AN HARBOROVVE
FOR FAITH-
FULL AND TREVVE
SUBIECTES,
agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Go-
uerneuer of VVemen. wherin be confuted all such
reasons as a strange of late made in that
behalfe, with a breife exhortation to
OBEDIENCE.
Anno. M.D.lxx.

PROVERBES. 32.
Many daughters there be, that gather
riches togeth: but thou goest about them all. As
for favour it is deceitfull, and bewtie is a vaine thing;
but a woman that feareth the Lord: she is vvorthe to
be prayled. Geue her of the fruit of her handes,
and let her owne vvorke prayse her in
the gate.

At Strawborowe the.
26. of Aprill.
To the right honorable and his
singer good Lordes, Francis Earle of Bedford one
of the Quenes Maiesties priuie Counsell, and the
Lord Robert Duddeley, master of her hightnes
horfe, and knight of the honorable order of
the Garter. That thou wifhest many
quiet dayes, the continuall feare of
God, and earnest Zeale in Chri
tes quarrell.

HE moste noble and
excellët philosopher Plu
stark reporteth (moste ho
norable) that bulles fleshe
corrupted and rotten, be
ingendred Bees, of horfe
fleshe, Harnets, and of më
serpentes. VWhereby not
only appeareth the great
diversitie of natures in the
diversitie of kindes, but
also (whiche is no small
wonder) how of that which is moste made, and esteemed, is
bred the worste and vilest corruption, of that which in oure
eyes is the beautifullest worke of nature, springeth forth the
foolest frute, that is, or can be found in nature. No creature
in this world is counted more excellente than man: and no
monstre in fighte more ougle, and in nature more hurtfull
than a serpent, so that we see that of the fairest, cometh the
foolest, of the best loued, the most hated, of the most holste
the most venomous, and to be short, of the fairest in our eyes,
the filthfeft in oure judgement. VWhereby God geueth vs to
understand, that mischeuous matter lieth oft hidden in fair
vessels, and no little ill, where we think to find moste good. If
Aa.
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this poisoned venim, be in the bodie of man, to engender serpents: shall we thinke that the minde is pure? No certainly. For though it bringeth not foure (being corrupted and rotten with error) serpents, adders, and maketh, yet be the buds of that tree, either as ill, or muche worse. For like as a man inhabiting a flower, filthy, and vnholome house, situate in a corrupt and vnclean aire, can not be but subject to that contagion: so these minde of ours, beinge lodged in so impure an harborowe, mule needes be defiled with the filthie. VVheristo the Apostle crieth outis, qui in carne sunt, deo placeare non possunt, so long as we remain in this flethe, we can not please God. The cause of this corruption, no christian is so vnkindfull, but he knoweth it to be the dotage of our fylte parentes, converted into the vaines of their mindes first, and their bodies nexte by the veninious breath, of that subtil serpents our ancient enemy. VVhome, while they hardened into, they became so charmed and bewitched, that they forgote them selves, forsoke God, and became of his deare founnes, his extreme enemies, of his obedient and longing seruants, his wilful and obstinate rebels, and confederates with his sworn enemye the devill. Here we finde the cause, and we daily feel the effect, in that we in all thinges, by nature repining at the wil of God, ready to follow the will of the fylle, winking and kicking against godlines and truth, and on the other side, ever hunting for fylle lines and lies. Out of this corrupted puddle of mans hart, or rather out of this forge and shop of Satan, where sinne is wroughte and liyenge; breaketh forth amongst the reale of serpentes, (which it bringeth out) the horrible hydres of errors, sectes, and heresies. the which world hath since the beginning and to thending shall be poionned and infected. Hereof I pray the curious contenctes and foundry sectes of Ethnike Pheosophers, as Academians, Perpetuities, Stoikes; Epuruses, Cyanikes, and all that rabbile. Here budded or rather flowd forth the housses of the horrible and most hurtfull heresies, hatched by the deuel, in the nest of mans mind, and vtered by the tog and pen of busie bodies, sealed vp to ferue Satan in this kind of minisingery. Such wer in our ancestors days, the Nycolaitans, the Geronthians, Arrians, Macedonians, Pelagians, Eutychians, Eunomians, Neoforians and such other. And in these our latter daies, the old felsen fores newly broken out, as the Anabaptistes, the freewillers, or rather froowardwillers, the sectaries, &c, and others that be new, as Adaporphistes, Oleraniumes, Maronistes, Papistes, with infinite other swarms of gods enemies, by whom our adversfari Satan feketh to disturb the true vnisce of Chritles church, to choke the good corn of late grown in gods field, and to dim that excellent light, which according to his recreate counsel and decree, he determined should shine to the vnpeakeable eftort of his elect, in these our daies. Among these vngelie monsters and brodes of the deuils brotherhead, hath of late kreet out (I can not tel whether by wil or ignorance) certain πολεμακοται, which have called into quetion among vs such thinges, as good sectates before neuer doubted of, whether it wer lawfull for women, in heretours of kingdome, to gouern and guie the same. or not. Although this error may appear, not to touch so neere the soule and salvation of man, as some of the fornamed do yet considering that the quiet of common weales is the nurse of religion and bulwerk of good and faithful men, and that the apostle pronounceth against the rebellious vter damnacions: VVe can not think it to be a trifile to disturb the common ordes of policie, to fonde the mindes of sectates, by new intented contrayeries, and brielly to make men to mule, of that they never before mistrusted. VVherefor chaunting vs on a boke, about a vvere part, intituled the first blatt, containinge new broched doctrine to disproce the regiment of women: After I had red it, I wished that some notable learned man, wold have answered it, that, like as those which be flenge of Scorpis.
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Scorpions vse to fetch remedy of the same: so this cause being wounded, or rather a little scratched with some little appare de of learning might be again healed with future planters as through the truth of the matter, true learning ministereth. And for as much as I hoped of this at some mens hands and hard of one, which is now gone to God, that he had take it upon him: I meant not for a time to meddle with it, lest that a good cause by ill handling, should in the judgment of some fume the worse. But when the length of time taught me that he that met it, was take it, so much as could have thoroughly do it, I thought it better rather by my tending hand of it to chew me good will, than by the common silence to fume to winke at it. And so much the rather I take it in hand; because if no man shold do it all our side shuld fume to bear with it, which I know is to be so far of: that none that I know I speake of the learned be further guilty in this point, than that by dear declaration they have not shewed the feline gifts. I know the credit, the old prouerbe hath, qui tacet cogitation videtur, he that winketh at a matter, semeth to think the same. And therefore as it was necessary that some in the behalf of all, I shuld fume to bear with it, though more boldly the wisely, yet not so rashly as necessarily, nor as I truthfully utter the profitably. To let the world understand that this infection is not blown in by the blast to al mens brains, yea I dare be bold to faye that all the best learned be of the same judgment hereon that this my simple treatise I shall utter me to be of. So that neither our sworn enemies the papists I shal have any longer pleasure to beliee vs, nor our half friends which are indifferent to be leave any thing of vs, hereafter to mistrust vs, nor the higher powers the felices in this point to fear vs, we have learned ad taught, we loue and like, we honor and esteem true obedience to the high ministrers of God, and on the contrary we can no fars of seditious disturbers of well statured policies, of rash and unbridled breakers of holome and godly laws. Thus me think I may faye in the name of al, because I know the contrary opinion to be in few or none. Wherefore let our ene.
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Like as sicke or feble bodies cannot abyde any great panges or fits, or old cracked shippes anye great vvaues or vvinde: so disturbed and maymed common vvelthyes are some ouerturned and cast vnder foote, by foden and strange mutations. Seing therfor that by frowning fortune, and Gods vvrath, for the offences of thinhabitantes, Englelde is of late both in honoure and posession, not a lytle maymed, Yea, takinge a fall through the negligence of the Nurce halfe made a creples: It is necessary for al good men, & the dutie of all faithfull Subjectes, to have an eye to it, that it runne not vpon the rockes, and make shipp vvrake. And as in great Cities, great hede is gven, that neither by negligence of the Citizens, nor malice of evil vvilles, it be consumed by fyre, or hurt by any other causaltie: So in common vvelthes must it be prooved, that no fyre brands of Sedition be cast into the houses of mens hawtes, to impayre thohedience of good Subjectes, to kindle the harts of the froward, and to destroy honest, godly, and comly order. For mans nature being such, as it can hardly be brought to flupe, and easly stirr'd vp to disturb: All occasions must be cut of, whereby the euill may be enco rage'let to cast of the yocke of obedience, and the simpe brought into doubt what they ought to foloov. Happening therefor not longe agoone to rede a lytle booke
BOOK STRANGELY WRITTEN BY A STRANGER, TO PROVE THAT THE RULE OF VVOMEN IS OUT OF RULE, AND NOT IN A COMMON Velth Tolerable: And vVaying at the first what harme might come of it, and felyng at the last that it hath not a lytle vVounded the conscience of some tymple, and almost cracked the dutie of true obedience. I thought it more then necessary to lay before mens eyes the vruth of the argument, the weakenes of the proues, and the absurditie of the vVwhole. In the fiftyngr vVhereof, I mynd to vse suche modestie: that it shall appeare to all indifferent men, that I feke to defend the cause, and not to deface the ma. Seing this error rose not of maleice but of zele: and by looking more to the present crueltie, that the vvas vosed; then to the incouencyent that after might follow. VVherin surely his doyng is somwhat to be pardoned: considering the grieft that like a good member of that body which then suffered, he felt to his great foroyv and trouble, For lvyke as the eye being luf ofteares, is the more vnable to fe: So is the mind full of foroyv much the les hable to judge. As vve in Euripides Polymnestor being for his mordring of Polidor extremeli punished of Hecuba ad other vVemc (vVho pricked out his eyes vvith pins) cryeth out not only agayn them that hurt hym, but agaynst the vVwhole sexe that never came nere him. And in Hippolytus vVho for the fault of his Stepdame Phedra, curseth the vVwhole kynd, So this Authour feyng the tormentes of Martyres, the murydnyge of goodmen, Thimprisionment of Innocentes, The rackynge of the gyllles, The banis hymg of Christ, The receiuyng recieuyng receiuyng

RECEIVING OF ANTI-CHRIST, THE SPOLIATION OF SUBJECTS, THE MAINTENANCE OF STRANGERS, THE MOURING OF WARRIES, THE LOSS OF ENGLAND'S HONOUR, THE PURCHASING OF HATRED, WHERE WE HAD LOUE, THE PROCURING OF TROUBLE WHERE WE HAD PEACE, THE SPENDING OF TREASURE WHERE IT WAS NEEDED, AND TO BE SHORT ALL OUT OF JOYNT: He could not but milike that regiment from whence such frutes did spring, Only in this he vvas not to be excused (ones he alledge ignorance) that he vsvared from the inQBCP to the biwe, that is fr the particular question to the general, as though all the government of the vVwhole Sexe were against nature, Reason, Right, and Law: because that the present state then through the fault of the persone, and not of the Sexe, vvas unnatural, unreasonabil, vnjust, and vnlawful. If he had kept him in that particular person: he could have said nothing to muche, nor in suche vvyfe, as could have offended any indifferent man. And this againe vVwould have been considered: that if the question vvere to be handled, yet vvas it not meere to bring it into doubt at that time, when it could not nor yet can be, redressed (vvere it notuer so cuill.) vVithout manifest and violent vVroog of the that be in place. For if it vver vnlawful (as he vVill haue it) that that Sexe shoule govern et, yet is it not vnlawfull that they shoule enherate, as hereafter vve shal proue. And in this point their inheritaunce is so lynked vvith the empyr: that you vca not pluck from them thone vvithout robbing the of thother.

Ths doubt might better have been moued vVhe the Sceptre vvas or shalbe in the hand of the male. And

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so if it vvere founde euill (as I am persuyaded it shal
ner ter be) it might vwithout the vvronging of any be
reformed. But nowe being stably shed by layve, co-
formed by custome, and ratified by common cösent
of all the orders in the Realme: It can be no equitie
to take it from them, nor any colour of honeltie or
godlines to moue any plea against them. If nature
hath geneu it them by buthe: howe dare vve pulle it
from them by violence: if God haue called the to it
either to tauce or to spille: vwhy should vve repine at
that vvhich is Gods vvyl and order: ar vve vvifer the
eh in belloving it: or to bolde to alter that he pur-
pole should come of it: the hable vve women: thal vve
why vnhable them: if he ment not they should miniftre:
he could haue proued other. Therfore the sauest
vve yees, to let him do his vvill, vvhich can do belt,
vhich can see plainly that vvill followe vve, vwher
vve blyndly geffe and do but grope at it, Per me Reges
regunt faith vvildome in the persone of God, by him
regne they and not by vs. It is his appoyntment and
not ours, for though vve eloquem y me haue the election
to chuse or refuse this persone or that (as it is in some
cömo vvelethes) yet because vve be not our own but
his: nor haue our harts in our hads to ordeine vvhat
vve live, but must as vve yede to his vvrkinge:
Therefor it is more agreable to dutie, and a great
deale leffe jeopardie, to honoure his chosie, rather thè
to preferre our own. Place the a vvoman vveake in
nature, feable in bodie, foote in courage, vnskilfull in
practice, not terrible to the enemy, no Shiledto the
mynde, vvel, Virtus mea (faith he) In infirmitate paciter.

My

FAITHFUL SUBJECTES.

My strengthe is moste perfight vwhen you be moste
vveake, if he toyne to his strengthe: She can not be
vveake. If he put to his hande she can not be feable,
if he be vvith her who can stonde against her? Thou
shal not take vwith the any great powuer (faith he to
Gedeon) let you think to ouercome your enemies
by your owne strengthe, and provves, and not by my
vwrking and might. It is as ealy for him to fayne by
levve as by many, by vveake as by strong, by a vv-
man as by a man. Yea his moste vvinderfull vworkes
are alllyes vvrough in our moste vweakenes, as
infinite examples and testimones do shewe. Yet
meane I not to barre pollicie: vvhe vwithout breach
of Gods ordinance it may haue place, for pollicie
is Gods giyne ethere geneu man immediatly of God;
gods giyne by study, experience, and practife, or vvone
by quicknesse of vvit. But vwhen God chulde him
selfe by sending to aking, vvhoes successeion is ruled
by inheritance and lyuell dispers, no heires male:
It is a plain argument, that for some secret purposè
he myndeth the female shal reign and governe, God vvor
if vve consider the vworkes of God: vve shall ynde keth in
throughout the vvhole scriptur: that vvhere vve was
least helpe of man or any vworldly means: there
vvrught he greates vwordes and brought thinges
to a moste happy ende. In the making and framing of
the heauen the earth and all that in them is conteyn-
ed, vwho put to his hande to helpe? vwhat felovve
had he to so excellent a vwork? did he it not himself
vwithout any tovvardnes of matter, any helpe of any
means, either of anguels or man? And that moste

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bevtifull and excellent image of him selue man, did he not shape him selue of a moste vnmete matter, a
piece of earth, a thing of naught, howse so ever Gal-
lene töfully deride it, saying that nature choset the
mete matter for every vvorldke: Preferuid he not
mankinde, and the space of all other lyuing creatures,
by one shippe: vvherin if a man vvil search by reason
and not by Gods omnipotencie, howse one vellie
ould holde so many couples of beasts, foules,
vvermes. &c. And if it could: howse so many straunge,
diers, and contrary nature should agree together
pynned vp in one corner: it shal appare not only
wonderfull but alfo impossible. VVhat helpe vvas
in a sorte of poore men, compassed aboute vvith ene-
emies, mountaynees, and seas: to make the vvater con-
trary to nature to leue his course, and as it were
vvith a certaine choise and judgement to gaine paflage
and safete to the streffed, and confusion and destruc-
tio to the proude prince and his companie? he forsethe
Exod. 17. harde rocke to yelde vvater, as a moste pletifull vvel,
Psalm. 77. at the tycke of a vvande. He faued his people by the
15. 104. hande of a vvoman poore Deborah. He auanced
Jud. 5. them and ouerthrive the enemies by a poore she-
hershe and his sluing. He cut of the head of the proude
Sam. 17. captayne Olophernes by the hande of a vvake vvom-
Judith. 13. an. It vvas, in reason a poore helpe to Sampsons
Jud. 16. strengthe, a nober of heares growing vp on his head,
or an Asses iavve bone in his hande, to destroie so
Jud. 15. many enemies and bring the people to libertie. The
Jud. 20. breaking of 300, earthen pottes, vvas a sclender pol-
cyie to make so many Myriades to flee and one to
kille an

kille another. And to come to the greteste of all: it se-
med to the eye of the vvorlde, and the vvifdome of
the flehe, very vnlyke that a poore cabiet cödem-
ned for a traytour hanged among theses vpo a crosse
moiste ylie, gronyng and morning at the panges of
death: shold robbbe Sathan of his kyngdom, restore
man to the favoure of God, vvyne the victorie of
death, and make a conquest of hel and fynee. This con-
sidered in it selue and not taught by the spirite in-
vvardly: made the Ieuvves to counte it madness and
the Greekes more tolisshes. VVhat shoule I saye
of the meanes, wherby as by conduites this vvater
of liyse, this doctrine of Gods foonc, vvas caried a-
about the vvhole vvorlde, against all reason and pol-
cyie, by idiotes to confounde the learned, by sym-
plicite all the vvifdome of the vvorlde, by fyllers,
the fyne Philosophers, the proude Pharises, the
mghty princes and monarckes of the earth. And to
come to our dayes vvhen the lyght of this Gospell
vvas put out, and Antechrist ruled and reueld in the
temple of God (vvhich is mens hartes and cösciee)
armed and garded vvith the power of Emperours,
Kynges, Prynces, and Lavves: beyond all mens ex-
pectations, contrary to hope, a poore frier, one man,
at that time not the best learned, through the mght-
ly hande of God according to his vnsearchable de-
cree vvas able not vvith lvvoorde and armour, not
vvith bandes of men and power, not vvith favoure of
princes and prælates, not vvith any helpe of man, or
favoure of the vvorlde: to set vp the crosse of Christ,
to pull downe the chaire of Antechrist, to restore
Gods.
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Gods vvorde, to bany the duecks Sophistic, to make of darkneslyght, of lyes truth, of playne follyshnes, trewe vvildome, and as it were an other Eecl Atlas. Helena to tind out the crostle of Christ hidde in the dungeon of deucle, he doctrine, couered vvith the rotten bones of Rome the Matsirs, syntull Sayntes, and coteriaded Confflories, and as vve beganne vvith the matter of vvomen so to returne thither againe vvvith the example of a vwoman. VVas not Quene Anne the mother of this blefled vwoman, the chief, first, and onhle cause of banyfing the beast of Rome, vvith all his beggerly baggage? VVas there ever in England a greater feate vvvrought by any ma: then this vvvas by a vwoman. I take not from kyng Henry, the due praiie of broching it, nor from that lambe of God kyng Edwvvard, the finishing and perfighting of that vwas begon, though I giue it, his due cōmen- dacion. I knovv that that blefled maire of God Tho- mas Cranmer, Byshop of Canterburry, did much tra- vеuile in it, and furthered it: but if God had not gyuen Quene Anne fauour in the figh of the kyngge, as he gaue to Hefer in the figh of Nabucadnezar: Hamā and his company, The Cardinall, VVyncheffer, More, Rochell, and other vvold one haue trefd vp Mardocheus vvvith al the reft that leaned to that fide. VVherefore though many deferved much praiie for the helping forwarde of: yet the croppe and roote vwas the Quene, vvichhe God had endeued vvith vvildome that she could, and gyuen hir the minde that she vvould do it. Seing then that in ages God hath vvrought his moile vvonderfull vvorke, by moile

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moile base meanes: and theyved his strengthe by vveakenes, his vvildome by follyshnes, and his ex- ceding greatnes by mans exceeding feblenes: VVhat doubt vve of his powuer, vvhen vve lacke pollycie, or mistruft his helpe vvich he hath vvrought suche vvounders? VVho is placed aboue him saïeth Iob: Iob. 36, to teach him vvhat he shuld do? Or vvhon can say to him, thou haft not don juystly? He sendeth a vvmā by birth, vve may not refuse hir by violence. He staa- blisheith hir by lawe, vve may not remoue hir by vvronge. He maketh hir a head, vve may not make hir a hande or foot. Nunquid contedere cum deo est erudicio (saïeth Iob) is it vvyldome to comptrolle Iob. 39. Gods doynges, or to breake that he hath made, or to pule doyng he that he hath set vp? If vve vvee our ovvne vvildome vvhat folishnes it is, and confide our ovvne pollycie hovve feable it is, vve shall fone leaue this quarell and yeide our felues to his vvill. The children of Israels pollycie vwas to haue a king, 1 Sam. 8, afolie fellowe to rule them vwith pompe as other naciones had, and a poore Prophet for that vwas to bafe. I doubt not, they had these con sideracions that our polytikes haue. He must be a man of courage that the ferre enemi may fearre him, to mayntaine that vve haue, and recouer that vve loste, to be vwith his fouldiers abroade, and fitte vwith his confell at home: But vvhat folovved this their godlie pollycie? Marry, non reuterunt te sed me dicte dominus. They vwould not haue the Prophet apointed them by God, as these men vwill not haue a vvoman or- deyned by nature. Therefore they had a kyng at their C
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Man gods
ape.

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Yea not only they: but many ancients Fathers,
(yea I might say all) not being utterly without
Gods spirit: Yet were not always without their
errours as Augustine who humbly confesseth it.
Hierom, Ambrose, and Origene, with the rest who
cannot deny it. 
Hominis est (fayeth Cicero) errare Cuiin
labi,falli & decipi. No man can warrant his selfe,
but that he shall some tymes fowrge, and thinke he
feeth when in deed he is bynde. This man therefore
I doubt not wyll paciently heare, what may truly
be sayd against hym, Specially seinge that this
attempte is not so muche to reproach hym, as to proce
the matter, and to satisfie tender myndes, which
by probable reasons are soone wounded, and onles
they heare the countrary not soone healed. I shal
in this treatise passe ouer al the matters as of VVyat,
the Duke of Suffolke, the tyrannie of fuches as then
governed, the decaye of the Realme, and all fuches
other appendices which were rather ornamentes to
decke then reasons to proce the cause: and will only
turne the argumentes out of their cloutes and confi
der them as they be in them selues, and not as they
be fet out with colours. For like as a man that would
dye an houfe, wyll not soo muche dye the gaye
Payntinge, as the suer buyldyng: So who wyll
judge of any matter truely, must laye it before his
eyes nakedly.

The argumentes as I remember, bee these, not The argu
many in nomber, but handsomelye amplified, first menet
that what so ever is agaynste nature the same in a

C 2 common
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common wealth is not tollerable, but the govern-
ment of a vomà is against nature. Ergo it is not toll-
erable.

2 The second, what so ever is forbidden by scrip-
ture is not lawfull. But a vomwoman to rule is for-
bidden by scripture. Ergo it is not lawfull.

3 The third, if a vomwoman may not speke in the con-
gregation: muche less she may rule. But she may
not speake in the congregation, ergo she may not rule.

4 The fourth, what the civil law forbidth, that
is not lawfull: but the rule of a vomwoman the CiviL
law forbidth, ergo it is not lawfull.

5 The fift, being therforloveth more inconuenience
of the rule of vomè then of mens governmet: there-
fore it is not to be borne in a common vomelth.

6 The last, the Doctors and Canonistes forbidde it,
ergo it can not be good. These (as I remembr) be the
Proppes that hold vp this matter, or rather the pik-
axes to vnder mynde the state. This is the cannon
shot to batter the vvalles of the imperiale feate, and to
beate the crowne of the true heires head. It is a fore-
enterpris to alter so aunsiet an order, and to change
lawves offuche antiquite, specially at suche tyme as
the realm is full of trouble, else myndes otherwise
disquieted, and the forren enemies gaping for occa-
siou to inuade and ouerrenne vs: Zalencus counsell
was, that vwho so ever would attempt to persvade
the people to breake olde lawves and make newe:
should stand with his necke in the halter, that if he
proued it not necessarie: he might be kniit vp by and
by. And if he could proue them: he should be fet at
libertie.

FAITHFULL SUBJECTES.

libertie. And the Garamants inlike manner apoynted
it death, to alter anye one of those lawves, that vvere
made. This they apoynted in their commo vomelth
because they considred that the breach of good lawvs,
was the breakenec of the countrey. And shall we
thinks it a light matter to alter a state, to pluckle the
chief magistrat out of her throne, and genue scope to
light heads, to decaunt vpon their dutie, according
to their phanse? I vvolde haue vvised that it had
bene vndone, or now it is done: that the doer vvol
do the quyetinge of vweste myndes acknowledge
his error. But vwhether he dothe or no, I doubt not
by that time vwee haue vnfolded his argumentes,
seene throughge his vwhole shoppe, and perused his
vvaries, the good subiects shall both think them not
faleable, ad be satisfied, and the mouths of byuie bodi-
estopped. And as this is dovnep good considence,
and not to curry favour: so I pray God to geue it fos-
en in the harts of true subiects. VVe, novy to the
first argument: You lay in your minor that the rule
of a vomwoman is against nature, because the vomwoman
is by nature vvealke, vnkindful, ad subiect to the ma. &c
VVe, before I anfwer to these, vve must ex-
what is ment by this vvorde nature, howe farre it
stretcheth, how it must be taken in this propositi-
on, and then how the rule of a vomwoman maye agree
or not agree vvith it. Nature is nothing els but a gen-
eral disposition ingræft of God in all creatures, for
the preferentio of the vvhol, and ofuef ikind, or as
Seneca saith. Quod alius est natura sive et duina ratio Sen.de be
et mundo unius consensu, unus a partibus in futura. Nature is no-
thing.
AN HARBOKOVV FOR

thinge els but God him selfe, or a divine order spred throughout the whole world, and ingrate in everie part of it, as in all fire to be hot, all water moiste, all heavy things to moue downward, all light things upward. The sonne and the moone to run their course, motu circulari, &c. which are so set orders in the substance of every creature, as it must needs follow that natural disposition, onles it pleeth the creator (who is the Lord of all) to alter those properties which he hath given them by nature, as when he made of the moouing water a standing wall, and the fire so to lose his operation: that it consumed not the bodies of the three yonge menne that were caolle into it, and suche like, all whiche deedes bee wunders and miracles, and not the worke, but the impedimente of nature. Now if this hache so beene ingrained in the nature ofal menne, that no woman shoulde governe, but all women shoulde bee subicetes: then were there no more to be saide, the matter were ended. But because we see by many examples, that by the whole consent of nacyons, by the ordnaunce of God, and order of lawe, women have reigned and thosse not a fewe, and as it was thoughte not against nature: Therefore it canne not bee saide, that by a generall disposition of nature, it hathe bene, and is denied them to rule, But let vs here consider, whether it be in a woman against nature to rule, as it is in a stone to moue vpwarde, or in the fire not to consume. In the stone or in the fire is no manner of aptnesh of the other to preferre and not destroy, and neither can be done in eother ther, without violence and outwarde force: But in a woman is witt, understanding, and as Aristotle faith the same vertues that be in a man, sauinge that they differ. Secundum maius et minus, that is, more in the man then in the woman. There is the same shape, the same language, and sometime more gifts in them, then in the man, as was in Artemisia (as Luftine reporteth) more provwes and wittu to rule the armie, then in the great Monarke Xerxes. Only we can pull from them that they be not strong of body, or commonly so couragious in minde, graunte that it is so: must they therefore be vitterly vnmete to rule: nay if you faile vnmete, then men we would not muche wrattle with you, For as Aristotle faith the manes rule is vnumit, that is more mete to rule. But to reason thus women be not to mete as men, Ergo, it is against nature. is an eull consequent, King Edward for his yeares and tenderneffe of age was not to mete to rule, as was his father Kinge Henrie: yet was it not against nature, onles you pronounce of him as Storie bothe vnlearnedlye and impudentlye sayde. Ve terre illi cuius puer rex est. Vnhappye is the realme that hathe a childe to their Kinge, as thoughe thy s worde child were not there. A Metaphor, but take an elder, Cambis was not so mete to rule as his father. Cyurus: for he was a dronkand ad cruel. Ergo his rule was vnnaturall. It is a fallax a vitio consequentis. If it wer vnnatural for a woman to rule, because the lacketh a mannes strengthe, Then olde Kings why the bee most mete to rule for wittu and experience, because they lack strengthe, shuld bey vnmete for the feblenes of the

FAITHFULL SUBJECTES.

3. Polit. Artemisia

Ius.ii.2.
of the body. Yea say you, God hath apoynted her to be subject to her husband. Ad virum eum conuerget tua, therefore she may not be the heade, I graunte that, so farre as perteineth to the bandes of mariage, and the office of a wife, she must be a subject: but as a Magistrate she may be her husbandes head. For the Scripture faith not. Thine eye must be to the man, but ad virum tuum to thy husbande. Neither ouveth every woman obedience to every man, but to her owne husbande. VVel, if she be her husbands subject she can bee no ruler. That followeth not, for the childe is the fathers subject, and the Father the childes ruler, and as Aristotle saith (vvhrome you so muche verge) his rule is Ceriana that is kynglike over his childe. But the husbandes is Tertium that is cuill, then if the childe by nature a subject, maye be by lawe a heade, yea the heade of his father, and his father his subjecte. VVhile may not the woman be the husbandes inferior in matters of vvedlock, and his head in the guiding of the common vvelth. Lytie reporteth hovve Quintus Fabius Maxim cominge from Rome to his Sonne in the vvarre, came riding thoroughall the Sergeants and officers, vvhice for the reuerence they bare to him, bothe for his honoure and age, and that he was the confuls father: gaue him roome, ryll at the lafte his Sonne the confuls bad thofficer staye him, yther is the olde man alighted, and doinge his dutie to his sonne, sayde: I went to try sonne, vvhether you knevly what beloged to the maiestie of your office, vwheresoever the olde man alighted, and doinge his dutie to his sonne, sayde: I went to try sonne, vvhether you knevly what beloged to the maiestie of your office, vwheresoever the olde man alighted. VVhich by nature was the sonnes head, is

novv by order of pollycie his subject, and yet is not this rule in the sonne vnnatural. But you vvvill saye Obiect. there is an aptnes in the sonne to rule, but the vvoman is ordened to obey, and cleane exempt fro superiortie. That I denye. For both nature and Gods vorder giueth his a kynd of superiortie by expresse vwords, not only ouer beasts, and all creatures ioynely vth Adam: but also ouer men and reasonable creatures. Saynt Pauls speaking of yong vvyv dovves faith let them mary, tende their busines, and rule the house ἐξωτερικῶς. No man I am sure, vvvill deny but that the gowrnement in the house is a kynde of superiortie and that ouer men: Onles you vvvill as the Buoi dyd, that the men shal rule the men, and the vvomes, the vvomen, or you vvvill apoynte them such famlyes as shal have no men in them. If they may gowrne men in the house by saynt Pauls commision, and an household is a lytle common vvelth, as Socrates in Xenophon faith: Then I can not see hovve you can debarre them of all rule, or conclude that to be heads of men is against nature. VVhich if you graunte, is enoue for the disprouing of your minor. If you put to and faie in a common vvelth, yet it vvvill not serue, for the profe of that is, by cause (say you) she is the mans subject. I have shvved hovve, in that she is his vvyfe, not in that she is a vvoman. For as you see, she may be some mans head as in his househould. But vvhye you take this vword nature to largely, you deceiue your selfe vvyttingly, thinking that because it is not so convenient, so profitablie, or mete, therefor it is vnnatural. But that is to large
AN HARBOROYCE FOR

Against nature diversly underland.

I wyll ask you whether you take it, as it is, that is, for the mooste parte: or all together, that is vniuerfall. If you take it as it is in the order of nature, for the mooste parte: As it is natural for an olde man to haue whyte heares in his age, or for a woman to brynge forth the one childe at a burden: and then reaon, it is against nature for an olde man to haue black heares, or against nature for a vvoman to brinenge furth twoo children or three at a burden: no man would allowe your reafonyng. For though the olde bee according to nature, as it is for the mooste parte: yet is it not the other, that happeneth some tymes, utterly against nature. In lyke maner, though it bee for the mooste parte seene, that men and not vvomen doe rule common welthes: Yet when it happeneth somme tymes by the orndaunce of God, and cours of enheritance, that they beare rule: it is not to bee concluded, that it repenteth against nature: no more then the old mens black heares, or the vvomans two twynnes. So that you see, that in this acception of nature, their rule cannot bee against nature. On the other slyde, if you take it in a generalliy, as when so euer the ftoone moueth vpward, it is violent, and against nature: or when so euer the fyre consumeth not the matter that is put to it: then are you further vvyde. For it chaseth not selde but ofte, not in one countrey, but in manye, not amonge the barbarous, but in the chiefest Empires, and Monarchies.

PAPITHEVLL SYBIECTES.

narchies, and not only in them, but in the common vwealth of the Ievves, more then ones or tvvyse, that vvomen beinge inheritorous, have ruled after their parentes, vvuyes after their husbandes: and Systers after their brethren, as if at large declare. But before I come to that poynct, I muste vvyde a lytle further vwith hym in his argument of nature. VVherfore, I reaon against him thus: what so ever To preferrereth commo vwealthes, and destroyeth them not: is not against nature, but the rule of vvomen vwealthes is hath preferrerd common vwealthes, ergo, it is not a not against nature. The maier is playne, for it is mooste nature, naturall to preferrer and mayntaine the societie of men, seing man and cities, which consisit upon the companie of menne, the chiefest vvoork of God by nature, for all other thynges, bee prepared for that, as the chiest ende: That menne lyuynge together in a cyuill companie, maye peaceable, and quietly honour GOD the author, and preferrer of that societie: So that there is no doubte of the maier. For the minor, which is that the rule of vvomen preferrereth common vwealthes, it muste be proved by histories. VVhiche I truitt to make so manifest, that not only the matter shalbe out of controvercie: But also that men of indifferent judgement shalb see playninge, that this man fell chiefly into this error, either by cause he red not, or confirmed not thauentient histories, vhich record this matter: I shall therefore not onely oute of the Histories of the people of GOD the Ievves, but also oute of the

D 2 of the
AN HARBOROVVE FOR

of the Ethnikes and Christian Stories proue, that in
alages, in many countres, and under every monarck,
many women have not only ruled, but happily and well:
yea (which is a great matter) amongst those that in
that fexe bare rule, you shall finde none or very few,
in whose reign their country was the worse for
their government, but much the better. Whereof the
cotery, how many misfortunes, overthrowes, changes, and translations of monarchies, have happen
under the regiment of men: it is hard to name,
and impossible to declare. But hereby I mean
not either to preferre or matche this sexes govern-
ment with their's. (For I confesse in ded the more
conuentent) only my meaning is to shew that such
kynde or regiment, is not so heinous, and intoller-
able, or in any vvyse euell, as this man maketh it. De-
borah shal marche in the first ranke and hau the first
place both for thanquitye of the tyme, the author-
ty of the story, and the happy success of her reign.
Deborah (faith the scripture) judged the people of
Israel, and the people reforthe unto her, forthunderd them out of thraldome, and set them at liber-
ty. In this woman's doings is playnlie set out that
the both governed in peace and in vvar, and so did co-
sequently ali that any rulr by civil authority might,
or is vyon to do. She judgewith the scripture and
she sent Barake to the vvarre, vwho beinge of lesse
courage or lesse zeale then she was, refused to go
on eles the vvent with him. And when they came
to encounter with their enemies, if she had not bene:
both Barake, and all his soldiers, lyke vvyte lyuered

FAITHFUL SUBJECTES.

warriors had gaven backe and marred all. This wom-

man is cousted of some of the Hebuen to be Barakes

wife, and yet sent the him to the warre, goue him his

commission and made him the general, whereby a-

peareth that to be true, which we saide before: that a

woman as a wife must be at commandement, but a

woman as a magistrare may lawfullye commande,

but this example the blast bloweth away as a peculiar
example, and extraordynarie, because we finde no

more the like in the Scripture, but that is no found
reason, it is but once in the Bible: Ergo it is no suffi-
cient example, we rede not in the scripture more then
once or twise that a child reigned, therefore shal it
followe that a childes reign is not by that example
fabled: VVe finde not in the scripture that the

Apostles were baptized, and yet we think they wer.
VVe rede but once in the scripture, that Peter chec-
ked a Magistrates, and yet some there be that dare af-
firm, and wryte booke of it, that it is not only law-
full to checke, but to kill an euil Magistrate. But that
you may see that women reigned in Judah ofter, the
at one time, though it be not conteigned in the Bi-
ble: I shal prooue out of Iosephus a Iew born, wry-
ting the Iewish history, that diuers beside this wom-

man, governed. Iohnnes, rulr of the Iewes, 47 0
years, after the captivittie of Babilon, at his deathe
left his wive Quene and gouvernes, who ruled as it a-
pereh rightwely, untill theamption of her fonne con-
trary to his fathers order, troubled her governmet:
for at the last as a wicked graft, he conspired against
her, and pined her in prison vnto death.

D.3. Not
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Joseph li. Not long after, Aristobulus beinge ruler of Iew-

pri, cap. ii.

pri, cap. ii.

Egeip. lub

Alexandra, dyinge lefte Alexandra his wife, Quene of

the Countrey: who vied suche mercy and modere

tic towarde her people, that she kept them in peax,

and wanne their good wyll, whiche her husban

des throughhis cruellie, rigoure, and vnmercyfule,

hadde vterlye eloste. She is muche commended in

the stories, for her good and politike government,

not onlye in kepinge that was lefte her, but also for

encreatinge it, vn til the churches menne, the Phari-
sies, and Preistes abusinge her pite, and deuoute

mynde, gatte authorite to empryson, murder, and

kill whome they listeth. Not muche unlike in thiss

poynete to the late Quene Mary, who bearinge, and

wearing, a womans hart, could not (I thinke) have

vied suche rigoure and extremetie, in imprysoning,

banisheinge, rackinge, hanginge, dravving, hedding,

burninge, flenge, and fleasinge withall manner of ex-
treme, not sparinge her owne bloude, no not her

natural sifter. Onles she had bene so bewitched, and

endotte by her Cardinall, Bishoppes, and Church-

men, of whom some be gone before her, to tast of

those rewardes which she and they by suche extreme-
tie deserued: And those that remaine muste fol-

lowe.

FAITHFUL SUBIECTES.

lovve, onles they vvashe avaye the spottes of
bloude that hange vpon their Rachets, vwith foolds
of teares of repentauce. Oh they may thanck God,
that they haue this time to brethe them, and bethink
them of their naughtie, and hellie cruellie, and to
call daily, and hovvreyly, for pardon, and forgoyuenes,
for let them thinke that if they be not punyshed in
this lif: nor repent: God accompliseth their dedes to
vile, and the faultes so henvous: that no temporal
paines be inough, for suche offences, and therefore re-
ferueth them to eternall damnaci. Oh howlyd and
vvaly you priests and prelate, not for the danger you
staid in, of losing your bishopricks: and benefices, your
pop and your pride: your dignities ad honors, your
riches and vvelth: but for that he hath opened his
mouth vvide, and gaue to vvalvy you, for the
shedding of so much innocet bloude, for themurdring
of so many martirs, and spoiling Christes church,
of so many glistering and glorious ornamets, com-
med of al men for learning, and discommede of none
for their liuinge. But to returne to my storie, this
Quene Alexadra ywas so inuegled of the church me:
that (as Iosephus faith:) he ruled other, and the Phar-
issies her. It is an easy matter for them that be of de-
uyt mindes, and godly disposition, to be broughte
into error by those, vwhom they think to be godly.
And therfor that cimoy vvelth is halpy (faith Plato)
vwho his gouernor is a philosopher, or a Philosophier
their gouernor, whiche princes be lerned the selies:thi
shal not hang alone vpoue the mouthes of the prelates,
but judge the selies hovv true it is they teache, that
they
while the Romaynes, at that tyme the Monarke of the world, did so bestowe kyngdomes upon women: they thought it not to be against nature, for that sexe to gouerne. Many other examples of such regiments there be in the histories of the Jewes, which I might alledge for this matter, if I thought not these sufficient, but that it may appeare, that not onely it was in use, and practised in that nation, to bee ruled by that sexe, but also among the gentiles, which were rather ledde by the lawe of nature, then hedged in with gods policye: I will shortly runne ouer some of their prophane histories. Berosus, a Babilonian borne, and for the truth of his storie preferred before all the Grekes, and worthely (for he followed no fables, as they commonly dyd, but the recordes of the Caldies) faith, that Noah which he called Ianus (for iain signifieth wyne, which he inuenterd) made his daughter Craná queene and gouerne of Italy, which thing being true (as it is most lyke) how dare men say that their regiments is against nature. Whiche that worthy father, Whome God thought anydyes his vnpeakeable wrath, against the whole world, not only to faue and preferre, but also to make hym the author of the newe worlde: did not only suffer, as a thinge tolerable, but apoynted as an order most honeste. If we condempne his rede: we must also condempne Gods choice, who could not fynde, or pick out a worther or wyser man, to be the restorer of mankind, then hym: that I should so shamefully erre, as they faue against nature. In the monarchie of the Babili-

nians, were very notable Semiramis, andNicocrates, 

bothe
both for their wisedome and felicite in gouerning, &
also for the notable monuments they left behind the.
Semiramis, after the deathe of her husb'd Ninus, lea-
ring leat the late conquêtes and countresses woulde
not be kept in avve by her fonne, yet yet of yerees,
valiantly in gouernement, and not of courage mough
to play the king: in the perfome of her fonne, for the
yme of his monage ruled to (as Berosus faith of her)
that she pale in leaves of vvarre, in triumphes, con-
quêtes, and vvelthe, all that were then lyuing, or
before her. She buylded Babilo, she coquered Ethio-
pia, the unmade India, whether neuer king nor Em-
peror came, but Alexander the great. Thother Nic-
couris (as Herod. reporteth) vser then the former,
defendid his empire against the Medes, who the fought
the monarchie of the wyrld. She vvoight tvche a
wonder in the great And Euphrates, as al men, then
were amazed at it, and yet, thinke it almsote incredi-
ble, for she made it corryary to all mens expectacion, to
leave thold courté, and to follow his deute to, & tro,
to ferue the citie most comodiously. So that she did
not only passe all mé in wyr: but overecke the elemets
with power, V Vhe sche died, she caused to be ingra-
ued in hir sepulchre these wvorde. If any king of Ba-
biloi flande in nede of treture, let him seare my
combe. But not onles hebe in nede. This sepulchre
was never touched, till Darius van Babilo, vho dig-
ing vp hir graue, loud nothing but a vvrting to thi
effect. If thou weert not an invinciably rauenour, thou
vwouldst not scrape for riches emog dead mens bo-
nes. I thinke that some fault vylbe found in these, &

specially in Simiramis, because she attyed hir selfe
lyke hir fonne: and that shalbe thought a sufficiët re-
putacion. For it is the maner of the world to blot out
many good and honest dedes, with obiecting of one
euil, But that can not hurt my matter, nor helpe his.
For so that I wyn at his hand that these wome re-
igned, and kept their countresses in as good order, or be-
ter then any men did: it is a great likelihood, that this
sexe is not so vnapt to rule, as he maketh the. Amog
the Madagits reigned Thomiris, a woman of such fame
for her wisedom and power, that Cir, that noble Per-
isan and first monarch after the Medes, set to hir for
marriage, to whom she made answere, that she knew
his meaning was to marry hir kingdom, and not hir:
which answere, if Queene Mary had gyven to Philip:
Calles, Hams, and Guifnes, had not bene lof, nor the
good lady hir sister, and our souereigne, so lefte in
the breers, befett about on every fyde almowe, with
mightie enemies, empourethyed, and robbed of hir
common treture, and hir subiectes so fittid, that
they must scrape nere the boones that will get any
more. This Thomiris wvth this answere kyndled
Cirus vvrath so muche: that (no remedy) he multe
vppon hirand haue hir by force, vholme he could
not get by fayre meanes. And haddeat the first so
good lucke against hir: that he kyllid hir fonne, and
the mothe parte of his armie. But this noble Queene,
let it not long go vreuchéd, for coming to the field
hirsell, and pitching a battell against him: overcome
him that hadde before overcome all other, curte of
his head and thrust it into a velesfull of bloud saying:

Drinke
AN HARBOROVV FOR

drinke thy fill, vvhicke haft ever so thirsted bloud.
In this story, by the vway is to be noted, that if kings be vvoovers and no spedes: there can be small hope that they vvil be faithfull friends after. For greate men, can not beare great repulses, specially when their povre is suich as they can when they vvil re
vnge it. And a mynde, or harte, vvhile loue hath dvyel, if it begynne ones to hate: is lyke a sponge vvhich sucketh vp as muche wvater of malice, as it had before hony. Mother vnto this greate monarke

Madcane. Cirrus vvas Madcane, daughter vnto Aftrages kin
g of Media: who hauing no more children but hir,becau3e he drempt that out of his daughters vvombe,
sprung a tree vvhich I had voved all Afia;thought by
defstroieing his child begotten of Cambises a Persian,
he should auoide the dftenie. And therefore alone as
the child vvas borne, deliuered it, to one Harpast
a trusty man of his, to be made avway, and destroyed.
But Harpast, forcaung lyke a vvyfe polytike love,
that he killed the child: the mother enheriting after his father, vwould be on his bones for it,
and call him to accompte: founde the meane that it
vvass faucd. This mans forflight, vvas not muche vnlke the pullicie of some by fhopes in Englane, in
the late quenes dayes, vwho being more vvyfe, and
lefe furious then the rest: though they ferued at an
ynche in their calling, in ambassages, to fetche in
the holy father, to minifter vngracious counsell, and do
all that vvas commaunded: yet vwould they not ap
peare, to be any of the broylers of the milde martirs,
or the common hung men, as the rest vware, leaft the
daye

ETHFUL SVBIETCES.

day might come, that Mandane, might axe accomt
of these Harpasti, for her children and servantes,
but the rest as deverate dikes, went forward in their busi
nes, spared none, dreed no pearill, looked no further
then their fote, but with tothe and naile cried downe
with the side, hang some, racke some, behead some,
bani1f some, broyle some, fetch them vp with num-
bers of harnessed men, into the Tower wyth them,
spare neither kithe, nor kin, sitter nor other, it made
no matter, to they might shew them felices obedient
subiects to the quene, and disobedient traytors ynto
God, and the realme, These were Harpasti in dede
and furl, but not in wit and forlight. Now to my pur
pose, if it hadde not bene an order in Media that the
daughter shuld succeede the father: yea in the whole
Monarchie of Afia: what neede Harpasti to have
mistrusted Mandanes reuenge, So that it is more the
evident, that women might not only enherite after
their fathers, in provines, and small kingdoms: but
in great Monarchies, and Empires, which shuld not
haue bene so permitted in all places: if it had bene so
much against godes forbidd. If I shuld here tarye in
the setting outte of Artemisias noble courage, excel
lent widom, and felicite in Gouernement, of whom
Herod maketh mention: I should easily finde, how
to begin, but hardly, how to end, wherfore I say onli
other, as Herod, Iust, and all other writers do: that
she was more mete to have gouerned thace hegne ar
my of Xerxes, which for the greatnes dranke dry all
the riuers it came to, then he him self was. For when
he invaded Grecia, and by the subteltie of Themifto
E,3.
AN HARBOKOVV FOR

gregaciō: A woman may be no judge: she opened her mouth, and uttered her will, when they all were gravelled, and not only that, but toke the sword in her tender hand, and did execution like a magistrate upon gods enemies. But of that place of Paul I shall speak of another time at large, I may not tarry in the opening of the prophane histories, which serve to this purpose: loth I should seem to write an history, and not a meditation, wherefore the reader being instructed with these shall not needs but only to be put in mind of the rest that remain. His (after the death of her husband Olympos) reigned over all Egypt with so much prudence for the wealth of the realm: that he was after her death cōpted of the goddesse. For as Tullius of the faith, the folich antiquitie, honored me as gods after their death, which either exceeded in power, or wer great by birth, or had done some notable pleasure to their country. Launa after the death of Aeneas reigned in Latium: Didō in Carthage: Olympos (Pirith daughter) in Sicily: Aramea, in Scithia, Cleopatra, in Egypt in the time of Augustus: and a Queene in Illiria, who durst venture to withstand the Romans, when they were great. Olympos (after the death of great Alexander) in Macedonia: ad infinitum, which they knew that be expert in histories, know. It is a wöder, that men vnkill'd in the diversities of times, ad histopias, dare thus venture in so great matters, which, because they be somewhat obscure in the Bible, therfor they thinck can no where else be found. Not much vnyke the common sort of Germanis, which trauailing no further then they may be the smoke of the foute: think that in theyr

Judith, cap.8.

In couſell looke not to the person, but to the reall.
cordes in like manner among the christians: least the contrary side might have their refuge and starting hole there. VVherefore, if any man to haue a fewe more, and so I end with this argument. Theodora (otherwise called Helena) reigned after the death of Leo Themperour, in Constantinople over all Asia, as lady and Empresse, and sauing that she was superstitious, and wilful (though the law of persuasion of her clattering Clargie, in the defence of Images) there was no great fault to be found in her government. In this point in deed she was more then mad. For she digged vp the bones of Constantinus his father in lawe and burned them for an heretike. As the late queen did doctor Bufars and others. I cannot tel whether she did it with the lyke solerpne, or more spite, then this was done in England. But it is lyke that she had hit by illops, and ioly Clargie to set it forarde. I rede not that there was any Cardinal of counfel in it, as was of late (by report) in the dencising to burne king Henry the kights bones. If the spiritual spiers met it without comission: it was to shamefull, if they had comission suerly it was to vnatural. But Prince and Prelates deale it betwixt them: But for the matter she governed by the consent both of the spiritualtie, and temporalltie, and as it was thought laufully, vvhiche is enough for my purpose. For if it were thought laufull for a vvmata to be an empress, to vvhom belonged the managinge of the greatest parte of the vworlde: It cannot be then vnlauffull vvhile for a vvmata to rule one little realm: and as for hir faults vvhate so ever they vvere, that can not vvype avraye
AN HARBOROVVE FOR.

Quintus.
Curtius.
Herod.
Sabell.
1. Reg. 8.
1. Sam.
Luc. 13.
Math. 23.
Marc. 12.
Luc. 14.

A fallax is a deceitful argument in Logike.

FAITHFULL SUBJECTES,

vs alone with ours. And as you speeze there, you might chance encourage vs to follow when it may be done laufully. Tully faith, he is curios in aliena rep. Li. 1. off. The voysce of a straungers, is to be hard in the pulpit so long as he speake the gods wordes: But a straungers voyce is not allowed in foro, in the parliament about pollicy, by cause he is not a citizen. This I saye not to philipp you, as though you ment euill to vs (for I am perswaded that you loue England as well as your owne corteys) but I meant to monith you, that been a straungers you disturbe not our state, lest you giue ocasion to them that know you not, of suspiotion. It is a great enterprize (and as they saye no balle playe) to pulle a quenes crowne of hit head: and specially such a ones, as many ages haue not seene, nor many countres invented, or many histories recorded the lyke. I would not be wounded in conscience, with any attappe against hit: if I might be lord ofal, that Philippe, & the french king haue. VVel, I must leexe hit for this tyme, left the remembrance of hit vertues make me to forget my matter. And that we may make an ende of our recomp of histories, we wil goe forward: Henry Duke of Suevia, sonne of Fredericke the first, called Duke of Barbarossa, made the heire of Sicilie, and so became king thereof & emperor of Rome. Corde Palatinus, left behinde him onle dyghter Agnes, which was Palatinesse, and after being mort to Henry the duke of Saxo, made hi Palgrave: who in like maner died and left a dyghter called Gertrude palatinesse, who Otto duke of Bavaria married & became palgrave & the same order of disct & successio remained yet in the
AN HARBOROVE FOR

the most part of Thempire. Here I myght niber a
great fort in Spain, who succeded & ruled in the realm
But I chalbe content with such as be of late memory,

Ioanna the as Ioanna the mother of Charles the fift, who reigned,
mother of and governed the country not ill, as the Stories
Charles. report. Mary (the daughter of Charles called Bellato-

Inue. r) the warrior and wife to Maximilian, succeded his
father in the Duchdom of Burgundy, and the countie
of Flandres. I let pas Mary, Charles sister who ruled
in Flandres in our tyme, And Fraunces the frch
kings mother, who during the terme of her fonne
captitutie in Spayne after he had daunted his paunio
at Pauia, ruled the whole dominio: wherby the frch
though they wil have no heires females: yet I shewe
that they condemne not the regiment of women.

Other there have bene, and that not a fewe, which
have governed and inherited in divers countreies of
Christendome, with much commendacion. As A-
malalinta the mother of Athalaric, when she sawe
the Frenche men, contrary to all right would de-
prize her fonne of Prouince, which was his inheri-
tance: deliered it up to Theodoberto, king of the
Mediomerices, which kept it to thufe of his fonne,
Thus was the mother contented by the purposed
wrong of the fubieects, to seke remedy for her fonnes
right, and was a better gouernes to him then he to
him selfe, Leonora daughter to the king of Aquita-

Tillius in nia, was maryed to Henry Duke of Gaunte, and in
Chronog spite of the Frenche kyngs teeth, brought his hus-

An.155. bande Aquitanie and Poitaeux. Adela mother to the
Tillius. king of France, was made Regent of the countrey in

thabience of her fonne, while he was in the warre a-
gainst the Sarazen, and governed wel, This his fone
(for his goodnesse and wisdome) was called Philippus
a deo darus sante of God, and yet thoughte it not
amisse, to put his mother a wise woman in trust with
the whole realme. And according to his expectaci,
he took no hurt nor los by it. In like maner Blanche
mother unto Ludovic for his vertue named Diuus
holie, was twife made regent of Fraunce, while he was
away in the same warre. And after his death, she had
gouverning of her fonne and the realme. It is like
that if her gouernement had not ben good at the first:
the nobles and people wold haue bene lothe to haue
had her again the second time. Not longe after that
time, gouverned a woman in Flandres, named coun-
telle Margarete. An.dominini, 1247.

Tillius in
Amalat-

Tillius in

An.155. inta.

Tillius.

FAITHFUL SUBJECTES.

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time, gouverned a woman in Flandres, named coun-
telle Margarete. An.dominini, 1247.

Ioanna the nefe of Diuus Ludovicus was Quene
of Nautarre, and marrying with Philip named Pul-
cher: made him king of Nautarre, by which means,
that countrey came to be under the Frenche Kynge.
And anno. 1415. was a woman gouernesse and Quene
of Naples, called Ioanna. Not only in Fraunce, Ita-
ly, Spaine, and Germany: but also in thimpire haue
women ruled, which is more strenge, because the
Emperour is chosen by election, and commeth not
to it by heritance. As anno. 1301. after the death of
Henrye the thirde. Hagne his wife for the honor na-
memed Augusta, gouverned both her fone in his nonage
and thempire, keeping it in good order, until the by-
shop of Colen (as those men wil be busy in pollicies)
by certen conspiracies, pulled the yonge Emperoure
F.3. Henry

Tillius.

Tillius.

Tillius.

Tillius.

Paul. 

Anfel. 

Bishop.

Valer.
FAITHFUL SUBJECTS.

For they thought it better to marry one, which might be their sueraal Lord, then to ioyne Britaine with such a realm, as I had drowne the name of it, and bring them (as they be) to servaie: Amias was defended by a woma, against harmy of Maximilia, it had ben els lost, as al the french men confessed, her name was Catharina licia. A maid defed Orliance, in armor, against the duke of Burgundie and the English army, and after with the same harmy led the young king Charles the 7. to Rome, ad ther crowned him. Before this maids time, the English neuer prospered, and the french wer eué at the laft cait, gewing vp the goffe, but I brought them into that condition, that afterwe, they grewe: and we appaire, Helena the Queene of the Adiabucts, ruled so wisely and godly that after her death, the Iewes ered a monumen for her remembrance at the gates of Jerusaleme: She ministrifed to the nede of the poor liberally, in the greate death that than was in Iury. Thus thou seest (good Reader) that this man take nature so generally, as it may streche to all countres, all tymes and al common welthes, and then fay, it is against nature for a woman to rule: That is against the great consente and order, engrasfe by nature, in al peoples and menees mindes: that then it is mooste vntrue. For I haue proued, that neither the Iewes, nor the Getils, nor yet the christians, had that conue as Iam, that comme opinió planted bi nature in their harts that it fode not with good order of nature that one of that sex I huld rule. But shortly I reafó thus with him, whatsover is natural, the same is vnierful, But that womé shuld not
not rule is not vniuerfal, Ergo, it is not naturall. If to rule in women be vnnatural: then not to rule, is natural. But not to rule is not vniuerfal, Ergo it is not natural, That it is not vniuerfal we haue proued by a great number of histories which testifie that women in all ages, and all countries, haue governed. Again what so euer is naturall hath in the mind of mankind as,' that there is a God, all mennde haue it in their mindes ingrafted by nature, that all societys must be ruled and ordered by magistrates and lawes: that murder is wicked and against nature, &c which be common opinions in the table of mannes minde, written by the finger of God, with the pen of nature: but of this (that only men must rule and not women when it pleaseth God) there is no such principle vniuerfal in mens mindes. For you see that a number of countries, decree the contrary, wherefore it can not be said, that it fighteth with nature. But you will reply vpon me thus peraduenture: Nature hathe made her a subject, Ergo, she can not rule. I deny your argument, for nature hathe made the childe and the seruant subject, And yet they may rule as Fabius sone: and the Kings seruant may be my master, wherefor you must vnderstand the argument thus, that if nature haue made her a subject in that state she is a subject, and in respect of them to whom she is subject: she can not be their ruler. As a thilde in the dutie of a child to his father, is his fathers subject: And a seruant in respect of his master and the dutie of a seruant, can not be his masters head. But in respect of Civil policie, the somme bearing office, may e

FAITHFVL SUBJECTES.

may be in that function his fathers head and the kings seruant an other mans maister, as Joseph was in the house of Potiphar. So the woman being euyther as a child to her father, or a seruant to her maister, or a wyfe to her husband, respecting these persones: can not be head over them in those offices: that is in the office of a father, maister, or a husband. But in the office of a ruler and a magistratre she may be this mas wyfe, that is his subject, and his head, that is his magistratre. So that this argument by destination is nothing, for it is a Fallax, called ignoratio elenchii, as resollue it, and you shall see the faulte. Wherefore it is one mans subject, can not be another mans ruler, or the same mans ruler in an other respect. But wyfe is his husbands subject, ergo she can bee none other mishead, nor his in an other respect. This is false, for the contradiictorie is true: That a wyfe may be this mans wyfe, and that mans maistres, and this mans subject in the dutie of matrimony, and the same mas head in thaucomposition of office. Thus we see that al reasons well set out, are lyke a wel kempt buflle whe neuer a herelyst amyiffe, so longe as he hath a hous to couer him. But when he cummeth into the wynde it is bone ruffled. Or lyke a paynted madams face, which is longe as no ma bloweth vpon it nor sweatt ryseth int: is gay glittering, but any of these meanes make the wrinkles bone to appere. So a false argument decked with fayre wordes, lemeth good: but turne it naked and you hall bone see the botches.

The seconde Argument is this that the scripture The seconde forbiddeth that a woman should rule, and therefore it Argumet. is not
AN HARBOR OVV FOR

is not tolerable, the provosts be out of tholde testament. First that after the fall of Adam through the woman’s instrument it was enjoyned him and his posterity as a penance, to be at the beck and commande of the ma. The Esai pronounced a curse that the rulers for the peoples virulenes shall be children and women. That S. Paule forbiddeth the to speake in the congregation, Before that I answer particularly I must lay this to them all in general, that the scripture medleth with no eunuch policie further then to teach obedience. And therfor what so euer is brought out of the scripture conserning any kynd of regimen, is without the booke pulled into the game place by the cares to wrangle whether it will or no. For Christ faith: Quis me constituit inter vos judicem. Who hath made me be betwixt you a judge, as though he shuld saye, myne office is not to determiny ne matters of policie, succession, and inheritance, for that belongeth to the eunuch magistrates. If he had thought that it had bee within the compass of his function: why and with what confidence refusal he to set the at one, which were at stryfe, and to put that out of doubt which was inuite. If he ought to do it, and wold not: he lacked charite, and did not his dutie: if it belonged not to him, how belonged it to any of his Apostiles, disciples, or successors? Had not he as large comitio as he gaued? or could he gyue that he had not? But he knowing his office, as the prophet Esaiel had forspoken of him to be, to preache the Gospel, to heale the broken. &c. would do nothing without warrant, & therefore being axed if he were a kyng: he aunswered simply.

1 Cor. 14
1 Tim. 2
Luc. 12

simply by a playne negatieve. Regnum meum &c. my Math. 27. kingdom is not of this world. If his kyngdome were not here: neither the ordring of policie was his, for Joh. 18. remouing from his function the whole: he must needs remove the part, policie is a part of a worldly kyngdome, yea when they would have taken him vp to make him a kyng, as one that refused that belonged not to him, he conuayed him selfe from among the. If teparal iurisdicio belongeth to him: why refused he his calling? If it did not, where had Paul, Peter, or any other, any authorize to meddle with that he refused? Seing he said: Sicut misit me viue pater, et ego mecum. Joh. 13. t uno. He gaue them no more scope then he had him selfe: wherefore it is not like that Paul, or any other, would vsurpe a further authorize, then he had received of his father, or they of him, and therfore Paul, the wheth howe farre he wilbe folowe: Saying. Instructores meiellote facat ego Christus: Followe me, and herken to me in those thynges that I folowe, and herken to my maister in, he teacheth in effect, this part of policie whiche he hadde learned of his Lorde.

Date Cefar quis sunt Cefaris, obey the magistrates and Math. 22. thowe that be in authorize, not only for feare, but for conscience, he lymiteeth no magistrates, he altereth no polycie, he medleth neither with Democracies, Arisocracies, nor monarkies, nor pseude the old or yong, riche or poore, lemed or vnlerned, ma or woma, shuld reigne. But as he findeth the, so he leneth the, empareth none, altereth none, disturbeth none: knowing as Christ sayd, Principe gentium domina Math. 26. butur eis, vos aut nolite. It falleth not into a disciples, an Luc. 22.

G 2.
apolles, or
or churche mans office, to meddle with suche matters: they haue their princes, guides, and gouernours
the churche men bee suche: For Nemo militans deo
implicat e mundanis negotiis. It is enougb for them to
wayte vpon one office, to attende as foule priestes, &
not erranct baylies: Thus farre to the whole in ge-
geniall: nowe to eche reaon in special where it is said:
Et ad virum erit conferiss vel desiderium tuum. I myght
anwser it with the common interpretacion whiche
is. Though both in conceauing and brynnyng forth
thy child, thou haile feele throwes and exceeding pi-
gues: yet shalt thou not be hable to withdrawe the
from thy hus bande, but shalt gyue occasion to haue
more. The payne of the former shal not make the
to anoyde the next. This is no cuill interpretacion,
for it an swereth in the maner of the payne, the qual-
ite of the offence. As who should saie, thou hast
incyd thy hus band to turnete to thy folly: I shal ther-
fore make the to turne to him, to thine owne smarte.
This place thus interpreted maketh no more for this
matter then Gloria in exelsis doth proue that S. Peter
fayde malt. But by causse some reiect this inter-
pretaciō: and we feke not to caus, but to fynd the truth:
therefore wil admy the other, that it maketh for the
wives obedience toward his hus bande, that she must
hange upon him as upon his guide, followe his wyll
as the wyser, obey his commandement as his supe-
rior, and to be short, to knowe him for his head, and
hir feele for his subiect. VVhat? Graunte you this?
that is enougb, yea I must nedes do so for the true:
els, and my ne owne conscience, would reprooue me.

FAITHFUL SUBJICTES.

How than anwser you: forsothe as I did before that
the multe do all this and more, but vfi: ad aras. So far
forthe as he comandeeth like a hus band, like a chri-
stinian, and like her head. But if he passe his commis-
mission, as if he comandeeth that is vngodly: then the
may anwser him, as S. Aug, doth the rulr. Da ven-
am imperator Tu munaris carcerem, sed deus genhannam.
Thou wilt haue me obeye thy will for fear of thy pri-
son and sword: but I must obeye goddes will, for fear
of his eternal fire and damnacion: if her hus band will
comand her in the publike weale, she beinge the
magistrate, and not he; the may lay to him as the co-
sul layd to Fabi, filē hētor, Law make my hus band to
obey, for heare he is not my hed, but my subiect, yea
if he breake any lawe, if it were capitall, she myght
strike with the sword, and yet be a wife good enough
for the dutye that she oweth to him, is not omitted
in that she obserueth, that she oweth to the commo-
weale, wherein he is as a member conteyned. But if
for her wedlocke dutie to him, she will neglecte the
common wealthe: Then is she a lousing wife to him,
and an euell head to the countrey. The ii. reaon out
of Eyas, maketh as muche as for debarring of yonge
Princes rule, as Ioa, Iofias and our fiewr kinge Ed-
warde (as his fister Marye helde) as se dothe againste
women, for they be in tenderd together, but in dede it
maketh againste neither. For Eyas beinge worth-
elye called the Demosth: of the Hebrues, vfieth fuch
goodly figures of speaking, as all the scripture hath
not beside, as in this place, I will take from you your
G.3, honera.

Aug. &c
habetur. 11
q. 4, cap.
ita corporis qui
refit.*

Limidec. 3
A vwmā
maye rule
as a magis-
strate, and
yet obey
as a wife.

The, resi-
son.

Efas the
Hebrues
Demosth.
honorable Senators, and your wife counsellors, and I will give you boyles and women, or effeminate persons to reigne over you, not boyles in age, but in manners as Aristotle faile of young men, that to heare Philosophie it maketh no matter for their yeres, but for their manners not women in sexe, but in feblenes of wit, and not suche as some women be, wiser, better learned, discreet, constant, then a number of men: but such as women be of the virtu fort, tod, foolish, wanton, fibber gibbes, tatterers, triflers, wauring, witles, without counsell, feable, careles, rathe, proude, deceitie, nise, tale bearers, eyedroppers, rumor raisers, euell tonged, worse minded, and in everye wife, dolsted with the dregges of the Devils dounge hill, as these minions be: such shall your senators and rulers be, that shallbe neither hable to rule them selues nor you. No Deborahs, no Judiths, no Hesters, no Elyzabethes. For sure, when such be: ther is no token of Gods wrath, whiche the Prophet threatneth here: but of gods favoure, wherefore we may be assured, Therfor this argumente riseth of wronge understandinge, as the Vicar of Trumpeton vnder-foode Eli, Eli, lamahzabatani, when he red the Passion upon Palm Sunday, when he came to that place he flopped, and calleing the Churchwardens faide. Neighbours this geare mufte be amended, heare is Eli twife in the booke, I affure you if my L. of Eli come shys waye and see it, hee will haue the booke. Therefore by mine aduice we shall scrape it out, and put in owne owne towne name, Trumpington, Trumpington lamahzabatani, they contented, and he did so, be-

fo, because he vnderfoode no grewe. So they that vfe this place for a weapon against this matter, thei fault in homonymia, not considering that words have proper significations and translations.

The reafon of this argument is out of Saint Paul, wherby women be forbidden to speake in the congregation, for it is an vnfoole thinge for them to speake. This is meruelously exemplified and vraged, as though e were so found as no faulte, nor cracke could be founde in it. This is the Hercules clubbe that beastes all downe before it. There bee Sampions lockes, that make him fo stronge, wherefore there mufte be taken some paines in the confuting of it: fytte therefore, I laye this foundacyon whiche I laide before, that Saynt Paul, nor none of the realt of Christes garde, meddle not with Cyuill pollycie, no further then to teach obedience, nor haue no committion thereunto in all the whole scripture. And this being a greater matter of pollicie, yea the greatest (for it conteigneth the whole) it can not be within the compasse of Pauls commision, and so followeth it, that Paul either in this place ment no such matter as they gather: or if he did, he did it without the compasse of his commision, but that is vnlike. For as he saide in one things, so surely did he in all, Qued accipias dominum tradiscis volub et sumitores vide, note sicut ego Christ. W ell what then ment he. This he ment. That though he ordained that every man in the assemblie ecclesiastical about the word of God ad prater, should haue leave, orderly ad in his course, to speke ad vetere, for thinterprettation of the scripture, all that was re-
A H A R B O V V Y F O R

1 Cor. 14

Prima. in
1 Cor 14

Theoph.

what is
required
in a pulpit
man.

replied him by the spirit of God, yet woman (because they be not made, neither by nature nor study to pre-
che and interpret scriptures) he would not have to meddle with it there. And as Primasius and Theophilus,
faith the chiefest cause that moved Paul to take this ord
ner, was the common fault that then was in that free.
For being somewhat instructed, by the hearing of
the apostles in the matter of salvation, in the cros
doctrine of Christ, they began to think of some thing of
them selves, and turned that was taught to edify with,
to a railing and carling in the church when they met;
so that the congregation was thereby disturbed. For
the answering whereof, Paul wrote to bridle them:
as without doubt, he would have done the more, if
they had prophesied orderly, or made it a matter of
discord: as it is a benefit of late in some congregations,
where it is bene reuived. And not only he debarred the
women from prophesying, but also from any publick
function in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For in such
as shall occupy the pulpit, is required these things, that
they be made to teach, to reprove, and convince. In
teaching is required gravity, learning, and eloquence.
In reproof, courage and sounde judgement, and in
convinquing Arts, memorye and muche science. And
because the bringing uppe of wyomene, is commonlye
necess, as they cannot have theftethynge (for they
be not broughte uppe in learninge in Scholes, nor
trained in disputations. Or if they were
yet because nature hath made them softer and milder
then menne. Yet bee they not suche as are
mete

FAITHFUL SUBJECES.

as are meete for that function. Therefore be they
mete for this calling. For those that be preachers,
must be no mylke foppe, no white lynerd gentle
men, that for the browning and cloudy countenance
of every man in authoritie, will leave his tacle and
crie Pecau. They must be of such nature, as the Poet
saith of Critoe, in vulta grauitas, in verbis fides. They
may not be arrayed to rebuke the proudest, nor not
kynge and queene so farre th as the two tables
reacheth. As we see in Samuel, Nathan, Elie, Iphon Bab
tist, and many other. They may not stroupe to every
men becke, and study to plaase men more then God.
If herefies arise, they must haue their tooles ready
to meete with that adversary and to overthrowe hym:
whiche he can not haue, orles he haue travailed in
many sciences, harde and redee much, which things
because they be hufyues women cannot haue com
only, and therefore they be not meete hereunto. Yea
God knoweth so be many more: for it is not eno
for a man to tell a fayre tale in the pulpit, and when he
commeth downe is not able to defende it. If pre
chers and spiritual ministers be suche, where be we
when we come to handgripes, (They must not only
florish he, but they must know their quarter strokes,
and the waye how to defende their head, their head
Chifte I faye, and his crosse. And specially in these
dayes, wherein Sathan spitting the happy groithe and
grothes of Gods field, soweth tares and ystches of he
ries and sectes continually, to choke or to empayre
the good comen of it may be. VVhat enemies haue
we of the Papistes? vnlearned thinketh you: nay, who
H. so en-
AN HARBOROUFFE FOR

to encountreth with them, had none haue his harnes
wel bucked to hym, or he may chance to take a wipe:
I would they were as wel mynded, as they be learned.
V VVhat say you nowe to the Arrians: whichse fuer,
are like to enfect the best heads in Europe,(I meane
the Italian) if God promise not remedy. Shall it be
easy thynke you for every man to toyne with them?
I can not tell howe simple they be. But one man of
that sect so disturbed a whole vniuersitie in Ger-
many, that all the learned men there, and the Prince
himself, was not hable to scrape out that he had wic-
kedly grauen. The Swingfieldians, the Maioranes,
the Pelagians, the froward freewyl men, the Adia-
phoristes, the Othrians, the newer Marciounistes,
the Anabaptistes, with infinite other warmes of Sa-
tanistes, do you thinke that every pulpitt man will
be hable to answery them? I pray God there be many
that can. I say therefore because there is so much re-
quired in a spirituall minister: that all men bee not
mete for the office. And therefore that with good rea-
son women bee debarrad from it. Albeit, at some
tymes it pleafeth God to vse their ministrie even
in this punt, as the woman of Samaria, which was
the tyrrf preacher to hir cytezens of the Meslias,
and the women, the tyrrf Apostles and mesengers
of the resurrection. And as we reade in the Eclesla-
ical historie, A certain woman vnder Conf. Mag.
was the Apostle of the Iberians, which turned first
the Kyng and Queene, and then the whole coun-
try to the fayth of Christes. This could not bee

done without some take in the Byble, nor without
a kynde of preaching. Yea, Theodoretus sayeth,
that the dyd prache to them; wherfore me thinke
such in this poynite we must viue trauay a certain
moderacion, not abolutelye and in every wyte to
debare them, herein (as it shall plesse GOD) to
serue Christe. Are there not in Engelande women
thinkey you, that for their learninge and wysonde,
could tell their houfholde and neighbours, as
good a tale as the best Sir Ihon there? And what if
by occasion, not by common office, they should
sumy make their neighbours partakers of their
giftes: were it so heinous a matters? I pray you what
more vehemently vseth Paul, in the forbiddynge
of women to prache, then inforbydving them to
vncyer their heads. He sayeth of the one, it is euyl
faoured, and of the other: that it is against nature.
As wome
And yet you knowe that in the best reformed chur-
ches of all Germany: all the maides be bare headed,
den to pre
vise which the preachers and learned men, make noo ache, so be
great a accompte of. This I saye, not becaus I allowe them to go
either (for I assure you I doo not,) But that we bare heas
should not in suche pointes, graze upon the woordes
to fore, as though in no respect: a woman may opa
hir mouth to edifie. But if this be vitterly taken from
them in this place: what makest thou against their go-

ternment in a politike weale, where neither the wom-
nor the man ruleth. If there be no tyrants, but
the lawes. For as Plato faith, Illi citatiparatii eli exitit Plato de
vbi magnifrat legibus inperat, et nol3e magnifratui. That leg. lib.
cytic is at the pits brinke, wherein the magnifratru

        H 2
not a mere Monarchie, as some for sake of consideration thinke, nor a mere Oligarchie, nor Democratic, but a rule mixte of all these, wherein one of these haue or shoulde haue like authority, Thimage whereof, and not the image, but the thing in deed, is to be seen in the parliament house, wherein you shall finde these 3. sorts. The King or Queene, which representeth the Monarchie. The noble men, which be the Aristocratic, and the Burgesses and Knights the Democratic. The very same had Lacedemonia the noblest ad best city governed that euer was, thei had their kings, their senate ad Hippagretes, which wer for the people. As in Lacedemonia none of these could make or breake laws, order for warre or peace, or do anything without the kinge, and without the Senate and commons, nor either of the or both without the kinge (Albeit the Senate and the Ephori had greater authority then the Kinge had.) In like maner, if the parliament vs their privileges: the King can ordain nothing without them. If he do it is his fault in vurfacing it, and their folly in permitting it: wherefore in my judgement these that in King Henry the. viii. dais, would not grant him, that his proclamations shuld have the force of a statute, were good fathers of the countrie, and worthy commendacion in defending their liberty. Vvold God that that court of late dates, had feared no more the fearcenes of a woman, then they did the displeasure of a man. Then should they not have stouped contrary to their othes and allegiance to the crowne, against the privilege of that house, vppon:

The Parliament in Kinge Henry. 8. date.
of the crown wantonly, so can kings do, and com-
monly do, and yet may they be kings: if on another 
part, the regiment were such, as all hanged uppon the 
Kings or Quenes will, and not upon the lawes wry-
teth, if the might decree and make lawes alone, without 
her senate. If she judged offences according to her 
wisdom, and not by limitation of statutes and lawes: 
if the might dispose alone of war and peace: if to be 
short, the were a mere monarch, and not a mixte ruler,
you might peradventure make me to fear the matter 
the more, and the les to defend the cause. But the state 
being as it is or ought to be (if men were worth they 
cares) I can see no cause of feare, nor good reason why 
Saint Paul forbiddinge her to preache, I shoulbe 
be thought to forbidd at her to rule, neither Saint Chi-
roft. Amb. Theop. or Primasius writinge uppon that 
place gather any suche thinges as you straie out 
of it. I knowe very well that Ambrose faith they 
may not teache, be witnesses nor judge, and Aug. in 
il. 2. genet hab. 23. q. 5. Ef forso faith he. It is a na-
rall order in men that the women shoulde obey their 
husbands, and children their parents. Saint Hieron 
thought them vamete to judge alone by their discre-
tion, Ergo, to beare rule and conferre in politike 
matters with other. Nay it is a fallax adito secundum 
quid ad simpltci: for he forbiddeth them to judge in 
a respect, neither hauing rule by inheritaunce nor 
judging and conferring with other, and you therore 
gather that simplistic they are forbidden. Deborah 
judged and that lawfully, which cannot to it by inheri-
taunce, but by extraordinarye callinge. Muche
more may she that to Gods callinge hathjoynged thordinatorie meanes of inheritaunce, her commons consent, and confirmacio of lawes, To Saynt Aufls and all the rest, which wolde haue women in the subjicition of their husbandes, is to be anwered as before: that their meaning and speaking was, of every privete woman in the bonds of marriage: And not of those which God by his birth hath called to the governements of realmes, Neither is it to be thought that any of hold fathers wolde be so inturios to any heirs female: as to take fro the their fathers patrimony, or that wold that al other mens daughters shuld haue ad enjoy their right: and kings daughters shuld be put fro their righte. Either fo feuer thinheriance from the dominion, that they maye haue thone withoute the other, which will heare for you to do) or els graunt them both as you oughte to do. The daughters of Silphad by the judgement of God and not of man were enabled to their inheritaunce: And I shall we take vppon vs to judge in our policie otherwise then God did in his? Again, Saint Augufline, Hierome, the Cannon law, and Arift: meddle not wyth thole rules and governementes, which come by lyneall discentes, conyncynt and linked with the inheritaunce but with such as stand in election. Wherefore it is to be noted, that there be iii, maner of Magistrate. One chosen by lotte, as was the house of Saul, A nother by Suffragges and election, as in Venise, Polonia, the ffe Cities of Germany, and thempire. And the thirde prouided of God by lyneall succession, as in Fraunce, England, and other Kingdome. If

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If any were to be chosen by lotte, or suffrage: I would not in deede that any woman shoulde stand in the election, but men only: for I say with Ariftotle, that the male is by all lykethod meter to rule, then the woman in many respectes, And undoubtedly in the whole number of men, might be found one that should in all respectes, passe the beste among women in wifdome, grannie, learning, vnderstanding, sobrietie, temperamente, hablenes to take paines, warly kenes, justice, fortitude. &c. But when it standeth in no mans election, but in his hande that shapeth male or female, in the wombe of the mother, at his pleasure: Then hath mans voyce no authoritie, by cause he hath gyuen ous his right in chuiling, by common consent into God. That according to his infentible wyffdome, may chufe and dispose, as he pleaseth. This being done, shall man pull back his graunt, or call God to accompt and say, Nay when we agreed, the matter shoule be referred to your judgemet: we ment not that you should fend vs a woman to rule ouer vs: or we had forgott to put that in the codiesions, and therfore you must gene vs leave to reuoke our graunt, for we can provide better then thus, our selles. V Were not this a folle please (thinke you) and a mad enterprise? wold he not fone answere vs. Oh you presumptuous foolest, that haue suche opinion of your owne wyte: who made empires and kyngdomes, dominions and rules? who preferueth and mainteine them: whose be they? yours or myne: must you haue the orderyng or I? If they bee myne: why let you me not alone with them? If they be yours:
be yours: shew your evidence howe you came by them: shall not I do with myne what I like? Is therefore your eye ill because I am good? Murmure ye at my name, aye, because she is a woman? who made man and woman, you, or I? yt I made her to lyue: may I not make her to reigne? If I apoynt her to the office, can I not adourn her, and make her hable to discharge it? Why then, (dear little faith) ye thrust feare you my good will or mistrust you my power? you are much wold then, Saul in this poynte, whom I reiecyd for disobedience. For when I sent my seruant, David, yonge of age, and no Gynt in stature, with his shepe hoke and his flynge: Saul would have armed hym with his owne armoure? But when David threwe it of and wente his waye naked against his enemy, a great hythe monstre, in comparison of hym: Saul my mistrust not as you do: murmured not as you doe, sayinge, ah this poore boye is not hable to be our champion, and to defende our libertie: but he prayed for hym, and wyslyed hym well in the name of Ichourah the lorde of hostes. It is I tell you all one to me, to faue with many of few, with armoure or without, by a woman or by a man. Yl that lettereth, that she may nor as well represent my materie, as any of you all. It be best represented by the shining ornamentes of the mynde, and not the outerward cuttures of the body: why may not she haue at my hande that any of you haue: wildom to gouern, justice to punishe, clemencie to pardon, discreccion to judge. That could make Daniel a fackning babe, to judge better, then the wise of the

of the lawyers: A brute beaste to reprehende the folllie of a Prophet: and poore fisilers, to confound the grackes of the worlde: can not I make a woman to be a good ruler over you, and a mete minister for me? Yl what only keliod ye in his: are your eyes so dulle? or your myndes so malicious? that you can not or wyll not see those Jewelles, wherewith I have decked him? is that rare learning, that singulare modestie, that heauenly clemencie, that chrystiane constancie, that loue of religion, that excellent wyisdom with many more of my graces, notig in your sight: I shewed you the lyke towarde in a man of late: but for your owne unworthines, I toke hym from you: And wyle nowe, I haue geue you this: make your selues unworthy to enjoye hym: Leave of, leave of, your owne pollicy, which is but folly, and embrace my ordinance, as it is your dutie. For I pule down whom I will, and set vp whom I wil. Though God speake pnot thus to vs audibly: yet fyer, he nedes must thus speake in our conscience inwardly. Yl therefore let vs leave of to dispute, and beginne to praye, that it maye please hym to stably the hir feare a-monge vs, and to fende hir longe lyfe and quiet reigne, to defende hir and vs from insuffisions abrode and conspiracies at home, to guise hir grace to seeke his honour, and mayntaine the truth, to guide hir harte in the choice of hir hulbance, and to make hir fruteful, and the mother of manye chylde, that thy s Realme maye haue the grafts of so goodly a tree, That oure chylde and posterite maye c: hirs occupying hir throne, with honour, joye, &c.
quietnes. The remembrance of his virtues carrieth me awaye from my matter: wherefore I return. And becaus Aristotle is thought to be of such authoritie in this matter, let vs a little examine his woordes. That the male is more mete to rule then the female, well, what inferre you? ergo the woman vnmete. I deme that argument, you should rather saye the woman is not so mete, that we could grant you, and not a whyte hurt our cause: for otherwise no man will reason, as to say this man is better learned then the other: ergo thother is unlearned. Chalke is whiter then cheese: ergo cheese is black. No man that knoweth what comparison is, will bring two contraries in one comparison, as to saye pitch is blacker then snowe, or fyre is whetter then water. But if they compare two thynge together they must be suche as they have in one qualite or propertie maie et minus. As I saye right, A man is more mete to rule then a childe. That is not by affirmation and negation, as becaus ethone is apt, therefore thother is not, and even so of a man and a woman, he is more mete: therefore it foloweth not that the is ytterly vnmete. And therefore Plato Aristotle, matter not a whither worse learned then his scholler, saith: Magnificatus viriiusque Sexus precimuis nuptiis, our manner is to make officers of both sexes to ordre marriaige. And saith Paulus as we have declared, gyueth them a kind of government ethone being to govern the house. And lykewyse Aristotle, him selfe in the Ethikes. So that neither philosopher, nor Apostle, dealth with them so hardly as you do. But Aristotle, saith: that citiess
An Oligarchie is where a few bear the stroke.

An Harborovv For

beare the swayne in all: Then is the rule changed into an Oligarchie, that is, where a few bear the stroke, and herein he dothe otherwise then becommeth him. Sometime women also having great and large patrimony bear the swayne. In the which words I noote tirithe, that the Philosopher leaueth a kind of rule to the woman, which he is hers so much by nature, as the丈夫e pullinge it from her, entree into a kinde of tirannie and violate the moste natural and best ordre, As those do which turne an Aristocratic to an Oligarchie that is the better into the worle. Secondly if I wouldde grante vpon the wordes, and take the aduauntage of the comparifon: I mighte nere gather an equall authoritie betweene the wife and the husband. Fro every man knoweth that in the rule of the chefe, which is called Aristocratic: (whereunto he likeneth that in Mariage) there is equalitie and none vsupereth vpon an other. But I will not so followe the aduauntage of mine argumente: that I will confounde goddes apoyntment. Thirdly it appeareth plaine by this place of Aristotile: that in his time it was a common order that women inheritore, shoulde rule their landes, houses, and possession (V whence is our cafe) and yet not be thought to do againe nature in so doing: These things considered, you must nedes not only be thought to deale to straitly with this sexe by plucking from them all, when your Philosopher geueth them some, but also to be much oversene in ouerseing and peruyng your authors. But lest Aristotile shoulde kepe vs to long from matter of more weight and authority

faithfull Subjectes.

thoritie, I wil return again from the Philosopher to the Apostle. If you reafon in this place of S. Paule. No permitti mulieri loquii suffert not a woma vspke in the congregacion. Ergo, not to rule, thinking that it is formal, a minore ad manus from the lefle to the more: your logike ad duinitie both do fail you. For it is not to be taken thus, Paul forbade her the les for her vnapties, Ergo, he desbarreth her of the greather, But in dede it is contrary wise, he forbade her the greater and more chargeable function which is the spirituall ministerie and preaching: therefore it followeth not that he shetteth her from the les, which is extern policy. No man I think doubteth but that the Ecclesiaticall function is greater and more chargeable then the other, for thone concerned the bodye, and the other the foule. The one reacheth no further then outward actes, but the other reacheth to the hart and thoughtes: That binedeth in earthe the bodye, thy fetters bothe in heauen and in earthe, the foule: The one as Sainte Augult: fathie, threateth prifones, the other eternall dammacyon. The one may be executed by deputys: the other muste execute him selve de manu tua &c. To the one is required justice and no great learning; thother can not bee without great learning and knowledge. Thone Ezech.3,33, trecteth of the world, thother of heauen, thone of thinges temporall, thother of thinges eternall, and to be courte, the one belongeth to this life, and the other to lyfe euerlattinge. VVherefore what will serue the one, will not serue the other. For they bee not
A good churchman might be a good ruler as Samuel was: but every good ruler cannot be a good churchman. Thus we see that Sainte Paule thrullinge that Sexex from the greater function and office, dothe not also disable it to execute the other which is leste. But you will say in England the mufte have both. How can the discharge both, if you make those to hard? I answer that in deed both belong to her but not in one manner. For in thone (as policye) the hath a function, that is she must be a doer: in the other she hath thauourity and ouersight but not the function and practise as we see in the common welth of the Iewes, First betwixt Aaron and Moyses. Moyses comptrolled Aaron, but yet he executed not Araons office, he offered no incence nor sacrifice ordinarly, he medled not with tharteke, nor any such thing as belonged to the priesthode, he ware not the garments, he ministered not the sacraments, and yet had he authoritie to redresse his faults, as it appeareth in the matter about the calf, and by the committio whiche he receiued at Gods hand. Tu eris illii in deum & sile lerte sim tuum. Thou shalt be his God and he thy speche man. YVell but Moyses authourity (faye some) was not ouer the priests, because he was a prince, but in that he was a priest, and so was it lawful for him to meddle with church matters, because he was a churchman. This hold they, that wold haue priests to be kinges; and not kings ouersfeers of priests. The gounds to proue him a priest: be these. First that the psalme calleth him so. Moises & Aaron inter facerdotes eius, &c. Moises and Aaron amonge his priests. Secondly.
AN HARBOROFUE FOR

Not understanding the Hebrew, was easily decayed, and being wrapped in these two places of scriptures, where the learned contradiction, leaneth the at a fare as he found the, the one to say he was: and the other he was not: which maner of interpretation, & reconciliation of scriptures, howe it is to be kyked: I leave to the learned reader to judge. 3. That which Moisef is reported in Exodus, and the Hebrews to have done as a priest, it hurteth vs nothing. For he might do sometimes that extraordinarily, which be longed to the priest, as we read that Kings readde the boke of the law, and yet were no priests. Yea, al the children of Israel, at their coming out of Egypt, dyd as much as this came to, for every one sprinkled bloud vpon their dore postes in the paffioner, and yet they could not all be priests. And this sprinkling of bloud vpon the aultar, was but a solemnse ceremony, for the time done, and not suche a function, as than was properly appointed to the priests. But to put the matter out of doubt. If Moises were a priest, than were there two highe priests at ones, which coulde not be, by the law, and also Moises must not be in ferior to Aaron, because Aaron, and not he; is there called the highe priest. Thus we see how lightly, light argumentes may be aunswered, and I would wythe, that as easily, obstinate men could be satisfied. The laft is of as little force as the rest, and therfor I say to it shortly, that it is grounded vpon a false principle, or maxima, whiche is that none can judge to another that it hath not it selfe. VV see that as the phisicians say, the braine being the origine of the senewes, giueth to the whole

the whole body, sensum & motus, sense and mouing, and yet by their opinion lacketh it selfe. Againse, the earth giueth to all frutes, which Arist. faith: is spes motus, that is, that they should growe and mo-tue to a greater quantitie, and yet the earth it selfe, neither moueth toward byges nor increaseth one way nor other. And if a prince may gene to a lawyer, authorize to plead lawe, though he can not please him selfe and prescribe a Tanner how he shall tanne, though he tanne not him self, being neither a lawyer nor a tanner, why may he not I pray you in lyke maner, constitute, apoint, correct, and ouerle the church men, though he be no churche man him self. But the meaning of these me, is to drive prices fro overleing them, that they might in the meanse time liue out of subiection. And now the name being odious, because thier dissolute lyfe, hath purchased them an euell name, they thinke (when no shfits els will serve) that princes will not medle with the authoritie, les they should be combered with the priestes infamie. VV hat the Princes authoritie was ouer the bysshoppes and priestes aperith in the 2. of the kings, where Ioas checketh the byshop and priestes for not bestowing the offeringes vpon the reparatione of the the temple, and enioyneth them to do it. If the prince had not this authoritie ouer his bysshoppes and priestes, why should S. Paul haue said omnis anima. Let every foule be subiect to the higher power: he faith not al reporal soules, or al saue priests: This authoritie kept the princes & emperours after christs time, untill the beast of Rome made the worse the beasts: as apearith by Co-

K 2

stantinus
FAITHFUL SUBJECTS.

is inferred, that we may have no queen. It is the like reason as if a man should say, Christ said Veni ad vos, and Dum pecatos ad penitentiam, that I am come to call men sinners, and not women sinners. Therefore, either women be no sinners: or if they be, they shall not be faued: or as one reformed examineth, if I put him, let a man examine himself and consider, ergo, whether we may not. And Christ shall at the latter day say, Venite benedictes ad me benedictes. Therefore the some shall not come in hauing, or nearer to this our purpose, to persecute in fratres et discipulos. If I be brother offended the nearer so oft, forgive him: hereupon I gather, I need not to forgive my self. In alio terrae. Nor hath a singular good grace, and specially in the Hebrew tongue, when Ah which signifies a brother doth not only comprehend also a sister, but a nephew: to. And through out the whole Scripture, the masculine comprehendeth the feminin, or else we must say with the phrenetic Postellus: that women be not yet redeemed, but men and that they must have a woman to dye for them, as well as men had in Christ. Postellus phrenes. That place of Scripture, which commandeth a brother to be a king among the Jews, had no relation to a sister; as these make it, but to strangers. For it followeth non contiuitus regem alterius gentis. Thou shalt not make the a king of a strange nation. For the people of God, having no neighbours that worshipped the true God as they did. could not have chosen any stranger to be their king, but they should have been in danger of corrupting from God, and falling to idolatry. And therefore was it necessary, to a-

Deut. 17.

AN HAAPEPAGE FOR

Antimus Magnus, who was the moderator of the great council of Nice. And by Justinian, which wrote to Peter the matter of his chapel matters, where he saith Iuvenus, we commande that all Bishops and Priests do not from henceforth whisper this Service, but to pronounce it with an audible voice, that the people may hear and understand the. This Emperor, even in matters of the church, took upon him that authority to appoint them another in their Service, how dare then our proud prelates (very fools in deed to them that were then) wrangle with the Prince in this matter: But to our matter we see by these examples, that the Princes hadde authority in spiritualities to oversee them and order them: but meddled not with the function in executing, for that belonged only to the Priests: Lo, I trulie you noe perceau, how the functions doe differ. But that authority ouer both may lawfully be in one. And that maketh not the Prince byng a woman, utterlye vnmeet to gouerne, because she hath in somme respect to doe in bothe. This I haue sayde by the waye left our aduersaries the Papistes, should smateth this at my hand why I thus feuerthoffises that I meanke (as they doe) to pull from the Prince the ouersight and gouernmet of the church. I may not tary longer in that matter at this tyme. A tymes shall come peraduenture when it shall be more largely handeled. In the mean time, I returne to my purpose argument: Furthermore where it is sayde thou shalt chuse a Kynge among thy brethren, and not among thy systers. And thereupon

Is in-

Mar. 2.

Cor. 11.

Math. 8.

Luka. 8.
AN HABOROVV FOR

great coat to Englaunde, no more than you wolde a point the English law, which is the same cote to Rome our lawe multi direct vs, because it best agreeeth with our country, we have no further to do with the civil law then in arch matters, that is for testaments, marriages and such other, as for landes, and inheritance, pains for offences and many other points touching the law, ours doth merelously irare with the civil law, as we shall in some poyntes declare. Wherefore to burden vs with the civil law is as much as if you should perwade the Scottes to vpe the Garaman law to kil men at 50. and women at 40, because the country being somwhat barren, can not wel norish such, as by their age can do no greate good. But thank you may fee, that the civil law, and ours agreeeth like harpe and harrowe: we will confer them in a fewe poyntes. And becase this matter whereof we treat, concerneth inheritance, we will first speake of inheritance. In England the Eldest sonne inhereth, the fathers landes only, fauing in Guel kind. And in my opinion it is good policie, for the continuaunce of houles. For nothing sone destrueth greate houles, then the deuision of the inheritance, as it appeareth in Germany, and wil more hereafter to our posterity, when the yong brothen shall not be made abbottes, bishops, and cardinals as they have hitherto bene. In the Civil law, the children succede indifferentely in their fathers patrimony, in fends the sonnes, and in other both sones and daughters 1. max. vit. ff. sanctus C. de lib. pret. It in Autent.de hered. lab intell. in princ. et ind. et ff. cum filius. Jul. de hered. VVhere you see not only our lawe farre to disagree with this: But also that the civil law graunteth inheritance to the females, whiche, you would plucke away. The civil law gue the father poer over his childe in lyfe and death, specially, that whiche is called luste, as it apereth Le. 2. C. de par. qui fil dicit et le. in suis F de lib. et posth. C. de patraptat. But in England if any father should kill his sone: he should be tryfed vp for his labor. The civil lawe maketh the children of traytors, Infames, but committeth them not to perpetual prisone, as they do in Englaunde. In the civil lawe, the king, or lorde of the foile, hath nothinge to do with wardes or tutorshipes, but the next of kynne, if the father in his lyfe tyne apoynte none: but in our lawe, the kyngh hath the wardeareship of all that holde of him in capite or knightes seruice. And as it was graunted to the crowne, vpon a necessary respet: So must it not be pulld away, so longe as the same cause remaineth. It was geuen him at the first, in consideration of the great charges in warres, and the smale reuyene that belonged to the crowne. And though suche orders seeme hard, thorough thabloking of the, by some greedygutes. Yet the realme, having awaies, almoost continuall warres, with the Frenche, or Scottes, or both: who so ever goeth about to pul from the crowne suche helpes: vnwittingly, maketh a breache for the enemy to invade vs. Wherefore I would wish, that suche as out of gods boke will comptroll the kinges exchequer, should well understand the matter, befor he brought it into the pulpit. In the civil lawe, the Cod. int. tutorshipes endeth in the males at 14. yeares of age. 1. min. C. L and in
AN HARBOR OFV FOR

and in the females, at 12. But our lawe keepeth him in monage vntill 21. yeres. The cyvil lawe byneth not him to marrye, by the force of his wardship, where his Tutor Wyll: C. de nup. Marriage must be free and in his own choice, and may not be compelled by his father, muche lesse by this tutor. But in England, the tutor hath his marriage, or maketh him to paye for his libertie, how that cometh to passe, and how in different it is, let the lawyers answer; I mede no further, but to shewe that it is so. The cyvil lawe do fauoreth lyfe: that it graunteh a traitour his advocate to defend his innocencie, but in our lawe he can have none to speake for him, but himselfe. For the fault is couert (and that suffly) so heynous, that it taketh fro him, all manner of helpe, to put other in feare. Againe, the cyvil lawe codempneth no man, onles he either confess the faulte, or be openly consuete by witnes sufficient. But our lawe comitteth it to the veredict of 12. me, indwellers in the countrey, what the trespas is committe, who pronounceth guiltie if they thinke so, whether he confesseth or no, and oft tymes rather upon their own conscience, then anie great witnes or otherwise. This order as it was in itselfe the first without corruptio: was maruelous conscionable and godly, and in my judgmee much better then the cyvil order. For they to wring out the colesai of the fault committed, are driven to use torments, and to puny the before they haue tried the faulte, wherein they are oft tymes deceased, by rackynge those which have not offended, and dryeinge them for paynes of tormentes to saye that they never did, as I haue haerde, happened at Tubingen, in the Wittenberg.

FAITHFUL SUBJECTS.

lande, that a man was broke upon the whyle for mut. Against dring an other, which after was houled a lume, the wmaus raking, of the tormentes made him to confesse it, and lyfe of him self. In moniment whereof his image standeth yet in a glasse wyndow of the churche, cuen as he was vppon the whyle. Agayne there was in Engeland, an Italian, not longe ago, who (as they saye) paffed thorowe all the tormentes in Venice, and escaped without confessing the faulte, which in deceased he hadde committed. On the other syde our, 12. men The quael the quaelmongers, being indwellers in the countrey, and men of skyl, shall beare by the circumstances, as by the life of the ma, the commo fame of the people, or their owne search in the matter: whether he be Suche a one or no, and so without racking, wretching, and tormenting, the deceased may be founde. But in deceased at these dayes it is grown to great corruptio, and that thorow one especiall meanes, or two which be therse. If there be any noble man dwelling in the countrey either a Duke, a Marques, an Earle, or Baron: He shall lyghtly haue in his retynewe all the cobbes in the countrey, whether he be quælmongers, and if any matter be touching him, his man, or his frende, whether he bee a cryme capitall, or Nisi prius, sent downe for landes: the case shall wye as he wil. For his deteyners must nedes have an eye to my lorde, though they should go to the deteill for it: and to be great men and others. But if they be innocent and not, some offencers deluere, some titles of inheritance lost, agayn all justice and right. Another is, if my lord wil not offend the Statute of retynewe: then must the hyghe shrife be

L 2

his frende.
AN HARBOROVY FOR
his friends: And the underthese, I should say, His man, He empaneleth the quest either such he dare not displeafe my lorde, or for good will, will not. And so that way between the highe them and underthese, m. 1. and the curtnongers, poor me are out unwed. This corruption if it be not looked to, will not make the order (which was the chief that could be) to be the wicked that can be. But as I sayde, in it seyde (me thinke) it hath more justice, equity, and indifference, then the cuyll or rather cruel rack hath. If I should peruse and compare all points wherein ours differ from the cuyll; and these that for our country, it is much better, I should never make an end. Wherefore these shall be sufficient, to shewe that you must bryinge our owne weight to weye our matters by, and not straungers, or els we must take you for an euell Clarke of the market. Therefore if you will judge well of our municipal matters: you must let us alone with our own coate, and geue the great boye his. Nowe I passe to certain inconueniences which are thought to come of women's rule. Many inconueniences do commonly follow the rule of women and their enieritinge of kyngdomes, as the loffe of holde, and auncient possesstions as experience teacheth of late daies, by the departing from Hams, Guines, and Calyce, with all that we hadde in France, besides the daungeringe of the realme to be governed by straungers, which thing of late was muche feared, and not only to happen. For the first, it is to trewe: that in that woman's reigne Engleade was put to a sore plunge through her wylfulness.
AN HABOROV V FOR

as bi a womans(whether negligence, or misfortune, I wote not, we have taken this world, to be a nothers diligence and felicitie, we shall have it againe healed. If euerie man could peradventure hyme felle of as good successe by her as I do my selfe: I doubt not but the Frenche, and the Scottes bothe, shoule have theyr handes full, I praye God our euerthankfulnes make vs not to tarne the worlde. The next and greatest inconvenient and daunger to be feared is, that a woman inherit the realm by mariage shall be transferred to strangers. A greate matter I confesse it if so bee, yet God maye do with his owne what he list. Seatote (saith the Prophet) quia deus est dominator in regno suo minum, et ipsius regnui ell, & cuccione vult dominum illud: he will translate it who can let it: Yea in another King Henries daies. And some translation and transferring of realmes may turne to muche good, and the wealth and tranquilitie of many. As if we had had a Kinge for your Quene, or yon a Kinge for oures, it had bene a goodly translation: to have entred both the realmes in dominion, regimen and law, as they be in nature, lenguage, ad maners. I suppose a greate dele better for your countrey, the as it is now, thus to be matched, yea subiecte and shamed to the proude, vn-truthfull and the moste tyrannicall nation, under the same. I except not the Spaniards, whose dominion the French the Italians in Millane, Naples, Sicilie, and else where: can muche better brooke and abide, then the light and inconstant French, as Cesar calleth them. If you and we had joyned together: it had made no

RAITHIFULL SUBIECTES.
great matter, on which side the kinge had bene, so he had bene religious. I graunte if all things answer, it is better to goynge at home, then chulling abrode. As if he be no vraye bate or meane person, if he loose and leave God, if he be of the same religion, indued with good and commendable qualities of wisdome, Justice, Manhood, Temperance, gifts of languages knowledge of Countries, pitifull, mercifull, constant, sobere, no hearer of flatters, continent, not prodigal, but liberal, no extorcioner, &c. Such a one if God shoulde lot any Quene, were to be preferred, to any abrode, onles all these, myght he found in a straungers, and therfo ionued nobilitie and auncientnes of lynage, and the nation beynge such, as ye not to rule cruellly, but rather plasterly, then lordly. For by suche a one could come no great harme, but vere muche good. As for example, if your Quene, shoulde have ouente some Germaine, or some suche other, whose Government is not rygorous (as in deede theirs is not) their hartes not ambytious, the same Religion, good brynynge vppe, a manne of accurtie, whose auncetouris have bene religious, lyncked wyth manye Prynces, euyther by Confanguinitie, Affinitie, or the Societie, and leaque, of whome there could be no doubte of conveying the treasure to any other nation, or bringing in by his owne countrymen to oppresse the Subjectes (as undoubtedly the Spaniards and France would). Suche a one I saye, if God appointed: I see not why the name of a straungers, shoulde be odious, it is reli-

The orna-
ments of
an hom-
bore ma.
is religion and likeness of manners, that noigne me

such as be

of the fa

ture, be no

strangers.

Such as be

coupled them: that

agreeing them, we should not much stirke in the rest.

In the kingdom of heaven, is nother en widget nor gentile

man nor woman, a stranger if be a good man, is

dear in the sight of God, as he that is born in the

midst of Edentown. This I speake, not because

I thoure at any one, for that were not onlye malapart

tures, but madneffe, but to answer my objection, wher

che is, that realmes be made by the matching of

Queenes with strangers. Scicilia, as the histories res

cort, was quietly and happily governed, so long as

the Duke of Scicilia marrying the heir, had it in qui

et possession. But after a Pope of Rome, as the duke

palled thorow Italy, so order in Scicilia, had bi

conspiracy murthed him, it fell every daye more and

more to decay. So that it stode not so much in the

chufing of a stranger, as what he is that you chuse.

He is one of our brethren, if he be a faithfull Christian, it is manners, faith, and behauor, and not nacy

ons that make men strangers one to another. A man in his own country, at home, if he be not of the house

hold of faith: is a stranger. And contrary wife, wher

there is one faith, one baptisme, and one Christi: her

the narrower fraternitie then, if they came out of one

wombe. But to conclude, we must commit all this to

God, who hath the estates of rulers in his hands, as

the floods of waters, and will so dispose them as shall

be moat to their peaces, to the realmes good, and his

honor, let vs not meddle with bridellinge of Queenes

in marriage this way or that way, we are none of those

to whom

so whome it shalbe said, who shal give this wombe.

Now thus thou seest good reader, that at this wynde

thaketh no corn, that this bold blustering blaffe, though it puffeth, and bloweth never so muche: Yet

can it not moue, or ones stirre the fuer grounded rock

of verite. And though it be the propertie of Northre

blafes to coole and freeze: yet in the hartes of good

christians, faithfull subiectes, and true Englyshmen,

well warning with natuall loue, and defended with

the walles of wyse drome, obedience, and dutie: it can

do nothing. It may peradventure make a fewe weake

redes to wagge, whoe will flye at every little puffe

of wynde: But the stronge and harde Ookes are root

ed in loyallie, and grown into a full perfection in the

discipline of dutie: will never stirre a leafe for it, con

sidering that this blaffe is sent out of Acolus, at the

request of daunce disobedience, to hindre good Aeneas,

calling to the port, and hauen of queenes and loyallie.

Though thou warre not disposed of thy felic, either

for opinion of thauhor, or for the noveltie of the

matter, to stand to thy tacle against this storm: yet

I doubt not, but now by me rather put in mynde

of that thou knowest, then taught that thou wart igno

rant in: thou wilt more contegne this gale of wynde,

and take it to be nothing, but as it is named verye

wynd in deed. Thou feyst it eydently proud, that

if standeth well inough with nature and all good or

der, with justice and equitie, with lawe and reason,

with Gods and mans ordinance, with custome and

antiquity: that a woman leeste by her progenitors,

true heire of a realme, hauing the consent of her peo

ple, the
AN HARBOROVVE FOR

ple, the establishment of lawe, aunctient custome, and
Gods callyng, to confirme the same: may vndoubt-
tely, succede her aunctitors lawfullye reigning, in
lawful succession, both to inheritance and regimient.
Thou feelest no scripture is agaynste it, truely un-
derstande, but rather both in example and practice,
and also in expresse word and meaninge, altogether
with it. Thou feelest no lawe where to be bounde, to
debarre this sect of this right, but in everye wyse to
graunte it them, as it shal come to their courte. And
that the rule beynge joyned to thinheritance, can no
more be plucked from it, sauyning justitie inviolated,
thenth foule from thy body, and thou yet al yeue.
Thou feelest last of all, that thinconveniences that be
feared, be rather bugges to feare babes, then matter
to move men: and specially christien me, which loke
not so much to tharm of ma, as to the helpe of God
for their safetie: which truft not in horse and harnes,
glayues and gunnes, and such other worldly meanes
but in inuocation and faith, and in the mightie arme
of God. VVho delighteth no more in the legges of a
goodly made man, then in the lamenes of a creeple,
Not in the rugged lookes of a desperate warre your;
then in the mylde countenaunce of a wyfe VVomá.
VVherefore the matter standing so, that whoseuer
rule, man or chyld, male or female, God must be our
flulde, sortrelle, and bulwarke: Let vs do our dutie bi
true vng, and he wyll do his, by helpynge vs, and
so much the rather, because that now, it is more like
the glory shalbe his, if the victorie be ours. Then if
we had some great Goliath, some lustie champion,
take:

FAITHFULL SUBJECTES,

take the matter in hid. For the next way is, to make
him shrink from vs, to put other our whole trust in a
ny other, or to parte the prayse with him: that his
maiestie shal have one pece, & our pollicie a nother.
How oft crieth he to the Israelites, Nay, go to now,
cal vpon your gods to helpe you, let me se what they
can do for you, Runne to your leaguefellowe the E-
gyptian and kyng of Assyria, in whom you haue put
your trust. Let them flyld you, agaynste thosc euyls
that shal come vpon you. VVherefore let vs say with
Dauied, Hu in caribus, Huin equis, non autem in nomine
domini inuocabimus. Trust who wyll in their stout kni-
ges: we call vpon our God to helpe our good Queene.
Now thou art perswaded, thou true Engly she heart,
that thou maiest and oughtest to take, esme, and ho-
nour one of this Sexe appointed of God to rule over
the, for the naturall, and lawful soueraigne: it is thy
part to know and learne, and after to do and performe
all manner of dutie to her, which occupieth by moost
iuft title, thimperial throne of this Realme. And that
thou maiest the rather, the willinglier, and gladlier do
it. I mynde by Gods grace, to treat a lytle of the dutie
thou oughtest her, of the good hope thou mayst con-
ceive of her, and the fruit of doyng or balkynge thy
dutie towards her. VVhiche, iii. thynges, whyle I
runne over, thynke it not longe, for I mynde not to
make any long discouer. There is no maner of
wyt so dull, of vnderstanding so slender, or of malice
so obstinate, but wyll and must confesse, that God by
nature, haue so ordained all thinges: that mankinde
should not onely a rule, and haue the dominion o-
the other creatures, which he not of nature so excel-

Vve may not part
with god

Pla.9.

Pla.147.

Vve must
cast our
care vpon
God.
AN HARBOROWE FOR

Some be made to rule and some to obey.

Exod. 20.
Deu. 20.
Exod. 25.
Psal. 8.
Psal. 28.

upon their persons which is man. If this order were not in nature, all things would grow to confusion, while every man, as he were of greater power: if could, and would oppress us as were of less, (as Theodoret saith) the great fifties care up the small, and the weaker beasts, be the stronger prey. Therefore, it is not said without great cause of the apostle: that the Magistrate is for our good. For he defendeth our bodies from the murderers, our goodes from the ravenoure, and our lands from the oppressour. Seing then that God by nature, hath thus placed Magistrates in deede to be watchmen to kepe our cities, to preferue our lands from thensmy abrode, and conspirator and oppreessor at home: we should be to much ingrate: if we shulde not love hym or her, that careth for vs, and to obserue hym or her, that careth for vs, and to obseinat if we should not obey them that rule not for their own pleasure, but for our commoditie. Hereto we be exhorted by many places of scripture, wherunto, if we hearke not: we proueke gods vengance to gath out against vs: out of whom most holye mouth, they come, Let every soule (saith the Paul) obey the higher power, as ordained of God: for who refiteth the power, refiteth Gods ordinance. In which woordes is contained both a precept and a pun. A precept, in that he commandeth all to obey, excepting none, neither priest nor Monk saith Christ, which muste Chrysti as well obey, as the laytie. A pun, in that he vttreth hym to be gods rebels and adulterers, which do refite the power ordained of God. For who violateth the ordinance: violateth the ordainer, which was God,
God. But because almost none doubt of this, that they must obey (ones it be a few dissolute Anabaptists, and many be ignorant, wherein they should obey: therefore did Paul him self not omit to teach, that they must be obeyed in honor and garments, Cuv velegal, velegal, cuu honor, honorem. For it is not enough to pay them their due, as a man payeth his hireling, or his miller for grinding his corn: but he must also yeeld him his due honour, why the muffle sitt from the harre, and then be verted in our waers humble. The Perissians thought their kinges and rulers to represent such a divine majesty; that they fell flat on their faces before their souereigne. And that same we read to be vied among the kinges of Iury. The like whereof, the histories do reporte of the Turkes, that they have not only as much honor given them as the kings of Periss had: but also who to ever speake to him, at his goinge from him, never turneth his backe vppon hym, but goeth backwarde so longe as he is in the same place with him. Fewe I thinke will allowe thy, yet muffle they hereby, that great honor is due to that estate, and thinke it no Idolatry as some men vs to terme it, either to bare thy head or bowe thy knee to the chiefeest minster of God, yea if thou doest it not thou makest an idoll of thy selfe, why le thou liftest vppe thy baseness to that heighte, that thou wylte not stoupe, where thou oughtest, nor give honour where thou shouldst. YVhat is els to make an Idoll of thy selfe, but to honour thy self, where thou oughtest not, and pull downe Goddes Majestye.

**AN HABOROVV FOR**

**FAITHFUL SUBIETES.**

Majesty, where thou shouldest not: Ah we bee all Adams children, yea and the devils to, if we goe no further. But Adams children be distinguite in degrees, even by the ordinance of God. As we rede through out the Bible, and Christe in the newe Testament confirmeth it, sayinge: gue to Cesar that is his. And the apostle go before one another in honoure. So that they may rightely chalenge it, and we be bond to yeeld it. But this will not be onles we firste bow at home in oure hearts, and learne to stoupe, sayinge in oure felies. What thou art a subiecte not called to honoure, therefore thou muffle not parche vp, before thou beest called: And couldst thou, if thou warte in the same place suffer (if it were not for thine owne sake, yet for the dignities and office sake) to be without honoure? If we can thus reason with our owne pride stomackes: we shall soone leaue ot to be Adams children, and become Goddes and the Quenes obedient subiectes. The hart (I say) must be frame and brought into the circle of obedience: and then will all the reaste followe. Thy knee shall bowe, thy Cap shall of, thy tonge shall reverently speake of thy soueraigne, who and whither thou oughtest. For lyke as the fountain beinge clear, or trobled the water that goeth from it, must be good or bad: so the heart beynge in order, the reaste cannot be out of order. Thy tonge must be dedicated to God, to speke well and reverently of his minister, for els as Salomon saith: he will make the birds of the ayre to vitter thy rebellion. Furthermore, it is thy bounde-

**Degrees of men.**

**Mat.12.**

**Ro.12.**

**Obedience spryngeth from the hart.**
AN HARBOROVV FOR

The 2d, duti to gue the, whiche the callet for part of th goods part of or that as Demoth faith, by parting with a little, thou bedyence, main kepe the whole. Is it not better to heale the Dem. a mother and mistres of thy country, with thy goods and body: then by withholding thy hande, and mrging, to make her not habile to kepe out thine enemie? haddest thou rather that thy ancient enemie, the proud trench man, or untruly lot, should come to ranlake thy coffers, to deslou thy wite, to raush thy daughter, to beat thy childrens brains uppon the wallers, to fire thy houte, to spoyle thy goodes, drive away thy cattle, enjoy thine inheritance, cut thine own throate, and bring thy country to naught: then that the Queene officer shoulde take the 20. parte of thy poftellios, for thy defence? If thou wilt not have these mischeues to happen: thou must do thy duty in payning with a franke and free hart, without grutching or groning, specially, seing thou gathrest all that thou hast, in her peace. Shouldst thou that a husbandman follow thy tillage, reapeth thy corn, and enjoy it: thou warst not defended by her diligence? Shouldst thou that a grasier keepeth thy fat Bullocks, and flockes of shepe, till they were fatte: if she were not thy shepehearde? Shouldst thou that a merchandis sende to thy exceeding gain, thy merchandise: onles she were thine Admiral? Could the Lord or gentlemyn enjoy his rents, if she defended not the tenauntes? Could the bishops ruffle in their robes, kepe their great houses, ad have their thousands yereely, withal the rest of their superfluities, if she were not their bulwarke, and took care for

FAITHFULL SUBJETTES.

for them, while thei care not for her: And to be short, there is none that should enjoy his owne: if her protection were not. If thou my fruitt the my spendyng of that thou guest, and she taketh thou art to losst. For could she that in all her yle, hath liued upon her owne, so humbly without pride, so moderately with out prodigatioun, so maydenly without pomm, now find in her heart, in unnecessary charges to laffle out thine? VVilt thou have a taist, how prodigal or pomous she is? I pray the then marke these two points which I know to be true (although in that Sexe they be strauige) v. yeres after her fathers death, she had so proud a stomake, and so much delighted in glistering gales of the world, in gay apparell, richie arraye and precious ieweles: that in all that tyne, the neuer looked upon those that her father left her but ones, ad that agayneft her wyll. And after so gloried in them that there came neuer gold nor stone upon her head, tyl her siter enforced her, to lay of her former super- nes, and bear her company in her glistering gaynes. Yea, and than she forsooke it, as every man wasghte, that her bodie caried that, which her heart misliked. I am sure, that her maidenly apparell, which she lied in Kyng Edwarde tyne, made the noble mens daughters and wyttes, to be ashamed, to be dest and payted lyke pecockes, being more mowed with her most virtuous example: then with all that ever Paul and Peter wrote, touching that matter. Yea this I know that a great mans daughter, receavinge from Ladye Marie before she was Queene, goodly apparell of vynfol, cloth of golde, and velvet, laid on with parchement.
A young ladies and

An exhortation to

liberalitie.

chement lace of gold: when she saw it, sayde, what shall I do with it: mary saide a gentle woman warne it. Nay quod she, that were a shame to follow my lady Mary against Gods woorde, and leave my lady Elyzabeth, whichis foloweth Gods woorde. See that good example, is ofte tymes more better, then a great deale of preaching. And this all men knowe, that while the ladies hent vp thattire of the Scottish skythes, at the commyng in of the Scottishe Queene, to go vnbrydled, and with their heares browned and curled and double curled: she altered nothing, but to the shame of them all, kepe hir olden maidenly shamefastnesse. &c. An other thynge to declare, how lytle she setteth by this worldly pompe, is this. That in all hir tyme, she never medled with monye but agaynst hir wylle, but femed to set to lytle by it: that she thought to touche it, was to deffile hir pure handes consecrated to turne over good bookes, to lyte vp vnto God in prayer, and to deale almes to the pore. Are not these argumentes sufficient to make the thynke of hir: that she wyll neyther call to the before she hath nede, nor mitspend it vaynely after she hath it: V Vherfor if thou bearest the hart of a chriestian: thou wyll ministe to chriestes lieutenants willinglye, and gladly. If thou haft the mynde of a trewe subiect: thou wyll not see thy souereigne lacke. If thou haft the forcaste of a wyle man, thou wyll be content with a lytle, to purchase faetie of the whole. If thou haft the stomack of a good englishman, thou wyll with body and goodes, kepe out the forren enemies, whiche would be glad, through thy disobedience,

disobedience, to salute thee at thy gate: wherfore be not courteus, where thou shouldest be lyberall, nor vnkynde, where thou shouldest be thankfull, nor wayarde, where thou shouldest be forarde. Take to thee, the stomacke of a true paltrye, and not the forward touches of a ref Tile iade. It is the propertie of thone, laeth Seneca, to goo forarde luftelye with the Shadoe of a wande, and of the other, to renne backarde, put you never so much the spurre to hym. Nowe by cause our nature is so dull, that it can not be stirred vp without some hope of benefytte: Therefore I wyll brieflye flye what good hope there is, by al lykely hode, of this godly governesse. And to the intent, I myght appeare to lye of hir for conscience sake, what I thinke and knowe, without fuppcition of flatterie, or hope of benefytte: Therefore I have suppressed my name: that my penne might be the ficer. V Vherfor if thou thinkst that either I speake more then I thynke, or do that I do for any hope of benefyte, thou doest it wrong in misjudging: and hir great inury in not beleuing. If I shoulde rehearse all thynges which myght put vs in hope of hir good, godly, and vertuous reignne: I shoulde peruse hir whole lyfepaste: But that were to longe and rather perteyneth to the Storie to be wrytten of hir, then to this argument, wherfore I will only touch one or 2, things to guse goodmey good occasiion, to geffe at the rest. It is knowe to al me howe vertuouslly and virgynlye the hath bene brought vp what wise, honest, discrete, sober, and godly women the hath had about

N 2

hir, how
her, howe the she hath bene trained in learning, and that not vulgare and common, but the purest and the best which is most commendèd at these days, as the tongues, artes, and gods word, wherein she to exceedingly profitted, as I my selfe can wytynes that vii. yeares past, she was not in the best kind of learning inferior to thole that al their lyke tyne had been brought vp in the vnaertuities, and were counted jolly fellowes. So that it is lyke, that nowse, she is not meaneyle instructed and armed with good letters. If then learnynge and the convolution with such as be wyse and honest, fashioneth and frameth the mynde (as Plaetro sayth) and maketh it tractable as wase, to print in good images of verities and modest manners, and commonly, as elbryngeth forth good frutes: we must mede conceit great hope, ye in a manner be assured: that as the she hath pulled many of our kynges, and all our Queene in their good studies and Sciences: so she must mede exceed in the rest of her lyfe and govern ment. And that you may understand that there hath not bene, nor is in her, learning without nature, and knowledge without towadnes, to practice: I wyl tell you, what I have credibly hearde, and assuredly beleue other. For I woulde wyse of God, that all men knew by her as much as I do: that she might conceit of her the same opinion that I have.

Her first scholemaster with whom I was familiar, The Queene, a very honest and learned, amongst other talke, which we had of her, for I was curious in questioning matters and he gentle in answering told me once, that he learned euery day more of her, then of him. It seemed to me a mystery, as in dede it was, but because he would not kepe it in doubt, he thus expounded it. I teach her wordes (quod he) and she me thinges. I tache her the tongues to speake: and her modest and maidenly life, teacheth me workes to do. For (faith he) I think she is the best inclined and disposed of any in all Europe. It fended to me a goodly commendacion other, and a witty saying of him, and therfor not to be forgotten: In like maner, an Italian, which taught her his tongue (though that nation lightely sauing of praise not out of their own country) said once to me the Queene, that he founde in her, qualities, which are never lightely yock fellowes in one woman, which were a singuler witte, and a meruelous meke frowmacke. I would have thought that these men had thus commended her, because she was their mistrefl: but by certain knowledge other waies I understood: that it was true, and that they might have said much more, and not haue lied. This disposition and godly towadnes being in her then, can not nowe but muchie encreated by continuance of study, hauing about her such as feare God, increasing in yeares, and taught by affliction, which as (David faith) bringeth understand and in another place. Bonum mihi domine quod humilatime. It is my great profite Lorde, that thou haft brought me lowe, for hereby I haue learned thy law, and of this I think no English man is ignorant: that her affliction hath ben far about the condition of fine, a kings daughter. For there was no more behind, to make a very Iphigenia of her, but her offering vp, vp on the alter of the Scatfole. How she behaued her.
The Queenes litter in the protectorates dates.

The Queenes litter in the Tour.

AN HARBOROVV FOR felice in those stormes and tempestes, let them wyse
wife, who byung hit austers hadde the mynyge
of her. I wyll laye nothynge, though I coulde laye
muche. But this I see, and therefore muche laye, that
than she muste nothes be in her afflication maruellous
pacient; whiche sheweth hit felte now in thys prospec-
ticie to be utterly without desyre of reuenge: or els
she would have gaven some token on this daye of re-
membrance, howe she was handled. It was no smal
injurtie that she suffered in the protector dayes, wher
serrer venomous vipers spued oure hit poylon a-
against hit to dye myne the hit honour: But God hit
father and defender, made hit so muche the more to
enter in to the hartes of good people: howe muche
the cameflier they wente to harme hit.

VVas it no wrong think you that she suffetyned
of late dayes, to be first a prysoner in her owne house,
and guarded with a fort of cutthroates whiche euer
gaped for the spoyle of hit house, that they myght
have bene fyngeryng of sumwhat? Then with great
solemne, with bandes of harnesse hungemen (hap-
pie was he that might haue the caryng of hit) to be
fetiched vp, as the greatness traytour in the world,
hoisted into the tower, there kept not lyke a kynges
daughter and a Quenes litter: but as one that hadde
come out of Turkey to betraye Engelande. VVhat
assemblies and counelles? VVhat examinacions
and rackynge, of poore men was there, to fynde out
the kynde that shoulde cutte hit throte? what gaping
amonge

FAITHFUL SUBJECTES.
among my Lordes of the clargie, to see the daye
wherein they myght wafle their goodly whyte ratch-
ettes in her innocent bloud: thinckenge that then
none shoulde be spared, for they sawe the bloud of
the father waf of the Scaffold, the daughters bloud,
the husbandes, the wyves, the young brotheres, the el-
der, and so one after another, till the hangemanne
was wearye. VVhen they sawe that so much woode
was spente in Smithfield about holy Martirs sacri-
ficeth to the God in the boxe: that poore folkes for
lacke died for colde in London: when they sawe the
streets of London so decked and adourned whth
Gallowes, and behanged with gentlemens carcasses:
that my L. of London could not have place to goo
a procession: when they sawe all these notable trage-
dies wherein no respecte was hadde, neither of seaxe
nor knyghed, neither of age nor innocence, neither of
noble nor vnnable: had not these ratchetters good
care to houre: that this blessed woman shoulde have
followed, and so they haue bene out of feare of thys
daye, which is come vpon them?

VVhat mente those charitable Churchermen
thyncke you towards her? when they coulde not
bee contente, to suffer Sir Thomas VViat vpon the
Scaffold (even at the houre of hit death, betwixt
the axe and the block, when it is like men wil not lie)
to dischagre her, of that was laid against her, and vn-
burden hye owne conscience of that; he thoughte
at that time bee stooede giltie in, for hurstynge her
to faine.
to hate himselfe, when he testified to the people that she was cleare. Cried not wellon, beleue him not, beleue him not! For the racke hath wrouinge out other maner of matter. Oh tyrannes, and take helles. VVas he rather to be beleued upon your cruel racke, than nowe, vpon the scaffold, when he learned the teabyng of his helle, then when he might loke for helles tormentes: when it flete vpon the losse of his carcase, than when he must daunger his soule? Dyd you not here, witter your mischeseus mindes, and meanings, that you cared not, though he went to the deuyll, so you yeught haue bene ryd oher. These be the comfortoble goostly fathers, which must be at a mans elbowe, when he is redy to dye, VVhoever regard of the Soule is suche: as thei must nedes haue their ghostly child, even with the last breath, lash out most flame fullyes, to maintaire their malice, & murder. These fellowes cavi se Confession to serue theire courson, for the desuctiō of such, as they would haue out of the way. If their Confession served not to suche purposes, I warrant you, they would not be a belewe point by it. Thus haue the whole worlde agaynst her, with all the spyte and malyce that could be desnised. And yet she is so far offre seying reueng: that I am surely per swaved, that she prayeth for the, Are not these great tokens thou good subiecte, of much mercy to follow? Marke her comming in, and compare it with others. She commeth in lyke a lambe, and not lyke a Lyon, lyke a mother, and not lyke a stepdam. She rustleth not in at the fyfte chop, to violate and breake former lawes, to stirre her people to change what they list, before.
there is a meruelous mercy and no rigour, an exceeding patience, and no desire of revenge in her. If it be not so, yet might the synde good quarters to deal more hardly with some then the doth. In Queene Marys first days the bishops that were maryed were thrufle out of the parliament house before any lawe, and all maryed deanes and archdeacons out of the conocation, many putt out of their luyninges and other restored without force of lawe. It that were lawfull for hir: why is it not lawful for this? Yea some noble men and Gentlemen were depryued of thole landes which the kyng had geven them without tarying for any lawe: left my Lord of VVincefield, should have lost his quarter's rent. Many churches were chaunged, many alters fitt vp, many masses sayde, many dredges sung, before the lawe was repealed, all was done in poist haste. Some for feare of aduenture that they shoulde not els have had the blestede masse, whole fyue yeares in the worship of the fyue Gaudes of the blessed virgin Mary. Nowe we see that things be done with more aduenture and lese haste, although there be a better warrante for this than for that. For he knoweth that to bee true whiche Seneca sayeth, Velox consistium sequitur penitentia. But the devil is a diligent felowe, he bestruth him in his matters, for he ever mistrutheth he shall come to late. Contrariwy fe God is longanimous of great patience, and maketh his to be the lyke, rather to loke for amendement then by and by to feke destruction and revenge. Wtherfore the being gods chosen instrument to represent here among vs his majestic:

**faithfull subjectes,**

ieftic walketh wisely in the steps of him that hath called hir, and judgeth diligently to represent a lively image in his mortalite of his incomparable and infinite majestic, by vnyng correction without severitie, by seyng the lyste with clemencie, by governed wisely without fury, with weyng and judging without rashnes, with purging il rumors with deliberacion, and to conclude, in doing hir duty without affectie. Besides furth it is not the lest toke of all to perswade vs of hir happy and godly proceedings, that the piketh out some such counselors to serve hir (and I trust will do more) as be neither of common wyte nor comon experiencie, of whom some by trauaille in straunge countrie, some by learning, some by practice and lyke authoritie in other rulers daies, some by affliction either one waye or other: for their giftes and graces whiche they have received at God's hande, bee mene mete to be called to suche roumes. And if any man thinkes there be inter azimos fermentum let them leave that to God and to me, and descant not to tare of it. Herein the well putreth in practice that is counselleth by Ecclesiasticus, sayenge consilium est liberae mille. Eccl. 6.

Culle out of a thousand a couisellour, for it is no matte of small waight to chuse counsellors as it aperith by the counsell and suffecte of Robois whiche was one of two fortes. Thaunciet men & Senators gave hir couisell & aduice to kepe the people in order by loue, gentlenes, and clemecie, thother aduited hym not to spare but to lay about him to chop of their heads, to towre the, hige the, burn the, wait with them, dead me do no harme, and to make his little finger heavier upon his
AN HARBOROY VE FOR

his people the was his fathers body. These were lusty lades these were fuche as would wyne all our lose all. But they boundation at the last as other that have followed them very Hieroboamites as wifes, VVyn chefters and some other their scholar yet alive, that as Horatius faith vs confcluus expre, mole nut sau. heartnes without wil dome, and counsel, commeth to a loth the ende. I doubt not but his maister if the could, would chufe his coumell of the nobility the being her felte the head of that order and patroonell: but if the that epie out meaner men of greater experience, further reache, and more fevence, then they be; it is not to be feared, but the noblest both for their owne saetie, and the Quenes, would gladly lotte to them selies (though the woulde not require it) fuche as myght put them in mynde of thynge they remembre nor, either because they have not exercied and beaten their heads about it: or by looking to their lordships have not had leerture to study for politicies. But wise men by study and noble men by birth, wyll make fuche an harmony in the common wealth: as nether Frenche nor Scotts, halbe hable to interrupe the concorde: and it to be hoped that nether the one parte in respect of their nobilitie, wyll contempte the other for their basenes nor emite the for their widsdom nor another part through that admiraetion of their own gites, for light by the honour & abijonunes of the peres. Learne a similitude. faith Paul of the body of ma, how eche membre is not the head, & yet hath his necessary vte in the bodye, wherefore it fome be

some be wiser, and some nobler, som richer, and som porter: I doubt not but like good mariners they will all consider, that they must all trauaile to bringe the ship of the common welshe, the Church of Christe, and the Quenes realm, to a quiete port, which will not bee: if they boute, who shall tend the sail, and who the helm, who shall founde, and who steere the Pumpe, who shall do this, and who shall do that. Iosephe with King Pharaoh kept by his countell the kings people from flartinge, a mean man and a stranger, pulled out of Prison, when he lay for a great crime, And Da- niell governed Chaldea better then all the Princes thee, and his servituce was more acceptable to the king, then all the rest: Marlochesus by the help of Heiler, kept Afferus from the foulest murder, that ever was deuoted, And yet he was but a mean man to be of a kinges coumell, being not only a stranger, but also fuche an abijet, as fatte at the kinges gate without our office, digne, countenance, or any estimaetion, yea and of fuche a stomache, as he woulde not stooue to the proudest of all the reafile. M. Haman, who was, domine factotum, VVhehich had like to have cost him the beloynte he caried aboute. Wherefore if meane men be called to that honoure: lette no manne repine at it. For sometime under a homeyle coate, lieth hidden muche treaure, and pure golde is founde among muche droffe, A wise man faith the Sa- lomon climeth vp into the cities, of the stronge and mightye, and destroieeth all the strengthe that he trutheth: to it I had but 10. Neftors, said Agamenon Troy could not stande longe. Considering then that
AN HARBOROVV FOR

remedie: it is a miserable case: but this will be the
help, first to flee to God, and lay on every side. In do
minos confido, quomodo dictis animae tuae transmigras in
montem factur paller. Our trust is in God, though the
French and Scots, and the devil himself had conspired
against our soueraigne, which is anima nostra, our life
and comfort. Shall we without God and policy, be
able to do at much for the preservation of our cou
try, as Philip of Macedon did with policy alone? who
coming to his kingdom as it were the first time,
then this vertuous lady doth to her, having the Il
lyrians, the Pehnians, the Thessalonyans, the Boeti
ans and the Athenians, in his neck, to vse the mat
ter by making peace with some, by leauing with oth
er, and by war with the rest, one after another, that
within III. yeares space, he gat again that his anc
tors had lost, and made all his enemies to stoupe, and
not long after became themperor of all Greece. In like
maner David entred into his kingdome, when the Phi
liffins had made a most extreame slaughter in Israel,
and killed king Saul, and his fones in the field, ad yet with
in a while, he recovered the looses, and had the better of
all his enemies round about him: So I doubt not, but
God shall tend this Judicre grace and power, to cut of
Holophernes head, and this Deborah to fauer her peo
ple, ad knock out Siercas brains, com he either out of
france, or out of scotland. But to much the inner: if all
men like true subjectes, put to their helping hande,
knowinge that it is theye quarrell as well as hers.

Come oye you bishops, away with your superflu
ities, yeeld vp your thousands, be conteynt with hundred
As they shewe.

FAITHFUL SUBJECTS.

Psal. 19.

Gen. 3.

Samuel
AN HARBOROVV FOR

as they be in other reformed Churches, where be as
greater learned men as you are. Let your portion be
priestlike and not prince-like. Let the Quene haue
the reit of your temporalities and other ladys to main-
tain the warres which you procured, and your mi-
sterie leit her, and with the reit to build and founde
scholes trow oute the realme: that every parfalie
church may haue his preacher, every City his super-
intendent to liue honestly and not pompously, whi-
che will never bee, onles your ladys be dispersel and
beinne vpon many, which now leadeth and fateth
but one. Remember that Abimelech, when David in
his banishment would haue dined with him, kept such
hospitality: that he had no bread in his house to give
him, but the Shew bread, was all his superfluity
to keepe your pretenced hospitalitie: for that is the
cause that you alledge, why you must haue thoulads
as though you were commaunded to keepe hospital-
itie, rather with a thousande, then with a hundred:
I would our country man VViceties boke which he
wrote de ecclesia, were in print, and thenshoulde you
see that your wrenches and caullations, benothing
worthe. It was my chancie to happen of it in one
hand that brought it out of Bohemia, Lay to youre
handes, you noble men, and rather sel a piece of your
enheritance to help the Quene, then by a little back-
wardnes to ventre all, and to be a proud French man,
your heir, or a Scot, the steward of your ladys, learn
you of anancet senaors of Rome, and let your wi-
uces, take example by theirs, to fette more by your
Prince, then your pomp, by your country, then by
your

FAITHFULL SUBJECTES.
your curiousitie and unflitting superfluitie in apparel,
dyet, and other vnucessaries. These Romanes of
whome I speake being striefed and almoast brought
to the laft caft, by the long and daungerous warres of
Hanibal, and the Frenche, did not only lyke louing
fathers to their countrey, bring in their mony and
goode, without hinching or pinching, to reliefe the
charges of their common wealt: But also partly by ho-
nest perswasion, and partly by their good example,
provoked the noble matrones their wiues, to bring in
theirow ooches, ringes, chaines, bracers, and other
jewelles, to be bestowed in the necessary defence of
their countrey. Oh you English ladys, learne here
rather to weare Romain haret, then Spanish knaks,
rather to help youre countrey, then hinder youre
husbades, to make your quene ryche for your defece
then your husbandes poore for your garish gaines.
If every one of you woulde but imploy your ringes
and chaines, or the price of your superfluous ruffes,
furres, fringes, and suche other trinkettes, vpon the
necessary defence of your countrey: I thinke you shoulde
make the quene much richer, & habler to mete with
your enemies, and your selues much the honestier, &
reddier to withstande Saran which this waye goeth
about to fift you. Leave of your pride & leave a good
example as the Romain ladys did to your posterite,
of love to your countrey, loyaltie to your quene, &
honestie towards God and man. Be liberal you Gent-
lemes & thinke it not inough to serue the quene with
your bodies, but helpe alio with your goodes. Suf-
fer not the Gentlemes of Fraunce to make you their
flaues,
AN HARBOROVV FOR
flaues. Some of you knowe what natured men they be, beware that the rest feele not. It wilbe a shame and to great a vilanie for you, which in all ages haue bene hable to holde their nose to the grindstone, nowe either for sparing of your goodes, which is niggardie, or fear of your liues, which is cowardie, to be their pezantes, whose lordees you Auncetors were. Looke to this geare you Lawyeres, which for a lytle speding of your breath in chatering in the Chancery, and common place: become the Lordees of your citie, and leave your sones so great liuelodes as thei be noble mens matches. Some in sport cal you drudges and not judges, but I thinke in god earneft that it is contrary that you make you and your lordees and al other drudges. In this your to greet gain forget not what you owe to your prince, by whose protection you have had leasure to study, & now time to plead. If your countrie be not kept in peace, your law wilbe little worth, neither your copees nor coiffes will ferue to any vfe. I would you could al finde in your hartes to be as liberal toward your prince as some of you have bene oflate to the orders of Friers. Bemo niggardes you marchaites of your gaine to releue the quene, for if you be: the vengeaunce of God wil come vppon your hurdes and baakes, the tractling Scot shal knocke out your chestes botoms, shal enjoy your machaundize, meece out your veluets and silkes, carry awaye your clothes, brenee your fayre houses, and rule in your citie of London, which the lord forbyd: In like maner you Farmers and Franklins, you yomen and riche Cobbes, abroad with your rustie ryals & your.

To the marchaunts

Ishob. 5.

old Angels, which you hould vp: for the ruffle of the shalbe to your condempnacié, because you couteously kepe Gods creatures fro their true vfe, wherfore thei were made. They are called curraite & not lepaunt. Help your courtrey with the, let the quene have part of the, that you may peaceaunce enjoy the rest, wherfore hould yon them vp, and for whom? Thesauruzas necte cogeris. I am sure your meaning is thereby to leaue your sones and heires, lades and postellios, pastures wel stord, houses wel furnished, and honest fons of money to marry your doughters. But if thou best not liberal towards the defence of thy coutry: who shal be thine heire? The pocky frenche man and the scoryg Scot: thyne olde gold shalbe caried away into Fraunce, thy sone and thou shalt be made gally Flaues. And where thou thinkest to marry thy daugh ter richely: thou shalt see both hir and hir mother deified before thy face miserably. Thy fones heritaunce shalbe chaines in the gally, therwith he shal be fettered, a whippe vpon his bare kinne, if the row not to the death, and an horfe lofe and water for his dayly dyet. Oh thyneke vpon this, thyneke vpon it, you houlders and hyders of Gods creatures. Lette not that muckle of the molde, those rustye Royalles be dearer to you, then your courtrey, your Quene, your wyte, and children, your owne bodies and liues. What a spyte were it, that you shoulde be the Treasurers of your mortall foes, that you shoulde keepe for them to carry awaye, and hyde from your Quene to encyche the robber. And you husbands men which haue Gods plenty, aboundance of his
blessings. Sticke not to helpe your natural cuntrey so muche as you can. God is benificiall vnto you, be not unthankfull to his chefe minifter. For like as the springs and brookes renne into the sea: so must all mens travaile tourne to the defence of his cuntrey. If the springs should withstand their water; at the last the sea shuld lacke. So if every one of you hold back your hid; what shall become of your cuntrey & next of your seines? The Philosophers say that the sonne draweth vp the moistnes of the water in the sea, and therof maketh the cloudes whiche after according to the wille of God, be caried ouer all the face of the earth to water it, & of that water, which commeth from the cloudes, riseth the springs and ryuers, so that neither the sea can be without the springs, nor the springs without the cloudes, nor the cloudes without the sea. Lo what a mutuat contributio here is in helping one an other. In like maner if you yelden not to the defece of your cuntrey, parte of your frutes; it shalbe ouerrinne for lacke of helpe with your enemies, and what shal then become of you? If you yelden freehly to your head, she shalbe hable by Gods grace to defend you with her foudriers, so that you may care in hope, fow in suerte, repe with ioyce, and eate with plentie. Is not this sea of yours, your cuntrey and quene, by many meanes fuddled driethynke you? Is it a Small charge to maynteyne a number of flippes against the Franches that they have no leaure to lande in Engelande, and inade you? To maynteyne an armie in the borders, to keepe the cuntrey from burnyage and spoylynge? What saye you to the buyldeynge of block houses by the seas side, the prouisi of harness, gunnes, and weapons for the warre, to the kepinge about her, a great couflel of women to defend your welth and safegard, to the sendinge embassadors hythe and thither, with a thousand more charges, whiche wer to long to reckon. From whence must thy come? but from the frutes of the earth, which by quietnes you gather; and without her defence you must lose. Oh you count it a great matter, to geue 3 or 4 shillings in the pound. Oh England, England, thou knowest not thine own welth; because thou feest not other countries penury. Oh if thou lawest the pezantes of Fraunce, howe they are scraped to the bones, ad what extremeties they suffer: thou woldest think thine self blessed (as in dede thou art) which haftne rather fathers and mothers to thy gouernour, then Kings or Queenes. The husbandman in Fraunce, al that he hath gotten in his whole life, loseth it vpon one day. For when fo euer they haue warre (as they are neuer without it) the kings fouldiers enter into the poore mans houte, eateth and drinketh vp al that euer he hath, geueth their horse his corn, so longe as it lasteth, without paying a farthing, and neuer departeth fo long as there is any thing left in the hous. This was the maner: but this king hathe amended it with the warre, for his fouldiers come not thither, but his takehels offiiclers, which pare them even to the bones, the poore man neuer goeth to the market, handled, to sel any thing; but he payeth a tolle, almost the half of that he selleth: he eateith neither pigge, gofe, capo, nor hen: but he must pay as much for the tribute of P. 3. How thy frenche,
it there, as it might be bought for here: h. Ovnappy and miserable men that liue vnder this yoke. In Italy they say it is not much better, the hus band men be there so rich, that the best coate he weareth is lacing, his nether stockes of his hofe, be his owne skin, his diet and fare not very coyly, for he commeth to the market with a hene or two in one hande, and a dozen egges in a nette in the other, which beynge tolde, he buyth and carryth home wyth him, no Bife or Mutton, Veale or Sea fishe, as you do: but a quart of oyle to make fallettes of hearbes, whereith he liueth all the wyke followinge. And in Germanie though the be in some better cafe then other: yet eat thei more rotes then flesh. For what chere doer they haue besides, they are frec of rotes and spinckinge hearbes, which they call crowne. Thus the men liue and thinke them selues happy; if thei may haue enough of this. Now compare them with thee: and thou shalt see howe happy thyounte, They eat hearbes and thou Beeve and Mutton. Thei rotes: and thou butter, chete, and eggges. Thei drink commonly water: and thou good ale and beare. Thei go from the market with a taller: ad thou with good flethe fill thy wallete. They lightely never see anye sea fishe: and thou hast thy belly full of it. Thei paye till their bones rattle in their skin: and thou layest vp for thy lomme and heir. Thou art wife or thrife in thy lif time called vpon to heale pthy Countrie, with a subside or contribution: and they daily pay and neuer ceafe. Thou liueth like a Lorde, and they like dogges. God defende vs from the feling of their misery.

FAITHFUL SUBJECES.

misery. I am a fraied our grutching and groaning, will make vs to taste of this boot, as it must needs come to passe, if thy head haue not wherewith to defende the thee: will be the frutes of thy disobedience VVc liue in paradise, England is the paradise and not Italy, as commonly they call it. For they have ffighes, Oranges, Pomgranates, Grapes, Pepions, Oyle, and herbes: and we haue Shepe, Oxen, Kic, Calues, Coines, Fists, Wool, Leade, Clothe, Tinne, Leather, and infinite treasures more, which they lacke. VVc haue plenty of all thinges: and they feares of all thinges. Oh if thou knewest thou English man in what welth thou liueth, and in howe plentiful a Countrie: Thou wouldest, vi times of the day fall on thy face before God, and geue him thakses, that thou wast born an English man, and not a French pezant, nor an Italian, nor Almanck. If thou bestie not thankfull to God, and liberall to thy Quene and Countrie: the poor pezante of Fauence, shall enjoye thy wealth: and leere howe happye thou art, and thou shalt taste of his miserye to knowe howe vnhappy he is. The Frenche shal teache thee to eat rotes and Acornes: feinge thou canst not finde in thy harte to doe thy dutie, to them that mainetaine thy wealth, Thou muste learne to drincke water, if thou comest vnder thy yoke, and spare thy Barly and Ootes, for his great horses. The Scottes in frite of vs, haue the folye made him their head: but they shal tell me or it be of the long, how wisely they haue deale, hauer cake will Scottes, be good manchet with the within a while. God that defended his children of Israel from the Amalechits.
AN HARBOROVV FOR

the Palestines, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and all the rest of their enemies defend us from the hauey and misery of that proude nacyon, that cruel people, and tyrannous rulers. Furthermor for the sauegard of your country, if you be called to the warres, grutchte not nor grone not at it: go with good willies and lusty courages, rather to mete them in the field, the to tarry til they come hom to you, and hang you at your owne gates. Play not the milk foppe in making curry, who shal go first: but shew your felues true Englishmen in readines, courage, and boldness: and be ashamed to be the last, feare neither trench, nor Scot. For first you haue God, and all his army of angels on your side: you haue right and truth, and secten to do them wronge, but to defend your owne right. Think not that God will suffer you to be soyled at their handes, for your fall is his dishonour, if you lose the victory: he must lose the glory. For you fight not only in the quarrel of your country: but also and chieflye in the defence of his true religion, and of his deare sonne Christe, not against men of the saame religion, which might make theuent doubtfull, but against his enemies, Anntichristes enemies, the Turkes confederates, etchnikes, Idolaters, and very hellhounds, if there were nothing els to prouoke gods fury and extreme vengance aginst that turkis Valerius the french tirante: but that he roigneth him felie in league wyth Christies sworn enemy the Turke: were it not enough to kindle, yea to enflame the wrath of God against him: is he a king or a deuel, a christian or a lucifer, that bi his cursed

cursed confederacie to encourageth the Turke, that he nowe dare be bolde to venter vpon Polonia, a Christian realme, which hath receiued the gospel. And that way to come into Germany. Oh wicket cattles, and herbrand of hell, which for thincreasings of his pompe and way glory (which he shall not long enioye) will betray Christ and his croos, to his mortall enemy. Oh foolish Germans which le not their owne vndoing, Which conpire not together with the rest of christen Princes, to pull out suche a tray-tour to God and his kyngdome by the cares oute of France, and exchange against the sonne adying.
The deuill hath none other of his fylde nowe, but him to maintayne the spirituall and the temporeall Anntichriste, the Pope and the Turke: GOD can not longe suffer this, though he wynte a while at his wretchednes, and suffre him to scourge vs and other, vntil we knowe our felues: And after undesemedly he will pull his feathers, he will coole his courage, as he did Nabuchadnezzer, and others whose example he followeth: wherefore let he hath foraken God lyke an Aposite, and tolde him selue to the deuell, let vs not doubt but God wilbe with vs against him: when ever he shall seke to wrong vs, and I trust wilbe nowe in the latter age of the worldthe his myght in cuttynge of this proude Holophernes head, by the hande of our Judith: Oh blessed is that man that lofeth his lyfe against suche Termagaunt: yea more bleassed shall they be that sconde their lyues against hym, then against his great maister the Turke: for the Turke neuer vnderstode the croos of Christ,
AN HARBOROVVE FOR.

of Christe, but this Iulian Apositate, is named a de-
uelles name: Christianifimus. And is in the very
harte of Christendome: and lyke a traitorous Sar-
cene is Christes enyme. Secondly what people be
they with whom we shall matche: are they Giaunts,
are they conquerours, or monarks of the world: No
good Englishe man they be effeminate Frenchmen:
Stoute in bragge, but nothing in dede. They be such
as you have al ways made to take their heles, They
be your faules and tributaries: whose Castels, Cy-
tie, and townes, you have possesed, whose armies
you have not ones but 500 tymes disfigured, whose
noble men you have manfully killed, spoyle thy coun-
trey, burnt their cities, taken their kynges, and
crowned your owne, in the chiefest cytie of their do-
mination, as their owne histories do testifie. Remem-
ber our ancetors victorie at Crauntum, at Ver-
nolium, about Amias, in the borders of Normandy,
at Crelliacum, at Dagincourt, when some tyme they
killed, 2000, some tyme, 3000. VVhen they had in
the field against us to helpem them the king of Bo-
heme, the kyng of Scottes, the kyng of Naure, the
Duke of Lotharinge, the Duke of Flaunderes, and
26. fraunge earles. Yet their histories doo confesse
that we have forer handled them: then euery the Ro-
maines were able to doo. At this daye the Germanes
that come home out of their warres faye: That the
Francois are more afraide of the Englyshe then of a-
ny nacion: And it is no maruaile, for we have the-
row Gods help ever had the better of the: Only this
was our faulte, which was also Hanniballes, that we
could
could not conqueare them when we lyfte: but we could
not win the victorie, in kepyng that we hadde got,
whiche was oure negligence and not lacke of man-
hode. In our tyme what good fortune have we had
again: them? Howe dyd Kyng Henry the eyght
Scourge them? In his youthe, wanne Turwyn and
Turney, and in his age Bulloigne, Blacknest, Newe
haune, Tholde man, and all that countrey. VVhen
durst these meaccoke mete vs in the field: or if they
did: went they not weepyng as away? This courage
was in our Ancetors, that they thought it a sport
to warre with the Frenche men: They contemple
them as diffe cloutes: and shall we fear them as co-
quorers? They invaded them in their owne cou-
trye: and shall we suffer them to bragg vs at our
own gates? Thei haue left vs this glory for our enhe-
ritance: and that not we leave it to our posterite? It
hath ben al ways fayd of Thenglishmen yet is (as of
the Ombri) that either they will wyinne or they will
die, Oh shall we suffer this honour to be taken from
vs in our dayes? Shall not we leave it a well to our
children: as our progenitors left it to vs? Tussfe feare
neither their horle nor their gynnes: For when they
have the seus at their backes, in stead of their foxe
holes, whereto they al ways crepe, and the black byll
at their nozes, our arrowes in their sides, and English
més lokes in their eies: they wilbe so perplexed that
they can not tel where to wynde the. Then remember
that for this, 110 yeares our ancetors have fouerged
the, & kept this noble yle spite of the devil & them,
Saying that VVilliam of Normady crept in among
Q 2

FAITHEVLL SYBIECTES,

could not conquer them when we lifted; but we could
not win the victory, in keeping that we had got,
which was our negligence and not lack of man-
hold. In our time, what good fortune had we had
again? How did King Henry the eighth
Scourge them? In his youth, Wanne Turwyn and
Turney, and in his age Bulloigne, Blacknest, Newe
haune, Tholde man, and all that country. When
dared these meacocks meet us in the field, or if they
did: went they not weeping away? This courage
was in our Ancestors, that they thought it a sport
to war with the French men. They contemplated
them as different classes: and shall we fear them as con-
querrors? They invaded them in their own country:
and shall we suffer them to brag us at our
own gates? They had left us this glory for our inheritance:
and shall not we leave it to our posterity? It
had always been said of Englishmen, yet is (as of
the Ombri) that either they will win or they will
die. Oh shall we suffer this honour to be taken from
us in our days? Shall not we leave it well to our
children, as our predecessors left it to us? Thus fear
neither their hurls nor their guns: For when they
have the seas at their backs, instead of their fox holes,
wherein they always creep, and the black bird
at their noses, our arrows in their sides, and English
missiles in their eyes: they will be so perplexed that
they cannot tell where to wind the. Then remember
that for this, 110 years our Ancestors had scourged
the, and kept this noble island, despite the devil and them,
saying that William of Normandy crept among

The common report of the English.
AN HARBOROUE FOR

Tilins polyd.

VVe be the Saxós potentiæ.

vs through the cyuill warre of twoo brethren, He- rald and Tofton. And yet what did he? He lette his po- lletie to reigne, which were rather by this time turned to be Englyshe: then the noble Englyshe, to be- come Frenche, as our tonge and maners at this daye declareth, which differeth very little from our

Auncetors the valuaunt Saxones. VVe have a tewe hunting termes and pedlars Frenche in the loutye lawe, brought in by the Norman, yet remainging:

But the language and customes bee Englyshe and Saxonysh. I can not tell what Frenche bloude is left. But if there be any Frenche harres, I woule they hadde to it the Mall Francos, which is their countrymens inheritance: Betides this you have the pidling Scottes, which are always Frenche for their lyues. So we have had them always, we never had to doo with the one, but we hadde the other bufy against vs. For they have bene and are to vs as the Phylstines, Jebuithes, Amalechites, &c. were to Gods people pricks and thorns in our fydes, to kepe vs from pryde, or as the Samnites, were to the Romaines rather to exercise vs in warres, then that they were ouer hable to doo vs any displeasure: how ofte have we inuaded them, enu to the harte of their country, made notable slauthers, killed thier kynge, take thier nobles, and did in maner what we lft: our victories of late days as Flodó field, Muffelborough field, Saint Catherines daye and other, declare that our borders nede more to leare the scathing of thier cattel: the any inuadig of our contrie, And that when to they truft most: shalbe theyr greatest coustio, and our greatest

FAITHFUL SUBJECTS.
greatest helpe. I mean the coming in of the Fréch men into their contrie. For neither the begerlines of the land, wilbe able to fede the fine mouthed Fréch men, nor the nature of the Scotts can long fuller their yoke, and to wyll they together by the care. Thus have we nothing to dismay vs, but al thyng to encor- rage vs, God to fight for vs, the strength of our land and the courage of our men, the goodnes of the foyle, to geue vs to maintaine warre, the wekeenes of our ene- mies, ouer whom we have rained, and triumphed, the ryght of the quarrel, And to conclude all likelyhode of victory to make vs rather to conten the then fear them. Wherefore, if thou beft a man: shrinke not, If thou beft a good Subject, feke no excuses. As one did, when a Noble man mutterd his men towards Bolloigne. One, among the rest, which defired to ta- ry at home, either because thei had some dizease, or wer in some part lame, or had some such impediment being that diuers wer executed, defired that he might tary at home also. Nay faith the noble man, thou art a tall fellow, young and lufty, hable to the King for uice, thou must nedes go. Alas fy quod he, I have an impediment, I cannot go. Vhat is that layd the no- ble man. Mary my hart faileth me fy, quod he. Yea faith the noble man, is that thy impediment, in dide thou canst not have a wurtle. But I wyll remede the othar with an haltepeny halter, if there be no other helpe. Suche whyte liuered my like toppes be no true Englysh, for thei lacke tholdé Englyshe harres.

Q.3., in for
AN HARBOROVV FOR

Our duty of obedience.

Our duty in forwardness, and helping her both with our goods and bodies, when need is, every man in his calling. If we do not: we first provoke God's wrath agaynst vs, to pour downe his vengeance vpon vs, either by ficknes and plagues, or by opening the mouth of the earth, and hell to swallowe vs, to the dungeon of damnation, as Corah, Dathan and Abiram, or to send vs a tiram, in stead of a louing Queene and mother to raighe ouer vs: or by turning the hart of the prince through our vnkindnes, churlishnes, and rebellion, from vs. That where as she loued vs, and trusted vs; she must be greeued and suspete vs. And what provokes Princes to belyons, and seuere, yea maketh them tyrants? but the frowardnes, the churlishnes, the kicking and disobedience of the vnatural subjectes, as Thucydides fayth of Harmodius, and Aristogeiton, which by the coward ye kyllinge of Hipparchus made Hippias to be a traitor, thei would do the lyke to him. And therupon gather about hym, cut his subjectes shorter, gave them lesse libertie, threw them the lesse loue, ioyned him selfe with other kinges, to make him strong, made harder lawes. Where as before he ruled courteously, brake no olde lawes, nor vexed them not. The frowardnes of the people is a great matter to alienate the princes mynde from them: wherefore, if thou wilt haue a good kyng or Queene: play ye thou the good subject. And if the best nature enclined to clemencie: provoke them not to fury, If thei be not: rather study to swyne them by obedience, then to exasperate them by Rebellion. It is for the symmes of the people that God

FAITHFUL SUBJECTES.

God suffereth tyrantes to reign. For if the people did their dutie; God would rewarde them with mercy: By disobedience to thy head, what gaineft thou? but fyft as I say, God's wrath, next thy rulers displeasure which as Solomon faith is death. 3. Trouble of thine owne mynd, while thou kickest agaynst the prince, Then the danger of thy country, in that by thy disobedience, thou openest gate, to let in thy common enemy, both to thy countries and thine owne vndying. Thou provokes thy prince to hedges in, with many lawes, which is fyft thy defeete, and after thy hurt. For as Arcephius sayd, where there be manye Phisicians and Poticaries: it is a signe there be manye disaes: So wher be many lawes: it is a toke of much disobedience. Laff of all, thou art sure, if God punisheth the not here: yet shall thou not go scott free in the world to come. Loke vp the Iewes at this day, who for their rebellious and vnquiet nature, are scattered abrode in the world, their cities destroyed, their countries desolate, and their name abhorred. And who redeeth Iosephus that se, that it could not be otherwise. For there was never vnder the fayne such a rebellious people. I graunt that the chefe caufe was, the refall of Christ, but God punished that sine with a noother by sending them vnbusome hartes, wherbi thei might purchase their owne destruction. As it came to passe at the lat, to the terror of all rebellious and feitious nations. That made Sicilia that noble ile to be fo toiled and turmoiled, as it was: First betwixt the old Atheniens the Iacedemonsians and after the Romans and Iarthagens: but disconde.
AN HARBOUR OF VV\n
Scic lia, discord among them selves, and disobedience to their rulers: what made the romans to lose to ouerthrow Greece: but that manye cities relieued to be governed by the Atheniens and some other by the Macedoniens and others by other, so that it was an easie matter to win those countries, by citiull warre and disobedience had lost and vndon them selves: what made either Dane or Normand to sette his foe in this noble realm: but werines in the subiectes of their own natural rulers, and malicious desire to have innovations: This hath ben the vndoing of all countries to be loth to obey, and readye to rebel. Contrariwise where good concorde, and brotherly vntriste, where loyaltye and obedience is: there must needs bee a sure state, as Solon being asked what preferred a common wealth, answered when the subiectes obey the magistrates, and the magistrates the lawes. This ha\n
Thucyd. what prefereth commonvel\n

The call of the federa\n

English coquered by discord

FAITHFULL SUBJETTES.

be poure vpon vs, VVe shall lyue in peace both of bodie and mynde, with leytere and libertie to serve God freely, wthoute feare of themmes to encombre vs in our possessions, or deadly of Antichrist to vvere our confience, Our land shall have Raine and sunshine in dewe season, our cornes and frutes shall prosper, our cattell and goodes shall increase, our bodie shall be without diseases, our myndes quiet with out crosse, our wifes shall not be barte, our childer no vntrites, our seruants no luyetours, no pickers, our neigbourk no enoues but louinge, our couneffours wyfe and prudet, our men of warre crougers, our preachers faithfull and not lordlyke, our lawyers not courteous, our iustices not bribares, our lordes and noble men no fooles, our officers no hadd\nmakers, and our governors not tyranttes. For where as God saith elles Dabo vobis regem in ira mea. I will gene them a kyng when I am angry, to anger them: He shall then maye to the contrary, Confittam super illos vnflamm meum qui regnabit inter illos in aeternum. I wyll apoint them a prince that they shall never bee verry of, nor that shal deale with them vncreauely. Do you not heare how lametably your natural mo\nth your countrey of England, callye vpon you for obedieses saying, Oh, remember remember my deare chil\ndren in what case you stade, your enemies be roid about you, lyke unfaceaile ravenous to pluck mete\nyou, to cast you out of my lap where I haue this 150 yeres lyke a faithful mother nourished you, a tyme sufficient for me I trowe to know you, & you me, I ha\nue bene and am glad of you, I delight and reioyce in R you
AN HARBOROVV FOR

you, above all other peoples. In declaració wherof I have always spued out & cañt to me Danes, Frêche, Norwegias, and Scottes. I could brooke none of thé for the tender loue that I bare vnto you, of whom I have my name, I never denied to minister to you my singular commodities, which God hath lent me to you, as come and eatell, lande and pasteure, wull and cloth, lead and tynne, shele & filse, gold and siluer,
and all my other treasures: I have pourd them out among you, and enriched you about all your neighbours about you: which make them to enue you, & count me. Besides this God hath brought forth in me, the greatest and excellent treasure that he hath, for your comfort and all the worldes. He would that out of my wombe should come that servant of his your brother Ihô VVyclele, who begate Huisse, who begat Luther, who begat truth. VVhat greeter honor could you or I haue, then that it pleased Christ as it were in a second birth to be borne againe of me among you: And wilt you now suffer me, or rather by your disobedience purchase me, to be a mother withoute my children, and to be made the nurse of a forre of insidious Idolaters and Turkes? Can I abide to be without you, or can you be content to be without me? Oh God grant that I never se the day that the basterdly brode of ambytious frenche men, eate and enjoy the frutes which I prepare for you my deare children: Lette me rather fastifie my thriste with their eminiate bloud, then they should pluck from you my motherly breastes: Sticke to your mother, as the sticke

FAITHFULL SUBJESTES.

sticke to you. Let me keepe in quiet and seede as I have done your wyues, your children, and your kinfolkes: Obey your mistres and mine which God hath made lady ouer vs, bothe by nature and lawe. You can not be my children, if you be not her subjestes: I will none of you, if you will none of hir. If you loue me you can not hate hir, as my hope is you doo not: if you obey her, honour hir, and love hir, be you assurde that I will not tyle you at your neede, with any of my good frutes that you can requeire: I will fill your bofomes and your mouthes, your wyues, and your children, with plenty. And if your enemies come against you, I will found to terible against them, that their harten shall tyle them to come of the Seas and treade vpon me. I will nor suffer so vyle a nacion to remayne quietly, or to have any fortique in me: wherefore as a frende I exhort you, and as a mother require you (my dere Englyth children,) to knyt your selues together with brotherly loue, and with vnfained obedience, to defende me and my gouernelle against thofe your auncient enemies, which euer were in feare of you and yet be. It they attempte any thing against me, playe the men, and honour me with the sacrifice of their heads and carcasses. Then shall I thynke that you beene no mungtelles but the trewe posteritie of my auncient children the olde English me, which by their valiantesse made me lady of Fraunce, and gouernelle of all their chefectytes, follow your fathers steps, & defend your mothers honour. Be no slaves where you have R 2 bene lorties,
FAITHFUL SUBJECTS,

we cannot kick, but we must be God's enemies, false subjects, and Satan's servants.

Let us take to requite her with thankfulness, which studieth to keep us in quietnes. Let us dayly call to God with lifted up hearts and hands, for her protection and long life: that she may many years carry the sword of our defence, and there with cut off the head of that Hydra, the Antichrist of Rome, in such fort as never grow again in this realme of England: that God's glory maye flowe, good men's confidence may be reft, this noble Realme in honor, & the Queen's Majestie in long felicity, which God graunt.

Amen.