quietness, and security with other God's manifold blessings in this world, and, by his mercies through our Saviour Christ, of life everlasting also in the world to come.

How horrible a sin against God and man rebellion is, cannot possibly<sup>c</sup> be expressed according unto the greatness thereof. For he that nameth rebellion nameth not a singular or one only sin, as is theft, robbery, murder, and such like; but he nameth the whole puddle and sink of all sins against God and man; against his prince, his country, his countrymen, his parents, his children, his kinsfolks, his friends, and against all men universally; all sins, I say, against God and all men heaped together nameth he that nameth rebellion.

For, concerning the offence of God's Majesty, who seeth not that rebellion riseth first by contempt of God and of his holy ordinances and laws, wherein [Rom. 13:[1–7].] he so straitly commandeth obedience, forbiddeth disobedience and rebellion? And, besides the dishonour done by rebels unto God's holy Name by their breaking of the oath<sup>e</sup> made to their prince with the attestation of God's Name and calling of his Majesty to witness, who hear-

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*Margin Note:* By last ¶: The first table of God's law broken by rebellion and the sins of rebels against God.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Rebellion.] Rebellion. The Second Part. A–E. <sup>b</sup> said] same *from* 1571. <sup>c</sup> possibly] possible A, possible *from* B till 1582. <sup>d</sup> The first table –God.] *omitted* 1623. <sup>e</sup> the oath] their oath *from* 1571.

eth not the horrible oaths and blasphemies of God's holy Name that are used daily amongst rebels, that is either amongst them or heareth the truth of their behaviour? Who knoweth not that rebels do not only themselves leave all works necessary to be done upon workdays undone, whiles they accomplish their abominable work of<sup>f</sup> rebellion, and do<sup>g</sup> compel others, that would gladly be well occupied, to do the same; but also how rebels do not only leave the Sabbath day of the Lord unsanctified, the temple and church of the Lord unresorted unto, but also do by their works of wickedness most horribly profane and pollute the Sabbath day, serving Satan and, by doing of his work, making it the devil's day instead of the Lord's day, besides that they compel good men, that would gladly serve the Lord, assembling in his temple and church upon his day as becometh the Lord's servants, to assemble and meet armed in the field to resist the fury of such rebels? Yea, and many rebels, lest they should leave any part of God's commandments in the first table of his law unbroken, of any sin against God undone, do make rebellion for the maintenance of their images and idols, and of their idolatry committed or to be committed by them; and in despite of God cut and tear in sunder his holy word, and tread it under their feet, as of late ye know was done.<sup>1</sup>

As concerning the second table of God's law, and all sins that may be committed against man, who seeth not that they be all contained<sup>h</sup> in rebellion? For first, the rebels do not only dishonour their prince, the parent of their country, but also do dishonour and shame their natural parents, if they have any, do shame their kinred and friends, do disherit<sup>i</sup> and undo for ever their children and heirs. Thefts, robberies, and murders, which of all sins are most lothed of most men, are in no men so much, nor so perniciously and mischievously, as in rebels. For the most errant<sup>k</sup> thieves and<sup>l</sup> cruellest murderers that ever were, so long as they refrain from rebellion, as they are not many in

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*Margin Notes:* By last ¶: The fifth commandment. The sixth and the eighth commandment.

<sup>f</sup> work of] worst of 1623. <sup>g</sup> and do] and to *from* 1571. <sup>h</sup> be all contained] be not contained 1571–1595, be contained 1623. <sup>i</sup> disherit] disinherit 1623. <sup>j</sup> and the eighth] and eighth *from* 1571. <sup>k</sup> errant] arrant 1623. <sup>l</sup> thieves and cruellest] thieves, cruellest 1623.

<sup>1</sup> The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland published a Declaration stating that the main object of their enterprise was the restoring of “the true and catholic religion towards God” and of “all ancient customs and liberties to God's Church.” *Strype, Ann.* I, 583, 584. The tearing, insulting, and burning of Bibles and Prayer Books, especially of Durham, is recorded by Jewel on 1 Thess 5:4–10, by Thomas Norton in his Address “to the Quenes Maiesties poore deceived Subiectes of the North Countrey, drawn into rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland” (8vo. 1569), and by Camdon in his *Annales*, p. 166.

number, so spreadeth their wickedness and damnation unto a few; they spoil but a few; they shed the blood but of a few,<sup>m</sup> in comparison. But rebels are the cause of infinite robberies, and murders of great multitudes, and of those also whom they should defend from the spoil and violence of other; and, as rebels are many in number, so doth their wickedness and damnation spread itself unto many. And, if whoredom and adultery amongst such persons as are agreeable to such wickedness are (as they indeed be) most damnable, what are the forcible oppressions of matrons and men's wives, and the violating and deflowering of virgins and maids, which are most rife with rebels? how horrible and damnable, think you, are they? Now, besides that rebels, by breach of their faith given and oath<sup>n</sup> made to their prince, be guilty of most damnable perjury, it is wondrous to see what false colours and feigned causes, by slanderous lies made upon their prince and the counsellors, rebels will devise to cloak their rebellion withal, which is the worse and most damnable of all false witness bearing that may be possible. For what should I speak of coveting or desiring of other men's wives, houses, lands, goods, and servants in rebels, who by their wills would leave unto no man any thing of his own?

Thus you see that all God's laws<sup>o</sup> are by rebels violated and broken, and that all sins possible to be committed against God or man be contained in rebellion: which sins if a man list to name by the accustomed names of the seven capital or deadly sins, as pride, envy, wrath, covetousness, sloth, gluttony, and lechery, he shall find them all in rebellion and amongst rebels. For first, as ambition and desire to be aloft, which is the property of pride, stirreth up many men's minds to rebellion, so cometh it of a Luciferian pride and presumption that a few rebellious subjects should set themselves up against the majesty of their prince, against the wisdom of the counsellors, against the power and force of all nobility and the faithful subjects and people of the whole realm. As for envy, wrath, murder, and desire of blood, and covetousness of other men's goods, lands, and livings, they are the inseparable accidents of all rebels, and peculiar properties that do usually stir up wicked men unto rebellion. Now such as by riotousness, gluttony, drunkenness, excess of apparel, and unthrifty games have wasted their own goods unthriftily, the same are most apt unto and most desirous

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*Margin Notes:* By 3d sentence: The seventh commandment. By next sentence: The ninth commandment. By end of ¶: The tenth commandment.

<sup>m</sup> of few] of a few 1623. <sup>n</sup> and oath] an oath 1587, 1595, and the oath 1623. <sup>o</sup> God's laws] good laws 1623.

of rebellion, whereby they trust to come by other men's goods unlawfully and violently. And, where other gluttons and drunkards take too much of such meats and drinks as are served to tables, rebels waste and consume in short space all corn in barns, fields, or elsewhere, whole garner<sup>p</sup>, whole storehouses, whole cellars, devour whole flocks of sheep, whole droves of oxen and kine. And, as rebels that are married, leaving their own wives at home, do most ungraciously, so much more do unmarried men, worse than any staliands or horses, being now by rebellion set at liberty from correction of laws which bridled them before; which abuse<sup>q</sup> by force other men's wives and daughters, and ravish virgins and maidens, most shamefully, abominably, and damnably. Thus all sins, by all names that sins may be named, and by all means that all sins<sup>r</sup> may be committed and wrought, do all wholly upon heaps follow rebellion, and are to be found all together amongst rebels.

Now, whereas pestilence, famine, and war are by the holy Scriptures [2 Sam. 24:13.] declared to be the greatest worldly plagues and miseries that lightly<sup>s</sup> can be, it is evident that all the miseries which all<sup>t</sup> these plagues have in them do wholly all together follow rebellion; wherein as all their miseries be, so is there much more mischief then in them all. For it is known that in the resorting of great companies of men together, (which in rebellion happeneth both upon the part of true subjects and of the rebels,) by their close lying together, and corruption of the air and place where they do lie with ordure and much filthe in the hot<sup>u</sup> weather, and by<sup>x</sup> unwholesome lodging and lying often upon the ground, specially in cold and wet weathers<sup>y</sup> in winter; by their unwholesome diet and feeding at all times, and often by famine and lack of meat and drink in due time, and again by taking too much at other times; it is well known, I say, that as well plagues and pestilences, as all other kinds of sickness<sup>z</sup> and maladies, by these means grow upon and amongst<sup>a</sup> men, whereby mo men are consumed at length, than are by dint of sword suddenly slain in the field. So that not only pestilences, but also all other sickness,<sup>b</sup> diseases, and maladies, do follow rebellion; which are much more horrible

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<sup>p</sup> garner] graners A–E. <sup>q</sup> before; which abuse] before; abuse 1623. <sup>r</sup> that all sins] that sins 1623. <sup>s</sup> lightly] likely 1623. <sup>t</sup> which all] that all *from* 1571. <sup>u</sup> hot] hoatte A–E, 1571. <sup>x</sup> weather, and by] weather, by A. <sup>y</sup> weathers] weather *from* 1582. <sup>z</sup> of sickness] of sicknesses *from* 1582. <sup>a</sup> grow upon and amongst] grow up and spring amongst] *from* 1582. <sup>b</sup> other sickness] other sicknesses *from* 1574.

than plagues, pestilences, and diseases sent directly from God, as hereafter shall appear more plainly.

And as for hunger and famine, they are the peculiar companions of rebellion. For, while<sup>c</sup> rebels do in short time spoil and consume all corn and necessary provision, which men with their labours had gotten and appointed upon for their finding the whole year after; and also do let all other men, husbandmen and others, from their husbandry and other necessary works, whereby provision should be made for times to come; who seeth not that extreme famine and hunger must needs shortly ensue and follow rebellion?

Now whereas the wise King and godly Prophet David judged [2 Sam. 24:14] war to be worse than either famine or pestilence, for that these two are often suffered by God for man's amendment, and be not sins of themselves, but wars have always the sins and mischiefs of men upon the one side or other joined with them, and therefore is war the greatest of these worldly mischiefs; but of all wars civil war is the worst; and far more abominable yet is rebellion than any civil war, being unworthy the name of any war, so far it exceedeth all wars in all naughtiness, in all mischief, and in all abomination; and therefore our Saviour Christ denounceth [Matt. 12:25] desolation and destruction to that realm that by sedition and rebellion is divided in itself: now,<sup>d</sup> as I have shewed before that pestilence and famine, so is it yet more evident that all the calamities, miseries, and mischiefs of war, be more grievous and do more follow rebellion than any other war, as being far worse than all other wars. For not only those ordinary and usual mischiefs and miseries of other wars to follow rebellion, as, corn and other things necessary to man's use to be spoiled; houses, villages, towns, cities to be taken, sacked, burned, and destroyed; not only many wealthy<sup>e</sup> men, but whole countries, to be impoverished and utterly beggared; many thousands of men to be slain and murdered; women and maids to be violated and deflowered; which<sup>f</sup> things, when they are done by foreign enemies, we do much mourn, (as we have great causes,) yet are all these miseries without any wickedness wrought by any our countrymen.<sup>g</sup> But, when these mischiefs are wrought in rebellion by them that should be friends, by countrymen, by kinsmen, by those that should defend their country and countrymen from such miseries, the misery is

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<sup>c</sup> whiles] while *from* 1582. <sup>d</sup> therefore our Saviour—itsself: now] *not in A.* <sup>e</sup> many wealthy] many very wealthy *from* 1571. <sup>f</sup> which] *not in A.* <sup>g</sup> any our countrymen] any of our own countrymen *from* 1574.



nothing so great as is the mischief and wickedness; when the subjects unnaturally do rebel against their prince, whose honour and life they should defend, though it were with loss<sup>h</sup> of their own lives; countrymen to disturb the public peace and quietness of their country, for defence of whose quietness they should spend their lives; the brother to seek and often to work the death of his brother, the son of the father; the father to<sup>i</sup> seek or procure the death of his sons, being at man's age; and by their faults to disherit<sup>k</sup> their innocent children and kinsmen their heirs for ever, for whom they might purchase livings and lands, as natural parents do take care and pains and be<sup>l</sup> at great costs and charges; and universally, instead of all quietness, joy, and felicity, (which do follow blessed peace and due obedience,) to bring in all trouble, sorrow, disquietness of minds and bodies, and all mischief and calamities;<sup>m</sup> to turn all good order upside down; to bring all good laws in contempt, and to tread them under feet; to oppress all virtue and honesty and all virtuous and honest persons, and to set all vice and wickedness and all vicious and wicked men at liberty to work their wicked wills, which were before bridled by wholesome laws; to weaken, to overthrow, and to consume the strength of the realm, their natural country, as well by the spending and wasting of the money<sup>n</sup> and treasure of the prince and realm, as by murdering of the<sup>o</sup> people of the same, and their own countrymen, who should defend the honour [Prov. 14:[28].] of their prince and liberty of their country against the invasion of foreign enemies; and so finally to make their country, thus by their mischief weakened, ready to be a prey and spoil to all outward enemies that will invade it, to the utter and perpetual captivity, slavery, and destruction of all their countrymen, their children, their friends, their kinsfolks left alive, whom by their wicked rebellion they procure to be delivered into the hands of foreign<sup>p</sup> enemies, as much as in them doth lie.

In foreign wars our countrymen in obtaining the victory win the<sup>q</sup> praise of valiantness; yea, and though they were overcome and slain, yet win they an honest commendation in this world, and die<sup>r</sup> in a good conscience, for serving God, their prince, and their country, and be children of eternal salvation. But in rebellion,<sup>s</sup> how desperate and strong soever they be, yet

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<sup>h</sup> with loss] with the loss *from* 1571. <sup>i</sup> father to] fathers to A, B. <sup>k</sup> disherit] disinherit 1623. <sup>l</sup> and be] and to be *from* 1582. <sup>m</sup> calamities] calamity *from* 1574. <sup>n</sup> of the money] of money 1623. <sup>o</sup> murdering of the] murdering the 1623. <sup>p</sup> of foreign] of the foreign *from* 1582. <sup>q</sup> win the] winneth the A. <sup>r</sup> die] dieth A. <sup>s</sup> in rebellion] the rebellion 1623.

win they shame here in fighting against God, their prince, and country, and therefore justly do fall headlong into hell if they die, and live in shame and fearful conscience, though they escape. But commonly they be rewarded with shameful deaths, their heads<sup>t</sup> and carcasses set upon poles or<sup>u</sup> hanged in chains, eaten with kites and crows, judged unworthy the honour of burial; and so their souls, if they repent not, (as commonly they do not,) the devil harrieth<sup>x</sup><sup>2</sup> them into hell in the midst of their mischief. For which dreadful execution St. Paul [Rom. 13:[1–5].] sheweth the cause of obedience, not only for fear of death, but also in conscience to Godward, for fear of eternal damnation in the world to come.

Wherefore, good people, let us, as the children of obedience, fear the dreadful execution of God, and live in quiet obedience to be the children of everlasting salvation. For, as heaven is the place of good obedient subjects, and hell the prison and dungeon of rebels against God and their prince; so is that realm happy where most obedience of subjects doth appear, being the very figure of heaven; and contrariwise, where most rebellious and rebels be, there is the express similitude of hell, and the rebels themselves are the very figures of fiends and devils, and their captain the ungracious pattern of Lucifer and Satan, the prince of darkness: of whose rebellion as they be followers, so shall they of his damnation in hell undoubtedly be partakers; and as undoubtedly children of peace the inheritors of heaven with God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. To whom be all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Thus have you heard the Third Part of this Homily: now, good people let us pray.

The Prayer as before.<sup>y</sup>

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<sup>t</sup> heads] hands 1623. <sup>u</sup> or] and *from* 1582. <sup>x</sup> harrieth] hurrieth 1623. <sup>y</sup> as before] as in that time it was published 1623, and then the *Prayer itself*.

<sup>2</sup> harrieth, or harieth: draggeth. “Haryyn, or drawyn: Trahicio, pertraho.” *Promptorium Parculorum*, where see Alb. Way’s note.

After Sir Roger Clifford, on the way to Tower Hill, had tried to escape, the sheriffs and their officers “constrayned hym to lye downe uppon the hardyll, and newly band hym, and so haryed hym to the sayde place of execucion.” *Fabyan’s Chronicle, an.* 1484–5.

THE FOURTH PART OF THE HOMILY  
AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION.<sup>a</sup>

For your further instruction, good people, to shew unto you how much Almighty God doth abhor disobedience and wilful rebellion, specially when rebels advance themselves so high that they arm themselves with weapon and stand in field to fight against God, their prince, and their country, it shall not be out of the way to shew some examples set out in Scriptures, written for our eternal erudition.

We may soon know, good people, how heinous offence the treachery of rebellion is, if we call to remembrance the heavy wrath and dreadful indignation of Almighty God against such subjects<sup>b</sup> as do only but inwardly grudge, mutter, and murmur against their governors; though their inward treason, so privily hatched in their breasts, come not to open declaration of their doings; as hard it is, whom the devil hath so far inticed against God's word, to keep themselves there; no, he meaneth still to blow the coal, to kindle their rebellious hearts to flame into open deeds, if he be not with grace speedily withstanded. Some of the children of Israel,<sup>α</sup> being murmurers against their magistrates appointed over them by God, were stricken with foul leprosy: many were burnt up with fire suddenly sent from the Lord: sometime a great sort of thousands were consumed with the pestilence: sometime they were stinged to death with a strange kind of fiery serpents: and, which is most horrible, some of the captains with their band of murmurers, not dying by any usual or natural death of man, but [Num. 16:[27–33].] the earth opening, they, with their wives, children, and families, were swallowed quick down into hell. Which horrible destructions of such Israelites as were murmurers against Moyses, appointed by God to be their head and chief magistrate, are recorded in the book of Numbers and other places of the Scriptures, for perpetual memory and warning to all subjects how highly God is displeased with the murmuring and evil speaking of subjects against

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*Margin Note:* α Numb. 11:[1], 12:10, 16:[35, 46–49, 21:5–6]. Ps. 77 [78:31].

<sup>a</sup> Rebellion.] Rebellion. The Fourth Part. A–E. <sup>b</sup> against such subjects] against subjects 1623.

their princes; for that, as the Scripture recordeth [Exod. 16:7 &c.], their *murmur* was *not against* their prince only, being a mortal creature, *but against God* himself also. Now, if such strange and horrible plagues did fall upon such subjects as did only murmur and speak evil against their heads, what shall become of those most wicked imps of the devil that do conspire, arm themselves, assemble great numbers of armed rebels, and lead them with them against their prince and country, spoiling and robbing, killing and murdering all good subjects that do withstand them, as many as they may prevail against? But those examples are written to stay us, not only from such mischiefs, but also from murmuring or<sup>c</sup> speaking once an evil word against our prince; which though any should do never so secretly, yet do the holy Scriptures shew [Eccles. 10:[20].] that *the very birds of the air will bewray them*, and these so many examples before noted out of the same<sup>d</sup> holy Scriptures do declare that they shall not escape horrible punishment therefore.

Now concerning actual rebellion, amongst many examples thereof set forth in the holy Scriptures, the example of Absolon<sup>e</sup> is notable; who, entering into conspiracy against king David his father, both used the advice of very witty men, and assembled a very great and huge company of rebels. The which Absolon, though he were most goodly of person, of great nobility (being the king's son), in great favour of the people, and so dearly beloved of the king himself, so much that he gave commandment [2 Sam. 18:5.] that (notwithstanding his rebellion) his life should be saved; when for these considerations most men were afraid to lay their hands upon him, a great tree [2 Sam. 18:9.] stretching out his arm, as it were for that purpose, caught him by the great and long bush of his goodly hair, lapping about it as he fled hastily bareheaded under the said tree, and so hanged him up by the hair of his head in the air, to give an eternal document, that neither comeliness of personage, neither nobility, nor favour of the people, no, nor the favour of the king himself, can save a rebel from due punishment; God, the King of all kings, being so offended with him that, rather than he should lack due execution for his treason, every tree by the way will be a gallows or gibbet unto him, and the hair of his own head will be unto him instead of an halter to hang him up with, rather than he should lack one: a fearful example of God's punishment, good people, to consider. Now Achitophel, though otherwise an ex-

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*Margin Notes:* <sup>e</sup> 2 Sam 15:12, and 17:1 &c, 11, and 18:7–8. By last line: Achitophel.

<sup>c</sup> or] and *from* 1582. <sup>d</sup> same] *omitted after* 1574.

ceeding wise man, yet the mischievous counsellor<sup>o</sup> or Absolon in this wicked rebellion, for lack of an hangman (a convenient servitor for such a traitor), went and hanged up himself: a worthy end of all false rebels, who, rather than they should lack due execution, will, by God's just judgment, become hangmen unto themselves. Thus happened it to the captains of that rebellion, beside [2 Sam. 18:7–8.] forty thousand<sup>e</sup> of rascal<sup>1</sup> rebels slain in the field and in the chase. Likewise is it to be seen in the holy Scriptures, how that great rebellion [2 Sam. 20] which the traitor Seba moved in Israel was suddenly appeased, the head of the captain traitor (by the means of a seely woman) being cut off.

And, as the holy Scriptures do shew, so doth daily experience prove, that the *counsels* [Ps. 20:12, [21:11].], conspiracies, and attempts of rebels never took effect,<sup>2</sup> neither came to good, but to most horrible end. For, though God do<sup>f</sup> oftentimes prosper just and lawful enemies, which be no subjects, against their foreign enemies, yet did he never long prosper rebellious subjects against their prince, were they never so great in authority or so many in number. Five princes or kings [Gen. 14.] (for so the Scripture termeth them) with all their multitudes could not prevail against Chodorlaomor, unto whom they had promised loyalty and obedience, and had continued in the same certain years; but they were all overthrown and taken prisoners by him: but Abraham with his family and kinsfolks, an handful of men in respect, owing no subjection unto Chodorlaomor, overthrew him and all his host in battle, and recovered the prisoners, and delivered them. So that, though war be so dreadful and cruel a thing as it is, yet doth God often prosper a few in lawful wars with foreign enemies against many thousands; but never yet prospered he subjects being rebels against their natural sovereign, were they never so great or noble, so many, so stout, so witty and politic; but always they came by the overthrow and to a shameful end: so much doth God abhor rebellion more than other wars, though otherwise being so dreadful and so great a destruction to mankind. Though not only great multitudes of the rude and rascal commons, but sometime also men of great wit, nobility, and

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*Margin Note:* θ 2 Sam. 15:12, and 16:21, 23, and 17:23.

<sup>e</sup> forty thousand] *so in all.*    <sup>f</sup> God do] God doth *from* 1571.

<sup>1</sup> rascal: a term of the forest for lean poor deer, of the common herd; thence applied, with no imputation of dishonesty, to people of the common sort, who are not *egregii*. So Spenser speaks of “the raskall many” running “in rude rablement”, and of a “cruell Capitaine” employing “his raskall routs”. *Faerie Queene*, I, xii, 9; II, ix, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cogitaverunt consilia quae non potuerunt stabilire. *Vulg.*

authority, have moved rebellions against their lawful princes, (whereas true nobility should most abhor such villainous, and true wisdom should most detest such frantic, rebellion;) though they would<sup>g</sup> pretend sundry causes, as the redress of the commonwealth, (which rebellion of all other mischiefs doth most destroy,) or reformation of religion, (whereas rebellion is most against all true religion;) though they have made a great shew of holy meaning by beginning their rebellions with a counterfeit service of God, (as did wicked Absolon begin [2 Sam. 15:12.] his rebellion with sacrificing unto God; though they display and bear about ensigns and banners, which are acceptable unto the rude ignorant common people, great multitudes of whom by such false pretences and shews they do deceive and draw unto them: yet, were the multitudes of the rebels never so huge and great, the captains never so noble, politic, and witty, the pretences feigned to be never so good and holy, yet the speedy overthrow of all rebels, of what number, state, or condition soever they were, or what colour or cause soever they pretended, is and ever hath been such, that God thereby doth shew that he alloweth neither the dignity of any person, nor the multitude of any people, nor the weight of any cause, as sufficient for the which the subjects may move rebellion against their princes. Turn over and read the histories of all nations; look over the chronicles of our own country; call to mind so many rebellions of old time, and some yet fresh in memory ye shall not find that God ever prospered any rebellion against their natural and lawful prince, but contrariwise that the rebels were overthrown and slain, and such as were taken prisoners dreadfully executed. Consider the great and noble families of dukes, marquesses, earls, and other lords, whose names ye shall read in our chronicles, now clean extinguished and gone; and seek out the causes of the decay; you shall find that not lack of issue and heirs male hath so much wrought that decay and waste of noble bloods and houses, as hath rebellion.

And, for so much as the redress of the commonwealth hath of old been the usual feigned pretence of rebels, and religion now of late beginneth to be a colour of rebellion, let all godly and discreet subjects consider well of both, and first concerning religion. If peaceable king Salomon was judged of God to be more meet to build his temple, (whereby the ordering of religion is meant,) than his father king David, though otherwise a most

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<sup>g</sup> would] should *from* 1582.

godly king, for that David was a great warrior, and had shed much blood, [2 Chron. 22:7–10.], though it were in his wars against the enemies of God; of this may all godly and reasonable subjects consider, that a peaceable prince, specially our most peaceable and merciful Queen, who hath hitherto shed no blood at all, no, not of her most deadly enemies, is more like and far meeter either to set up or to maintain true religion than are bloody rebels, who have not shed the blood of God's enemies as king David had done, but do seek to shed the blood of God's friends, of their own countrymen, and of their own most dear friends and kinsfolk, yea, the destruction of their most gracious Prince and natural country, for defence of whom they ought to be ready to shed their blood, if need should so require. What a religion it is that such men and by<sup>h</sup> such means would restore may easily be judged; even as good a religion surely as rebels be good men and obedient subjects, and as rebellion is a mean and redress and reformation, being itself the greatest deformation of all that may possibly<sup>i</sup> be. But, as the truth of the Gospel of our Saviour Christ, being quietly and soberly taught, though it do cost them their lives that do teach it, is able to maintain the true religion; so hath a frantic religion need of such furious maintenances as is rebellion, and of such patrons as are rebels, being ready, not to die for the true religion, but to kill all that shall or dare speak against their false superstition and wicked idolatry.

Now concerning pretences of any redress of the commonwealth made by rebels, every man that hath but half an eye may see how vain they be, rebellion being, as I have before declared, the greatest ruin and destruction of all commonwealths that may be possible. And whoso looketh, on the one part, upon the persons and government of the Queen's most honourable counsellors, by the experiment of so many years proved honourable to her Majesty and most profitable and beneficial unto our country and countrymen; and, on the other part, considereth the persons, state, and conditions of the rebels themselves, the reformers (as they take upon them) of the present government; he shall find that the most rash and harebrained men, the most greatest<sup>j</sup> unthrifths, that have most lewdly wasted their own goods and lands, those that are over the ears in debt, and such as for thefts,<sup>k</sup> robberies, and murders dare not in any

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<sup>h</sup> men and by] men by *from* 1582. <sup>i</sup> possibly] possible A–C, possible *from* D. <sup>j</sup> the most greatest] the greatest 1623.  
<sup>k</sup> for thefts] for their thefts *from* 1571.

well governed commonwealth, where good laws are in force, shew their faces, such as are of most lewd and wicked behaviour and life, and all such as will not or cannot live in peace, are always most ready to move rebellion or to take<sup>l</sup> part with rebels. And are not these meet men, trow you, to restore the commonwealth decayed, who have so spoiled and consumed all their own wealth and thrift? and very like to mend<sup>m</sup> other men's manners, who have so vile vices and abominable conditions themselves? Surely that which they falsely call reformation is indeed not only a defacing or a deformation, but also an utter destruction, of all common wealth; as would well appear might the rebels have their wills, and doth right well and too well appear by their doing in such places of the country where rebels do rout; where though they tarry but a very little while, they make such reformation that they destroy all places and undo all men where they come, that the child yet unborn may rue it, and shall many years hereafter curse them.

Let no good and discreet subjects therefore follow the flag or banner displayed to rebellion and borne by rebels, though it have the image of the plough painted therein with GOD SPEED THE PLOUGH written under in great letters,<sup>3</sup> knowing that none hinder the plough more than rebels, who will neither go to the plough themselves, nor suffer other that would go unto it. And, though some rebels bear the picture of the five wounds painted against those who put their only hope of salvation in the wounds of Christ, not those wounds which are painted in a clout by some lewd painter, but in those wounds which Christ himself bare in his precious body; though they, little knowing what the cross of Christ meaneth, which neither carver nor painter can make, do bear the image of the cross painted in a rag against those that have the cross of Christ \*printed<sup>n</sup> in their hearts;<sup>o</sup> yea,<sup>p</sup> though they paint withal in\*

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\*former line 32\*

<sup>l</sup> or to take] or take *from* 1582. <sup>m</sup> mend] amend *from* 1582. <sup>n</sup> printed] painted *all except* A. *See before, page 423, line 19.* <sup>o</sup> And though – their hearts] And though some rebels, little knowing what the cross of Christ meaneth, which neither carver nor painter can make, do bear the image of the cross painted in a rag against those that have the cross of Christ printed in their hearts; though they bear the picture of the five wounds painted against those who put their only hope of salvation in the wounds of Christ, not those wounds which are painted in a clout by some lewd painter, but in those wounds which Christ himself bare in his precious body A. <sup>p</sup> yea] yet *till* 1574.

<sup>3</sup> No express statement of this motto, or of the ensign of the plough, being used by the rebels in the North has been discovered in any writer; but Norton's Address to them (cited in note 1 on the Third Part of this Homily) ends with these words: "And so yet till other errors be purged by God's grace working by the hearing of his word, we shall al goe under the gentle yoke of our naturall soveraigne, there let us draw lovingly together, and then say and sing merily, God spede the ploughe of England."



their flags, HOC SIGNO VINCES, By this sign thou shalt get the victory,<sup>4</sup> by a most fond imitation of the posy of Constantinus Magnus<sup>5</sup> that noble Christian Emperor and great conqueror of God's enemies, a most unmeet ensign for rebels, the enemies of God, their prince, and country; of what other banner soever they shall bear;<sup>q</sup> yet let no good and godly subject, upon any hope of victory or good success,<sup>r</sup> follow such standardbearers of rebellion. For, as examples of such practices are to be found as well in the histories of old as also of later<sup>s</sup> rebellions in our fathers' and our fresh memory; so, notwithstanding these pretences made and banners borne, are recorded withal unto<sup>t</sup> perpetual memory the great and horrible murders of infinite multitudes and thousands of the common people slain in rebellion, the dreadful<sup>u</sup> executions of the authors and captains, the pitiful undoing of their wives and children, and disheriting<sup>x</sup> of the heirs of the rebels for ever, the spoiling, wasting, and destruction of the people and country where rebellion was first begun, that the child then yet unborn might rue and lament it, with the final overthrow and shameful deaths of all rebels, set forth as well in the histories of foreign nations as in the chronicles of our own country; some thereof being yet in fresh memory, which, if they were collected together, would make many volumes and books; but on the contrary part all good luck, success, and prosperity that ever happened unto any rebels of any age, time, or country may be contained in a very few lines or words.

Wherefore, to conclude, let all good subjects, considering how horrible a sin against God, their prince, their country, and countrymen, against all God's and man's laws, rebellion is, being indeed not one several sin, but all sins against God and man heaped together; considering the mischievous life and

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<sup>q</sup> yea, though they paint — shall bear *not in A.* <sup>r</sup> upon any hope of victory or good success] *not in A.* <sup>s</sup> later] latter *all except A.* <sup>t</sup> withal unto] withal to *from 1582.* <sup>u</sup> the dreadful] dreadful *from 1582.* <sup>x</sup> disheriting] disinheriting 1623.

<sup>4</sup> Erle Percy there his ancyent spred,  
The Halfe Moone shining all soe faire:  
The Nortons ancyent had the crosse,  
And the five wounds our Lord did beare.

*The Rising in the North*, vv. 105–108, in *Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, Vol. I, p. 293, ed. 4, 1794.

See also *Thomas Norton's Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of Papistes, and specially the parteners of the late Rebellion*, printed by John Daye without date, sign. H 2 a: and *Camd. Annal.* p. 166. Similar banners had been used in the Northern Rebellion in 1536. See *Speed's History of Great Britain*, IX, xxi, p. 1018, ed. 1632.

<sup>5</sup> *Euseb. de Vit. Const.* I, 28.

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deeds and the shameful ends and deaths of all rebels hitherto, and the pitful undoing of their wives, children, and families, and disheriting<sup>y</sup> of their heirs for ever; and above all things considering the eternal damnation that is prepared for all impenitent rebels in hell with Satan, the first founder of rebellion and grand captain of all rebels; let all good subjects, I say, considering these things, avoid and flee all rebellion, as the greatest of all mischiefs, and embrace due obedience to God and our Prince, as the greatest of all virtues; that we may both escape all evils and miseries that do follow rebellion in this world, and eternal damnation in the world to come, and enjoy peace, quietness, and security with all other God's benefits and blessings which follow obedience in this life, and finally may enjoy the kingdom of heaven, the peculiar place of all obedient subjects to God and their prince, in the world to come. Which I beseech God, the King of all kings, grant unto us for the obedience of his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. Unto whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God and King immortal, all honour, service, and obedience of all his creatures is due for ever and ever. Amen.

Thus have you heard the Fourth Part of this Homily: now, good people let us pray.

The Prayer as before.<sup>z</sup>

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<sup>y</sup> disheriting] disinheriting 1623.    <sup>z</sup> as before] as in that time it was published 1623, *and then the Prayer itself.*

THE FIFTH PART OF THE HOMILY  
AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION.<sup>a</sup>

Whereas, after both doctrine and examples of due obedience of subjects to their princes, I declared lastly unto you what an abominable sin against God and man rebellion is, and what horrible plagues, punishments, and deaths, with death everlasting finally, doth hang over the heads of all rebels, it shall not be either impertinent or unprofitable now to<sup>b</sup> declare, who they be whom the devil, the first author and founder of rebellion, doth chiefly use to the stirring up of subjects to rebel against their lawful princes; that, knowing them, you may<sup>c</sup> flee them and their damnable suggestions, avoid all rebellion, and so<sup>d</sup> escape the horrible plagues and dreadful deaths<sup>e</sup> and damnation eternal finally due to all rebels.

Though<sup>f</sup> many causes of rebellion may be reckoned, and almost as many as there be vices in men and women, as hath been before noted, yet in this place I will only touch the \*principal and most usual causes, as specially ambition and ignorance. By ambition I mean the unlawful and restless desire in men to be of higher estate than God hath given or appointed unto them. By ignorance I mean no unskilfulness in arts or sciences, but the lack of knowledge of God's blessed will declared\* in his holy word; which teacheth both extremely to abhor all rebellion, as the<sup>g</sup> root of all mischief, and specially to delight in obedience, as the beginning and foundation of all goodness, as hath been also before specified. And, as these are the two chief causes of rebellion, so are there specially two sorts of men in whom these vices do reign, by whom the devil, the author of all evil, doth chiefly stir up all disobedience and rebellion. The restless ambitious having once determined by one means or other to achieve to their intended purpose, when

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\*former lines 18–22\*

<sup>a</sup> Rebellion.] Rebellion. The Fifth Part. A–E. <sup>b</sup> now to] now lastly to A, *the Homily being then divided into five Parts only*. <sup>c</sup> you may] ye may *from* D. <sup>d</sup> and so] and to 1623. <sup>e</sup> deaths] death *from* 1582. <sup>f</sup> rebels. Though] rebels, and embracing all obedience to God and your natural Prince, may enjoy God's blessing and your Prince's favour in all peace, quietness, and security in this world, and finally attain through Christ our Saviour life everlasting in the world to come; and so to conclude this whole treaty of due obedience and against damnable rebellion. Though A. <sup>g</sup> as the] as being the *from* 1582.

they cannot by lawful and peaceable means climb so high as they do desire, they attempt the same by force and violence; wherein, when they cannot prevail against the ordinary authority and power of lawful princes and governors themselves alone, they do seek the aid and help of the ignorant multitude, abusing them to their wicked purpose. Wherefore, seeing a few ambitious and malicious are the authors and heads, and multitudes of ignorant men are the ministers and furtherers, of rebellion, the chief point of this Part shall be as well to notify to the simple and ignorant men who they be that have been and be the usual<sup>h</sup> authors of rebellion, that they may know them, and also to admonish them to beware of the subtle suggestions of such restless ambitious persons, and so to flee them; that rebellions, though attempted by a few ambitious, through the lack of maintenance by any multitudes may speedily and easily, without any great labour, danger, or damage, be repressed and clearly extinguished.

It is well known, as well by all histories as by daily experience, that none have either more ambitiously aspired above emperors, kings, and princes, nor have more perniciously moved the ignorant people to rebellion against their princes, than certain persons which falsely challenge to themselves to be only counted and called spiritual. I must therefore here yet once again briefly put you, good people, in remembrance out of God's holy word, how our Saviour Jesus Christ and his holy Apostles, the heads and chief of all true spiritual and ecclesiastical men, behaved themselves towards the princes and rulers of their time, though not the best governors that ever were; that you be not ignorant whether they be the true disciples and followers of Christ and his Apostles, and so true spiritual men, that either by ambition do so highly aspire, or do most maliciously teach or most perniciously do execute rebellion against their lawful princes, being the worst of all carnal works and mischievous deeds. The holy Scriptures do teach<sup>o</sup> \*most expressly, that our Saviour Christ himself, and his holy\* Apostles<sup>k</sup> St. Paul, St. Peter, with others, were unto the magistrates and higher powers, which ruled at their being upon the earth, both obedient themselves, and did also diligently and earnestly exhort all other Christians to the like obedience unto their princes and governors: whereby it is evident that men of the clergy and ecclesiastical ministers, as their successors, ought

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\*former line 35\*

*Margin Note:* α Matt. 17:25; Mark 12:17; Luke 20:25; Matt. 27; Luke 23; Rom. 13:1 &c; 1 Tim. 1:1–2; 1 Pet. 2:13.

<sup>h</sup> be the usual] be usual *from* 1582. <sup>i</sup> holy (*line 35*) *omitted after* E. <sup>k</sup> apostles] Apostle *till* 1582.

both themselves specially and before others<sup>l</sup> to be obedient unto their princes, and also to exhort all others unto the same. Our Saviour Christ likewise,<sup>β</sup> teaching by his doctrine that *his kingdom was not of this world*, did by his example, in fleeing from those that would have made him king, confirm the same; expressly also forbidding<sup>γ</sup> his Apostles, and by them the whole clergy, all princely dominion over people and nations: and he, and his holy Apostles likewise, namely Peter and Paul, did forbid<sup>δ</sup> unto all ecclesiastical ministers dominion over the Church of Christ. And indeed, while<sup>m</sup> ecclesiastical ministers continued in Christ's Church in that order that is in Christ's word prescribed<sup>n</sup> unto them, and in Christian kingdoms kept themselves obedient to their own princes, as the holy Scriptures<sup>o</sup> do<sup>p</sup> teach them, both was Christ's Church more clear from ambitious emulations and contentions, and the state of Christian kingdoms less subject unto tumults and rebellions.

But, after that ambition and desire of dominion entered once into ecclesiastical ministers, (whose greatness, after the doctrine and example of our Saviour,<sup>ε</sup> should chiefly stand in humbling of themselves,) <sup>q</sup> and that the Bishop of Rome, (being by the order of God's word none other than the bishop of that one see and diocese, and never yet well able to govern the same,) did by intolerable ambition challenge, not only to be the head of all the Church dispersed throughout the world, but also to be lord of all the kingdoms<sup>r</sup> of the world, as is expressly set forth in the book of his own Canon Laws,<sup>1</sup> most contrary to the doctrine and example of our Saviour Christ, whose vicar, and of his holy<sup>s</sup> Apostles, namely Peter, whose successor, he pretendeth to be; after this<sup>t</sup> ambition entered, and this challenge once made by the Bishop of Rome, he became at once

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*Margin Notes:* β John 6:15, and 18:36. γ Matt. 20:25; Mark 10:42; Luke 22:25. δ Matt. 23:8; Luke 9:46; 2 Cor. 1:24; 1 Pet. 5:3. ε Matt 18:4, and 20:28; Luke 9:48, and 22:27. By "...Canon Laws...": Sext Decre. Lib. iii, Tit. 16, cap. unico; et Lib. v, Tit. 9, cap. 5: in Gloss.

<sup>l</sup> before others] before other *from* 1574. <sup>m</sup> whiles that] whiles the 1587, 1595, 1623. <sup>n</sup> prescribed] ascribed 1587, 1595, 1623. <sup>o</sup> Scriptures] Scripture *from* D. <sup>p</sup> do] doth *from* 1582. <sup>q</sup> humbling of themselves] humbling themselves *from* 1582. <sup>r</sup> all the kingdoms] all kingdoms *from* 1582. <sup>s</sup> holy] *omitted* 1623. <sup>t</sup> after this] after his *from* D.

<sup>1</sup> Totius enim orbis Papa tenet principatum. *Sext. Decretal.* III. 16, *cap. unic.*, *Gloss.* Partibus.

Excipitur autem civitas Romana ..., cum totius orbis Episcopus sit Romanus Pontifex. *Ibid.* V, 9, 5, *Gloss.* Privata.

Jewel cites both these passages concerning the Pope's claim to spiritual supremacy in his *Defence of the Apology*, Part V, Ch. 6, Div. 4. He likewise cites the former of the two concerning the claim to temporal supremacy in Part IV, Ch. 6, Div. 1, on "Deposing of Kings." See also on this point *Clementin.* II, 11, 2, where the Pope annuls certain proceedings, not only in virtue of the special supremacy which he claims over the Empire and over the Kingdom of Sicily, but also, as he says, *ex illius plenitudine potestatis quam Christus Rex regnum et Dominus dominatum* [1 Tim. 6:15, *Apoc.* 19:16] nobis licet immeritis in persona beati Petri concessit.

the spoiler and destroyer both of the Church, which is the kingdom of our Saviour Christ, and of the Christian Empire and all Christian kingdoms, as an universal tyrant over all. And, whereas before that challenge made there was great amity and love amongst the Christians of all countries, hereupon began emulation and much hatred between the Bishop of Rome and his clergy and friends on the one part, and the Grecian clergy and Christians of the East on the other part, for that they refused to acknowledge any such supreme authority of the Bishop of Rome over them; the bishop of Rome, for this cause amongst others,<sup>u</sup> not only naming them and taking them for schismatics, but also never ceasing to persecute them and the Emperors who had their see and continuance in Greece, by stirring of the subjects to rebellion against their sovereign lords, and by raising deadly hatred and most cruel wars between them and other Christian princes. And, when the \*Bishops<sup>x</sup> of Rome had translated the title of the Emperor and\* (as much as in them did lie) the Empire itself from their lord the Emperor of Greece, and of Rome also by right, unto the Christian princes of the West, they became in short space no better unto the West Emperors than they were before unto the Emperors of Greece. For the usual discharging of subjects from their oaths<sup>y</sup> of fidelity made unto the Emperors of the \*\*West, their sovereign lords, by the Bishops<sup>z</sup> of Rome: the unnatural\*\* stirring up of the subjects unto rebellion against their princes, yea, of the son against the father, by the Bishop of Rome; the most cruel and bloody wars raised amongst Christian princes of all kingdoms; the horrible murder of infinite thousands of Christian men, being slain by Christians; and, which ensued thereupon, the pitiful losses of so many goodly cities, countries, dominions, and kingdoms, sometime possessed by Christians in Asia, Africa, and Europa;<sup>a</sup> the miserable fall of the Empire and Church of Greece, sometime the most flourishing part of Christendom, into the hands of Turks;<sup>b</sup> the lamentable diminishing, decay, and ruin of Christian religion; the dreadful encrease of paganism,<sup>c</sup> and power of the infidels and miscreants;<sup>2</sup> and all by the practice and procurement of the Bishop of Rome chiefly; is in the histories and chronicles

[Continued on Page 588]

\*former line 17\*

\*\*former line 24\*\*

<sup>u</sup> others] other *from* C.    <sup>x</sup> Bishops (*line 17*)] Bishop A.    <sup>y</sup> oaths] oath *from* 1571.    <sup>z</sup> Bishops (*line 24*)] Bishop A.

<sup>a</sup> Africa, and Europa] Africa, Europa *from* 1582.    <sup>b</sup> of Turks] of the Turks *from* 1582.    <sup>c</sup> paganism] paganism 1623.

<sup>2</sup> miscreants: misbelievers, *méscréants*.

written by the Bishop of Rome's own favourers and friends to be seen, and is<sup>d</sup> well known unto all such as are acquainted with the said histories.

The ambitious intent and most subtile drifts of the Bishops of Rome in these their practices appeared evidently by their bold attempt in soiling and robbing the Emperors of their towns, cities, dominions, and kingdoms in Italy, Lonbardy, and Sicily, of ancient right belonging unto the Empire, and by the joining<sup>e</sup> of them unto their bishopric of Rome, or else giving them unto strangers to hold them of the Church and Bishops<sup>f</sup> of Rome as in capite, and as of the chief lords thereof, in which tenure they hold the most part thereof even at this day.<sup>g</sup> By<sup>h</sup> these ambitions and indeed traitorous means, and spoiling of their sovereign lords, the Bishops of Rome, of priests and none other by right than the bishops of one city and diocese, are by false usurpation become great lords of many dominions, mighty princes, yea, or emperors rather, as claiming to have divers princes and kings to their vassals, liegemen, and subjects; as in the same histories written by their own familiars and courtiers is to be seen. And indeed, since the time that the Bishops of Rome, by ambition, treason, and usurpation, achieved and attained to this height, and greatness, they behaved themselves more like princes, kings, and emperors, in all things, than remained like priests, bishops, and ecclesiastical or (as they would be called) spiritual persons in any one thing at all. For after this rate they have handled other kings and princes of other realms throughout Christendom, as well as their sovereign lords the Emperors, usually discharging<sup>i</sup> their subjects of their oath of fidelity, and so stirring them up to rebellion against their natural princes, whereof some examples shall in the last Part hereof be notified unto you.

Wherefore let all good subjects, knowing these the special instruments and ministers of the devil to the stirring up of all rebellions, avoid and flee them and the pestilent suggestions of such foreign usurpers and their adherents, and embrace all obedience to God and their natural princes and sovereigns; that they may enjoy God's blessings and their prince's favour in all<sup>k</sup> peace, quietness, and security<sup>l</sup> in this world, and finally attain, through Christ our Saviour, life everlasting in the world to come. Which God the Father, for the same our Saviour Jesus Christ his sake, grant unto us all. To whom with the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory world without end. Amen.

Thus have you heard the Fifth<sup>m</sup> Part of this Homily: now, good people, let us pray.

The Prayer as before.<sup>n</sup>

[Continued (Part 6) on Page 590]

<sup>d</sup> and is] and as 1623. <sup>e</sup> by the joining] by joining 1623. <sup>f</sup> and Bishops] and Bishop *from* 1574. <sup>g</sup> in which tenure they hold the most part thereof even at this day] *not in A.* <sup>h</sup> By] But 1623. <sup>i</sup> usually discharging &c.] *See page 590, note c.* <sup>k</sup> favour in all ] favour, all 1623. <sup>l</sup> quietness, and security] quietness, security 1623. <sup>m</sup> fifth [sixth D, F, 1571. <sup>n</sup> as before] as in that time it was published 1623, *and then the Prayer itself.*

THE SIXTH AND LAST PART OF THE HOMILY  
AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION.<sup>a</sup>

Now, whereas the injuries, oppressions, raveny, and tyranny of the Bishops<sup>b</sup> of Rome, usurping as well against their natural lords the Emperors as against all other Christian kings and kingdoms, and their continual stirring of subjects unto rebellions against their sovereign lords, whereof I have partly admonished you before, were intolerable; and it may seem more than marvel that any subjects would after such sort hold with unnatural foreign usurpers against their own sovereign lords and natural country; it remaineth that I do declare the mean whereby they compassed these matters, and so to conclude this whole Treaty of due obedience and against disobedience and wilful rebellion.

You shall understand<sup>c</sup> that by ignorance of God's word, wherein they kept all men, specially the common people, they wrought and brought to pass all these things, making them believe that all they<sup>c</sup> said was true, all that they did was good and godly, and that to hold with them in all things, against father, mother, prince, country, and all men, was most meritorious. And indeed what mischief will not blind ignorance lead simple men unto? By ignorance the Jewish clergy induced [Matt. 27:[20], Luke 23:[18].] the common people to ask the delivery of Barabbas the seditious murderer, and to sue for the cruel crucifying of our Saviour Christ, for that he rebuked the ambition, superstition, and other vices of the high priests and clergy. For, as our Saviour \*Christ testifieth [Luke 23:34.] that those who crucified him wist not what\* they did, so doth the holy Apostle St. Paul say [1 Cor. 2:8.], *If they had known, if they had not been ignorant, they would never have*

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\*former line 28\*

*Margin Note:* By 1st ¶ indent: Of ignorance of the simple people. The latter part.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Rebellion.] Rebellion. The Sixth Part. B–E. <sup>b</sup> Bishops] B. (*so shortened*) B–E, Bishop *in full from* 1571. <sup>c</sup> the Emperors, usually discharging (*page 588, line 28*) – You shall understand] the Emperors.

Now, where these things were intolerable, and it may seem more than marvel that any subjects would after such sort hold with unnatural foreign usurpers against their own sovereign lords and natural country; you shall understand A, *the Fifth and Sixth Parts of the Homily being then in one.*

<sup>d</sup> Of ignorance of the simple people. The latter part.] Of ignorance. The second part. A. *See before, page 584, lines 18–22.* <sup>e</sup> all they] all that they *from* 1582.



*crucified the Lord of glory*: but they knew not what they did. Our Saviour Christ himself also foreshewed [John 15:21, and 16:2–3.] that it should come to pass by ignorance, that those who should persecute and murder his true Apostles and disciples should think they did God acceptable sacrifice and good service; as it also is<sup>f</sup> verified even at this day.

And in this ignorance have the Bishops of Rome kept the people of God, specially the common sort, by no means so much as by the withdrawing<sup>g</sup> of the word of God from them, and by keeping it under the veil of an unknown strange tongue. For, as it served the ambitious humour of the Bishops of Rome to compel all nations to use the natural language of the city of Rome, where they were Bishops, which shewed a certain acknowledging of subjection unto them; so yet served it much more their crafty purpose thereby to keep all people so blind, that they, not knowing what they prayed, what they believed, what they were commanded by God, might take all their commandments for God's. For, as they would not suffer the holy Scriptures or Church Service to be used or had in any other language than the Latin, so were very few even of the most simple people taught the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments, otherwise than in Latin, which they understood not: by which universal ignorance all men were ready to believe whatsoever they said, and to do whatsoever they commanded.

For, to imitate the Apostle's phrase, *if* the Emperor's subjects *had known* out of God's word their duty to their prince, they would not have suffered the Bishop of Rome to persuade them to forsake their sovereign lord the Emperor against their oath of fidelity, and to rebel against him, only for that he cast images (unto the which idolatry was committed) out of the churches,<sup>1</sup> which the Bishop of Rome bare them in hand<sup>2</sup> to be heresy. *If they had known* of God's word but as much as the Ten Commandments, they should have found that the Bishop of Rome was not only a traitor to the Emperor his leige lord, but to God also, and an horrible blasphemer of his Majesty, in calling his holy word and commandment heresy; and that which the Bishop of Rome took for a just cause to rebel against his lawful prince, they might have known to be a doubling and

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*Margin Notes*: Three by last ¶: 1) Si cognoviasent. [1 Cor. 2:8.]. 2) Gregorius II, and III. Anno Dom. 726 &c. 3) In the second commandment.

<sup>f</sup> also is] is also *from* 1582. <sup>g</sup> by the withdrawing] by withdrawing *from* 1571.

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 198, notes 35, 36.

<sup>2</sup> bare them in hand: let them on to believe. See before, p. 211, note 70.

tripling of his most heinous wickedness, heaped with horrible impiety and blasphemy. But, lest the poor people should know too much, he would not let them have as much of God's word as the Ten Commandments wholly and perfectly, withdrawing from them the Second Commandment, that bewrayeth his impiety, by a subtile sacrilege.

*Had* the Emperor's subjects likewise *known* and been of any understanding in God's word, would they at other times have rebelled against their sovereign lord, and by their rebellion have holpen to depose<sup>h</sup> him, only for that the Bishop of Rome did bear them in hand that it was simony, and heresy too, for the Emperor to give any ecclesiastical dignities or promotions to his learned chaplains or other of the learned clergy, which all Christian Emperors before him had done without controlment?<sup>3</sup> Would they, I say, for that the Bishop of Rome bare them so in hand, have rebelled by the space of more than forty years together against him, with so much shedding of Christian blood and murder of so many thousands of Christians, and finally have deposed their sovereign lord, *had they known* and had in God's word any understanding at all? Specially, *had they known* that they did all this to pluck from their sovereign lord and his successors for ever their ancient right of the Empire, to give it unto the Romish clergy and to the Bishop of Rome, that he might for the confirmation of one archbishop and for a<sup>i</sup> Romish rag, which he calleth a pall,<sup>k</sup> scarce worth twelve pence, receive many thousand crowns of gold, and of other bishops likewise great sums of money for their bulls, which is simony indeed; would, I say, Christian men and subjects by rebellion have spent so much Christian blood, and have deposed their natural, most noble, and most valiant prince, to bring the matter finally to this pass, *had they known* what they did, or had any understanding in God's word at all?

And, as these ambitious usurpers the Bishops of Rome have overflowed all Italy and Germany with streams of Christian blood, shed by the rebellions of ignorant subjects against their natural lords the Emperors,<sup>l</sup> whom they have stirred thereunto

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*Margin Note:* After 1st ¶ indent: Henricus IV. Gregorius VII. Anno Dom. 1076. Paschalls II. Anno 1099.

<sup>h</sup> depose] dispose D, E. <sup>i</sup> for a] for the 1623. <sup>k</sup> pall] Paul *all except 1587 and 1595*. <sup>l</sup> the Emperors] and Emperors from 1574.

<sup>3</sup> See *Platina de Vitt. Greg. VII., Paschal. II.* But to cover a "space of more than forty years" in the reign or life of the Emperor Henry IV we must go back to a period much before the actual elevation of Hildebrand to the pontificate; when however, with the title of Archdeacon, he was really Pope. See *Milman's History of Latin Christianity*, VI, 3; VII, 3-5; VIII, 1.

by such false pretences, so is there no country in Christendom which by their like means and false pretences hath not been oversprinkled with the blood of subjects by rebellion against their natural sovereigns, stirred up by the same Bishops of Rome.

And to use one example of our own country. The Bishop of Rome did pick a quarrel to King John of England about the election of Stephen Langton to the bishopric of Canterbury, wherein the King had ancient right, being used by his progenitors, all Christian Kings of England before him; the Bishops of Rome having no right, but had been then to usurp upon the Kings of England and all other Christian Kings, as they had before done against their sovereign lords the Emperors; proceeding even by the same ways and means, and likewise cursing King John, and discharging his subjects of their oath of fidelity unto their sovereign lord.<sup>4</sup> Now, *had* Englishmen at that time *known* their duty to their prince set forth in God's word, would a great many of the nobles<sup>m</sup> and other Englishmen, natural subjects, for this foreign and unnatural usurper his vain curse of the King, and for his feigned discharging of them of their oath of<sup>n</sup> fidelity to their natural lord, upon so slender or no ground at all, have rebelled against their sovereign lord the King? Would English subjects have taken part, against the King of England and against Englishmen, with the French King and Frenchmen, being incensed against this realm by the Bishop of Rome? would they have sent for and received the Dolphin of France, with a great army of Frenchmen, into the realm of England? would they have sworn fidelity to the Dolphin of France, breaking their oath of fidelity to their natural lord the King of England, and have stand<sup>o</sup> under the Dolphin's banner displayed against the King of England? would they have expelled their sovereign lord the King of England out of London, the chief city of England, and out of the greatest part of England upon the South side of Trent, even unto Lincoln, and out of Lincoln itself also, and have delivered the possession thereof unto the Dolphin of France, whereof he kept the possession and great while? would they, being Englishmen, have procured so great shedding of English blood and other infinite mischiefs and miseries unto England their natural country, as did

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*Margin Notes:* By 1st ¶ indent: King John. By mid-¶ and following: Innocentius III. Philip, French King. Lewes, Dolphin of France.

<sup>m</sup> of the nobles] of nobles *from* 1582. <sup>n</sup> oath of] oath and *from* 1582. <sup>o</sup> stand] stood *from* 1582.

<sup>4</sup> See *Inett's Origines Anglicanae*, II, XX–XXV; *Milman, ibid.* IX, V.

follow those cruel wars and traitorous rebellion, the fruits of the Bishop of Rome's blessings? would they have driven their natural sovereign lord the King of England to such extremity, that he was enforced to submit himself unto that foreign false usurper, the Bishop of Rome, who compelled him to surrender up the crown of England into the hands of his legate; who in token of possession kept it in his hands divers days, and then delivered it again to King John upon that condition, that the King and his successors, Kings of England, should hold the crown and kingdom of England of the Bishop of Rome and his successors, as the vassals of the said Bishops of Rome for ever; in token whereof the Kings of England should also pay an<sup>p</sup> yearly tribute to the said Bishop of Rome, as his vassals and liegemen? would Englishmen have brought their sovereign lord and natural country into this thralldom and subjection to a false foreign usurper, *had they known* and had any understanding in God's word at all? Out of the which most lamentable case, and most miserable<sup>q</sup> tyranny, raveny, and spoil of the most greedy Romish wolves ensuing hereupon, the Kings and realm of England could not rid themselves by the space of many years after; the Bishop of Rome by his ministers continually not only spoiling the realm and Kings of England, to keep them in such his subjection, that they should not refuse to pay whatsoever those unsatiabable wolves did greedily gape for, and suffer whatsoever those most cruel tyrants would lay upon them. Would Englishmen have suffered this? would they by rebellion have caused this, trow you, and all for the Bishop of Rome's causeless curse, *had they* in those days *known* and understood, <sup>r</sup> that God doth *curse the blessings* [Mal. 2:[2].] and bless the cursings of such wicked usurping bishops and tyrants, as it appeared afterward in King Henry the Eighth his days, and King Edward the Sixth, and in our gracious Sovereign's days that now is, where neither the Pope's curses,<sup>5</sup> nor God's manifold blessings, are wanting? But in King John's time the bishop of Rome understanding

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*Margin Notes:* By "... crown of England...": Pandelphur. After "...Romish wolves...": See the Acts of Parliament in King Edward the Third his days.

<sup>p</sup> an] a *from* 1582. <sup>q</sup> and most miserable] and miserable *from* 1582. <sup>r</sup> understood] understood 1595, 1623.

<sup>5</sup> The famous bull of Pope Pius V against Queen Elizabeth bears date on February 25, 1570: but, in anticipation of it, Nicholas Morton had been sent over by the Pope in 1569 with authority to declare that Elizabeth was a heretic and therefore not entitled to the throne, and had actively promoted the Northern Rebellion by his statements. *Camd. Annal.* p. 165.

the brute blindness, ignorance of God's word, and superstition of Englishmen, and how much they were enclined to worship the babylonical beast of Rome, and to fear all his threatenings and causeless curses, he abused them thus; and by their rebellion brought this noble realm and Kings of England under his most cruel tyranny, and to be a spoil of his most vile and unsatiable covetousness and raveny for a long and a great deal too long a time.

And, to join unto the reports of histories matters of later<sup>s</sup> memory, could the Bishop of Rome have raised the late rebellions in the North and West countries in the times of King Henry and King Edward,<sup>6</sup> our gracious Sovereign's father and brother, but by abusing of the ignorant people? Or is it not most evident that the Bishop of Rome hath of late attempted by his Irish patriarchs and bishops,<sup>7</sup> sent from Rome with his bulls, (whereof some were deprehended,)<sup>l</sup> to break down the bars and hedges of the public peace in Ireland, only upon confidence easily to abuse the ignorance of the wild Irishmen? Or who seeth not that upon like confidence yet more lately he hath likewise procured the breach of the public peace in England, (with the long and blessed continuance whereof he is sore grieved,) by the ministry of his disguised chaplains, creeping in laymen's apparel into the houses and whispering in the ears of certain Northen<sup>u</sup> borderers, being men<sup>x</sup> most ignorant of their duty to God and their<sup>y</sup> prince of all people of the realm; whom therefore, as most meet and ready to execute his intended pur-

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<sup>s</sup> later] latter 1571–1587. <sup>l</sup> deprehended] apprehended *from* 1571. <sup>u</sup> Northen] Northren 1595, Northern 1623. <sup>x</sup> being men] being then 1623. <sup>y</sup> and their] and to their *from* 1582.

<sup>6</sup> The rebellion in the North, known as “the Pilgrimage of Grace”, was in 1536; the Western rebellion in 1549. See *Speed's History of Great Britain*, IX, xxi, pp. 1018–1026 ed. 1632; *Foxe, Acts and Monuments*, V, 730–737, ed. 1843–9.

<sup>7</sup> Although the Homilist speaks of “patriarchs and bishops” in the plural number, history seems to have recorded only one such emissary from Rome, Richard Creagh, titular Primate of Ireland, who, after escaping from the Tower of London in 1563, returned to Ireland during the rebellion of Shane O’Niell in 1566 or 1567, was again apprehended and lodged in the Tower, and died there a prisoner in October 1583. See, in Roth’s *Analecta de Rebus Catholicorum in Hiberia, De Processu Martyriali quorundum Fidei Pugilum*, pp 1–47; O’Sullivan’s *Historiae Catholicae Iberniae Compendium*, II, iv, 10; or Stuart’s *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh*, pp. 249–251. It is not likely that Creagh or any other titular Primate took the title of Patriarch to himself; but Sir James Melvill (in his *Memoirs*, p. 9), gives it in like manner to Robert Waucop in 1545, and perhaps it was in popular use.

To the sources of the information comprised in this note I have been directed by the Rev. Robert King’s *Primer of the Church History of Ireland*, Book VI, Chapters i and v, and Appendix, No. 26, edit. 3.

pose, he hath by the said ignorant mass priests, as blind guides leading the blind, brought those seely blind subjects into the deep ditch of horrible rebellion, damnable to themselves, and very dangerous to the state of the realm, had not God of his mercy miraculously calmed that raging tempest, not only without any shipwrack of the commonwealth, but almost without any shedding of Christian and English blood at all.

And it is yet much more to be lamented that, not only common people, but some<sup>z</sup> other youthful or unskilful princes also suffer themselves to be abused by the Bishop of Rome his cardinals and bishops to the oppressing<sup>a</sup> of Christian men their faithful subjects, either themselves, or else by procuring the force and strength of Christian men to be conveyed out of one country to oppress true Christians in another country, and by these means open an entry unto Moors and infidels into the possession of Christian realms and countries;<sup>b</sup> other Christian princes in the mean time, by the Bishop of Rome's procuring also, being so occupied in civil wars, or so troubled<sup>c</sup> with rebellions, that they have neither leisure nor ability to confer their common forces to the defence of their fellow Christians against such invasions of the common enemies of Christendom, the infidels and miscreants. Would to God we might only read and hear out of histories of the old,<sup>d</sup> and not also see and feel these new and present oppressions of Christians, rebellions of subjects, effusion of Christian blood, destruction of Christian men, decay and ruin of Christendom, increase of paganism,<sup>e</sup> most lamentable and pitiful to behold, being procured in these our days, as well as in times past, by the Bishop of Rome and his ministers abusing their ignorance of God's word yet remaining in some Christian princes and people.

By which sour<sup>f</sup> and bitter fruits of ignorance all men ought to be moved to give ear and credit to God's word, shewing, as most truly, so most plainly, how great a mischief ignorance is, and again how great and how good a gift of God knowledge in God's word is. And to begin with the Romish<sup>g</sup> clergy, who though they do brag now, as did [Jer. 18:18.] sometime the Jewish clergy, that they cannot lack knowledge, yet doth God by his holy Prophets [Ezek. 7:26; Hos. 4:6.] both charge them with ignorance, and threaten them also, for that they have repelled the knowledge of God's word and law

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<sup>z</sup> but some] by some *till* 1582.    <sup>a</sup> to be oppressing] to oppressing *from* 1571.    <sup>b</sup> realms and countries] realms countries 1582, 1623.    <sup>c</sup> or so troubled] or troubled *from* 1571.    <sup>d</sup> of histories of the old] of the histories of old *from* 1582.    <sup>e</sup> paganism] paganism *from* 1582.    <sup>f</sup> sour] sorrow *from* 1574.    <sup>g</sup> Romish] *not in* A, B.

from themselves and from his people, that he will repel them, that they shall be no more his priests. God likewise chargeth [Ps. 51:[10–12].] princes as well as priests, that they should endeavour themselves to get understanding and knowledge in his word, threatening his heavy wrath and destruction unto them if they fail thereof. And the Wise Man saith [Prov. 19:[2]; Wisd. 13:[1].] to all men universally, princes, priests, and people, *Where is no knowledge, there is no good nor health to the soul;*<sup>8</sup> and that *all men be vain in whom is not the knowledge of God*<sup>9</sup> and his holy word; that<sup>κ</sup> *they who walk in darkness wot not whither they go*; and that the people that will not learn shall fall into great mischiefs; as did the people of Israel, who [Isa. 5:13.], for their ignorance in God's word, were first led into captivity; and, when by ignorance afterward they would not [Luke 19:44, 23:34] *know the time of their visitation*, but crucified Christ our Saviour, persecuted [Acts multis locis.] his holy Apostles, and were so ignorant and blind that, when they did most wickedly and cruelly, they thought [John 16:2.] they did God good and acceptable service, (as do many by ignorance think even at this day,) finally, through their ignorance and blindness, their country, towns, cities, Hierusalem itself, and the holy temple<sup>h</sup> of God were all most horribly destroyed, the most chiefest part of their people slain, and the rest led into most miserable captivity: for [Isa. 27:[11].] *he that made them had no pity upon them, neither would spare them*; and all for their ignorance.<sup>π</sup> And the holy Scriptures do teach [Isa. 6:9, Matt. 13:14–15.] that the people that will not see with their eyes, nor hear with their ears, to learn and to understand with their hearts, cannot be converted and saved. And the wicked themselves, being damned in hell, shall confess ignorance in God's word to have brought them thereunto, saying [Wisd. 5:[6–7].], *We have erred from the way of the truth, and the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the sun of understanding hath not risen unto us. We have wearied ourselves in the way of wickedness and perdition, and have walked cumbrous and crooked ways: but the way of the Lord have we not known*. And as well our Saviour himself as his Apostle St. Paul do<sup>i</sup> teach [Matt. 13:19; 2 Cor. 4:3–4.], that the ignorance of God's word cometh of the devil, is the cause of all error and misjudging, (as falleth out with ignorant subjects, who can rather espy [Matt. 7:[3].] a little mote in the eye of the prince or a counsellor than a great beam in their

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*Margin Notes:* κ Prov. 17:[24]; Eph. 4:[17–18]; John 12:[35]. π Hos. 4:[6]; Bar. 3:[10–12, 28].

<sup>h</sup> the holy temple] the temple 1623.    <sup>i</sup> Paul do] Paul doth *from* 1582.

<sup>8</sup> Ubi non est scientia animae non est bonum. *Prov.* 19:2, *Vulg.*

<sup>9</sup> Vani autem sunt omnes homines in quibus non subest scientia Dei. *Sap.* 13:1, *Vulg.*

own), and universally it is the cause of all evil, and finally of eternal damnation; God's judgment being severe towards those who, when the *light* [John 3:[19].] of Christ's Gospel *is come into the world, do delight more in darkness of ignorance than in the light of knowledge in God's word*. For all are commanded<sup>x</sup> to read or hear, to search and study, the holy Scriptures, and are promised<sup>ψ</sup> understanding to be given them from God if they so do; all are charged<sup>ω</sup> not to believe either any dead man, nor if an angel should speak from heaven, much less if the pope do speak from Rome, against or contrary to the word of God; from the which [Deut. 5:32–33.] we may *not decline, neither to the right hand nor to the left*.<sup>10</sup> In God's word princes [Deut, 17:14–15 &c.] must learn how to obey God and to govern men: in Gods word subjects<sup>γ</sup> must learn obedience both to God and their princes. Old men and young, [Ps. 118 [119:9].] rich and poor, all men and women, all estates, sexes, and ages, are taught their several duties in the word of God. For<sup>ε</sup> *the word of God is bright, giving light unto all men's eyes,*<sup>11</sup> *the shining lamp directing all men's paths and steps*.

Let us therefore awake<sup>ς</sup> from the sleep and darkness of ignorance, and open our eyes, that we may see the light: let us rise from *the works of darkness*, that we may escape eternal darkness, the due reward thereof: and let us *walk* [John 12:35–36.] in the light of God's word *whiles we have light*, as becometh *the children of light*; so directing the steps of our lives in that way which leadeth to light and life everlasting, that we may finally obtain and enjoy the same. Which God *the Father* [James 1:17.] *of lights, who* [1 Tim. 6:16.] *dwelleth in light* incomprehensible and *inaccessible*, grant unto us, through *the Light<sup>κ</sup> of the world* our Saviour Jesus Christ. Unto whom with the Holy Ghost, one most glorious God, be all honour, praise, and thanksgiving for ever and ever. Amen.

Thus have you heard the Sixth Part of this Homily: now, good people, let us pray.

The Prayer as before.<sup>h i</sup>

*Margin Notes:* χ Matt. 11:15, and 13:9, 43; Luke 8:8; John 5:39. ψ Ps. 1:[1–3]; Matt. 7:7; Luke 11:9. ω Luke 16:30–31; Gal. 1:8. γ Rom. 13:[1–7]; 1 Pet. 2:[13–17]. ε Ps. 18 [19:8] and 118 [119:105]. ζ Eph. 5:14; 1 Thess. 5:4–6; [Rom. 13:11–12]. κ John 3:[19, 8:12, 9:5].

<sup>h</sup> Thus have you heard – as before] *not in A.* <sup>i</sup> as before] as in that time it was published 1623, *and then the Prayer itself.*

<sup>10</sup> Non declinabitis neque ad dexteram ueque ad sinistram. *Deut. 5:32, Vulg.*

<sup>11</sup> Praeceptum Domini lucidum, illuminans oculos. *Ps 18 (Hebr. 19):8, Vulg.*



A THANKSGIVING FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE LAST REBELLION.

O heavenly and most merciful Father, the Defender of those that put their trust in thee, the sure Fortress of all them that flee<sup>a</sup> to thee for succour; who, of thy most just judgments for our disobedience and rebellion against thy holy word, and for our sinful and wicked living, nothing answering to our holy profession, whereby we have given an occasion that thy holy Name hath been blasphemed amongst the ignorant, hast of late both sore abashed the whole realm and people of England with the terror and danger of rebellion, thereby to awake us out of our dead sleep of careless security; and hast yet, by the miseries following the same rebellion, more sharply punished part of our countrymen and Christian brethren, who have more nearly felt the same; and most dreadfully hast scourged some of the seditious persons with terrible executions, justly inflicted for their disobedience to thee and to thy servant their Sovereign, to the example of us all and to the warning, correction, and amendment of thy servants, of thine accustomed goodness turning always the wickedness of evil men to the profit of them that fear thee; who, in thy judgments remembering thy mercy, hast by thy assistance given the victory to thy servant our Queen, her true nobility and faithful subjects, with so little, or rather no, effusion of Christian blood, as also might justly have<sup>b</sup> ensued, to the exceeding comfort of all sorrowful Christian hearts; and that of thy fatherly pity and merciful goodness only, and even for thine own Name's sake, without any our desert at all: wherefore we render unto thee most humble and hearty thanks for these thy great mercies shewed unto us, who had deserved sharper punishment; most humbly beseeching thee to grant unto all us that confess thy holy Name, and profess the true and perfect religion of thy holy Gospel, thy heavenly grace, to shew ourselves in our living according to our profession; that we, truly knowing thee in thy blessed word, may obediently walk in thy holy commandments; and that we, being warned by this thy fatherly correction, do provoke thy just wrath against us no more, but may enjoy the continuance of thy great mercies toward<sup>c</sup> us, thy right hand, as in this, so in all other invasions, rebellions, and dangers, continually saving and defending our Church, our realm, our Queen, and people of England; that all our posterities ensuing, confessing thy holy Name, professing thy holy Gospel, and leading an holy life, may perpetually praise and magnify thee, with thy only Son Jesus Christ our Saviour, and the Holy Ghost: to whom be all laud, praise, glory, and empire for ever and ever. Amen.

<sup>a</sup> flee] fly 1623.    <sup>b</sup> justly have] have justly *from* 1582.    <sup>c</sup> toward] towards 1597, 1623.