



## **Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin**

### **Copyright statement**

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

### **Liability statement**

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

### **Access Agreement**

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.



THE LIBRARY,  
TRINITY COLLEGE,  
COLLEGE STREET,  
DUBLIN 2,  
IRELAND

---

THIS THESIS MAY BE READ ONLY  
IN THE LIBRARY



accepted for Ph.D.



19/2/58

Preface

Chapter I

I. Travers as a student in Geneva p.1.

II. Geneva and the Neoscholastic Disciplines p.37.

Walter Travers and the presbyterian movement

prior to the Westminster Assembly

IV. Substitute Master of the Temple Church p.113.

1581-85 by

V. The Hooker - Travers controversy p.203.

VI. The presbyterian editor, author and

S.J. Knox.

moderator 1598-99 p.249.

VII. Provostship of Trinity College,

Dublin 1594-98

VIII. Final years in obscurity 1598-1635 p.405.

IX. Travers's influence and importance p.449.

Sources: I. Primary Sources

( A thesis presented to the University of  
Dublin in application for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy , October 1957 )

II. Secondary Sources

(a) Works of Reference p.57.

(b) General Works p.58.

(c) Special Studies p.59.



## Contents

Preface	p.i.
<u>Chapters</u>	
I. Travers as a student in Cambridge	p.I.
II. Geneva and the <u>Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae</u> ..... <u>Explicatio</u>	p.32.
III. The Antwerp ministry	p.68.
IV. Substitute Master of the Temple Church 1581-85	p.II8.
V. The Hooker - Travers controversy	p.203.
VI. The presbyterian editor, author and moderator 1586 - 93	p.249.
VII. Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin 1594-98	p.354.
VIII. Final years in obscurity 1598-1635	p.405.
IX. Travers's influence and importance	p.449.
<u>Sources:I.Primary Sources</u>	
(a) Manuscript	p.522.
(b) Printed	
(i) Records	p.524.
(ii)Contemporary Works	p.526.
<u>II.Secondary Sources</u>	
(a) Works of Reference	p.532.
(b) General Works	p.533.
(c) Special Studies	p.540.

## Illustrations

1. Bridesmith Gate, Nottingham p. 2.
2. Title page of the Explicatio p. 44.
3. Title page of the copy of the Explicatio in St. Andrews University p. 65.
4. Title page of An Answer to a Supplicatorie Epistle p. 162.
5. The Temple Church p. 209.
6. Title page of A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline p. 306.
7. Plan of Trinity College, Dublin p. 368.
8. Title page of Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae p. 435.



If it is true that 'the most important single factor in shaping the course of history in the sixteenth century was the factor of religion',<sup>(1)</sup> it is equally true that in England the most important element in her religion was puritanism. The latter was an influence which was most vigorous and deeply penetrating in that it sought to purify not only the church but the whole nation. But of all the different developments within puritanism itself, that generally known as presbyterianism was politically the most dangerous, and intellectually<sup>(2)</sup> the most difficult to answer. Thomas Carlyle went so far as to claim that the presbyterian movement was 'the most interesting phasis which the reformation anywhere assumes' and he adds:

In Luther's own country Protestantism soon dwindled into a rather barren affair ..... but in our island there arose a Puritanism which even got itself established as Presbyterian and National Church among the Scotch .... and has produced in the world very notable fruit. In some senses, one may say, it is the only phasis of Protestantism that ever got to the rank of being a Faith, a true heart communication with Heaven and of exhibiting itself as such; and history will have something to say about this Puritanism for some time to come.

(1) C.Read, Mr.Secretary Walsingham, ii.258.

(2) On Heroes, p.133.

(I)

Fuller in considering the rise of the presbyterian movement in England makes this characteristic statement: 'Allowing Mr Cartwright for the Head, Mr Walter Travers might be termed the neck of the Presbyterian party'. The 'Head' has already been given a very full consideration by the late Professor A.F. S. Pearson<sup>(2)</sup>, but (as the latter<sup>(3)</sup> said) a life of Travers is long overdue. Pearson also in the preface to his work on Cartwright mentioned the need for a 'treatment of the relationship between the movement led by Cartwright and the Westminster Assembly'.

This thesis is an attempt to meet this double need, and its object is to study the life and work of Travers in the setting of English presbyterianism from its origin in Calvin's Auditorium in Geneva to its culmination in Westminster Abbey, London.

- (1) Church History, iii. 28.  
 (2) Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism (1925).  
 (3) 'Puritan and Presbyterian settlements in Ireland', p.23.

## Chapter I

### Travers as a student in Cambridge

The Travers family.....	p.1.
Religious situation on Elizabeth's accession.....	p.7.
Cambridge in 1560.....	p.12.
Trinity College, Cambridge.....	p.14.
Queen's visit to the university in 1564.....	p.18.
Puritanism in Cambridge.....	p.24.
Travers's expulsion from his college.....	p.28.

CHAPTER ITravers as a student in Cambridge

Nottingham county produced only two outstanding protestant reformers in the sixteenth century. One was Thomas Cranmer, <sup>(1)</sup> born within the county, and the other, Walter Travers whose home was in the capital itself. The <sup>(2)</sup> father of the latter, also called Walter, was a goldsmith <sup>(3)</sup> whose name is found in 1544 in the Subsidy Rolls as living in 'Brydelsmyth Gate within ye towne of Notyngnam'. Bridlesmith Gate, which can still be seen, is reckoned to be one of the oldest streets in this ancient city which <sup>(4)</sup> dates back to pre-Roman times. In medieval Deeds the <sup>(5)</sup> street is referred to as 'vicus lorimeriorum', and was regarded as an important centre for merchandise and industry: 'In Bridlesmith Gate nought was heard save the

- (1) T. Fuller, Worthies, ii. 207.
- (2) See will of Travers's father in Appendix II.
- (3) Notes and Queries, 3rd Ser. v. 27. W. M. Brady (Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, i. 352) gives a long history of a Travers family in Cork who came from Bristol and claims that Walter Travers, son of Zachery and brother of John, 'was the second Provost of Trinity College, Dublin'. This is obviously incorrect in view of the family connection mentioned in the wills of Walter Travers and his father (Appendices II and III). The same error occurs in G. L. Craik, Spenser and his Poetry, iii. 250.
- (4) W. H. Wylie, Old and New Nottingham, p. 12.
- (5) This information was supplied by the archivist of Nottingham city.



Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham

as it was until the Nineteenth Century.

( Photograph reproduced by the kind permission of  
J. H. Walker, Esq, M.B.E., F.S.A., F.R Hist. Soc.  
Secretary of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire)

J. H. Walker, Esq,  
Nottingham, P. O. Box 100,  
for the keeping of  
Crosswell in 1838 and  
were not regularly visited

perpetual beating of iron and the blowing of bellows. (1)  
 Here Travers's father settled probably a little before  
 1544, since there is no mention of the name (2)  
 among any of the city records prior to that year. He apparently  
 spent all his life in Nottingham, since he is mentioned  
 in the Subsidy Rolls (3) for 1571 and his will, (4)  
 dated 1575, was made there also. Afterwards the family con-  
 nections with the city can be traced into the early years  
 of the next century. (5)

As the earliest recorded baptism in any parish in  
 Nottingham is in 1568, (6) the year of Travers's birth  
 has been regarded, up to the present, as a matter of

- (1) Wylie, p. 45.
- (2) The origin of the actual name is 'de Trevieres,' from Treviers near Bayeur and Caen. This spelling of the name continued in Normandy until about the middle of the 12th century, when it generally became Travers. Sometimes it is Traverse, Travis or Traves. (Norman People, p. 422).
- (3) P.R.O. 13th Eliz. E/179/160/208.
- (4) Appendix II.
- (5) In 1613 there was mention made of one who was taken into 'a tenement nere White Rentes by Mr Langford in jure Travers.' The White Rentes were a charitable property in Hounds Gate, not very far from Bridle-smith Gate. See Records of the Borough of Nottingham, iv. 313.
- (6) J. T. Godfrey, Notes on Parish Registers of St. Mary's Nottingham, p. 3. Although there had been injunctions for the keeping of baptismal records published by Cromwell in 1538 and repeated in 1547 and 1558, these were not regularly observed. See Godfrey, p. vi.

(1) speculation. But an examination of the records of Christ's College, Cambridge, shows that his age was given as 12<sup>(2)</sup> when he was admitted in 1560, so that with some certainty 1548 can be regarded as his year of birth. Walter was the eldest in his family which consisted of one daughter, Anne, named after her mother and four sons, Walter, Robert, John and Humphrey.<sup>(3)</sup> Robert matriculated<sup>(4)</sup> into Christ's College, Cambridge, the year after Walter, and like the latter migrated to Trinity College, where he became a scholar in 1563 and B.A. two years later. In 1567 he was made a fellow of Trinity, graduated M.A., and became known as the author of several theological<sup>(5)</sup> and controversial works. He died in Geneva in 1575. John graduated at Oxford in 1570 and was presented to the rectory of Faringdon, Devon, which he held until his death. He married a sister of the renowned Richard Hooker, who will appear later as the great rival and theological opponent of Walter. There were four sons to this marriage.<sup>(6)</sup> Walter's youngest brother, Humphrey, was the third member of the family to enter Cambridge.

(1) D.N.B. J. Peile, Biographical Register of Christ's College, i. 73.

(2) Matriculation Register, Year 1560.

(3) See Family Tree in Appendix IV.

(4) J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, i. 261.

(5) B. M. Add. MS 33271, ff. 41-2. (See Appendix I).

(6) See Appendix IV.

He matriculated in 1567, graduated B.A. from Corpus Christi College in 1570/71, and became M.A. three years later. <sup>(1)</sup> In 1579 he was ordained priest at Lincoln,

and was later vicar of North and South Grantham in Lincolnshire. He married but left no male descendants. <sup>(2)</sup>

That all four sons were able to have university education would indicate that their father was a man of some means, and this would appear to have been the case, since at his death he was able to bequeath to his wife and children both lands and tenements. <sup>(3)</sup> His will however reveals something of the character of the man as well as his property. Being of a generous nature he did not forget the poor of Nottingham, for they are to receive a yearly payment to be distributed by his sons, Walter and John. But the most significant part of this last will and testament is its expression of deep religious feeling. The preamble states:

First and before all thinges I commende me into the hands of oure Lorde, who haste created and redeemed me, beschinge the most humblye, for Jesus sake, pardon and forgiveness of all my synes; assuringe myself also undoubtedlie, as trustinge to thy promeys, O Lorde, which cannot deceave, that, altho' I be in my selfe most unworthie of thy Grace, yet for that Jesus Christe, thoue wylte receive

(1) Venn, op. cit., i. 261.

(2) Notes and Queries, 3rd ser. v. 27.

(3) Appendix II.



me to the, not accomptinge to me my synnes for which he hathe suffered, and fully satisfied this Justice alredie, but imputing to me, of thie fre grace and mercie, that holynes and obedience which he hathe performed, to thie moste perfecte lawe, for all those that shoulde beleve in hime, and come unto the, in his name. Withe faithe, O Lorde, seinge that of thy goodnes thoue haste wrought and planted in me, by the preachinge of the hollie gospell, I stedfastelie hope for the performance of thy promyse, and everlastinge liffe in Jesus Christe.

If this be taken as a confession of faith, then the father of Walter Travers was as puritan in his doctrinal beliefs as his Genevan-trained son. From such expressions as 'thie free grace and mercie' and 'the preachinge of the hollie gospell' - plainly echoes of Calvinism - one gets a glimpse into the piety and religious zeal which was found in the Travers household.

With regard to the early education of the young Travers nothing is known, but it is very probable that he may have attended the Free Grammar School, the only school in Nottingham at that time. It was founded in 1513 in Stoney Street by Agnes Mellers and supported by her family in her memory. <sup>(1)</sup> One of her sons

actually left the proceeds of a house in the street where the Travers family lived, Bridlesmith Gate, to the school. At any rate, Walter's early education in Nottingham was sufficient to enable him to enter the University of Cambridge at the age of 12 in the year

(1) T. Bailey, Annals of Nottingham, i. 366-372.

1560.

It will be easily seen that his entrance on academic study coincided with a most critical time in the history of England, and no student at Cambridge could have been unaware of its momentous nature. G. M. Trevelyan has summed up the importance of Elizabeth's reign in these  
(1)  
words:

When she came to the throne the bulk of the people halted between a number of opinions, and the anti-catholic party still consisted of anti-clericals as much as Protestants. When she died, the majority of the English regarded themselves as ardent Protestants, and a great number of them were living religious lives based on Bible and Prayer Book.

Since the early years of the century the movement for reform in religious matters, urged on by renaissance thought, had been spreading over the land very much like the incoming tide of the sea with its waves of advance and retreat. The reign of Henry VIII had seen the breach with Rome and the translating of the Bible, yet Henry himself, remaining a staunch catholic all his days, would not allow any alteration in the ancient doctrines and forms of worship. But with the succession of his son, Edward VI, the tide of the new faith came in unhindered. This was the era of the two Prayer Books and the Articles which

(1) History of England, p. 362.

gave protestantism its first constitutional status in England. What would have been the nature of English religious life and worship, if Edward had lived as long as his father, the historian is left to imagine. But with the early death of the young King, the tide of reform retreated as quickly as it had come in. The old religion was reinstated, and the fires that burned in Smithfield were symbolic of the fires of hatred that Mary cherished in her heart against protestantism. Ridley and Latimer with some three hundred others were martyred and all this, coupled with the loss of Calais, so embittered the people against the Marian regime, that when it came to an end on 17 November 1558, 'in gloom and disaster'<sup>(1)</sup>, they sighed with great relief.

If the people hailed with joy the accession of the new Queen, for Elizabeth herself there was little cause for rejoicing. It was a very anxious moment in the history of the church and nation and one of the most crucial in the history of the Reformation. The throne was by no means secure, and the question of Elizabeth's legitimacy had still to be settled even in England. Abroad the authority of the Pope was still to be reckoned with, while the peace with France was not yet concluded. For

(1) W. H. Frere, The English Church during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, p. 1.

the time being, it was more than ever in the interests of the French King to support the claims of Mary of Scotland, his daughter-in-law, to the English Crown as against those of Elizabeth.

The new Queen was only twenty-five years of age and it was difficult to forecast what the future held. Though it was widely known that she had viewed with disfavour the religious policy of Mary, yet outwardly at first she seemed to be almost in agreement. She had actually stated on one occasion that 'she believed that God was in the sacrament of the Eucharist and only dissented from three or four things in the Mass'<sup>(1)</sup>. In fact in her first proclamation, innovations in the ancient practice were prohibited and she attended mass openly, but all this was a clever and far-sighted method of handling a delicate situation, in which she very soon made her views known.

Elizabeth saw clearly that there were three main parties in her realm with which she must cope. There were those who wished to maintain the policy of the Marian regime, while at the opposite extreme there were the returned exiles from the Continent, most of them deeply tinged with the Calvinism of Geneva, who wanted to have an outright thorough-going reform of the whole

(1) Frere, p. 16.

church so as to bring it into line with the Continental Reformed churches. Between these two parties there were the moderates who wanted a reform of the ancient religion, but not to such extremes as the returned exiles desired. These might be called the catholic reformed party, and it was their policy which seemed to Elizabeth the safest. So throughout her reign she is found ever trying to guide her ship of state between the Scylla and Charybdis of Rome and Geneva.

There could be no doubt about the definiteness of the new Queen's religious policy. By the Act of Uniformity all persons in ecclesiastical appointments were required to take the oath, and this soon brought the pro-Marian bishops into trouble, those that refused being deprived, while the Royal Injunctions were a demand for a strict observance of the new order. All shrines, pictures, paintings and religious monuments were to be destroyed, not only in churches but in private homes. Church attendance was demanded of everyone at the parish church, and order was to be kept in time of service and sermon. Customs of reverence such as kneeling in worship were to be continued. The clergy were allowed to marry with the approval of their bishop, and their dress was to be that used in the latter year of Edward VI.

So while Elizabeth began her reign with some caution, she soon disclosed that she was no catholic. Of the 26 Sees in England and Wales, 10 were vacant at her accession, and these she soon filled with men of strictly protestant views. For that reason Matthew Parker was her first choice as Archbishop of Canterbury, being consecrated on 17 December 1559 by John Bale, John Hodgskins, John Scory and Miles Coverdale, three of whom had been exiles, two of them in Geneva. Coverdale was actually allowed on this occasion to wear only 'a plain black gown'.<sup>(2)</sup> The bishopric of London went to Edmund Grindal, that of Ely to Richard Cox, that of Worcester to Edwin Sandys, that of Salisbury to John Jewel, that of Coventry and Lichfield to Thomas Bentham, that of Winchester to Robert Horne, that of Durham to James Pilkington - and every one of them former protestant exiles; while Parker, Grindal and Cox were among the Queen's first ecclesiastical commissioners.

It is not difficult therefore to see that when Travers entered university life in 1560, the Marian regime was gone for good and protestantism was in the air he

(1) H. Gee, Elizabethan Clergy, p. 30.

(2) Memorials of Myles Coverdale, p. 172.

breathed, particularly so, seeing he chose Cambridge in preference to Oxford as the home of his studies. In the former university, the Queen had appointed in 1558 Sir William Cecil as chancellor, a man whose sympathies were definitely with the new religion. <sup>(1)</sup> At a later date, when he became Lord Burghley, Cecil will be seen as the special friend of Travers. Cambridge as compared with Oxford had always been a stronghold of reform. During Mary's reign its scholars were always suspected of heresy, but now, it could be said <sup>(2)</sup> that 'Cambridge as a home of Reformation doctrine might rival Wittenberg or Marburg'. <sup>(1)</sup> It had already produced such men as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer and Tyndale. But now in the same year as Travers matriculated, so great was the zeal for reform that the dead bodies of Bucer and Fagius, two reformed scholars imported in the reign of Edward from the Continent, and who in Mary's reign had been burned and buried in a refuse heap, were dug up. After an oration in St. Mary's church and a sermon preached by Dr. Pilkington, the Queen's professor of divinity, the bodies were re-buried

(1) C. Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth, p. 261.

(2) J. B. Mullinger, University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions, p. 167.

with honour and great ceremony, prayers being offered  
'for the restoring of the true and sincere religion'. (1)

That the Cambridge of that time needed such zeal for religious reform cannot be denied, for its condition (2) (like that of Oxford) was none too prosperous. Jewel writing in 1559 to his old teacher, Peter Martyr, describes Oxford and Cambridge as being both in a 'most deplorable state and wanting alike in loyalty, in faith, in teachers, and even in any hope of learning'. A royal letter dated (3) 1560 refers to the fact that 'the study of divinity and the Scriptures are at this present much decayed within the University of Cambridge'. When Sir William Cecil accepted the chancellorship he was well aware of the situation. Though he did not believe in making the kind of sweeping reforms advocated by the Swiss divines, he was nevertheless firmly opposed to the catholic party and vigorously upheld the royal supremacy. When the commissioners appointed for the reorganisation and reformation of the university arrived in September 1559, the oath of supremacy was tendered to all academic authorities and functionaries, and its refusal was followed in most cases by immediate expulsion from office. Many of the

(1) C. H. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, p. 161.

(2) Mullinger, p. 170.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 183.



heads of colleges either resigned or disappeared, their place being taken by those more favourable to protestant-ism. Thus the masters of ten colleges in Cambridge were dismissed and successors appointed, among the most notable of whom were Grindal to Pembroke Hall, Pilkington to St. John's, Hawford to Christ's and Bill restored to Trinity College.

Although Travers's name is found in the Matriculation Register of Christ's College, he never seems to have resided there, but quickly betook himself to Trinity.

The latter college, founded in 1546, was noted for two things, its intolerance of all catholic practices, and its insistence on the strictest discipline among students.

In 1560, the year of Travers's admittance, the college received new statutes one of which said:

Regard shall be paid to correctness of morals and general probity of life. Accordingly there shall be two Deans to give their sedulous attention to these objects..... the Deans shall provide for the fitting performance of public worship; see that all fellows, scholars, pensioners, sizars and subsizars attend on Saints' Days and Sundays at Morning and Evening Prayers, the litany, the Communion

- (1) These ten colleges were Clare, Pembroke Hall, King's, Queen's, Catherine Hall, Jesus, Christ's, St. John's, Magdalene, and Trinity.
- (2) T. Fuller, History of the University of Cambridge, p. 258.
- (3) J. Peile, Biographical Register of Christ's College, i. 73.
- (4) W. W. R. Ball, Cambridge Notes, p. 28.
- (5) Ibid., p. 221.

and Sermons; and see that the same persons are on other days regularly present at prayers between 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning..... Every undergraduate, scholar and every pensioner, sizar or subsizar who is absent shall, if his age exceeds 18 years, be fined one half-penny and if he comes in late or goes out early, one farthing: but if such student has not attained this age, he shall be chastised with rods in the hall on the following Friday.

(1)

If Rashdall is correct in describing the sixteenth century as 'the flogging age par excellence in the English Universities', then it would seem that the college which numbered Travers among its students was no exception. Probably it was considered that such strict measures with their threatened penalties for disobedience were necessary in order to ensure that reform of life and conduct would accompany the reform of doctrine.

By the same College Statutes, even the daily life of all students at Trinity College was regulated in every detail. A student was expected to rise at 4.30 a.m. and, after saying his private prayers, attend chapel service at 5.0 a.m. Though public prayers were allowed to be still said in Latin in the university 'for the further improvement of their members in Latin', it was always enjoined that when the laity were present, they must be said in English. After prayers the student then adjourned to the hall for breakfast during which meal Scripture was

(2)

(1) H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 111. 371.

(2) Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, p. 160.

read and an exposition given of the passage. From 6.0 a.m. to 9.0 a.m. the lessons learned on the previous day had to be recited and those for the next day studied. At 9.0 a.m. the student proceeded to the public schools to hear lectures or take part in public disputations. Dinner was served at 11.0 a.m. and at 1.0 p.m. he returned to the schools for declamations and exercises. From 3.0 p.m. to 6.0 p.m. the student was free to pursue his private studies or his amusements, and at 6.0 p.m. there was a meal in hall immediately after which he returned to his chambers.

Travers, as already noted, entered Cambridge at the age of twelve. He was not, as one would think, exceptionally under age, for at that time a large number of students entered between eleven and fourteen, the normal age being thirteen. <sup>(1)</sup> In the Matriculation Register he is termed 'impubes'. This was applied to those under fourteen and it meant that such students were exempted from taking the oath of fidelity to their Alma Mater, since it was reckoned that those under fourteen were <sup>(2)</sup> unable to comprehend the nature of their obligation. Of some 1,200 residents in Cambridge, Travers would be <sup>(3)</sup> one of about 300 who attended Trinity College. He

(1) Ball, p. 29.

(2) Venn, pt. I, p. vi.

(3) Ball, p. 54.

entered as a pensioner, which is a fact worthy of note. The pensionarii were the students who, not being on the foundation, paid a pension or rent for their rooms, which was duly entered in the bursar's books. <sup>(1)</sup> In Travers's day there were roughly three classes of students at Cambridge. The fellow-commoners were the sons of the landed gentry or the aristocracy and so constituted the smallest class of the three. Occasionally they were termed nobiles, a term that is self-explanatory. Then there were the sizars, mostly poor students who, not being able to afford a university course, supplemented their meagre resources by working as servants to the fellows or tutors of their college. Lastly there were the pensioners, who were usually the sons of clergy, the small landowners and the fairly well-to-do. It was natural that Travers should belong to this last-named class as this accords with the social standing of his father as revealed in his will. <sup>(2)</sup>

The first years of a student's course <sup>WERE</sup> ~~was~~ devoted

(1) Venn, pt I, p.vi.

(2) Appendix II.

(1)  
 chiefly to the trivium, namely Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric, at the end of which course he usually became B.A. Travers appears to have taken the normal course for he graduated in 1565/6. (2) He seems to have specially profited from his study of Latin for, as will be seen, he used it to good effect in his first book, (3) and Fuller (4) regarded him as one of the 'elegant penners' of that language. Furthermore, the university authorities were obviously of the same opinion when they gave Travers the honour of delivering a Latin oration before her Majesty the Queen during her visitation of the university.

Elizabeth came to Cambridge on Saturday 4 August 1564. (5) Nichols gives to his account of her visit the

- (1) The seven arts subjects were usually divided into the Trivium and the more advanced Quadrium, the latter consisting of music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. The grammar of the Trivium meant more than mere technical rules of language usage. It included the systematic study of both the language and philisophy of the classical writers. Of the seven subjects, Cambridge was well-known for the prominence given to the study of mathematics (Rashdall, Universities of Europe in Middle Ages, i. 34, 36; iii. 289).
- (2) Peile, op. cit.; Venn, op. cit.
- (3) See Ch. II below.
- (4) Church History, iii. 34.
- (5) J. Nichols, Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, i. pp. 59 ff.

title of 'The Triumph of the Muses or the Grand Reception and Entertainment of Queen Elizabeth at Cambridge 1564'.  
 The Queen was well-known for her learning<sup>(1)</sup> and she had a special interest in the University of Cambridge. There her early tutor, Roger Ascham, had been educated,<sup>(2)</sup> and from among the Cambridge men she had chosen some of her best ministers. It was therefore her delight to honour the university with her presence and to share its academic fellowship. One historian<sup>(3)</sup> of Cambridge describes her visit as 'an exhibition never witnessed by them before or since; a virgin Queen appearing before this learned Body, addressing them in the language of a scholar, but with the tone of a sovereign'. The occasion called for both elaborate and expensive preparations, and these were duly made under the supervision of William Cecil, the Chancellor, and Edward Hawford, Vice-Chancellor and Master of Christ's College. Flags and coverlets adorned all the buildings and carpets were laid in conspicuous places. Grindal<sup>(4)</sup> the Bishop of London had counselled the vice-chancellor to welcome her Majesty 'with sermons both in English and

(1) There are several examples of the Queen's classical compositions in Cambridge University Library.

(2) G. Dyer, History of University and Colleges of Cambridge, 1. 87.

(3) Ibid., p. 96.

(4) Nichols, p. 2.

Latin; Disputations in all kinds of Faculties; playing of Comedies and Tragedies; orations and verses both in Latin and Greek to be made and set up of all students in the way that Her Majesty should goe or ride'. An order was given for the 'well-paving of all the town', <sup>(1)</sup> and when the preparations were completed, an inspection was made by Cecil on the day previous to the visit, Friday 4 August.

On the afternoon of the visit the college bells rang unceasingly. The Queen on horseback approached from the Grandchester side and when near Newnham, she was met by the lord mayor who delivered to her his mace. As the royal procession accompanied by the trumpeteers entered Queen's College, scholars lined the route shouting 'vivat regina'. When her Majesty was about the middle of the scholars she stopped, and it was at this point that Travers in company with Edward Jermin of King's College came forward, and kneeling before her, kissed the manuscripts in their hands and then delivered their orations. <sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Nichols, p. 2.

(2) Nichols's description (iii. 29) of the scene is as follows:-

'Non dum domicillum quod regina quondam Elizabetha sacrosanctis musis consecravit, praeteriit, cum procumbentes in terram duo (sophistas generales appellamus) viz. Gualterus Travers Coll. Trin. ac Edw. Jerminus Coll. regii soprista generales; coram ejus celsitudine, quasi ordinis sui nomine, munus aliquod ablaturi, gratulationes stricta solutaque oratione, tentum chartis in scriptas, in manus illi dant'.

Jermin's oration was in verse while that of Travers,<sup>(1)</sup> which was delivered first, was in prose.

For expressions of deeply-felt loyalty and respect, Travers's words could not be surpassed. He began by saying; 'We all present our thanks to you, most illustrious Princess of this our State, which under your rule is so happy and flourishing',<sup>(2)</sup> The virtues of her Majesty he traced back to her father, 'Henry VIII, the unconquered, of most glorious memory, who as an eye is reflected in an eye, shines again in you as in another self'.<sup>(3)</sup> By words both poetic and elegant, Travers lauded the Queen's virtues. She is deserving of praise, not so much for her outward magnificence and beauty which is beyond description, but more so for her spiritual virtue. Such virtue is the life-blood of the university and of the state. Her Majesty therefore is commended in that while she is concerned to make the state 'strong in power, rich in wealth, ample in glory, quiet in peace', she also desires

(1) Full Latin text in B. M. Harl. M S 7039, f. 114. Printed in Nichols, p. 29.

(2) Gratulamur tibi universi viri (illustrissima princeps, huius nostrae reipub. quae regnante te est beata illa quidem et plane florentissima).

(3) Celeberrimae Memoriae Henrici octavi invictissimi qui ut oculus in oculo, sic ille in te tanquam in altero se resplendescit.



to make it, 'Honourable in virtue, pious in religion'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Having praised the memory of Henry VIII, Travers finds that he must make mention of Edward VI, the Queen's brother, 'whose memory is so glorious and famed'.<sup>(2)</sup> He lamented the young King's early death, but adds philosophically the comment of a poet who said/<sup>that</sup> pale death knocks impartially with his foot at the hovels of the poor and the palaces of kings.

His oration concluded with a desire that her Majesty may live long, not only for her own sake, but for the sake of fame and the state, and that when she departs from this life, she may leave behind 'a splendid and noble name which length of time will not corrupt and oblivion will not obscure'.<sup>(3)</sup> In a final sentence, after likening the Queen's reign to a young tree which as its foliage grows, would protect the state from the excessive heat of the sun, he added the words, 'Your august Highness's and Majesty's most humble servant, Walter Travers'.<sup>(4)</sup>

- (1) Opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, pace quietata, virtute honesta, religione pia sit.
- (2) Cuius inprimis celebris est et explicata recordatio.
- (3) Nominis tui splendorem et amplitudinem, quam nulla temporis vetustas exedet, aut obscurabit oblivio.
- (4) Augustissimae Celsitudinis et Majestatis tuae . . . ., Gualterius Travers.

The Queen having received his oration and that of Jermin, handed them over to one of her footmen. Other orations were presented at different stages of the journey and then she proceeded to King's College chapel, where, under a canopy, she inspected the building and heard Evensong. On the following five days similar ceremonies took place with the offering of several other orations, one of which was presented by Thomas Cartwright, 'who disputed like a great scholar',<sup>(1)</sup> and who with Travers was destined in later years to be a co-leader of the presbyterian party in which capacity both became non personae gratae to Elizabeth. The Queen showed her appreciation of the welcome she had received by replying in a Latin speech, and on Thursday 10 August the royal visit concluded.

In the following year, 1565, as already seen, Travers proceeded B.A. and was also admitted a scholar of Trinity College.<sup>(2)</sup> As his studies at this period were in preparation for the mastership in arts, the subjects to which

(1) Nichols, p. 25.

(2) 'Gualterus Travers juratus discipulus' (Trin. Coll. Library, Camb., Book of Admissions, Scholars 1560-)

he gave attention were logic, metaphysics and philo-  
sophical questions connected with theology. <sup>(1)</sup> In 1567  
he had the honour to be elected a junior fellow of his  
college along with his brother, Robert, <sup>(2)</sup> and two years  
later on the 25 March he became a senior fellow <sup>(3)</sup> as  
well as graduating M.A. <sup>(4)</sup>

Travers had now won for himself a recognised place  
in the academic circles of his university and at this  
stage there was ground for hoping that one day he would  
become one of its teachers, but unfortunately his stay  
at Cambridge was now cut short. His last recorded payment  
as a fellow was in the year 1570, <sup>(5)</sup> and it must have  
been shortly afterwards that he left both his university  
and his country. The reason for his departure was  
undoubtedly the decided puritan tinge in his religious  
views.

During the ten years of Travers's stay in Cambridge  
the puritan party had grown from strength to strength.

(1) Ball, op. cit., p. 29.

(2) H. L. McInnes, Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge,  
p. 25, Mullinger, op. cit., p. 631; Venn, op. cit.,  
p. 262; Peile, op. cit., p. 73.

(3) McInnes, p. 25; Mullinger, p. 631.

(4) Peile, p. 73; Venn, p. 262.

(5) McInnes, p. 25.

We have already noticed how he was associated with Cartwright, the leader of the party during the Queen's visit. This association must have been very close during their academic career, for Cartwright was actually a fellow of the same college, and it is not surprising that Travers should come under his influence as many others in Cambridge did. G. M. Trevelyan in his short history of Trinity College <sup>(1)</sup> says, 'In the early years of the reign [of Elizabeth] the most influential man in Trinity and indeed in Cambridge was Cartwright'. He further adds that 'the great struggle of Anglican and puritan . . . . may almost be said to have originated, certainly to have been rehearsed in the chambers and chapel of Trinity'. Fuller in his history of the University of Cambridge <sup>(2)</sup> corroborates this, for in referring to the years 1564/5 he says: 'Now began a great difference in Trinity College, betwixt Doctor Beaumont, master thereof and some in that society, which hath its influence at this day on the Church of England'.

In 1561, the second year of Travers' academic career, Robert Beaumont was appointed master of the same college. He was well known to be a staunch Calvinist, having been previously an exile in Geneva during the

(1) P. 18.

(2) P. 259.

Marian regime. In the following year Cartwright was made a fellow of the same college, and thus Travers was actually surrounded by thinkers of the Genevan breed. In 1564 Beaumont openly expressed his disapproval of students taking part in dramatic representations which for centuries had been a prominent feature of Cambridge life.

The next year, 1565, seems to have been one of crisis in the whole university and especially in Trinity College where the puritans became manifestly violent in their protests and even broke the windows in the college chapel which depicted anything of a superstitious nature.<sup>(1)</sup> At the same time, Beaumont with other college masters wrote to the chancellor protesting against an order directing the use of the surplice. Burghley was not one who had much sympathy with outrageous nonconformity, for in a letter<sup>(2)</sup> to the Bishop of Ely in the same year, he asked him to deal with a similar outburst in St. John's College and added: 'I am inwardly afraid that if fear shall not stay this riotous insolency, these rash young heads that are so soon ripe to climb into pulpits, will content themselves with no limits either in the church

(1) Mullinger, p. 196; Trevelyan, p. 18.

(2) C. Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth, p. 359.

or in policy'. In the case of Trinity College Burghley referred the matter to Archbishop Parker who curtly described Beaumont and the others as 'bragging brainless heads'.<sup>(1)</sup>

At this Beaumont retracted, but not so the more ardent Calvinists who regarded the surplice as a relic of superstition and loathsome because of its association with the Roman Mass. Cartwright in his ardour took up the offensive and would not countenance the prohibition of the Archbishop. We read of 'great clashing'<sup>(2)</sup> going on in the different colleges so that even Beaumont thought they had gone too far. It is very possible that Travers was among these super-enthusiasts, for Whitgift tells us that Travers so aroused the antipathy of Beaumont that the latter refused him a fellowship in the college because of 'his intolerable stomach'.<sup>(3)</sup>

Beaumont died in 1567 and on 4 July of the same year John Whitgift, the adamant opposer of nonconformity, was appointed master of Trinity College. At first Travers seems to have avoided the disapproval of the new master,

(1) Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

(2) Fuller, Cambridge, p. 265.

(3) Strype, Whitgift, i. 343.

(1)  
 for two months afterwards he was admitted to a fellowship.  
 However, before the end of 1567, Whitgift had occasion to  
 be absent from the college for a time, and in his absence  
 Cartwright preached so vehemently against the use of ~~the~~  
 surplices that with only three exceptions, all the members  
 of Trinity College appeared at evening service without <sup>(2)</sup> ~~surplices~~ <sup>THEM.</sup>  
 (2)  
 It is very hard to imagine that Travers  
 would be one of the three exceptions. Possibly it was  
 his participation in this outrageous act which for a  
 second time won for him the disfavour of his college  
 master. Whitgift naturally regretted his approval of  
 Travers as a fellow of his college, for, speaking of it  
 later (1584), after admitting that he had elected him as  
 a fellow, he said <sup>(3)</sup> he became so irritated with Travers  
 that 'he was forced by due punishment so to weary him,  
 till he was fain to travel; departing from the College  
 to Geneva; otherwise he should have been expelled for  
 his want of conformity towards the house and for his  
 pertinacy !' <sup>(3)</sup> Strype maintained that of all the students

- (1) Trinity Coll. Lib. Cambr. Unpublished MS ed.  
 A. H. F. Boughey, p. 104. Fuller (Church History,  
 iii. 139) is incorrect in the assertion that Travers  
 became a fellow during Beaumont's mastership.
- (2) A. F. S. Pearson, Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan  
 Puritanism, p. 19. A similar discarding of the  
 surplice had taken place in St. John's College  
 (Mullinger, op. cit., p. 199).
- (3) Strype, Whitgift, i. 343.

in Trinity College, there was none in whom there was less submission and humility.

Whatever of knowledge Travers had gained at Cambridge, it was clear that during his ten years' stay he had imbibed heavily of puritanism in its extremest form; so much so that it was actually a relief to the college authorities when he departed. But it was probably also a relief to Travers, for the situation in 1570, the last year in which we know for certain that he was in Cambridge, had become quite intolerable for the puritans. Undoubtedly they had brought trouble upon themselves. Their daring had become so evident that Dr. William Chaderton, president of Queen's College, could say in a letter <sup>(1)</sup> written to the chancellor in June 1570:

True it is, such seditions, contentions, and disquietude, such errors, and schisms openlie taught and preached, boldlie and without warrant, are latelie grown amongst us, that the good estate, quietnes and governance of Cambridge ..... are for great hazarde unles severlie by authoritie they be punished.'

Cartwright he referred to as one who 'alwaies stubburnlie refused the cappe and such like ornaments' and in his daily lectures taught 'such doctrine as is pernicious and not tolerable for a Christian commonwealth'. Furthermore, because of his popularity as a lecturer and preacher, Cartwright's teaching was all the more conspicuous and

(1) Mullinger, p. 215.



(1)

arresting. Fuller said that 'Whitgift's lectures and sermons were not so frequented, whilst all flocked after Cartwright, insomuch that when he preached at St. Mary's, the clerk thereof was fain to take down the windows of the church'.

Such a situation in a university called for swift and drastic action. Accordingly in September of the same year, 1570, new statutes were introduced which gave tremendous power into the hands of the college masters, (2) and this meant that Whitgift and his party now had absolute control over the puritans. A month later Whitgift became vice-chancellor, and two months afterwards he wielded his newly-found power to deprive Cartwright first of his professorship and then of his fellowship. (3) There was therefore little hope of tolerance for a fellow-puritan like Travers. His only course was to seek refuge elsewhere.

Being persecuted in one city, he followed the Biblical injunction of fleeing to another, and as a puritan refugee, how could he resist the magnetic pull of that city where all that he had been fighting for was already achieved and established? The lure of Geneva

(1) Cambridge, p. 265.

(2) Ball, op. cit., p. 58.

(3) Ibid., p. 60.

proved completely irresistible, and so there he betook himself not only to live out his unwelcome opinions, but in such a congenial atmosphere to seize the opportunity of putting them in writing.

## Chapter II

### Geneva and the Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae....Explicatio

The Calvinism of Geneva.....	p.32.
Theodore Beza and his influence.....	p.36.
Death of Travers's brother.....	p.41.
Content of the <u>Explicatio</u> .....	p.43.
Critical estimate of the <u>Explicatio</u> .....	p.57.
The English translation.....	p.62.
Its speedy arrival in England.....	p.64.

CHAPTER IIGeneva and the Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae.....Explicatio

Due mainly to the courageous leadership of William Farel (1489-1565), the city of Geneva renounced the rule of the papacy and adopted the reformed faith as early as 1533-35. When John Calvin paid his first visit to Geneva in 1536, the situation was ripe for someone who could consolidate and complete the work of reforming the whole city, and it was then that Farel seized on Calvin as the most fit person for such a formidable task. The latter was now only in his twenty-eighth year, but his great theological work, The Institutes of the Christian Religion, recently completed, had already established his reputation as one of the foremost thinkers among the reformers. For upwards of eighteen months he laboured unweariedly as lecturer, preacher and supervisor of morals to make Geneva a godly city, but his first attempts met with the most serious opposition, especially when he claimed such rights as that of refusing admission to the sacrament of communion in the case of persons living immoral lives. Eventually his opponents created such an agitation that he was forced to withdraw and go to Strasburg. However, three years later Geneva regretted

this banishment and Calvin was recalled. After several insistent requests, at last he yielded, returning in 1542, and from that year until his death in 1564, Calvin's rule in Geneva was supreme. <sup>(1)</sup> Several abortive attempts were made to overthrow his authority, but each one merely helped to make it more secure.

In spite of Calvin's often-criticised despotism, it can be said that no city in the world ever benefited more from one single man's work than Geneva did from Calvin, and his influence is apparent even to the present day.

<sup>(2)</sup> Schaff sums up Calvin's work in these words:

During this period of 23 years he was in fact the spiritual head of the Church and the Republic of Geneva, and the leader of the Reformed Movement throughout Europe.... He built Geneva into a great moral and spiritual edifice.... He raised the little town.... to the dignity and importance of the Protestant Rome.

The secret of Calvin's zeal for reform lay, on the one hand, in his all-absorbing love for the glory of God, and <sup>(3)</sup> on the other, in his intense hatred of sin. He said to the council of Geneva when he returned in 1542:

If you desire to have me for your pastor, correct the disorder of your lives.... Banish the crimes and debaucheries which prevail among you.... A life stained by sin

(1) The fullest and most reliable biography is by E. Doumergue, Jean Calvin.

(2) History of the Creeds of Christendom, p. 429.

(3) C. W. Banks, Life and Times of Calvin, p. 8.

is too contrary to Jesus Christ to be tolerated. I consider the principal enemies of the Gospel to be, not the pontiff of Rome, not the heretics, not seducers, not tyrants, but such bad Christians.

Taking the Bible, 'that strong club, the word of God',<sup>(1)</sup>  
 he wielded it 'like a sort of Christian Hercules'<sup>(1)</sup>  
 against the monster of evil wherever it was found, and  
 this he did as God's ambassador for he believed that  
 'wherever sin is,.... it is accompanied with the wrath  
 and vengeance of God'.<sup>(2)</sup> Hence, Calvin was ceaselessly  
 busy inspecting and correcting the life and morals of the  
 Genevan citizens. Full details of the religious and civic  
 discipline imposed can be seen in The Laws and Statutes of  
Geneva.<sup>(3)</sup> Strict rules were enforced not only about  
 attendance at religious services, the education of the  
 young and how to deal with heretics, but about the burial  
 of the dead, the bans of marriage, the hours of opening  
 and closing the city gates on a Sunday, and even about  
 matters like the cleanliness of the streets and the  
 sweeping of chimneys. As a result, the city was drilled  
 into a harsh and holy discipline.<sup>(4)</sup>

Yet the success of Calvin's rule cannot be doubted.  
 John Knox when he had inspected Geneva for the first time

(1) T. H. Dyer, Life of Calvin, p. 531.

(2) Calvin, Institutes, ii. 303.

(3) Printed in London 1643.

(4) Cf. A. Dakin, Calvinism, pp. 141-150.

called it: 'the Maist perfyt schoole of Chryst that ever was in the earth since the dayis of the Apostillis.... manneris and religioun so sinceirlie reformat I have not yit sene in any uther place'.<sup>(1)</sup> A fuller comment is found in a letter<sup>(2)</sup> by Bernardino Ochino, the first minister of the exilic Italian congregation in Geneva, who for some years had a close up view of Calvin's work:

In Geneva where I am at present residing, excellent Christians are daily preaching the Word of God. Every day there are public edifying prayers.... Cursing and Swearing, unchastity and sacrilege, adultery and impure lives, bawds and harlots - all of which have been common in places where I have lived - are unknown here.... Benevolence is so great that the poor need not beg. Law suits are banished from the city, nor is there any simony, murder, or party spirit, but only peace and charity.

John Bale, for a time one of the protestant exiles in Geneva, referred to Calvin's city as 'the most wonderful miracle of the whole worlde,' for all its citizens were living together 'like a spiritual and christian congregation'.<sup>(3)</sup>

While the fame of Geneva as a city of Christian discipline had gone abroad, it was also known as a city of hospitality for all protestant refugees, no matter from what country they came. Calvin gave a warm welcome

(1) Works (ed. Laing), iv. 240.

(2) H. Y. Reyburn, John Calvin, p. 269.

(3) P. H. Brown, John Knox, i. 196n.

on many occasions to fugitives from France, Italy and England, and all of them found in him a father in God, and in his city a home from home.

A place with this reputation could not fail to attract the young Travers, who now found himself as an unwanted exponent of the very principles that were being freely practised in Geneva. Doubtless he must have known of those Englishmen who during the Marian regime had worshipped for four years in Calvin's city, and whose scholarly labours had produced the 'Breeches' or Genevan Bible. <sup>(1)</sup> Nearly all of its 233 members returned to

England and during Travers's years at Cambridge many of <sup>(2)</sup> them were leaders in the Elizabethan church.

It was about six years after Calvin's death that Travers came to Geneva, but the Calvinian regime was not dead. It was the same city with the same discipline for Calvin had appointed and trained his successor, Theodore Beza, in the maintaining of that order and godly rule which the former had so thoroughly established. Beza, therefore, was in control during the whole of Travers's

(1) For an account of the life and work of this exilic congregation, see the present writer's John Knox's Genevan Congregation (Eng. Pres. Hist. Soc., 1956).

(2) The best known were Whittingham, Goodman, Gilby, Coverdale, Bodley (founder of the Bodleian Library), Sampson, Cole, Humphries, Scory, Pilkington, Lever, Bentham and Beaumont.



stay in Geneva. Fuller <sup>(1)</sup> has described Calvin's successor as:

Of stature somewhat tall, but corpulent or big-boned; in his age he had a long thick beard as white as snow; he had a grave senator's countenance, broad-faced, but not fat; and in general by his comely person, sweet affability and gravity, he would have extorted reverence from those that least loved him.

Like Calvin, he was a Frenchman, born in 1519 at Vezelay about 150 miles south-east of Paris. <sup>(2)</sup> As he came from the ranks of the French nobility he was often styled the 'courtly Reformer'. <sup>(2)</sup> The French form of his name and the one he always used was De Besze. At the age of nine he came under the influence of his teacher, Melior Wolmar, who incidentally had been Calvin's teacher of Greek. Wolmar instilled into him the zeal for reformed religion based on a sound knowledge of the Bible, and in 1548 (regarded by him as the year of his conversion) he embraced the new religion for himself and decided to continue his studies at Geneva. On the advice of Calvin he accepted the professorship of Greek at the university of Lausanne, where he was the colleague of Viret, another reformed teacher. Here he remained for nine years and published many works, the most notable being a vindication of Calvin's condemnation of Servetus as a heretic worthy of death.

(1) Abel Redeivivus, ii. 217.

(2) H. M. Baird, Theodore Beza, p. 2.

When Calvin founded the university of Geneva in  
 (1) 1559 Beza was appointed to the chair of Greek litera-  
 (2) ture and also head or rector of the school of theology.  
 Calvin himself was never formally appointed as a pro-  
 fessor but he continued to teach theology along with  
 Beza, since between the two teachers there existed a very  
 close and intimate friendship. On one occasion when Beza  
 was ill Calvin said, 'I should not be a man if I did not  
 love him who loves me with more than a brother's love  
 and honours me as a father'. (3) Thus on Calvin's death  
 in 1564 Beza was the obvious successor and natural in-  
 heritor of the Calvinian discipline. This he proved two  
 years afterwards when he allowed Jacques Paul Spifame  
 to be publicly executed for the sin of committing adul-  
 tery. Yet in spite of this vigorous regime, the theolo-  
 gical school continued to receive a constant stream of  
 students from all over Europe, and in 1566 there were as  
 many as two thousand of them. (4)

(1) A studium Generale, the precursor of the university, had been founded in 1365 on the petition of Amedes VI, Count of Savoy, by the Emperor Charles IV. (H. Rashdall, Universities of Europe in Middle Ages, ii. 329).

(2) Baird, p. 108.

(3) Ibid., p. 230.

(4) Ibid., p. 241.

Travers's last recorded payment in the books of Trinity College, Cambridge, is found under the year 1570,<sup>(1)</sup> and since Whitgift's comment<sup>(2)</sup> on his expulsion implies that he departed from the college to go to Geneva, it can be assumed that he arrived there not later than 1571.<sup>(3)</sup> It has been seen that Cartwright was also expelled from Cambridge at the same time, and since he was in Geneva in June 1571,<sup>(4)</sup> it is very probable that Travers and he journeyed there together. In the case of both, the actual information about their Genevan sojourn is very meagre.<sup>(4)</sup> It is known that Cartwright was appointed to teach divinity, a position for which he was doubtless indebted to Beza, who once said<sup>(5)</sup> of him: 'The sun, I think, does not see a more learned man'. If Beza was unable to find an official post for Travers, it was certainly not because of any lack of friendship between them, for one definite result of Travers's stay in Geneva was their deep and lasting affection for each other.<sup>(6)</sup> About a decade later Beza said to him in a letter:

(1) H. McL. Innes, Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, p. 25.

(2) Strype, Whitgift, i. 343.

(3) Cf. M. A. Chopard, 'Geneve et les Anglais' (Bulletin de la Societe d'Histoire et d'Archeologie de Geneve, T. vii, f. 175).

(4) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 47.

(5) Zurich Letters, i. 313 n.

(6) Fuller, Church History, iii. 29.

'There does not pass a day in which I do not think  
 caringly of you and your affairs..... my very dear  
 brother'.<sup>(1)</sup> He also referred to 'our ancient  
 friendship'<sup>(2)</sup> which would point to the birth of a  
 very deep relationship between these two scholars  
 while in the same city. It is known<sup>(3)</sup> that 'a number  
 of Beza's scholars lived under his roof and ate at  
 his table', and it is not unlikely that Travers was  
 among them. At any rate, his influence on the latter  
 was very considerable, and this is not surprising  
 seeing that after the death of Calvin, he became  
 recognised as the greatest reforming spirit on the  
 Continent. Although his chief work lay in Geneva he  
 was regarded by the reformed churches in France as  
 their leader too, for he attended the colloquy of  
 Poissy in 1561 to be the mouthpiece of their cause,  
 and again in 1571 he presided at the seventh national  
 synod of the reformed churches at La Rochelle. In his  
 own city he was regarded as 'the first citizen..... the  
 one man whom everybody went to see on arriving and again  
 before his departure'.<sup>(4)</sup> But it was in the student

(1) 'Nullus..... dies abit quin de vobis vestrisque  
 rebus solicite cognitem..... mi carissime frater.'

(2) 'Amicitia..... vetus nostra'.

(3) Baird, Beza, p. 326 n.

(4) Ibid., p. 331.

world that his influence was most apparent, for his lecture room was always thronged with students from every faculty, no matter with what part of the Bible he happened to be dealing. So important were his lectures that the hour of their commencement was announced by the ringing of the cathedral bell just as if the hour for worship had come. It is hard to believe that Travers was absent on such occasions, for he wrote of Beza that he was 'a man of rare excellence, of knowledge and utterance',<sup>(1)</sup> and 'the best interpreter of the New Testament'.<sup>(2)</sup>

This period of obscurity in Geneva, however, is lightened by two incidents, one of sorrow and the other of achievement, both of which belong to the year 1574.<sup>(3)</sup> A letter<sup>(4)</sup> from Cartwright to Travers's father written from Geneva in this year tells of the death of Robert Travers, Walter's brother. It states that 'he died in his bed of an ague' and that before

- (1) Answer to a Supplicatorie Epistle of G. T., p. 314.
- (2) Defense of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, p. 86.
- (3) It is very probable that Travers came into contact with Andrew Melville at this time, since the latter was in Geneva in 1574 and was also in association with Beza (American Hist. Review, v. 1899-1900, p.p. 288, 289). See p. **115** below.
- (4) B.M. Add. MS 33271, ff. 41-2. Full text in Appendix I.

his death, 'there was never a daye that the Phisicon came not twice at the least'. His funeral was attended by the students and professors in the university, and therefore it is possible that, like Cartwright, he had been one of the academic staff since he was a graduate and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and also a well-known author. (1) The place of burial, given in Cartwright's letter is 'the land of Conoran', but since there is no place of this name in Geneva, (2) it may be a copyist's erroneous transcript of Cornavin, which was then, and still is, a Genevan suburb, where there is a cemetery attached to the church of St. Gervais. (2)

Cartwright's letter is full of sympathy towards the bereaved father and mother, and the references to Walter Travers are noteworthy, since the latter felt the death of his brother very deeply.

If greater lamentacons were required ... your sonne, Mr. Gualter, hath faide it alreadye so plentifully that yf you should not moderate your sorrow more than he, you might reconne some incommoditie in this your ould age which you should not so well lease out as beinge yonge ... his brother's death went so neare him that he could hardly be brought to receive comforte ... he is of nature very weake.

Cartwright also discloses the information that, because of his ill-health, he had advised Travers to return home,

(1) See p. 4 above.

(2) See J. Rocque, Plan of Geneva, p. 47.

but he could not be persuaded to do so. Perhaps the reason why he decided to remain in Geneva can be found in his desire to complete his first book on presbyterianism which appeared in this same year, 1574. If (as is probably the case) he came to Calvin's city in order to crystallise his thoughts on this subject by putting them into print, it is natural that he would not wish to return home with his task unfinished.

This book of Travers, the first to come from his pen, and written in Latin, has the title, Ecclesiasticae disciplinae et Anglicanae ecclesiae ab illa aberrationis, plena E Verbo Dei, & dilucida explicatio.<sup>(1)</sup> No author's name appears on the title page, but Rupelae (La Rochelle) is given as the place of printing and the printer's name as 'Adamus de Monte'. Of the latter nothing is known except that he was also the printer of a book entitled Dialogus quo multa exponuntur quae Lutheranis et Hugonotis Gallis acciderunt by Euselius Philadelphus, which appeared in Orange, in 1573, and which was inspired by the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day. It is, however,

(1) Many writers, such as Neal, Strype, Brook, Frere, Klein and the author of English Puritan Divines have confused this work with the Book of Discipline which is a different work and will be considered in chapter V below.

ECCLESIASTI-  
CAE DISCIPLINAE,  
ET ANGLICANÆ ECCLESIAE  
AB ILLA ABERRATIONIS, PLE-  
na è verbo Dei, & dilucida  
explicatio.



R V P E L L A,  
EXCVDEBAT ADAMVS  
de Monte.  
M. D. LXXIIII.



practically certain that 'Adamus de Monte' is a pseudonym and that the book was not published at La Rochelle, for the following reasons: Cartwright on his own admission is known to have written the preface, for in a letter (1) to Christopher Hatton about the year 1580, after referring to his own writings on the subject of church discipline, he adds:

If yt may seeme to longe, lett the trial be, by the ecclesiasticall discipline written in Laten, whiche as it handleth the same matter, so by a preface sett before itt, I have testified my agreement therewith.

The date given at the end of the preface is very enlightening since at that time, (2) 2 February 1574, Cartwright was in Heidelberg. The book in its unprinted form had obviously been sent to him there, since he (3) speaks of it in the preface as 'having been left with me'. (4) Moreover, A. F. Johnson, after a thorough examination of the type, has shown conclusively that this book of (5) Travers with three others was printed in Heidelberg by

(1) B. M. Add. MS 15891, ff. 31-32, line 60.

(2) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 137.

(3) Apud me depositum.

(4) 'Books printed at Heidelberg for Thomas Cartwright' (The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, 5th ser. ii. No. 4, March 1948).

(5) A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline (Cartwright's translation of Travers's Book); A brief discourse off the troubles begonne at Franckford; and Cartwright's Second replie against Maister Whitgiftes second answer.

Michael Schirat under Cartwright's supervision. It was the fact of Cartwright's presence in Heidelberg when the Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae . . . . . Explicatio was published in 1574, which led Bishop Sandys of London to attribute its authorship to Cartwright. (1) Sandys had evidently not studied the work, otherwise he would have realised that the writer of the preface was not the author, since the former speaks of the latter in the third person, and while agreeing in principle with the book, makes clear that he holds different opinions on one or two points.

The reasons for Travers's anonymous authorship of this book can only be explained on the ground that since he himself was non persona grata in England, and the book was specially for the English, he did not want the commendation of the presbyterian ideas in it to suffer by being associated with his name. But at no time did Travers deny that he was the author, and by his contemporaries he was generally recognised to be such. Whitgift in 1584 said: (2)

(1) Sandys wrote to Gualter in Zurich on 9 August 1574: Auctor istarum novarum rerum, et post bezam primus inventor, est adolescens Anglicanus nomine Thomas Cartwrightus, quem aiunt jam haerere Heidelbergae. Inde jampridem scripsit librum latine in defensionem novae istius disciplinae, quam nobis obtrudere voluit' (Zurich Letters, i. Epist. cxxiv, p. 184). Someone at a much later date surmised that Laurence Thompson was the author (F. Paget, Introduction to Fifth Book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, p. 70 n).

(2) Strype, Whitgift, i. 343.

Mr. Travers ... is to no man better known, I think than to myself ... The book de Disciplina Ecclesiastica, by common opinion, hath been reputed of his penning since the first publishing of it; and by divers arguments I am moved to make no doubt thereof.

One of the twelve accusations against Travers found in  
 (1)  
 a manuscript in the Lambeth Library is that 'Hee hath published in print ..... De Disciplina Ecclesiastica', and this is also the opinion of his contemporary, Matthew Sutcliffe, author of A Treatise of Ecclesiasticall Discipline  
 (2)  
line which was published in 1591. But the most weighty argument for the Travers authorship comes from Bancroft who knew more about the presbyterian movement than the presbyterians themselves, and he is in no doubt that  
 (3)  
 Travers wrote the book, and did so in Geneva.

Cartwright in the preface begins by expressing his wonder at any man's unwillingness to accept the discipline of Christ, since the same man unquestioningly accepts civil discipline, and for many years accepted the cruel domination of the papacy over body and soul. He feels that it is a mark of the goodness of God that at such an opportune time, He should have raised up the writer of this book, an author with so many gifts of mind and  
 (4)  
 heart. The book itself he commends as a jewel and a

(1) See Appendix VI.

(2) P. p. 74, 129.

(3) Dangerous Positions, p. 42.

(4) P. iv.

treasure which he desires the people of England to read, testing it by the truth of the Bible, and with minds unprejudiced by 'the vain noise and pomp of bishops'. (1)

Travers's versatility in the Latin tongue has already been seen in his oration before the Queen at Cambridge, (2) and a reading of this Genevan treatise (3) proves that he deserves the place Fuller gives him among the 'elegant penners' in that language. The anonymous writer of An Humble Motion (4) referred to the 'sweet and pleasant Latine style' (5) of the book, while Mahaffy's (6) judgment is that it is 'written in very classical (though not impeccable) Latin, with great richness of illustration from Greek and Roman literature'. The latter virtue, however, would seem to be overdone as the manner of writing is very often diffuse, certain points being subject to long-winded and wearisome repetition. So passionate is the author to convince his readers of the truth of his contentions, that he is not always sure when he has convinced sufficiently.

(1) 'Inani episcoporum strepitu et pompa' (p. iv).

(2) P. 18 above.

(3) Church History, iii. 34.

(4) 1590.

(5) Epistle to the Reader.

(6) Epoch in Irish History, p. 84.

Travers's premise, which he accepts unreservedly and unquestioningly, is that the only authority for true and proper church discipline is the Bible, equal stress being laid on both Testaments. Within its pages he believes that every detail of ecclesiastical government can be found, so that for him every word of it is divinely inspired. If this is accepted, then there can be no questioning of the conclusion which Travers eventually reached, namely, that presbyterian government is the only one that can merit the approval of God for His church.

(1)

In the opening words Travers states that discipline in the church is an absolute necessity, since empires, republics and cities like Corinth, Rome, Athens, and Lacedonia lost their greatness and power when they despised their ancient governments. For the same reason the church has declined into 'popish dreams and fantasies',<sup>(2)</sup> and so there must be a return to the original discipline that God intended for his church, which discipline is to be found in the Bible, 'the Word of God'. In

(1) Gubernandi ratio ad omnem humanam societatem vel evertendam vel conservandam maximam omnino vim in utraque partem habet. Neque enim ulla tam parva Respublica est, ac ne domus quidem ulla, quae sine certo quodam administrandi modo atque disciplina conservetur. (p. 1.).

(2) P. 12.

this book he claimed that there can be discovered (though at some points it is, to the reader, a forced discovery) a church discipline,<sup>(1)</sup> which, for convenience, can be looked at in three sections - firstly, the call, election and ordination of church officers; secondly, the types of church officers; and lastly, their united functions.

In the New Testament all church members are divided into two classes, the officebearers and the non-officebearers, usually called 'saints'; obviously it was the former who were responsible for the church's government. What differentiated the officebearers from the others was their divine call to office, which was made real by their inner assurance that it was from God and not from man.<sup>(2)</sup> Having received this call, no one can assume office until he is first elected, and then ordained. Election must be by the vote of the church members since in the New Testament it was by this democratic method that Matthias, the seven deacons and the elders in the various churches were chosen. It is, however, the duty of the elders to see

(1) Between the preface and the treatise there is found in the 1574 and 1617 editions a one page table setting out the different parts of the discipline.

(2) Women cannot receive such a call since they were commanded by St. Paul to be silent (I Timothy ii.11, 12; Acts i. 23; vi).

that only worthy men are allowed to have their names on the list of candidates, <sup>(1)</sup> such worthiness being recognisable in so far as a man had two evidences of the work of the Holy Spirit in his life, namely, sincerity of faith and integrity of character both in himself and in his family. After election, the officebearer receives ordination, which is the outward recognition that he has the gift of the Holy Spirit, but which in itself has no magical or supernatural effect. The act of ordination consists in prayer accompanied by the laying-on-of-hands <sup>(2)</sup> on the part of more than one of those already so ordained.

With regard to the types of officebearers in the church, while all must be of equal status and honour, yet there must also be differences of suitability according to a man's gifts. In the New Testament mention is made of such offices as those of apostle, prophet and evangelist, <sup>(3)</sup> but these were merely temporary and naturally

- (1) This actual procedure is followed in many presbyterian congregations today, and has the advantage of avoiding the perilous method of 'open' democracy.
- (2) Episcopal ordination where only one bishop takes part is held to be contrary to New Testament practice.
- (3) Travers refutes the suggestion made by some writers that widows had any office in the church. (See p. 190 below).

disappeared with the death of the holders. Two, however, became perpetual because they were necessary to the church's life and witness, and these were the offices of bishop and deacon. (1) Every true church, therefore, must have bishops and deacons, but in each case they are of two kinds. First, there is the bishop who is a pastor, and whose primary duty it is to preach the gospel (which includes administering the sacraments) and to pray, and whose livelihood, which should be neither pompous nor poor, should be provided by the congregation to which he ministers. As there are no specific directions in the New Testament regarding the bishop's apparel, (2) this matter should not be one of compulsion since a true shepherd is known by his voice and not by his clothing. However, in view of the fact that the surplice has been associated for so long with the superstitious accompaniments of the mass, the wearing of black would seem to be more appropriate. The other type of bishop is the teacher (3) (4)

- (1) I Timothy iii; Phillipians i. 1. Strangely enough The Institution of a Christian Man published in the latter years of Henry VIII's reign has the statement: 'The truth is that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of presbyters or bishops'.
- (2) The apostles said, 'We will give ourselves continually to prayer and the ministry of the word'. (Acts vi. 4).
- (3) Travers's opinions on this subject are of special importance in relation to the vestiarian controversy in England.
- (4) Romans xii. 7.



whose duty is to expound the true doctrine of the Bible in the colleges. That this office was continued after the New Testament age is shown by the historian Eusebius who in the Sixth Book of Ecclesiastical History tells of Origen at the age of eighteen being requested to give his time to the teaching of the Scriptures to the ignorant, and at his death another teacher was appointed to carry on his work. In the matter of appointing teachers of 'true' religion, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge have been sadly negligent so that now they have become centres of idleness, riot and wantonness. (1)

As there are two kinds of bishops, so also is it with the office of deacon. The name should be used to designate all those who exercise any office in the church not belonging to the ministry of the word and sacraments, so that the deaconship must not be regarded as a degree in the ministry, but ~~the~~ <sup>person called to such office</sup> should be ordained with the

(1) In a caustic reference to Oxford and Cambridge Travers says:

Quid si hic sive de Oxoniensis Academiae sanctis episcopis, sive Cantabrigiensi illustrissimis regibus fundatoribus aliquem excetarem? Quid si illum tanquam Herculem in Heroum numerum ultimum in hunc senatum relatam, Henricum octavum, qui ceterorum nomine (quod postremus sit) eum Academiis agere possit; quid illi responderent conquerenti, quae ad bonarum literarum honesta studia amplissime & munificentissime collata essent ad otion luxumque converti. (p. III). Such passionate words show that Travers was still smarting under personal injury, remembering his own banishment from Cambridge.

laying-on-of-hands and prayer. (1) Since the apostle Paul speaks (2) of those who give and those who rule, deacons are therefore of two types, first those like (1) the first deacons mentioned in the Book of Acts who were appointed to care for the needy; and second, those called elders who rule as the officers did among the Athenians and the censors among the Romans. The elder should be responsible for admonishing offenders and for examining strangers before they are admitted to the Lord's Supper, so that the purity of the church is maintained.

In addition to their separate duties, bishops and deacons have a more complex function, for the New Testament speaks of the presbytery (3) and of the church, (4) which means that these officebearers have a combined work for which they are unitedly responsible. This means that the 'true' church should have two courts, the consistory and the synod. The former is a court within a congregation which consists of the bishop or bishops (both doctors and pastors) and the deacons who are elders, but not the deacons proper whose chief concern is not

- (1) Acts vi. 6.
- (2) Romans xii. 8.
- (3) I Timothy iv. 14.
- (4) Matthew xviii. 17.

specifically spiritual, but rather material. The function of the consistory<sup>is</sup> to rule and govern the congregation, just as Rome had its senate and Athens had its high court called the Areopagus. All its members can be called indifferently 'elders' or presbyters as seems to be the custom in the New Testament, and as a body they<sup>(1)</sup> have power to oversee the choosing and disposing of officers of the church and also to correct and remove offenders. Since elders act as the custodians of the gospel and leaders of the church, they are therefore the successors of the apostles, and thus the eldership is an office that can claim to have been instituted by Christ Himself.

The second court of the 'true' church is the synod, which though not mentioned specifically in the New Testament, is a necessity since it has an indispensable function. Consisting of all the elders (doctors, pastors and deacon-elders) in a geographical area (such as a province), it thus co-ordinates the work of all the consistories in that area. Its duties are of the same nature as those of the consistory, only on a larger scale. It may reprimand

(1) I Timothy iv. 14; I Peter v. 1; I Corinthians xii. 28; I Thessalonians v. 12; Hebrews xiii. 17; Acts xv. 2, 17, 20; Matthew xviii. 7.

offenders by word of mouth, or on occasions, to the chastisement by word, there might be added some spiritual correction such as suspension or excommunication, but execration<sup>(1)</sup> is not to be used. Furthermore in cases where severe correction seems necessary, such is not to be undertaken without the consent of the people, so that while the government of the church is in the hands of an oligarchy, nevertheless its weighty decisions must be endorsed democratically.

Since this discipline of the church is the only one warranted in the Bible, it ought to be instituted in England by the Queen at once, and given effect by the civil magistrate whose duty ought to be to maintain the purity of the church. Thus the author of this *explicatio* of 'true' ecclesiastical discipline concludes with a personal vow,<sup>(2)</sup> that he will work and pray for its establishment in England; but if he should never see the church he desires established in that country, he will die happy in that he saw its form in his own mind, and by putting his ideas in writing, he feels that he has

(1) Cf. I Corinthians xvi. 22.

(2) Ego vero me vel syngrapha Deo & ecclesiae obstringo, nullum unquam meum studium, laborem, diligentiam defuturam, quae reformationem hanc (cuius diuturna expectatione languessimus) iuvare ullo modo possit. (p. 147<sup>r</sup>).

discharged a duty to God.

The one outstanding feature of the book is its close and careful adherence to the Scriptures, even if in some instances it has been overdone. Yet, having accepted the premise that the Bible is God's word and the sole authority for the knowing God's Will for His church, Travers's fidelity and sincerity in his search for the 'true' discipline cannot be questioned. It was the conviction behind the book coupled with the sense of Divine rightness in the principles enunciated, which was the secret of its compelling authoritativeness. In addition, while the scheme of the discipline was substantially the same as that expounded by Calvin, Cartwright and the Admonition to the Parliament, Travers's treatment was more systematic and clearly expressed. Moreover he exhibits a sense of caution and moderation, for he sees the 'true' discipline of the church neither as an oligarchy nor a democracy, but as a blend of both, a sort of democratic theocracy. It was the evidence of all these elements in his scheme of discipline which made the book so difficult to refute.

While Travers's scheme undoubtedly resembled that propounded by other presbyterian writers, yet it was no echo of their views, for in several places he reveals an independence which shows that he had studied the whole subject for himself. Calvin for instance began with the

office of elder, and from there developed his ecclesiastical structure, but Travers by starting with that of bishop and deacon struck a dangerous blow to the position both of the Catholic and Anglican churchmen who held that these were the only two valid offices in the early church. Thus Travers was using the argument of the latter for his own purpose and read into them a different meaning based on the authority of the 'word of God'. His originality is also seen in his division of the office of deacon into that of the deacon proper and the ruling elder, for this is a clear deviation from the views of both Calvin and Cartwright, <sup>(1)</sup> who held that the deacon was in a separate office from the elder. Another instance of his divergence from Calvin is on the subject of ordination. Travers maintained that the act of laying-on-of-hands was merely the recognition that a man had already received the Holy Spirit, whereas the view of Calvin was that this act <sup>(2)</sup> was a sacrament 'in true and legitimate ordination', and therefore effectual in imparting the gift of the Holy Spirit.

(1) For a discussion of Cartwright's and Travers's view on the eldership see R. M. Ross, 'The Elizabethan Elder' (Journal of the Pres. Hist. Soc. of England, x. 2, 3. 1953, 1954). In later years Bancroft took great delight in pointing out these discrepancies between Calvin, Cartwright and Travers (Survay, pp. 165, 208).

(2) Institutes, iii. 511.

If, however, Travers deviated from the views of Calvin and Cartwright, it is difficult to believe that he was uninfluenced by Calvin's successor, Beza, for they seem to share very similar opinions on several matters. For instance both had an intense dislike of diocesan bishops, who wielded a one-man authority over others.

(1)

Beza in 1566 wrote to Grindal: 'I have yet to learn...., whether you look at the Word of God or at the ancient canons, what right bishops have without the advice and consent of their body of elders, to ordain anything novel'.

The same similarity is noticeable in such subjects as vestments and the role of the civil magistrate in purifying the church. It is also striking to compare Travers's

Explicatio with The Confession of La Rochelle which was drawn up by a French synod, over which Beza presided

three years before the Explicatio appeared. On the question of Christ having established a certain order for His

(2)

church, the Confession says:

Quant est de la vraie eglise, nous croyons qu'elle deitt être gouvernee selon la police que notre seigneur Jesus Christ a établie. C'est qu'ily ait des pasteurs, des surveillants et des diacres, et que les assemblées se fassent au nom de Dieu, esquelles grands et petits soient édifiés.

(1) Baird, Beza, p. 263.

(2) Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches, ed. Smith and Schaff, p. 376.

Again on the subject of vocation for an office in the church, it states: (1)

Nous croyons qu'il se faut toujours conformer à cette règle que tous pasteurs, surveillants et diacres aient temoignage d'etre appelés à leur office.

While on the necessity for equality among the church's officers, the view stated is: (1)

Nous croyons tous vrais pasteurs, en quelque lieu qu'ils soient, avoir meme autorite et egale puissance sous un seul chef, seul souverain et seul universel évêque, Jesus-Christ.

It would therefore seem that possibly Travers was influenced by Beza and the French synod, and yet, if he did borrow some of their opinions, it was to make them his own, after he had examined them in the light of the Scriptures.

Although the book was meant to be a full statement of the presbyterian position, it must be noted that Travers omitted to deal with one important aspect of that position, namely the relationship of church and state. He seems to assume that every state has a godly outlook, and this leads him to believe that the civil magistrate will act as the servant of God in all matters relating to the church. The magistrate is exhorted to build schools and colleges for the training of ministers, and to ensure that the latter live a sober, modest and honest life in keeping

(1) Op.cit., p. 377.



with the purity of the Gospel. Yet Travers does not foresee the possibility of a pagan state divorced from or maybe antagonistic to the church. Probably his mind was dominated by the condition of things in Geneva where such a possibility was unthinkable, and therefore it seemed unnecessary to treat of the church-state relationship. (1) If he had done so, he would doubtless have followed the viewpoint of Calvin, Goodman (2) and others, who enjoined that in an ungodly state the church must obey God rather than man.

In spite of this omission, in England the book at once was regarded as the most concise and authoritative statement of the presbyterian platform that had yet appeared. (3) Mullinger says: 'That epoch making treatise.... exercised an influence on religious thought in England unsurpassed by that of any other single work', and this opinion is endorsed by several other authorities. (4) It had been written in Latin possibly because Elizabeth took great pleasure in reading works in that language. (5) But

- (1) For a full discussion of the puritan view on this relationship, see A.F.S. Pearson, Church and State.
- (2) How superior powers ought to be obeyed.
- (3) University of Cambridge, p. 291.
- (4) M. M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, p. 247; J. Brown, English Puritans, p. 81; W. Walker, History of the Christian Church, p. 460.
- (5) Cartwright's Preface.

its popularity and influence was due to the fact that it was immediately put into English, the translator being generally regarded as Cartwright, (1) with whom the work was first deposited in Heidelberg. (2) This translation which appeared in the same year (1574) had the title: A Full and Plaine Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline owt off the Word off God, etc. The place of printing is not given, but in 1580 another edition appeared with 'at Geneva' on the title page, while a still later (3) one dated 1617 gives no place of printing. The English translation is both clear in meaning and faithful to the original, except for the omission of one small paragraph, to which attention was drawn twenty years later by Bancroft, (4) the then bishop of London. (5) Eager to

(1) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 141.

(2) p. 45 above.

(3) An edition produced by the press of Cambridge university in 1584 was immediately suppressed (see p. 189 below).

(4) Survay, p. 224.

(5) The omitted passage (Explicatio, p. 119) is as follows:-

Nam quod eodem loco sequitur de eo qui miseretur, nullum certum munus ecclesiae indicare puto, sed quale totius ecclesiae officium in sublevandis pauperibus esse debeat ostendere: ut coniungendum sit cū eo quod sequitur, amorem sine simularione esse oportere: & eiusdem sensus sit cum eo quod scribitur 2 epist. ad Corinthios, 9, 7. In hunc autem locum sermonem eum induxit & propter diaconos, quorum ante meminit, ac quorum officium in distribuendo partiendoque constituit: & quia hoc communib. praeceptis, ac illi potissimum quod primo loco de vero amore ponitur, aptissime coniungitur, sed ad diaconos redeamus.

discredit presbyterianism at all costs, he had gone through Travers's book and the translation in tooth-comb fashion, and rejoiced to find that twenty lines, relating to the place of widows in the church, had been omitted. Other advocates of presbyterianism, such as Fenner and the author of A Briefe and Plaine Declaration maintained that the office of widows in the early church was ~~perpet~~ equal, but this view was abandoned by Beza, Cartwright and Travers, the latter having openly refuted it in the passage which judiciously had not been translated. It could not be said that the translator was being deceptive for he probably argued that it was useless to translate a passage which was relatively unimportant and which did not contribute to the present purpose, namely to further the cause of presbyterianism in England.

(1)

With remarkable haste Travers's book found its way into the homeland where it was being read even in

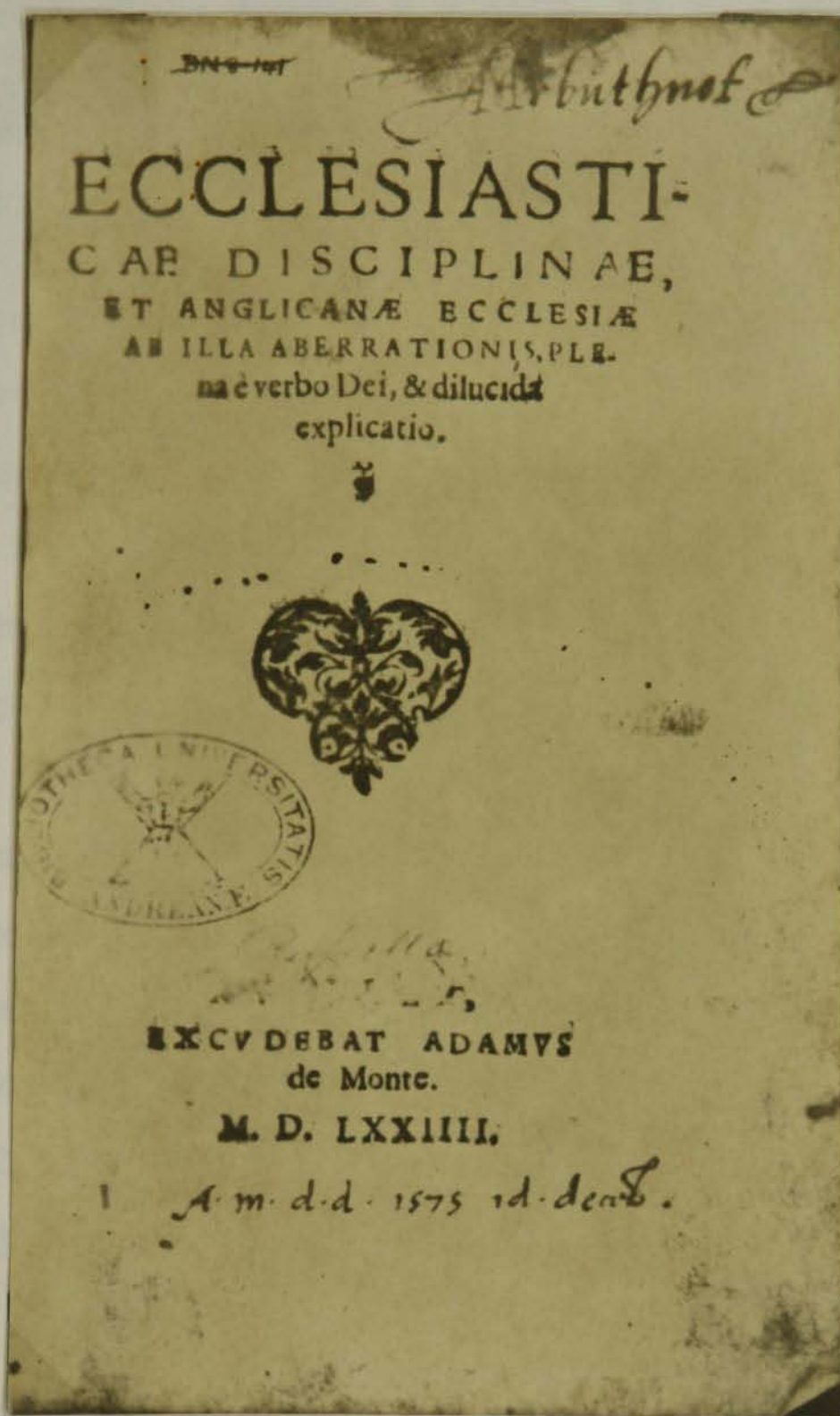
- (1) There is no definite evidence<sup>as to</sup> when the English translation first reached England.

(1)

the same year that it was published. On 9 August 1574  
 Bishop Sandys of London could write of it to Rodolf Gualter  
 of Zurich: <sup>(2)</sup> 'I have not yet seen the book, but I hear  
 that it is printed, and has been brought over to us. As  
 soon as it shall come into my hands, I will take care it  
 shall be sent to you'. But an even more interesting  
 reference <sup>(3)</sup> to the book was made on 20 January 1575 by  
 John Stroud, a printer, and a former minister who had  
 been deprived for nonconformity:

I haveinge occasion to come to Rochester..... I came into  
 the chamber of the saide doctor Nevesonn.... and.... found  
 there.... Mr. Geninges, parson of S. without Temple Barre...  
 with divers others..... And.... after he had inquired my  
 name and dwellinge place, he sate him downe in his chaire,  
 and haveinge a book in his hand of ECCLESIASTICA DISCIPLINA,  
 asked me if I know the same, to whom I answered I knew not  
 everie book by the forrell: then he opened the booke and  
 asked me if I then knew it; I turneinge me backe, and

- (1) There is also good reason to believe that the book reached Scotland as early as 1575. A copy in the library of St. Andrew's University (TYP. IR. B74MT), the title page of which is reproduced on the next page, has this note tipped inside, 'This copy of a very rare book appears to have been presented by Andrew Melville to his friend Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. The author of it was Walter Travers, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. See Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I, p. 300. Note by 'Dr. Irving'. The Librarian, G. H. Bushnell, in a private letter states, 'This book appears to have belonged to Irving and was probably acquired at the sale of his library by David Laing. We acquired it at the sale of the latter's books for 25/-'.
- (2) Non vidi hactenus librum, sed audio impressum et ad nos allatum esse: quamprimum venerit ad manus meas, curabo ut ad te mittatur. (Zurich Letters, i. 184).
- (3) Seconde Parte of a Register, i. 108.



Title page of the copy in the library of St Andrews University. Reproduced by kind permission of the Librarian, G.H. Bushnell, Esq.

seeinge Mr. Genings somewhat blushe, began to suspect (for that Mr Genings had about the moneth of November at the request of a frend of mine had one of the above named bookes) and said, If it be the booke that I, beinge desired by a frend of mine, did lend Mr. Genings, it is called ECCLESIASTICA DISCIPLINA, and it is my booke. There is in it, saith he, treson, rebellion, and heresie; wherefore I must committ you to the bayle, and you must go to prison.

Stroud actually did suffer imprisonment, and after trial, was excommunicated. From its first appearance, therefore, Travers's book was evidently regarded as a danger to the English church, and it is not surprising that Parker, the archbishop of Canterbury, at once made plans to have it answered. Having chosen Aylmer, the bishop of London, for the task, he sent him a copy, but the bishop after a lengthy examination, refused, 'writing back to the arch-<sup>(1)</sup> bishop that he could not deal therein'. It was not going to be any easy matter to find even a bishop with the mental calibre equal to that of the author of the Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae..... Explicatio, and we shall see that it was twenty years before the English church could find a scholar able to produce a worthy reply to Travers's monumental work.

(1) Strype, Aylmer, p. 15.

Having completed his literary labours, Travers was not content to remain much longer in the pleasing atmosphere of Geneva. It seemed to him that he had thought long enough about the religious situation in England, and that the time for action had come, when he might play his part in building another 'Geneva' in that 'unfortunate' country.

Travers and his work	p. 68
Travers's appointment as chaplain	p. 74
Testimonial of ordination	p. 80
Ministry and attendant difficulties	p. 85
Departure for England	p. 101
Controversy with Barrow	p. 108
Offer of professorship in Scotland	p. 114

### Chapter III

#### The Antwerp ministry

Antwerp and its merchants.....	p.68.
Travers's appointment as chaplain.....	p.71.
Testimonial of ordination.....	p.80.
Ministry and attendant difficulties.....	p.85.
Departure to England.....	p.103.
Controversy with Baro.....	p.108.
Offer of professorship in Scotland.....	p.112.

(1) E. Stone, History of the Scottish Church of Antwerp, p. 108.



CHAPTER IIIThe Antwerp ministry

The growing sea-power of England reached its zenith in the sixteenth century, and along with the fame of her warships there went that of her trading vessels. English merchants were found in all the principal seaports of Europe, such as Amsterdam, Bruges, Rotterdam, Delft and Antwerp, in all of which they were made welcome by the local magistrates who realised how beneficial their business was to their cities. Among those countries which had commerce with England over several centuries was the Netherlands, for as early as 1285 the Dutch were found giving 'certain immunities to such of King Edward's subjects, as chose to repair to the provinces of the King',<sup>(1)</sup> in return for the privilege of fishing off the English coast. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this trade between the two countries increased enormously, for due to the Portuguese discovery of the sea route to India and of the Spanish discovery of America, the European interchange of goods between North and South

(1) W. Steven, History of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam, p. 259.

became centred at Antwerp, <sup>(1)</sup> whose position in the commercial world now became ~~quite~~ unique. Not only was its geographical position on the Scheldt suitable for a trading centre, but even more so its spacious harbour, <sup>(2)</sup> which could accommodate as many as two thousand ships. In the sixteenth century Antwerp could boast that it was visited by five hundred vessels daily, while every week two thousand carriages laden with merchandise passed through its gates. <sup>(3)</sup> In consequence, its population rose to about one hundred thousand <sup>(4)</sup> in the middle of that century, and within fifty years house rents became six to eight times higher.

In 1407 the Company of Merchant Adventurers had been formed with its chief centre in Bruges, <sup>(5)</sup> but when their trade came to be in English cloth, they moved in 1444 to Antwerp. Vast quantities of cloth were imported here annually to the Company's warehouses which were situated close to the quays, the bourse and the market place, so that the merchants had ample facilities for their trade. They with their governor, who abode in the English House

(1) P. Geyl, Revolt of the Netherlands, p. 42.

(2) J. L. Motley, History of the United Netherlands, i. 135.

(3) Steven, p. 260.

(4) Geyl, p. 42.

(5) J. Wegg, Antwerp 1477-1559, p. 57.

in Wool Street, were permitted to live under their own civil law, and to these privileges were added that of being free from interference even in time of war. (1)

Yet their only interest was not commerce, for they came to be regarded also as a religious society whose good name in a foreign land carried with it associations of trust and good faith. That they were men who believed in the practice of religion is evidenced in the fact that they desired the services of a chaplain to lead them in worship. As regards their particular persuasion in religious matters, when one remembers the close connection between trading and Calvinism, (2) it is not surprising to find that they belonged to the latter school, a fact which made them all the more welcome among the majority of the inhabitants of Antwerp. Compared with the Lutherans and Anabaptists, here the Calvinists were the most numerous and enthusiastic. (3) Calvinism had reached the Low Countries from Switzerland at an early date, and in Antwerp one such congregation had been established in 1554, with which Calvin himself corresponded. (4) Nine years later a synod of the reformed church (5)

(1) Wegg, p.60

(2) See R.H.Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism pp. 88 ff.

(3) J.L.Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, i.446.

(4) Steven, op. cit., p.260.

(5) J.Moffatt, Presbyterian Churches, p.37.

of the Netherlands met in the same city to draw up a church polity that was wholly presbyterian. Unlike the anabaptists, many of whom died as heretics, the Calvinists were always treated by the magistrates of Antwerp with remarkable tolerance, and since the merchant adventurers were like-minded in their religion, it can easily be understood that they were much at home in this city.

In October 1577 it so happened that they were seeking a chaplain to conduct services at their headquarters in the English House. <sup>(1)</sup> The names of two candidates, William Clark, later preacher at Lincolns Inn, and John Davidson, a Scotsman, later the opponent of Bancroft, had been mentioned, <sup>(2)</sup> but eventually the appointment was offered to Travers. The latter did not leave Geneva for Antwerp as has been erroneously stated, <sup>(3)</sup> but was now in England, where he had arrived sometime between 1574, <sup>(4)</sup> the year of his brother's death in Geneva, and 11 July 1576 the date on which he was incorporated in Oxford as a Master of Arts, <sup>(5)</sup> supplication having been made on

(1) C.S.P. For. 1577-78, No. 394.

(2) Strype, Annals, v. 79.

(3) Heylyn, Aërius Redivivus, p. 314; Soames, Elizabethan Religious History, p. 443.

(4) See Appendix I.

(5) Oxford Un. Archives Reg. KK9 (Reg. Congreg.) F.22; Clark, Register of the University of Oxford, ii. 351.

9 July. Since incorporation can be arranged only between Oxford, Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin, and only to the same academic status, Travers, being a Master of Arts ~~graduate~~ of Cambridge, <sup>(1)</sup> had obviously fulfilled the <sup>(2)</sup> necessary requirements. It is worthy of notice that he did not return to the latter university, his alma mater, though this is not surprising when it is recalled that only a few years previously he had been expelled from its fellowship. His incorporation in Oxford can therefore be taken to mean that he had serious intentions of doing further study, despite the fact that he must have realised that his presbyterian leanings would be equally unwelcome in Oxford, if not more so, ~~than~~ in Cambridge. Whatever were Travers's intentions in becoming connected with Oxford, he must have quickly changed his mind, for according to Whitgift <sup>(3)</sup> it would seem that it was ordination to the ministry that he desired: 'This man disliking the

(1) P. 24 above.

(2) A search of the college registers in both Oxford and Cambridge has shown that there is no evidence for the statements that he was incorporated D.D. of Oxford (Peile, Biographical Register of Christ's College, i. 73; D.N.B.) or that he became B.D. of Cambridge (Peile; Wood, Fasti Oxonienses, i. 204; D.N.B.: Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, i. 262; Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, p. 1504; Marsden, Early Puritans, p. 226).

(3) Strype, Whitgift, i. 477.

way of ordination by bishops according to the English Book, went over to Antwerp'. There is no evidence that he spent any time in Oxford, and therefore his call to minister on the Continent was probably as unexpected as it was welcome.

It is almost certain that Travers would never have received this appointment at Antwerp, had it not been for the influence and untiring labours of two zealous puritan diplomats, William Davison and Henry Killigrew. The former, on his own confession, <sup>(1)</sup> was 'come of Scotsmen and was a Scotsman in his heart'. By marriage he became related to many people of importance, among them the earl of Leicester, Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley, Travers's good friend) and Sir Henry Killigrew, just mentioned. On the death of the governor of the Low Countries, Davison was sent there in February 1576 as the Queen's agent, and because of his efficiency, was <sup>(2)</sup> made ambassador at Antwerp in July of the following year. He is described not only as a capable and honest statesman, but above all else 'a godly man', <sup>(3)</sup> and being a Calvinist he took a keen interest in the religious life of the

(1) N. H. Nicholas, William Davison, p. 4.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 7.

(3) Brown, Pilgrim Fathers, p. 54.

Antwerp merchants. From the only records <sup>(1)</sup> that survive relating to this merchant congregation, which are preserved among the Boswell Papers in the British Museum, it is learned that Davison had accepted the office of elder, and as a godly parent had his many children christened in the merchants' church. In 1582 the Queen appointed him as ambassador to his native Scotland where he must have felt socially and spiritually at home among his presbyterian brethren. <sup>(2)</sup> Five years later when Mary Queen of Scots was executed, Elizabeth quite unjustifiably tried to throw the blame on Davison who was then her secretary of State and thus made him the scapegoat of that horrible transaction. He was tried before a special commission on the charge of divulging state secrets, fined ten thousand marks, and having been deprived of his secretaryship, was sent as a prisoner to the Tower.

Henry Killigrew, the other diplomat who aided Travers, belonged to an old Cornish family and first came into political prominence in 1553 when he became a member of

- (1) 'Extracts out of y<sup>e</sup> Registre book of y<sup>e</sup> English Congregation at Antwerpe A<sup>o</sup> D<sup>n</sup>J 1579 80, 81, 82' (Add. MS 6394 f. 113-116) Pearson (Cartwright, p. 182) has misread D as X.
- (2) It is of interest that William Brewster one of the Pilgrim Fathers who sailed from Plymouth to New England in 1620 was Davison's servant in 1585 (Brown, p. 54).

parliament. Because of his anti-catholic opinions he went into exile during the Marian regime and at Paris on 13 July 1556, he was classed as a rebel by Mary's government officials. (1) After the Queen's death, he was recalled and employed on diplomatic missions to various places including Germany, the Low Countries, France and Scotland. He was known as a man of great literary, musical and artistic gifts with an immense knowledge of places, (2) and in religion he has been described (3) as 'a good and godly protestant'. It is quite evident that he was of the Calvinistic type for it was said: (4) 'Neither was he less observable for his own conduct than for that of others..... he was a spotless man..... whose life was always given to industry and diligence'.

Not unnaturally, to these two diplomats Travers seemed the ideal person for the post of chaplain to the merchants at Antwerp, but to secure such an appointment was not altogether easy. On 8 January 1578 Killigrew (5) wrote to Davison, then in Antwerp, and after mentioning (6) a letter from Travers which was enclosed he added:

- (1) C.S.P. For. 1553-8, p. 238.  
 (2) Lloyd, State Worthies, p. 584.  
 (3) Knox, Works, v. 633.  
 (4) Lloyd, p. 587.  
 (5) S.P. Dom. Eliz. Add. xxv. No. 68.  
 (6) Unfortunately this letter is not extant.



I think yt wold be hard to procure hem lycens here to goe to that charge and therefore he must com over as one of yours unto your Lordship. When he is there you may conferr with hem etc. but my opynion is that he first be Receaved to Read a letter ther in the Inglysch howse which yow must obtayne at the prynces hand that he may so doe, and seing the lyke permyssion hathe not hetherto bin allowed to our nation there this cuming at your espetiall sewt from the prynce who may desire that suche ordre as is there intended to be kept in seremonis may for examples sake or for avoyding contention in these begynnings be also used by Mr Travers among our nation. I speake thus that in case after he have ben there a whyle settled any of ours shold myslyk that kind of ordre and compleyne. yt might serve for aunswer to our Counsell that you were glad first to obtayne to have one to Read to our nation the word of God in our owne tong which before was never yelded unto there and so thought not best to urge them with myche formalytye or many particulars which yf you wold desire all our sequell. you se how I am occupied about a nedlesse matter unto you. I have spoken with Mr secretary Walsingham and doe perceave by hem that hardly wyll any Lycens be obtayned for any suche man as Mr Travers is to goe to that service, therefore I suppose he must first be gotten into possession by suche or som lyke mean as I have before descrybed. now I leave the Reast to your selfe...

Killigrew and Davison were evidently working in the closest intimacy about the matter of securing Travers's appointment at Antwerp for it was a very delicate question. A presbyterian enthusiast and writer such as he could hardly expect to be looked upon with favour by the Queen, whose whole policy was to avoid extremes in religion wherever possible. Perhaps her ultimate consent to his appointment was on the ground that his religious opinions would do less harm abroad than at home. At any rate Killigrew applied himself with all diligence to the

matter from the English side. On 22 February 1578 he sent the substance of letters that he had received from Davison to Randolph, <sup>(1)</sup> a fellow puritan who was on diplomatic business in Scotland. <sup>(2)</sup> His purpose was to get other opinions on this difficult matter, and Randolph would be most understanding, since being in Scotland, he would have first hand knowledge of presbyterianism in that country. John Knox and other Scottish reformers were well known to him, and during his time there he had become a wholehearted admirer of presbyterian worship, particularly with regard to the form of Communion service for he speaks of its 'great decencie and verie good order'. <sup>(3)</sup> He owed much to the preachers of presbyterianism, and seems to have come to the conclusion that it was the one true faith, since he believed it could supply the form for a united protestant church in Scotland and England.

Another sympathiser consulted by Killigrew at this time was John Field, who later on in company with Travers and Cartright became one of the well-known presbyterian leaders in London. He in turn took the trouble to consult a friend on the subject, for Killigrew says, 'Mr. Field <sup>(2)</sup> looks for an answer from a friend on the matter'.

(1) Randolph or Randall.

(2) S.P. Dom. xxv. No. 74.

(3) Knox, Works v. p p. 110, 116, 119, 122, 129.

Meantime Killigrew wrote again to Davison: 'I will do my endeavours touching Mr Travers, and advertise you'.<sup>(1)</sup>

On 16 March 1578 Davison replied to Killigrew and the latter on the same date wrote back<sup>(2)</sup> to say: 'I communicated the contents of your letter to Mr Travers, who expects your answer to his own letter which I sent the last post'. Presumably Davison's letter was to the effect that Travers had received the appointment at Antwerp, but the latter was unwilling to begin his journey until he had an official letter from Davison without which he could not obtain a passport. On 20 March

Killigrew wrote<sup>(3)</sup> again to Davison:

I look for an answer from you to Mr Travers letters, pray send it, as the Merchants letters refer all the matter to you, and he is gone into the country to take leave of his mother and friends. You must be earnest with him and enlarge the good that may follow of his travail; if you write yourself he will come, it must be under your name, or no passport will be got him, the charges of his journey must likewise be considered.

I have promised him money to serve his turn thither if any of your men were here by the 15th or 20th of this next, it would serve for his better coming; or if the Merchants have any shipping against that time it will be well.

The reference to the country undoubtedly means Nottingham where his widowed mother was still living, his father<sup>(4)</sup> having died about three years previously. It is

(1) S.P. Dom. xxv. No. 74.

(2) Ibid., Add. xxv. No. 78.

(3) Ibid., No. 79.

(4) Appendix II.

natural that Travers would wish to remain with her as long as possible, and this explains why Killigrew was kept anxiously waiting for his return to London. On 12 April he wrote <sup>(1)</sup> to Davison: 'I daily look for Mr Travers, and if he come in time I will send him over with your servant now here'. By this time he had spent a little over three weeks with his mother, and since he did not embark for Antwerp before 23 April, he was possibly in Nottingham for about five weeks in all. On the last mentioned date Randolph wrote <sup>(2)</sup> from London to Davison:

I cannot sufficiently commend to you the bearer, my friend, Mr Travers nor a little praise your godly purpose to have him there so near yourself; our hap is the harder that such men are forced to seek other places than to do their duties at home, neither you nor he shall lack what lies in my power to pleasure either of you.

The actual date of his departure therefore must be placed on or after the 23rd and before the 30th April, for on this date John Stubbe could write <sup>(3)</sup> of Travers's departure in the past tense.

On 10 May <sup>(4)</sup> Killigrew received from Travers the news of his safe arrival, which must have been several days earlier since it was possible for him to be ordained on

(1) S.P.Dom.Add. xxv. No. 79.

(2) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. vi.no.29.

(3) S.P. Dom. Add. xxv. No. 91.

(4) Ibid., No. 99.

(1)

8 May in the merchants' 'common courthouse'. The  
 (2)  
 testimonial of his ordination reads as follows:

Forasmuch as it is just and reasonable that such as are received into the number of the Ministers of God's Word should have a testimonial of their Vocation, We declare that having called together a Synod of twelve Ministers of God's Word, and almost the same number of Elders, at Antwerp on May 8th 1578, our very learned, pious and excellent brother, the Revd. Doctor Walter Travers was, by the unanimous votes and ardent desires of all present received and instituted into the Ministry of God's Holy Word, and confirmed according to our accustomed manner, with prayer and imposition of hands. And the next day after the Sabbath, having preached before a Congregation of English at the request of the Ministers, he was acknowledged and received most affectionately by the whole church. That Almighty God would prosper the ministry of this our reverend brother among the English, and attend it with great success, is our most earnest prayer, through Jesus Christ, Amen.

Given at Antwerp May 14th, 1578.

Signed - Johannes Taffinus,  
 Logelerius Vilerius, Ministers of God's Word.  
 Johannes Hocheleus,

This testimonial is of very great importance for several reasons. In the first place it establishes the exact date of ordination which has been so often <sup>stated</sup> incorrectly, (3)

(1) C.S.P. For. 1577-78, No. 308.

(2) Latin text in Fuller, Church History, iii. 139; English Version in Brook, Puritans, ii. 314; Neal Puritans, i. 242. In view of this testimonial, Hook's statement that he was not ordained but only admitted a preacher by the presbyterians of Antwerp (Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, v. 156) is untenable.

(3) Neal, i. 242; Heylyn, Aërius Redivivus, p. 314; Burrage, Early English Dissenters, i. 137; D.N.B.

and the mode of ordination described shows that Travers got the desire of his heart in being ordained according to the manner which he had proved in his Genevan book to be the only one in keeping with New Testament practice. He could now say that his own ordination <sup>(1)</sup> was the outward confirmation of an inward call, that it was by prayer and the laying-on-of-hands on the part of more than one man who had already been ordained, all ministers present being regarded as equal. Furthermore it is of the deepest interest that this was also the practice in the reformed church of the Netherlands, for those taking part acted, (in the words of the testimonial) 'according to our accustomed manner', all of which shows the common influence of Geneva.

As 8 May 1578, the day of ordination, was a Thursday, the testimonial also reveals the order of events in Travers's institution to the ministry. The act of ordination came first and was independent of the congregation, being carried through by twelve ministers acting as a synod or presbytery. On the Sunday following Travers as an ordained minister preached, as it were, a trial sermon, and then on the next day, Monday, he was chosen by the

(1) There is no ground for Marsden's suggestion (Early Puritans, p. 226) that Travers had been ordained deacon according to the manner of the English Church.

people as their minister, the testimonial being written two days later. It will be seen later <sup>(1)</sup> how this ordination in Antwerp gave rise to a violent controversy about its validity when he returned to England, and how Travers <sup>(2)</sup> was forced to defend it by word of mouth and in writing much to the annoyance of the bishops but with little advantage to himself. Possibly the chief purpose of his procuring a testimonial in the first place was to have <sup>(3)</sup> some written proof of his status as an ordained minister when he came back to the homeland.

There is yet one further point of importance in connection with this testimonial. Some authorities <sup>(4)</sup> state that Cartwright took part in Travers's ordination, but if he did so, it is difficult to believe that he would have omitted to add his signature to the testimonial. Moreover his presence in Antwerp is very unlikely in view of the

(1) P. 197 below.

(2) Strype, Annals, ii. pt. II, p. 175.

(3) In the testimonial Travers is designated 'Doctor', but this cannot be taken to have any academic significance since it has been seen (p. 72 above) that he did not receive this degree in either Oxford or Cambridge and a search made at the Continental universities (Geneva, Basle, Zurich, Leyden and Paris) has also proved fruitless.

(4) Strype, Whitgift, i. 477; D.N.B.

fact that he was busily engaged at this time as the  
 merchant's factor in Middleburg<sup>(1)</sup> and did not reach  
 Antwerp until Travers had departed.<sup>(2)</sup> As no predecessor  
 is mentioned in the testimonial, nor elsewhere, it is  
 clear that Travers had the honour of being the first  
 minister of the merchants's congregation at Antwerp. That  
 Cartwright was the second is evident from the congrega-  
 tion's records<sup>(3)</sup> which state that 'the cong<sup>n</sup> of Merchants  
 Adventur<sup>rs</sup> removed from Antwerpe to Middleborough A<sup>o</sup> D<sup>n</sup>j  
 1582 or at the beginning of 1583, Mr. Th. Cartwright  
 being their Minist<sup>r</sup> having succeeded Mr Travers'. Of  
 the twelve ministers who took part in the ordination  
 service, only the three who appended their names to the  
 testimonial are known. One of these was Villers, who  
 probably became acquainted with Travers during his stay  
 in Geneva.<sup>(4)</sup> He was born at Lille, and having studied  
 law at Orleans, practised for a time in Paris, but from

(1) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 178.

(2) Heylyn (op. cit. p. 314) therefore in stating that  
 Cartwright was in Antwerp when Travers arrived is  
 incorrect, as is also Heron (Puritanism, p. 134),  
 Brook (Cartwright, p. 126) and Price (Protestant  
 Nonconformity, i. 358) in asserting that Travers  
 assisted Cartwright in Antwerp.

(3) P. 74<sup>1</sup> above, n. I.

(4) J. H. Hessels, Ecclesiae Londino - Batavae Archium -  
 Epistulae et Tractatus, ii. 622.



there he was compelled by religious persecution to flee to Geneva where Beza induced him to become a minister. After ministering at Croisic and Rouen, he was again forced to fly after the Bartholomew Massacre and about 1573 was appointed minister to the Walloons in London. Here in addition to his ordinary duties, he taught divinity and prepared an edition of the New Testament in Greek which was published in 1573, accompanied with a Latin text. Whitgift<sup>(1)</sup> makes the derogatory remark that Villers came to England 'in a threadbare cloak, and grew rich here by a common collection for him for reading a divinity lecture'. Three years later he was found in Holland where as Court preacher and private counsellor to the Prince of Orange, with whom he had a marked influence, he remained until his death in 1590. His duties in this last appointment took him to such places as Delft, Dordrecht, Middleburg and particularly Antwerp. Consequently it is here that we find him in 1578 officiating at Travers's ordination, and his presence can be taken as a symbol of the welcome given to an English Presbyterian not only by the reformed church of the Netherlands, but also by the government of that country.

(1) Strype, Whitgift, i. 477.

At first all seems to have gone well with the congregation of Merchants Adventurers and their new pastor. They are known to have met for worship on Sundays and Holy Days at first in the 'common court house',<sup>(1)</sup> which was evidently part of the group of buildings known as the 'English House',<sup>(2)</sup> but very soon after Travers's appointment, by the good offices of Archduke Matthias, their place of worship was transferred from the English House to 'a place built by the Genoese by the church of St. Francis'.<sup>(2)</sup> The polity of the church was entirely presbyterian, the officebearers being minister, elders and deacons, and the characteristic discipline was duly administered. When for instance one member of the congregation,<sup>(3)</sup> after a warning, contracted a 'mixed' marriage, the ceremony being held in a Roman catholic church and performed by a priest, that member was openly denounced in the congregation.<sup>(2)</sup> The duties that fell to Travers as minister do not seem to have been onerous, being chiefly confined to preaching for which his

(1) C.S.P. For. 1578-9, No. 308.

(2) Extracts see p. 74 above, n.I.

(3) Unfortunately no evidence exists as to the number of members in the congregation.

remuneration was a 'stipend'<sup>(1)</sup> of unknown amount. His own account of his remuneration and duties found in his Supplication made to the Council,<sup>(2)</sup> made in 1586, is: 'When I was at Antwerp..... I reaped no benefit of my ministry by law, receiving only a benevolence and voluntary contribution; and the ministry I dealt with being preaching only.....' The actual form of worship is unknown, but perhaps it was left purposely vague so that Travers could be free to introduce his presbyterianism without breaking a written agreement. Yet it was on this point that trouble soon arose.

The puritan diplomat Henry Killigrew, having achieved his object in securing the appointment of Travers as minister at Antwerp, did not forget either him or his congregation. Continually he remembered him in his letters to Davison,<sup>(3)</sup> sent him greetings and prayed a blessing on his work. But in his letter of 25 October<sup>(4)</sup> he desired to know 'how Mr Travers does' and then added significantly, 'doubtless among traverses,

(1) C.S.P. For. 1578-9, no. 536.

(2) Hooker, Works, ed. Keble, iii. 691.

(3) Letters dated 10 May, 23 Aug., 10 Oct., 25 Oct. (S.P. Dom. Add. xxv. Nos. 98, 116, 117; For. Nos. 132, 336).

(4) S.P. Dom. Add. xxv. No. 117.

no new thing to the children of God'. The fact was, that about five months after his appointment, Travers's presbyterianism in the conduct of worship got him into trouble. Before he departed from England, he had evidently been warned by Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's Secretary of State, about the danger of his presbyterian views, for on the day of his ordination, Walsingham wrote to Davison: 'it were very dangerous if every private mans zeal should carry a sufficient authority of reforming things amis, Mr Travers your minister there knows my opinion in the matter'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Walsingham was another of those puritan sympathisers in England among diplomatic circles, who were a source of strength to Travers and his congregation, both by encouragement and advice. From his parents he had inherited a zeal for protestantism which had been sharpened by his forced exile during Mary's reign.<sup>(2)</sup> After his student days at King's College, Cambridge, he became a member of parliament in 1562. Eight years later he was sent on diplomatic service to Paris and in 1572 was made secretary of State, receiving a knighthood from the Queen in 1577. In his religious convictions he is described as

(1) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. vi. no. 54.

(2) Read, Mr. Secretary Walsingham, iii. 258.

'radically Protestant', <sup>(1)</sup> while the Spanish ambassador <sup>(1)</sup> referred to him more than once as 'a damnable heretic'. The Queen herself always regarded him as belonging to the puritan party and actually on one occasion <sup>(2)</sup> complained that 'he was more interested in the welfare of his fellow-believers than he was in the welfare of England'. At least once, this interest showed itself in a very practical way when he gave Cartwright one hundred pounds to assist him in answering the Roman catholic version of the New Testament produced at Rheims. <sup>(3)</sup> Yet in spite of his open support for the puritan cause, he also believed that it should be furthered with diplomatic caution rather than heedless zeal, and this was the advice he had evidently given to Travers before he left England.

Whether Travers did not take this good advice of Walsingham, or whether he was not cautious and discreet enough in the introduction of his ideas of worship, is not certain, but in any case, early in October 1578 he was silenced by Nicholas Loddington the governor of the merchant adventurers, on the ground that he did not use <sup>(4)</sup> the Book of Common Prayer. Davison's account of the

(1) Read, iii. 258.

(2) Ibid., p. 259.

(3) Ibid., p. 261.

(4) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. ix. no. 67.

(1)

incident is given in a letter to Walsingham on 19

October:

He [Loddington] had .... usurped authority so far as to remove the 'exercise' out of their common court house to a room lent to me; where the Sunday after your departure he took upon him to interrupt the minister in his service, under colour of not using the Book of Common Prayer, wherein he became clerk himself. This act of his having disquieted the whole assembly, and to avoid like interruption thenceforth, Mr Travers, after the sermon gave warning that such as had a will to hear the preaching should resort to my lodging. Whereupon the Governor charged them all, as they were or would be noted her Majesties subjects, not to 'come at' it; with many lusty and imperious speeches.

Davison in the same letter went on to relate that after this incident the governor was still not satisfied that he had done enough, and sent his officer to all the guest houses in the town forbidding them to give shelter to this congregation, while all places, where their worship had formerly been held, were closed at his command.

This sudden disturbance of the peace in the merchants' congregation is hard to explain seeing that Walsingham with several others had just returned home from a three months' visit to Antwerp and had found the congregation in a happy and satisfactory state. In June 1578 he and Lord Cobham had been sent by Elizabeth on a diplomatic mission (2) to the Netherlands with a view to bringing about

(1) There was a constant correspondence between Walsingham and Davison during the latter's term of office in Antwerp. (See Journal of Sir Francis Walsingham, ed. C.T. Martin).

(2) C.S.P. For. Eliz. 1578-79, Nos. 38, 48, 58, 59, 125.

a peace between Don John of Austria, the Spanish ruler of the Low Countries, and the Prince of Orange, the leader of the protestant rebels. Their mission actually proved a failure and they returned home in September.

Among those accompanying these two diplomats were Killigrew who has already been seen as the staunch friend of Travers, and Laurence Tomson, no less a friend, and no less a puritan, who combined his zeal for religion with an efficiency as author, translator and politician. He had been a student at Magdalen College, Oxford, graduating in Arts in 1564, and for a time served with Sir Thomas (1) Hoby in his embassy in France. According to his epitaph Tomson had travelled in Sweden, Russia, Denmark, Germany, Italy and France and was conversant with twelve languages. At one period he gave public lectures on the Hebrew language in Geneva and it was probably there that he became a devotee of presbyterianism. In 1583 he published an English translation of Beza's New Testament which varies only slightly from the Genevan translation (1557). During most of his political career he was much employed by Walsingham, after whose death he retired into private life.

When this group of diplomats had returned after their three months' visit, Walsingham wrote (2) to Loddington the

(1) Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ii. 44.

(2) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. ix. no. 81.

governor on 25 October 1578 expressing his satisfaction with the worship conducted in the merchant congregation, and disclosed something of the consultation he had had with Travers:

For your purpose to have the book of England used I do not mislike, seeing it is of itself good and commendable and as such established and authorised within the Realm; nor, if I be not deceived is your minister of other opinion. When we were there, talking of the same matter he acknowledged no less, being willing to show his conformity, not only therein, but also in points and articles of further matter, which have made some diversity among a few ministers within the Realm, but of late have been yielded to, as we showed him and he offered submission, so that we were content at the time upon his conformity to let him go on with the order he was entered into; which otherwise we would not have done.

(1)

On the next day he wrote also to Davison and said: 'At our talk with him [Travers] we found him conformable enough'.

It might seem from this as though Travers was guilty of playing a double role, and that in the matter of his conduct of worship in his congregation, he was not being transparently honest. Yet a fuller understanding of his position will reveal that this is not so, for unlike John Knox who preached 'against' the English Prayer Book, calling it 'superstitious, unpure, and unperfect',<sup>(2)</sup> Travers took up the more moderate position of Calvin who

(1) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. ix. no. 82.

(2) Brief Discourse of Troubles at Frankfort, p. xxxviii.



when asked to give his opinion of the Prayer Book said:

In the liturgie off Englande, I se that there were manye tollerable foolishe thinges, by theis wordes I meane, that there was not that puritie whiche was to be desired. Theis vices, though they coulde not at the firste daie be amended, yet seinge there was no manifeste impetie, they were for a season to be tolerated.

Like Calvin, Travers was not wholly antagonistic to the Prayer Book, but seeing it did not have the purity that he desired, he was not going to tie his hands to the constant use of that book. He regarded it as good but not ideal as a vehicle for every act of public worship. This was typical of the attitude of all the English presbyterians of the sixteenth century, and it can be taken to be still the attitude of most presbyterians today. Thus Travers could with a clear conscience play a seemingly double role, by admitting his agreement with the contents of the Book, while reserving the right to use it or not use it as he so desired. It was actually the refusal of the Church of England to allow this freedom of use which eventually forced many of the presbyterians outside the communion of that church.

Thus, on the first Sunday of October 1578, when Travers was conducting the worship of his congregation without the aid of the Prayer Book, Loddington the governor believed this to be a total rejection of the Book,

(1) Brief Discourse, p. xxxv.

and therefore an act of disobedience to the Queen and the law of her church. He was therefore legally justified in putting Travers to silence, though his act of usurping the place of the minister in the service of worship was not altogether polite or proper. It was this act which filled Davison with indignation and compelled him to take the governor (1) to task. Davison told Walsingham:

I roundly charged him with his folly and presumption and with the injury he had done to Lord Cobham and you particularly, besides usurping 'upon' my place, abusing the parson and calling off the minister, with many other circumstances. Which he answered with so much bravery and little reason as I am loth for his credits sake to rehearse.

In this conflict between the governor of the merchant adventurers and their minister, it was natural that the puritan clique, Killigrew, Walsingham, Tomson and Davison should take the part (2) of the latter. Tomson sent a message to Travers through Davison: 'tell Mr. Travers from me, the Lord shall bless you'. As we have seen, Davison withstood the governor face to face, but what made Loddington submit and repent of his action was a reprimanding (3) letter he received from Walsingham who wrote to him on 11 October 1578 as soon as he heard of the disturbance, a copy of which letter Walsingham sent to

(1) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. ix.No.67.

(2) Ibid., No.60.

(3) B.M.Cotton MS Galba C vi, pt.2, f.276.

(I)

Davidson on the same date.

Walsingham began his letter by saying that he understood Travers had been silenced by Loddington in spite of the fact that the former had offered 'to yield to any conformity that in reason might be desired'. He then informed the governor that he himself had submitted to Travers certain articles (2) which, on being accepted by some deprived ministers in Norfolk, had been the means of their restoration. These same articles Travers also had accepted, and therefore he too was worthy of the same consideration. Having objected not only to the silencing of Travers, but also to the disorderly way in which it was done, Walsingham went on to write these stinging words:

(I) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. ix. no. 59.

(2) No copy of these articles is extant.

You have done my Lord Cobham and me a great deal of wrong, in that you will take upon you, being only a minister to a company of merchants, to redress that which by us was not misliked, as though you could better judge what were fit to be done in these causes than we. It had been your duty to have acquainted my Lord and me with your intention and have demanded our advice what might have been best for you to have done in these matters and so should you have fully understood such direction as we saw best to be liked of, or if that had not liked you, you might have conferred with Her Majesty's agent, whose authority and countenance in that place and in those matters is greater than yours and such as you ought to reverence.

Walsingham suspects that he has other counsellors on whom he is depending, and if so, this is tantamount to disloyalty to the Queen. Moreover he also suspects that he is being influenced by Doctor Pauley who is evidently a very adamant anti-puritan member of the merchants' congregation. Therefore he bids Loddington to remove Pauley and advises that in his own interests he would do well to have Travers restored.

The effect of this letter on the governor

seems to have been instantaneous, for Davison wrote <sup>(1)</sup> to  
Walsingham:

This lusty humour of his is so well calmed since reading your letter that the same day he came down to me; and though he rather disguised than acknowledged his error, yet he besought me to make the best of it, offering not only room in the house, but also any help he could give. So it seems the pills your honour gave him had a very effectual operation.

To this letter from Walsingham which calmed the  
wrathful governor, the latter replied <sup>(2)</sup> on 19 October,  
and Walsingham in turn answered to say he was glad that  
the differences had been settled and the friendship  
restored between him and Travers. <sup>(2)</sup> According to  
Davison's report, <sup>(3)</sup> the matter had genuinely been settled,  
thanks to Walsingham's intervention, and the governor did  
not dare to interfere again in the worship of the congrega-  
tion, allowing Travers to go 'peaceably forward in his  
good work'. Walsingham however gave Travers the tactful  
advice <sup>(4)</sup> that he should show some conformity with the  
Prayer Book, and his suggestion is that 'in the time be-  
fore the sermon, he that used to read the chapters may  
begin with the Confession and read some Psalms, till the  
time of the full assembly and the beginning of the sermon'.

- (1) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. ix. no. 67.  
(2) Ibid., no. 81.  
(3) Ibid., no. 9.  
(4) Ibid., no. 82.

Walsingham's idea is by this slight use of the Prayer Book, even though it be only in the Confession and Psalms, all interrogations about Travers's conformity would be silenced. This was very wise advice and possibly Travers took it, for the specific matter was never raised again.

In the next month, November 1578, there is a hint of more trouble for the unfortunate minister of the merchants' congregation, but of a different nature, for this time it seemed to be within the congregation. Davison had occasion to be absent for a short time in Bruges and Travers reported to him by letter <sup>(1)</sup> on 12 November that the congregation was as Dawson had left it, but owing to the number of poor members, the situation called for the appointment of a deacon. As already seen from his Genevan book, Travers, taking the New Testament conception of the office of deacon, maintained that a deacon's work (as distinct from that of a deacon-elder) was solely with the poor. He thought that a fit person to be appointed was one whom he called 'my guest', and he asked for Davison's opinion. Very probably it was in relation to this appointment that differences of opinion came to light among his

(1) C.S.P. For. Eliz. 1578-79, No. 26 (Latin text in Appendix X).

congregation for he went on to say to Davison:

You heard the day before you left, the type of answer I got from our merchants. That I may not seem to acquiesce in it, I must explain my opinions at the next meeting of the court. I wish that this had happened at another time so that I might have had the benefit of your authority and advice; now I shall have to debate as one against a multitude. (1)

There is no information available as to how the matter ended.

The major part, however, of Travers's letter to Davison dealt not with the troubles within the Antwerp congregation, but with an entirely different matter that was exercising Davison's judgment. The question had arisen as to whether the Calvinist majority in Ghent, the capital of East Flanders, should grant toleration to the catholic minority. This city, situated at the junction of the Scheldt and the Lys, had a turbulent history in trying to evade the coercive rule of successive catholic kings of Flanders, and it also played a conspicuous part in the long struggle of the Netherlands against Spain. In this conflict religion was a major issue since the Spaniards had the support of the catholics within the

(1) Quale a mercatoribus nostris responsum superiore die retulerim ante decessum tuum intellexeras in eo ne videar acquiescere proxima curia mihi exponendum erit quid sentiam qui dies vellem in aliud tempus incidisset, ut in ea re tua et authoritate et consilio uti potuissem nunc mihi uni cum multis disceptandum erit.

Netherlands, particularly in Flanders and Gelderland, while Holland and Zealand rallied around the protestant prince of Orange. (1) For four years the forces of the latter had been withstanding the Spanish onslaught, (2) until on 8 November 1576 there was signed the Pacification of Ghent, which was a treaty of peace between Holland and Zealand on the one hand and the provinces of the States-General on the other, as well as being an alliance against Spanish and other foreign oppressors. In all these happenings the English Queen was intensely interested mainly because of her antipathy to Spain, and she endeavored to play the role of mediator, which explains her reason for sending Walsingham and the other diplomats to the Netherlands in June 1578. (3) When five months later there arose this matter of tolerance towards the catholics in Ghent, Davison, as the Queen's ambassador, would be concerned not only as a diplomat, but also, if not even more, as a Calvinist. In those municipalities where Calvinism was in the ascendant catholics were seldom, if ever, allowed full liberty to practise their religious rites, for they were generally regarded by the Calvinists as creators of 'a pool of unrighteousness' (2) in the state.

(1) P. Geyl, Revolt of the Netherlands, p. 120.  
 (2) Blok, History of the People of the Netherlands, iii. 125.  
 (3) See p. 89 above.



Thus there seemed little hope of any change of policy towards them in the case of Ghent.

Davison had evidently gone there to negotiate on this matter in November 1578, and Travers felt that he ought to send his observations for the ambassador's benefit. 'These ..... points on either side ..... I have carefully put ..... together in order not to fail in my duty if my labours could be of any service to your negotiations'.<sup>(1)</sup> He first pointed out that many were in favour of allowing catholicism to exercise its power in order to avoid civil war, but this was not his opinion, for although he is a lover of peace, God's 'true' religion must be defended against idolaters no matter what the cost.<sup>(2)</sup> God must be obeyed rather than man and this maxim must be remembered by all, especially the civil magistrate. On the duty of the latter, he reiterated Calvin's views expressed in the Institutes of the Christian Religion,<sup>(3)</sup> that he must not suffer any of the

- (1) Haec ..... illi in utramque partem ..... ego eo diligentius collegi [ ? ] ne officio deessem, si qua in re labor meus tuis rationibus inservire posset. (Appendix X, p. 490 ).
- (2) Goodman while in Geneva wrote a whole book (How superior powers ought to be obeyed, etc.) on this one principle.
- (3) Bk. iv, ch. xx.

citizens under his care to be polluted with idolatry and superstitions in the worship of God, since this is forbidden by God in His law. Travers even advocated that the inferior magistrates should defend themselves by arms if the chief magistrates decreed that idolatry should be introduced into the city, and by idolatry he meant catholicism. In a final word he left Davison in no doubt as to his opposition to those who desire tolerance for the minority at Ghent. 'I would desire and hope that your work should be not in curing the wounds of that beast of the sea, of whom John was writing in the Apocalypse, but in jabling and aggravating them'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Whether Davison passed on this advice to the Calvinists of Ghent is not known, but in any case the policy<sup>(2)</sup> that Travers advocated was actually put into effect. Monasteries were closed and confiscated, churches bereft of all ornaments and redeccorated in a protestant fashion, and eventually catholic worship was forbidden. All government offices were filled with Calvinists and gradually the whole of Flanders was put under their control, a policy

(1) Cuius operam ..... non in bestiae illius maritimae de qua scribit Johannes in Apocalypsa vulneribus sanandis sed fodiendis et exulterandis ..... optem et sperem. (Appendix X, p. 490 ).

(2) Geyl, p. 161.

which afterwards was destined to produce a reaction (as it usually does) in favour of catholicism.

In addition to the difficulties which Travers had already experienced in ministering to his congregation, the year 1579 tells of further trouble, the specific nature of which is not clear. In the month of May, <sup>(1)</sup> five elders had been appointed by the congregation, and one of these was George Gilpin who <sup>(2)</sup> seemed to fill the role of leader in the consistory. He was in correspondence with Tomson in 1579 and in one of his letters, dated 16th August, <sup>(3)</sup> he wrote: 'I have your commendations to Mr. Travers ... Herewith I send a note of our news, which daily grows worse. God (if yt be his will) helpe his people and confound the rage of those that seeke the overthrow of his Gospell and the professors thereof'. In the following December either the same trouble or a fresh one is mentioned by Villiers <sup>(4)</sup> who again had occasion to frequent Antwerp. Travers happened to be on a visit to Lierre, a town about seven miles from Antwerp, and Villiers, not being able to speak to him about this mysterious trouble,

(1) Extracts (p.74 above) f.113.

(2) The elders and minister together formed the consistory, which corresponds to the present day session in presbyterian congregations.

(3) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. LXXXiii, No.12, f.54.

(4) Ibid., f.123.

told Davison: 'I touched on it this morning to Mr Gilpin. He thinks there is danger, and that the thing must be managed as gently and discreetly as possible; but as you know, we are not always masters of our designs'.

It is not surprising that the next available information about the Antwerp congregation is the departure of their minister to England on 2 July 1580. <sup>(1)</sup> This succession of adversities must have led Travers to realise that his ministry was not having the success that was desired, and that even though the prospects in the homeland were not rosy, a longer stay in Antwerp was inadvisable. Until his appointment to this merchant congregation, he had been a student of presbyterianism rather than a practical organiser, and this, his first experiment in the actual application of the discipline, must have been very disappointing. The least that he could have learned from his time in Antwerp, was that the introduction of this new discipline to an English congregation was not going to be easy.

Travers did not resign his appointment, but left the date of his return indefinite. Probably he felt that this would be a more friendly manner in which to take leave of

(1) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. lxxxiii. no. 34.

(2) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. lxxxiii. no. 35.

(3) Ibid., xlv. no. 33.

(4) Ibid., xlii. no. 40.

his parishioners rather than cut himself off from them completely. Actually he did depart on very happy terms with everyone, for Villiers wrote <sup>(1)</sup> to Davidson, then in England:

Mr Travers has so acquitted himself in his office that he is in good odour not only with your people but with ours and that we should wish his absence not to be long.... I think it is my duty to commend him, and.... to pray you to exhort him to return as soon as he possibly can.

It would seem therefore that by the time of his departure the mysterious trouble, mentioned by Villiers six months previously, had died down. If Travers secretly had no desire to return, his congregation were quite of the opposite mind. When month after month passed without his reappearance, a letter <sup>(2)</sup> was written by them requesting his return, but with no results. Then a second letter was sent in which they signified that if he found it impossible to come, he might as an alternative 'send some fit man to supply the room'. <sup>(3)</sup> To this request Travers did find a substitute in one called Smith, but the latter <sup>(3)</sup> refused to come though he was requested several times. Once again a letter was despatched, this time of a sharper nature, 'with express order set down in our general court, that if he did not come by Christmas at the furthest, his stipend should forthwith surcease, thinking by this means

(1) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. lxxxiii. no. 34.

(2) Ibid., xiv. no. 33.

(3) Ibid.. xiii. no. 90.

(1)  
to have hastened him forward'.

During this six months' interval, however, between Travers's departure and December 1580, the Antwerp congregation were not without leadership in their worship for they were being ministered to by Cartwright who had arrived there from Middleburg. (2) He was acting as 'locum tenens', and now it transpired that his very presence in Antwerp was the reason why none of the proposed candidates would agree to come there. Christopher Hoddesdon, the new governor to the merchants adventurers and successor to Loddington, reported (1) to Burghley on 24 December 1580 that when he came to Antwerp after Travers had gone, he found Cartwright in charge of the congregation. This made Hoddesdon very uneasy, for at this period, Cartwright was 'persona non grata' to the Queen seeing that his brother-in-law, John Stubbe, in the previous year had published a book denouncing the Queen's intention to marry the Duke of Anjou, for which Stubbe and his bookseller had their right hands cut off. (2) The governor therefore tried to remove the obnoxious Cartwright, but the latter refused to be moved, pointing out that he was not receiving any stipend and that his ministrations were acceptable to the people. (1) With regard to the last

(1) S.P. Eliz. Holl. and Fland. xiii. no. 90.

(2) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 183.

point, the governor had to admit that 'he is very well  
 thought of by the preachers and learned of this town'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Matters were made worse for Hoddesdon when on 17  
 December<sup>(2)</sup> Travers sent a letter of resignation to the  
 congregation in which he commended Cartwright as his  
 successor. The governor still continued to make  
 gallant efforts to secure a preacher that would replace  
 Cartwright, but could find none except one called  
 Keltrige<sup>(3)</sup> who was much too young. Finally he had to  
 admit that 'none will meddle with the place so long as  
 Mr. Cartwright continues in it', and so Cartwright won  
 the day. There is no account of his formal appointment  
 as minister, but when the members of the congregation  
 left Antwerp in 1582,<sup>(4)</sup> their records<sup>(5)</sup> for that year  
 state: 'Mr Cartwright being their minister having  
 succeeded Mr. Travers'.

The movements and doings of the absentee minister  
 of the Antwerp church after his return to England until  
 his formal resignation six months later, are difficult

(1) S.P. Eliz.Holl.and Fland. Xiii.No.90.

(2) 'Extracts', (p. 74 above) f.115.

(3) S.P. Eliz.Holl.and Fland. XiV.No.33.

(4) Lintum, De Merchant Adventurers in de Nederlanden, p.32.

(5) 'Extracts' (p. 74 above) f.114.

to ascertain, as there are only two sources of information, one of which is from the pen of Cartwright. On 16 July 1580, shortly after he had entered on his duties as 'locum tenens' in Antwerp, Cartwright had the honour of being offered a professorship in divinity by the university of Leyden. <sup>(1)</sup> At first he seemed willing to accept, but after consulting Villers and his other ministerial colleagues in Antwerp, he replied on 1 August 1580 expressing his regret that he could not give a satisfactory answer. His letter to the authorities in Leyden went on to say that the session <sup>(2)</sup> of the Antwerp Church were pleased that he had received such an offer, but did not want to be deprived of his services. He himself did not want to leave the congregation without a minister, and then he admitted that the reason for his inability to give a definite answer was that he could not get in touch with Travers, since he had left London and gone North for <sup>(3)</sup> the purpose of arranging certain domestic affairs. Cartwright had sent him a letter to London asking that

(1) Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Universiteit 1574-1610,  
p. 14.

(2) Cartwright actually used the word senate to designate the session.

(3) Litteris enim acceptis certior factus sum, pastorem, Londino relicto, in Aquilonares Angliae partes ercis-cundae familiae causa concessisse. (Universiteit te Leiden, codex actorum senatus I, f. 96 (Inv. No. 280)).



he should make arrangements either to return to Antwerp, or to have someone else appointed. As already seen, Travers did not return and therefore Cartwright was unable to accept the professorship in Leyden.

The other source of information about Travers's doings in England is a letter written by Peter Baro of Cambridge to Guillaume de Laune on Wednesday 14 September 1580. <sup>(1)</sup> Baro was a Frenchman, who having studied Law at Bourges for some time, went to Geneva in 1560 where <sup>(2)</sup> he gave himself to the study of theology, and was ordained at the hands of Calvin himself. About 1572 he came to England where he was very kindly entertained in the family of Lord Burghley. Afterwards he settled in Cambridge and in 1574 was chosen Lady Margaret professor of divinity, the professorship formerly held by Cartwright. For his learning he was created D.D. of this University and was incorporated in the same degree by Oxford on 11 July 1576, incidentally the same date on which Travers was incorporated M.A. <sup>(3)</sup> Baro's lectures on the Book of Jonah were published in the beginning of 1579, and because of certain doctrines in them, the rigid Calvinists were very much offended. Some years later his preaching

(1) Hessels, Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae Archium - Epistolae et Tractatus, p. 667.

(2) Ibid., p. 648.

(3) P. 71 above, n. 5.

at St. Mary's, Cambridge, so displeased the Calvinistic party that he resigned his professorship and retired to London where he died in 1599.<sup>(1)</sup> William Delaune, to whom he wrote the above-mentioned letter, had been a minister in the reformed church of France in addition to practising as a physician,<sup>(2)</sup> and having come to England<sup>(3)</sup> as a refugee, he was found living in Cambridge in 1583.

Baro in this letter complained that objections had been taken to his book, De Fide, on the ground that it taught the heretical doctrine that man was justified not by faith but by works. Consequently someone had blackened him and his book to Walsingham, the secretary of State. Then he went on to say that Travers had written to him a sharp letter, and to this he had replied pointing out in a kindly way that he did not dissent from Travers's views. In answer Travers had sent a much sharper letter challenging Baro's teaching that men could be saved without Christ.<sup>(4)</sup>

Baro's reply was to the effect that if Travers continued to write in this fashion he would cease to correspond with him, and then, proceeding to answer Travers's

(1) Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses, ii, pp. 274, 551.

(2) Hessels, p. 667.

(3) Cooper, i. 490.

(4) 'Ait me docere sine Christo homines servari posse'.

criticisms, he pointed out that he erred about the doctrine of the Trinity. This offended Travers who took it to mean that Baro had accused him of Arianism, the heresy which denies Christ's divinity and equality with God. In turn, Baro denied this accusation but they found at this point that they agreed in the belief that Christ the Son had been born from the essence of the Father. <sup>(1)</sup>

Yet this was only a truce in the theological battle, for Baro said that Travers made things worse by taking quotations from the Bible to use them playfully at his expense, <sup>(2)</sup> and that he had stated that he had conversed with Baro about predestination only to find that the latter disbelieved the doctrine when it applied to the wicked. Baro alleged that Travers had been led to accuse him of these heretical beliefs because he (Baro) had conversed with a suspected heretic called Corranus. The latter, whose full name was Antoine Corran de Bellerive, was a native of Seville in Spain and became preacher to an assembly of French protestants in London. <sup>(3)</sup> His book, De Operibus Dei, written in French and published at Norwich,

(1) 'Filius ex patris essentia esse genitum'.

(2) Postea tamen quod pejus est ex sacris literis dictoria sumens quae in me contorqueat facete etiam ludit.

(3) Hessels, op. cit., p. 271.

had caused a dispute between himself and Hieronymus the minister of the Italian congregation in London. The matter was referred to Beza at Geneva who in turn referred it to Grindal, bishop of London. Finally he was acquitted of heresy and in 1571 was appointed Reader of divinity in Latin at the Temple, a position later to be offered to Travers. Some time afterwards, while at Oxford, Corranus purged himself of certain doctrines which formerly had made him a suspected Arian. He eventually became a member of the church of England and was appointed prebend of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, where he died about 1591.

Baro admitted that he had been visited by this suspected heretic but thought it was unfair that on that ground Travers should accuse him of sharing the same views. He then pointed to the unfriendly attitude which the latter had adopted towards him, for he had heard that Travers quite recently had twice travelled through or near Cambridge, without informing him. <sup>(1)</sup> By correlating this information with that found in Cartwright's letter to Leyden university, it would appear that when Travers returned from Antwerp, he made London his headquarters, and that, some time between July and December 1580, he

(1) *Ex his vides; Quo sit ille erga me animo, quod etiam ex eo constat; quod bis hoc tempore me semper in scio hac iter fecerit, ut audio.*

paid at least one visit for domestic reasons to the North of England (which probably meant Nottingham, his home city) passing through Cambridge on the forward and return journeys.

The account of this battle of letters between Travers and Baro given by the latter is of importance from another angle, in that it shows Travers as the staunch unyielding Calvinist in his theology. Though he had visited Antwerp, he had evidently not forgotten Geneva, and so would not tolerate any one who shared the belief of Servetus, who had been put to death for heresy during Calvin's regime. Neither would Travers allow the doctrine of predestination, so dear to Calvin's heart, to be relaxed even in the case of those who seemed to be foreordained to Hell. Holding such rigid views, one can the more easily understand not only the probable reason why he left Antwerp, but the more obvious one as to why he was not given any preferment in England.

However, at this time Travers did receive an offer of preferment which must have looked very tempting. The Scottish general assembly that met in Edinburgh in October 1580 had under consideration the teaching of theology in

St. Andrews. In November 1579 the parliament of Scotland had ratified a scheme for the reorganisation of St.

Andrew's university, giving as their reason <sup>(1)</sup> that 'the maist pairt of the verie foundations sa fer disagreeing w<sup>th</sup> the trew religioon and sa fer different from thar perfectioun of teicheing q<sup>lk</sup> this learnit aige cravis'.

St. Mary's college was therefore to be converted into a purely theological institution. The one who was mainly responsible for this new scheme was Andrew Melville, the most outstanding educationalist in Scotland at that time and generally recognised as Knox's successor in the work of presbyterianising that country. His chief aim in this reorganisation of St. Andrew's was to counteract the teaching and influence of the recently formed Jesuit

colleges in Europe. <sup>(2)</sup> Melville was then the principal of the University of Glasgow, but when the general assembly considered the appointment of a principal for this newly-constituted theological college, he was their choice.

King James had actually directed a letter to the assembly requesting the translation of Melville to the new college.

(1) Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, iii. 179; Mc Crie, Melville, p.74.

(2) Autobiography and Diary of James Melville, p. 76.

The result was that:

Mr Andro Melvill sear against his will, decernit and ordeanit to transport him selff from Glasgw to St Androis, to begine the wark of Theologie ther, with sic as he thought meit to tak with him for that effect, conform to the leat reformation of that Universitie, and the New Collage thairof, giffen in be the Kirk and past in Parliament. (1)

Melville took up residence in St. Andrews in  
(2)  
December 1580, and his first duty was to secure  
colleagues for four professorial chairs, he himself  
(3)  
occupying the fifth, that of systemaic theology. The  
professorship of oriental languages was given to his  
nephew, James Melville, and one of the three chairs  
of Biblical interpretation to John Robertson. This  
left two chairs still vacant, and after due  
consideration of possible candidates, these two  
appointments were offered to none other than  
Walter Travers and Thomas Cartwright. The  
original Latin invitation sent to the two scholars  
(4)  
has been copied by Fuller who placed it incorrectly in  
(5)  
the year 1591, instead of 1580. It was signed in Edinburgh

(1) Autobiography, p.83; Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland, ii. pp. 466, 471.

(2) Autobiography, p.84.

(3) Ibid., p.74.

(4) Church History, iii.140. It is referred to as 'This autograph (which I have in my hands, and here think fit to exemplify)'.  
(5)

(5) It has already been seen that 1580 was the year in which St. Mary's college was reconstituted, and it is known that Melville himself arrived in St. Andrews in the same year (McCrie, Melville, p.76) Mullinger (University of Cambridge, p.36) is also incorrect in placing the invitation in 1574, and as an invitation from Glasgow.

by five people, namely Melville, David Wems a Glasgow minister, the chancellor, rector and dean of Glasgow.

(1)

The dean was Thomas Smeton who having travelled and studied on the Continent, came to England after the massacre of St. Batholemew's Day, and subsequent to a period as schoolmaster in Colchester, arrived in Scotland. When Melville was transferred to St. Andrews, Smeton succeeded him in Glasgow.

These five signatories to the invitation obviously knew the reputation for learning attached to Travers and Cartwright, if indeed they did not know them in person for they address them as 'our very dear brothers'. (2) Fuller (3) states that in the case of Travers, he was given the appointment 'by the advice of Mr Andrew Melville', and this is not surprising seeing there is very good grounds for believing that Melville possessed a copy of Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae .....Explicatio as early as the year immediately (4) after its publication.

The invitation begins with an expression of joy that these two stalwarts had shown such fortitude in their endeavours to establish the discipline of the

(1) Autobiography, p.73.

(2) Fratres charissimi.

(3) Church History, iii.140.

(4) P. 64 above, n.1.



true church, but regrets that they are debarred from carrying through their good work in their native land. However a door had been opened in Scotland where there was great need for men to labour in the ministry of the Word, and the newly-constituted college in St. Andrews required teachers to train such men. After referring to the arrangements made for the establishing of five professorial chairs, the invitation offered two of these to Cartwright and Travers, the other three having been supplied by the home church. <sup>(1)</sup> It was felt that they would not be unworthy of such appointments, and they were to regard this invitation as coming not only from the King, the nobles and the church in Scotland, but from Christ himself. They are therefore urged to accept at once.

As it happened, neither Travers nor Cartwright did accept. In the case of Cartwright, it was for the same reason that he refused the professorship at Leyden, since his primary loyalty was to the Antwerp church. <sup>(2)</sup> As for

(1) Ex hoc numero adhuc desunt Thomas Cartwrightus et Gualterus Traversus: reliquos nobis domi ecclesia nostra suppeditabit.

(2) Me olim ante viginti ad theololicam professionem in una Academiarum tuarum vocare dignatus sis. And the reason for refusal was: Nisi pastoritio vinculo, quo Anglantuerpianae Ecclesiae tum adstrictus eram, praepeditus fuisset. (Cartwright, Dedication to the King of Scotland prefixed to Metaphrasis et Homiliae in librum Salomonis qui inscribitur Ecclesiastes).

Travers, the reason for his refusal must remain a conjecture. The comment of Fuller <sup>(1)</sup> is:

Both joyntly refused with return of their most affectionate thanks, and such who know least are most bold in their conjectures, to adventure at the reasons of their refusall. As that they would not leave the sun on their backs and remove so far North, or they were discouraged with the slenderness of the salary assigned unto them. In plain truth they were loath to leave, and their friends loath to be left by them, conceiving their plans might as well be bestowed in their native land.

As Cartwright was still in Antwerp and had no immediate plans for returning to the home country, the last reason could not apply in his case. But with Travers it was quite possible that he refused the Scottish appointment because he still cherished the vision expressed in his Genevan book, that one day the 'true' discipline would be established in England, and therefore his duty was to serve the church in his own country. Another possibility is that he may have had hopes of a definite offer of service in England, which offer did actually materialise in the following year.

(1) Church History, iii. 140.

## Chapter IV

### Substitute master of the Temple Church 1581-85

Beginnings of the presbyterian movement in England.....	p. 118.
The prophesyings.....	p. 131.
<u>Admonition to the Parliament</u> .....	p. 134.
The Wandsworth presbytery .....	p. 137.
The prophesyings forbidden.....	p. 139.
Travers made household chaplain to Burghley.....	p. 142.
Appointment at the Temple Church.....	p. 143.
Presbyterian innovations in the Temple worship.....	p. 150.
Letter from Beza.....	p. 153.
Travers's anti-catholic book.....	p. 155.
Resurgence of presbyterianism.....	p. 174.
Whitgift's articles (1583).....	p. 177.
Conference at Lambeth.....	p. 180.
Reprint of Travers's <u>Explicatio</u> .....	p. 188.
Travers attends a puritan funeral.....	p. 192.
Unsuccessful candidate for the mastership of the Temple Church.....	p. 196.

CHAPTER IVSubstitute master of the Temple Church 1581-85

With the exception of the brief period between his stay in Geneva and ministry at Antwerp, Travers altogether had been abroad for ten years. The next fourteen years from 1580 to 1594 were to be spent in England, where, for the first time, he appeared on the stage of Elizabethan church history as an advocate of presbyterianism. In order therefore to understand Travers's importance in the spread of this movement, it will be necessary, in the first place, to consider its rise and progress before 1580.

In the strict sense there was no presbyterian movement in England before the time of Elizabeth, nor did it come to the surface until about the middle of that reign. There has often been a tendency to confuse presbyterianism and puritanism as though these two terms were synonymous, but it will be seen presently that it was the former which grew out of the latter. Presbyterianism is essentially a system of church government which implies two things, first, the government of a local congregation through a group of elders; and secondly, a communal government of all sessions and congregations by means of

presbyteries, synods and assemblies. The genius of sixteenth century presbyterianism was its discipline, while in puritanism the main emphasis was on doctrine. In the sixteenth century all presbyterians were puritans, but not all puritans were presbyterians.

Although the name 'puritan' did not come into use until 1564, <sup>(1)</sup> the movement <sup>(2)</sup> for puritanism began in the time of Henry VIII with the latent desires of many people for purity in the doctrine and life of the church, but it did not develop beyond the stage of desire. With the reign of Edward VI it quickly showed itself in acts of parliament and the purifying of the life and practice of the church from the taints of catholicism. The two Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552 were serious attempts to cleanse the English Church from all that savoured of papacy, and their puritanical tendency can be traced to one man, Archbishop Cranmer. He had a great admiration for the reformed churches of the Continent, and when the young Edward became king he invited foreign scholars of the reformed school to settle in England in order to further the reformation. For example, Peter Martyr was brought to Oxford, while Bucer, Fagius and Tremellius

(1) Fuller, Church History, ii. 540.

(2) Standard works are: Knappen, Tudor Puritanism; Haller, Rise of Puritanism; Henson, Puritanism in England; Pearson, Cartwright.

were appointed at Cambridge. In addition, suitable preachers were made welcome, such as the Italian Ochino, the French pastor, Poulain, the Belgian Utenfore, the Swiss John ab Ulmis, the Spanish Dryander, and the Polish preacher, John Alasco.

From the presbyterian angle Alasco was the most important, since it was he who organised the first presbyterian congregations in England. These consisted wholly of foreigners, there being many such during the reign of Edward. In addition to those resident for trading purposes, there were many religious exiles, and in London alone the number was reckoned to be about five thousand, chiefly German, Dutch and French. <sup>(1)</sup> On 24 July 1550 these congregations, under act of parliament, were constituted 'into one Protestant Reformed "Church of the Strangers"<sup>(2)</sup>'. Each congregation had its elders and deacons, and the discipline was regulated by a general church council which met quarterly. Alasco himself acted as moderator, or superintendent over all the congregations, and although this office closely resembled that of a bishop, yet essentially the organisation was presbyterian. The manner of worship was very simple, being only a brief liturgy of certain fixed prayers, and the

(1) Drysdale, History of the Presbyterians in England, p. 44.

(2) Johannis A Lasco Opera, ii. p. 279.

communion was to be received not in a kneeling but in a sitting posture, after the fashion of Geneva. Thus this ecclesia peregrinorum of Alasco's can claim to be the first example of organised presbyterianism in England, though its members were not English. Unlike the later Elizabethan presbyterianism, it was legally organised.

Some extreme features of Edwardian puritanism have often been regarded as presbyterian, but it is important to note that many of them were not essentially so. For example, John Hooper, after his nomination to the bishopric of Gloucester in 1550, refused to be consecrated in the customary episcopal dress of rocket and chimere with cape and surplice.<sup>(1)</sup> This was the beginning of the vestiarian controversy which was to rage at different times through the century. Also John Knox, who spent the years 1549-53 in the ministry of the church of England, first at Berwick and then at Newcastle, is known to have introduced the use of the common loaf instead of 'wafer-bread', and the practice of sitting rather than kneeling at the Communion.<sup>(2)</sup> It cannot be denied that the rejection of episcopal garments and the use of the common loaf along with the sitting posture at the Lord's

(1) Original Letters, i. 95.

(2) P. Lorimer, John Knox and the Church of England, p.31.

Table are to this present day characteristic of presbyterian worship, yet they cannot be regarded as belonging basically to sixteenth century presbyterianism in England. For, as will be seen later, Elizabethan presbyterianism was a movement within the established church which advocated not first and foremost a change in clerical garb or outward practices in worship, but rather a radical change in the whole discipline of that body. There were many presbyterians in the Elizabethan church who were not in any degree opposed to surplices, or to the customary practice at the Communion, since they regarded these as relatively unimportant. Thus, neither Hooper nor Knox can claim to be pioneers of English presbyterianism, but merely advocates of puritan dissent.

During the Marian regime, there was naturally no possible opportunity for either puritanism or presbyterianism to survive on English soil. Those who might have had such leanings either remained dumb, or were among the some eight hundred <sup>(1)</sup> who became religious refugees on the Continent. They formed communities of exilic protestantism at such places as Basle, Arrau, Zurich, Emden, Strasburg, Frankfort and Geneva. In the last-named city presbyterianism under Calvin's control had already become

(1) For brief biographies of the exiles see C. H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles.



a fact, and therefore, needless to say, the community of two hundred and thirty-three English exiles who came to reside in Geneva adopted the presbyterian discipline. <sup>(1)</sup> As the Livre des Anglais <sup>(2)</sup> shows, their office-bearers were ministers, elders and deacons. This was the first organised congregation of English presbyterians, as they were all English by birth with the exception of Knox and one other member. Among their number were eight ordained clergy, including two bishops, and for four years they worshipped together and disciplined themselves according to the presbyterian fashion.

It might have been supposed that when these Genevan exiles returned home <sup>(3)</sup> on the death of Queen Mary, bringing with them their experience of presbyterianism, their Genevan translation of the Bible, their collection of metrical psalms and their liturgy, they would have immediately initiated a presbyterian movement. Yet this was not the case, for we find that the later Elizabethan presbyterian movement owed nothing directly to these returned exiles. The

(1) See p. 36 above, note (I)

(2) MS in the Hotel de Ville, Geneva, printed by A. F. Mitchell.

(3) See the present writer's 'The Genevan Exiles after the Exile' (Journal Eng. Pres. Hist. Soc. xi. No. 2, 1957).

causes of their failure to initiate such a movement at this juncture are not hard to recognise. For one thing, being scattered all over England they had little opportunity of meeting as a 'Genevan club'. One former exile, Thomas Lever, writing to Bullinger of Zurich in 1560 said: 'Many of us English ... are now of necessity dispersed all over England, and at a great distance from each other'.<sup>(1)</sup> Furthermore, many of them easily slipped back into the worship and life of the Elizabethan church because it was very little different from that to which they had been accustomed in the reign of Edward. In addition they must have felt that any attempt to divide the English Church would give an opening to catholicism, whose adherents were busy with the work of the counter reformation. The Queen herself was very conscious of this danger, and she stubbornly refused to tolerate anything that would disrupt the life and growth of the national church. 'If she ... would save the Church from Rome, she equally made it clear that she would save it from Geneva',<sup>(2)</sup> and this was Elizabeth's policy throughout her reign. It was not that she had any deep religious conviction about the rightness of episcopacy, but

(1) Zurich Letters, 1. 87.

(2) E. T. Davies, Episcopacy and the Royal Supremacy, p. 91.

being an opportunist, she saw that it was the kind of church which best suited her purpose, namely, to unify the nation and strengthen the influence of the Crown. Thus we find the enigma of her opposing presbyterianism at home, and at the same time, establishing it as the official religion of the Channel Islands (1578). Hence in the face of such opposition from the growing power of the Queen, it is not surprising that 'the Elizabethan settlement resulted in the virtual elimination of the Genevan group as a religious and political force'<sup>(1)</sup>. She remained adamant against all interference with her established church, and would not tolerate any disobedience towards the Act of Uniformity. In 1566 Bishop Jewel wrote to Bullinger: 'The Queen at this time is unable to endure the least alteration in matters of religion'<sup>(2)</sup>.

However, in another respect, she was powerless, for she could not prevent the infiltration of presbyterian ideas. In spite of her opposition to everything that savoured of Geneva, the verdict of one competent historian is that 'the via media Church in ritual was really Calvinistic in theology'<sup>(3)</sup>. The leaven of presbyterian

(1) Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, p. 178.

(2) Zurich Letters, 1. 148.

(3) F. M. Powicke, The Reformation in England, p. 111.

doctrine was at work in England from the time of Cranmer, but with the return of the Genevan exiles, it was absorbed by the whole English church, so that as early as 1565, Archbishop Parker was forced to declare that presbyterianism was the church's most threatening foe. G. W. Child has summed up the position thus: 'The whole of the lives and writings of the Elizabethan Divines . . . . agreed in doctrine with the Churches of Zurich and Geneva, and would almost certainly have followed them in practice also, but for the personal predilections of the Queen'<sup>(1)</sup>. Yet, for her, theoretical presbyterianism was one thing and presbyterianism in practice quite another. She would tolerate the first but not the second. Such an attitude must have appeared most bewildering to the returned Genevan exiles, for to them the two were inseparably one.

With the passing of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, there was no doubt as to what form the Elizabethan church would take. It was to be primarily the Queen's church, and yet the details of its formation were still vague, so that there was still a residue of hope in the hearts of the Calvinists, that the Queen might come to see the propriety of government by presbyters. This

(1) Church and State under the Tudors, p. 222.

hope was particularly alive in the Lower House of Convocation which met in 1562 and actually sanctioned the Catechism of Alexander Nowell, the puritan Dean of St. Paul's, though this Catechism was afterwards rejected by the Upper House. Nowell had been an exile in Frankfort where he supported John Knox in his conflict with the Anglican, Richard Cox. His Catechism which had been approved by a committee of Convocation in the reign of Edward was now printed in London in 1570 under the title, A Catechism or first Instruction and Learning of Christian

Religion. (1) In it Nowell stated that if a church is well ordered, there should be a form of ecclesiastical discipline, (2) and that this form must consist of elders and pastors whose chief function lay in correcting and punishing offenders. (3) The approval of such views by the Lower House of Convocation clearly shows that in this House at least, there was a majority of solid presbyterian opinion.

(1) Reprinted by the Parker Society in 1853. Originally in Latin, it was translated into English by Thomas Norton and into Greek by William Whitaker.

(2) P. 175.

(3) P. 218.

This fact of the presence of so many presbyterian sympathisers among the clergy must have frightened the Queen for at once she issued Royal Injunctions enforcing uniformity in all rites and ceremonies in the church. This was followed by the Archbishop's Advertisements prescribing the exact dress of the clergy, which of course included the use of the surplice. The result was that by the year 1566<sup>(1)</sup> the really conscientious objectors among the clergy were forced to contemplate separation from the church. Accordingly a group<sup>(2)</sup> of such ministers, after waiting about eight weeks to see if the Queen would change her mind, met for prayer and consultation as to the right course for them to take. They decided that since it was impossible to preach within the English church, and administer the sacraments 'without idolatrous care',<sup>(2)</sup> they would meet for worship in private houses and use the Genevan order. In that decision is found the kernel of what came to be known as English dissent, which in its

(1) In this year also a number of Scottish masons came to reside at Horningham in Wiltshire, and refusing to attend the parish church, they obtained a cottage in which to worship. This building is still used under the auspices of the Congregational Union of England and Wales and claims to be England's oldest free church. (See pamphlet, A. E. Stanton, Horningham Chapel p.p. 1951).

(2) Neal, Puritans, i. 154.

later stages became distinct from English presbyterianism, the latter being a movement within the national church.

The Queen had threatened all such offending subjects, but this did not prevent this group of separatists from coming out into the open a year later. On 19 June 1567 they held a meeting in Plumber's Hall in Anchor Lane, London, which they had hired for the purpose, <sup>(1)</sup> but their congregation consisting of one hundred worshippers was unfortunately interrupted by the sheriff who was instructed to lodge them in prison. When they were examined by the ecclesiastical commissioners one of them pointed out that they wanted to worship according to the book used by the English exiles at Geneva in the time of Mary, 'Which booke and order we nowe holde'. Several of them were imprisoned for a time, but on their release they again held meetings in private, and so in the next year (1568) 'within the Parish of St. Marten's in the Felde' <sup>(1)</sup> most of their leaders were arrested. On their release in 1569 they complained to the Council that Grindal had broken to them his promise to allow them to worship according to their conscience. <sup>(2)</sup> At this

(1) A parte of a register, pp. 23-27.

(2) Grindal, Remains, pp. 201-16.

(3) Stowe, Grindal, pp. 199, 200.

(4) 1568, p. 224.

(1)  
Grindal wrote to the Council pointing out that these men had not kept their promise to conform to the church's laws and practices. It has been claimed that this meeting in Plumber's Hall was the forerunner of English congregationalism since it was a congregation on its own. In so far as this was true, the claim holds, but in so far as internally they adopted the discipline and mode of worship from Geneva, it could also be maintained that it was a serious attempt to institute presbyterianism outside the state church.

In June of the same year (1567) another secret congregation, with Robert Fytz as their minister, is found in London, (2) whose order, in addition to the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments, enjoined 'to have not the fylthye cannon lawe, but discipline onelye and altogether agreeable to the same heavenlye and allmighty worde of our good Lorde Jesus Chryste'. In 1569 yet another congregation using the Genevan book and vehemently inveighing 'against the government and the religious usages of the Church of England', (3) was meeting in London with Bonham and Crane as leaders.

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 316.

(2) *Strype, Grindal*, pp. 169, 200.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 226.



The year 1571 was of great importance in the development of the presbyterian polity, for it saw the rise of the prophesyings or exercises, which were the seedlings from which there grew the later presbyteries or classes. Up till now, we have seen only a partial presbyterian discipline, which was indistinguishable from congregationalism - each congregation controlling its own affairs, with its session of elders. But there now appeared a court higher than that of the session, namely the presbytery, which has been characteristic of presbyterianism for four centuries, and which has always been the sharpest dividing line between presbyterianism and congregationalism.

The word 'prophesyings', like the word 'presbyterian', was taken from the new Testament, the reference being found in 1st Corinthians XIV. 5: 'For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted'. The practice was found first in Northampton, where it was actually fostered by the bishop of Peterborough with the mayor and corporation of the town.<sup>(1)</sup> Here every Saturday the ministers of the town with those from the surrounding districts met from 9 a.m. to 11 a.m.

(1) S.P. Dom. Eliz. lxxviii. No. 38; Strype, Annals, ii. pt. I, 133.

to study some portion of Scripture. Each minister spoke in turn on his interpretation of the passage and the laity were allowed to be present. When this was done, the ministers withdrew for a meeting by themselves in which they conferred about doctrine, good life and manners. There was also held once every quarter a meeting of all the ministers of the county which would seem to be a parallel to the modern presbyterian synod.

The prophesyings soon spread to other parts of the kingdom, such as <sup>(1)</sup> Norwich and <sup>(2)</sup> Hertfordshire and while they varied in detail, the pattern remained fairly constant. Heylyn, <sup>(3)</sup> speaks of them being held fortnightly in certain places. All meetings were opened and closed with prayer, and at each a moderator <sup>(4)</sup> was chosen whose function was to govern and direct the exercise. In the diocese of Chester, the prophesyings seem to have been

(1) Strype, ii. pt. i. 326.

(2) Ibid., ii. pt. i. 476.

(3) P. Heylyn, Aërius Redivivus, or History of the Presbyterians, 1536-1647 p. 245.

(4) The word 'moderator' had been in use earlier on the Continent, but this was probably the first time it came to be used in English presbyterianism.

conducted in a very strict manner. Strype,<sup>(1)</sup> relates how each minister was appointed at the previous meeting to discuss certain verses of Scripture. After the opening prayer, in which special petitions were offered for the Queen, the Church and Commonwealth, the passage of Scripture was discussed verse by verse; and if any minister showed negligence or error in his exposition, it was the moderator's duty to make special observations in this respect. When the study of the Bible was concluded, the next item on the agenda was the discipline of members. Those who were absent without sufficient reason, or who had been guilty of any misdemeanor, were to be chastised and if the offence was repeated, the moderator reported the offender to the bishop and asked that he be suspended.

It is very important to notice that these meetings which later developed into presbyteries, were begun within the framework of the episcopal system, and with the bishop's approval in most cases. Grindal, for instance, when archbishop of York, (1570-75) fostered the prophesyings, believing that they were good training grounds for future clergy, the number of clergy in his area being very depleted.<sup>(2)</sup> It was only later when

(1) Annals, ii. pt. II, 544.

(2) Heylyn, p. 245.

these meetings of ministers began to show an authority in opposition to the bishop that they became suspect, and incurred the displeasure of the Queen.

If the year 1571 was important in the life of the presbyterian movement, the next year was even more so in that it saw two open attempts to presbyterianise the Church of England. The first attempt was political and took the form of a document addressed to parliament, entitled, An Admonition to the Parliament.<sup>(1)</sup> This was the first presbyterian manifesto in England, and although the word 'admonition' was thought of in its original meaning - advice, or suggestion,<sup>(2)</sup> yet its very title sounded impertinent, and no less so were its contents. It was written in clear, concise prose and was divided into two parts. The first, the admonition proper, was a direct criticism of the present discipline of the English Church, on the grounds that it was drawn not from the example of the New Testament, but 'out of the Pope's shop', to which criticism was added a call to establish presbyterianism. In the second part entitled, 'A view of Popishe abuses yet remaining in the Englishe Church,

(1) Reprinted in Puritan Manifestoes, (ed. Frere and Douglas) p. 8.

(2) The Latin 'admoneo' means 'to call attention to', or 'advise'.

for the which Godly Ministers have refused to subscribe', there is a reiteration of the criticisms found in the first part, under the three heads of the Prayer Book, the apparel, and the Articles. The document could leave no doubt in the minds of both Queen and Parliament that the desire of its compilers was to abolish episcopacy and replace it with (as the Admonition states) 'a true ministerie and regiment of the churche according to the word'.

(1)

On their own confession, it is known that the authors were John Field, minister of Aldermary in London, and Thomas Wilcocks, both of whom were promptly imprisoned in Newgate at the Queen's command, and their Admonition rejected. According to Bancroft (2) several others were implicated, having met privately in London with Field and Wilcocks, but they were not detected. On 2 October the authors were sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and although they and their wives sent petitions (3) to Burghley and others asking for leniency, they were not released for some six months. But their imprisonment had not, in any way, altered their opinions, for just before their release they wrote a Confession of Faith (4) in

(1) Seconde Parte of a Register, i. pp. 87 ff.

(2) A Survay of the Pretended Holy Discipline, p. 2.

(3) B.M. Lansd. MS xv. no. 73.

(4) Neal, Puritans, i. pp. 192 ff.

which they affirmed on the one hand, their unwillingness to leave the Church of England because they have no objections to its doctrine, but on the other, their duty to press for a new discipline within that church:

We hold that there ought to be joined to the pastors of the church, elders and deacons, for the bridling of vices and providing for the poor and that no pastor ought to usurp dominion over another.

In spite of the opposition of the bishops, the Admonition was printed in several editions in the next few years.

Whitgift wrote a Reply, to which an answer was made in the Second Admonition by Cartwright who had in 1572  
(1)  
returned to Cambridge after a short period abroad.

For the next few years he and Whitgift were engaged in a literary controversy until once again Cartwright betook himself to the Continent.

The second attempt in the year 1572 to presbyterianise the English church was of an ecclesiastical nature. Like most of the available knowledge about Elizabethan presbyterianism, the information here is gathered from its enemies. In the case of the Wandsworth 'Presbytery', the only record of its existence  
(2)  
comes from Bancroft:

(1) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 63.

(2) Dangerous Positions, p. 67.

Whereupon presently after the sayd Parliament (vz. the twentieth of November, 1572) there was a Presbytery erected at Wandsworth in Surrey (as it appeareth by a bill endorsed with Master Fields hand, thus: the order of Wandsworth). In which order the Elders names, eleven of them, are set downe: the manner of their election is declared: the approvers of them (one Smith of Micham and Crane of Roughamton) are mentioned: their offices and certain generall rules (then given unto them to bee observed) were likewise agreed upon, and described.

(1)

It is obvious that this was not a presbytery in the true sense but rather a kirk session as only the elders are mentioned. In those days kirk sessions were sometimes referred to as presbyteries, for Bancroft in another part of the book makes it clear that by 'presbytery' he means

(2)

'session':

Againe, concerning the Presbyteries, (which the booke affirmeth should be in every parish) they (want in effect) nothing of all their whole platforme: if they could but once attaine unto the publike erecting up of those thrones ..... mention hath beene made of a Presbytery set up at Wandsworth.

There appears to be a similarity between this meeting in Wandsworth and that in the Plumber's Hall five years previous, since both took the form of presbyterianism at the congregational level. Pearson <sup>(3)</sup> has actually suggested that the Wandsworth 'presbytery' was a reappearance of the Plumber's Hall congregation which

(1) V. J. K. Brook (Whitgift and the English Church, p. 113) calls it 'a fully-fledged Presbytery'.

(2) P. 115.

(3) Cartwright, p. 80.

had continued to function secretly during the interval. If this suggestion could be substantiated, then we could say that in London, at any rate, there was a steady undercurrent of presbyterian zeal which was striving to take shape in some sort of organised movement.

In the next year (1573) Edwin Sandys, the bishop of London, was well aware of this zeal within his diocese for on 5 August he informed Burghley of 'a conventicle  
(1)  
or rather a conspiracy breeding in London', and ten  
(2)  
days later he wrote to Bullinger:

New orators are rising up from among us - foolish young men who despise authority and admit of no superior. They are seeking the complete overthrow and uprooting of the whole of our ecclesiastical polity ..... and are striving to shape out for us I know not what new platform of a church.

The bishop then proceeded to outline nine of the desires of these 'foolish young men'. They wish to abolish the power of the magistrate, and all the different degrees in the ministry, supplanting the latter with ministers, elders and deacons. Each parish should have its presbytery, and the choice of minister should rest with the people, to whom he should preach exclusively. The possessions of bishops and cathedrals are to be confiscated, baptism refused to the infants of catholics and

(1) Strype, Whitgift, iii. 33.

(2) Zurich Letters, 1. pp. 294-6.



all rulers should be subject to the laws of Moses. This was Sandys's summary of the far-reaching demands of the movement in London, and while London, throughout the whole of the Elizabethan period, was undoubtedly the chief centre of presbyterian activity, the work of the new orators was not confined to that one centre. In the parish churches of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire there was an attempt led by two men, Paget and Oxenbridge, 'to set up a new discipline and new liturgy' in 1576.<sup>(1)</sup> This was a sign that the movement was spreading, but in the next year it suffered a heavy blow when the Queen on 7 May sent a letter to all her bishops forbidding the prophesyings in their dioceses.<sup>(2)</sup> The Queen had been keeping a watchful eye on these meetings for some time and in 1574 she had ordered Parkhurst, the bishop of Norwich, where the prophesyings were well-known, to stamp them out. In spite of this order they still continued to function in that diocese,<sup>(3)</sup> but now in 1577 she came down on all prophesyings with a heavy hand.<sup>(4)</sup> Because

(1) Strype, Grindal, p. 320.

(2) Grindal, Remains, pp. 375, 467.

(3) Seconde Parte of a Register, i. pp. 204-6.

(4) Cf. Aylmer's Articles for the London diocese in 1577. (W.P.M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, p. 49).

Grindal, who was well disposed to these meetings, did not agree with her action, he was suspended and until his death in 1583, the Queen was virtually the archbishop of Canterbury.

Immediately after the suppression of the prophesyings there was apparently a lull in the attempts of the presbyterian enthusiasts to force their new discipline upon the English church, and it was during that period that Travers arrived back in England. He had come at the opportune moment, and it was unlikely that the author of the Ecclesiasticae Disciplina . . . . . Explicatio would fail to take a leading part in reviving the presbyterian cause. Thus his refusal in 1580 to return as minister of the Antwerp church must have given great encouragement and hope to many whose former enthusiasm for that cause had begun to flag. The translation of his book, being the first in English to make a Scriptural case for presbyterianism as the proper discipline for the

(1)  
Church, had already strengthened the cause, so that much more could now be expected with his coming in person.

English puritanism as a movement was not confined to the ranks of the clergy, for indeed it is doubtful if it could have survived without the help and guidance of several influential laymen. It has already been seen how Travers's ministry at Antwerp was furthered and protected by diplomats like Walsingham and Davidson, and now on his return to England, he is to be found indebted to another well-known statesman. Lord Burghley had been regarded as a devotee of the reformed faith since the days of Edward VI, during whose reign he had been Secretary of State. In the reign of Mary he was a special friend of the refugees on the Continent, and on the

- (1) Apart from Travers, the only pleas in favour of presbyterian discipline were occasional vindications from a few writers. That of Alexander Nowell in his Catechism (1562) has already been seen (p.127 above). In 1563 T. Becon, once chaplain to Cranmer, published his New Catechism with the question (p. 319), 'What difference is there between a bishop and a spiritual minister?', and the answer he gave was, 'None at all: their office is one, their authority and power is one. And therefore St. Paul calleth the spiritual ministers sometime bishops, sometime elders, sometime pastors, sometime teachers, etc.'. Another, R. Harvey, in a letter to the bishop of Norwich in 1576 (First Parte of a Register, p. 366) complained that the bishop was slow in furthering the reformation and added, 'Now we have to consider that when Christ reigned, his offices were Bishops or Pastours, Elders and Deacons, in the Scriptures of God we find it so'.

accession of Elizabeth was rewarded by the post of Lord High Treasurer, being regarded by some as the solitary author of Elizabeth's greatness.<sup>(1)</sup> He was also appointed chancellor of the University of Cambridge and because of his deep interest in the affairs of that university during the period of Travers's student days, it is most probable that he came to know the ability and the religious views of the young student. Indeed, during the Queen's visit to the university, Travers had made an oration before her Majesty in Burghley's presence.<sup>(2)</sup> The latter had shown that while he was not an extreme puritan, disapproving of violence in that cause, yet he had a definite sympathy with men like Travers who refused to conform.<sup>(3)</sup>

Remembering this, Travers, on his return to the homeland in 1580, made his acquaintance and was successful in being appointed chaplain to the Burghley household and for a time was tutor to the young Robert, later Earl of Salisbury.<sup>(4)</sup> This was but the first of many favours shown to Travers by this famous statesman who was to prove himself a loyal and staunch friend right until his

- (1) L. Elliott-Binns, Reformation in England, p. 139.  
 (2) See Ch. I above.  
 (3) E. Nares, Memoirs of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, iii. 211 n.  
 (4) B.M. Lans. MS L. No. 78; Nares, p. 255; Heylyn, p. 252; J. Collier, An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, vii. 149; Fuller, Church History, iii. 55.

death in 1598. The letters he received from Travers from time to time show how deeply grateful he was for the help and protection he had received from the Lord Treasurer. (1) But the post of household chaplain could only be regarded as a stepping stone to some permanent appointment in the church, and Travers must have realised that it would not be easy to find a place for one such as he, whose presbyterian views were no secret, and whose ordination in a foreign church was certain to be questioned. Obviously Burghley himself was not unaware of the anticipated difficulties, for instead of considering a parish appointment, he secured for him an office in the Temple Church, London, to which Travers was appointed in 1581. (2)

At the beginning of the reign of Henry II, the Knight Templars purchased land near the Thames on which they built one of their temples, so called because it was according to the form of the Temple near the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. (3) The Knight Templars took their beginning about the year 1118, when certain religious noblemen and horsemen took upon themselves vows of chastity and obedience in the service of Christ, under

- (1) For example see Appendix XIII.
- (2) Middle Temple Bench Book, ed. J. B. Williamson, p. 307.
- (3) T. H. Baylis, The Temple Church, p. 2.

the authority of the patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>(1)</sup> Their order was joined by many noblemen from all parts of Christendom and they built for themselves temples in all the principal towns and cities of England. These were erected in Cambridge, Bristol, Canterbury, Dover and Warwick, but that in London was their most important. The latter was built in two main portions, one circular and the other rectangular,<sup>(2)</sup> the first being consecrated in 1185 by the patriarch of Jerusalem and the other in 1240.<sup>(3)</sup>

By the fourteenth century the property of the Knight Templars had passed into the hands of another order, that of St. John the Baptist, and they in turn, during the reign of Edward III granted the Temple and its property to the students of the common laws of England,<sup>(4)</sup> in whose possession it has remained ever since. At a later date they were divided into two houses of students, the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple, and both made use of the Temple Church.

- (1) J. Stow, The Survey of London, p. 355.  
 (2) R. W. Billings, Temple Church, London, p. 18.  
 (3) C. G. Addison, The Temple Church, pp. 48, 51. Unfortunately both portions were severely damaged in the London blitz, but in 1954 the rectangular portion was restored.  
 (4) Stow, p. 357.

Eventually an ecclesiastic was appointed as keeper or guardian of the church, and he was responsible for the holding of services and the preservation of the fabric. He was given the title of 'master', and was assisted in his duties by four stipendary priests with a clerk. They all lodged together in a hall that was provided for their use and their stipends came out of the possessions and revenues of the late hospital and house of St. John's of Jerusalem which had been dissolved in 1540.<sup>(1)</sup> The master had no jurisdiction over the members of the Inn, except in so far as it concerned their moral and spiritual welfare.

William Ermedsted, who had been appointed master in the time of Henry VIII, continued in office throughout the reigns of Edward and Mary, and died a few months after the accession of Elizabeth in 1560. He was succeeded by Dr. Richard Alvey, canon of Westminster who according to Isaak Walton,<sup>(2)</sup> was 'a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour, as to gain so high a degree of love and reverence from all men, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvie'.

(1) Stow, p. 358.

(2) 'Life of Mr Richard Hooker', prefixed to Keble's Works of Mr Richard Hooker, i. 34.

About the year 1581 Dr. Alvey was taken ill and being unable to discharge his duties it was necessary to find a substitute. Very probably Burghley was astute enough to see in this illness of Alvey a singular opportunity of finding Travers a position in an emergency situation, in the hope that the position might eventually become permanent. (1) He was successful in seeing that Travers was considered and on the recommendation of Aylmer, (2) bishop of London, the latter was appointed with the official title of 'reader' at a salary of £20 per annum, to be raised by an assessment on the members of both houses - the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple. (3)

- (1) Alvey's personal wish was that Travers should take his place (Keble, i. 38) for he also held nonconformist opinions, his name appearing in the list of those members of the Frankfort church who subscribed to the non-Anglican discipline (Troubles at Frankfort, p. cxxxiii).
- (2) Appendix XI.
- (3) F. A. Inderwick, A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records, i. lxii. There seems to be some confusion as to the exact title of the office to which Travers was appointed. Inderwick (i. lxii) says he was appointed 'Divinity Lecturer or Preacher', but the Middle Temple Bench Book (p. 307) places Travers among the list of Readers. In a personal letter the present librarian of the Inner Temple library, Dr. E. A. P. Hart, says that 'At the Inns of Court a reader was one who read or lectured on law and although we have Readers to-day, they do not function as lecturers. We also use the word "Reader" for the Assistant to the Master of the Temple Church'. It should be noted (Appendix XI) that Bishop Aylmer in his letter to the Benchers recommends Travers as 'reader'.



The actual appointment of the reader was always made by the benchers of the two houses, who seem to have had perfect freedom of choice. <sup>(1)</sup> The original Templars had been exempted by a Papal Bull from episcopal jurisdiction, and this exemption continued as far as the Temple Church was concerned. Even today the master of the Temple enters into his office without induction or institution, solely on the strength of Letters Patent. But while possessing freedom of choice, the benchers, being within the diocese of London, were usually guided in their choice of reader by the bishop of London, and that is why the actual recommendation of Travers for the readership was made not by Burghley but by Aylmer. His letter to the benchers is not extant, but in his second letter of recommendation he stated, <sup>(2)</sup> 'Wheras heertofore upon the good report of some of my friends I recommendid Mr Travis unto you to be your reader, a man otherwise unknown to me....'. It can be presumed that one of those friends was Burghley.

Travers's first attempts to carry through the duties pertaining to the office of reader (which were actually

(1) Baylis, p. 49.

(2) Appendix XI. Travers himself referred to the two letters of recommendation from Aylmer when he wrote to Burghley in 1585 (See Appendix XIII).

the full duties of the mastership, owing to Alvey's illness) were very satisfactory for we find that 'as a result of a conference between the two houses as to the preacher, it was ordered that the present preacher be confirmed in his post, subject to his bringing recommendations from the bishop of London or from two bishops of the High Commission'.<sup>(1)</sup> The bishop of London, John Aylmer, on 29 June 1581 supplied the necessary recommendation in his second letter on Travers's behalf to the benchers of the Inner Temple<sup>(2)</sup> in which he spoke of his 'welldoeing and orderly behaving of himself'. As reader, Travers was allowed to share the fellowship of the benchers, being invited to their banquets.<sup>(3)</sup> In addition to the Sunday Services, his duties required him to preach on two other days of the week, and while preaching he was required to wear a 'gown or some other decent apparel', but not a cloak.<sup>(3)</sup> It was settled that his salary was to come from a levy of eightpence per term assessed upon every member of the Inn.<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) Inderwick, p. lxi.

(2) Appendix XI. Probably Aylmer recommended him, thinking that Travers would do less harm to the church as a reader than as a minister. Several others who were regarded as a danger held similar positions at this time. Henry Smith was lecturer at St. Clement Danes, Richard Rogers at Wethersfield and Richard Greenham in London. (W. Haller, Rise of Puritanism, p. 53).

(3) Baylis, p. 50.

Apparently the sick master, Dr. Alvey, still resided in the Temple, and so was able to advise Travers in the duties that now devolved upon him. Both having nonconformist leanings it is not surprising to learn that they had the happiest relations with one another, a point probably foreseen by Burghley when he recommended Travers to Aylmer. Morrice<sup>(1)</sup> in his short chronological account of Travers's career says:

The master and the lecturer lived in great amity and love, joyntly carrying on the work of reformation in those Societies and advancing true piety with great zeale, discretion, resolution and unity with whome the benchers most readily concurred to all good purposes.<sup>(2)</sup>

The ready co-operation of Travers's congregation was seen in the second year of his ministry when it was discovered that some were neglecting to attend service for the receiving of the Communion. Alvey had the matter brought before the benchers at their parliament which met on 9 February 1582,<sup>(3)</sup> and they decided to appoint two of their

(1) Dr. Williams Library Morrice MSS. ii no. 431, f. 8. These MSS are extremely important for the study of sixteenth century puritanism, since they once belonged to Sr. J. Higham of Suffolk who lived in the Elizabethan period and was 'a most religious gentleman, and an eminent patron of the puritans, and patriot of his countrey, and a curious collector of choice manuscripts' (Morrice MSS. i. No. 617, f. 8).

(2) Morrice MSS L. No. 75, f. 120 gives a similar testimony.

(3) Minutes of Parliament of Middle Temple, ed. C. T. Martin, p. 248.

number on the nomination of Alvey<sup>(1)</sup> whose duty it was to take the names of such absentees and report them to the Bench.<sup>(2)</sup> It would seem therefore that Travers had at last found a place where he had the liberty of building a second Geneva after the manner of Calvin and Beza.

Yet the freedom that was afforded him was eventually the cause of his undoing, for (as so often happens) he carried it to an extreme. On the authority of Hooker,<sup>(3)</sup> who subsequently officiated at the Temple, it is learned that Travers, during his time as substitute master, had been audacious enough to make two attempts at introducing innovation with a presbyterian flavour. The first concerned the manner of receiving the Communion. Archbishop Parker's Advertisements (1568)<sup>(4)</sup> had laid it down 'that all communicants do receive kneeling', but the posture adopted at the Temple, strangely enough, was that of sitting, after the Genevan fashion.<sup>(5)</sup> Yet Travers seems to have desired something different from either, for the communicants were required to 'walk to the one side of the table, and there standing till they had received,

(1) Minutes of Parliament of Middle Temple, ed. C. T. Martin, p. 252.

(2) Ibid., p. 248.

(3) Keble, Works of Hooker, iii. 713.

(4) Strype, Parker, iii. 88.

(5) Drysdale, History of Presbyterians in England, p. 66.

pass afterwards away round about by the other'. It is difficult to see the Biblical basis for such a practice since it is plainly stated in the New Testament <sup>(1)</sup> that Jesus and the disciples sat during the meal in the upper room, and doubtless Travers would want to follow the Biblical example which example was also adopted at Geneva. It seems that this ambulatory communion was found at Zurich, <sup>(2)</sup> and it is noteworthy that it was objected against Cartwright in 1590 before the High Commission <sup>(3)</sup> that he too had used this method. Surprisingly enough, King James at the Hampton Court Conference in 1603 spoke of it, <sup>(4)</sup> though it is unlikely that such a practice was ever found in Scotland. To the benchers, this ambulatory idea was meaningless, and much to Travers's disgust, they requested that it should be abandoned in favour of the former custom of sitting. He acquiesced, but ever afterwards, still believing that his practice was the better, he refused to officiate at the Communion, and merely attended as a participant, the administration being left to a curate. <sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Matt. xxvi. 20; Luke xxii. 14.

(2) J. F. Leishman, Matthew Leishman of Govan, p. 243.

(3) Fuller, Church History, iii. 116.

(4) W. Barlow, Summe and Substance, p. 177.

(5) Keble, iii. 713.

The other attempted innovation was even more audacious. In the Temple Church, sidesmen and collectors had never been appointed as they were considered unnecessary, the Temple not being a parish church. But now a request was made to the Privy Council for their appointment, and this was granted. The collectors appointed were the treasurers in each of the two Houses, and their duty was to distribute the offerings deposited in a box for the poor. Sidesmen were also appointed on condition that:

if any could be entreated to undertake the labour of observing men's slackness in divine duties, they should be allowed, their complaints heard at all times, and the faults they complained of, if Mr. Travers' private admonition did not serve, then by some other means redressed, but according to the old received orders of both houses' (1)

But now it transpired that the granting of this request by the Privy Council was far from satisfactory to Travers, for what he probably desired was the appointment of collectors who in effect would be deacons, and sidesmen who in effect would be elders (2) without conforming to the 'old received orders of both houses'. Hooker's opinion was that 'Mr. Travers intended ..... another thing', (1) and so the new offices were allowed to lapse, while Travers was left complaining that the good orders

(1) Keble, iii. 715.

(2) F. Paget, Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, p. 88.

which he intended had been withstood. <sup>(1)</sup> Thus it was clear that the advocate of presbyterianism was not going to find it easy to implicate his reforms at the Temple; yet in spite of his frustrated attempts, he was content to remain as the master's substitute.

Although some eight years had now elapsed since Travers left Geneva, he did not lose touch with his continental acquaintances, for it is said <sup>(2)</sup> that he corresponded with them until his death and particularly with Beza. Unfortunately only one of these letters survives, and it belongs to this period of Travers's first years at the Temple. It is a Latin letter <sup>(2)</sup> written by Beza from Geneva in October 1582. The city of Geneva in this year was in great distress. since her powerful enemy, the duchy of Savoy in South East France, had made an attack and forced her citizens to buy peace on very heavy terms. <sup>(2)</sup> Beza being the leading citizen, like his predecessor Calvin, felt it his duty to seek help from friends of Geneva all over the world, and among the many to whom he wrote was Travers. The terms of the letter show the deep affection in which Beza held Travers, for he addressed him as 'mi carissime frater', of whom he

(1) Keble, *iii.* 715.

(2) Fuller, Church History, *iii.* 139.

thinks daily. In it he recalled their ancient friendship and then went on to describe the great straits into which Geneva has fallen. In Beza's opinion if outside relief did not become available there would be little hope of maintaining the life of the church at Geneva and the university. He asked for Travers's prayers and requested that he might prevail upon those who had means to help. Letters had been sent to many noblemen and to the English bishops, but Beza had not great expectations from this quarter, because in the spring of that year, when he sent an ancient copy of a Greek-Latin New Testament to the University of Oxford for their library, he did not even receive an acknowledgment. However he wished this to be kept confidential. Nevertheless, he was going to try every possible means of relieving Geneva, its church and university. <sup>(1)</sup> What Travers wrote in reply, or what he did to help, is not known, but it can only be presumed that he was not unaffected by his great teacher's appeal or unmindful of the years he had once spent in that 'mecca' of presbyterianism.

(1) 'Ego vero frustra etiam quidvis tentare, quam officio in hanc rempub. ecclesiam ac scholam deesse tam necessario tempore malui'.



It so happened that in this same year (1582) another Continental scholar claimed Travers's attention, but one belonging to a different school of thought from Beza. In 1582 there appeared a book printed in Douay with the title An Epistle of the Persecution of Catholicks in Englande. Translated ouut of Frenche into Englishe and conferred wwith the Latine copie by G. T. The translator indicated by the letters 'G. T.' has never been identified, <sup>(1)</sup> though (if the same initials indicate the same person) he had published nine years earlier a work with a similar purpose. This was a summary of a book <sup>(2)</sup> called Treatise of Treasons which had been published abroad probably in 1573 by John Fowler. The two chief conspirators named in this book were Burghley and Bacon, and since G. T. believed that they had prevented the Queen from seeing the original, he now sent her Majesty this summary (which contained a dedicatory epistle to Elizabeth) through Sir Christopher Hatton in order to circumvent the two conspirators. The next work of this anonymous writer was this Epistle of the Persecution of

(1) A. C. Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559-1582, p. 317.

(2) G. T.'s title of the summary was A Table gathered out of a booke named a Treatise of Treasons against Queen Elizabeth, and the crowne of England. Latelie compiled by a stranger and sent out of France. Printed in the yeare of our Lord 1572.

Catholicks in Englande to which was added an epistle by himself to the Lords of the Privy Council. (1) It was an English translation of de Launoy's French version of a Latin work: De persecutione Anglicana epistola, qua explicantur afflictiones, aerumnae and calamitates gravissimae cruciatus etiam and tormenta, and acerbissima martyria, quae Catholici nunc angli ob fidem patiuntur. (2) (Bologne 1581) by Fr. Robert Person. It is not known why G. T. translated from the French version rather than from the Latin original, which, according to the title page, he had beside him for the purpose of checking de Launoy's translation. Very possibly he found it easier to translate from the French, for his English has all the marks of the easy flow and naturalness of the French style, and like many other sixteenth century writers, he probably had a love and respect for that language.

- (1) The title page had two Biblical quotations - Psalm cv. 38: 'They shed innocent blood, even the blood of theyr owne sonnes and of theyr owne daughters'; Psalm lxxviii. 2: 'They lay the deade bodyes of thy servantes (O Lorde) for meate to the fowles of the ayer, and the flesh of thy saintes to the beastes of the fieldes'.
- (2) The French version is entitled - Epistre de la persecution meue en Angleterre contre l'eglise Chrestienne catholique & apostolique fideles membres d'icelle (Paris 1582). The Latin version is printed in Concertatio ecclesiae catholicae (edited J. Gibbon and J. Fen, 1583) and also in the enlarged edition by J. Bridgewater (1588). In 1582 another Latin edition was printed in Rome, and in the same year it appeared in Italian.

(1)

When his publication appeared from Douay, what was of deepest concern to the English protestants was not the actual translation of Person's work, but the fact that there was added an epistle by the translator, G. T., to the Lords of the Privy Council. <sup>(2)</sup> This epistle was an eulogy of the catholic faith, pointing out the advantages enjoyed in a country when the church of this faith is in control, <sup>(3)</sup> and showing how very unjust it was that catholics in England should be subjected to such sufferings. <sup>(4)</sup> The writer then considered twelve points

- (1) Southern (p. 320) would doubt whether Douay was the actual place of publication. 'The printer was pretty certainly George L'Oyselet of Rouen, who was working under the superintendence of George Flinton at this time for the refugees'.
- (2) There was also appended to the translation an epistle from Alexander Briant, (a catholic martyr) to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, requesting that he may be received into the Society in absentia, and there was added a brief address to the reader. Actually Laurence Humphrey, once a member of Knox's congregation in Geneva (1555-59), answered the translation of Person's work in Jesuitismi pars prima: sive de praxi Romanae curiae contra resp. & principes; & de nova legatione Jesuitarum in Angliam, & premonitio ad anglos. (Cui adjuncta est concio ejusdem argumenti (1581).
- (3) 'My purpose is..... to shew that (from) the practice of our doctrine as we holde it,..... doe follow infinite utilities to a Christian commonwealthe.' Epistle, p. 27).
- (4) 'You persecute heavylye, and that in suche measure as the lyke hathe scarce ben mentioned in Christianitie before'. Ibid., p. 4).

advocated by the Catholic Church which, if adhered to, would be for the good of England, namely, restoration of rightful possessions to the Catholic Church, observation of vows, abstinence from flesh on certain days, fasting, clerical celibacy, reduction of rents, prohibiting of divorce, reduction in the authority of the magistrate, observance of two types of sin, venial and mortal, the effect of recognising the place of reward and punishment in the hereafter, encouragement in doing good works to win salvation, and finally auricular confession, 'the very hedge and wall of all vertuous and good life'.

Such a eulogy was a definite blow to the faith of English protestants, to Elizabeth in particular, and to her church; therefore it was obvious that such a publication must be refuted. <sup>(1)</sup> It was always at this point, when Elizabeth's position was threatened that she temporarily lost her bitterness towards the puritans, in order to win their support for her cause against the menacing power of the Roman Church. <sup>(2)</sup> For throughout her reign,

(1) G. T. had thrown out a challenge: 'This is the state of our question in this place, whiche I leave open to anie of our adversaries that can, to improve by reason, in the pointes before recited'. (Epistle, p. 27).

(2) The avowed purpose for the founding of the catholic college at Douay in 1568 was actually 'to wrest England from the grasp of heresy'. (Black, Reign of Elizabeth, p. 139).

and particularly in that period before the defeat of the Armada, the Roman Church remained a jealous foe which watched eagerly for every opportunity to weaken her position on the English throne. There was the Northern rebellion of 1569, followed in 1570 by the Papal Bull of excommunication. There were the recurring attempts to lend support to Mary Queen of Scots, aided by the Pope and Spain, and there had also been an influx of jesuit missionaries, <sup>(1)</sup> the most notable of whom were Campion and Parsons, undoubted traitors. In 1577 Cuthbert Mayne, the proto-martyr of Douay had to be executed, while both Spain and Rome took part in the invasion of Ireland in 1579. In the following year a mission organised by catholics revealed that its aim was not only religious, but also political. In July of the same year, Elizabeth found it necessary to issue a proclamation against jesuits and their supporters, and this was followed in the next year by parliament issuing strict measures against catholics, whose beliefs were now tantamount to treason. Indeed the catholic plotters at this time confessed that they had undertaken to murder the English Queen under <sup>(2)</sup> promise of a plenary indulgence.

(1) J. H. Pollen, English Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 331.

(2) Black, p. 144.

When this mounting opposition of Rome showed itself in the following year, 1582, in the publication of this Epistle asking for the claims of Roman catholicism to be acknowledged within her realm, Elizabeth was more than grateful for the support of all anti-catholics, whether puritans or not. She knew, of course, that she could confidently rely on the help of the puritans for they had always been unqualified opponents of papal doctrine and practice. On many occasions, men like Field and Charke had been writers or disputants against that faith, while Cartwright<sup>(1)</sup> had answered the Rheims New Testament and it was well-known that the jesuits regarded the puritans as their bitter foes.<sup>(2)</sup> But among the puritans, none were more anti-catholic than the presbyterians, for the church of Geneva had been formed not in opposition to episcopacy, but to catholicism, whose rule it had replaced. Furthermore, the presbyterians with their absolute devotion and strict adherence to the Bible could not be anything other than stubborn antagonists of a church which made the Bible a secondary authority in things ecclesiastical.

(1) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 198.

(2) J. A. Froude, English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century, pp. 6, 120; A. O. Meyer, England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth, p. 7.

It is therefore not surprising that Travers in 1583, by now the well-known advocate of presbyterianism, should be chosen to write a reply to G.T.'s Epistle. Already in his first book, the Explicatio he had shown himself a determined adversary of catholicism and well able to expose its errors in the light of the Scriptures. So in this year from his pen there appeared An Answere to a Supplicatorie Epistle of G. T. for the pretended Catholiques: written to the right honorable Lordes of her Majesties privie-Counsell, printed at London by Thomas Vautroullier for Toby Smith. (1) Travers was not officially invited by the Queen to write a reply, though presumably it was with her approval, but, as he states in the preface, 'by some frindes'. (2) Perhaps it was G. T.'s open denunciation of Calvinism (3) as the arch-enemy of catholicism which roused Travers to reply. At first he felt very loath to undertake the task, knowing

- (1) Strangely enough this work seems to have been unknown to most of the historians of puritanism in the sixteenth century, for there is no mention of it in the writings of Pearson, and Peel, or any of the other authorities.
- (2) 'I was moved by some frindes to the cause to take paines to make answeere to it !'
- (3) Epistle, pp. 5, 30, 33.

AN  
**ANSWERE TO A**  
**SUPPLICATORIE EPISTLE,**  
 OF G. T. FOR THE PRETENDED  
 CATHOLIQVES: WRITTEN TO THE  
 right honorable Lordes of her Ma-  
 jesties priuie Counsell.

By WATER TRAVERS *Minister of the word of God.*

*Rom. 13. 4.*

If thou do euill, feare: for he beareth not the sworde for naught: for he is the minister of God to take vengeance on him that doth euill.

*Apoc. 19. 20. 21.*

But the Beast was taken, and with him the false Prophet that wrought my-  
 racles before him. Wherby he deceiued them that receiued the Beasts  
 marke, and them that worshipped his image. These were aliuē cast in-  
 to a lake of fire, burning with brimstone.

And the remnant were slaine with the sworde of him that sitteth vpon the  
 horse, which commeth out of his mouth, and all the foules were filled  
 with their flesh.

BB. 21  
 46



ad

Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroul-  
 lier for Toby Smith, 1 5 8 3.



his own deficiency:

but when on the other side, I set before me, the price of the cause, which we strive for, the qualities of my vocation and calling, the most unworthy slaunders wherewith the enemy changeth the sacred truth of God, and the lawfull authoritie of this land, I could not see that any of the former reasons ought so farre to prevaile with me as to withdraw me from a service so holy, so dutifull, and so necessary as I judged this to be'.<sup>(1)</sup>

With his pen, as a sword sharpened for the fight, he wrote, 'As for the enemie, I know in deede his malice is bitter'.<sup>(2)</sup>

Travers began by showing that catholics in England have no cause for complaint under the regime of Elizabeth who was 'a gracious Ladie, of famous renoune for mildnesse and clemency'.<sup>(3)</sup> If any of them have suffered punishment, it was because they have been found guilty of treason. Many of them had actually been concerned in rebellions in the North and in Ireland, and therefore they had deserved to suffer. The fault therefore lay with their church which teaches a greater obedience to the Pope, 'who is a forraine prince',<sup>(4)</sup> than to the ruler of the state, and proof is found in the fact that the Pope has excommunicated Elizabeth because she would

(1) P. 7.

(2) P. 9.

(3) P. 4.

(4) P. 18.

(1)  
 not obey him. Moreover if Elizabeth's punishments for disobedience to the laws of the land seem heavy, they are much lighter than those meted out to protestants by her predecessor Mary. (2) No church has been so intolerant as the church of Rome, for it openly declares that all who have not their faith are heretics. There are many cases of catholic persecution in other lands, and for this the Lords of the Council are referred to Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the story of the Spanish Inquisition.

To the catholic challenge that their faith 'is the onely religion of our forefathers in Englande', Travers answered that this was untrue, for the first Christianity in England knew nothing of transubstantiation, and all the other doctrines that are peculiar to the church of Rome now. He rejected the term 'catholic' as a misnomer, (3) since it assumed that there was no other church but their

- (1) C. G. Bayne (Anglo-Roman Relations 1558-65, i. 39) considers it 'one of the mysteries of history' that the Pope did not excommunicate Elizabeth sooner than he did.
- (2) Trevelyan's statement that 'on the average 4 catholics suffered for every year of Elizabeth's reign as against 56 protestants for every year of Mary's' (History of England, p. 363) lends support to Travers's contention.
- (3) P. 13 - 'these falslie named Catholicks'.

own. Even their claim to be a universal faith, if accepted, did not necessarily prove that it was true.

Another challenge which G. T. had hurled against protestantism was its divisions as compared with the unity of catholicism, but Travers rejected this unity as a conspiracy, and added that their church is and has always been full of contentions and controversies. They have different orders of monks and nuns, and even popes have been found disannulling the acts of their predecessors. Protestants on the other hand, while outwardly divided, are in truth bound in a greater unity than catholics for they agree on the essentials of the faith, as for instance, on there being only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

G. T. had been eager in his Epistle to emphasise that the policy of the Catholic Church had always been good wherever it was known, and particularly in England, but Travers having contradicted this view, on the ground that that policy 'hath bene pernicious to most noble states', and 'contrarie to the wealth, libertie, honour and authoritie of anie State or kingdome', <sup>(1)</sup> went on to eulogise on what Elizabeth, by contrast, had done for England:

(1) P. 123.

her majestie hath brought in prayers in our own tongue, the holy word of God to be read; and truelie expounded unto us : the Sacraments, which are the seales of the Gospell, to be duly administred; the pure cleane and undefiled water of Baptisme, the Lordes Table furnished, as the royall Table of a Kinge, at the marriage of his Sonne, with the sweete breade of the finest of the wheate and with wyne of a grape of most noble kynde, that is with the preciouise bodie and bloude of our Saviour Christ Jesu. Her Highnesse hath called backe again the Ministers of the Gospell..... and for these it hath pleased God to prosper her Majestie. (1)

As for the reason why the church of Rome is unable to provide such benefits, Travers answered that as a church, she had not obeyed the Scriptures, the word of God, and therefore had not obeyed God. That church's authority was not the word of God, but the word of the Pope, who was the antichrist foretold in the Bible, sent (2) for the just punishment of the wicked. The church of Rome will not be reformed according to the truth of the Gospel until 'his Fatherhoode should parte with his (3) triple crowne, and leave his riding upon mens shoulders'.

Travers then turned to the twelve points or articles of the catholic faith which G. T. had commended in the interests of England.

1. G. T. had said that all ill-gotten goods should be restored to the Catholic Church, which had been

(1) Pp. 114, 115.

(2) Pp. 143.

(3) P. 141.

deprived of much of her property by successive Tudor monarchs. Travers dismissed this by maintaining that the Catholic Church herself is guilty of theft in that she had usurped authority and under the guise of that authority had demanded money from her people to which she had no right.

2. On the necessity for the observation of vows, the retort given is that catholics interpret these solely in terms of celibacy, prayers for the dead, pilgrimages, offerings to idols, etc. all of which are not true vows because they are unwarranted in the Bible.
3. G. T. urged the practice of abstinence from eating flesh on certain days <sup>(1)</sup> as this would economise food, and so there would be more for all. Again, this plea is dismissed as having no foundation in Scripture.
4. Fasting also had been commended on the same grounds, <sup>(2)</sup> but in addition to its unscripturalness, Travers pointed out that catholics do not really fast, but observe the practice only in a partial way according to tradition rather than according to the manner of Christ.

(1) 'In number very neere 160, that is almost one halfe of the yere' (Epistle, p. 13).

(2) 'To the number of at least a hundred every yere'. (Ibid., p. 15).

5. Clerical celibacy was considered by G. T. to be for the good of the state since it would help towards solving the problems of over-population and poverty, but this is refuted as contrary to the mind of Christ who taught that marriage was the will of God for some, just as celibacy was for others. Travers had no place for 'an idle cloyster of Friars .... who leave the poore people spoyled of their goods, and unfurnished of one, who should be their guide to everlasting life' (1). The wealth of the monasteries was revealed when they were suppressed by Henry VIII. It is better for a nation that clergymen should be married, live in their own houses and provide for their families, but this is only possible when they are given adequate means of support (2).
6. G. T. had objected to the raising of rents in England as being too onerous for many people, but Travers while agreeing that it is unjust to raise rents to an exorbitant sum, yet when the cost of living rises, it is quite allowable.

(1) P. 198.

(2) Here is a reiteration of his plea for higher stipends, which was also found in the Explicatio (see ch. II above).

7. It was one of the boasts of catholics, that their church did not permit divorce, a practice which would again enhance the well-being of the state. To this, the answer given is that the Church of England also would not permit divorce except for causes allowed in the Scriptures. People guilty of adultery could not be remarried, but the innocent party could.

8. G. T. had called for a reduced authority of the magistrate, since that would give more liberty to the people, and Travers replied in the typical Genevan manner reiterating the views expressed in his Explicatio:

Magistrates are ministers of God, appointed and ordained by him, for defence and praise of the good, and for just punishment and execution of the wicked : therefore he that shall resist the magistrate, shall be guilty in conscience of making resistance against God .<sup>(1)</sup>

Christ taught that Caesar was entitled to his due, and since the powers that be are ordained of God, properly appointed princes are to be obeyed even though they themselves are heathen.

(1) P. 214.

9. The catholic division of sins into those venial and those mortal drew from Travers the retort that all sin, great or small, is mortal, even though some sins may be more grievous than others. He maintained that the catholic division actually encouraged sin, since those sins called venial had not a full sense of guilt attached to them. Every sin is a sin against God, and only God can forgive sins and take away the sense of guilt.
10. A comparison had been drawn by G. T. between the two doctrines on the punishment of sin in this life and in the world to come, and the reward of holiness in heaven. He accused protestants of saying that only faith in Christ was necessary for the obtaining of forgiveness, and this made it too easy. Travers admitted the protestant emphasis on faith, but added that after forgiveness there naturally followed repentance and a desire for a changed life which made a sinner detest sin and desire only the things of God. The whole conception of salvation being earned by works and of the part played by purgatory was 'a meere  
(1)  
fancy of their own' and was contrary to the New

(1) P. 252.



(1)

Testament teaching that salvation was the free gift of God.

11. As a benefit to the state, G. T. commended the doing of good works, but here again Travers, relying on St. Paul's condemnation of good works done by man as man, contended that man's nature was so corrupt that being totally depraved, he could do no good works by himself, but only when aided by God's spirit. There can be no possibility of doing good works apart from God, the source of all good.
12. The last article which G.T. advocated was auricular confession, which he considered of inestimable value to the state since it was the sine qua non of a virtuous life. <sup>(2)</sup> It would mean that each person should confess to a priest at least once every year. It was easy for Travers to refute this because not only was it unscriptural, but it was unknown in the West for about twelve centuries. Besides, for him the practice was inherently bad since 'everie priest is an intelligencer, and a spie for the Pope who ..... can come to understande the deepest secretes of everie state and kingedome, of everie

(1) Cf. Ephesians ii. 8 and 9.

(2) 'Private confession of our sinnes unto the pryest ..... is the verie hedge and wall of all vertuous life and the chefest brydle of lycentiousnes in a common wealthe'. (Epistle, p. 25).

citie, and towne, village, house, familie and  
 (1)  
 person'.

Summing up, Travers expressed his conviction that the Catholic Church with her centralised government vested in the Pope, her demand for the total obedience of all her followers, coupled with such unyielding intolerance, was not a help, but a menace to England, the oppos-  
 -er of true religion and an enemy of human freedom. In  
 (2)  
 the concluding pages of his work, he traced the history of the degeneracy of the Catholic Church from the pure Gospel given by Christ and preached by the apostles. He showed how slowly and almost imperceptibly there crept into her practice and beliefs such things as the primacy of the Pope, belief in purgatory, prayers for the dead, intercession of the saints, the seven sacraments - all unknown in the Early Church, and not to be found in the writings of the early Fathers such as Origen, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Tertullian, Augustine or Jerome.

(3)  
 He then reiterated his intention in the writing of this book:

My purpose herein, is faithfullye to discharge some part of my duetie to Almighty God and to her excellent Majestie, and your Honours in maintayning to my small power, this most holy and honorable quarrell of God against his enemies and thereby strengthening, as much as lieth in

(1) P. 290.

(2) Pp. 357 ff.

(3) P. 367.

me, the right hand of a holie justice, armed of God, with a punishing sworde, against all evill doers.

For him it was not unlawful to put to death a rebel or traitor, when the purpose is to protect true religion as revealed in the Scriptures, and therefore the plea of G. T. for leniency cannot be justified. Yet, if catholics repent and turn to the true faith, Travers is sure that according to 'the merciful nature of our sovereign Ladie, whom God hath made to be a Mother in Israell',<sup>(1)</sup> they will be graciously and lovingly received. But if they continue their obstinate course in subverting the Gospel of God and those who profess it, then God 'will confound all their devices against his trueth'.<sup>(2)</sup>

As in his former work, Travers, true to the Genevan practice, made his sole appeal to the Bible as his final authority, and from that platform he refuted all that was contradictory or was not implied in the Scriptures. Again, as in his former book, there is his characteristic verbosity and a tendency to labour every point. Having a less positive motive than the Explicatio, he was prone, at times, to indulge in some bitter invectives. Yet his arguments from the premises of the Bible were logical and the many illustrations drawn from

(1) P. 386.

(2) P. 387.

a wide field of classical and ecclesiastical literature which he used to support his arguments, clearly show the immensity of his learning. But perhaps the point of greatest interest in this work is how in the face of catholic opposition, Travers could leave aside all his antipathy towards Elizabeth and her church, and fight on her behalf. He could forget his presbyterianism when he came to write in the larger role of a protestant and English churchman.

The year 1583 was an eventful one for both puritans and presbyterians since, with the death of Grindal, Whitgift was appointed archbishop of Canterbury. In Cambridge his opposition to everything of a puritan nature has already been seen and, in particular, his disapproval of the presbyterianism of Travers and Cartwright. When he came to Lambeth he was well aware that there was a rising undercurrent of puritan-presbyterian zeal which showed itself in several outbursts of nonconformist activities that had to be  
(1)  
curbed. There was also a seeming revival of the prophesyings, but this time there was no attempt to

(1) Acts of the Privy Council of England (ed. Dasent), x. 426; xi. pp. 74, 132.

make them official in each district. (1) Bancroft (2)  
 referring to the years 1572-83 believed that there were  
 'meetings of ministers, tearmed brethren, in private  
 houses in London', and that they dealt with 'subscrip-  
 tion, the attyre, and booke of common prayer'. He also  
 (3)  
 mentions

an assembly of three score Ministers, appointed out of  
 Essex, Cambridge-shiere and Norfolke, to meet the eighth  
 of May 1582, at Cockefield, (Master Knewstubs towne)  
 there to conferre of the common booke, what might be  
 tollerated, and what necessarily to be refused in every  
 point of it: apparel, matter, form, dayes.

(4)  
 Fuller substantiates this information and refers to  
 another meeting of the same nature held on 2 July at  
 (4)  
 Cambridge. His conclusion is that:

The year (1582) proved very active, especially in the  
 practices of presbyterians, who now found so much favour,  
 as almost amounted to a connivance at their discipline.  
 For, whilst the severity of the state was at this time  
 intended to the height against Jesuits, some lenity, of  
 course, by the very rules of opposition, fell to the  
 share of the nonconformists, even on the score of their  
 notorious enmity to the Jesuitical party.

It is to be regretted that none of the documents  
 recording the proceedings at these meetings are exstant,  
 but this makes all the more valuable the one that does

- (1) Seconde Parte of a Register, 1. 153. Heylyn  
 (Aërius Redivivius, p. 259) thinks that Beza's  
 letter to Travers (see p.153 above) was an incentive  
 to the presbyterians to revive their activities.
- (2) Dangerous Position, p. 67.
- (3) Ibid., p. 44.
- (4) Church History, iii. 28.

survive of the Dedham classis in Essex. <sup>(1)</sup> The first  
 meeting of this classis or presbytery <sup>(2)</sup> was on 3 December  
 1582, and meetings continued until 1589. They were held  
 privately and the subjects discussed were the Sabbath,  
 Baptism, divorce and particularly the Prayer Book 'how  
 far a pastor might goe in reading the book of common  
 praier'. <sup>(3)</sup> But this minute book has a special import-  
 ance in that it makes mention of other classes, meeting <sup>(4)</sup>  
 in such places as Suffolk, Norwich, Cambridge and London.

This was part of the difficult situation <sup>(5)</sup> that  
 faced Whitgift as he took up the duties of archbishop in  
 1583, and for him it was obvious that strict measures  
 must be taken and at once. Full well did the presbyter-  
 -ians sense that for them a storm was now brewing. On  
 Whitgift's appointment to Canterbury, Field wrote from  
 London to Chapman, a member of the Dedham classis: 'The  
 peace of the Church is at an end if he be not curbed'. <sup>(6)</sup>  
 Within three months of his appointment he had prepared

- (1) See The Presbyterian Movement . . . . . as illustrated by the Minute Book of the Dedham Classis (ed. R. G. Usher).
- (2) The former term was more common in the sixteenth century.
- (3) Usher, pp. 28, 31.
- (4) Ibid., p. 31.
- (5) For a complete picture of the whole situation see V. J. K. Brook, Whitgift and the English Church, chs. viii., ix.
- (6) Usher, p. 96.

(1)  
 fifteen Articles to which all clergy were required to subscribe on pain of deprivation, and in addition the High Commission was given additional extensive powers. To the majority of these Articles the presbyterians had no objection, but in the case of some, subscription was quite out of the question. The most difficult was the Sixth which required:

That none be permitted to preach, read, catechise, minister the Sacraments, or execute any ecclesiastical function, by what authority soever he be admitted thereunto, unless he first consent and subscribe to these Articles following, before the Ordinary of the diocese, ... viz.:-

1. That her Majesty under God hath and ought to have the sovereignty and rule over all persons born within her realms.....
2. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering Bishops, priests and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God and that the same may lawfully be used and that he himself will use the form of the same book prescribed in public prayer and administration of the sacraments and none other.
3. That he alloweth the book of the Articles of Religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of Our Lord God 1562, and set forth by her Majesty's authority, and that he believeth all the Articles therein contained to be agreeable to the Word of God.

The sting of these Articles lay in the fact that now the acts of Convocation became legal, on a par with acts of parliament, and it was obvious that the article relating to the Prayer Book was aimed at the presbyterians.

(1) Documents illustrative of English Church History  
 (ed. Gee and Hardy) p. 481.

To enforce the Articles Whitgift requested the  
 Queen <sup>(1)</sup> to appoint in December 1583 forty-four High  
 Commissioners, twelve to be bishops and the others chief  
 officers under the Crown. Any three of these could act  
 as long as the archbishop or one of the bishops was  
 present as one of the members, and they had power not  
 only to deprive, but to imprison and impose fines. For  
 the use of the High Commission Whitgift drew up twenty-  
 four articles <sup>(2)</sup> by which to try all suspects so that  
 every shred of nonconformity in them would be exposed. <sup>(3)</sup>  
 The severity of these articles was certain to rouse the  
 feelings of all puritan sympathisers, among whom was  
 Burghley who wrote <sup>(4)</sup> to Whitgift:

I find them [the Articles] so curiously penned, so full  
 of branches and circumstances, that I think the inquisit-  
 -ion of Spain, used not so many questions to comprehend  
 and to trap their priests..... it is not charitable to  
 send poor ministers to your common register, to answer  
 upon so many articles at one instant.

Burghley thus made it clear that he was not prepared to  
 make any secret of where his sympathies lay, <sup>(5)</sup> but it

(1) Strype, Whitgift, i. 134.

(2) Neal, Puritans, i. 281.

(3) Though Whitgift was himself a Calvinist in his  
 theology, he could not tolerate the Calvinistic mode  
 of church government (Elliott-Binns, Reformation  
 in England, p. 167).

(4) Neal, i. 285.

(5) In his constant defence of the puritans, Burghley  
 was encouraged by his wife, who was the daughter of  
 Sir Anthony Cooke, a puritan exile.



did not deter the archbishop from forcing his will upon all non-subscribers to his Articles, even at the risk of alienating the Lord Treasurer.<sup>(1)</sup> He replied to Burghley that what he was doing was not for personal reasons but for the unity of the church.<sup>(2)</sup> Moreover it was clear that one of the explanations for Whitgift's unflinching stand in this matter was the fact that he knew he had the full support of the Queen, who playfully called him her little 'black husband'.<sup>(3)</sup> She actually admitted him to the Privy Council, thus giving him a position of tremendous power and influence, he being the first and only church dignitary to receive such an appointment during her whole reign. Thus in spite of supplications from councillors and petitions to the House of Lords, subscription to the Articles was enforced and the inevitable result was that a large number of ministers, particularly in Norfolk, Suffolk, Sussex, Essex, Kent and Lincolnshire were suspended.

There was no sign of any leniency for the puritans until at last, because of a request from the Earl of Leicester, Whitgift agreed to have the matter debated at

(1) Strype, Whitgift, i. 327.

(2) Ibid., iii. 107.

(3) J. E. Neale, Queen Elizabeth I, p. 310.

(1)  
 a conference in Lambeth before Leicester, Lord Grey and Sir Francis Walsingham, which conference lasted for two days, 10 and 12 December. (2)  
 This was a great concession on Whitgift's part and doubtless gave great hope to the puritans. Two contestants were chosen to represent each side. The Anglican champions were Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester, and Whitgift himself, while for the puritans, the two considered most worthy and most able were Dr. Thomas Sparke, minister in Buckingham, and the acting master of the Temple church, Walter Travers.

(3)  
 Though Sparke and Travers were presbyterians, it was not in that role that they appeared at Lambeth, but as advocates of the puritan party. The matters discussed were the 'things needful to be reformed in the Book of Common Prayer', especially the sections dealing with the Apocrypha, but church discipline was not even mentioned.

- (1) Dr. Williams' Library Morrice MSS B. ff. 368-86 (Appendix XIV). An abridged copy is found in Seconde Parte of a Register, 1. 275 ff. The Morrice MS is the only full account available. From its partiality to the puritan contestants and the use of the pronoun 'we', together with the marginal note that it comes from Travers's hand, the latter can almost definitely be regarded as the writer.
- (2) The year is not stated in the Morrice MS but it is almost certain to be 1584, the year after the Articles were issued. Fuller places it in this year (Church History, iii. 74).
- (3) Sparke in 1603 appeared before James I at the Hampton Court Conference as a spokesman of the presbyterians (see p. 410 below).

Yet the question of the use of the Prayer Book was one that usually found a place on the agendas of the classical meetings, and possibly Travers and Sparke were chosen as the contestants because at such classical meetings they had shown their metal in debates on this important matter. Although the three observers at the conference, Leicester, Grey and Walsingham, were partial to the puritans, this did not seem to moderate the opposition of the Anglicans, for judging by the initial antipathy shown by Whitgift, the conference was doomed to failure from the beginning. When Travers and Sparke wished that the conference should be opened with prayer, Whitgift objected on the ground that if this were allowed, their meeting might be taken to be a conventicle; and though Sparke did offer 'a short sweete prayer in very few but gracious words', Whitgift irreverently continued to speak while he was praying.

Sparke opened the debate by raising two points, one, the question of what books should find a place in the reading of Scripture in worship, and the other, the doctrine of the Sacraments. As to the first, Sparke took objection to the inclusion of the Apocrypha as worthy to be read in church because its contents were not equally

(1)

edifying with those included in the canon. Whitgift disagreed and pointed out that it had been read in churches from ancient times. Travers replied that the term, 'Holy Scripture' was unfitting for such books and that in his opinion they lacked the divine inspiration. Whitgift retorted that the Apocryphal writings were equally inspired, but Travers replied that while they may be generally inspired, yet the presence of error in them proved that they could not be reckoned as having the same inspiration as the other canonical writings. After quoting from Jerome and Eusebius to substantiate his arguments, he contended that the difference between them lay in that one was from man and the other from God. At this, Sparke joined in to show that the reading of the Apocryphal writings had been forbidden by certain councils in the past, and he went further to give the opinion that even the canonical books that were allowed to be read in churches had mistranslations. As an example, he quoted Matthew i. 18 where the Great Bible (1539) - the translation appointed to be read in churches - said that 'Mary was maryed to Joseph'. Travers intervened to say that this translation did not emphasise Mary's virginity. It was very probable that both Sparke and Travers had in mind their beloved Genevan translation which for this verse had 'Mary was betrowthed to Joseph'.

(1) The Apocryphal writings had been included in the canon by the Convocation of 1562.

After a long and fruitless discussion on this point, in which neither side would yield, the Earl of Leicester requested that they should move on to some other matter. Sparke then referred to some errors in the Apocrypha. When Lord Grey challenged Whitgift on a point relating to the power of witches to raise the dead, the archbishop shelved the matter and this allowed Sparke to dwell on another error which he had discovered in the ninth chapter of the book of Judith.

Leaving the Apocrypha, the next matter to be raised was private Baptism to which Sparke objected on the grounds that it was private and that Baptism by women was acknowledged to be valid. Whitgift pointed out that the Prayer Book did not appoint women to baptize but in emergency cases it was allowed. At this point when the Earl of Leicester expressed his desire to depart since night was coming on, the first day's debate came to an end.

On the second and last day of the conference, on the Anglican side the bishop of Winchester was replaced by Edwin Sandys, the archbishop of York, and the observers had the addition of Travers's friend, Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, who took a lively interest in the matters discussed. In order that the Lord Treasurer should be acquainted with all the matters raised on the previous

day, Whitgift rehearsed them, but as Sparke considered that he had done so to the disadvantage of the puritan side, he re-rehearsed them. This led to a further debate on several of the points already discussed. On the question of the Apocrypha, Travers claimed that only the writings that were quoted by Christ could be called 'Holy Scripture', but Burghley refused to accept this argument and a further discussion followed on what prophetic writings Christ had actually cited, Sparke again dwelling on the mistranslations of the Scriptures. Whitgift confessed that owing to his ignorance of Hebrew, he was at a disadvantage compared with Sparke and Travers who were both proficient in that language. After a discussion on two chapters in the Apocryphal writings, the subject of private Baptism was reintroduced, and Travers made the bold statement that Baptism by one who was not a minister was no Baptism, thus showing himself something of a sacerdotalist, but Whitgift refused to alter his opinion on allowing women to baptize in certain instances. When Burghley ventured the opinion that the latter was the usual practice throughout the land, Sandys intervened to say that after consulting the Queen, he had disallowed it in his diocese. Yet Whitgift kept reiterating his former opinion and added that this was the view of Calvin

since he believed that Baptism was necessary to salvation, but Travers disagreed on this interpretation of Calvin's views.

The Earl of Leicester now questioned Sparke about whether the godfather could answer the questions for the child, and mentioned the practice of using the sign of the Cross in Baptism. Sparke declared that this was a heathen practice but Burghley answered to the contrary showing that it was neither heathen nor papist, but was a practice borrowed from the early church. To this Travers gave the opinion that no matter how ancient a practice might be, if it was open to abuse it ought to be abolished, and he gave the example of the brazen serpent in the days of Moses, which was abolished as soon as it led the people of Israel to idolatry. He believed that the church had no right to institute rites and ceremonies such as this, when they were out of keeping with the Scriptures. When Whitgift pointed out that even Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva, would not condemn a church which used the sign of the Cross in Baptism, Travers at once replied that while Beza would not prejudice a church's liberty, yet his (Beza's) opinion was that this practice should be discontinued, and he even counselled ministers to sacrifice their ministries rather than concede to it. Travers then continued with a

statement of his attitude to the Christian ministry which showed how deeply courageous he was in the fulfilling of his sacred duties and what a high view he had of the sacred vocation. When the Earl of Leicester said that it was a pity to see so many good preachers being deprived of their ministries on account of such things, Travers added:

My L. we acknowledge the peace of the Church ought to be dearer unto us than our lives, but with your L good favour, I must needs say in conscience to God, and in the Dutie I owe to her Maste Excellent Majesty, to you, good L.L. and to this whole Church and State that the mynisters in so doing have done well, and ought not to have yielded though they were to be put from their ministrie, the matters being such which they were required to subscribe unto as your L. hath partlie heard and partlie is further to be shewed.

The Communion and minister's apparel having been mentioned in passing, the Earl of Leicester asked if the puritans had any other points to raise, and Travers said that he objected to the Prayer Book in that it allowed and justified an insufficient ministry. Quoting from 1st Timothy iii. and Titus i., he contended that a bishop (by which he meant every minister) should be able to teach. When Burghley asked what Scriptural grounds he had for maintaining that only preachers should minister the sacraments, he quoted Christ's words in Matthew xxviii.19, 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them...', and he added that this was 'the universall doctrine and



practice of the gospell'. Whitgift thought that there were exceptions to this, such as in the French church, but Travers disagreed, and he further disagreed when Whitgift wanted to regard the apostolic rule relating to ministers as only supplying an idea rather than a specific command. Burghley also opposed Travers on the ground that his view was impossible in practice, but the latter replied that the fact that other churches observed the apostolic rule proved that it was not impossible.

Finally, when Sparke had objected to the customs of non-residence and pluralities, the Earl of Leicester, as on the previous day, expressed his desire to break off the disputation since it was getting late, and after mentioning 'another matter ..... which being a little talked on, the Lordes arose, the company departed'.

If this report of the Lambeth conference, on which we are solely dependent for details, is guilty of prejudice on the puritan side, equally prejudiced on the other side is the brief and misleading report printed by

(1)

Strype:

A conference at Lambeth between some disaffected ministers and the Archbishop, at the desire of some honourable personages, who after four hours arguing, observing the strength of the Archbishop's reasons, and the weakness of theirs, persuaded them to conform themselves, and withal told the Archbishop they would acquaint her Majesty thereof.

(1) Whitgift, i. 335. Heylyn's version (Aërius Redivivus. p. 269) is similar to that of Strype's.

In the absence of any sign of immediate conformity on the part of Travers and Sparke, and as there is no record of her Majesty's being informed on the matter, it is more likely that the puritan account gives the more truthful result of the conference - namely that it failed to reconcile either parties.

For Whitgift as archbishop of Canterbury the year 1584 was particularly busy and trying, for on the one hand, there was much evidence of slackness amongst the clergy. Even Burghley who was not given to much open criticism of the church, was driven in this year to complain to the archbishop about the worldliness of the bishops. <sup>(1)</sup> On the other hand, among the really active clergy, nonconformity became very evident. Several ministers in Lincoln, refusing to subscribe, had to be suspended, <sup>(2)</sup> while similar disturbances were reported in Chester, Norwich and Peterborough. But of all these troublesome nonconformists at this particular time, Travers must have been about the most irksome, for in addition to his clash with Whitgift at Lambeth, there now appeared, to the archbishop's dismay, a reprint in English of his book, Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae .....

(1) Strype, Annals, i. 338.

(2) Ibid., p. 229.

Explicatio, and, audaciously enough, from the printing press of the University of Cambridge. This press, after being in abeyance for more than fifty years, had now been re-established in spite of the jealousy of the Stationers' Company in London. (1) Burghley, the university chancellor gave his assent in a letter dated 18 March 1583, and Thomas Thomas, a fellow of King's College, was appointed university printer in that year. (2) He was entrusted with producing a work by Whitaker, and other works were in progress, when suddenly the agents of the Stationers' Company came and seized the press. (1) This so roused the indignation of the university that their press was re-established in 1584, and the first book (3) to be printed in that year was Travers's Explicatio in English.

Whitgift promptly informed Burghley of its appearance and identified it as 'the same with that which Travers was supposed to have set forth in Latin before, without any addition or detraction; only now, as it seems put into English'. (4) From this statement it was

- (1) J. B. Mullinger, University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the accession of James I. p. 293.
- (2) R. Bowes, Cambridge Antiquarian Society Publications, v. pt. iv, pp. 292-294.
- (3) J. Ames, Typographical Antiquities (ed. W. Herbert) iii. 1414.
- (4) Strype, Whitgift, i. 229.

obvious that Whitgift at this time either had not seen the book himself, or else had not made a careful study of the Latin original, for Bancroft<sup>(1)</sup> in 1593, by taking two quotations from the Latin original and comparing them with the translation of 1584, showed that the work which now had been reprinted, was not a new translation made in Cambridge, but a re-issue of Cartwright's translation made in 1574.<sup>(2)</sup> The first quotation referred to the question of tithes, which Travers considered should be continued to the church, but he objected to the manner in which they were collected.<sup>(3)</sup> The other quotation<sup>(4)</sup> was used by Bancroft to show that a passage in Travers's Latin original<sup>(5)</sup> relating to the place of widows in the

(1) Survay, pp. 225, 237.

(2) Cartwright's translation is dealt with in Ch. II above.

(3) Explicatio, p. 96: 'Nescio quid habet sordidi, singulorum agros, ne fallatur, aestimare gregis ac armentorum & reliquarum rerum (ex quibus pro nostro more decimae persoluuntur) numerū foetusque cognoscere'.

Cartwright's translation (Full and Plaine Declaration, 1574, p. 125) has 'It is a base and a vile thing for them to vewe every mans fielde lest they be deceyved and to knowe the nombre and encrease off every mans flocke or cattell and off other things whereoff by the custome of our realme the tenthes are paide'. This is found word for word (though with minor differences in the spelling) in Bancroft, Survay, pp. 236, 237.

(4) See p. 62 above.

(5) Explicatio, p. 119.

church had not been translated in the 1584 reprint; but this passage had also been omitted by Cartwright in his translation which goes to prove that the former was a copy of the latter. These two quotations not only establish this fact, but they also prove that Bancroft was writing of the Explicatio and not the Book of Discipline, which later appeared also in Cambridge, and with which it has so often been confused. (1)

At once Whitgift caused the reprint of this obnoxious book to be seized and committed to the flames. A rigorous search was made for all copies, and was so successfully carried out, that today no copy is known to exist. The university press however was allowed to continue its work, but the attempt to reprint Travers's book must be regarded as a clear indication of how greatly it was valued by the presbyterians as a textbook needed for the furtherance of their cause, and it also showed how active that party was in Cambridge.

There is one further activity of Travers, belonging to this year when his book was reprinted, which shows how closely he identified himself with his fellow-presbyterians in London while officiating in the Temple

(1) For example by F. W. H. Frere (The English Church, p. 196) and Mullinger, (Op.cit., p. 632).

Church. On 12 October 1584 James Lawson, <sup>(1)</sup> a prominent Scottish presbyterian who had been John Knox's successor as Edinburgh's chief minister, died in London. He was born about 1538 near Perth where he received his early education. Proceeding to the University of St. Andrews, he became the intimate friend of Alexander Arbuthnot, later Principal of Aberdeen. During a period abroad he studied the Hebrew language and on his return to Scotland about 1567, he was appointed to his old University where he was probably the first public teacher of Hebrew in Scotland. In 1569 Lawson became sub-principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and about the same time was admitted into the ministry of the church and appointed to the charge of Old Machar, Aberdeen. Three years later, on Knox's death, he became his successor in Edinburgh, ministering for twelve years and proving himself 'wise, prudent and faithfull'. <sup>(2)</sup> His work as chief minister in Edinburgh took a variety of forms. At one time he was one of those appointed to censor all books published; at another to help in the framing of an Act governing the apparel of ministers and their wives; at another to enforce ecclesiastical discipline. In 1580 he was

(1) Selections from Wodrow's Biographical Collections,  
(ed. R. Lippe) pp. 193 ff.

(2) Ibid., p. 195.

moderator of the General Assembly which met in Dundee, at which the office of bishop, in the episcopal sense, was declared unlawful. Among the many protestant divines on the Continent with whom he maintained a constant correspondence, was Beza, <sup>(1)</sup> the close friend of Travers.

On several occasions Lawson had preached against the various attempts by parliament to encroach on the affairs of the church, but the chief occasion was in 1584, when, after an open denunciation of the Acts which had been proclaimed on 26 May of that year <sup>(2)</sup> and which implied definite interference with the jurisdiction of the church, the new Regent, the Earl of Arran vowed that 'if Mr James Lawson's head were as great as an haystack, he would cause it leap from its hawse' <sup>(3)</sup> (neck). Orders were made for his arrest on 28 May, but on the previous day he escaped to Berwick, and later proceeded to London. Here he rejoined Andrew Melville who had fled from Scotland in the previous February for the same reason, <sup>(4)</sup> and with other Scotsmen they helped and encouraged their

(1) Bancroft, Survay, p. 50.

(2) D. Calderwood, History of the Church of Scotland, 1560-1625, p. 156.

(3) D. Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland, iv. 65.

(4) D. Calderwood, History of the Church of Scotland 1560-1625, p. 146.

English fellow-presbyterians to withstand the policy of  
Whitgift. It is known <sup>(1)</sup> that Lawson and Melville at this  
time 'visited the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge,  
and conferrit with the most godlie and lernit ther,  
retourning againe till London'. Here unfortunately  
Lawson fell a victim to dysentery and died on 12 October  
at the house of Anthony Martin in Honielane, Cheapside,  
his wife on that same day having reached Berwick on her  
way from Scotland to his deathbed. <sup>(2)</sup> Just before his  
death Lawson

thanked God that had moved him to dedicat himself to the  
ministerie, to preach the Word purely, and without fear  
of the faces of men; and to procure the establishing of  
that ecclesiastical discipline, which is contained in the  
Scriptures; and for calling him to that honour, as to  
suffer for the constant defence of the same. <sup>(3)</sup>

<sup>(4)</sup>  
There is a graphic description of the funeral  
which took place on the next day, Wednesday, 13 October  
at 2.0 p.m. The coffin covered with a black cloth was  
borne in turn by six preachers, among whom were Melville  
and Gardiner, the well-known London presbyterian. Normally  
at a funeral there would be about 30 to 40 mourners, and  
on rare occasions 100, but at Lawson's burial there were

(1) Melville, Diary, p. 219.

(2) Lippe, pp. 223, 234. Andrew Melville had witnessed  
his will five days earlier.

(3) Ibid. p. 161.

(4) B. M. Add. MS. 4736, f. 166.



over 500. Among the mourners the first preacher to be named was Travers. Other presbyterian preachers present were Barbour, Wood, Egerton, Edmunds and Field, the last-named being the chief secretary of the presbyterian movement. Other puritan churches represented by their minister were the Baptist and the French, in addition to authors, and many with puritan sympathies - 'gentlemen, honest burgesses and godly matrons'. The burial took place in the churchyard at Bedlam, the grave chosen being immediately beside that of another famous presbyterian preacher, Edward Dering, Cartwright's former associate, who was silenced in 1573 and died in 1576. It is not only Travers's respect for Lawson, this so courageous presbyterian agitator, which lends importance to this incident of his sharing in the funeral procession, but the fact that he is now seen to be closely associated with those who still lived to carry on the work of securing in England that church discipline which Knox, Melville, Lawson and others had so successfully planted in Scotland.

While Travers during these years was engaged in these varied activities, such as anti-catholic writer, puritan disputant and funeral mourner, it must be remembered that he was also at the same time fulfilling

(1) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 115.

(2) Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses, i. 356.

his duties as substitute for the master of the Temple Church. Thus the picture he presents is of one doing a two-fold task, one part of which being the constant weekly work of the Temple mastership and the other consisting of spasmodic entries into those activities where he could best display his religious zeal. Perhaps it ~~was~~ these outside activities which provided a needed outlet for his zeal, seeing that in the Temple he had met with some opposition to certain practices in worship that he very much wished to introduce. <sup>(1)</sup> In spite of this opposition, there was never any desire on his part to relinquish his post, and the reason must have been that he had high hopes of one day succeeding the sick master, Dr. Alvey, for whom he was acting as substitute. But now in August 1584 <sup>(2)</sup> owing to Alvey's death the mastership actually became vacant, and it was natural that Travers should expect to be given first consideration, seeing that he had for some time been acting in that capacity. It is to his credit that he firmly refused to canvass <sup>(3)</sup> for the position. He later stated:

Yet did I neither by speech nor letter make suit to any for the obtaining of it, following herein that resolution, which I judge to be word and will of God; that is, that labouring and suing for places and charges in the church is not lawful.

(1) See p. 150 above.

(2) Inderwick, Calendar of Inner Temple Records, p. lxii.

(3) Keble, Works of Hooker, iii. 693.

But there was one who was determined that Travers should not be appointed. It was unfortunate that this vacancy in the Temple should have occurred in the same year as the reprint of the Explicatio, for this, coupled with the clash at the Lambeth Conference had quite alienated Whitgift and so made it impossible for him as archbishop to allow Travers's candidature to go unopposed. Foreseeing the possibility of his appointment, Whitgift at once intervened to make sure that such a troublesome presbyterian would never become master of the Temple Church. As the right of appointment lay with the Queen, Whitgift in the same month of August informed her of the vacancy and pointed out that while the living was not great, yet the position required 'a learned, discreet, and wise man, in respect of the company there; who being well directed and taught may do much good elsewhere in the Commonwealth, as otherwise also they may do much harm'.<sup>(1)</sup> He went on to say that he had heard of an approach being made to her Majesty for a Mr. Travers, and so he felt it was his duty to inform his Queen that:

Travers hath been and is one of the chief and principal authors of dissention in this church, a contemner of the book of Prayers, and of other orders by authority established; an earnest seeker of innovation; and either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas; not according to the form in this church of England used. Whose placing in that room, especially by

(1) Keble, 1. 37.

your majesty, would greatly animate the rest of that faction, and do very much harm in sundry respects.

Whitgift then recommended for the position Dr. Nicholas Bond, one of the Queen's chaplains, who afterwards became president of Magdalen College, Oxford. <sup>(1)</sup> The archbishop's continued determination to block Travers's appointment is shown by his writing <sup>(2)</sup> on the 14th of the next month (September) to Burghley, who, he knew, was keen that Travers should become master. In this letter he bluntly said that from his own knowledge and experience, he considered Travers unsuitable, and that he knew no fitter man than Dr. Bond who was desirous to have it.

Three days later, Burghley wrote to Whitgift from Oaklands, <sup>(2)</sup> where he was residing with the Queen herself:

The Queen hath asked me what I thought of Travers to be Master of the Temple. Whereunto I answered, that at the request of Dr. Alrey in his sickness, and a number of honest gentlemen of the Temple, I had yielded my allowance of him to the place, so as he would shew himself comformable to the orders of the church. Whereunto I was informed that he would so do. But her majesty told me, that your grace did not so allow of him. Which I said might be for some things supposed to be written by him in a book intituled, DE DISCIPLINA ECCLESIASTICA. Whereupon her majesty commanded me to write to your grace, to know your opinion, which I pray your grace to signify unto her, as God shall move you. Surely it were a great pity that any impediment should be occasion to the contrary; for he is well learned, very honest, and well allowed and loved of the generality of that house.

(1) Strype, Whitgift, i. 341.

(2) Keble, p. 38.

The remainder of this letter shows that Bond had also written to Burghley, and the latter thought that he also is 'one well learned and honest', and so he would be content to commend Bond to the Queen 'if Travers should not have it'. With the Lord Treasurer, it is clear, Travers was still the favourite.

Whitgift, however, in his reply <sup>(1)</sup> showed that he was adamant in his opposition to Burghley's favourite. He said that he knew Travers well since his college days, when as master of Trinity College, he was forced to weary him of punishment so that he would depart, before he would be expelled for lack of conformity and for his pertinacy. 'Neither was there ever any under our government in whom I found less submission and humility than in him'. From what Whitgift can learn, the intervening years have made no difference to the opinions of this rebellious spirit, but rather the contrary. (Here the archbishop may have been thinking of the clash at the Lambeth Conference). While there were a number at the Temple who thought highly of him, yet there seemed a greater number who did not, for these had complained of 'his disorderliness in the manner of the communion, and contempt of the prayers', and 'his negligence in reading. Whose lectures, by their report, are so barren of matter,

(1) Keble, p. 39.

that his hearers take no commodity thereby'. Whitgift was in no doubt that Travers was the author of the book already mentioned which was against the state and govern-  
 (1)  
 ment and the taking and paying of first fruits, tenths, etc., and so he ends his letter to Burghley with these firm words:

Unless he will testify his conformity by subscription, as all others do, which now enter into ecclesiastical livings, and make proof unto me that he is a minister ordained according to the laws of this church of England, as I verily believe he is not, because he forsook his place in the college upon that account; I can by no means yield my consent to the placing him there, or elsewhere, in any function of this church.

That the consideration for and against Travers as master of the Temple hung in the balance is proven in that no appointment was made for six months. Realising this indecision, and knowing that Burghley was supporting his candidature, Travers, probably in order to ease the Lord Treasurer's mind on the matter, sent to the latter in November (1584) a justification of his Antwerp ordination showing that it rendered him fit for the duties of  
 (2)  
 the mastership.

(1) Whitgift had evidently forgotten Travers's anti-catholic book which was a defence of the state and government.

(2) B. M. Lans. MS. xlii. No. 90: printed in Strype, Whitgift, iii. 115.

Beginning with the fact that he had once been ordained with prayer and the laying-on of hands in a church which held the same doctrine as the Church of England, he maintained that in every sense he was equal to a minister of this and every other orthodox church and therefore did not require re-ordination. In New Testament days, a man once ordained in this manner in any one place could be a pastor of a church in any other place. In the primitive church Polycarp, minister in Asia, when he came to Rome administered the Communion. Only when a man received ordination at the hands of a heretic, was such ordination questioned. If the church of Rome allowed a priest ordained in one country to exercise a ministry in another, so also ought the churches professing the Gospel, and since the Church of England actually allowed priests ordained in the church of Rome before the year 1562 to remain in its ministry without re-ordination, surely that church should be more eager to acknowledge 'true' ordination. This, of course, was conditional on a priest subscribing to the Articles of 1562. If re-ordination were insisted on, this would lead to a rift between the different churches professing the 'true' faith, and if carried to a logical conclusion, it could mean that all acts performed by those ministers previous to re-ordination were null and void, such as

Baptism and marriage. In conclusion Travers contended that since he had been ordained in a church professing the Gospel, and subscribed to the Articles agreed on by the Convocation of 1562 'which most willingly and with al my heart, I assent unto, as agreeable to God's Word', he claimed the ability to minister in the Church of England, and with a prayer for the Lord Treasurer and an acknowledgment of the many favours that he had received from his hands, he ended his statement.

Travers's efforts, however, were of no avail. Whitgift had prejudiced the Queen against him, but neither was her Majesty in favour of the archbishop's candidate since she considered him unfit for health reasons. (1) Acting therefore in her typical manner, she chose the via media and elected to the mastership a third candidate who had been recommended by Sandys, arch- (2) bishop of York, whose son this candidate had tutored. (3) Thus on 17 March 1585 (4) it was Richard Hooker and not Travers who received letters patent appointing him (3) 'Magister sive custos domus et ecclesiae novi Templi.'

(1) Keble, p. 39.

(2) Strype, Whitgift, i. 346.

(3) Inderwick, Calendar of Inner Temple Records, p. lxii.

(4) Calendar of the Middle Temple Records (ed. C. H. Hopwood), p. 24.



## Chapter V

### The Hooker - Travers Controversy

A year of Canterbury versus Geneva.....	p.203.
Climax of the contest.....	p.213.
Travers is silenced.....	p.217.
Letter and statement to Burghley.....	p.219.
Offer of lectureship in Leicester.....	p.229.
Travers's <u>Supplication</u> to the Council.....	p.232.
Hooker's <u>Answer</u> .....	p. 237.
<u>The Ecclesiastical Polity</u> .....	p.240.

...the sole responsibility for the church and its  
services. But the Privy Council intervened before long  
later and earnestly requested the inner people to continue  
to Travers the pension that they had promised at the  
first. The council praised Travers for his "pious  
labors and pains taken against the common adversaries,  
iniquities of the State and the Religion under our Majesty"  
and said they had heard a good report of his work in the

(1) Underhill, Calendar of Dover Temple Records, p. 133.

(2) See Appendix XII.

(3) Here the Council were obviously thinking of his  
recent anti-catholic book.

CHAPTER VThe Hooker-Travers Controversy

At first it seemed as though Travers's ministry at the Temple church would no longer be required, for the parliament of the Inner Temple, meeting on 7 February 1585, ordered <sup>(1)</sup> 'that warning shall be given to Mr. Travers that this house mindeth no longer to continue the payment of his yearly pension of 20 li which was allowed unto him at the request of Mr. Alvey to supply his weaknes'. Probably it was thought uneconomical to maintain a reader now that an able-bodied master was to be appointed with whom lay the sole responsibility for the church and its services. But the Privy Council intervened twelve days later and earnestly requested the Inner Temple to continue to Travers the pension that they had promised at the <sup>(2)</sup> first. The council praised Travers for his 'publique labors and paynes taken againste the common adversaries, impugners of the State and the Religion under Her Majesties most gratiouse govermente professed and establyshed', <sup>(3)</sup> and since they had heard a good report of his work in the

(1) Inderwick, Calendar of Inner Temple Records, p. 333.

(2) See Appendix XII.

(3) Here the Council were obviously thinking of his recent anti-catholic book.

Temple, they believed he was worthy of their support. The members of the Inner Temple must have acquiesced in this request for the Council had no occasion to press the matter further.

Yet if there was some initial opposition to Travers's retention on the part of the Inner Temple, the members of the Middle Temple seem to have been of the opposite opinion. At a parliament of the latter on 28 June 1585, (1) it was decided that 'Mr. Travers shall have his man in Clerk's Commons, with the Bencher's men paying what they do'. Thus Travers was able to continue in the Temple and apparently he now fulfilled the proper duties of the reader, which lay in assisting the master. It may have been that Hooker wished it so, for not only were they related by marriage, (2) but he had an admiration and personal respect for Travers. He once said of him, 'I believe him to be a good man'. (3) So the arrangement seems to have been that the master delivered the morning sermon, while Travers preached in the afternoon.

Had there been a greater disparity in the two preachers this arrangement might have succeeded. They were

(1) Hopwood, Calendar of Middle Temple Records, p. 24.

(2) See p. 4 above.

(3) Keble, Works of Hooker, i. 85. It was also well-known that Hooker had an admiration for Calvin and the presbyterian system (Parker, Portrait of Calvin, p. 34).

about the same age, Travers being the older by only six years, but both were still in their thirties. Both had scholarly careers at the university, and both had been Fellows of their respective colleges, Hooker of Corpus Christi, Oxford, and Travers of Trinity, Cambridge. But while both were scholars of no mean ability, their learning had led them to adopt quite contrary conclusions on the matter of ecclesiastical discipline. Indeed Hooker had been chosen as master chiefly because he was a conformist to the laws of the English Church, and Travers had been rejected chiefly because he was not. In this respect the wonder is that the latter was allowed under any circumstances to remain in the Temple, and to have a share in its worship. Either it was one of the best examples of Whitgift's tolerance,<sup>(1)</sup> or the latter was afraid that his removal might cause a greater disturbance than his retention. Considering the ability of the two scholars and their differing theological views, it was clear that a clash was inevitable and the Temple audiences had not long to wait for it.

It must be said to Travers's credit that, although he might have had some justification for resentment towards Hooker's appointment at the Temple, he was not

(1) Marsden, Early Puritans, p. 229.

offended, and actually confessed; 'I was glad that the place was given him'.<sup>(1)</sup> From the beginning he made it his aim to work with Hooker in peace and harmony as far as that was possible. But Travers's attitude towards Hooker which eventually led to conflict, can only be understood as we remember that both were men of equal sincerity and conviction. Hooker had never known any other ecclesiastical government but the episcopalian, while Travers having visited Geneva and having thoroughly studied the New Testament church government was convinced that presbyterianism was the one church government that was in conformity to the mind of Christ. He detested Hooker's church polity, but not Hooker himself. Once when a friend asked his opinion of the latter, he replied;<sup>(2)</sup> 'In truth, I take Mr. Hooker to be a holy man'.<sup>(2)</sup> Though they were often locked in theological contests, yet neither lost respect for each other, or their own self-respect.<sup>(3)</sup> Hence the Hooker-Travers controversy was devoid of personal animosity since it was not really a conflict of persons, but of two opposing systems of church government, which conflict is still a living issue in modern ecumenical circles.

(1) Keble, iii. 694.

(2) Fuller, Church History, iii. 144.

(3) E. Dowden, Puritan and Anglican, p. 76.

This was shown clearly on the evening before Hooker was due to preach his first sermon in the Temple Church. He relates <sup>(1)</sup> in his Answer to Travers's Supplication that he was approached by Travers and 'two other gentlemen joined with him in charge of the church (for so he gave me to understand) though not in the same kind of charge with him'. This would suggest that Travers regarded these two men as filling the office of elder. The purpose of this approach on Travers's part was the fulfilling of what he considered his duty - to advise Hooker not to preach on the following day, but 'to stay till he [Travers] had given notice of me to the congregation, so that their allowance might seal my calling'. <sup>(2)</sup> Obviously Travers wanted Hooker to be appointed in the presbyterian fashion - with the consent of the people - and no one can doubt the sincerity of the desire. To this Hooker made the correct reply in saying that while he appreciated the sincerity of the request, yet he could not consent, since that would be contrary to the proper manner of his appointment, masters being appointed not by the congregation but by the Queen. This was the first collision between master and reader in what eventually came to be called <sup>(3)</sup> 'a prolonged gladiatorial contest'.

(1) Keble, iii. 710.

(2) Ibid., p. 711.

(3) Black, Reign of Elizabeth, p. 380.

Hooker's reply to Travers naturally gave some  
 (1) offence to those who were followers of the latter, and  
 it was thought best to bring the two preachers together  
 for a discussion of the matter. At this meeting a mutual  
 friend requested Travers to air his grievances, but the  
 latter seized the opportunity to object not only to  
 Hooker's manner of appointment because it was 'by virtue  
 only of a human creature', (1) but also to take exception  
 to other things that Hooker did, such as praying before  
 the sermon only, and not at the end, praying for bishops,  
 kneeling in prayer and when receiving the Communion.

This conference failed to effect any reconciliation  
 between the two preachers, and then it was clear to all  
 that the stage was fully set for a large scale theologi-  
 cal battle. Fuller (2) aptly says that 'the pulpit spake  
 pure Canterbury in the morning and Geneva in the after-  
 noon'. Writers as well as students and benchers flocked  
 to hear and record the sayings of the two theologians,  
 but the general opinion was that of the two, Travers was  
 the more popular preacher, since his audiences overflowed  
 the church and attracted the most able of the lawyers,  
 including such men as James Altharn of Gray's Inn who was  
 (3) made a baron of the Exchequer in the reign of James I.

(1) Keble, iii. p. 711.

(2) Worthies, i. 264.

(3) Dr. Williams Library Morrice MS ii. No. 431, f.10.



The Temple Church

(Reproduced from J.B. Williamson's History of the Temple, London, frontispiece, by kind permission of the publishers, John Murray, London. Photograph by H. Nelson King.)



As an explanation of why the Temple congregation ebbed  
 in the forenoon and flowed in the afternoon, Fuller<sup>(1)</sup>  
 contrasted the two styles of preaching:

Mr. Hooker's voice was low, stature little, gesture none at all, standing stone-still in the pulpit, as if the posture of his body were the emblem of his mind, unmovable in his opinions. Where his eye was left fixed at the beginning, it was found fixed at the end of his sermon. In a word, the doctrine he delivered had nothing but itself to garnish it. His style was long and pithy, driving on a whole flock of several clauses before he came to the close of a sentence. So that when the copiousness of his style met not with proportionable capacity in his auditors, it was unjustly censured for being perplexed, tedious and obscure. His sermons followed the inclination of his studies, and were for the most part on controversies, and deep points of school divinity.<sup>(2)</sup>

But it was otherwise with the afternoon preacher, for,  
<sup>(3)</sup>  
 of his style Fuller says:

Mr. Travers's utterance was graceful, matter profitable, method plain, and his style carried in it *indolem pietatis*, "a genius of grace" flowing from his sanctified heart.

It must therefore have been an experience of the greatest interest and pleasure to listen to such contrasted preachers, but if today one cannot hear their voices, it is fortunate that we do know what they spoke, for the details of their conflicting utterances can be found in the two accounts given by the preachers themselves,

(1) Church History, iii. 141.

(2) In another place (Worthies, i. 289) Fuller summed up Hooker's method of speaking: 'He may be said to have made good musick with his fiddle and stick alone, without any rosin'.

(3) Church History, iii. 142.

Travers's Supplication made to the Council and Hooker's  
Answer to the Supplication. (1) (2) By comparing them, one  
 is able to get a fairly clear idea of the fundamental  
 points raised in the course of the controversy.

According to both accounts the first main difference  
 arose over the question of predestination. In 1581 when  
 Hooker took holy orders, he had been summoned to preach  
 at St. Paul's Cross in the hearing of Aylmer, bishop of  
 London. (3) This sermon had caused offence to many of  
 the Genevan school because he contradicted Calvin's be-  
 lief in the unity and oneness of God's will. Hooker  
 maintained that in God there are two wills - an ante-  
 cedant and a consequent. (4) (5) One report said his teach-  
 ing was that:

Predestination is not of the absolute will of God, but  
 conditional. The doings of the wicked are not of the  
 will of God positive, but only permissive. The repro-  
 bates are not rejected, but for the evil works which God  
 did foresee they would commit.

- (1) Both printed in Keble, Works of Hooker, iii. pp. 683-742.
- (2) These accounts given by the contestants are obviously the most reliable sources, but there are two other reports written by listeners who made notes. One (B. M. Harl, MS 291, ff. 183-5) is by Laurence Tomson, who was a noted puritan and once clerk to Walsingham. The other (B. M. Lansd. MS L. No. 79, ff. 171-7) is partly printed by Keble (*Ibid.*, pp. 75-83) and is by an anonymous writer who was clearly a supporter of Hooker.
- (3) Keble, iii. 717.
- (4) B. M. Harl. MS 291, ff. 183-5.
- (5) R. Bayne, Fifth Book of Hooker's Polity, p. xx.

Travers, recalling the contents of this sermon, now felt it was his duty to speak against this view not only publicly, but he tells us <sup>(1)</sup> that he also conferred with Hooker privately on the matter pointing out that his view was opposed to that of all churches and good writers. (1) Hooker replied that 'his best author was his own reason', but when Travers suggested that he ought to have a little more Christian modesty, the matter was shelved to a more convenient season.

The next doctrine to which Travers took exception was 'that the assurance of things which we believe by the word, is not so certain as of that we perceive by sense'. <sup>(2)</sup> To Travers this seems an insult to the authority of the Scriptures, and he asserted that the assurance of faith is the greater, and again he met with Hooker privately to emphasise this point. Hooker denied that he intended to take away from the assurance of God's promises in the Scriptures. His question was: 'Are we so sure and certain of them? If we be, why doth God so often prove his promises unto us, as he doth, by arguments taken from our sensible experiences? We must be surer of the proof, than of the thing proved, otherwise it is no proof'. <sup>(2)</sup> For him the assurance of the Word

(1) Keble, iii. 696

(2) Ibid., p. 718.

of God was something to be experienced by the individual before it could be believed, but for Travers, the Word of God was to be believed apart altogether from any inner testimony on the part of the individual.

It was chiefly around these two important questions that the clash between the two preachers continued for twelve months, since we have Hooker's testimony <sup>(1)</sup> 'that myself have now a full year together borne the continuance of such dealings'. But now at the end of this year, that is, in March 1586, the controversy rose to a climax in three sermons preached by Hooker on three successive Sunday mornings, which were answered by Travers on the same three Sunday afternoons. In the first sermon Hooker <sup>(2)</sup> contended that the church of Rome, though not pure and perfect in its teaching, was still part of Christ's true church, and he had no doubt but that many of the church's Fathers who lived and died believing in that superstitious faith were saved, being excused because of their ignorance. Hooker's aim was to emphasise the unity of Christendom before its divisions, by pointing out first the things in which all Christians agreed: 'I took it for the best and most perspicuous way of teaching, to declare first, <sup>(3)</sup> how far we do agree, and then to show our disagreements'.

(1) Keble, iii. 713.

(2) Ibid., p. 697.

(3) Ibid., p. 719.

But Travers in his reply refused to tolerate such a view, and, adhering to the teaching of Paul, emphasised that salvation by works, which was the teaching of the Roman church, was unknown in the Scriptures which taught salvation by faith alone. He did not doubt but that many of the Fathers were saved, but it was not through the excuse of ignorance but because in some measure they had faith and knowledge of the truth.

Travers never expected that this disagreement would lead any further, for throughout the week days that followed Hooker manifested no grief or offence. However, on the following Sunday Hooker 'bestowed his whole time in that discourse, confirming his former doctrine, and answering the places of Scripture which I [Travers] had alleged to prove that a man dying in the church of Rome (1) is not to be judged by the Scriptures to be saved'.

Hooker moreover went further and claimed that the Galatians mentioned in the New Testament who added to faith in Christ, the rite of circumcision as necessary for salvation, could be saved. The church of Rome instead of circumcision has added works which must be more acceptable to God. Both the Galatians and the Roman church may have erred from the whole truth but they believed part of the truth, and by that they could be the

(1) Keble, iii. 698.

recipients of God's salvation through Christ. Hooker's own words were: 'Thou holdest the foundation of Christian faith, though it be but <sup>by</sup> a slender thread; thou holdest Christ, though it be but by the hem of his garment; why shouldst thou not hope that virtue may pass from Christ to save thee?'<sup>(1)</sup>

Such words were heresy in the ears of one who adhered strictly to the letter of the Scriptures, since only what was written in the Word of God could be regarded as the truth of God. Travers would tolerate no additions, or elasticity in the interpretation of the sacred writings. He later wrote of this view of Hooker's: 'I think the like to this, and other such in this sermon, and the rest of this matter, hath not been heard in public places within this land since Queen Mary's days'.<sup>(2)</sup> There being only a few hours between the delivery of this 'heretical' morning sermon and the afternoon when he was due to preach, Travers did not have time for a private talk with his opponent, but nevertheless, having delivered his afternoon sermon, he decided to add a short speech denouncing Hooker's views. This act he justified as following the example of Paul who withstood Peter face to face, and who

(1) Keble, iii. 719.

(2) Ibid., p. 706.

(1)

gave this injunction to Timothy: 'Them that offend openly, rebuke openly, that the rest may also fear'.

Hooker however did not feel rebuked, for yet again on the third Sunday he spent an hour endeavouring to underline his agreement with the church of Rome in the main tenets of Christian doctrine. The two chief points which he specially emphasised were: 'They [Roman church] acknowledge all men sinners, even the blessed Virgin, though some of them freed her from sin'; and 'They teach Christ's righteousness to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sin, and differ from us only in the

(2)

applying of it'. As only to be expected, Travers's

afternoon sermon, which also lasted an hour, was a complete confutation of these beliefs. His own account

(3)

of it is: he calmly reported to his audience the following

I confirmed the believing the doctrine of justification by Christ only, to be necessary to the justification of all that should be saved, and that the church of Rome directly denieth, that a man is saved by Christ, or by faith alone, without the works of the law.

This was Travers's last sermon in the Temple church, and as far as the verbal part of the controversy was concerned, it was also the end of the conflict. The triple-Sunday contest had made it plain to all, including the

(1) I Timothy v. 20. Apparently this was Travers's own translation as it differs slightly from the Genevan version.

(2) Keble, iii. 701.

(3) Ibid., p.702.

archbishop, that the equal force, conviction and sincerity of the two preachers would not allow for any compromise, much less agreement. It could be said of them, as Herbert of Bosham once remarked <sup>(1)</sup> of the quarrel between Thomas Becket and King Henry II: 'Both parties had a zeal for God: which zeal was most according to knowledge his judgement alone can determine'. Neither party being willing to yield, Whitgift had no alternative but to intervene on the side of the master. <sup>(2)</sup> Fuller's account of Travers's <sup>(3)</sup> silencing is that on a certain Sunday afternoon (probably Sunday 23 March 1586), <sup>(4)</sup> the congregation in the Temple having gathered for the usual service, Travers was ascending the pulpit steps when 'a sorey fellow' handed to him a letter prohibiting him to preach. Controlling his emotions, he calmly reported to his audience the contents of the letter and asked them to depart quietly to their dwellings. The sermonless congregation took their

- (1) Materials of the history of Thomas Becket, iii. 273
- (2) Strype, Whitgift, i. 448.
- (3) Church History, iii. 143.
- (4) Since Hooker was appointed master on 17 March 1585 (Hopwood, Calendar, p. 24) and the controversy at the Temple lasted a full year, according to Hooker, (Keble, iii. 713) then the only Sunday between 17 March and 28 March (which was a Friday, and later than the date of silencing according to Travers's letter in Appendix XVI) was 23 March. Seconde Parte of a Register (ii. 262) merely states that it was before Easter.



departure, 'some grieving, some frowning, some murmuring, and the wisest sort who held their tongues, shook their heads, as disliking the managing of the matter'. Having been silenced, Travers's readership at the Temple was at an end.

Though Whitgift's method of quieting a troublesome preacher seems rather abrupt and discourteous, yet few can say that his action was unjustifiable. It has been pointed out <sup>(1)</sup> that Whitgift was condemning Travers for doing to Hooker what he himself had once done to Cartwright when he consistently refuted the latter's sermons on the following Sunday. But the case of Travers was different since his open contradiction of Hooker, the master of the Temple Church, within the precincts of that church, was tantamount to a total rejection of the Queen's choice of master, and an insult to her wisdom in appoint-  
<sup>(2)</sup>ing him. One authority states that there were three reasons why it was imperative that Travers should be removed. Firstly, his person was dangerous to the state church; secondly, the place in which he preached was dangerous since in the Temple it was possible for him to influence half the lawyers of England against the Queen's ecclesiastical settlement; thirdly, the precedent was

(1) Brook, Cartwright, p. 48.

(2) Dr. Williams Library Morrice MS II. No. 431, f.10.

dangerous in that his remaining in the Temple might encourage other rebels within the English church to undermine its unity. For these three reasons, therefore, it would seem that Whitgift had ample justification in acting as he did, even though it was a cruel blow for one who believed sincerely that his courageous stand was on behalf of God and truth.

As on former occasions, when he reached an impasse in his career, Travers at once turned to his ever-helpful friend, Burghley, the lord treasurer, for his assistance and protection. On 28 March 1586 he sent to Burghley an earnest plea for help, in which he recalled how often in the past his lordship had succoured him. Now his request is, if he is not unworthy of his lordship's favour through some improper behaviour, that he might be granted protection in this time of need. Some have been the means of casting him down, but he trusts that the lord treasurer will be 'as God's fatherly hand' to have him restored so that he can continue his ministry in the church.

Travers, however, could foresee that, even with the support of Burghley, he himself would have a tense struggle before he could hope to be re-admitted to the ministry. His determination to fight his case is seen in that two

(1) Appendix XVI.

(1) days after writing to the lord treasurer, he went to Sunday worship in the Temple church in order to make notes on Hooker's beliefs (2) so that he could show their incorrectness. According to Travers these wrong beliefs are fifteen in number, but they can be summarised under four headings: (a) Justification of the false teaching of the Roman church on salvation by works; (b) Allowing the rite of circumcision in the case of the Galatians to be added to faith as necessary to salvation; (c) Making predestination the conditional and not the absolute will of God; (d) Maintaining that assurance can come by our senses rather than by the Scriptures. By some means these fifteen articles of Hooker's so-called erroneous beliefs drawn up by Travers came into the hands of Hooker (3) and when the latter had written replies, these were passed on to Whitgift for his judgment. (4) Judiciously the archbishop tried to moderate between the two, (5) at times agreeing with Travers, but mostly he supported Hooker's views.

(1) Strype, Whitgift, i. 476.

(2) B. M. Lansd. L. No. 79, ff. 171-7; Ibid.; Keble, i. 75-77.

(3) Strype, Whitgift, i. 471.

(4) Ibid., pp. 471, 473.

(5) Ibid.; Keble, i. pp. 81, 82.

Yet this was not the only occasion when Travers's written opinions were placed before Whitgift for his comment. There is no record of any reply from Burghley to the above-mentioned letter that Travers addressed to him on 28 March, but it would seem that Burghley asked him to send a written statement of the reasons why he ought to be restored to the ministry so that the lord treasurer would have something in writing to place before Whitgift. If this was the request of Burghley, then Travers seems to have complied most readily for he forwarded a statement <sup>(1)</sup> which was passed on to Whitgift, who in turn sent it back to the lord treasurer with <sup>(2)</sup> marginal comments.

This statement is very important to an understanding of the Hooker-Travers controversy since it reveals that while the reason for Travers's expulsion from the Temple church was his conflict with Hooker, the reason why Whitgift refused to have him restored was his lack of episcopal ordination. Thus from now on the emphasis is less on Travers's disagreement with Hooker, and more on the former's adamant refusal to be reordained. While Travers and Hooker were in the Temple Church, it is noticeable that the clash between them was purely about

(1) B. M. Lansd. MS L. No. 80; printed in Strype, Whitgift, iii. 182.

(2) Strype, i. 475.

doctrine, the question of presbyterian ordination and discipline not even being mentioned. But now Travers is being forced by Whitgift to prove the validity of presbyterian orders.

In this important statement he gives eight reasons why he regards his present ordination as valid and therefore not to be repeated:

(1) The making of a minister is an act, which, according to Scripture, ought not to be repeated, for in the case of Aaron, he and his priests were consecrated only once. Whitgift's marginal comment is 'I think this to be true'.

(2) The pastors and teachers mentioned in the New Testament were ordained only once, and as shown by various texts, <sup>(1)</sup> the ordination was always by laying-on of hands. Here the marginal comment is 'The Scriptures prove not his purpose'.

(3) If ordination in one country has to be repeated in another, it would mean that Christ's authority to preach does not apply equally in every country, but Christ's authority is universal. Whitgift points out that the French churches (which are Genevan in practice) will not

(1) Titus i. 5; Acts xx. 28; I Timothy v. 22; iv. 14; II Timothy i. 6; Acts xx. 28; xiv. 23.

allow a minister ordained in the English church to exercise his ministry in France. <sup>(1)</sup>

(4) Travers reiterates his previous reason and mentions his testimonial of ordination at Antwerp, which he considers sufficient for any country. Being a reiteration, there is no marginal comment.

(5) Reordination would make void the first ordination, and therefore all ceremonies, such as marriages and confirmations, performed before reordination would be also void. Opposite <sup>this</sup> statement is written, 'This is untrue'.

(6) In an elaboration of the previous reason, Travers says that if ministers coming into England from another country have to be reordained, then all people coming into England from another country would have to be remarried and rebaptised. Whitgift comments 'Nothing like'.

(7) Since the church of Christ is one, as taught by the Scriptures and professed in the articles of the English church, then the invalidating of another church's ordination makes for schism. To this the archbishop remains silent.

(1) Jeremy Taylor at a later date wrote of the 'constant and resolved practice, at least in France, that if any return to them, they will reordain him by their presbyters, though he had before episcopal ordination, as both their friends and their enemies bear witness' (Works, v. 118).

(8) The eighth reason is a lengthy one, being an attempt to find parallel cases where others without ordination in the English church were allowed to preach. Travers's main contention is that 'The Universal and perpetual practice of al Christendom, in al places and in al ages, proveth the Ministers lawfully made in any Church of sound profession in faith, ought to be acknowledged such in any other'. The comment opposite is 'Excepting always such churches as allow of Presbytery, and practice it'.

Among the several examples then given by Travers is that of Polycarp, who was an ordained minister in the church of Smyrna in the East, and, on coming to Rome in the West, was invited to administer the Lord's Supper. Whitgift here says that what has been said of Polycarp is quite true, but Travers's case is quite different, for he 'misliking the order of his country, ran to be ordered elsewhere, by such as had no authority to ordain him', and he adds that Cartwright, now ministering at a hospital in Warwick, has as little right to ordain ministers for the English church as those who ordained Travers at Antwerp.

Still further examples are produced by Travers to prove his case. In the church of Rome, a priest ordained in Spain can be a priest in any other country. Doctors

who are qualified in any university in Christendom are reckoned as doctors by all other universities. There are even Scotchmen who were ordained abroad, and who now are in the ministry of the English church.<sup>(1)</sup> To this last example, the archbishop replies that he does not know of any such Scotchmen, and even if there were such he feels that their case is different.

Travers next fastens on an example which undoubtedly strengthens his case. William Whittingham, the chief translator of the Genevan Bible, and a lay member of Knox's congregation in exile in Geneva (1555-9), had been ordained in that church.<sup>(2)</sup> On his return in 1560 he was appointed dean of Durham, without reordination, and continued to hold this appointment until his death. But to this example Whitgift replies that Whittingham, if he had

(1) See p. 228 below, note 2.

(2) Actually there is considerable doubt about Whittingham's ordination as to whether he was ordained by other ministers or merely by other laymen. He had been appointed as a senior and also as a deacon in Knox's congregation. (Livre des Anglois, pp. 49, 50). But in S. P. March 1579 (Dom. Eliz. cxxx. nos. 23, 24, printed as Appendices I and II in Life of William Whittingham, ed. M. A. E. Green) it is stated that Whittingham was unable to prove sufficiently that he had been ordained according to the Genevan order. (cf. W. Bright, The Roman See in the Early Church, pp. 466 ff.). It is of interest that the form of the Genevan order quoted is taken from Travers's Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae... Explicatio.



lived longer, would have been deprived; (1) and furthermore that his case is different in that he was ordained in time of persecution by those who had authority in the church of the persecuted, but Travers in time of peace went deliberately abroad and received ordination from unauthorised people, and this meant that he thereby condemned (2) the ordaining authority of the English church.

With greater justification, Travers in elaborating the same reason (no. 8), points out the injustice of his silencing, on the ground that until 1571 the English church accepted without question the ordination of priests who had been ministering in the church of Rome, since all that was required of them was their subscription to the

- (1) Very probably Whitgift is correct in this supposition, for Whittingham had been giving considerable trouble at Durham by refusing to wear the surplice or to allow Archbishop Sandys to visit the cathedral. (Life of Whittingham, p. 12, prefixed to The Troubles at Frankfort, ed. E. Arber, 1908).
- (2) Cf. R. E. Kirk, Apostolic Ministry, pp. 396, 419; H. F. Woodhouse, Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology, p. 100.

(1)

articles of religion. Whitgift evades this point by saying that the ordination of the Roman priests was at the hands of a bishop, so that they were touched by one in the ancient apostolic succession.

Finally Travers calls to his aid number XXIII of the articles of religion which he quotes in full, since it relates to the office of public preaching and ministering of the sacraments in the congregation, which office he contends for three reasons he still holds in the Temple by proper authority. First, the manner of his ordination abroad was well-known to the late Archbishop Grindal; secondly, the bishop of London had agreed to his ministering in the Temple for almost six years; and thirdly, until now, Whitgift the present archbishop had taken no exception to his preaching. So Travers ends with this plea: 'Upon consideration of these reasons, I humbly pray to be suffered to procede, as I have don, in my place and ministry again'. Whitgift's final comment in

(1) The relevant part of the Act of 1571 reads:  
Every person under the degree of a bishop which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's holy word and sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration or ordering, than the form set forth by parliament in the time of the late king Edward VI or now used; shall in the presence of the bishop or guardian of the spiritualities of some one diocese where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, declare his assent and subscribe to all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments.

For a full discussion of the Act see J. E. Neale, Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, pp. 196 ff.

the margin is that article XXIII does not justify his calling, and the three reasons given are merely an abuse of his patience since he as archbishop <sup>(1)</sup> never did approve of his kind of ministerial orders and never can.

From these judgments of Whitgift on Travers's eight reasons for his restoration to the ministry, one can see quite clearly that he had not the faintest hope of obtaining his desire, since the archbishop refused to argue the matter further. Yet the silenced reader of the Temple church remained undaunted, and refused to give up the struggle. The reason for his continued determination must have been either his love for the Temple Church and its congregation, or perhaps he felt that his was a test case from the presbyterian angle and that he must be courageous on behalf of a system which stood firmly on a Scriptural foundation. Furthermore he must have been conscious that there was a fair amount of justice on his side, for it appears <sup>(2)</sup> that ministers from Scotland on entering the ministry of the English church at this time <sup>(3)</sup> did not require reordination. Indeed about a century

- (1) It was Grindal and not Whitgift who was archbishop when Travers was first appointed at the Temple.
- (2) G. Donaldson (Making of Scottish Prayer Book, p. 5, n. 1) says: 'From searches in diverse sources I have collected particulars of over thirty Scots who were beneficed in the Elizabethan church'.
- (3) The ambiguity on this point of reordination is emphasised by A. J. Mason (Church of England and Episcopacy, p. 507).

and a half later, Bishop Edmund Gibson pointed out to Archbishop Wake <sup>(1)</sup> that Travers 'had reason to complain of his being silenced at the Temple Church', since the latter was 'not a benefice with cure'. In this respect then Travers's office was different from that of a parish minister and therefore Whitgift's action could be regarded as 'a stretch of authority'. <sup>(2)</sup> At any rate, Travers refused to lose hope and his optimism is seen, first in the fact that though he was silenced in March, he was still living in the Temple in November, <sup>(3)</sup> and secondly in his apparent refusal to accept the immediate offer of a position outside London.

During the Elizabethan period, the puritans, in order to advance their cause, had founded lectureships in many of the large towns of England. If a puritan preacher was not allowed to hold a benefice in the church, or if he could not minister in any capacity in the church for conscientious reasons, a group of lay people with puritan sympathies would unite together in a group or congregation and invite such a man to be their lecturer or preacher, they of course being responsible for his maintenance. Sometimes the lecturer would be designated or

- (1) Christ Ch. Oxf. MSS Arch. Wake Epistles, II. f. 231 d.  
 (2) H. M. Gwatkin, Church and State in England, p. 262.  
 (3) Martin, Minutes of parliament of Middle Temple, i. 287.

approved by the patron of the parish, and he was supposed to be licensed by the bishop or other church authority, (1) though he got no share of the revenue from tithes. His duties were to preach or lecture on the Scriptures not only on weekdays but even on Sundays, the times chosen for his lectures being always different from the times of the parish services. Through time this unofficial office became recognised as a necessary institution where there were enough supporters, and when a puritan preacher died or moved to another place a request would be made to have a successor. These puritan groups were often supported and advised by outstanding leaders such as Sir Francis Walsingham and the earl of Huntingdon. The latter was specially interested in the puritan life of the city of Leicester, to which city he had several times (2) been a benefactor, and in which for a time he resided.

In 1586 the inhabitants of Leicester found themselves with no 'lecturer' to take the place of their 'faithful, (3) godly and learned preacher, Mr Johnson', of whose services they had been deprived. So now the mayor, recorder and twelve others send a letter to the earl of Huntingdon pointing out that they have been deprived 'of

(1) W. Haller, Rise of Puritanism, p. 53.

(2) J. Thompson, History of Leicester, p. 281.

(3) Appendix V.

the blessed benefit of a resident preacher, faithfully to divide with us the everlasting bread of salvation', and, understanding that Travers, 'a man, as we are credibly informed, of singular godliness and approved learning - now resteth uncharged with any cure', <sup>(1)</sup> they besought ~~some~~ the earl to secure his services as preacher in Leicester. This letter is dated 12 April 1586, <sup>(1)</sup> some three weeks after Travers had been silenced at the Temple, and it shows how quickly the news had spread throughout the land.

It is not known what reply Huntingdon sent to this letter, nor why Travers was not appointed. But it is quite possible that he was approached and refused, seeing he was so intent on being restored to his former ministry. For a short time Mr. Pesant of Cambridge was appointed <sup>(2)</sup> preacher at Leicester, the salary being £40 per year, but his successor Mr. Sacheverill, who held office until the reign of Charles I, got only £20 as his ministry was not so acceptable to his hearers. If Travers had gone to Leicester, his career as the advocate of presbyterianism would probably have come to an end. As we shall see, it was to the benefit of the cause that he stayed in

(1) Appendix V.

(2) J. Thompson, History of Leicester, p. 289.

London, where he was in the centre of things and where he was to prove so useful in more than one capacity.

It has been seen that Travers's plea with its eight points in favour of his restoration, did not bear much fruit since it met with the determined opposition of Whitgift. Nevertheless, with equal determination he now made a fourth attempt in the form of A Supplication made<sup>(1)</sup>  
to the Council by Master Walter Travers. Though addressed to the whole council, it is evident that he has one of its members particularly in mind - his faithful Lord Burghley. No date is attached to this Supplicat-ion, but the impression given is that it is only a matter of months or weeks since he was silenced, and so it can be placed in the second quarter of 1586.

(1) The three MSS of this Supplication (B. M. Harl. MS 4888/215 No. 7; Bod. Lib. Mus. 55. 20, 21 (B); Dr. William's Lib. Morrice MSS Part A. fols. 64-77), apart from minor variations in spelling, are essentially the same. The first copy published appeared in 1612 along with Hooker's Answer, printed by John Barnes of Oxford, under the superintendence of Henry Jackson of Corpus Christi College, who was entrusted with the preparation of Hooker's papers for the press. In 1617 it was reprinted along with Hooker's sermons and the first five books of the Ecclesiastical Polity. A printed copy taken from the Bodleian MS is found in Keble (Hooker's Works, iii. 682). Hist. MSS Comm. (2nd report, p. 78) states that there is a contemporary copy of Travers's Supplication among the Bromley Davenport Muniments. These have been deposited in the Rylands Library, Manchester, but unfortunately it has been discovered that the Supplication is missing.

He begins by acknowledging the happiness which all have enjoyed since her Majesty came to the throne, and he is specially grateful to the lord treasurer for all his past help but particularly 'now of late, in a matter more dear unto me than any earthly commodity, that is, the upholding and furthering of my service in the minister-<sup>(1)</sup>ing of the gospel of Jesus Christ'. Though he feels very unworthy of this ministry, yet he leaves the Council in no doubt as to his deeply-felt eagerness to be restored to it. He complains that he was silenced without ever having an opportunity to state his case, and this he considers unfair. Moreover in taking away his liberty to carry on his ministry, his meagre means of livelihood has also been taken away, and this, added to 'the weak estate of my body',<sup>(2)</sup> makes the blow more grievous.

Travers then reveals that in the letter he has received from the High Commissioners prohibiting him from preaching, there are two reasons given for their actions. The first is that 'I am not lawfully called to the function of the ministry, nor allowed to preach, according to the laws of the Church of England'.<sup>(3)</sup> To the first

(1) Keble, iii. 684.

(2) Ibid., p. 687.

(3) Ibid., p. 730.



part of this reason he makes answer that his calling to the ministry was according to the order of the national synods of the Low Countries, which is the same as the order used by the French and Scottish churches, and this he has proved by showing his testimonial of ordination to the archbishop of Canterbury. In support of his argument that this order of a sister church should be recognised in the English church, he reiterates the eighth point already noted in his plea which was sent to Whitgift, namely that it has always been the practice throughout Christendom to have mutual recognition given to ministerial ordination, otherwise there is schism and the communion of saints is made null and void. He also quotes again the various examples of where this was done, the priests in Spain and the case of Whittingham. Therefore, since he believes that his ordination at Antwerp was also valid in England, which belief was confirmed by his appointment at the Temple, he sees no reason why he should be reordained.

As to the second part of this first reason for his being silenced, namely, that he preached without licence, Travers is able to answer, 'my allowance was from the bishop of London, testified by his two several letters  
(1)  
to the Inner Temple'.

(1) Keble, iii. 692; Appendix XI.

He then turned to the second reason, which relates to his dealings with Hooker. It was alleged that he 'inveighed against certain points of doctrine taught by him [Hooker] as erroneous, not conferring with him, nor complaining of it to them'.<sup>(1)</sup> Travers, in answering, goes back to the year 1584 when the mastership of the Temple became vacant. He points out that neither by speech nor letter did he make suit for the position, and that he was willing, if appointed, to subscribe to the articles of religion as required by Elizabeth's first parliament, but his conscience would not allow him to subscribe to Whitgift's articles of 1583. In his opinion it was for this latter reason that he was not appointed. However he bore no personal grudge against Hooker, but accepted his appointment to the mastership as being the will of God. From the first he made it his aim to live in peace and harmony with Hooker, but when he [Travers]<sup>(2)</sup> discovered 'sundry unsound matters in his doctrine'<sup>(2)</sup> and that his sermons tasted 'of some sour leaven', he felt duty bound not to let such things pass without answering them first privately and then publicly.

The next part of the Supplication is taken up with an outline of the various milestones in the controversy from Travers's angle which have been already noted.<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Keble, iii. 692.

(2) Ibid., p. 269.

(3) Pp. 211 ff. above.

Having dealt with the preaching of Hooker' on the last of the three famous Sundays together with his answer, Travers concludes that he finds himself quite at a loss to understand how such 'absurd' doctrines can ever be tolerated.

The Supplication ends with an expression of hope that the Council will come to see that his punishment has been undeserved and that they will find some good course of restoring him to his ministry, which is so precious and dear to him. His one desire is to spend his life 'upon the sacrifice of the faith of God's people, and especially of this church'.<sup>(1)</sup> Yet if the Council should find it impossible to grant him restoration to the ministry, then he is willing 'to rest in the good pleasure of God, and to commend to your honour's protection, under her Majesty's, my private life, while it shall be led in duty'.<sup>(1)</sup>

This was Travers's last written attempt to recover his place in the Temple Church. There can be no doubt about his whole-hearted eagerness to be restored and the sincerity with which he pleaded his cause. If all his efforts were fruitless, he at least had the satisfaction that he had tried his best. Hooker said that he had not

(1) Keble, iii. 708.

only supplicated the Council but had copies of it 'spread through the hands of so many, that well nigh all sorts of men have it in their bosoms',<sup>(1)</sup>

It was this fact which compelled Hooker to lose no time in replying to the Supplication. At once he sent, not to the Council, but to Whitgift, as archbishop of Canterbury, an Answer to the Supplication that Mr. Travers made to the Council.<sup>(2)</sup> He states that its purpose is to give 'a plain declaration of my innocency'<sup>(3)</sup> since his silence might be taken to mean that he could not answer the charges made against him. He proceeds forthwith to give details of his intercourse with Travers since his first coming to the Temple, including all that was spoken on the three final Sundays when the controversy ended with the silencing of the latter. Like that of Travers, Hooker's account is full of conviction, and utterly devoid of personal malice. He maintained that Travers had taken a wrong meaning out of his sermons,<sup>(4)</sup> and that he had been too hasty in making public replies to his doctrine. The first of these charges is true in

(1) Keble, iii. 709.

(2) There are two MSS of the Answer (B. M. Burney MS 362, fol. 96; T.C.D. MS A.5, 22, fol. I) which, despite improved readings in the latter, are substantially the same.

(3) Keble, iii. 710.

(4) Ibid., p. 729.

one instance at least, for on one occasion <sup>(1)</sup> when Hooker dwelt on the authority of reason, in the sense of divine reason, Travers took it to mean human reason. The second charge of hastiness in replying was probably also correct, judging by the fact that he was able to refute on the afternoon what Hooker had said on that same Sunday morning. Moreover Travers was undoubtedly a man of passion who was so eager to proclaim the truth that he did not always take time to examine other views of truth. But Hooker's disposition was different in that he proceeded calmly, giving due attention to every angle of the question at issue. If Travers was the passionate preacher, Hooker was the pensive philosopher.

As would be expected, therefore, Hooker ends his Answer to Travers with a plea for unity and love among all Christians. He says:

I take no joy in striving, I have not been nuzzled or trained up in it ... I do wish heartily ... that things of small moment never disjoin them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptism, bands of so great force have linked.

The Hooker-Travers controversy undoubtedly created interests far beyond the confines of the Temple. If it did not help the presbyterian cause, it did even less for Elizabeth's church. One writer about this time

(1) Keble, iii. 740.

(2) Ibid., p. 742.

produced 'a treatise without title or name' <sup>(1)</sup> with the object of reconciling the two contestants. He believed that there should be no strife among the servants of God, and after examining the different opinions of Hooker and Travers, he felt that it was possible to harmonise them:

I have drawne your controversies into certen heads, meaninge particulerlie to treat with you in every of them .... not for that I intend to teach those of whom it were fitter for me to learne, but that ..... you both, though somewhat different in opinions, yet levelinge at one <sup>(1)</sup> truth, maye by me, though most meane, receave some unitle.

It would have been a happy thing for all if this anonymous writer's intentions had been implimented, but subsequent events show that his appeal for reconciliation met with little response.

Although Travers gave no written reply to the Answer, Hooker had not seen the end of the controversy, for the Traversites still remained in the Temple as a very vocal group. In fact, Travers himself seems to have remained in the Temple for quite a time, and his presence possibly added fuel to the flames. The last mention of his presence there is on 4 November 1586, when the parliament of the Middle Temple decided after choosing Mr. Rosse as Preacher for the coming Lent: 'Mr. Travers shall receive his pension and remain in his lodging within the parsonage <sup>(2)</sup> of the Temple till further notice'.

(1) Second Parte of a Register, ii. 48.

(2) Martin, Minutes of parliament of Middle Temple, i. 287.

Even if Travers removed from the Temple immediately after this, his presence there for those eight months, though a silenced preacher, must have been an embarrassment to Hooker. But his supporters are known to have continued in the Temple for at least five more years, since Hooker in 1591 requested Whitgift to find for him some quiet country parsonage, saying: 'I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place'.<sup>(1)</sup> He then imparts a secret to the archbishop, namely, that his contests with Travers have been the more unpleasant—

Because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and to satisfy that, I have consulted the Scripture, and other laws both human and divine, whether the conscience of him and others of his judgments ought to be so far complied with as to alter our frame of Church Government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to Him, and our established ceremonies, as often as his and others' tender consciences shall require us; and, in this examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend a justification of the Laws of our Ecclesiastical Polity.

The importance of this statement lies in that it shows clearly that it was Travers who caused Hooker to write what has come to be regarded as the greatest ecclesiastical treatise of the sixteenth century and 'the first prose classic'<sup>(2)</sup> in the English language. Had Travers

(1) Keble, i. 85.

(2) R. Bayne, Fifth Book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, p. xli.

done nothing more than this, he would still count as one of the most important influences in the ecclesiastical world of his time.

(1)  
Keble's opinion is that the summer of 1586 may be regarded as the date on which Hooker commenced the great work, probably immediately after the issue of his Answer. In 1594, three years after he had gone to the country parish of Boscombe near Salisbury, the first four books were published under the title of Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. The fifth and largest book appeared in 1597, when Hooker had been for two years in the parsonage of Bishopsborne in Kent, and the last three books were published in an inchoate form after his death in 1600.

During the Elizabethan period there had already been two written attempts to justify the polity of the English church. The first was Bishop Jewel's Apology for the Church of England, published in Latin in 1562 and immediately translated into English. Jewel's main contention was that the English church was based on the practice of the primitive church, which had its bishops, priests and deacons. Twelve years later, Whitgift in his Defence of the Answer pointed to the broad foundations on which the

(1) Works of Hooker, i.p.v.



structure of the English church was built. In a much-quoted passage <sup>(1)</sup> he stated that there is a double government of the church, one spiritual in which Christ alone is the governor, and the other external in which there is both a substance and matter. The latter must be found in the Scriptures, and consists in what Christ taught, the right administration of the sacraments, and ecclesiastical government.

In all this, Whitgift was one with the puritans, but then he added this important qualification:

The offices in the Church whereby this government is wrought, be not namely and particularly expressed in the Scriptures, but in some points left to the discretions and liberty of the Church to be disposed according to the state of times, places and persons.

Whitgift has written this as an answer to Cartwright's <sup>(2)</sup> Reply, <sup>(3)</sup> which appeared in the previous year, but now with the publication of Travers's Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae..... Explicatio and its circulation in an English translation, Whitgift's position was rendered rather unstable, since this latter work maintained that the exact government of the church was found in the Scriptures

(1) Works, i. 6.

(2) Full title is A Replie to an answer made of M. Doctor Whitegifte againste the Admonition to the Parliament by T.C.

(3) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 36.

and therefore established for all time. (1)

Both Whitgift and Bancroft, the adamant opposers of presbyterianism during its period of greatest favour in the sixteenth century, found it very difficult to meet Travers's assertion that the Scriptures contained the only true discipline of the church, since the Scriptures, being the Word of God, must be obeyed. Moreover, the weakness of their position was further revealed when there appeared about the year 1587, under the editorship of Travers, another plea for presbyterianism - the famous Book of Discipline, (2)

(1) Like Travers, Cartwright believed that the discipline of the church given in the Scriptures was part of the Gospel (Replie, p. 1), but it should be noted that this was not the policy of Calvin, whose teachings both strove to follow. His opinion was that 'the whole sum of righteousness, and all the parts of divine worship, and everything necessary to Salvation, the Lord hath faithfully comprehended, and clearly unfolded in His sacred oracles, so that in them He alone is the only Master to be heard. But as in external discipline and ceremonies, he hath not been pleased to prescribe every particular that we ought to observe (he foresaw that this depended on the nature of the times, and that one form would not suit all ages) in them we must have recourse to the general rules which he hath given, employing them to test whatever the necessity of the Church may require to be enjoined for order and decency'. (Institutes of the Christian Religion, translated H. Beveridge, iii. 223). Beza also followed Calvin. He said, 'They of Geneva do not prescribe to any Church to follow their peculiar example, like unto ignorant men, who thinks nothing well but that they do themselves.' (Contra Sarrau, p. 127, quoted in Bancroft, Survay, p. 445).

(2) See p.270 below.

which made more imperative than ever the need for another and weightier justification of the Elizabethan church. The need was met by Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and so the timely appearance of this great treatise fulfilled a double purpose since it answered Travers in the two capacities of both preacher and editor.

Writing in the best English prose, his phrases and sentences characterised by a delicate sense of rhythm and musical balance, Hooker was the first to set the whole question of ecclesiastical discipline in a wide framework, since he strove to look at religion and the church in the context of renaissance thought. His aim was 'to liberate the whole controversy from an almost suffocating biblical-ism into a more generous breathing space'<sup>(1)</sup>. So keen was he on reconciling all the diverse elements in the church that nearly all denominations, not only Anglicans but also puritans and Arminians, have tried to claim him as the secret propagator of their views.<sup>(2)</sup> His express purpose was to create unity among all Christians, and he honestly believed that this was possible.<sup>(3)</sup> In this

(1) Brook, Whitgift and the English Church, p. 150.

(2) James II even declared that Hooker was the means of converting him to catholicism. (Usher, Reconstruction of the English Church, i. 76).

(3) In contrast, Bancroft was assured that such unity was quite impossible.

aspect of his thinking, Hooker was the characteristic Anglican, for the chief keynotes of the English church were moderation and caution, and these are found supremely in the Ecclesiastical Polity, even to the extent of having a moderate view of episcopacy. (1)

In the first book Hooker examined the whole nature and function of God's laws, and discovered that these are revealed to man both through nature and through the Scriptures. (2) The next book showed that as God gave man reason to be used in the knowing of His will through nature, so man must use his reason in interpreting the Scriptures. He substantiated this by emphasising in the third book that if the Bible gave a complete form of church polity for man's use, there would be no room for the exercise of reason. (3) Thus the Scriptures do not abrogate human reason, but rather presuppose it and therefore 'because discretion may teach the Church what is convenient, we hold not the Church further tied herein unto Scripture, than that against Scripture nothing be

(1) Cf. A. L. Rowse, England of Elizabeth, p. 485.

(2) It is interesting that all Hooker's quotations from the Bible except one (Keble, iii. 306) are taken from the Genevan translation.

(3) Keble, i. 449.

(1)  
 admitted in the Church'. From this platform, he was able to justify the ceremonies of the English church even though they may in some cases be copied from the church of Rome.

The fifth book of the Ecclesiastical Polity is the largest and best known. In it he justified the worship of the English church seeing it from all the angles of Scripture, tradition and reason. For him worship consists in more than sermons, for 'sermons are not the only preaching which doth save souls',<sup>(2)</sup> and 'our imitation of him [Christ] consisteth not in tying scrupulously ourselves unto his syllables, but rather in speaking by the heavenly discretion of that inspired divine wisdom which teacheth divers ways to one end'.<sup>(3)</sup> Due importance must be attached to traditions in worship for they were made in the early days of the church's life and have been established down through the ages by the authority given by Christ to His church. In Hooker's view the worship of the English church is well justified because it does not contradict anything in Scripture, is justified by reason, and is in line with the best traditions.

- (1) For a full statement of Hooker's views on the scriptural basis for church polity, see N. Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, pp. 20 ff.
- (2) Keble, ii. 110.
- (3) Ibid., p. 465.

(1)

The sixth and seventh books dealt with the nature of jurisdiction over others. In the former it was shown that there is no justification for committing jurisdiction to the elders, while in the latter, the authority of the bishops is defended since they are the successors of the apostles. In the last book the question considered is that of the sovereign's right to exercise power over the church, and it is shown that when used in obedience to God, this right is justified since it is then for the church's good.

By this learned, judicious, and well-balanced treatment of such an important and much-debated subject, Hooker has worthily merited his place in ecclesiastical history as 'the representative man of the Church of

(2)

England'. What Calvin did for presbyterianism, Hooker

(3)

did for episcopacy. In majestic English he gave to the Anglican church not a single, but a threefold foundation based on Scripture, reason and tradition, upon

- (1) Because the last three books were published posthumously and since there appears to be in them a hardening of Hooker's view of episcopacy not found in any of the others, suspicion has been aroused as to their authenticity.
- (2) S. R. Gardiner, History of England, i. 40.
- (3) For a full treatment of Hooker's contribution to the defence of the Anglican church's position, see E. T. Davies, Episcopacy and the Royal Supremacy in the Church of England in the Sixteenth Century, ch. I.

which succeeding generations of churchmen were to go on building. But what must be remembered is that it was the challenge of Travers which initiated this great treatise, and had there been no controversy in the Temple Church, the Ecclesiastical Polity would probably never have been written. Thus, what began as an answer to a silenced presbyterian preacher,<sup>(1)</sup> eventually became an answer to all who have ever questioned the orthodoxy and catholicity of the English church.

- (1) Though Travers is not mentioned by name throughout the whole work, it is clear that Hooker always had his opinions in mind. There is, however, one allusion to him in the reference to 'them that have done the work of ecclesiastical persons sometime in the families of noblemen' (Keble, ii. 640), and in one place (Keble, i. 458) the Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae.....Explicatio is mentioned by its English title.

## Chapter VI

### The presbyterian editor, author and moderator 1586-93

Presbyterian approaches to parliament .....	p.249.
Progress of the movement.....	p.261.
Travers preaches at a thanksgiving service.....	p.263.
The Book of Discipline.....	p.269.
Travers's <u>Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline</u> .....	p. 303.
Udall's <u>Demonstration</u> .....	p.316.
Turning point in the movement's progress.....	p.317.
The Marprelate Tracts.....	p.318.
Travers is consulted in a matrimonial question.....	p.325.
The Coppinger- Hacket fanaticisms.....	p.329.
Presbyterian and anti- presbyterian writings.....	p.334.
Reasons for the movement's failure.....	p.337.



Chapter VIThe presbyterian editor, author, and moderator 1586-93

Having been relieved of his duties at the Temple Church, Travers was then at liberty to give all his time and energy to furthering the presbyterian cause. During this period from the time of his being silenced until his departure from England in 1594, he is best thought of as a free-lance presbyterian, acting in the capacities of literary exponent and administrative guide. Yet, as will be seen presently, even while in the Temple, he was engaged on compiling a work which was to be the textbook that inspired the whole movement from 1586 until 1590. Before considering this work in detail, it will be necessary, first of all, to look at the events which prompted the emergence of this textbook, the Book of Discipline.

From 1583, the year of Whitgift's articles, to the end of that decade was the most crucial period in the whole history of Elizabethan presbyterianism. It has been seen how the severity of those articles raised such a protest, that Whitgift eventually agreed to hold a conference at Lambeth in the next year, in which Travers's prominent part has been noted. <sup>(1)</sup> Its complete failure

(1) P. 180 above.

coupled with the adamant opposition of Whitgift led the presbyterian section of the puritans to realise that future attempts of this nature would be futile. It was therefore decided to have a change of tactics.

Until this time, the main policy of the presbyterians was to introduce the practice of their discipline secretly among themselves with the least possible disturbance. The holding of the classes or conferences was not published, and in each parish the tactful approach was to allow the sidesmen and vestrymen to continue in office, but to regard them as elders and deacons in everything except the name. The London brethren, for example,

(1)

decreed:

that the ministers should by little and little as much as possibly might, draw the Discipline into practice, though they concealed the names eyther of Presbytery, Elder or Deacon, making little account of the names for the time, so their offices might secretly bee established.

(2)

Their aim, in Heylyn's words, was to 'breed up their Presbytery under the wing of Episcopacy', but the events of 1583 and 1584 made it obvious that a new method must be found of 'breeding presbytery', and it took the form of direct approaches to parliament.

When parliament met at the end of 1584, there suddenly appeared a flood of petitions from all quarters of the country. Some were from ministers, others from

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 115.

(2) Aërius Redivivus, p. 260.

town corporations, justices of the peace and the gentry. Exactly how many petitions were presented it is difficult to say, <sup>(1)</sup> but both the Queen and parliament were overwhelmed at their number, for they had formerly believed that there were only a small minority in the country who had genuine presbyterian convictions. But now the public agitation stirred up by their enthusiasm must have, for a time, deceived the Queen and her statesmen as to the actual strength of the movement. <sup>(2)</sup> She was all the more perturbed in view of the situation abroad, for England's ally, the Netherlands, was then fighting for her liberty against the encroachments of Spain. France was anything but friendly, and the Spanish Philip II was awaiting the first opportunity to strike at England, all the time relying on the fifth column activities of the English catholics. If therefore the puritans in addition to the catholics became hostile, it meant that she had only the third party, the supporters of the via media church on whom to rely for help in such a critical situation. The question of the rightness or wrongness of any of these

(1) In addition to those printed by Strype (Whitgift and Annals) there are many unpublished petitions in the Morrice MSS in Dr. William's Library.

(2) See J. E. Neale, 'Peter Wentworth' in English Historical Review, xxxix, 51.

three religious parties was not of such immediate concern to Elizabeth as the political prestige of England and her own permanence on the throne.

Yet there was ample justification for this torrent of petitions since many of the puritan ministers, particularly in this year (1584) had been suspended or deprived because of their unwillingness to subscribe to Whitgift's articles. Clearly it was the presbyterian section of the puritans at whom the articles were mainly directed, and therefore they naturally suffered most in the deprivations. The charge against them was that of erecting 'a new popedome in everie parish, in advancing of their new presbiterie'. Hence it was to be expected that the opposition to Whitgift and his harsh measures should be led by the presbyterians. As so often happens, the latter, as a result of this opposition, were united and welded together into a strong compact brotherhood which set to work on plans for withstanding their opponents. The members of the Dedham classis, for instance, became very active and after some meetings agreed on 1 June 1584 to send a representative, Mr. Newman, to London for the purpose of consulting the brethren of that classis about

(1) Seconde Parte of a Register, i. 221 ff.

(2) See p. 177 above.

(3) Seconde Parte of a Register, i. 231.

holding a general conference. (1) This idea materialised on 30 August when delegates came together from Suffolk, Norfolk, Kent, London and Essex. The chief concern of this conference was 'the present grieff of the Church', (2) and for its remedy they discussed 'whether yt were not fytt that a generall supplication were presented to her Majesty with a full draughte of the discipline we desire, and of the reasons for wch subscription is refused'. (2)

It was evident that the presbyterians no longer regarded their discipline as a thing to be concealed and practised only in secret. Now they desire to have it given state recognition, and to that end, in the latter part of 1584, they began to prepare for an open approach to parliament which was to meet on 23 November and at which, as will be seen presently, they launched the first organised campaign for the reform of the church on a presbyterian basis. It was a campaign whose organisation was far in advance of its time, for it resembled very much the party methods in the electoral system of today. How advanced they were is seen in that they even tried to have university representation in the House of Commons

(1) Usher, Presbyterian Movement, p. 35.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 94.

from Oxford and Cambridge. <sup>(1)</sup> In order to impress parliament they undertook to make surveys of the number of ministers who were either unlearned or unfit in character for their calling. In the Dedham classis the proposal to this effect was made by D. Cricke at a meeting at Boxfordon on 1 July. <sup>(2)</sup> When this particular survey was sent to the Privy Council two months later, the councillors were so disturbed that they wrote to Aylmer and Whitgift on 20 September informing them of the sad state of the church, and urging that it was not for the good of the church to go on depriving ministers whose services were so much needed. During the years 1584-86 similar surveys <sup>(3)</sup> were also made in the counties of Middlesex, Bucks, Berks, Oxford, Lincoln, Cornwall, Rutland, Warwick, Norfolk and Surrey, and these doubtless won great sympathy for the presbyterian cause.

During these months of preparation for the contemplated approach to parliament in **November** 1584, the supporters of the cause were encouraged in two ways. A number of exiled Scottish ministers had sought refuge in

(1) Mullinger, University of Cambridge, ii. 306.

(2) Usher, p. 36.

(3) Seconde Parte of a Register, ii. 98-174.

England, the two most notable among them being William  
 Lawson, <sup>(1)</sup> and Andrew Melville, former principal at St.  
 Andrews University. These exiled Scots willingly lent  
 their support to their fellow presbyters and on the  
 evidence of Bancroft <sup>(2)</sup> a meeting was held in Oxford  
 shortly before July 1584, which was attended by ministers  
 along with some Scottish brethren, and at which there was  
 a suggestion to proceed with the use of the Discipline  
 without waiting for the help of the civil authorities,  
 which suggestion seems to have come from some students  
 that attended. The other encouragement came from the  
 publication in the same year of a book entitled: A briefe  
 and plane declaration concerning the desire of all those  
 faithfull that have and do seke for the Discipline and  
 reformation of the Church of Englande. <sup>(3)</sup> It has wrongly  
 been ascribed to both Travers <sup>(4)</sup> and Cartwright <sup>(5)</sup> since the  
 author is anonymous, but Pearson has shown <sup>(6)</sup> that it must

(1) See p. 192 above.

(2) Dangerous Positions, p. 74.

(3) Printed at London, 1584, by Robert Waldegrave. It is usually known by the subtitle 'A Learned Discourse'

(4) The library catalogue of the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

(5) W. P. M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, iii. 281; H. M. Dexter, Congregationalism of the last three hundred years, p. 40; D. N. B. 'John Bridges'.

(6) Cartwright, pp. 83, 84.

have come from the pen of William Fulke, one of the ringleaders in the vestiarian controversy in Cambridge. This book was a plain statement of presbyterian discipline, and though it added nothing new to what Travers had said in Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae . . . . Explicatio, it was valuable in that it exposed many of the abuses in the Church of England, such as pluralities, non-residence etc., for the removal of which abuses, presbyterianism was propounded as the only answer. The importance of the book can be judged from the fact that at once, Dr. John Bridges, dean of Sarum felt it was his duty to preach against it at St. Paul's Cross. <sup>(1)</sup> Despite the attack of Bridges, the advocates of the Discipline pressed on with their crusade.

If the classis of Dedham was typical of others, then as the time of parliament approached, there must have been a lively feeling of expectancy among the classical brethren everywhere throughout the country. On 2 November the Dedham brethren met at Stratford and the first item on the agenda was 'whether it were not convenient that a fast shuld be against Parliament that was at hand'. <sup>(2)</sup> This was passed, and all members promised to stir up the people to earnest prayer for the good of the church. At

(1) Three years later Bridges gave a written answer to which there came two replies, one of them from Travers (p. 305 below).

(2) Usher, p. 40.



Discipline (1)  
 the same meeting it was also agreed that delegates should be chosen from every county to go to London for the sake of furthering their cause during the time of parliament. This was duly done, for according to (2) Bancroft, some time between 23 November, the date on which parliament opened, and the end of that month, a national synod was held in London. Among others, those known to have been present were John Field, the secretary for the whole national movement, William Charke, preacher at Lincoln's Inn, Robert Wright, domestic chaplain to Lord Rich at Rochford and pastor of a church there, George Gifford from the Braintree classis in Essex, and Edward Gellibrand from the classis in Oxford. Presumably this synod spent most of its time on 'the Bill and Book' which was to be presented to parliament within the next few days, but they also considered a 'booke of Discipline'. (2)

At the first national synod on 30 August, it has been seen that there was a desire for a full draft of the discipline, and this desire was becoming more and more keenly felt by all the brethren. (3) Now at the next synod in November, according to Bancroft, a Book of

(1) Usher, p. 40.

(2) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 75.

(3) Cambr. Baker MS xxxii. f. 433.

Discipline had been compiled by some unnamed person or persons. Probably it was hoped that this Book would be presented to parliament in the next month, but unfortunately, on examining it at this synod, 'there were found some imperfections in it'.<sup>(1)</sup> It was at this point that they called in the aid of Travers. There is no available evidence that he was actually present at this synod, but Bancroft's opinion is that at this synod the imperfections in the Book of Discipline 'were referred to Maister Travers, to be corrected, and ordered by him, as his leisure will permitte'.<sup>(2)</sup> That he was chosen for such a task points to the confidence his fellow presbyterians placed in him as their chief expert in proper presbyterian discipline. They were discreet enough to make mention of the limits to his leisure time, for at this period it will be remembered that he was labouring hard to prove himself a fit candidate for the mastership of the Temple. As will be seen presently, judging by his slowness in correcting the Book, he had very little leisure time to give to it.

The finding of imperfections in the proposed Book of Discipline meant that unfortunately it could not be presented to the forthcoming parliament. Meantime prayers

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 75.

(2) Ibid., cf. Bancroft, Survay, p. 66.

and fastings were being observed among the classes for the success of their cause, while one member of the Dedham classis on 2 December <sup>(1)</sup> advocated that gentlemen of worth and godliness should stir themselves up to be zealous for reformation. On 14 December an approach was made to parliament when Dr. Turner put its members 'in remembrance of a bill and Book heretofore offered by him, which had been digested and framed by certain Godly and Learned Ministers' <sup>(2)</sup>. He said that its aim was the glory of God, the safety of the Queen, and the benefit of the commonwealth and therefore he asked that it might be read. But when its reading was opposed by two influential members, Francis Knolles, the treasurer of the Queen's household and Christopher Hatton her vice-chamberlain, it was resolved that neither the bill nor <sup>(2)</sup> the Book should be read.

No definite information has come to light regarding <sup>(3)</sup> the contents of these two documents. Strype mentions sixteen petitions offered to parliament on that date in

(1) Usher, p. 40.

(2) J. D'Ewes, A Compleat Journal . . . . . of the House of Lords and House of Commons throughout the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 339.

(3) Whitgift, i. 347.

favour of puritan ministers and for reform of the church's present state, but goes on to say that these were passed by the Commons and presented to the Lords. <sup>(1)</sup> Presumably the bill was to advocate reform of the church along the lines of presbyterianism. With greater assurance, it can be presumed that the book was the first draft of A booke of the Forme of common prayers, administration of the Sacraments: etc. agreeable to Gods worde, and the use of the reformed churches, which was published in 1586. <sup>(2)</sup> Three times it was presented to parliament before 1588, <sup>(3)</sup> and so the 1584/5 sitting can be taken as the first of those three times. It was a restatement of presbyterian doctrine and government, the four types of office-bearers being doctors, pastors, elders and deacons, while the last section, which deals with 'the order of Ecclesiastical Discipline', was but an echo of Travers's opinions found in the Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae . . . . . Explicatio. In the forms of service for Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the manner followed is that of Calvin's liturgy and the Genevan service book used by Knox's congregation in Geneva, which at that time was being used in Scotland.

(1) These petitions also came to nothing.

(2) Printed in P. Hall, Fragmenta Liturgia, i. pp. 1-81.

(3) W. Travers, Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, p. 23.

Although the prospect for the recognition of presbyterianism by parliament was now very bleak, since their documents when presented were not even read, yet the advocates of the new Discipline did not seem to lose heart. On 4 January prayers and fastings were still continuing in the Dedham classis, <sup>(1)</sup> for the success of their cause before parliament, but the latter rose on 29 March 1585 and nothing had been accomplished. Before it rose a petition was presented to convocation from the ministers who were unable to subscribe <sup>(2)</sup> the recent articles, but this too had no result. Even so, the organisers of the movement were undaunted. In this year what is called a presbytery was set up at Hatfield in Essex <sup>(3)</sup> but it resembled more a rebel congregation since only one minister is mentioned. His name was Thomas Carew, the vicar of that parish, who held very extreme views. Among other things, he rejected the Book of Common Prayer, denied the Queen's authority to make ecclesiastical laws, withheld the Communion from certain people and maintained heretical views as to the substance of the soul of man, as well as refusing to believe the article in the Apostles' Creed that Christ 'descended into hell'. His congregation not

(1) Usher, p. 41.

(2) Seconde Parte of a Register, i. 296.

(3) Strype, Aylmer, p. 78.

only followed his leadership, but even went further along the path of heresy, so that the archbishop and the bishop were forced to intervene. After sending orthodox preachers to Hatfield, they had Carew silenced. In the same year (1585) Henry Asker informed Field on 14 April <sup>(1)</sup> that in his district he had been admitted to membership in a classis which met almost every week and he confessed: 'I preach every Sabbaoth, having nothing to do at all with the forme or book of Common Prayer'. Although these may be isolated instances yet they are symptoms of presbyterian stirrings throughout the country.

In this same month (April 1585) <sup>(2)</sup> the morale of the whole presbyterian movement was considerably strengthened by the arrival of one of its former leaders. Cartwright returned from the Continent after an absence of eleven years, only to find that in England he was still non persona grata because of his Genevan beliefs, and at once <sup>(1)</sup> on the instigation of Aylmer, he was imprisoned. However, he could not have been confined for more than a few days, for, due to the influence of Burghley, he gained

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 84.

(2) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 229.

his release and was free on 17 April. (1) This news naturally caused great joy to his fellow presbyterians, and among those who rejoiced was Travers, who, forgetting that he had been silenced, preached at a private thanksgiving service. Bancroft relates (2) that M.R. (3) in a letter to Field in 1585 said:

As soon as I knewe of Maister Cartwright's delivery, I sent for Maister Travers and we had psalmes of thanksgiving and prayers to the same purpose and a sermon: his text being the 20 of Jeremie, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 verses.

It is of interest to note the words of this text as they are found in the Genevan Bible, the version that Travers would undoubtedly use.

10. For I had heard the rayling of many and feare on every side. Declare, said they, and wee will declare it: all my familiars watched for my halting, saying, it may bee that hee is deceived: so wee shall prevaile against him, and wee shall execute our vengeance upon him.

11. But the Lord is with me like a mightie giant: Therefore my persecuters shall bee overthrowen, and shall not prevaile, and shall bee greatly confounded: for they have done unwisely, and their everlasting shame shal never be forgotten.

12. But O Lord of Hostes, that triest the righteous, and seest the reines and the heart, let me see thy vengeance in them: for unto thee have I opened my cause.

(1) Pearson, p. 230.

(2) Survay, p. 375.

(3) It is not possible to identify M. R. by the initials unless M. indicates Mr., in which case the person might be (Thomas) Redlich, or (John) Reynolds, or (Richard) Rogers, or (Richard) Rushbrook or (Camillus) Rusticus, all of whom are known to have been connected with the presbyterian movement during this period.

13. Sing unto the Lord, praise ye the Lord: for hee hath delivered the soule of the poore from the hand of the wicked.

14. Cursed be the day wherein I was borne: and let not the day wherein my mother bare me, be blessed.

It is easy to imagine how Travers would relate verses 10-13 to the present situation, and how he would revel in the fact that in this situation the Scriptures were being fulfilled and against a bishop!

From this year (1585) onwards Cartwright and Travers are seen as the two chief leaders of the movement, the latter being engaged on the literary side of the work, while Cartwright continued to organise from his headquarters in the hospital in Warwick of which he had been appointed master. <sup>(1)</sup> The latter, therefore, can be regarded as the administrative head of the presbyterians during this crucial period of their history, while Travers was the intellectual head. Each had a complimentary part to play in the strengthening of the movement, and both were equally necessary. In the case of Cartwright, his return in 1585 must have given a fresh impetus to the whole ideal of presbyterianising the English people, for his advice

(1) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 233.



(1)

was:

That if the Cyvill maiestrate ..... shall refuse to admytt of the desired discyplne that then the mynisters may allure the people unto ytt and for theire owne partes not only may putt the same in practise as they maye themselves but likewyse use all other meanes of the better acceptance or establishinge of ytt.

Field the organising secretary, becoming infected with the same enthusiasm, openly advocated <sup>(1)</sup> that it was the ordinary people who should take the law into their own hands and bring in the new church government. To this end the ministers proceeded to explain the Discipline to their congregations so that 'the common ignorant people may plainly see the difference betweene the glorious ordinance of the Lord and the imagined shadow of the Bs traditions'. <sup>(2)</sup> There were some like Snape of Northampton who went further, and were found devising ways and means of actually establishing the new discipline of pastors, <sup>(3)</sup> doctors, elders and deacons in their parishes. But all this manifestation of zeal made it the more urgent that some textbook should be available to guide it into the proper channels. Hence the immediate call for a book that would be a clear and concise statement of the discipline at which these enthusiasts were aiming, and thus the

(1) Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A 49/34, Edmundes's deposition, f. 3 b; Lansd. MS lxviii. No. 62.

(2) B. M. Harl. MS. 6849, f. 220.

(3) Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A 27/33.

need for the intellectual leadership of Travers.

So busy was Travers at this time battling for presbyterianism against Hooker at the Temple, that he seems to have almost forgotten about his promise to edit the Book of Discipline. On the 3 July 1585 Field the national secretary of the movement was getting impatient about the (1) Book and wrote to Travers:

I would wish that the Discipline were read over with as much speed as could be, and that some good directions were given for the brethren abroad, who are earnest to enter some good course, for the furtherance of the L(ord's) cause. I finde many abroade, very willing to ioyne with the best: to put in practice that which shall be agreed upon, by the brethren.

Evidently there was a national demand among all the classes for the Book of Discipline to be completed, for Field would be in close touch with all the brethren. In this same letter he actually offered his own services in expediting the work of completion. Two months later, 9 September, Gellibrand, the corresponding secretary of the Oxford classis was also getting impatient for he wrote to Travers: 'I pray you hasten the forme of Discipline (1) and send it'. Again on 30 January of the next year, (1) Gellibrand was getting more impatient and wrote to Field, 'I pray you remember the forme of Discipline, which Master Travers promised to make perfect, and send it me

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 75.

when it is finished. We will put it in practise, and trie mens minde therein, as we may'.

In spite of these repeated requests for its completion, the Book of Discipline did not appear for at least another year. It is obvious that Travers in his controversies with Hooker had no leisure time to devote to it, until he knew for certain that there was no hope of restoration to the Temple, which hope was gone by the end of 1586. Meantime throughout this year of waiting for the Book, those who advocated the Discipline were both active for and hopeful of the reform of the church on a presbyterian basis. Regular meetings of the classes continued, and in Chichester, for example, inquiries were being made as to 'whether any new presbytery or consist<sup>(1)</sup> -ory of elders be in the parish erected'. Bishops had ever to be on the alert against the advance of the movement wherever it was found. Moreover, the work of the surveys in the different counties went on, so that by November of this year (1586) the surveyers had enough information to enable them to speak of 'How miserable the state of our church is for the want of a godlie learned<sup>(2)</sup> ministrie'.

(1) W. P. M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, iii. 215.

(2) Seconde Parte of a Register, ii. 89.

As in 1584, so now in 1586 the culminating point of this year's activity was the meeting of parliament on 29 October. Again a bill and book were presented, the date chosen being 27 February 1587. (1) The bill 'for the further reformation of the Church' (2) pointed out that the present structure of the English church lacked the offices of teacher, elder and deacon, retaining only a vague resemblance of the two latter in churchwardens, sidesmen and collectors, 'meere civil officers'. (3) The calling of the bishops was not agreeable to the Word of God and it was untrue to say that they were the successors of the apostles. Since the Book of Common Prayer lacked the simplicity and sincerity of God's Word and was therefore out of keeping with the practice of all reformed churches, (4) parliament was asked to authorise instead A Book of the forme of Common Prayers. (5) The latter was the same as that presented to parliament two years previously, and as on that occasion, so on this, (6) neither bill nor book were read. They had been

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 96.

(2) Seconde Parte of a Register, ii. 212.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 213.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 214.

(5) Strype (Whitgift, i. 487) confuses this book with the Book of Discipline. There is no evidence that the latter was ever presented to parliament. Presumably the reason was that agreement could never be reached as to its final form.

(6) D'Ewes, A Compleat Journal, p. 410.

introduced by Cope on 27 February, and although the speaker gave the reminder that the Queen did not allow the House to interfere in religious matters, there were members who were keen to have them read. The Queen eventually sent for the documents, had them suppressed, and commanded that Wentworth and other supporters be sent to the Tower. (1)

Once more it was a bleak outlook for the presbyterian cause. The idea of approaching parliament seemed doomed to failure, but now thanks to Travers, (2) the movement at this point was saved from despair by the appearance of his corrected Book of Discipline in the next month, March 1587. On the 8th of this month, fifteen days before parliament rose, the Book reached the Dedham classis meeting at Colchester (3) where 'Mr. Tay moved that the booke of discipline set downe by the brethren might be vewed and their judgments given of it'. Its appearance in this year is important in that it marks an immediate shift in the emphasis of the presbyterian platform, for the Book of the forme of Common Prayers etc.

(1) Neale, 'Peter Wentworth' in Eng. Hist. Review, xxxix. 51.

(2) Bancroft's testimony that Travers edited the Book of Discipline is also substantiated by a Lambeth MS (Appendix VI) Strype (Whitgift, i. 502) and Brook (Cartwright, p. 243).

(3) Usher, Presbyterian Movement, p. 63.

is now dropped, and this draft of the discipline becomes an entire work on its own, <sup>(1)</sup> thus emphasising the real characteristic of presbyterianism, namely, its discipline. As in the case of Dedham, the new Book was sent to all the classes to be examined, <sup>(2)</sup> and it will be seen presently that it was this Book of Discipline edited by Travers which became the subject of discussion at all the classical meetings and the mainspring of action for the whole movement.

The full title of the Book of Discipline is 'Disciplina Ecclesiae Dei Verbo Descripta'. As it was never published <sup>(3)</sup> it is still found in manuscript form of which there are five known copies, one in Lambeth, <sup>(4)</sup> one in the British Museum, <sup>(5)</sup> one in Oxford, <sup>(6)</sup> and two in the

- (1) Bancroft, Survay, p. 66.
- (2) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 76.
- (3) Usher (Reconstruction of English Church, i. 51n) and Wakeman (Church and the Puritans, p. 46; Introduction to history of Church of England, p. 329) are both incorrect in stating that the Book was published. Usher refers to five printed editions.
- (4) Codd. MSS CXIII, No. 10, ff. 180-186. Verso 'a book of discipline w<sup>th</sup> the Classical Orders'.
- (5) Harl. MS 7029, ff. 115-126. The title in this MS has 'ex' inserted after 'dei'.
- (6) MS C.C.C. 294. This MS was apparently unknown to F. Paget who has collated the other two MSS in Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker, pp. 89 ff. It should be noted that in this work of collation he has not drawn attention to all the discrepancies in the two MSS. The Oxford MS is printed in A.F.S. Pearson, Alteste Englische Presbyterianismus, pp. 80 ff.

(1)

library of Trinity College, Dublin. No two of these  
 are identical and yet in spite of minor variations, all  
 (2) (3)  
 five are substantially the same.

- (1) D. 3. 12, f. 62; D. 3. 12, f. 69. These two MSS have quite recently been discovered by the present writer, who has been able for the first time to compare all five versions.
- (2) Since none of the five MSS are in Travers's handwriting, it is impossible to be certain as to which (if any) of them bear his authentic editorship. But after a careful collation of all the MSS, it is very noticeable that those of Oxford, B.M. and Dublin agree more with the Lambeth MS than they do with each other, which would suggest that Lambeth was the oldest version, and therefore probably more close to that which originated from Travers's hand.
- (3) The variations in these 5 MSS can be classified as follows: different spellings (e.g., praecibus and praecibus; *bow sy, obow sy, obow sy*); different arrangement of words (e.g., dei verbo and verbo dei); occasional use of the subjunctive mood in preference to the indicative; variations in the sentences that are underlined; the use of brackets and the numbering of the paragraphs, while both the Dublin MSS have no paragraph numberings at all. Sometimes actual numbers are written in full, and particularly in the Dublin MS (f. 69) many words are found abbreviated. (e.g., *Dni* for *Domini*, and *oe* for *omne*). Occasionally one MS will insert a short explanatory sentence, and in the Dublin MS just mentioned there is a frequent tendency to be more explicit than the others (e.g., The New Testament takes the place of the Sacred Scriptures). Paragraphs are sometimes rearranged, and in the Lambeth version para. 13 is found shortened in the B.M. and Oxford copies with the remaining parts added later on. In one place the second Dublin MS (f. 69) is peculiar in stating that the national assembly should consist of two ministers and two elders from each province, while all the other MSS say three. In two places obvious mistakes in the Lambeth MS have been corrected in the other four (taken in para. 22 should read tantum, and modo in para. 69 should read ne), while of all five MSS that

## Note 3 ( continued)

of Lambeth has been written with the greatest care, and that of the B.M. with the least. Both the Dublin MSS are found in the Usher collection. That of Lambeth is bound with several other MSS of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and at the beginning of the volume it is listed as: *Disciplina ecclesiae sacra, dei verbo descripta; reginae et parlamento (ut fatentur) offerenda; cui etiam servandae se post finem libri obligant.* In the case of the B.M. MS, in the index to the Baker MSS vol. 2, it is listed as No. 3 with the heading - '*Disciplina ecclesia sacra, ex dei verbo descripta, auctore Tho. Cartwright, ex MS<sup>o</sup> Joannis Laughton canonici ivigorn. et Lich.....*'

John Laughton was appointed chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge in 1678, librarian in 1679, and librarian to the University in 1686. (R. Sinker, Biographical Notes on the Librarians of Trinity College, p. 20). It is of course an error to attribute authorship to Cartwright.



The Book itself is divided into two parts, the first bearing the title of the whole work and the second—  
 Disciplina synodica ex ecclesiarum (quae eam ex Dei  
 verbo (1) instaurarunt) (2) usu, synodis atque libris de  
 eadem scriptis collecta; et ad certa quaedam capita  
 (3) relata. The first part begins dogmatically with this  
 bold assertion that Christ had fixed the proper form of  
 church government for all time, and this form was found  
 in the Bible. (4) This principle of church polity had  
 been consistently advocated by Travers ever since his  
 stay at Geneva, and it lay at the heart of the whole  
 presbyterian movement. Beginning with this Scriptural  
 warrant, it is stated that ministers (5) must all be regarded  
 as of equal status and that each should be called to a  
 particular congregation by its members after which he  
 receives ordination to the ministry, which is the ministry  
 of the Word. The usual four offices in the church are  
 to be those of the minister, teacher, elder and deacon;  
 ministers to administer the Word and Sacraments, teachers  
 to be concerned with doctrine, elders to guard the life

(1) Oxf. MS: Verbo is placed before Dei.

(2) Ibid., brackets omitted.

(3) Ibid., relata is replaced by redacta.

(4) Disciplina ecclesiae Christianae in omne tempus necessaria, a Christo tradita est, et sacris scripturis consignatur.

(5) Ministers are taken to mean bishops in the New Testament sense.

and behaviour of church members, and deacons to care for the poor. For the good direction of the church, there should be a presbytery which is a senate of elders, that is, ministers, teachers and those specifically called elders, which body has the right to excommunicate when this is the general opinion of all the congregations concerned. (1) The persons who should attend the meetings of presbytery or any assembly are to be chosen by the several congregations that belong to it, and at each meeting there should be a moderator to direct the business transacted. It is the duty of each delegate to speak his opinions in a godly and quiet manner.

The second part of the Book, the Synodical Discipline, is much longer, consisting of seventy-two paragraphs as compared with fifteen in the former. Here the ecclesiastical discipline outlined in the first part is detailed under various heads, and as Travers, the writer, in his Genevan book began with the necessity of a calling, so here Travers, the editor, begins in the same manner. No man should seek office in the church, but wait until he is lawfully called. In the case of a minister he

(1) It will be noticed that there are limits to the excommunicating power of the presbytery.

should be called to a particular congregation, <sup>(1)</sup> but before his call he must subscribe a confession of doctrine and discipline, and prior to his election, his congregation should observe a day of fasting.

Consideration is next given to the order of the liturgy to be observed in worship, which is the same as that prescribed in The Forme of Prayers and administrat-ion of the Sacraments, etc., used in the English congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and learned man John Calvin. This order had been adopted in 1555 by the congregation of English exiles at Geneva, <sup>(1555-</sup>  
<sup>(2)</sup> 1559) ministered to by John Knox and Christopher Goodman. The form of service is:

Psalm  
 Prayer of Confession and Lord's Prayer  
 Sermon (3)  
 Prayer for the Universal Church and Lord's Prayer  
 Psalm  
 Benediction (Aaronic or apostolic).

It is noticeable that the sermon is given the central place in the order, since it was meant to be the core of worship. The section on preaching, which is one of the

- (1) This is in opposition to the call of a diocesan bishop who has no particular congregation.
- (2) See the present writer's John Knox's Genevan Congregation, p. 9 (p.36 above note I)
- (3) The second insertion of the Lord's Prayer is the only addition to the Genevan order.

longest, enjoins that only the canonical Scriptures are to be expounded, not the Apocrypha, <sup>(1)</sup> and the speech of the preacher should be characterised first by uncorruptness and secondly by reverent gravity. The voice must not be monotonous, and the posture and gestures should be modest and seemly. Two sermons are to be delivered each Sunday and each kept within one hour, while preaching must always precede each celebration of the Sacraments.

The catechism, which should be of two kinds, a longer one for general doctrine and a shorter relating <sup>(2)</sup> to the Lord's Supper, is to be taught in every church. At Baptism the father and not the mother should be responsible for the presentation of the child who should be given a Scriptural name. Children under fourteen must not be admitted to the Lord's Supper, and the names of all who wish to be admitted are to be submitted seven days in advance, and inquiry made about them by the elders.

(1) Cf. Travers's opposition to the Apocrypha at the Lambeth conference (p. 182 above).

(2) This injunction relating to two catechisms was later carried out by the Westminster Assembly of Divines which produced Larger and Shorter Catechisms.

Days of fasting are to be observed but not holy days. Candidates for marriage should be well instructed in their obligations, so that they regard it as an indissoluble bond. Children are to be well instructed in schools, especially in the catechism, and particular attention should be paid to the training of candidates for the ministry. Elders must see that they visit the homes of the people, and the deacons that they care for the sick and the poor.

At meetings of the consistory, i.e., the elders in a congregation, the order of the business on the agenda should be liturgy, sermon, prayers, sacraments, marriages and burials, while separate books are to be kept for parents, names of those baptized and lists of communicants. It is the duty of <sup>the</sup> consistory to do the work of censuring. The actual censuring should, if possible, be in private, but if the sin is great it must be in public. Should the sinner prove obstinate he is to be excommunicated, but if he repents he is to be received back to membership. A minister who sins is to be deposed from his charge.

For the strengthening of the church and the carrying out of the ecclesiastical discipline, groups of congregations are to hold conferences. <sup>(1)</sup> Each of twelve congregations can elect one minister and one lay elder to be members of a conference which meets once every six weeks. At such meetings the order of business should be:

1. Survey of those present, with a censuring of those absent without good reason.
2. Minutes of last meeting read and matters arising therefrom dealt with.
3. Consideration of requests from the various congregations represented in the conference.
4. Consideration of the state of the congregations, with regard to the teaching of doctrine and exercise of discipline.
5. Consideration of matters that generally affect all the congregations.
6. Censuring of offending delegates, if necessary.

The general direction of the meeting is to be in the hands of the moderator, who is chosen at the beginning of each meeting after the offering of prayer by the moderator appointed at the previous meeting. Prior to the close of a conference meeting, if thought fit, a minister chosen by the brethren, or in rotation, may preach a sermon, which is then criticised by the others, but not in the presence of the elders.

(1) The conference, or classis, corresponds to the modern presbytery.

(1)

The next church court to be considered is the synod which is constituted by two ministers and two elders chosen by every conference in a province. They should meet at least twice a year and always three months before every national synod. The latter in turn consists of three ministers and three elders from every provincial synod, but no mention is made of the frequency of meetings. As the provincial synod deals in matters that relate to the province, so the synod for the nation concerns itself with things that affect the whole realm, such as doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, appeals and what cannot properly be dealt with at the inferior courts. The acts of the former must be sent for scrutiny to the latter which keeps a record of every particular congregation. Another type of synod is the general or ecumenical whose members are chosen out of each national synod, and their transactions are also to be recorded in a book.

Finally it is pointed out that the first part of the book sets forth a discipline which cannot be altered since it is taken from God's Word, but the second part, the synodical discipline, not being expressly stated in,

(1) Synodus est conventus delectorum a pluribus, quam unius classis ecclesiis.

but rather inferred from the Scriptures, can be altered in those things which do not belong to the essence of the discipline.<sup>(1)</sup>

The importance of the Book lies in the fact that it was the first brief statement on what exactly was the essence of presbyterianism. It was meant to be a practical guide to all who wanted their church life to conform to the discipline intended by Christ himself. In all, it was a definite and systematic setting forth of the kind of church the presbyterians in England desired. This English aspect of the Book should be specially noted for there was no direct borrowing from any other church's statement on discipline. It is true that the Scottish presbyterians had already compiled their Second Book of Discipline and so also had the French Huguenots in 1571, and these books may have indirectly influenced Travers in his work of editing the English Book. But the latter must be regarded as an independent work based upon the Scriptures.

(1) Sed in eiusmodi quae ad essentiam disciplinae non spectant pro diversa ecclesiarum ratione ('conditione' in Lambeth and B.M. MSS) ex aequo pia ratione et verbo Dei innixa mutari potest.

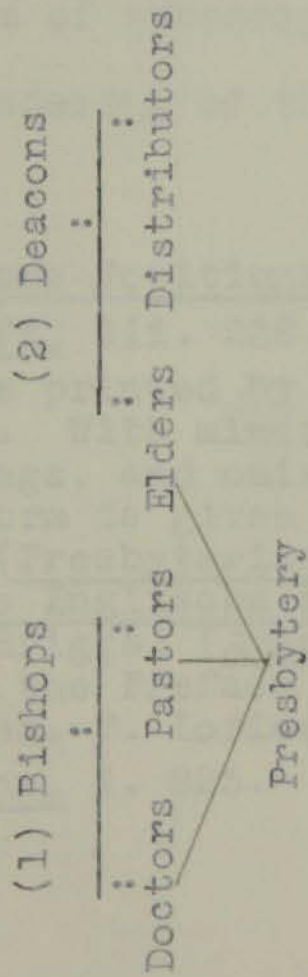


It will be remembered that Travers's first book on the subject of church discipline, the Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae..... Explicatio had also been of Biblical origin and therefore a close similarity in the two Books was unavoidable. Indeed the Book of Discipline for the most part could well be regarded as an abbreviated edition of the Explicatio. Yet for Travers it must have entailed a fresh study of the Scriptures for there is one clear and important alteration in the second work. In the Explicatio the office of bishop is divided into that of doctor and pastor while the office of elder is a sub-division of that of deacon, the other sub-division being that of distributor. Yet the elder has a seat in the presbytery or consistory along with the doctors and past-  
-ors while the distributor has not. But in the Book of Discipline the deacon has an office separate from the elder, thus making it more understandable why the elder should be a member of the presbytery, since his office is distinct from that of a deacon. It is obvious that Travers on second thoughts saw the obscurity in his first  
book, and made sure that it was simplified in the second. (1)

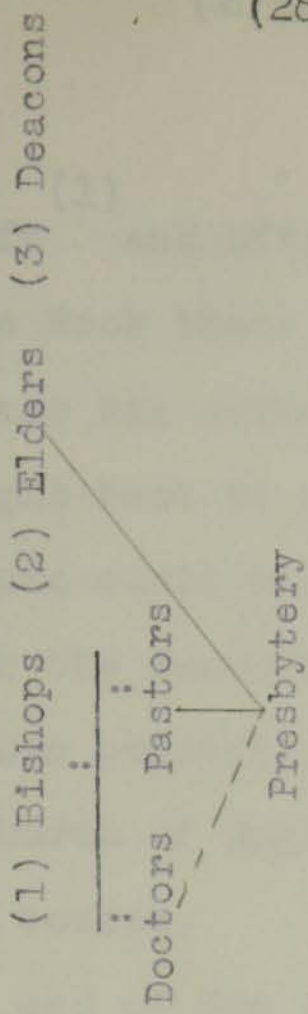
(1) See following page.

(1) The alteration can best be seen in the form of a diagram:

Explicatio



Book of Discipline



(1) Bancroft and after him Strype (2) pointed out that in the whole Book there was no mention of the Christian magistrate nor his authority in the church, but probably it was thought best to omit this on the ground that such intrusion into civil and political matters might have called forth the immediate wrath of the Queen, and in any case, when presbyterianism had been established as the state church of England, this matter could be dealt with in due course.

At the end of the Lambeth MS of the Book, there is found a form of subscription (3) in English, which is an enlarged rendering of that given by Neal (4) at the end

(1) Dangerous Positions, p. 97.

(2) Whitgift, iii. 238.

(3) This is printed by Paget (Fifth Book of Hooker, p. 96). With minor variations, such as different spellings, and omission of unimportant phrases, the same form is given by Strype (Whitgift, i. 502-3), Usher (Presbyterian Movement, p. 92), Pearson (Der Alteste Englische Presbyterianus, Appendix III, 99), C. A. Briggs, (American Presbyterianism, Appendix I) and in the Preface to A Directory of Church Government (ed. P. Lorimer).

(4) Puritans, i. 825.

of his English version of the Book. This shorter form of Neal's is also found in Latin at the end of one of the  
 (1)  
 Dublin MSS. Both forms begin:

The brethren assembled together in the name of God having heard and examined by the Word of God according to their best ability and judgement in it a draught of discipline essentiall and necessary for all times, and sinodicall, gathered out of the Synods and use of the Churches, have thought good to testify concerning it as followeth.

Both acknowledge this discipline to be agreeable to the Word of God, and the promise is given that, as far as it is lawfully possible, the subscribers will use its form of liturgy in worship, attend the required conferences, and synods, and urge council and parliament to adopt it. But in the longer form there is an important qualification: 'Excepting some few points, which we have sent to our Reverend brethren of this assembly for their further resolution'. This addition makes it clear that this longer form was used at a particular meeting of the  
 (2)  
 brethren, and Lorimer in his edition gives the names of

(1) D. 3. 12, f. 62.

(2) His edition is of the English version of the Book of Discipline, which appeared in 1644, printed in London in the old baily by John Wright. This English version claims on the title page to have been 'Found in the study of the most accomplished Divine, Mr. Thomas Cartwright after his decease: and reserved to be published for such a time as this'. The full title of the version is A Directory of Church Government anciently contended for and as farre as the times would suffer practised by the first Non-conformists in the dales of Queen Elizabeth.

twelve men, one of whom was Cartwright, who appended their names to it at an assembly of all the classes of Warwickshire, held at Coventry, but no date is given. It would then seem that the abbreviated version of the form of assent given by Neal was that generally used at all meetings where subscription to the Book was required.

As to the actual number who did subscribe, there is considerable doubt. Neal <sup>(1)</sup> has it that above 500 either did so or showed their approbation of the Book, 'all beneficed in the church of England, useful preachers, of unspotted lives and characters', yet he can give only 49 specific names. His numbers therefore are almost certainly an exaggeration, since it has been reckoned <sup>(2)</sup> that the total number of presbyterian ministers in the whole country at this time did not exceed 350.

The English translation of the Book, The Directory of Church Government etc., which was published in 1644 is worthy of close examination, for while it is undoubtedly a translation of the 'Disciplina Ecclesiae Sacra Dei Verbo Descripta' it has not been translated verbatim from one or all of the five MSS. The differences in the

(1) Puritans, i. 324.

(2) Black, Reign of Elizabeth, p. 379 n.

English translation consist of omissions of short clauses  
 or sentences, (1) additions of explanatory sentences, (2)  
 altered arrangement of sentences and at times condensa-  
 tion of paragraphs. (3) It is however possible that The  
Directory of Church Government is a translation of a  
 later edition of the Book, for, as will be seen later,  
 it was continually being altered, and the assembly at  
 Coventry was not the only one to be in doubt about certain  
 points in it. In 1591 when Cartwright and others were  
 being examined in the Star Chamber, the references to  
 the Book of Discipline, especially those concerned with  
 the form of assent, make it almost certain that they are  
 from an edition very much akin, if not identical with  
 that of which the Directory of Church Government is a  
 translation, and not that found in the five Latin MSS.  
 If then the former emanated from another version, it can  
 be claimed that the version found in the five Latin MSS  
 is probably the nearest to that which in the first place  
 came from Travers's editorial hand, since Bancroft in his  
Dangerous Positions, published in 1593, but written much  
 earlier, refers to the Book of Discipline 'latelie come to

(1) E.g. Para 22 (in Oxford MS)

(2) E.g. Section on the Communion.

(3) E.g. Ten lines of Latin in the section dealing with  
 assemblies are equalled by four of translation.

light',<sup>(1)</sup> (that is, 1587/88), and gives quotations which are taken verbatim from the Lambeth and British Museum

MSS.<sup>(2)</sup> At least, one can be fairly certain that the five Latin MSS, while substantially the same as that from which the Directory of Church Government was translated, yet represent an earlier version, and therefore are more akin to the Book which Travers edited. It is not known when the English translation was made, but since a desire for an English translation was expressed on 8 September

1587,<sup>(3)</sup> it was possibly soon after that date, and obviously, the sooner such a translation was available,

(1) P. 45.

(2) The Survey has, in all, seven quotations (pp. 153, 209, 231, 276, 305) from the Book of Discipline. Three of them (pp. 231, 276, 305) agree exactly with all five MSS, but the other four (pp. 153, 209, 305) agree with the Lambeth and B.M. MSS rather than with those of Oxford or Dublin, which would suggest that Bancroft did not know of the latter MSS. Paget (Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker, p. 91) is incorrect in saying that the Lambeth and B.M. MSS differ only in the omission of one word from the latter. He also omits to mention the quotation on p. 276 of the Survey.

(3) B. M. Harl. MS 7029, f. 127-8, printed in Strype, Annals, iii, pt. II, p. 478.

the better for furthering the cause of the new Discipline  
 (1)  
 throughout the land.

It is quite evident that from 1587, when Travers's Book of Discipline came to hand, the whole national pres-  
 byterian movement centred around that Book. P. M. Dawley (2)  
 in a recent study on this period states: 'It is hard to exaggerate the importance of the Disciplina in shaping the minds of that minority of puritans who remained implacably opposed to the episcopal establishment through-  
 out the reign of Elizabeth' (3). On their own confession, the presbyterians regarded the Book as the best forged weapon they had ever possessed for prevailing against their opponents, and the latter appear to have shared the same view. Whitgift in particular seems to have  
 (4)  
 regarded it as the chief armoury of the presbyterians, and lists it as one of the four most significant features  
 (5)  
 of the movement. It was for him the crystallised form

(1) The translator is still unknown, and there is no evidence in favour of the statement made by Kennedy (Studies in Tudor History, p. 261) that an English translation was circulated among Elizabethan puritans. Certainly no translation seems to have been known to Bancroft when he issued his Survay for he gives his own translation of the relevant passages. There is however an English version of the Book in the B.M. (Harl. MS 6539, ff. 76-86) which agrees exactly with the Directory. It would seem to be earlier than the Directory and might even belong to the very late Elizabethan period.

(2) John Whitgift and the Reformation, (1955) p. 180.

(3) Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A 49/34; Stone's deposition f. 3 b.

(4) Strype, Whitgift, ii. 93.

(5) Ibid., p. 13.



of the Genevan Discipline which had caused trouble ever since its introduction into England. In a letter to Beza <sup>(1)</sup> in 1593 he says that he has witnessed the zeal of the promoters of this discipline who have left no stone unturned in commending it as the only genuine government of the church. Information had apparently reached him of a dangerous faction among the presbyterians, who advocated that 'if the magistrate could not be induced to erect the Discipline by their persuasion, then they ought to erect it themselves, because it was better to obey God than man. <sup>(2)</sup> Even some had reached the stage of planning how means could be provided for the maintenance of the bishops, deans and other church officials who would soon be displaced by the introduction of the Discipline so that the commonwealth would not be pestered with beggars. <sup>(3)</sup> It looked therefore as though this Book of Discipline was in truth the most dangerous weapon that had ever come into the hands of the presbyterian revolutionaries, and this is proven by the fact that when the movement collapsed, the chief and most repeated charge made against Cartwright and others in 1590/91 was that they had agreed with and advocated by <sup>(4)</sup> word and deed the principles found in this Book.

(1) Strype, Whitgift, ii. p. 161.

(2) Ibid., i. 504.

(3) Ibid., iii. 240.

(4) Ibid., pp. 238, 244; Strype, Aylmer, p. 212

Fortunate was it for Travers that when the accusers asked, 'Who made or set forth, corrected or reformed the said book of discipline or any part thereof', <sup>(1)</sup> the defen-  
dants <sup>(2)</sup> refused to answer.

It is not hard to envisage how this 'palladium of English Presbyterianism' <sup>(3)</sup> became a sort of second Bible at every meeting of every conference and synod throughout the country. The study of the Book seems to have led to a reorganisation of the classes or conferences, for it is significant that the Book being finished by Travers not later than 8 March, which was during the sitting of parliament, <sup>(4)</sup> a synod was held in London during the same sitting <sup>(5)</sup> where it was agreed that 'all mynisters w<sup>ch</sup> favoured and soughte the reformation of o<sup>r</sup> church shuld sort themselves together to have their meetings to confesse about the matters of the church, besides such exercises as shuld most make for their profiting every

(1) Strype, Aylmer, p. 213.

(2) 'Who penned the book' was one of the 43 questions put to the nine prisoners who appeared before the High Commission in June 1591 (Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A 56/1). The same inquiry was made of Snape at his trial in April 1590 (B. M. Lansd. MS lxviii. No. 43). In all cases no answer was forthcoming.

(3) Paget, Fifth Book of Hooker's Polity, p. 89.

(4) This parliament met from 29 Oct. 1586 - 23 Mar. 1587.

(5) Usher, Presbyterian Movement, p. 98; Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 77. Neale ('Peter Wentworth' in Eng. Hist. Review, xxxix. 52) thinks that Wentworth may have attended this synod.

way'. The maximum number allowed to attend such meetings was ten, and so from now on it appears that there was a general regrouping throughout all the classes due to the fresh stimulus of Travers's new textbook on presbyterian discipline.

It is impossible to think that, in this organising of meetings for the study of the Book, the editor himself did not have a share. Bancroft's evidence <sup>(1)</sup> is that for four years from the time of this parliament, Travers was one of the four <sup>(2)</sup> who loaned his house in London for such meetings. In this respect more evidence is furnished by one of the Marprelate Tracts <sup>(3)</sup> in which the writer of an anonymous letter says: 'I would watch about Travers's house in Milk St; <sup>(4)</sup> who go in and out there; and I would know what they carried under their cloaks too, even any of them all'. Barber at his examination in the Star Chamber <sup>(5)</sup> in 1591 also confessed that meetings had been

(1) Dangerous Positions, p. 89.

(2) The other three were Gardiner, Egerton and Barber. Cf. Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A 49/34 Edmundes's deposition f. 4a.

(3) The Just Censure and Reproof (Pierce, Marprelate Tracts, p. 376).

(4) Milk Street is in Cheapside near St. Paul's Cathedral.

(5) Star Chamber Proceedings. 5 A / 49/34. *Gardiner's*

held at Travers's house, and it would seem from his evidence coupled with that of Bancroft that such meetings were sometimes synodical and sometimes of the London classis, though mostly the former since the names that occur frequently include representatives from Oxford, Warwick, Northampton and Essex. It is also important to note that according to Bancroft <sup>(1)</sup> and Barber, <sup>(2)</sup> Travers was one of the three or four ministers most often chosen to act as moderator at these London meetings. Thus the editor has now evidently become the trusted leader of the movement's deliberative assemblies, and his house a sort of headquarters for its business transactions. Furthermore the London classis of which Travers was a member, was regarded as the most important of all, and its decisions were always held in the highest estimation. <sup>(1)</sup>

Heylyn states <sup>(3)</sup> that the Book of Discipline 'was no where better welcome than it was in London.....from whence the brethren of other places did fetch their light'. Indeed, no decision by any of the classes or synods was regarded <sup>(1)</sup> as authentic until it was ratified in London.

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 90.

(2) Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A/49/34. Gardiner's house which was also used for such meetings was in Whitechapel (ibid., 5A/49/84) which is about a mile from Milk Street.

(3) Aërius Redivivus, p. 281.

Thus the presbyterian movement of this time is best pictured as a closely knit and extremely well-organised network of conferences or classes meeting regularly every six weeks in the following places: Northampton, Daventry, Kettering, Dedham, Hertford, Braintree, Oxford, Cambridge, Kent, Warwick, Surrey, Suffolk, Hatfield, and Bury St. Edmunds, with the London classis as the hub of all the others. The latter's importance is seen in that it met not every six weeks, but twice every week, on Mondays and Thursdays. <sup>(1)</sup> The order prescribed in the Book of Discipline seems to have been observed religiously in every conference, <sup>(2)</sup> particularly in Northampton, and in all these conferences there was a correspondent who kept in touch by letter with his counterpart in all the other conferences, and especially with the correspondent <sup>(3)</sup> of the London classis, who was actually Travers. As moderator of the London classis and its corresponding secretary with all the others throughout the country, he would know all that was happening in all places where his Book was being studied and he would be in a position to explain any points that required further elucidation.

- (1) Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A 49/34, Edmundes deposition f. 4 a.
- (2) See Bancroft's description of the manner of the classical meetings in Dangerous Positions, pp. 78 ff.
- (3) Ibid., p. 80; Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A 49/34 Johnston's deposition.

While Travers was acting in this dual capacity, the national secretary for the whole movement was Field, who was also in London, so that the co-operation and relationship between the two leaders must have been very close, for it was through Field that copies of the Book of Discipline were despatched to all the conferences. When the Book reached the brethren in Oxford during the parliament of 1586/7, it was to Field that Gellibrand, their secretary, wrote in acknowledgment and again it was to Field that Edmondson of Essex wrote on 20 June 1587: (1)

'We hartlie give God thanks for the godly and most Christian paines of the brethren, in the travaile of the Discipline: which is come to our hands to be considered of'. For the position of organising secretary of the movement noone could have been more suitable than Field since he was one of the writers of the Admonition to the Parliament and had participated in the Wandsworth presbytery. (2) He was obviously an acknowledged advocate of presbyterianism, and since he had been suspended from preaching in 1584, he was, like Travers, a free lance, able to devote all his time to the cause he had so much at heart. Hence during the early part of 1587, Field must have <sup>been</sup> a very busy secretary distributing Travers's Book for examination by all the conferences.

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 76.

(2) See p. 137 above.

The Book, however, was not only examined by the conferences for it itself had prescribed that the chief authority in all decisions lay not with the conferences but with the synods. Accordingly we find that after the London synod, another met on 8 September 1587 at Cambridge,<sup>(1)</sup> and as the main part of the agenda was given over to a consideration of the Book of Discipline, this must have been the purpose for which the synod was called. There were seventeen delegates in attendance including Field and Egerton from London, Udall and Rychman from Surrey, Cartwright and Fen from Warwick, while other places represented were Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, Hertford and Northampton. In the synod's decisions, the Book of Discipline is usually referred to as *libri*, since it was in two parts, the discipline in general and the synodical discipline. It was agreed that their meetings should be on the model of the Book,<sup>(2)</sup> which was to be printed and circulated throughout the synods.<sup>(3)</sup> Yet in spite of this, some members had doubts

(1) B. M. Harl. MS 7029, ff. 127-8, printed in Strype, Annals, iii, Appendix xxxiv, p. 478. Cf. Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, pp. 77, 85.

(2) Ratio habendi colloquia et conventus sumenda ex synodica disciplina. In quibus commodum erit, ut fratres prophetia, vel alia ratione ad augendam scientiam commoda, se exercent. (Ibid.).

(3) Curandum de libris disciplinae imprimendis, et per conventus dispergendis. (Ibid.).

about certain parts of the Book as it stood, while others expressed neither approval nor disapproval, and so it was on this account that certain matters were put on the agenda for the next general conference <sup>(1)</sup> which was to be called by the Warwick conference. There was also a proposal that Cartwright's books on the discipline should be translated and this was referred to Chaderton and Gellibrand. It was clear, therefore, from this synod that as far as Travers's edition of the Book was concerned, it had received general approval, but not final approval. This seems to have been the attitude adopted in other places. The members of the Dedham classis in the same year were continually deferring its consideration from one meeting to the next. <sup>(2)</sup> It will be seen that it was this continual absence of final approval for the Book which eventually helped to bring about the failure of the whole presbyterian movement.

The leaders, however, must have been hopeful that a final form of the Book of Discipline would soon be agreed upon, for they began to look ahead to the next

(1) Ad quaestiones de sacra Disciplina et synodica; 1. An conveniat cum verbo Dei. 2. Quousque cum pace ecclesiae uti liceat (B. M. Harl. MS 7029, f. 128).

(2) Usher, Presbyterian Movement, pp. 63, 65, 66.



parliament which was to meet on 4 February 1588. In Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, and generally throughout England, <sup>(1)</sup> the practice was adopted of dividing the counties up into classes or conferences. Usually the number of classes in each county was either three, as in the case of Northampton, or four. <sup>(2)</sup> The procedure at all meetings was in strict conformity with that set out in the Book of Discipline, <sup>(1)</sup> and a flood of correspondence kept flowing between the different conferences throughout the land *via* the respective secretaries. Bancroft says, 'the men to whom they usuallie did write were one in Cambridge, Travers in London and Gelibrand in Oxford'. <sup>(3)</sup> These three conferences with that in Northamptonshire, whose secretary was Snape, were generally recognised as the most important in the country and their secretaries must have been busy men.

In making preparations for the parliament of 1588, the brethren in Northamptonshire seem to have taken the initiative, for they made two decisions which they communicated to the other conferences: first that they were making a survey of all the benefices in their county in

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 77.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 85.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 80.

the hope that their example would be followed throughout  
 the land. <sup>(1)</sup> The purpose of the survey was 'to know what  
 everie benefice in the shire was worth, how many souls  
 by a general coniecture were in everie parish; who were  
 the incumbents, and of what life, paines and qualities  
 they were', <sup>(1)</sup> and this information was to be given to  
 parliament so that they could have a general idea of the  
 state of the whole English church. The second decision  
 was that one or two from every conference should be  
 appointed to go to London during the sitting of parlia-  
 ment and among themselves agree on what method they  
 should take of getting the discipline adopted by parlia-  
 ment. The reaction to these decisions by all the confer-  
 ences was not known to Bancroft, but in the case of  
 London he says: <sup>(2)</sup>

Well I remember that Travers did write to Snape a very  
 cunning letter (3) wherein he shewed himselfe not to  
 mislike the foresaid surway to be generallie made, but  
 signified, that the Parliament drawing on so fast, it  
 could not be done so soone. But for the second point:  
 that (he writes) was liked, and meete to be followed.

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 80.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 81.

(3) Cf. Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A 49/34, Johnson's  
 deposition.

In spite of Travers's misapprehensions, the survey seems to have been made <sup>(1)</sup> in most of the counties; and Johnson, one of the members in Northamptonshire had knowledge that it was certainly carried out in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. In the case of the second resolution, many actually were sent to London at the time of parliament and they decided that twenty or thirty of them dressed in their gowns should present a petition at the door of parliament house <sup>(2)</sup>. Throughout the country in various places, conferences were becoming more and more arrogant in their decisions. In accordance with the Book of Discipline the brethren in Kettering forbade the reading of the Apocryphal writings in church, <sup>(2)</sup> and on another occasion decided that the superior power of bishops over other clergy was not supported by the testimony of the Scriptures. <sup>(3)</sup> In the Dedham classis at a meeting on 31 March 1588, <sup>(4)</sup> one member desired that the brethren should consider whether the bishops were to be tolerated any longer, but the matter was not debated.

(1) Bancroft, p. 83.

(2) Star Chamber Proceedings loc. cit.

(3) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 84.

(4) Usher, Presbyterian Movement, p. 69.

On 10 April this same year, the brethren in Warwickshire held a provincial synod, according to the decision made at the Cambridge synod of the previous year. <sup>(1)</sup> The venue chosen was Coventry, <sup>(2)</sup> and its achievements are entitled 'The Acts of the Assembly of the Warwickshire classes, the tenth day of the fourth moneth'. <sup>(2)</sup> The business of this synod consisted of two parts. First a consideration was given to various matters on which there seemed to be general agreement, such as, the unlawfulness of private baptism, reading of homilies in church, sign of the Cross in Baptism, the calling of bishops, ordination and deprivations by bishops, and appearances in a bishop's court. A bishop should be acknowledged as either a doctor, elder, or deacon, or else have no calling at all. Ecclesiastical discipline was to be taught to the people, though they are not to be asked publicly to practise it until they had more instruction. In conformity with the peace of the church, men of better understanding are, however, to be requested privately to practise the discipline. The second matter of business before the synod was the Book of Discipline to which general approval was given as 'a draught of Discipline

(1) See p. 295 above.

(2) Bancroft, p. 86; Bancroft, Survay, p. 67.

essentially and necessary for all times'.<sup>(1)</sup> But in order to have this general approval made a little more concrete, certain articles<sup>(2)</sup> were devised to which members of the synod could subscribe, thereby promising 'to guide themselves by the saide discipline'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Cartwright, at this time master of the hospital in Warwick and the leader of the Warwickshire brethren, was the first to subscribe according to Strype,<sup>(3)</sup> and his example was followed by eleven others, the majority of whom were from the Warwickshire conferences. The articles themselves followed the line of general approval, for, while the subscribers affirmed that they believed the Book was agreeable to the Scriptures so far as they could discern, yet they had reserved judgment on 'some few points, which we have sent to our Reverend brethren of this Assembly for their further resolution'.<sup>(2)</sup> With regard to those parts of the books which they were prepared to put into practice immediately, Cartwright confessed at his trial in the Star Chamber<sup>(4)</sup> that these were

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 87.

(2) B. M. Harl. MS 6849, f. 225; printed in Bancroft, pp. 98-114; Brook, Puritans, i. 405 ff.

(3) Whitgift, i. 502.

(4) Star Chamber Proceedings 33 Eliz. A. 56 no. 1.

confined to the order of preaching and the order of meeting as far as the practice of them was in conformity with the peace of the church and the laws of the realm.

In spite of this fact that the Book of Discipline still lacked one hundred per cent approval, it was nevertheless 'carried farre and nere for a general ratification of all the brethren'.<sup>(1)</sup> Copies of the Book apparently were limited, since it had to be passed from one classis to another. Johnson, a member of that which met in Northampton,<sup>(2)</sup> said that his classis received it from Warwickshire. But in no place could it be stated that the brethren gave it whole-hearted and unreserved approval.<sup>(3)</sup> For instance, about this time the London brethren on considering the Book, issued certain 'decrees' regarding the practice of it. These are printed by Bancroft in detail<sup>(4)</sup> and they show how far the presbyterians in the capital city were willing to water down the Book of Discipline in order to fit into the episcopal system.

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 88.

(2) Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A 49/34, Johnston's deposition f. 9 b.

(3) Bancroft, p. 115. He places the date as early as 1583, because of the reference to Scottish brethren, but the latter were in <sup>ENGLAND</sup> as late as 1590 (Bateson, Records of Borough of Leicester, p. 264).

(4) Bancroft, p. 46.

For example a candidate for the ministry in the first instance must present himself to the local classis, but on being approved he is to be given letters of commendation to the bishop in order to be ordained by him. The Book of Common Prayer is not to be wholly discarded but only those facts which were 'taken from Popery',<sup>(1)</sup> and this discarding is to be done if it can, 'without danger of being put from the Ministry'.<sup>(1)</sup> If, however, subscription to the Articles and the Book of Common Prayer in toto should be made obligatory, it should be refused even under pain of deprivation, but if not in toto, then they can be subscribed to in regard to those facts which contain the general doctrine of the church's faith. While church wardens and collectors are to be turned into elders and deacons, yet the actual names of the latter are to be concealed. Thus so far as the presbyterians of London were concerned, it would seem that they found it impossible to give complete approval to the Book, and were now advocating a concealed and compromising form of the discipline.

Perhaps it was this lack of approval of the book which now urged Travers to publish in the year 1588 his Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline. In 1584, as already noted,<sup>(2)</sup> there had appeared the Learned Discourse

(1) Bancroft, op. cit., p. 46.

(2) P. 255 above.

from the pen of William Fulke, a work which set forth in English the same principles which Travers had given in Latin ten years previously. Fulke's work was answered by Dr. John Bridges, dean of Sarum who in 1584 preached a sermon against it at Paul's Cross, and then three years later wrote a whole book as an answer. The title was A Defence of the Government established in the Church of <sup>(1)</sup> Englande for ecclesiastical matters. It is a long and laboriously detailed work in which he treats of all the offices, church courts and principles of presbyterianism, and refutes them by quotations from both the Bible and the Early Fathers, but, unlike Bancroft's works, the book is entirely free from personal invectives or sarcasm. Not only is it an answer to Fulke, but also to Calvin, Beza, Danaeus and other Reformers of the same school whose writings were familiar to Bridges. The eldership <sup>(2)</sup> he set aside as referring only to age and not to office and he comes to the conclusion that the whole presbyter <sup>(3)</sup> -ian system 'is grounded in their meere fancies', and has less warrant in God's word than episcopacy.

(1) It has 1,401 pages. There are many errors in the pagination.

(2) P. 919.

(3) P. 1395.



Such a weighty tome could not go unanswered and it called forth two replies. A brief one appeared in the same year (1587) from Dudley Fenner, and was entitled Defence of the godlie ministers against D. Bridge's (1) slaunders. Fenner was one of the outstanding scholars among the puritans, being the author of Sacra Theologia (1585). He had been suspended for his refusal to sign Whitgift's articles in 1583, (2) and unfortunately for the puritan cause, he died at a very early age. In this short Defence he pointed to the present evil state of the church which was swarming with deanries, double benefices, pensions, etc., and also what great afflictions honest ministers were suffering through deprivation and suspension.

But the second answer to Bridge's work was fuller and of much greater importance. It was published in the following year (1588) and bore the title A Defence of the Ecclesiasticall Discipline ordaynded of God to be used in his Church. Against a Replie of Maister Bridges to a brief and plain Declaration of it which was printed

(1) Printed by Schilders in Middleburg (Bibliog. Soc. Trans. xi) and now in A Parte of a Register.

(2) ~~Second~~ Parte of a Register, i. 296.

(2)

A DEFENCE OF THE  
**ECCLESIASTICAL**  
 Discipline ordayned of God to  
 be vsed in his Church.

Against a Replie of Maister Bridges, to a briefe and plain  
 Declaration of it, which was printed Añ. 1584.

Which replie he termeth, *A Defence*  
*of the gouernement established in*  
*the Church of Englande,*  
*for Ecclesiasticall*  
*matters.*

IOB. 31. 35. 36. 37.

**E** The booke that myne aduersarie shall write against me,  
 I will beare it upon my shoulder, yea I will weare it as a  
 crowne upon me. I will tell him the number of my steppes,  
 and as one of authoritie I will goe vnto him.

1. TIM. 6. 13. 14. 15. 16.

**I** charge thee in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things,  
 and before Iesus Christ, which under Pontius Pilate wit-  
 nessed a good confession, that thou keepe these commaunde-  
 ments without spot, and unrebukeable, untill the appea-  
 ring of our Lord Iesus Christ. Which in due time he shall  
 shewe, that is, blessed, and Prince onely, the King of Kings,  
 and Lord of Lords. Who only hath immortalitie, & dwel-  
 leth in the light that none can attaine vnto, whom neuer  
 man sawe, neither can see, vnto whom be honoure and power  
 enclasting, Amen.

1588.



(1)  
in 1584. Though no author's name appears on the title  
 page it is attributed to Travers by Sutcliffe (2) and  
 Bancroft, (3) both contemporaries, and internal evidence  
 supports this view. The title page gives the date 1588,  
 but no printer's name or place, and this omission natur-  
 ally suggests that the book was issued from a secret  
 press. J. Dover Wilson (4) after making a careful examina-  
 tion of the type, general appearance, headlines and  
 arrangement of the title page along with the decoration  
 on the opposite page, has no hesitation in identifying  
 the printer as Richard Schilders (5) of Middleburgh.  
 Schilders began printing about 1567 and continued to do  
 so until his death in 1634. His books consist of pub-  
 lications in Dutch, Italian and English, and although a  
 Calvinist in his religious views, he did print works for  
 the independents, for it was in Middleburgh that  
 Robert Browne and Robert Harrison settled with their  
 Independent congregation in 1581. Since the few printing

- (1) The work has 208 pages but pp. 201-8 have been  
 incorrectly numbered as 221-8.
- (2) M. Sutcliffe, Treatise of Ecclesiastical Discipline  
 (1591), p. 129; and Answere to a certaine Libel  
Supplicatorie, (1592), p. 145.
- (3) Survay, pp. 372, 376, 441, 442.
- (4) Trans. Biolog. Soc., 1912, xi. pp. 87, 88.
- (5) Until Wilson made this discovery, Travers's book was  
 generally regarded as having been printed in England  
 (Cf. Pollard and Redgrave, Short Title Catalogue;  
 Sayle, Early English Printed Books).

presses of England were now carefully watched <sup>(1)</sup> the puritans and presbyterians in particular had, therefore, to look to men like Schilders for the publication of <sup>(2)</sup> their works.

In the preface to the reader, it is explained how The Learned Discourse, the work which has given rise to this battle of books, had been written many years before 1584, the date in which it was published. It had been answered by Dr. Bridges and now a reply in defence of the discipline set forth in The Learned Discourse is plainly required.

Travers commenced by pointing out the foundation <sup>(3)</sup> with which Fulke began in The Learned Discourse:

First that the church is the house of God; the seconde.... that therefore it ought to be in all things according to the order which God the householder hath prescribed; the thirde, that the order prescribed by God for the guiding of the same, is not to be learned elsewhere but in Gods most holy worde.(4)

In defence of these basic principles he proceeds to reiterate the views he had expressed in his Ecclesiasticae

(1) On 23 June 1586, the council had decreed that there should be a strict watch on all publications, and the only printing presses allowed were in the universities and in London. (E. Arber, An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy, p. 50).

(2) About this time Schilders also printed A Parte of a Register and A Petition directed to her most excellent Maiestie (Wilson op. cit.).

(3) See p. 255 above.

(4) P. 1.

Disciplinae.....Explicatio and in the Book of Discipline;  
 (1)  
 the discipline of the church is necessary for salvation;  
 it was practised by the early apostles and then as the  
 church fell away from its original doctrine, so it has  
 lost its first discipline until in recent years the first  
 and true discipline was revived by the reformers and  
 adopted by the churches in France, the Low Countries and  
 (2)  
 Scotland.

This discipline means government by elders, for in  
 the New Testament church, elders were found in every city,  
 and in later days men like Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose  
 and Jerome testified to the place of elders in the churches  
 of their time. For Travers it was therefore obvious  
 that this was the government of the church intended by  
 God, and since there is no divine command that it should  
 be altered, it must be concluded that 'there is a certayne  
 and perpetuall order set down in the word of God for the  
 guyding of the Church in ecclesiastical matters.....  
 (3)  
 which..... was not to be altered by anie living creature'.  
 Having then the divine sanction, this presbyterial discipline,  
 even though refused by convocation and forbidden  
 by parliament, 'is not be be given over, till God may  
 heare us and the righteousness of Syon may come forth as

(1) P. 8.

(2) P. 9.

(3) P. 14.

(1)  
the light of the day'.

A tribute is then paid to the Forme of common prayer which had been presented three times to parliament. This work, Travers regards as a pearl worthy to be set in the diadem of a prince. His next tribute is to Cartwright whom he says, 'we acknowledge and reverence, as his rare giftes of knowledge and zeale, and his learned workes and constant suffring in this cause and at this time his continuall travell in preaching the Gospel, doe worthilie deserve'.<sup>(2)</sup> Bridges is rebuked for mentioning such a worthy person merely by the name 'Cartwright' and omitting to add 'some good mark of the grace of God'.<sup>(2)</sup> Nor does Beza of Geneva, his great friend go unmentioned, for he is referred to as 'the best interpretour of the newe testament'.<sup>(3)</sup> A little later the Scottish Book of Discipline is commended, as it was taken from the Genevan model.

Since the government of the church by elders is the 'true' discipline, Travers freely inveighs against the rule of the bishops, as no one man at his pleasure should be allowed to enforce his will on the church of God. Such an office should be abolished and with it all other dross, such as, confirmation, the sign of the Cross in

(1) P. 14.

(2) P. 32.

(3) P. 86.

Baptism, the carrying of staffs and the wearing of albes, surplices and copes. These were not commanded by Christ, but what He did command was the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments, and the keeping of the discipline. (1) Christ had said in reference to an offence: 'tell it unto the Church: and if he [the offender] refuse to heare the Church also, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and as a publicane. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye binde on earth, shalbe bounde in heaven'. (2) Following the interpretation of these verses given by the translators of the Genevan Bible, Travers regards these words of Christ as axiomatic for the rule of the church by elders, for he infers that Christ had in mind the Jewish church which was governed by elders, and he points out that the early Christians also appointed elders, basing the office on the Jewish model, which elders in every church were bishops, the two words being synonymous for the same office. (3) Thus the authority of one bishop over his co-bishops has no warrant in the New Testament and must be regarded as a work of Satan. (4)

(1) P. 58.

(2) Matt. xviii. 17, 18. The Genevan Bible from which these words are quoted, has in the margin opposite a note to the effect that Christ was referring to the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline.

(3) P. 79.

(4) P. 80.

A portion of the book deals with the question of church and state <sup>(1)</sup> within the presbyterial discipline.

It is recognised that Christian princes can be a great benefit to the church, nevertheless they have no right to alter the original church government ordained by

Christ. <sup>(2)</sup> They are in no sense indispensable to the church since the latter existed and had a perfect government before there were any Christian princes. Yet Travers hastens to add that the upholders of the Discipline are in no way adverse to Christian princes or magistrates, but are willing to yield them all cheerful obedience since the powers that be are ordained of God.

Notwithstandinge our seekinge to advaunce by all good and lawfull meanes that holy ordinance of God, of the onely lawful Discipline, whereby the Church ought to bee guyded: we may be, and are by the grace of God as loyall and loving subiectes, as duetifull and obedient, as anie are of their whyte coate, which they strive so much for. <sup>(3)</sup>

Travers wished his readers to know that he and his fellow-presbyterians were as loyal citizens to their Queen and country as the bishops themselves.

The book ends with a reiteration of the attitude of those who advocate the presbyterial discipline - namely, that being convinced that theirs is the discipline commanded by Christ and practised by the apostles, they feel

(1) This subject was omitted in the Book of Discipline (See p. 283 above).

(2) P. 177.

(3) P. 190.



charged with the solemn duty to reform the present church according to this New Testament model. Then in a final word referring to his opponent, Bridges, he adds: 'I trust he will hereafter teache his tongue to speake, and his penne to write of us more agreeably to Christian charitie, wisdom, and modestie than hee hath done in this first book of his Reply'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Apart from the testimonies of Sutcliffe and Bancroft to the authorship of Travers, the book plainly bears all the characteristics of his mind. Like his first work there is a wealth of references to, and quotations from Scripture and also that dogged determination to find in Scripture all the features of presbyterianism propounded earlier by Calvin. But as noticed before, unlike Calvin,<sup>(2)</sup> Travers identifies the discipline so closely with the gospel, that he is forced into the position of seeing every other form of church government as anti-Christ. In this way, he injected the presbyterian movement with

(1) P. 195.

(2) Bancroft did not forget to emphasise this unlikeness of Calvin's views. 'Master Calvin loved the elder-ship as well as the best of them, because it was the workmanship of his own hands: but yet he thought it not meet to make it an essential note of the church or a matter of the importance of salvation'. (Survay, p. 443). He further adds that even Beza, Travers's great friend, held that doctrine only was necessary to salvation. 'Travers is checked by his good maister in that he wil needs make.... the censures of his consistories to be in the same degree of necessity, both with the word and sacraments'. (Ibid., p. 444).

a stubbornness and a sense of divine rightness, which brought it more and more into direct opposition to the state church, and therefore forced the Queen to the point where she had to take strict measures against it.

Since the publication of such an anti-episcopal work was prohibited by law, it is impossible to know how far it was circulated among the conferences, but there is clear evidence that it was known in one at least. A manuscript <sup>(1)</sup> owned by 'Mr. Leackes in the Old Baily' after describing charges against the puritans in general, goes on to particularise the actions of the conferences that met 'at the Bull in Northampton'. Here the leading light was Snape who was a curate in St. Peter's church in that city, and under his guidance, the members of the conference took an audacious stand for the Discipline. For instance, having decided that their Discipline was a necessity in the church, they declared that bishops were no ministers, and regarded the licence to preach from a bishop as a mere scrap of paper, which protected them against the law, while they looked upon the call of a congregation as the real authority for preaching. Snape himself when conducting worship in his church did

(1) B. M. Iansd. MS 64, f. 51; printed in Strype, Whitgift, ii. pp. 6-12 and in A Paper on Puritans in Northamptonshire (1878, Taylor and Son, Northampton).

not use the Prayer Book in toto, 'but in some changeth, some partes omitteth, and others addeth, choppeth, and mingleth it w<sup>t</sup> other prayers and speeches of his owne etc., as it pleaseth his owne humor'. He even refused to baptize a child by the name of Richard, because such a name was not **Biblical**. One minister on applying for a benefice, was turned down because he failed to please Snape and the other members of the conference in his exposition of a text of Scripture, and consequently he was forced to leave that conference. The audacity of Snape and his colleagues is further evidenced in that part of the manuscript which tells how Snape either hearing of or fearing a search for prohibited books, committed to the charge of George Bevis, a tanner, a number of such books to be kept in a secret place. Afterwards, Snape recovered all these books except one, and that was Travers's Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, twenty five copies of which he left with Bevis to be sold for 1/2d. or 1/4d. each, and it is stated that some sales were made. If twenty-five copies reached one conference, it is surely a safe guess that other conferences probably received a similar allotment, and we can be sure that these would be read with avidity by all the brethren to the strengthening of their courage in the fight for their beloved Discipline.

The same year of Travers's Book (1588) saw the publication of another work which was also in support of the presbyterian cause. Both were written independently and probably unknown to each other. This second work had the title, A Demonstration of the truth of that Discipline, which Christ hath prescribed in his Word, for the Government of his Church, in all times and places, until the<sup>(1)</sup>  
end of the world. It was published between July and

November by John Udall, who had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, the well-known cradle of puritanism, and afterwards had ministered first at Kingston-on-Thames, and then at Newcastle-on-Tyne. His presbyterian leanings had brought him for trial first before Cooper, the bishop of Winchester and then before the High Commission at Lambeth. The aim of the Demonstration was 'that it should be a kind of Ecclesiastical Euclid of Church Management'<sup>(2)</sup>.

From the point of view of presbyterian discipline it contained nothing new. First, Udall takes the Scriptures as the sole norm for church government, and deduces the four types of office-bearers, doctors, pastors, elders and deacons. All ministers of the gospel should have equal authority and the church through its eldership

(1) Edited by E. Arber (1880).

(2) P. xi.

has the right to excommunicate offenders. An occasional anti-episcopal note is sounded as when the title archbishop is stated to be applicable only to Christ, and not to any mere man. (1) The written works to which constant marginal reference is made are Cartwright's books, and Travers's Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae.....Explicatio. The only merit which this book of Udall's had over Travers's was its comparative brevity.

These two books, the Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the Demonstration of the truth of that Discipline when seen in the context of the movement for that Discipline, can well be regarded as the last call to arms in a struggle which from now on was destined to face defeat. On 9 February of the following year (1589) Bancroft preached at Paul's Cross a sermon (2) which is usually regarded as marking the turning point in the progress of Elizabethan presbyterianism. Taking as his text, (3) 'Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God: for many false prophets have gone out into the world', he ridiculed the presbyterians as a people who were always learning, but

(1) P. 20.

(2) Full text of the sermon is found in Bibliotheca Scriptorum Ecclesiae Anglicanae, pp. 247-315. Strype (Whitgift, i. 55) incorrectly gives the date of the sermon as 12 January.

(3) I John iv. 1.

never attaining the truth, and who were guilty of interpreting the words of Scripture just as they fancied. He showed how their ministers were given to dissension both in doctrine and discipline, because they could never attain unanimity about the final form of the Book of Discipline.

The sharpness of the attack lay in its truthfulness. It was an exposure of the weakness in the ranks of the disciplinarians, for it was precisely because of their inability to agree on its final form, that Travers's Book of Discipline was destined to remain a relic of a lost cause. Yet Bancroft's sermon was not the only blow that the presbyterians suffered at this time, for in 1588 (1) there appeared the first of the famous Marprelate Tracts. This was a series of cleverly written but bitterly ironical pamphlets aimed at wounding the feelings and weakening the position of the bishops. The identity of the author, Marprelate, or whether it was a composite authorship, has never been definitely proved, but such men as Barrow, Throkmorton, Wigginton, Field, Penry and Udall have been suspected. Though the author professed that

(1) See W. Pierce, The Marprelate Tracts 1588, 1589;  
 W. Pierce, An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts: Introductory Sketch to the Marprelate Controversy 1588-1590, ed. E. Arber; and G. Bonnard, La Controverse de Martin Marprelate.

his purpose was to do good, his manner of writing actually had the opposite effect. It was obvious that all his views on church polity were completely presbyterian, and it was because of this that his writings brought the whole presbyterian movement into public disfavour. In spite of the fact that the leaders of the movement openly disowned all connection with the Tracts, this did not allay the suspicion, nor did it silence the allegation that Martin was a typical presbyterian, and therefore all his co-religionists were as detestable as he. While it is beyond doubt that neither Travers nor Cartwright had any connection with such publications, and though the latter wrote to Burghley saying he had not 'so much as a finger in the bookes under Martins name', <sup>(1)</sup> yet because their names actually appeared in the Tracts, their dissociation was not taken seriously.

In the case of Travers, for instance, Martin recalls his expulsion from the Temple and his part in the Lambeth Conference in the very first of the Tracts - The Epistle: <sup>(2)</sup>

Let the Templars have Master Travers their preacher restored unto them. He is now at leisure to work priesthood a woe, I hope. If such another book as the Ecclesiastical Discipline was drop out of his budget, it were as good for the Bishops to lie a day and a night in 'Little Ease' in the Counter. <sup>(3)</sup> He is an odd fellow

(1) B. M. Lansd. MS lxiv. no. 20, f. 63.

(2) Printed at East Molesey about 15 Oct. 1588.

(3) The Counter was a London prison.

in following an argument; and you know he hath a smooth tongue either in Latin or English. And if my Lord of Winchester understood either Greek or Hebrew, as they say he hath no great skill in neither, I would pray your Priestdoms to tell me which is the better scholar, Walter Travers or Thomas Cooper.

(1)

Thomas Cooper, a noted scholar, was made bishop of Winchester in 1584, and in that year had, with Whitgift, opposed Travers and Sparks at the Lambeth conference. (2)

It was typical of Martin to make odious comparisons such as this between Cooper and Travers, always over-emphasizing the brilliance of the presbyterian opponent. In the remaining six Tracts, there are only two further (3)

(4)

- (1) The Queen was so delighted with Cooper's greatest literary work, Thesaurus Linguae Romanse et Britannicae (1565) that she showered successive preferments on him, culminating in his being made bishop of Winchester.
- (2) See p. 180 above.
- (3) Cooper replied to Marprelate's Epistle with Admonition to the People of England in 1589, and then Marprelate retorted with Hay any worke for Cooper.
- (4) The Epitome (Nov. 1588); Minerall and Metephysical Schoolpoints (Mar. 1589); Hay any Worke for Cooper (Mar. 1589); Theses Martinianae (July 1589); The Just Censure and Reproofe (July 1589) and The Protestatyon (Sept. 1589).



references to Travers. In Hay any Worke for Cooper he  
 (1) is mentioned as one of those with whom the bishops have  
 quarrelled, and in The Just Censure and Reproofe,  
 (2) there is the valuable reference already quoted (3) where  
 mention is made of his house in Milk Street in Cheapside,  
 which was evidently a favourite rendezvous for London  
 (4) presbyterians.

The mysterious press after having been traced by  
 the bishops's command in such places as Northampton,  
 Coventry and Warwick, was eventually seized in August  
 1589 near Manchester, and so the flood of embarrassing  
 publications came to an end, having done what the bishops  
 hoped it would do, namely, bring the presbyterian move-  
 ment into public disrepute. It was in their own interests  
 therefore, that the bishops tried to claim that the  
 movement's leaders, such as Travers and Cartwright had  
 inspired the Tracts, though there is no evidence whatever

(1) Pierce, Marprelate Tracts 1588, 1589, p. 266.

(2) Ibid., p. 376.

(3) See p. 29I above.

(4) Cartwright on 19 May 1587 is known to have written  
 from Milk Street to Francis Hastings, one of the  
 champions of puritanism (Cartwrightiana, ed. Peel  
 and Carlson, p. 115).

(1)  
for such allegations. Thus for the presbyterians the Marprelate Tracts played no small part in hastening the defeat and liquidation of their movement.

By 1589 the sound of the death knell of Elizabethan presbyterianism could clearly be heard. In the previous year the Spanish Armada had been dispersed and so the Queen no longer needed such strong anti-catholic support from puritans and presbyterians. In the case of the latter, the whole atmosphere of the land seemed to grow more and more hostile, and hopes were fading quickly as the bishops got to work on rooting out and quelling every vestige of the hated Discipline. To this end, the latter even went so far as to order the ransacking of certain homes in order to secure incriminating evidence. One of the victims of this practice said: (2) 'Most of our howses have been warded by Officers, our studies, books and private papers rifled by Pursuivants'. Another after hearing the amount of evidence brought against him at

(1) There is no historical evidence to support the view that the Marprelate Tracts were 'an experiment which the Puritan leaders, Cartwright and Travers and the rest were willing enough to try. Doubtless, being wise in their own generation, when they fancied it about to fail, they neglected not the providing some ground to retreat upon, by a timely disconnecting of it with themselves' (W. Maskell, History of the Martin Marprelate Controversy, p. 102).

(2) B. M. Lansd. MS lxxii. no. 50; cf. MS lxxiii. no. 82.

(1)  
 his trial, could say that the ransacking had been carried out with the greatest thoroughness. While all this work was going on, the conferences or classes were fast disappearing, and in the case of the Dedham classis, its last recorded meeting, the eightieth, is dated 2 June 1589, after which the clerk reported:

(2)  
 Thus longe contynued through godes mercie this blessed meetings and now yt ended by the malice of Satan, some cause of it was compleints against us preferred to the B. of London for w<sup>ch</sup> cause I was called up to London and examyned of it; but the chiefest cause was the death of some of o<sup>r</sup> brethren and their departure from us to other places.

Praised be god for ever.

The reasons for the closure of the classis in Dedham were the same as for all the others throughout the country. Ministers regretting their association with a lost cause, naturally looked for a living in another place. Added to this, was the death of the organising secretary of the whole movement, John Field. For sixteen years he had been the 'lynch-pin of the classical system', being the one who received and disseminated information among the conferences. A member of the Dedham classis once said that Field was 'placed in the highest place of the Church and Lande', and so his death must have been an

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 92.

(2) Usher, Presbyterian Movement, p. 74.

(3) Bancroft, Survay, p. 369.

(1)  
 irreparable loss. He died in March 1588, while in the following September there came the death of another pillar of the movement, the earl of Leicester. At Court he had a great influence with the Queen, and but for him, the presbyterian cause might have been stamped out sooner than it was.

Nevertheless, even after the Dedham and other conferences had closed down, unwilling to face defeat, some of the brethren held a synod<sup>(2)</sup> at St. John's College, Cambridge,<sup>(3)</sup> in September ('at Sturbridge Fayretime') 1589, which was attended by Cartwright and at least seven others. One of them, Barber, at his examination in the court of Star Chamber<sup>(4)</sup> two years later, said that at

- (1) Field in his position as organising secretary collected a host of documents concerned with the presbyterian movement. Though Bancroft acquired a good part of these, yet two valuable portions were saved and have now been published under the titles A Parte of a Register and The Seconde Parte of a Register.
- (2) B. M. Harl. MS 7042, f. 79; Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 89; Survay, p. 67; Heylyn, Aërius Redivivus, p. 290; Strype, Whitgift, iii. 273, 274.
- (3) Cambridge more so than Oxford, ever since the student days of Cartwright and Travers, had been sympathetic to presbyterianism. In this year (1589) there were disturbances in the colleges caused by the frequent meetings held there by Cartwright and others (Strype, i. 612).
- (4) Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A 49/34.

this synod, 'they did correct, alter, and amend divers imperfections in the Book of Discipline', and that they voluntarily agreed among themselves 'that so many as would should subscribe to the saide booke of Discipline after that time'. This is the last synod of which there is any knowledge, <sup>(1)</sup> and since there still seemed a lack of unanimity <sup>(2)</sup> about the final form of the Book of Discipline, it meant that this Book on which Travers had spent so much time, was destined to become a sad momento of blighted hopes.

It is of unusual interest to note in passing that in this depressing year for the presbyterian movement, Travers had occasion to be consulted on a matrimonial question. <sup>(3)</sup> A widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer of Parham, on having an offer of marriage from Sir William Bowes, consulted her brother, Richard Stephens on the question of settling her inheritance before accepting. When the latter consulted Bowes as to his attitude, on 13 June 1589, he was offended and since they could not agree,

- (1) Bancroft (Dangerous Positions, p. 89) mentions another synod in Ipswich in 1589 but details are not given.
- (2) Cartwright in the Star Chamber said that there were some things in the Book of Discipline which as yet had not been resolved. (Bancroft, Survay, p. 67).
- (3) Hist. MSS Comm. VI Report, p. 346a.

the matter was referred to Travers and three others, Cartwright, Egerton and Dr. Hammond. This group apparently were rather disturbed at the views held by Bowes on the doctrine of justification by faith. Accordingly a few days later Stephens arranged a second conference for Bowes with Travers, who on this occasion was accompanied by Egerton, Hammond and Fountaine, minister of the French church in London. Having conversed for some time on religious issues, Bowes again took offence, broke up the meeting, and as a result, Stephen's advice to his wooed sister was in the negative. So it seems that here also in the sphere of personal relationships, Travers's efforts were no more successful than they had been elsewhere.

By 1590 the High Commission were busily engaged in crushing the last signs of life out of the presbyterian movement. Usher<sup>(1)</sup> defines the High Commission as 'a court of law in session at London between (approximately) the years 1580 and 1641 whose judges were about a dozen of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed by Royal Letters Patent'. For the Queen and her bishops, they did their work well against both catholics and puritans, and at this time, particularly against presbyterians. Cartwright, Snape and many others who had taken notable

(1) Rise and Fall of the High Commission, p. 7.

parts in the conferences were now brought before the Commissioners for examination, <sup>(1)</sup> and the answers given were used as evidence for the final trials before the court of Star Chamber in the following year. The main charges against them were the holding of conferences and synods, and the subscribing to and practising of the Book of Discipline. Some on refusing to take the oath were imprisoned, among whom was Cartwright, who was committed <sup>(2)</sup> some time near the end of October.

For the biographer of Travers, it is something of a mystery that the editor of the Book of Discipline was not brought before the High Commission to suffer the same treatment as his colleague, Cartwright, for it is plain that like Cartwright, he was suspect. Whitgift on 16 <sup>(3)</sup> July of this year sent articles to Burghley on which he accused both Cartwright and Travers, with several others, of meeting in synods for the practising of their Discipline. Though it is impossible to trace in detail Travers's movements at this time, it is known that he certainly did not desert the cause nor go into hiding,

- (1) Strype, Whitgift, iii, Appendices VIII, IX; Strype, Aylmer pp. 212, 213; Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, pp. 92, 93.
- (2) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 317.
- (3) B. M. Lansd. MS no. 64, f. 51.

(1)  
 for on Bancroft's evidence, he is found attending a meeting at Gardiner's house in Whitechapel. The actual date must have been sometime in October 1590, for it was held a week or a fortnight before Cartwright was imprisoned. In addition to several unnamed ministers, those present with Travers and Cartwright were Charke, Egerton, Gardiner, Barbon, Barber, Oxenbridge, Gellibrand, Culverwell and Stone. The purpose of their meeting was to discuss whether Cartwright and those implicated with him, 'being called into question about their secret meetings, and plots layd for the overthrowing of the present government of the Church, and for the setting uppe of theyr owne pretended discipline, should yealde to anye examination upon theyr oathes'. Bancroft's surmise is that their decision was in the negative. In this he was probably right for a few weeks later when Cartwright was on trial, being charged with twenty-four articles of misconduct, he refused to take the oath, and so his accusers were left no wiser with regard to details of the presbyterian party. A copy of these articles must have come into the possession of Travers, for Fuller (2) says that he has transcribed these articles from a copy 'found by a friend in Mr. Travers's study after his death'.

(1) Dangerous Positions, p. 93; Survay, p. 370.

(2) Church History, iii. 116.



During this period of Cartwright's imprisonment, the cause of the presbyterians was to suffer yet another blow, as unfortunate as the appearance of the Marprelate Tracts, if not even more so. It was almost inevitable that some members of a movement which believed so inherently in its own rightness, (since it claimed to be based on the Word of God), should at times become fanatical in their zeal and earnestness. Of such zeal there is at least one perfect example. Two men, Coppinger and Arthington, who were personal admirers of Cartwright and supporters of the presbyterian discipline had suddenly become deeply moved to say and do extraordinary things in order to promote the progress of the discipline they had so much at heart. They betook themselves to much praying and fasting, and Coppinger even professed that as a result he had special conference with God who gave him clear directions as to what should be done. On 4 February 1590<sup>(1)</sup> after an unusual dream Coppinger wrote to Cartwright telling him of the number of his fasts. Cartwright replied with the admonition that he should be wise and circumspect, and do nothing except after advice. On 13 February Coppinger answered that he intended to have another fast and requested Cartwright

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 149.

to organise a conference, whereupon Cartwright must have sought the advice of Travers, Charke and Egerton, for they jointly sent to Coppinger a message that 'they would leave him to himselfe; or rather to "Sathan"; and that they thought him unworthy to bee conferred withall'.<sup>(1)</sup>

But he was not to be shaken off so easily for he replied by letter on 24 February resenting their refusal to associate with him,<sup>(1)</sup> and in the next month he gained the support of a colleague, Hacket, who joined him in his extraordinary designs.

When Cartwright was imprisoned towards the end of 1590, Coppinger was again deeply moved and felt that he must take some action for his release. In December he with Arthington and John Bentley held a fast in Shoe Lane from Saturday night to Sunday night and in it 'found himself very extraordinarily exercised, etc., with a wonderfull zeale to set forth God's glory'.<sup>(2)</sup> He professed that he now knew a way to bring the Queen and all her counsellors to repentance. His words, however, went unheeded and it is clear that the presbyterians were doing their best to discourage him in his projects, and even more so, to dissociate themselves completely from him and

(1) Bancroft, op. cit., p. 151.

(2) Ibid., p. 144.

his zealous companions. On 21 May 1591 Coppinger wrote to a friend saying that the people with whom he wished to confer were Travers, Charke, Egerton, Gardiner, Philips and Cooper as he sought their approbation. (1)

Again on 9 July he wrote to Charke after hearing him preach at Blackfriars a sermon to which he took exception. (2)

In this letter he confessed that for a long time he had 'taken a strange and extraordinary course', and consequently has been suspect. Yet he feels he has been guided by the Holy Spirit, and that there is room in the church even for extraordinary men. His desire to have conference with others has been a failure and so he now finds that all he can do is commit his action to God, who will direct him by His spirit. But the concluding words of this epistle are important: 'I beseech you to shew this letter to M. Travers and M. Egerton'. (3)

The designs of Coppinger, Arthington and Hacket came to a climax when on the 16th of this same month (July 1591) they proclaimed Hacket 'Messiah' who by his much praying and fasting claimed to have conflicts with Satan and conference with God, and because of the latter he

(1) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 157.

(2) Ibid., p. 163.

(3) Cf. R. Cosin, Conspiracy for pretended discipline, p. 47.

was able to foretell God's judgments on England and the papacy. The result was that all three were imprisoned and on 28 July Hacket was executed at Cheapside, Coppinger starved himself to death the next day in prison, and Arthington after his release repented and published on 25 February 1592 a retraction of his follies under the title The Seduction of Arthington by Hacket which he dedicated to the members of the Privy Council.

Though all reliable evidence proves that Travers, Cartwright and their fellow presbyterians were entirely innocent of any share in this unusual affair, their enemies made much of it, and tried to make out that such fanatical outbursts were typical of those who stood for the new Discipline by presbyters. Cartwright repeatedly tried to dissociate himself <sup>(1)</sup> and yet the fact that Coppinger had written letters to him and Travers could not be denied, and Bancroft voiced the belief that many of the ministers in the London classis had preknowledge <sup>(2)</sup> of the fanatical designs and wished them to go forward. The total result was that the whole presbyterian movement had now been brought into such low repute that its revival during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign was an utter impossibility.

(1) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 323.

(2) Bancroft, op. cit., p. 169.

There is no better proof that the movement was dead than the fact that Cartwright and others after their imprisonment were released and allowed to return to their former positions. But this seeming leniency was also prompted by another factor, which must have caused great annoyance to the enemies of the presbyterians. When the accused prisoners were brought for trial, by their clever answers on some points and their silence on others, they made it impossible for their prosecutors to find them actually guilty of breaking any law of the land. The result was that sometime before 4 December 1591

My lord chieffe Justice of England perswaded my Lord Chancellor and the rest after dynner in the starre chamber that they should not deale agaynst Cartewrygat and his fellowes untill they should have matters to prove some sedycious acte de facto to be commyted by Cartewryght and his fellowes.(1)

(2)

Hence, shortly before 21 May 1592 Cartwright was set free along with his fellow prisoners. Yet the fact that they were allowed to return to their former posts proves that they were now regarded as harmless citizens, who have paid the price for their folly and ought to have learned their lesson. In the field of literature also, where formerly they had been so active, their voices very soon became silent after 1590. In this year Penry made a

(1) B. M. Lansd. MS lxvii. no. 43.

(2) Ibid., no. 51.

vehement attack on the bishops in his Reformation no  
Enemie, but on 23 July he and Udall were condemned to  
 death for their seditious writings. (1) Udall died in  
 prison towards the end of 1592 and Penry was executed in  
 May of the next year. (2) Also in 1590 and in the same  
 vein, an anonymous work was published entitled An Humble  
Motion. In its epistle to the reader, among the recom-  
 mended books on presbyterianism is Travers's Ecclesias-  
ticae Disciplinae.....Explicatio, which is praised for  
 its 'sweet and pleasant latine style'. Another anonymous  
 work belonging to the same time was A Petition directed  
 to her most excellent Maiestie (3) in which there was given  
 a defence of Cartwright, Udall and others, while Bancroft  
 and the bishops were condemned for their harsh treatment  
 of them.

Such works naturally called forth replies and so in  
 the same year there appeared A Remonstrance. The anony-  
 mous writer addressed the preface to 'the factious and  
 turbulent T.C., W.T., J.P., and to the rest of that  
 anarchicall disordered alphabet which trouble the quiet  
 and peace of the Church of England'. The initials  
 obviously refer to Thomas Cartwright, Walter Travers,  
 and John Penry. The book was mainly a reply to Udall's

(1) Strype, Whitgift, ii. 45.

(2) C. Burrage, John Penry, p. 17.

(3) Cambr. Baker MS E. e. iv. 3.

Demonstration, but the whole presbyterian system is condemned, and particular severity is applied to the Book of Discipline. Matthew Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, joined in the attack in 1591 with his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Discipline. In this the Book of Discipline is the chief target and after examining it in detail, he finds that its scriptural basis is false, since the texts quoted are treated apart from their original meaning and out of their context. In the next year he followed this attack with yet another, An Answer to a certaine Libel Supplicatorie which is full of stinging sarcasm. The names of Travers and Cartwright are repeatedly linked together as being the chief disturbers of the peace, while Geneva, 'their new Zion', <sup>(1)</sup> is regarded as the source of all the trouble. But the two most important of all the anti-presbyterian writings of this century came in 1593, when Bancroft who had obviously searched for every available scrap of evidence, published A Survay of the pretended Holy Discipline and Dangerous Positions and proceedings, published and practised within this Iland of Brytaine, under pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbiteriall Discipline. Both works are mines of information for the student of sixteenth century church history, since they

(1) P. 178.

disclose numerous facts about the presbyterian movement unrecorded elsewhere. Both show that Bancroft's opposition was unrelentingly bitter, for he can find no good whatever in presbyterianism. He regarded its supporters as 'ridiculous men and bewitched: as though Christ sovereignty, kingdome, and lordship were no where acknowledged or to be found, but where halfe a dosen artizans, shoemakers, Tinkers, and Tailors with their Preacher and Reader do rule the whole parish'.<sup>(1)</sup> On occasions he is not above attaching nicknames to their leaders.

Cartwright is called their 'vice-gerent',<sup>(2)</sup> their 'schooler',<sup>(3)</sup> and Travers, 'our paragon Traverse',<sup>(4)</sup> while the whole movement is referred to as 'Cartwright and all his crue'.<sup>(5)</sup> Bancroft had a violent hatred for Geneva and its university, and he tried to make out that the English presbyterians, basing their teaching on Calvin's rigorous rule in Geneva, actually desired to bring in their discipline by force. The two books undoubtedly magnified Bancroft's reputation as the

(1) Dangerous Positions, p. 44.

(2) Survay, p. 270.

(3) Ibid., p. 317.

(4) Ibid., p. 165.

(5) Ibid., p. 208.



harasser of the presbyterians, and it has been maintained<sup>(1)</sup> that it was mainly in this capacity that he was made bishop of London in 1597, and archbishop of Canterbury in 1601.

(2)

Strype's description of the collapse of the presbyterian movement is as follows:

Now of late years the heat of men towards the Discipline is greatly decayed. Their judgments begin to sway on the other side..... So now the Discipline which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, began to droop and hang down her head.

Yet there was nothing mysterious in this decay, since the reasons for the failure of the movement<sup>(3)</sup> can easily be ascertained. First and foremost there was the adamant and unrelenting opposition of the Queen. For Elizabeth, politics must come before religion, and she was determined to allow nothing that threatened the unity of her subjects, else her position as monarch was jeopardised and her country would become a prey to her enemies abroad, particularly Spain. But once she knew that<sup>her</sup> position was secure, that is, after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587 and the defeat of the Armada in 1588, the presbyterian movement was doomed as it had now to face

- (1) J. Hunt, History of Religious Thought in England, i. 88.  
 (2) Whitgift, ii. 396.  
 (3) E. W. Watson (Church of England, p. 100) believes that the course of the Oxford movement was similar to that of Elizabethan presbyterianism.

the increasing rigors of the Queen's ruthless policy. (1)

A united country needed a united church, and as the presbyterians threatened to divide the church, their discipline must be stamped out. As a religion it could be allowed by her in the Channel Islands, but not at

home. In 1590 she wrote (2) to King James of Scotland in reference to those who advocated presbyteries in their two realms: 'I pray you stap the mouthes or make shortar the tounge of suche ministars'. Even when James in the following year pleaded with her on behalf of Udall and Cartwright and others who were in prison, she refused to

pay any heed. (3) She was willing to use the presbyterians to her advantage against the challenges of the Church of Rome, and in her war against Spain, but her gratitude for their services was forgotten once these threats had passed. Even others who favoured their cause came within the onslaught of her wrath. For example, when Morrice, Attorney of the court of Wards in 1593 introduced bills for the abolition of oaths and subscriptions, and against unlawful imprisonments and restraints of liberty, the

- (1) Wentworth as early as the parliament of 1586/7 had withdrawn his support of the presbyterian movement because he realised that it was a hopeless struggle (J. E. Neale, Eng. Hist. Review, xxxix. (1924) p. 52).
- (2) Letters of Elizabeth and James (Cambd. Soc. xlvi) p. 63.
- (3) S. P. Scot. Eliz. xlvii. no. 63.

Queen had him deprived of office, suspended as a lawyer, and imprisoned for several years in Tutbury Castle. To make her opposition clear and certain, in the same year an act was passed condemning all religious dissent, and imposing severe penalties on all who attended unlawful meetings for the exercise of religion. Usher <sup>(1)</sup> says, 'a belief in the articles of doctrinal unity, in the royal supremacy, and attendance at morning prayer and communion became a test of political loyalty'. Both church and state had to bow to the Queen's commands.

A second reason for presbyterianism's failure was the anti-national character which it could never shake off. The Reformation in England was very unlike that movement in other countries. Elsewhere it had generally come as a violent revolution which caused a distinct break with the past, and a turning over to something new. In England it was different, for the pendulum of revolt against Rome did not swing to the opposite extreme, but stopped half-way, so that as Lord Macaulay said: 'The constitution, doctrines and services of the Church of England retain the visible marks of the compromise from which she sprang. She occupies a middle position between

(1) Reconstruction of the English Church, p. 5.

the Church of Rome and Geneva'.<sup>(1)</sup> Hence there was a continuity about the English church symbolised in the retention of episcopacy, which meant that patriotism and episcopacy came to be identified.<sup>(2)</sup> There had never been a time when the English church was not governed by bishops. It could not therefore be expected that the English people would take kindly to such presbyterian tenets as the equality of the clergy and the status of the lay elder, the latter being both mystifying if not abhorrent to them. J. Hall, the bishop of Exeter, at a later date voiced the criticisms of many in these words:<sup>(3)</sup>

What to make of these Elders..... he were wise that could tell: meerely civill they would not be, for they take upon them Ecclesiasticall charges: meerely sacred and spiritual they are not, for they are neither Bishops, Priests nor Deacons: meerely laik they would not be, Clergymen they deny to be.

(4)

Another writer who remains anonymous has put it more sharply:

A Plowman for the plow, or a tradesman for his shop sitting there in Presbytery in the capacity of a lay elder, his voyce is as good as the voyce of the most reverend and learned divine.

- (1) Quoted in W. M. Macphail, Presbyterian Church, p. 227.
- (2) To a large extent this identification still continues.
- (3) Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted, p. 208.
- (4) An answer by letter to a worthy gentleman, p. 7.

Hence the presbyterian polity came to be regarded as something alien to the English nation, and consequently it bore a hostile appearance in an age, which, as G. M. Trevelyan reminds us, <sup>(1)</sup> was intensely national. But episcopacy carried with it the prestige of tradition without submission to the papacy, which was now regarded as a foreign power, and so both catholicism and presbyterianism were equally regarded as anti-national faiths. <sup>(2)</sup>

While the Queen and her church were united in their staunch opposition to presbyterianism, the bishops themselves were definite enemies of the new discipline and <sup>(3)</sup> their antagonism did much to prevent its growth. Heppe has pointed out that as a whole, the English bishops were more friendly to every other Continental church than to Geneva. Calvinism was habitually regarded as a system of rigid rules, aimed at the achievement of purity in life and morals, which aim was to be reached regardless of the sufferings involved. Such a policy could not be popular in the Elizabethan age in England when so many

(1) History of England, p. 323.

(2) Cf. A. O. Meyer, England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth, p. 8.

(3) Reformers of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century, p. 160.

abuses could exist without interference. (1) But worse still, the corruption of the age had penetrated the church, and was typical of many who held bishoprics. For instance, Bishop Hughes held an archdeaconry with ten other livings, while Sandys of Worcester systematically plundered his own see. Bancroft himself in addition to the livings of St. Andrews, Holborn and Feversham, held canonries in St. Paul's, Canterbury, Westminster and St. Patrick's, Dublin. The Queen too often joined in the unworthy practice when for instance, she kept vacant the see of Oxford in order that she might obtain its revenues. Presbyterianism, as part of the puritan movement, was a protest against such abuses, and naturally its call for the purging of the church from its greedy materialism, fell on other than favourable ears. It was undoubtedly in the bishops' interests that the new discipline should be opposed.

Yet the forces directly opposing presbyterianism were not its only foes. There had arisen alongside the

(1) For a revelation of the evils of sixteenth century England, see P. Stubs, The Anatomie of Abuses (1585). Even Lord Bacon, who himself was no puritan, voiced the great need for reform throughout the English church in his An advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England, written about 1590, but not published until 1657 (Works, iii. 133).

movement another anti-episcopal form of church government, usually known as Brownism or independency. The one consistent feature of Elizabethan presbyterianism as interpreted by Travers and Cartwright was its anti-separatist character. It was essentially a movement within the church. Its purpose was not to found a new church, but to make the English church presbyterian, and in this it followed strictly the teaching of Calvin, who regarded schism as a sin, and longed to see the different churches of his day brought into one holy catholic church. It was therefore to the great annoyance of the presbyterians that about 1581, Robert Browne, a beneficed clergyman in the East counties started a new movement whose aim was to separate from the Elizabethan church and found congregations each of which was a self-governing unit. In his treatise Of Reformation without tarrying for any he maligned the bishops as antichrists, and the whole government of the English church as 'the mark of the beast', while he proclaimed as wicked those who advocated reform from within the church. Later he was joined by Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, and together they gained many followers in a very short time, <sup>(1)</sup> especially in the

(1) Sir Walter Raleigh believed that at one time there were 20,000 of them. (D'Ewes, Compleat Journal, 5. 517).

Eastern counties. Their teachings were equally opposed to episcopacy and presbyterianism,<sup>(1)</sup> for they held that both were unscriptural and ought to be abolished, and that the church should be completely independent of the state.<sup>(2)</sup> They were also opposed to the need for a trained ministry, and by laying stress on inspirational worship without ritual or ordered form they exhibited an emotionalism against all who differed from them and particularly against catholicism. Two of the Brownites were hanged at Bury St. Edmunds in June 1583 for denying the power of the government in religious matters and for using abusive language against the Queen. They were the first martyrs for nonconformity. Barrow and Greenwood for holding secret conventicles were imprisoned after having appeared before the High Commission in November 1586,<sup>(3)</sup> and with some periods of freedom, they remained there for nearly seven years, while Browne in 1591 re-entered the ministry of the English church in which he served quietly for over forty years until his death in 1633.<sup>(4)</sup>

- (1) For the distinction between presbyterianism and independency see H. O. Wakeman, The Church and the Puritans, p. 47.
- (2) Browne, Of Reformation, p. 3.
- (3) Prothero, Select Statutes, p. 223.
- (4) See Burrage, True story of Robert Browne.



If the Brownites were emphatic on being separate from the presbyterians, the latter were equally emphatic on being separate from them. Cartwright is found writing to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Stubbs on 30 August 1590<sup>(1)</sup> to persuade her from Brownism', and when he with Snape, Fenn and others were examined on the Court of Star Chamber in March 1591,<sup>(2)</sup> it was reported that 'none of the defendants to their knowledge have allowed or favoured the schisme of Browne and Barrow but contrariwise have advised how to received such as have bene withdrawne and stay such as were sought to bee seduced'. Travers was equally opposed to the Brownites though attempts were made to draw him into their circle. It was a favourite device of certain separatists to try to get presbyterians implicated in their designs and to this end they would try to appear as friends of presbyterianism when the latter was attacked. For instance Penry in An Abstract of the opinions which the Brownists do mainteyn pointed out how unfair it was that men who were ordained to the ministry, other than by a bishop, should be regarded as unlawful ministers and in the margin he instances Travers, thus creating the false impression that separatists and presbyterians held the same doctrine

(1) B. M. Harl. MS 7581.

(2) S. P. Eliz. Dom. 12/235/102.

(1)  
of the ministry. In addition, direct attempts were sometimes made to win over the presbyterians to the tenets of the separatists. For example, at the end of A Collection of certaine sclaunderous Articles . . . . published about 1590, which advocated the principles of Brownism, there is added a list of arguments in its favour after which it is stated: 'These Arguments were more than a yeare & an half since delivered to Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Travers, Mr. Charke, and Mr. Floyde, which still remaine upon them unanswered'. The absence of any answer is an indication of the importance which Cartwright, Travers and others attached to such arguments, and a proof that they did not wish to have anything to do with separatism. If Bancroft could have found any evidence of such implication, it is certain that he would have made the most of it, and although he is able to quote a letter <sup>(2)</sup> which suggests that Travers had leanings towards separatism, yet Bancroft is of the opinion that this is untrue. 'But what if one of their Patriarckes beginne to waver. How if Maister Travers bee inclined that way? For mine own part: I doe not thinke him so simple a man'.

(1) Pierce, John Penry, p. 367.

(2) Survay, p. 428.

About half a century later, Robert Baillie of Glasgow testified to the fact that Travers and Cartwright were definitely opposed to the views of the separatists: (1)

When Cartwright, Hildersham, Travers and many other gracious Divines, by the blessing of God upon their great diligence, had undermined and well-neer everthrown the Episcopal Seas, and all the Cathedral Ceremonies; incontinent the Generation of the Separatists did start up, and put such retardances in the way of that gracious Reformation, as yet remain, and, except by the hand of God, will not be gotten removed. It is true, the malignancy of the Episcopal party, and emulation of the Separatists themselves, would make Cartwright and his friends the old Unconformists, to be Fathers of that Sect; notwithstanding whoever is acquainted with the Times, or will be at the pains, with any consideration, to confer the Tenents of both Parties, or who will advert the issue and sequele of both ways, cannot but pronounce Cartwright and all his followers the Unconformists very free from the unhappinesse of procreating this Bastard; that ill-fac'd childe will father it self.

This statement, while it shows how opposed the presbyter~~R~~-ian leaders were to the separatists, points to the constant attempts that were made by the enemies of the presbyterians to label them as separatists also. Moreover, the logical appeal of the separatists that any one who did not approve of episcopacy should come out of the English church, was one that the presbyterians found it hard to answer. (2) There must have been many with

(1) Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time (1645), p.12.

(2) Actually Francis Johnson, one of the prominent presbyterian advocates, after reading Barrow's Plaine Refutation became an independent in 1591. (Peel, Congregational Two Hundred, p. 31).

presbyterian sympathies who, not wishing to become separatists, abandoned the viewpoint that the presbyterian discipline was vital to salvation, and so were content to remain within the fold of the English church, as her loyal servants.

The fact that the presbyterian party never grew to be a majority in England must be considered as a further reason for its failure. In fact it never became a nationwide movement since it did not get the length of functioning on a national scale. The work of organisation only got as far as the classes, for they themselves confessed before the Star Chamber in 1591, <sup>(1)</sup> that 'they never met in all shires in one province'. According to their own surveys, eighteen counties in all had organised classes, and these were mainly in the South-West, East and East Midlands. It is quite impossible to know their numerical strength in any or all of these counties since no such records survive, and it is even more difficult to assess the proportion that were genuinely presbyterian <sup>(2)</sup> and not merely puritan in outlook. Black would estimate the number towards the close of the century to be between 281 and 350 ministers, and from 50,000 to 100,000 laymen,

(1) B. M. Lansd. MS lxviii. no. 43.

(2) Reign of Elizabeth, p. 379 n.

which reckoning would make them a very small fraction of the whole population. It is probably true to say that the rank and file of the people throughout the land were indifferent to religious aspirations of any description, and were even less interested in the delicate differences between one form of church government and another. With the exception of the country gentry and some of the more educated people, there was never great support for presbyterianism among the laity, and this was possibly due to its being, for the most part, a ministers' movement. One of their number at his trial <sup>(1)</sup> in 1591 confessed that their classes 'were only of ministers saving in some parts a school master, two or three desirous to train themselves in the ministry joined with us'. In fact, it is seldom that laymen are ever mentioned among those who attended the conferences. Usher <sup>(2)</sup> says 'it was a movement of the ministers for the ministers, who heeded little the desires of their congregations'. Yet even among the ministers, with the exception of Travers, Cartwright, and about a dozen others, there were few outstanding or brilliant leaders among them. Black <sup>(3)</sup> states that it

(1) Star Chamber Proceedings 5 A 49/34 Edmundes's deposition f. 4a.

(2) Reconstruction, i. 268.

(3) Op. cit., p. 379.

has been calculated that of the 281 ministers whose names we know, only 105 had university degrees, and of these only 31 had higher degrees than Master of Arts. Certainly a reading of the Dedham classis minute book does not give the impression that the members of that classis had any remarkable ability.

Finally, the lack of unity within the presbyterian party was perhaps its greatest weakness. J. Hall <sup>(1)</sup> in his sneering attacks on presbyterianism traces its dividedness right from its beginning in Geneva. He points out that the practices of Geneva differ from those in the Belgic churches, while there are contradictions between the Admonition to the Parliament (1572) and the later views of Travers and Cartwright. It has been seen too, how even Travers's Book of Discipline could never gain universal consent nor reach a final form. Indeed, this Book, which was meant to weld together the whole movement, did in some cases have the opposite effect. Johnson, one of the Northampton brethren said <sup>(2)</sup> that when the Book arrived in his classis, it stimulated their zeal to the extent that 'there was such a ripping up of one another's life even from their youth as that they came unto great bitterness with many reviling tearmes among

(1) Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted, pp. 25, 26.

(2) Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, p. 88.

themselves'. It is clear that the presbyterians, though strict devotees of the Scriptures, had never seriously taken to heart the Scriptural injunction that a house divided against itself cannot stand.

Having dwelt on the reasons for the collapse of the movement, it would, nevertheless, be wrong to conclude that its failure meant it achieved nothing and that no good results followed from all its work. In the first place, the movement was successful in drawing attention to the many blemishes and abuses that were rampant throughout the English church, and in turn, this forced the hands of Whitgift and Bancroft to take steps for the church's purification. The attacks made on its polity by men like Travers also compelled church leaders to clarify their position, and in the case of Hooker, it drew forth the Ecclesiastical Polity which has been a standard work on episcopacy ever since. Moreover, by taking a courageous stand before the High Commission on opinions that were matters of conscience, the presbyter<sup>R</sup>-ian leaders roused the consciences of many of the common people and whetted their love for liberty especially in matters of religion. Thus there arose that strange affinity between puritanism and liberty, seen in the alliance between such men of conscience and the common lawyers which was first expressed in 1590 in 'A

Petition directed to the Queens most excellent mat<sup>ie</sup>,<sup>(1)</sup> and has been evident ever since. It could therefore be claimed that in no small degree is the characteristic love of liberty among English people today due to sixteenth century presbyterianism. Lastly, it has been seen how the leaders of the movement were actually the pioneers in modern parliamentary party organisation. By their planned approaches, they developed the whole idea of the function of parliament in a country, and simultaneously roused ordinary people to take a deeper interest in its doings. In all these ways, it can be said of this Elizabethan movement that it was one both of failure and success.

During those years from 1588 onward, Travers, in company with all his fellow-presbyterian stalwarts, must have been a very disappointed man as he saw his party dwindle away, and all his cherished plans fall to the ground in the dust of failure. Still, it was fortunate for him that he did not have to suffer imprisonment as the others did, nor was he even brought before the High Commission and the Star Chamber. Yet there is evidence of an intention to have him examined, for in Lambeth palace library<sup>(2)</sup> there is found a manuscript with the

(1) See p. 334 above.

(2) MS 892 no. 190 (See Appendix VI).



title 'Touching Mr. Traverse', but with no date. (1) It consists of twelve accusations against him concerning the books he had written or edited, and the active part he took in unlawful meetings. The instigator of these accusations almost certainly was Bancroft, since they agree entirely with those mentioned by him in his Dangerous Positions and Survay. It is therefore most likely that Bancroft intended to have Travers brought before the High Commission, but for some reason did not proceed.

The fear of such a trial coupled with his intense feeling of frustration in the cause he cherished, must have made all the more welcome the timely offer of an overseas appointment which came his way in 1594. And so for the third time he is found leaving his native England to go abroad, except that on this occasion he sails not East, but West.

(1) The mention of 16 or 17 years' participation in unlawful assemblies (Accusation no. 4) would indicate that it was probably drawn up about 1594.

## Chapter VII

### Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin 1594-98

Founding of Trinity College, Dublin.....	p.354.
Choice of Travers as provost.....	p.362.
Inauguration speech by Loftus.....	p.367.
Academic aspect of Travers's provostship.....	p.372.
Financial aspect of Travers's provostship.....	p.378.
Vis it to England in 1596.....	p.389.
His return in 1597.....	p.391.
Final departure to England and reasons for it....	p.395.
Tributes to Travers's provostship.....	p.399.
His influence in Ireland.....	p.401.

CHAPTER VIIProvostship of Trinity College, Dublin, 1594-98

(1)

After four abortive efforts to establish and maintain a university in Ireland, the fifth attempt was successful, resulting in the foundation of the now well-known Trinity College, Dublin, on 13<sup>(2)</sup> March, 1591.

The need for such a centre of learning in Ireland in the sixteenth century was clearly reflected in the very low standard of life and conduct found among the clergy who were supposed to be the best educated among the people.

Edmund Spenser writing in 1596 in A View of the State of Ireland (3) said:

Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England, you may find in Ireland and many more, namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen. And besides all these, they have their particular enormities; for all Irish priests, which now enjoy Church livings, they are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders: but otherwise they do go and live like laymen, follow all kind of husbandry, and other worldly affairs, as other Irishmen do. They neither read the Scriptures nor preach to the people, nor administer the Communion ..... the clergy these ..... are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.

The only exceptions that Spenser could find in this deplorable condition of Irish religious life of that time

(1) J. N. Stubbs, The History of the University of Dublin, pp. 1 to 4.

(2) Book of Benefactors (T.C.D. MS Room) f.2.

(3) Pp. 60, 62.

were 'the grave fathers which are in high places about the state, and some few others which are lately planted in their new college'.

While catholics and protestants, realising this situation, were both equally eager for the establishment of an Irish university, and while many of the former both subscribed and worked for its establishment - indeed the first public move for it was made by a catholic,  
 (1)  
 James Stanhurst, in the Irish Parliament - yet catholics were not unaware of the threat such a university might be to their faith. For the most part, the Reformation in Ireland had made very slow progress, chiefly because of  
 (2)  
 the lack of Irish-speaking clergy who could explain the new beliefs to the common people, and printed books in  
 (3)  
 Irish. But this was not true of the city of Dublin, which has always been, and still is, less Irish than other parts of the country. In the sixteenth century it was more English than Irish, and so its citizens tended to

- (1) Stanhurst was Recorder of the city of Dublin and three times Speaker in the Irish House of Commons. On his mother's side he was the grandfather of the famous Archbishop James Usher, the latter being named after him.
- (2) S. P. Ireland, lxiii. No. 161, f.55.
- (3) Cf. T. J. Johnston, J. L. Robinson, R. W. Jackson, A History of the Church of Ireland, p. 161.

accept the Reformation doctrine as a matter of course. (1)

Yet the setting up of a university in Ireland by a protest-  
-ant English queen caused much dismay to many adherents of  
the old faith. In fact, some Irish catholics in exile at  
this time sent a petition to the Pope saying that the  
English had set up a college in Dublin, whose heresies  
threatened the faith of the Irish. (2) After the excom-  
munication of Elizabeth by the Papal Bull of 1570, there  
had been some persecution of catholics, the most noble of  
the martyrs being Dermot O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, (3)  
and such incidents naturally fed the fire of Irish hatred  
towards England. This explains why even during the build-  
ing of Trinity College, Irish colleges were being founded  
at Lisbon, Valladolid and Salamanca, (4) where, along with  
those at Louvain and Douay, Irish Roman catholics could  
become mature in their own faith. (5)

- (1) This was somewhat reversed in the next century due to intense jesuit activity.
- (2) C. Maxwell, Irish History from Contemporary Sources 1509 to 1610, p. 138.
- (3) Ibid., p. 30.
- (4) J. P. Mahaffy, An Epoch in Irish History, p. 32.
- (5) W. D. Killen, The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, i. 512, says, 'From the first it [the College] was regarded by the Romanists with distrust,' and J. Mitchell, (Life and Times of Aodh O'Neill, p. 103) also says, 'Thus was founded and endowed, by a Protestant Princess, this great Protestant University, for strictly Protestant purposes - with Catholic funds, and upon the lands of a Catholic Abbey.'

For the catholics the threat of an English university in Dublin was not lessened by the speech of Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, made to the Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin in 1590 when, in dealing with the proposed university and the Corporation's intention to offer a site, he added, 'You will in this type of Reformation dazle the eyes of the Papists with the lustre of well-doeing! (1) Loftus, who had been educated in Cambridge, made no secret of his puritanism, (2) which naturally showed itself in antagonism to catholicism, while his support for the founding of a university was probably a form of compensation for his (3) intense opposition to a former scheme for the establishment of a university in Dublin to be supported by the lands and reserves of St. Patrick's cathedral. Loftus was an Englishman (4) who had come to Ireland as chaplain to the lord deputy, Thomas Earl of Sussex, and after holding

(1) Archbishop Adam Loftus and the Foundation of Trinity College, Dublin, p. 3.

(2) R. D. Edwards, Church and State in Tudor Ireland, p. 215.

(3) Stubbs, op. cit., p. 4.

(4) It was the policy of Elizabeth to export English clergymen to Ireland in the hope of furthering the Reformation there. For instance, of the 52 bishops nominated by her to Irish bishoprics, 16 at least were English. (O'Grady, Strafford and Ireland, p. 434)

the Archbishopric of Armagh, was translated to Dublin in 1567. Heron,<sup>(1)</sup> the Catholic historian of Trinity College paints his character in rather severe terms as:

a politic priest from Yorkshire; educated beyond the age; clever; rapacious of high office; gifted with fair powers of oratory, a splendid voice, strong and melodious, so graceful in gesture and carriage of person that he seemed made for the forum - altogether possessed of that combination of various qualities, which constitutes a man of the world.

The testimony of Sir Henry Wallop, at one time his colleague as Lord Justice of Ireland, is no more complimentary:

I found when we were last joined, my colleague chiefly sought his own profit, and the pleasuring of his friends.... Besides by nature he is, and always hath been inconstant and oftentimes passionate.... He is a very good preacher, and pity he is not employed only therein.<sup>(2)</sup>

Nevertheless Loftus, in spite of his less admirable qualities,<sup>(3)</sup> played not a small part in the founding of Trinity College, Dublin, for as a result of his oratory<sup>(4)</sup> before the Corporation, a petition was addressed to the Lord Deputy and Council for a university on the site of the former monastery of All Hallows. The priory of All Hallows (or All Saints) had been founded as early as 1166

- (1) D. C. Heron, Constitutional History of the University of Dublin, p. 7.
- (2) Cal. S. P., Ireland, ii. 559.
- (3) Actually Loftus was the means of having Sir John Perrot, the Lord Deputy of Ireland condemned. (J. Wareaeus, Works, i. 353).
- (4) J. T. Gilbert, Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, i, 240.

by Diarmid O'Morchoe, King of Leinster,<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1538 at the dissolution of the monasteries had fallen into the hands of the Crown. But Henry, in compensation for the losses sustained by the citizens of Dublin during the siege of the city by Silken Thomas, granted the house and lands of All Hallows to the city of Dublin at an annual rent of £4.14. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ .<sup>(2)</sup> To the corporation this seemed a suitable situation for a university. The Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliam, on receiving the corporation's petition, sent Henry Usher, Archdeacon of Dublin, uncle of Archbishop James Usher to the Privy Council of England on 4 November 1591.<sup>(3)</sup> Usher must have fulfilled his mission well, for on 29 December following<sup>(4)</sup> the Queen gave a warrant for the erection of the college. On 21 July of the next year the mayor and corporation made the grant of the site,<sup>(5)</sup> the first stone of the new building<sup>(6)</sup> having been laid in anticipation on 13 March 1592,<sup>(7)</sup> and on 9 January following,<sup>(8)</sup> the college was

(1) Monasticon Hibernicum ii. 20.

(2) Calendar of Royal Charters, p. 34.

(3) S. P. Ireland, clxi. 8.

(4) Patent Rolls, 34 Eliz. 20; S. P. Ireland, clxiii. 9.

(5) T.C.D. Muniment Room, MS Box G.

(6) The buildings of the former monastery were in a very delapidated condition. (Stubbs, p. 6.)

(7) Book of Benefactors, p. 2.

(8) Particular Book of Trinity College, Dublin, p.2; **Ibid.**



ready to receive its first students.

The charter <sup>(1)</sup> of the college is dated 3 March, 1592, and states that it is to be *mater universitatis* <sup>(2)</sup> with the title COLLEGIUM SANCTAE ET INDIVIDUAE TRINITATIS, JUXTA DUBLIN. Its government was to be in the hands of a Provost, Fellows and Scholars, who were given liberty to make such laws and ordinances as would be for the welfare of the College. Archbishop Loftus is named the first <sup>(3)</sup> Provost, Henry Usher, Luke Challoner and Lancelot Monie, the first Fellows, and Henry Lee, Wilkelmum Daniell, and Stephen White as the first Scholars.

The object of the College is stated to be 'for the education, training and instruction of youths and students.... that they may be the better assisted in the study of the liberal arts, and in the cultivation of virtue and religion ! It is quite true, as pointed out

- (1) The original is in the Board Room Safe. Transcripts in Chartae Collegii sanctae et individuae Trinitatis juxta Dublin (1879); Chartae et statuta Collegii sacrosanctae et individuae Trinitatis Reginae Elizabethae juxta Dublin (1844).
- (2) Probably it was intended to be the first of many colleges, which colleges would constitute a university, as in the case of Oxford or Cambridge.
- (3) Travers is sometimes referred to as the first Provost (eg. Typical English Churchmen, ed. W. E. Collins, p. 62), but this is only correct in that he was the first resident and whole-time holder of this office.

(1)  
 by Urwick, that, from a study of the charter and from  
 the fact that catholics and protestants both gave very  
 considerable financial help<sup>(2)</sup> in its beginnings and that  
 no doctrinal tests in religion were required either in  
 the case of the staff or students, the college was theo-  
 -retically free from religious bias - yet in practice from  
 its earliest days it had definite leanings towards protest-  
 -antism.<sup>(3)</sup> We have already noted the fear expressed by some  
 catholics, and when it is observed that not only was  
 Loftus the first provost, but two of the seven visitors  
 appointed were the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop  
 of Meath, such fear on the part of catholics was not  
 without provocation. Indeed one can appreciate that such  
 provocation must have been even more deeply stirred, when  
 it was known that the second provost of the college was  
 to be none other than Walter Travers, whom Elrington<sup>(4)</sup>  
 describes as 'the most improper man in England for the  
 place !

- (1) W. Urwick, Early History of Trinity College Dublin, 1591 to 1660, p. i v.
- (2) Book of Benefactors, p. 233.
- (3) This point is emphasised very much by E. A. D'Alton, (History of Ireland, ii. 225)
- (4) C. R. Elrington, Life of James Ussher, p. 15.

Loftus formally resigned the provostship on 5 June 1594,<sup>(1)</sup> having been less than a year in office. In the speech made announcing his resignation,<sup>(2)</sup> he explained that he was unable to fulfil his duties as provost because of the weight of other more public administrations, and he was careful to add that he hoped a new provost would be elected who would uphold the rites and ceremonies of the Anglican church and preserve the college from the doctrines of Rome. If he then knew that Travers would be elected in his place, Loftus's reference to the rites and ceremonies of the Anglican church must be interpreted as a piece of judicious advice to be passed on to his presbyterian successor, advice which, as we shall see, was reiterated when Travers was actually admitted to office.

The choice of Travers for this position, as was the case in his appointment to the Temple, must, in the first instance, be traced once again to his indefatigable friend and protector, Lord Burghley. Travers openly acknowledged<sup>(4)</sup>

- (1) T.C.D. Muniment Room, General Registry i. 5; R. Lascelles, Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae, 1152 - 1827, i. 96.
- (2) Archbishop Loftus and the Foundation of Trinity College, Dublin, p. 8.
- (3) The Particular Book, p. 197 b.
- (4) S. P., Ireland, clxxxii. No. 63, f. 215 (See Appendix XV).

to the Lord Treasurer that it was because of his 'special favor' that he held his Dublin appointment. From the beginning, Burghley had been closely involved in the whole project of founding a university in Dublin. Nares in his life of Burghley <sup>(1)</sup> actually attributes the first suggestion for such to Burghley, but even if this is only a conjecture, it is very significant that he was chosen as the first chancellor. This possibly explains why in the early days of the college there was always a close link between the universities of Dublin and Cambridge, for Burghley was chancellor of both, and so also was his son, Robert Cecil. This Cambridge-Dublin association was to continue, for all the first five provosts were Cambridge graduates. Thus since Burghley was the chancellor of the new Dublin University, what was more natural than that on the impending resignation of Loftus, he should, in the words of the latter, <sup>(2)</sup> 'soe warmly' recommend the unfortunate Travers for the position of provost, glad of such an opportunity to have him removed from the scene of his party's defeat in England?

There were two other factors which also must have aided such an appointment. Loftus had always welcomed

(1) E. Nares, Memoirs of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, iii. 395.

(2) Archbishop Loftus, p. 15.

(1)

puritan ministers to Ireland, and had a tremendous admiration particularly for Cartwright, who had been his chaplain in the see of Armagh, previous to his translation to Dublin. So great was this admiration, that he recommended Cartwright as his successor in Armagh. To Burghley he wrote on 5 December 1567:

(2)

I commend unto you one whom I know for his excellent learning and godly life worthily meet for such a place and dignity. I mean one Mr. Cartwright, a Bachelor of Divinity and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who used himself so godly during his abode with me in Ireland both in life and doctrine, that his absence from hence is no small grief and sorrow to all the godly and faithful here.

(3)

Three years later in another letter to Burghley he eulogised Cartwright in a similar manner. Since Cartwright and Travers were so closely associated and held the same religious opinions, it is not hard to believe that Loftus would approve as much of Travers as he did of Cartwright. Though Fuller's statement that Loftus was Travers's 'ancient colleague in Cambridge' is untrue, since the former had left Cambridge before Travers entered, yet there was this affinity that they had both

(4)

- (1) Zurich Letters, ii. ep. lxiv.  
 (2) S. P. Ireland, xxii. No. 35.  
 (3) Ibid., xxx. No. 88.  
 (4) Church History, ii. 145. This statement is also found in Williams Lib. Morrice MS ii. 431 (8), Heylyn, Aërius Redivivus, p. 316, and J. S. Reid, History of Presbyterian Church in Ireland, i. 58.

held fellowships at the same college in Cambridge.

Another interesting sidelight on the choice of Travers for the provostship, which has been overlooked, is his connection with Matthias Holmes. The latter had been an active member of the English presbyterian party, having given his signature of approval to the Book of Discipline in 1588 along with Cartwright and ten others at the Warwickshire synod. <sup>(1)</sup> On the collapse of the movement he had come to Ireland as chaplain to Sir Richard Bingham, Governor of Connaught, 1584 - 1599, and about 1595 was made a junior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. <sup>(2)</sup> Shortly after this he returned to England to be chaplain to the Earl of Essex, but incurring the wrath of the bishops, he accepted as a means of escape the position of preacher to the English merchants now at Middleburgh, <sup>(3)</sup> the same position formerly held by both Travers and Cartwright. The reason why he incurred the wrath of the bishops is given in a letter to the Earl of

(1) B. M. Harl. MS 6849, f. 222. See p. 301 above.

(2) T.C.D. Muniment Room, List of Fellows, Box M.

(3) Hist. MSS, Comm. Cecil Papers, vi. 460.

Essex on 30 October 1596, <sup>(1)</sup> in these terms:

After my return from Sir Richard Bingham, the bishops incensed against me for carrying over Mr. Travers to be master of the College, put me to silence and sought occasion to imprison me.

It would therefore seem that Travers owed not a little to his fellow-presbyterian in securing for him a refuge in Ireland at a time when he must have realised that the bishops were incensed against him as well. <sup>(2)</sup>

Although Travers was formally elected provost on 5 June 1594, by Henry Usher, Luke Challoner, Lancelot Money and William Daniel, <sup>(3)</sup> he did not take the oath of office until 6 December of the next year. <sup>(4)</sup> The reason for this delay may have been that the provost's form of

- (1) Cecil Papers, *loc. cit.*
- (2) The 12 points against Travers already mentioned in the previous chapter (p. 352 ) and found in the Lambeth Library (MS 892, No. 190) may well have been drawn up by these incensed bishops as the grounds on which they intended to have him tried.
- (3) Muniment Room, General Registry. i. 5. The manner of Travers's appointment clearly shows that the college was now a self-governing body and could choose its staff independent of London, for there is no reference to his appointment in English Patent Rolls, Irish Patent Rolls, Warrants of the Signet Office, Warrants of the Crown Office, Registers of the Privy Council, nor Warrants of the Great Seal.
- (4) *Ibid.* and Particular Book, p. 197 b; C. Maxwell (A History of Trinity College, Dublin, p. 26) and Alumni Dublinienses (p. 822) both give the year incorrectly as 1594.

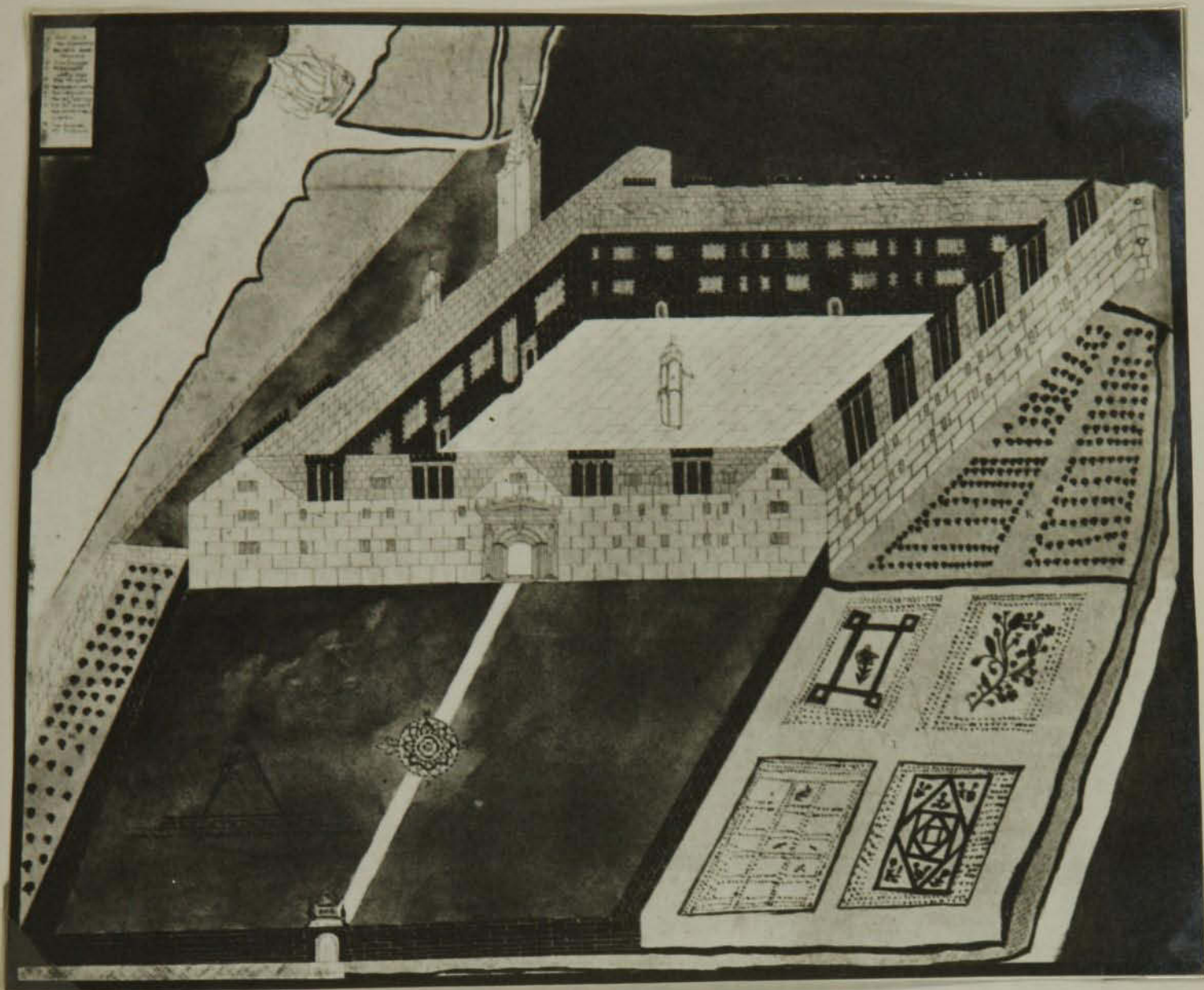
oath had not been as yet drawn up. Travers was the first to be elected under the terms of the charter, but Loftus during his term of office had not drawn up any statutes for the management of the college, <sup>(1)</sup> and it probably took some time before the actual form of oath was available for Travers's admission to office.

However, we know that by 15 August 1594, <sup>(2)</sup> he was already holding the reins of office in the college, having been welcomed on the day of his inauguration, (which was either on, or shortly after, 5 June) <sup>(2)</sup> by Loftus who <sup>(3)</sup> delivered a speech of welcome. From it one gathers that the former provost did not know much of his successor, but he obviously knew a great deal about him. In the opening part of his speech he said:

Thus much I shall say of him that besides the good regard I have for him ariseing from the motives of your electing him, and the obliged respects I owe to the Lord Treasurer of England whoe hath soe warmly commended him, I am further moved to think well of him, as knowing him to be a person of many solid excellencies and to be much approved of for the generally well deserving qualifications of his minde, and particularly for the laboriouse search he hath made into the depth of such learning as may make him usefull to your society..... the most criticall choyce could not have fixed on a fitter person in the Kingdome as to his abilities for that employment which necessarily requires both a wise and learned man.

- (1) Cf. J. H. Hutchinson, *An Essay towards a History of Trinity College, Dublin*. (Unpublished MS in T.C.D.) p. 9.
- (2) S. P. Ireland, clxxv. No. 63, f. 226 (full text in Appendix VIII).
- (3) B.M. Lansd. MS 846, No. 29, f. 229 printed in Archbishop Loftus, p. 15.





This plan of the college (original in the Board Room, and reproduced as frontispiece in Mahaffy, Epoch) was sent to Burghley in 1591. Travers, from whom we have the first description of the building (p. 378 below) said that it was a quadrant of bricks, 120 feet broad, and three storeys high. On the West side were the chambers and on the North the chapel, hall, buttery and kitchen.

In the second part of the speech addressed directly to the new provost, Loftus did not fail to warn Travers that any nonconformist practices would not be tolerated. 'You are to remember that this place requires a person of an exemplary conformity to the doctrine and discipline of this church as they are established by law'. He then proceeded to give him some further advice - to pray daily that God will fill the minds of the students with knowledge and to use prudence in directing the studies of his students so that extravagances in learning should be avoided. Then for a second time Loftus strikes the same warning note against nonconformist tendencies. He mentions:

Those who preach doctrine repugnant to ours, or sett up discipline inconstant with Episcopall Government, which is the onely form antiquity hath approved off, Let us provide therefore against Sectaryes as well as Papists, and lett us not neglect the one, whilst we make head against the other.

He further requests that Travers should by 'a conformable regularity of behavior' set the example both in Christian living and church discipline. Contesting in sermons should be avoided, and the teaching of solid doctrine should come before that of training in eloquence. As regards the finances of the college, care is to be taken that

(1)  
 expenditure does not exceed income. Since the college structure 'is raised out of the bowells of the Cittyes bounty,' the provost and its students should not forget their fellow-citizens in their prayers, nor should students be allowed to give offence by any unseemly manner in the streets, either by rambling abroad or frequenting taverns and tipling houses.

Loftus's final injunction to the new provost was that he should be careful to transfer inviolate to his successors all rights and privileges, 'especially such as are for the advancement of religion, or the Crown's just advantage'.

The exact date on which Travers took up office cannot be ascertained (2) as he himself in his letter to Burghley on 15 August 1594 (3) merely states that Loftus 'soone after resigninge his plasce of beinge provaste by his L<sup>d</sup> order I was chosen to succede in that place'. Loftus had resigned on 5 June, (4) and the oldest college

- (1) As will be seen later, this was easy advice to give, but hard to follow.
- (2) Urwick (op. cit., p. 18) gives the date as July, but does not give his authority.
- (3) As this letter is given so imperfectly by Urwick (op. cit., p. 18) the full text is found in Appendix VIII.
- (4) R. Lascelles, op. cit., i. pt. II, p. 96.

(1)  
 records state that Travers was elected also on the  
 same day. (2) In any case his assumption of office cannot have been later than 15 August, but one would gather from the opening words of the above-mentioned letter to Burghley that he had arrived in Dublin even before Loftus resigned, and was residing in the college itself. (3)  
 The safest conclusion, therefore, is that Travers's actual provostship began in the summer of 1594.

His duties in this office can broadly be looked at from two angles, the academic and the financial, but unfortunately it was the latter which seems to have absorbed most of his time. It is quite evident that he realised the high responsibility placed upon him as provost and was fully desirous of proving himself satisfactory. In his first letter to Burghley since his appointment, (4) after thanking his Lordship for

- (1) Muniment Room, General Registry, p. 5; Particular Book, p. 197 b.
- (2) The words 'soone after' in Travers's letter do not suggest that the resignation and the election were on the same day. But this may be accounted for on the ground that while Loftus formally resigned on the day that his successor was elected, he probably gave notice of his intention to resign at an earlier date.
- (3) C. Maxwell (op. cit., p. 12) is hardly correct in saying that Travers arrived on 15 August.
- (4) Letter dated 15 August 1594 mentioned above and found in Appendix VIII.

recommending him, he adds:

In which duties as I knowe your LP most requyreth my chief care shalbee in the mayntenance of the godlye peace of the church, to performe with quyetnes the things that belonge to mye service, wythout just cause of offence to anye, and with as much fruit to all, especiallye those whom my laboure doe most respecte, as bye anye meanes I maye bee able to performe.

On the academic side Travers's government of the college seems to have been quite successful. The system of instruction adopted is described by Bernard: (1)

The education which that College then gave was very eminent. At the first foundation there were but four Fellows, and yet the tongues and arts were very exactly taught to all the students, being divided into several classes. Aristotle's text was read in Greek by each tutor to his pupils. Three lectures a day every Fellow read, at each of which there was a disputation upon what had been then read, or the lecture before, and among other ways, they were ordered to dispute MORE SOCRATICO. On Saturday, in the afternoon, each tutor read in Latin a lecture on divinity to his pupils, and dictated it so deliberately that they easily took it in writing; and so were their other lectures also.

It would appear, therefore, that the College was a hive of industry, and in the teaching given, Travers himself took an active part for he told Burghley in August 1594: 'I am appointed there to read a latine lecture in Divinity in the terme tyme'. In addition we learn from one of the Usher MSS which is mostly in (2) (3)

(1) N. Bernard, Life and death of James Usher, p. 31.

(2) Appendix VIII.

(3) T.C.D., MS C.5, 15, No. 7.

James Usher's own handwriting, that he gave the greater number of the sermons in the college chapel. Usher took brief notes of these sermons or had notes taken, and in each case he gives the texts of the sermon or the Biblical reference. There are notes of 42 of Travers's sermons, which are interspersed with notes of sermons preached by Challoner, Daniel, Hamilton and one by Fenn. In the case of Challoner it is usually stated that his were given on Fridays, but no day of the week is mentioned in the case of the others. With Travers, the only information given is 'Mr. Travers in the chappell'.

All the preachers were evidently following a systematic exposition of one book, for Hamilton's texts were all from Ephesians, Daniel's from Zechariah, while Travers treated of Psalms 4 to 12, taking each psalm practically verse by verse. His method in the exposition of each text followed the general plan of (a) context; (b) exposition; (c) application, while copious use is made of texts from other parts of Scripture to support his exposition coupled with a constant reference to the words and example of Christ. Usher's notes reveal how intently he followed and how much he valued Travers's wisdom and learning, and it is to be regretted that this is the only surviving manuscript of Usher's which relates

to Travers, for his influence on Usher was one of the most important factors in the history of the Irish Church in the early seventeenth century, since Usher eventually became its Archbishop of Armagh and primate. (1)

James Usher entered Trinity College as a student (2) in the same year that Travers assumed the Provostship. In addition to Travers there were two other teachers who must have influenced the future Primate in the same direction. In 1587 two eminent Scotchmen, James Fullerton and James Hamilton, both probably former pupils of Andrew Melville, principal of St. Andrews, opened a Grammar School in Dublin, and at the age of eight, James Usher became one of their pupils. (3) From their teaching he profited much for in his later life he regarded it as one instance of the providence of God 'that he had the opportunity and advantage of his education from those men, who came thither by chance, and yet proved so happily useful to himself and others'. (4) When Usher entered

- (1) W. H. G. Flood (Gentleman's Magazine, 1906, Vol. 301, p. 290) maintains that John Dowland the lutenist was also a student at Trinity College during Travers's provostship, that he was recommended to the latter by Burghley and that his name appears in the Particular Book under the year 1597. A careful examination of the Particular Book and of all college MSS does not support any of these statements.
- (2) C. R. Elrington, Life of James Ussher, p. 6.
- (3) Ibid., p. 3, 4; R. Parr, Life of James Usher, p. 3.
- (4) Parr, p. 3.

Trinity College in 1594, he was still under their  
 influence <sup>(1)</sup> for Fullerton and Hamilton were made fellows <sup>(2)</sup>  
 in that year, thus bringing the number of fellows to four,  
 since Henry Usher, the Archdeacon of Dublin and uncle of  
 James, had resigned. These new fellows must have made  
 very congenial colleagues for Travers and their association  
 with Andrew Melville would make them specially so, since  
 Melville had once offered Travers a professorship in St.  
 Andrews. <sup>(3)</sup>

Another helpful colleague for the new provost was  
 Luke Challoner. He was also a Cambridge graduate, and  
 for the first decade of its existence the College prob-  
 ably owed more to him than any other person. With the  
 produce of his large estate at Finglas, <sup>(4)</sup> he was able to  
 assist the college materially, and during the period  
 between Travers's resignation and the appointment of his  
 successor he seems to have acted in the place of the  
 provost. In gratitude for his services, we find Travers,  
 Hamilton and Fullerton in December 1596 allowing  
 Challoner to dine as the guest of the college whenever

(1) This puritan influence on Usher is regarded by some  
 churchmen as a great misfortune. (cf. Typical  
 English Churchmen, ed. W. E. Collins, p. 62).

(2) The number of fellows remained at four until 1610.

(3) P. II<sub>4</sub> above.

(4) N. J. D. White, Four Good Men, p. 3.



he so desired, and in addition, to receive an annual grant of twenty pounds. <sup>(1)</sup> Travers called him in one letter 'a godly learned man', <sup>(2)</sup> and in another <sup>(3)</sup> 'a godly lerned man of excellent giftes and the principall meanes in the procuring and oversight of the building of this College'. In White's view <sup>(4)</sup> he would have been appointed provost in 1594 in preference to Travers, had he possessed sufficient academic distinctions. <sup>(5)</sup>

So busy was Travers with the college's life and maintenance that we know of only one occasion when he participated in what might be called 'outside' activities. This was on 4 April 1596, when he and Humphrey Fenn preached before the Lord Deputy to Ireland, Sir William Russell, <sup>(6)</sup> but no details are available regarding the sermon or the church which was apparently somewhere in Dublin. Fenn had been a former colleague in the

(1) Particular Book, p. 214.

(2) B. M. Lansd, MS 108 (59). A duplicate is Lansd. MS 115 (46). Full text is printed in S. S. Travers, Pedigree of the Devonshire Family of Travers, p.15.

(3) S. P. Ireland, clxxxii. No. 63, f. 215, full text in Appendix XV.

(4) Op.cit., p.14.

(5) It is regrettable that the effigy of Challoner placed at the rear of the college chapel has now deteriorated.

(6) Lambeth Palace Library, Carew Papers, Journal of Sir William Russell, Vol. 612. f. 61.

presbyterian movement in England where he had signed the  
 Book of Discipline, <sup>(1)</sup> and later suffered imprisonment <sup>(2)</sup>  
 in 1591 with Cartwright and others. He had come to  
 Dublin at the instigation of Challoner to minister in  
 the parish of St. Werburgh's, in which Challoner took a  
 deep interest. <sup>(3)</sup>

The only other reference which might be regarded as  
 inferring that Travers's activity extended outside the  
 college walls is found in a letter sent by Loftus to  
 Burghley on 8 November 1595. <sup>(4)</sup> He tells the Lord  
 Treasurer that he is doing his best to instruct the Irish  
 people in the Christian faith, and to that end, I allow  
 yearly to Mr. Travers and Mr. Challoner two pensions out  
 of mine own purse to continue three lectures weekly here.  
 Whether these lectures were given within the college or  
 elsewhere in Dublin is not known, but they were obviously  
 meant for the benefit of the general public, so that in  
 that sense, Travers was doing a direct service to the  
 community at large.

(1) B. M. Harl. MS 6849, f. 222.

(2) B. M. Lansd. MSS lxviii. No. 60, ff. 135-6; lxix.  
 No. 45, ff. 103-4.

(3) White, op. cit., p. 15.

(4) S. P. Ireland, clxxxiv. No. 12, f. 51<sup>d</sup>.

All Travers's available time, <sup>(1)</sup> apart from that spent on lecturing and preaching, must have been taken up with the second aspect of his provostship, the financial. During his whole term of office this was a never-ending source of anxiety and he was constantly sending out letters appealing for monetary help, most of which were addressed to his friend, Burghley. In the first of these letters already noted, <sup>(2)</sup> in order to give his lordship some idea of the situation in the college, he gives the first description we possess of its buildings.

Beeinge a quadrant of bricks of 3 storyes and on everye syde within the Court, it is 120 foote broade, the west syde which is of chambers, and the north syde wherin are the Chappell, hall, butterye, and kitchin, are orderlye fynished, the other two sydes are onelye walles, savinge some lytle beginninge of chambers, which for want of further meanes, is yet unperfit. If the whole were finished it would conveniently lodge 200 scholers, and 20 fellows.

From the Account Book of Roger Parker, <sup>(3)</sup> the first

- (1) It is noteworthy that none of his writings belong to this period of his stay in Dublin.
- (2) Appendix VIII.
- (3) This book (T.C.D. MS Room) has only recently come to light and consequently was unknown to any of the college historians. From it one gets a fair idea of the manner and cost of living in sixteenth century Ireland. The main diet consisted of bread, beer and meat. Each week's supply of oatmeal, vinegar and salt cost respectively 1/-, 3d. and 6d. A boy's shirt cost 1/6, but a man's was 10/-. Other costs were as follows - loaf of bread 1d., a door key 8d., a quire of paper 4d., handsaw 9d., chisel 4d., and a hatchet 9d. A labourer's wages was 6d. per day and the cost of sweeping a chimney 3d.

butler of the college, we learn that the provost's apartments consisted of a chamber and parlour, and judging from the frequent repairs requiring to be done to the provost's chamber in 1595 (glass, locks, hinges, etc.) it would seem that rowdyism is not a peculiar feature of modern student life.

In this first letter to Burghley, Travers discloses that the salary which he is promised is forty pounds per year, but he points out that the college has not an assured income of even that amount. What income there was came from the use of the grounds around the college, and ten pounds, the gift of Mr. Shane, a gentleman of Connaught. He therefore pleads that Burghley, in his capacity as Lord Treasurer, will use his personal influence to secure for the college one hundred pounds of a yearly income in concealed lands, 'or otherwise in so much landes growings by attayndure or some other good waye, wherbye this poore naked house maye have some things after the maner of the coountrye to feede it'.

This letter was Travers's personal appeal to his old and faithful friend, but in addition he wrote on the same date, in his capacity as provost, another letter

(1) S. P. Ireland, clxxv. No. 63, f. 228. As this MS is given so incompletely and, in places, inaccurately by Urwick and Mahaffy, the full text is found in Appendix IX.

to Burghley which officially came from 'The Provost and fellowes of Trinitye Colledg by Dublin in Ireland,' and was despatched by the hand of Henry Lee one of the fellows. It contained the same information about the college's finances and had in it the same pleading note which would make it almost certain that Travers composed this letter also.

The result of these two appeals was a letter dated 30 September 1594<sup>(1)</sup> signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Chamberlain, the Vice-Chamberlain and Sir Robert Cecil. They communicated the Queen's gracious consent to their request for one hundred pounds yearly rent of concealed lands, but added that Her Majesty desired that the greatest care should be taken in seeing that the full particulars be entered in the books of the college in order to avoid abuses. Nothing however materialised from this letter and the consequence was that in August of the following year, Travers and all interested in the future existence of the college set to work in earnest to raise funds from every quarter.

(1) T.C.D. Muniment Room Box F.6, printed in Stubbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 359, 360, but with incorrect date.

On 7 August 1595 a letter<sup>(1)</sup> was sent from the college to Sir Richard Byngham, governor of Connaught, explaining that the grant promised in the previous year had not materialised because of 'many difficulties and discouragements, namelie, the distrustful dealing of officers, and the late restraint of concealments from England'. It was evident that the agents of the college had been doing their best to secure the lands promised in the previous year, but without success. Matthias Holmes, one of the fellows, is found writing to Challoner from Athlone on 18 January<sup>(2)</sup> to say that in his opinion there is no hope of any benefit coming to the College from that source. He refers to letters he had received from Challoner and also to one from Travers<sup>(3)</sup> to which he had sent a reply.

Because of this failure to obtain funds, the college authorities in this letter to Byngham state that they now wish to alter their suit and instead of concealments, they ask 'for a perpetuity of some late Attainted Lands .... until our grant (yf we obteyne any) be filled'. They ask for Byngham's help and advice on behalf of their plea, in support of which they intended to send over two of their fellows, Challoner and Daniell to supplicate the Queen.

Muniment Room

- (1) Box C.5, printed in Stubbs, *op.cit.*, p. 357.  
 (2) *Ibid.*, Box C.1.c. partly printed in Mahaffy, Epoch, p. 109.  
 (3) This letter is not extant.

The flood of letters and requests that immediately issued from the College during this month of August show that its financial state was really becoming desperate. On the 16th the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland addressed a letter to the Lords of the Council in England (1) which was sent by the hand of Challoner 'who hath been a very carefull instrument in the building thereof'. (1) It was an appeal for help in maintaining the college by the grant of one hundred pounds per annum in attainted lands. (2) Two days later, two letters were sent to Burghley, one (3) by the Lord Deputy and Council and the other by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, the Secretary of State, both asking that he recommend their suit for these lands to the Queen. Two (4) days after that Loftus sent a similar request to Burghley, (5) and two days later Travers wrote a personal letter to Hicks to the same effect. This last was full of earnest pleadings for 'ye poor Estate of this House', and

- (1) Muniment Room Box A.I.c. printed in Stubbs, op. cit., pp. 358, 359.
- (2) Ibid., Box F.5, printed in Stubbs, op. cit., p. 358.
- (3) S. P. Ireland, clxxxii, No. 62, f. 213<sup>r</sup>.
- (4) Ibid., No. 66. f. 223<sup>r</sup>.
- (5) B. M. Lansd. MS 108 (59) printed in S.S. Travers, Pedigree ... Family of Travers, p. 25. A duplicate of this MS is Lansd. MS 115 (46).

expressing the fear lest in the event of no help forthcoming, 'ye Society should be dissolved'. But the worried provost was not content even with these efforts, for only a few days later he writes yet another letter<sup>(1)</sup> addressed to Burghley. Travers refers to the supplications that have already been sent and beseeches the Lord Treasurer 'to become o<sup>r</sup> honorable mediator to her Matie for obtaining her highnes royall grant therof to this societie'. Again he emphasises that the college cannot hope to continue without immediate assistance and its closure would be a greivous disappointment to all including both the Queen and Burghley, the college Chancellor. The letter ends with a commendation of the two agents, Challoner and Daniel who have been sent to press for their suit, and there is an apology for troubling one who is so busy with weighty matters of state.

After such gigantic efforts to save the college from dissolution, it would have been strange if help had been refused. Very soon their pleadings were rewarded for Burghley wrote to Sir William Russell, the Lord Deputy<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) S . P . Ireland, clxxxii. No. 63, f. 215. No date is mentioned in the letter, but it is marked '4 Sept received'. Full text in Appendix XV.

(2) Muniment Room Box F. 3, printed in Stubbs, op. cit., p. 361.



and the Council on 7 October disclosing the fact that the Queen had written a letter consenting to the request on behalf of the college, which letter arrived ten days later bearing the date 17 October. <sup>(1)</sup> The Lord Treasurer in his letter paid tribute to the college agents, Challoner and Daniel who 'have very earnestly and carefullie solicited the said suite both with her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and with the lls of the Councell'. He also emphasised that it was the Queen's desire to have the proceeds of the lands passed on to the college both speedily and carefully in order to avoid what had happened in the previous year.

When the Queen's letter arrived it confirmed all that Burghley had said.

Of our princely specyall grace and favor we are well pleased that they shall have so much lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as well spiritual and tempall, in that our realme, within liberties and without, as shall amounte to the cleare yerely value or rent of one hundred poundes ster., or thereabouts, the same to be only such as are conceled and wrongfully detained from us and our pgenitors, and of right ought to have come to us.

She expressed the desire that these lands should be sought out immediately and also made a gracious concession regarding the required rents in the event of any of these

(1) Muniment Room Box F. 2, printed in Stubbs, op. cit., p. 362 but with incorrect date. Probably the time lag in the sending of the letter was due to some royal formality in the despatch of letters.

lands being laid waste by rebellion.

To Travers and his expectant colleagues in the distressed college, this news must have brought intense relief, and more so when on 28 November a commission was issued out of the Exchequer with respect to certain concealed lands in the county of Leitrim and in the province of Connaught. <sup>(1)</sup> About this time another piece of heartening news came that James Cattrel of York had left by his will a legacy of one hundred pounds to the college, and so on 15 November Travers, Challoner, Daniel and Fullerton gave written authority <sup>(2)</sup> to Hamilton to receive the legacy on their behalf from the executors.

Notwithstanding these hopes for the future maintenance of the college, the accounts in Roger Parker's Book <sup>(3)</sup> for the year ended 6 December 1595 show that Travers received on behalf of the college £57 - 3 - 4d., but disbursed £61 - 10 - 0d., thus leaving £4 - 6 - 8d. owing to Travers. It is therefore not surprising that on 19th of this month the provost and fellows sent a

(1) Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

(2) Muniment Room Box C.4. This is in Travers's handwriting.

(3) F.2.

(1)  
 petition to the Lord Deputy and Council asking to have  
 'sundry offices of Concealments found in Mr. Boyle's  
 trunk' granted to the College seeing that 'their late  
 grant..... is like to prove unto them for a long time  
 unproffitable, contrarie to Her Majesty's gracious  
 meaning'. To add to their troubles, in addition to the  
 delay in the forthcoming grant, there was a growing  
 scarcity and expensiveness of food at this time.

(2)  
 Parker's Book shows that for three quarters of a year,  
 the period 3 July 1596 to 2 April 1597, the charges for  
 bread, beer and meat amounted to £47 - 6 - 6d. (3) The  
 ordinary charges for the year 1596 according to Parker (3)  
 were as follows:

For the Provost . . . . .	£50 - 0 - 0
For 3 fellows each about £22 per ann.	£61 - 14 - 4
For 13 scholars	£58 - 0 - 0
Butler's diet and wages	£10 - 0 - 0
The cookes wages and his boyes	£8 - 10 - 0
To a poore scholer towards learning	£40 - 0 - 0.

It will be noticed that Travers's original salary of  
 forty pounds has now been increased by ten pounds, which  
 would give one a fair idea of the rise in the cost of

(1) Muniment Room Box E.I, printed in Stubbs, op. cit.,  
 p. 365.

(2) F. 4 a.

(3) F.2.

living since 1594. But all this militated against the welfare of the college whose poor resources were becoming more and more uncertain.

During the whole of 1596 Travers and his colleagues were putting up a brave fight to save the college from liquidation, and they seem to have tried every possible means of doing so. For instance on 12 April they sent a circular letter <sup>(1)</sup> to Munster, signed by Travers, Challoner and Fullerton, announcing that they had procured the services of Patrick Crosbie to seek out lands for the benefit of the college, an agreement <sup>(2)</sup> having been made with Crosbie that if he surveyed and discovered such lands he would receive a proportion for himself. But it was now obvious that financial aid must be seriously sought on a large scale and at once. An unsigned manuscript, in Travers's handwriting, is found in the college records <sup>(3)</sup> which is addressed to 'the right Hon. the Lord Justices and Council.'. It bears no date, but because of its earnest pleadings on behalf of 'the distressed society of Trinity College by Dublin' and since

(1) Muniment Room Box C.6, printed in Mahaffy, Epoch, p. 110.

(2) Ibid., Box D.6.

(3) Ibid., Box F.11.

(1)  
 another petition of the year 1597 from the provost and fellows speaks of a humble petition 'about a year agoe' on behalf of their weak and indebted society, it must belong to the end of this year, 1596. It states that the cost of repairing the building, together with the charges of fuel, light and the ordinary running of the college, have so outgrown the income received, that the society is unable to provide corn and other necessities for the next year, indeed not even for the next month; thus financial help is needed for two purposes, paying of past debts incurred and in making provision for the future. But the closing words of this begging petition were obviously meant by Travers to stir up the deepest feelings of pity, for he asserts that the only other possible way in which the college can pay its debts is 'by choosing of a Provost that is able to live by his own means, and by diminishing the number of Fellows and Scholars'.

Such words were definitely effective, for the Lord Deputy and Council replied on 1 December with a concordatum (2) granting the college one hundred pounds for each

(1) Muniment Room Box F.7. printed in Stubbs, op. cit., pp. 368, 369.

(2) Ibid., Box A.I.e, printed in Stubbs, op. cit. p. 366.

of the next two years. This sum was to be paid 'quarterly out of such Casualties as either are or shall be due unto her Majesty ! This concordatum was obviously in lieu of the Queen's promised one hundred pounds which had not yet materialised. In addition, on 18 December an order of Council <sup>(1)</sup> gave the custodium of the concealed lands to the college, pending the delay in passing them under the great seal, and two days later <sup>(2)</sup> the Council wrote to Burghley informing him that they had passed seventeen pounds per annum of concealed lands to the college.

However, just as on former occasions, when Travers and his colleagues thought they had reached at last the end of their financial worries, another hindrance raised its head. The Queen's intended grant to the college related to lands 'concealed and wrongfully detained', but it did not specifically mention the lands of persons attainted, and doubt had arisen as to whether the latter was covered by the former. In order to be clear on this point the Lord Deputy and Council wrote to the Lord Treasurer on 20 December. <sup>(2)</sup> This was obviously a matter of the greatest importance and not the least concerned was Travers, for now we find him journeying to England bearing a letter from Loftus dated 27 December, which was <sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Muniment Room Box E.4.

(2) S. P. Ireland, cxevi. No. 23, f.70<sup>r</sup>.

(3) Ibid., No. 33, f. 104<sup>r</sup>.

addressed to Burghley. Having suffered so many past disappointments, the anxious provost feels that this time he will make his appeal in person. Loftus in this letter commends his suit on behalf of the college, and voices its needs especially in view of the fact that the people of Dublin 'are still backward in religion' in spite of the preaching of God's Word done 'by godly and learned preachers'. Travers's suit was also supported by Sir Geoffrey Fenton who, in a letter <sup>(1)</sup> to Burghley on the 26th of the same month, pointed out that the lands of Trinity College ought to be worth six hundred a year.

<sup>(2)</sup>  
Travers was absent from Dublin for about five months, which would suggest that he was finding difficulties in obtaining the required grant. Indeed as late as 11 April 1597, <sup>(3)</sup> we find him writing a letter in conjunction with Fullerton <sup>(4)</sup> to Sir Robert Cecil, Burghley's son, explaining the difficulty over the Queen's

(1) S. P. Ireland, cxcvi. No. 28, f.81<sup>r</sup>.

(2) Travers's absence is also evident from the college accounts for the first half of the year (Particular Book p.5.)

(3) Hist. MSS Comm. Cecil Papers, vii, p. 151. This letter is referred to in 5th Report, p. 288 b., where the name 'Fullerton' is misspelt as 'Killertone'.

(4) It is possible that Fullerton also had gone to England to assist in obtaining the suit.

original grant, and asking that he would make their suit known to Her Majesty seeing that the college was in danger of dissolution. It would seem that Sir Robert did as required, for on the 7th of the next month <sup>(1)</sup> the Queen enlarged her former grant to include lands attained in addition to those concealed. Moreover permission was given to have the business transactions carried through in Ireland in order to avoid any delay that might be caused by referring each time to the English Council, and the full grant of lands was to be made up to the promised one hundred pounds. Twelve <sup>(2)</sup> days later the Lords of the Council in England wrote to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland confirming the Queen's grant and recommending speed in bringing it into effect.

The triumphant Travers returned to Dublin a few days later, but not, as one would expect, to settle down to a comparatively quiet life now that he had been able to put the college finances on an even keel, for

(1) Pat. Rolls, 39 Eliz. 57.

(2) Muniment Room Box A.I.f. printed in Stubbs, op.cit., pp. 370, 371.



he carried with him a letter <sup>(1)</sup> from Burghley to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland in which there was disclosed a secret.

And whereas Mr. Travers the bearer of this my Tre hath declared unto me that he hath a desire to leave his place in that Colledge and bestowe himself here in England as he shall have means to be employed in the ministrie, because he doth finde that he cannot have his health there in that land, I doe pray your lp that after that his place shall be furnished with a fytt and sufficient man to receyve and execute that charge that he maie be dismissed from there with your good favoure to returne into England.

It was evident that while in England, Travers took the opportunity of unburdening his heart to his devoted friend Burghley, just as he had done before in similar circumstances, and the latter with characteristic patience was again willing to help him in yet another impasse in his career. One can surmise that his health was being impaired not so much by the climate of Ireland as by the nervous strain of trying to keep Ireland's first university alive.

No immediate step however was taken to replace him either by the College or the Lord Deputy, and so he continued at his post for another year <sup>(2)</sup> and more. Perhaps

(1) Muniment Room Box A.I.g, printed in Stubbs, op. cit., pp. 371, 372.

(2) There is no evidence for the statement in Alumni Dublinienses (p. 822) that Travers in 1597 was made Vice-Chancellor of the University.

he was quite content to do so, for on 28 June, a few weeks after his return a charter was drawn up of the lands granted to the college at the Queen's command. These lands were situated chiefly in Munster and though in small pieces, yet the total acreage was large, bringing in a head rent of £24 - 10 - 9d. To make sure that this rent would be forthcoming, the provost and fellows wrote to the former owners of these lands asking for the delivery of the same at the appropriate time, and forewarning them that such lands would be set to others, if they did not fulfil the necessary conditions.

Despite this improvement in income, the college was still uneasy financially. About this time we find W. Hussey promising to find more land for the college, and on the strength of his promise he is made a Justice of the Peace. On 7 August Hamilton was recommended by the Lord Justices to go as college agent to Munster. It may have been as a result of Hamilton's work that on 2 December, Travers drew up a conveyance with

- (1) Original in the safe of the college Board Room.
- (2) Muniment Room Box C.8, printed in Stubbs, op.cit., pp. 372, 373.
- (3) Ibid., Box E.47.
- (4) Ibid., Box F.10.
- (5) Ibid., Box O.5; Particular Book, p. 218 b.

John McCann relating to lands in Tipperary. But about September of this year, it was again found necessary for Travers and the fellows to send an urgent petition<sup>(1)</sup> for financial aid to the Lord Deputy and Council. After referring to their petition of a year ago, they pointed out that since the granting of the concordatum of one hundred pounds, the debt on the college had increased, and in the circumstances they requested that the remaining part of the concordatum for the next year and a quarter<sup>(2)</sup> be paid in advance.

The Particular Book gives no indication of whether the college profited or not from this appeal, since the receipts are not under separate headings. Even if it did, the assets were offset by the cessation of any rents from lands since the country had now been thrown into confusion by the outbreak of rebellion. The college records<sup>(3)</sup> say: 'A rebellion raging in Munster during the years 1598, 1599 and 1600, the College received no benefit from their grant of concealments'. Ever since<sup>(4)</sup> 1594 rebels under Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had

(1) Ibid., Box F.7, printed in Stubbs, op.cit., pp. 368, 369.

(2) This means that three quarters of a year had already elapsed and since the concordatum dated from 1 December 1596, the date of this present petition must be some time in September 1597.

(3) Muniment Room Box G.

(4) See J. Mitchell, Life and Times of Aodh O'Neill, Ch. X.

been causing trouble in various parts of the country, but in 1598, assisted by Spain, they initiated a general rising which resulted in the battle of the Yellow Ford. Towards the end of the year they were in possession of most of the country and were quickly closing in on Dublin, where in fact in the following January, they burned Kilmainham and Crumlin.

Travers was now in the pitiful position of being an exiled Englishman in a rebellious Ireland,<sup>(1)</sup> and provost of a society that was speedily going bankrupt. His departure was inevitable. The only other recorded entries that concern Travers in his dealing with the College finances are in the year 1598 when for the twelve months ending 1 January<sup>(2)</sup> he received £288 - 7 - 4d<sup>(3)</sup> and disbursed £214 - 3 - 4d., and when on 17 May he received the sum of fifty-two shillings from George Kingsmeale, being rent due to the college for half a

- (1) In this rebellion three of O'Neill's aims were:-  
 'That the church of Ireland be wholly governed by the pope'.  
 'That no Englishman may be a churchman in Ireland'.  
 'That there be erected an university upon the crown rents of Ireland, wherein all sciences shall be taught according to the manner of the catholic Roman church'. (Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922, ed. E. Curtis and R. B. McDowell, p. 119).  
 In view of these aims it is understandable that Travers would be very much concerned for his safety.
- (2) Muniment Room Box B. 8, in Travers's handwriting.
- (3) Ibid., Box B.9, also in Travers's handwriting.

year. He himself must have been bolstering up the college finances, for three days later, a concordatum of one hundred pounds was voted to the provost in order to repay the debt due to him.<sup>(1)</sup> The last entry is what might be expected - a complete settlement of the college accounts as far as the provost was concerned, up to 2 October 1598,<sup>(2)</sup> and within a few days he left Ireland and its unfortunate college for good.

<sup>(3)</sup> Heylyn rather unsympathetically gives as the reason for his departure that 'either he proved too hot for the place, or the countrey grew too hot for him.' Judging from the tributes paid to his worth and work, which we will notice presently, it was more likely to be the latter, and it was probably for the same reason that Hamilton and Fullerton also departed. Yet, in addition to the unsettled state of the country in a time of rebellion, there must have been other reasons as well for Travers's return to England. For instance there were the ever-recurring financial difficulties, which to a scholar must have been extremely irritating, and probably affected his health. It is very likely that his low

(1) Particular Book, p. 222 b.

(2) Ibid., p. 6.

(3) Aërius Redivivus, p. 316.

salary was far from sufficient for his subsistence, and in this respect it is of interest that his successor, Henry Alvey, when appointed in 1601 was given a much higher remuneration. <sup>(1)</sup> It may also have been that he thought he could do more for the college by leaving the provostship vacant <sup>(2)</sup> for a time, thus allowing the college to save on the provost's salary, and further still, by pleading its cause in England, he might effect more than by repeated written suits. In addition, there could be some small grain of truth in Mahaffy's <sup>(3)</sup> rather caustic words:

We cannot but conjecture that he was one of that myriad band of confident English reformers who come to Ireland with the intention of settling everything right and who find the problems, which they expected promptly to solve, gradually growing in difficulty and ultimately insoluble.

If this was true in any degree in the case of Travers, we can be quite certain that one of those problems was the stubbornness of the Irish people in refusing to turn from Roman catholicism to the reformed faith. It has already <sup>(4)</sup> been seen how Loftus employed Travers and Challoner to preach to the people, and it was Loftus himself who <sup>(5)</sup> admitted that it had very little effect. Moreover in

(1) Muniment Room Box F.16.

(2) Challoner fulfilled the provost's duties during the vacancy.

(3) Epoch, p. 95.

(4) P. 377 above.

(5) P. 390 above.

the closing years of the century there was considerable jesuit activity in Ireland, which was not without success.

In 1596 for instance the State Papers <sup>(1)</sup> speak of how in the towns first the women and then the men forsook the protestant churches to return to the old faith, and of how schools were under the watchful eye of jesuits.

Mahaffy's opinion <sup>(2)</sup> is that 'he [Travers] seems to have been quite unable to find any scope for missionary labours among the Roman Catholics. Either they understood not his English or they would not come to his preaching' <sup>(3)</sup>

Perhaps it was that in Travers himself, the preaching of mere protestantism did not kindle his ardour against catholicism, in the way that the preaching of presbyterianism did against protestantism. One thing is certain, that it was not his puritanism which forced him to resign the provostship, <sup>(4)</sup> for his successor, Henry Alvey, who was appointed in 1601, was equally a puritan and a presbyterian, having once actually housed the conference that met to

(1) S.P. Ireland, clxxxvii, No. 19.

(2) Epoch, p. 59.

(3) It is of interest that Cartwright also found in Ireland that the people were unresponsive. (H. O'Grady, Stafford and Ireland, p. 476).

(4) This is the suggestion made by Collier (Ecc. Hist. of Britain, vii. 151).

perfect the Book of Discipline. (1)

Whatever reason, or reasons, lay behind Travers's desire to return, the immediate one is not difficult to find, for on 4 August Burghley, his never-failing friend, the chancellor of the unfortunate college, died and was succeeded by the Earl of Essex, probably a complete stranger to Travers. In less than two months, having settled the college accounts and armed with a letter from Loftus written on 8 October <sup>(2)</sup> in addition to other state letters, he sped across the Irish sea.

Although this letter from Loftus was addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, the Queen's principal secretary and was in support of Travers's 'suites for the poore Colledge', it also contained a recommendation of Travers, which was included at the latter's request. Probably he wanted to dispel any suspicions on the part of Cecil or the Queen that the poor estate of the college was in any way due to his mismanagement. After mentioning that Travers had first been recommended by Burghley, Cecil's

(1) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 263.

(2) S.P. Ireland, ccii. No. 63, f. 197.



own father, Loftus added:

I have made bolde by these fews lynes to recommend him to yo<sup>r</sup> honorable and godly regarde. I have knowne him these many years, to be a man of great learning and iudgment in his profession, wherein he hathe profitted muche, as well in preaching the Gospell (wherein he hathe taken contynuall payne) to the great confort of this poore Church, as also by his discrete care, in the ordering and vertuous governinge of that Colledge and people of the same, whereof he had chardge.

On the same date, Sir Geoffrey Fenton also wrote to  
(1)

Cecil a similar testimonial of Travers's good work:

.... by occasion of the sudden departure of this gentleman Mr. Travers, Provost of our Colledge here, I can do no less than testify of him what I have seen in him here, which is, that he hath governed his ministry so wisely and learnedly during his stay here, as by the same he hath not only made the Word fruitfull in the hearts of many, but also hath added much to the credit and reverence of the Gospel amongst those backward people. And specially I have noted him always to proceed sincerely in a sound exposition of the Word, not diverting at any time to contentions, whereby the hearers might be rather led into doubts than truly edified. And therefore, if it will please your H<sup>ty</sup> to be a means that he may be again restored to his ministry there (which for the good of his countrey he much desireth) I think if he hold no other course than he did here, he will be found worthy of it, though I wish he might be returned hither, to go forward with the good beginning he hath made here for the well instructing of the people.

In addition to these two tributes a third was paid to him on the occasion of his successor's appointment in

(1) S.P. Ireland, ccii. No. 103, f. 199<sup>r</sup>.

(1)

1601 when Travers is referred to as 'a most worthy provost' who 'discharged his duties there most faithfully for five years'.<sup>(2)</sup> It is this judgment upon his work which has found its way into the oldest of the college records, and it is unlikely that any fair-minded historian of the University of Dublin would wish to emend it.

(3)

It has been claimed that Travers during his stay in Dublin influenced the beginnings of Irish presbyterianism, and that therefore the presbyterianism of Southern Ireland had, through him, an English origin as against that of the North which was imported from Scotland. But this claim is hardly worthy of support when it is remembered that Travers never once advocated presbyterian discipline during his provostship, having been warned by Loftus to avoid all nonconformist tendencies, nor did he make any attempt to initiate presbyterian congregations outside the university. Had he done so, the historian of presbyterianism in Dublin<sup>(4)</sup> would not have been able to say that 'Presbyterians, as a separate religious body can hardly be said to have existed in Dublin before the passing

(1) Particular Book, p. 213 b.

(2) *Dignissimus praepositus est . . . . per quinquennium fidelissime fungeretur.*

(3) Pearson, Cartwright, p. 416.

(4) C. H. Irwin, A History of Presbyterianism in Dublin, p. 3.

of the Act of Uniformity ! In fact, it could be held that while in Dublin, Travers virtually ceased to be a presbyterian, <sup>(1)</sup> and in that sense he was a traitor to the cause which formerly he had proclaimed and supported with such zeal in England. From this angle, more important than Travers's influence on Dublin was Dublin's <sup>(2)</sup> influence on Travers.

What can be maintained is, that indirectly, as the teacher of Usher, the future primate and Archbishop of Armagh, he definitely influenced the whole Irish church in favour of puritanism, while in the mind of Usher himself, he planted a respect for presbyterian discipline which made the later primate sympathetic to the Scottish ministers like Blair and Welsh who came to minister in the Irish church under episcopal government. In this connection it is of the deepest interest to find among the Usher manuscripts preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, <sup>(3)</sup> a precis in Usher's own handwriting of Travers's Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae .... Explicatio which reveals how thoroughly Usher had studied and comprehended the main contentions in that work. Mahaffy's

- (1) Cartwright also was a 'silent' presbyterian while in Ireland (S.P. Ireland, Eliz. lxii. No. 36).
- (2) Fullerton and Hamilton also lost their presbyterianism in Dublin (W. D. Killen, Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, i. 453, n. 3).
- (3) D.3.12, ff. 37-39.

(1)

judgment can therefore readily be accepted when he says:

It is no rash inference to say that the complexion of Usher's theology, the Evangelical character of his teaching, the utter distaste he shows for High Church practices, were all the results of the influence of Travers.

It should however be pointed out that Usher was never in favour of the polity of presbyterianism <sup>(2)</sup> for he always

maintained that episcopacy could be traced back to apost<sup>t</sup>  
<sup>(3)</sup>

-olic times. But in his anti-papal opinions it is more than likely that he was echoing the views of his presbyterian teacher. His first sermon as bishop of Meath was against recusants and one can see the similarity by comparing Travers's An Answer to a Supplicatorie epistle of G.T. with Usher's The Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British (1631). Be that as it may, there can be very little doubt that the consistent puritanism of the Irish primate was a reflection of the mind of his first college provost. <sup>(4)</sup> Indeed, it is

(1) Epoch, p. 86.

(2) This point is fully developed by R. B. Knox in a London Ph.D. thesis (1956) 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of James Usher', pp. 42, ff.

(3) Works, VII, p. 75 ff.

(4) In comparing Travers and Usher, it is interesting to notice the similarities between them. Both were more scholars than administrators; both while in Ireland were weighed down with financial worries. Both forsook Ireland on the occasion of rebellion. Both ended their careers in England, and each of them entered that country at a time when their opinions were in disfavour, Travers when episcopacy was supreme and Usher when presbyterianism held sway.

from Travers, and through the many puritan provosts (such as Temple and Bedell) who succeeded him in Trinity College, that we can trace the low churchmanship which has remained a permanent feature of the Irish episcopal church to the present day. Furthermore, it is very interesting to notice <sup>(1)</sup> that in the drawing up of the church formularies at the Westminster Assembly of Divines, at which Travers's Book of Discipline was taken as the basis of the formulary on church government, one of those who assisted, was Dr. Hoyle, Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, Dublin. <sup>(2)</sup>

- (1) J. A. Carr, Life and Times of James Usher, p. 76; J. S. Reid, Seven Letters to Elrington, p. 24.
- (2) It is claimed by S. S. Travers (A pedigree . . . . of the Devonshire Family of Travers, (1898) p. 30) that of two very similar portraits in the provost's house, one is of provost Winter and the other of provost Travers. However, both from the artistic and historical angles, such a claim is untenable. In 1954 an expert on portrait painting gave his opinion that the two portraits, one of which is now in Regent's House, were of the same person, the one being a copy of the other. In Catalogue of Pictures attached as heir-looms to the Provost's House (R. MacDonnell, 1865, pp. 16, 18) portrait 39 is given as 'either Sale or Travers', and portrait 40 $\frac{1}{2}$  as 'probably Winter'. The Catalogue of Paintings in the Provost's House (1880, p. 9) gives portrait II as 'Samuel Winter D.D.', and portrait 12 as 'duplicate of the preceding', which bears out the judgment above of the expert. But W. G. Strickland (A Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures, Busts, and Statues in Trinity College, Dublin, and in the Provost's House, (1916) p. 23) has conclusively shown that the twin portraits are not only of the same person, but that that person is provost Thomas Seele.

## Chapter VIII

### Final years in obscurity 1598 - 1635

Religious situation in England in 1598.....	p.405.
Travers and the Hampton Court conference.....	p.409.
Association with Thomas Grey. ....	p.416.
Consultation with Henry Jacob.....	p.420.
Preacher at Hertford.....	p.423.
Friendship with Arthur Hildersham.....	p.425.
Travers's <u>Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae</u> .....	p.429.
Personal life during his last years.....	p.441.
His will.....	p.443.

Chapter VIIIFinal years in obscurity 1598 - 1635

The England which greeted the ex-provost of Trinity College, Dublin, on his return in 1598 was not very much different from the England he had left four years previously. The collapse of the presbyterian movement in the opening years of the last decade of the century had been final and complete. During the remainder of Elizabeth's reign, except for the rumour in 1597 of one presbytery in Essex, <sup>(1)</sup> all evidence is lacking of any practice of the discipline. This is not surprising when it is known that in almost every diocese strict watch was being kept for the recrudescence of anything resembling a presbytery. For instance, bishop Fletcher's articles for the diocese of London in 1595, <sup>(2)</sup> Archdeacon King's articles for the archdeaconry of Nottingham in 1599, <sup>(3)</sup> and Bancroft's articles for London in 1601 <sup>(4)</sup> all make the same inquiry about evidences of presbyterian discipline. The bishops were fully determined to keep under control that movement which formerly had caused so much trouble and such a

- (1) T. W. Davids, Annals of Evangelical Non-Conformity in Essex, p. 117.  
 (2) W. P. M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, iii. 281.  
 (3) *Ibid.*, p. 319.  
 (4) *Ibid.*, p. 348.

course naturally commended itself to the Queen. Parliament did likewise for they saw to it that all the attempts made to reform the church in 1593, 1597, and 1601 proved abortive. (1)

If presbyterianism during the last years of the Elizabethan period was silent, equally so was Travers, its former outspoken exponent. Research into possible sources of information has yielded no evidence of where he resided on his return to England, nor what occupation engaged his attention at this time. Very possibly the remembrance of his former futile efforts on behalf of the presbyterian cause forced him to the conclusion that, at least while Elizabeth reigned, any further attempts were doomed to failure. On the other hand it could be argued that Travers did not desire to resuscitate such a cause, since his stay in Ireland had converted him from his nonconformity as was the case with Hamilton and Fullerton, his former colleagues in Dublin. (2) Leaving aside for the moment this question of his nonconformity which will be considered presently, it can be reasonably

(1) W. H. Frere, History of the English Church, p. 277.

(2) Cambridge Modern History, iii. ch. X. Hamilton afterwards received large tracts of land in the Ards peninsula with the title of Viscount Clandeboye, while Fullerton became an important court official.



surmised that Travers on returning to England did carry out what those in Dublin expected of him, namely 'to solicit at court a particular case concerning our poor college.....being now at the point of falling to the ground'.<sup>(1)</sup> If he did fulfil this duty, then it was

possibly due to his efforts that on 16 July 1600, the Queen granted £200 to the college and confirmed former grants.<sup>(2)</sup> Despite this and the news that the O'Neill

rebellion had been quelled,<sup>(3)</sup> there is no indication from any quarter that the former provost wished to return to Ireland.

Since Travers lived throughout the whole reign of James I and well into the reign of Charles I, the question arises as to what his religious views were during this last part of his life. There were some of the Elizabethan presbyterian leaders like Sparke, the fellow-contestant with Travers at the Lambeth conference,<sup>(4)</sup> who definitely renounced their former views during the Stewart period and thereafter served the English church in quiet conformity. Sparke even went so far as to publish his

(1) S.P. Ire., ccii. No. 103, f. 199.

(2) Original of Queen's patent in the safe of the Board room of T.C.D.

(3) J. C. Beckett, Short History of Ireland, p. 67.

(4) See p. 180 above.

renunciation in a book, <sup>(1)</sup> but this was not so with Travers, even though Fenton <sup>(2)</sup> in 1598 requested Sir Robert Cecil to be a means of having Travers restored to the ministry of the church of England, adding 'which for the good of his countrey he [Travers] much desireth'. If this was in fact his desire, then either he was unsuccessful in his attempts at restoration, or else he changed his mind. Various writers have tried to assess his religious views at this time. Fuller <sup>(3)</sup> cautiously says 'he returned to England and lived here many years very obscurely (though in himself a shining light)'. Collier <sup>(4)</sup> goes further in the statement that 'after his return hither, he was less enterprising and the edge of his zeal was somewhat abated', while Marsden <sup>(5)</sup> boldly contends that 'Travers was a nonconformist to his death'. The view of the present writer is that none of these statements give an adequate interpretation to the available facts about these last years in obscurity, for although these facts, (even after an intensive search among contemporary documents) are few, they are very enlightening.

- (1) A brotherly persuasion to unity and uniformity (1607)  
 (2) S.P. Ire., ccii. No. 103, f. 199r.  
 (3) Church History, iii. 145.  
 (4) Ecclesiastical History, vii. 151.  
 (5) History of the early puritans, p. 161.

The first mention made of Travers after his return from Ireland is found in connection with the Hampton Court conference, which met in January 1604. On the morning of 24 March 1603 Elizabeth died and at once the presbyterians, along with all other English puritans, turned their hopeful eyes to her successor King James who had been reared in presbyterian Scotland. With some of them it was almost a certainty that he would be the champion of the presbyterian cause, for had he not once actually intervened on their behalf when Elizabeth treated them with uncalled-for severity? <sup>(1)</sup> More than that, in 1590 before the Scottish general assembly he declared that the presbyterian church was 'the sincerest <sup>(2)</sup> [purest] kirk in the world'. It was therefore to be expected that now the English presbyterians would make bold to bring their cause to the new sovereign's notice and this they did with many petitions, the most notable <sup>(3)</sup> being the Millenary Petition which was presented to

(1) See p. 338 above.

(2) Drysdale, History of the Presbyterians in England, p. 234.

(3) This petition is found in B.M. Add. M S S 8978, f. 107, 28571, f. 175; Egerton M S 2877, f. 174 b; Stowe M S 180, f. 7. E. Cardwell, History of the Conferences, p. 130 quotes it somewhat inaccurately. The name arose out of the preamble which speaks of more than a thousand clergy who groaned under the weight of so many evils that could be removed.

him in April 1603 when he was making his way to London. It was couched in very respectful and moderate terms and merely asked for the removal of their worst grievances.

The new King, however, was very soon to prove a false ally of the presbyterians for, in his speech <sup>(1)</sup> to the first English parliament, he divided the people of his realm into three classes on the basis of religion, those of the true religion [church of England], papists, and 'a sect rather than a religion..... the Puritanes and Nouvelists'. Yet this antipathy to the English presbyterians was not on religious grounds, but purely for political reasons since he believed that their tenets conflicted with his view of the king's sole sovereignty over his subjects. <sup>(2)</sup> In response to the Millenary Petition, he did however agree to hold a conference, which eventually met at Hampton Court on the 14th, 16th and 18th of the following January. Very probably the King felt that a conference was the only possible way in which to quell the rising tide of presbyterian enthusiasm

(1) C. H. McIlwain, Political Works of James I, p. xci.

(2) See W. Tooker, Fabrique of the Church, epistle dedicatory; C. H. McIlwain, *op. cit.*, p. 464; S.P. Dom. xiii. No. 75, 8 April 1605.

which was showing signs of fresh activities in such places as London, (1) Oxfordshire, (2) Northampton, (1) Staffordshire, (3) Sussex, Cornwall, Devon, Essex and West (4) Suffolk. (5) The outcome of the conference is well-known.

James made no attempt to conceal his intense horror of presbyterianism using such phrases as 'No bishop, no king', (6) and 'Presbytery..... as well agreeth with a monarchy as God and the Devill'. (7) His own summary of the conference is seen in a letter he sent to a Scottish correspondent named Blake, (8) which says, 'We have kept such a revell with the Puritans here this two days, as was never heard the like: quhaire I have peppered thaim as soundlie as yee have done the Papists thaire'. From the presbyterian angle the conference achieved nothing practical, and the only outcome was that a few slight

(1) B. M. Sloane M S 271, f. 35.

(2) Ibid., f. 20.

(3) Dr. Williams Library, Morrice M S S Vol. M. No. 5.

(4) B. M. Add. M S 38492, ff. 43, 89, 90, 91.

(5) Accounts are found in - W. Barlow, The Summe and Substance of the Conference .... at Hampton Court; Strype, Whitgift iii. 402. The M S accounts are - B. M. Egerton M S 22877, f. 173 b; Baker M S M.m.I. 45, ff. 155 - 157; Add. M S 38492, f. 81; Harl. M S 3795, f. 7. a.

(6) Barlow, p. 84.

(7) Ibid., p. 81.

(8) Cardwell, History of the Conferences, p. 161; H. Ellis, Original Letters illustrative of English History, iv. 162.

changes were to be made in the Book of Common Prayer and commissions of inquiry were appointed to investigate how best to obtain a preaching clergy. It did however bring an enrichment to English literature, for James, not liking any of the English translations, and the Genevan least of all,<sup>(1)</sup> consented to the request for a new translation of the Bible and the result was the Authorised Version of 1612.

As in the reign of Elizabeth, so now in that of James, the presbyterians soon came to realise that the sovereign was their greatest foe, the only difference being that the latter was more blatant and aggressive. James's unfairness towards them is seen when he decided to have nineteen representatives at the Hampton Court conference on the side of the English church, but only four on the other. Moreover he himself was the nominator of the representatives on both sides<sup>(2)</sup> so that he was able to choose from the nonconformists a less extreme type than they themselves might have chosen. It is this matter of the choice of representatives which is of interest to the biographer of Travers, for in 'Notes of a letter sent

(1) Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

(2) Strype, Whitgift, iii. pp. 402, 404.

from a godly gentleman in the Court <sup>(1)</sup>, dated  
 23 August 1603, it is surmised that Travers along  
 with Reynolds president of Corpus Christi College,  
 Oxford, Chadderton, master of Emmanuel College,  
 Cambridge, Knewstubbs, rector of Cockfield, Suffolk,  
<sup>(2)</sup>  
 Jerton and Hildersham, rector of Ashby-de-la-Zouch  
 would be the contestants on the puritan side.

Another version <sup>(3)</sup> of the intended disputers gives  
 the names of Knewstubbs, Chadderton, Reynolds,  
 Sparke, Fenn, the former assistant to Challoner in  
 Dublin, Field, the later dean of Cloucester, or  
 Hildersham with the name of Cartwright crossed out  
 since he died a few weeks before the conference met.

The actual representatives on the puritan side  
 at the conference were Reynolds, Sparke, Chadderton  
 and Knewstubbs, all of whom were moderate presby-  
 terians. Since these were the King's choice, the  
 omission of Travers's name is significant. This  
 was no mistake on the part of James for he had good  
 knowledge of him and his part in the Elizabethan  
 presbyterian movement. When James was on his way

(1) B. M. Sloane M S 271, f. 21 b.

(2) Nothing is known of him beyond the name.

(3) S.P. Dom. James I, vi. No. 15 endorsed 'eccles-  
 -iastical Persons appointed for the Conference !

to the English border in April 1603, he was met near Haddington by the ministers of the synod of Lothian, who, among other things, sought his help in relieving their fellow-presbyterian ministers in England. The King  
 (1)  
 replied 'that he was not minded at the first to urge anie alteration. As for Mr Cartwright, Mr Travers, and some others, he understood they were at freedome. He would show favour to honest men .....'. That Travers in the first place was ever thought of as a disputer at the Hampton Court conference, and that James who knew of him should exclude him from his choice of moderate presbyterians, leaves little room for believing that he had altered the religious sentiments held by him in the previous century. If they were altered, no one seems to have known of it, for Travers remained silent.

It is worthy of note that after the Hampton Court conference, several writers continued to refer to Travers and quote his writings in defence of presbyterianism and nonconformity in general. For instance, W. Stoughton in  
 (2)  
 1604 wrote a work in defence of the former, as well as in condemnation of prelacy, in which he strongly advocated the right of the people in a congregation to choose

(1) D. Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland, vi.222.

(2) An assertion for true and Christian Church-Policie.



their own minister, without the interference of a bishop and irrespective of the parish in which that minister was educated. In support of his plea he asked what should prevent

The gentlemen of the temple or the people of the Parish of Bow in London, that they may not know and thereby have the better liking of M. Travers, and M. Barber to be their ministers, albeit neither of the twaine were brought up in any schoole or college, in or about the Temple or Parish of Bowe. (1)

Again, in 1608 two books appeared, one by Ainsworth (2) and the other by F. Johnston, (3) both of which quote Travers's Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline with regard to the deaconship of the English church being a merely human institution rather than an ordinance of God.

Another work (4) belonging to the same period written anonymously, bestowed great praise on 'the book of Ecclesiastical Discipline which hath received no answer as yet', which is a reference either to the Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae.....Explicatio or The Book of Discipline,

(1) P. 250.

(2) Counterpoysion Considerations thouching the points in difference between the godly ministers and people of the Church of England and the seduced brethren of the separation, p. 18.

(3) Certayne Reasons and Arguments proving that it is not lawful to heare or have spiritual communion with the present ministerie of the Church of England, p. 31.

(4) Of the certaine forme of Ecclesiastical Government prescribed by the word of God and perpetuall for all ages, p. 16.

but in any case it was an appraisal of Travers as the champion of presbyterianism. These three writings give us a sample of the many puritan works that appeared during the primacy of Bancroft,<sup>(1)</sup> in spite of the fact that the latter kept a close check on all puritan and particularly presbyterian stirrings, being forced at times to eject those ministers who proved most troublesome.<sup>(2)</sup> In view of this, it is easy to deduce that Bancroft would never have allowed Travers to occupy even the most unimportant living in the Church of England, and in any case, the King by his enforcement of the Canons of 1604 was obviously<sup>(3)</sup> aiming to exclude all puritans and especially presbyterians<sup>(4)</sup> from every ecclesiastical office.

The mention of Travers's name as one of the possible spokesmen at the Hampton Court conference is not the only glimpse we have of his association with the well-known puritans of that time. One of these was Thomas Grey, the

- (1) Bancroft was elected to the see of Canterbury 17 November 1603. (J. Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, i. 26)
- (2) An excellent account of this period is by S. B. Babbage, 'The Church of England and puritanism during the primacy of Bancroft, 1604 - 1610' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1941). After a survey of all the dioceses, Babbage concludes that the actual number of deprivations was not less than 80 and not more than 90.
- (3) Cecil M S 134, f. 52. Hist. M S S Comm. Pt. XVI, p. 399.
- (4) Canons 72 and 73 were aimed particularly at the presbyterians.

fifteenth and last baron Grey of Wilton. Though essentially a soldier,<sup>(1)</sup> having taken a conspicuous part in several military campaigns, particularly against the Spanish Armada, he could claim to be a scholar, having graduated at Oxford,<sup>(2)</sup> and was also noted for his piety. Very early in his career his religious views earned for him the reputation of being 'a violent puritan'.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1599 he accompanied the Earl of Essex to Ireland and was knighted in Dublin in July of that year. However, his one failing lay in his possession of a reckless and passionate temper which eventually wrought his ruin. Disagreeing with Essex, he deserted him and thus incurred the disfavour of Elizabeth. He betook himself to the Continent, and through his friendship with Sir Robert Cecil, the latter was able to send Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Cobham to meet him at Ostend with the offer of the Queen's gracious esteem.

On the death of Elizabeth, Grey with Cobham signed the proclamation of the new sovereign, but again he incurred disfavour because he feared an influx of the Scottish king's fellow-countrymen and therefore voiced

- (1) E. Edwards, Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, ii. 470.  
 (2) Complete Peerage, ed. H. A. Doubleday, etc. vi. 187.  
 (3) E. Brydges, Collins's Peerage of England, iii. 343.

his desire for certain limitations to be set to James's authority. In that year, 1603, matters were made worse for him in that an attempt was made to involve him in a catholic conspiracy on the King's life, known as the 'Bye' or 'Priests' plot. As a staunch puritan, on the day before the proposed conspiracy, 24 June, he announced his opposition to the plot, but it was too late, and on trying to escape, he was arrested and brought as a prisoner to the Tower along with Sir Griffin Markham and other suspects. At the same time another plot known as the Main or Cobham's plot was discovered, and those involved in it, namely Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh were also arrested. Since it was thought that both conspiracies emanated from the same source, the suspects of both were tried together on 18 November, 1603, before a court composed of 31 peers presided over by the chancellor. Although Grey tried hard to establish his innocency in a long and gallant speech which took up the greater part of a day, he with Raleigh and Cobham were found guilty and sentenced to the scaffold. Facing death, Grey, the 'violent puritan', naturally desired some spiritual comfort and one of those whose help he desired was

Travers. Five days later John Hunton wrote <sup>(1)</sup> from Winchester to Sir George More describing the trial:

Lord Grey shewed spirit and courage invincible standing whoally uppon his justificacioun, but shewed much vanity in the course of his defence, and when sentence was pronounced he only desired to have Mr. Travers and Dr Fyeld to conferre with, and without any show of feare departed.

Dr. Field of Hampshire, later dean of Gloucester, was one of those who, like Travers, had been considered a possible spokesman for the puritans at the Hampton Court conference.

<sup>(2)</sup> It happened however that on 10 December Grey <sup>(3)</sup> with Raleigh and Cobham were reprieved, and a few days later sent to the Tower where Grey spent the remaining eleven years of his life. From the Tower in 1603 he wrote to his mother: 'I fear not evil; my heart is fixed; I trust in the Lord'. <sup>(4)</sup> It is with more than passing interest that we learn of Travers being called to minister to such a staunch puritan in his hour of crisis. Travers's ministrations were obviously valued in such circles.

(1) Hist. M S S Comm. 7th Report, p. 667.

(2) S. P. Dom. James I, vi. No. 15.

(3) Winwood's Memorials, ed. E. Sawyer, ii. II.

(4) Edwards, op. cit., p. 475.

Another indication of Travers's religious views at this time is found in connection with Henry Jacob's founding of an Independent congregation in London in 1616, mistakenly called 'the first congregational church in England'.<sup>(1)</sup> Jacob became associated with the Brownists as early as 1590 and in the last years of Elizabeth's reign had become well-known for his learning which is evident from his writings.<sup>(2)</sup> At the same time he had affinities with the presbyterians for after a thorough study of the Bible he accepted their basic belief that Christ had actually fixed the form of the church's government, and so this jus divinum must be accepted by all. He said:<sup>(3)</sup> 'Christ is Lord and King, yea he only is the author and institutor and preserver of his church, as it is outward and ministeriall even for ever'.

The Brownists along with the presbyterians were silenced during the last years of the Elizabethan period, but on the accession of James they too felt that a time for revival had come. It would seem that they also looked hopefully to the Hampton Court conference, for

- (1) A. Peel, The Congregational Two Hundred, p. 34.  
 (2) A Treatise of the sufferings of Christ (1598); A defence of a Treatise touching the sufferings and victorie of Christ in the worke of Redemption (1600).  
 (3) The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christs true visible Ministeriall Church, Argument XXXI.

on its failure, Jacob and several of his fellow-independents were so dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to the puritans that they desired another conference. (1)  
 Whereupon their opinions were voiced in several writings, (2)  
 especially those of William Bradshaw, (3) but it was not until 1616 that the first truly Independent congregation was formed. Jacob had spent about ten years abroad (4)  
 ministering to an Independent congregation in Middleburg during which time he also consulted with John Robinson, the pastor of a similar congregation at Leyden. Before going overseas Jacob's views on church polity were akin to those of the presbyterians, for he spoke in 1605 about pastor or bishop, elders and deacons being the proper officers of the church of Christ. (5) But on his return he founded an Independent congregation at Southwark, London, in which he as pastor was the sole elder, and

- (1) Dr. Williams Library, Morrice M S G. f. 541.  
 (2) An Apologie or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly called Brownists (1604); A Protestation of the King's supremacie made in the name of the afflicted ministers and opposed to the shameful Calumniation of the Prelates (1605).  
 (3) A Proposition on concerning kneeling in the very act of receiving (1605); A Treatise of the nature and use of things indifferent (1605); English Puritanisme containing the maine opinions of the rigidest sort of those that are called Puritanes in the Realme of England (1605).  
 (4) C. Burrage, Early English Dissenters, i. 313.  
 (5) Ibid., p. 315.

the other officers were deacons, thus reducing the four-fold order of Geneva to a twofold order. This new con-  
 gregation was inaugurated in the following manner: (1)

Having observed a day of solemn fasting and prayer for a blessing upon their undertaking, towards the close of the solemnity, each of them made open confession of his faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; and then standing together, they joined hands and solemnly covenanted with each other in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as He had revealed, or should further make known to them. Mr Jacob as then chosen pastor by the suffrage of the brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of deacons with fasting and prayer and imposition of hands.

The polity of this congregation has characterised all Independent churches ever since. Jacob continued in the office of pastor-elder until 1622, after which year, in order to propagate his teaching, he emigrated to Virginia where he founded the settlement called after him, Jacobopolis.

What is remarkable about Jacob's final resolve to found his London congregation is that before he did so, he consulted not his fellow-independents in England, for apparently the London remnant of the church of Barrow, Greenwood and Johnson did not join with him. Instead he conferred with at least three presbyterians in order to have their opinions. The history of Jacob's congregation

(1) B. Hanbury, Historical Memorials relating to the Independents, i. 292.



(1)

which deals with its continuance down to 1640 states that when he returned to England in 1610, 'In London he held many several meetings w<sup>th</sup> the most famous Men for Godliness and Learning, (viz) Mr Throgmorton, M<sup>r</sup> Travers, M<sup>r</sup> Wing, M<sup>r</sup> Rich Mansell, M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Dodd<sup>(2)</sup> ! It is not to the credit of Travers nor any of the other presbyterians that Jacob afterwards rejected their polity in favour of independency. But the statement shows that Travers is still being associated with nonconformists and the conference being in London suggests that he is now resident there.

One of the most prominent features of Elizabethan presbyterianism had been the insistence on the necessity of preaching. This was regarded as the minister's first concern. It was Travers who in both his Genevan book and the Book of Discipline had underlined this primary duty. Yet during the last forty years of his life there is only one instance of where he is found preaching, though it would seem that there was no unwillingness on his part.

- (1) Regent's Park Coll. Oxford, Gould M S Jersey Records, No. 1, p. 1.
- (2) Throgmorton and Dodd had been actively associated with Cartwright. Nothing is known of Wing and Mansell.

(1)  
 Fuller partly quoting and partly expanding an earlier  
 opinion (2) says: 'Sometimes he did preach, rather when  
 he durst than when he would; debarred from all cure of  
 souls by his non-conformity'. However, in 1610 Thomas  
 Noble M.A. was the vicar of All Saints church, Hertford,  
 where his long ministry lasted from 1578 to 1630. This  
 seems to have been a flourishing parish with five hundred  
 communicants, free from recusants and with Sir Stephen  
 Sloane Kt as patron, (3) but it is boldly stated that the  
 vicar was 'non concionator' [no preacher]. To make up  
 for this deficiency an invitation either by Noble or some  
 one in authority had obviously been issued to and accepted  
 by Travers. How long the latter continued to preach is  
 not known, but very probably it was only for a short time  
 since his doing so was looked upon with great disfavour.  
 In the Act Book (4) for 1610 it is stated; 'Mr Travers of  
 All Saints in Hartford to show by what authority he preach  
 or teache'. The question was raised again on 10 April,  
 9 May and 23 May. Since the matter is not mentioned  
 again, it must be concluded that Travers tactfully

(1) Church History, iii. 145.

(2) Dr. Williams Library, Morrice M S S ii. p. 431 (12)

(3) W. Urwick, Nonconformity in Herts, p. 523.

(4) County Hall, Hertford, Herts, Acta of the archdeaconry  
 of Hunts, i.3.

withdrew from that parish in order to avoid further trouble. It was hard for him to dissociate himself from the stigma of earlier years, for he is still regarded as an unwanted presbyterian preacher.

Further light on Travers's ecclesiastical affinities during this last period of his career is thrown by what is known of his association with a very troublesome presbyterian, Arthur Hildersham. Born in Cambridgeshire in 1563 of catholic parentage, <sup>(1)</sup> he entered a grammar school in Essex where he imbibed the principles of protestantism. From there he proceeded to Christ's College, Cambridge, where, about the age of fourteen or fifteen, he graduated B.A. and M.A. <sup>(2)</sup> His father, who had intended him for the priesthood, on finding that he had forsaken the old faith, disinherited him, <sup>(3)</sup> whereupon he was supported by a distant relative, Henry Hastings, the earl of Huntingdon. When Barwell the master of Christ's College debarred him from a fellowship, Burghley intervened and procured his election as a fellow of Trinity <sup>(4)</sup> Hall in the same university in 1584. Three years

(1) Neal, Puritans (1754) i. 554.

(2) Veny, Athenae Cantabrigienses, ii. 368.

(3) Neal, i. 554.

(4) Brook, Puritans, ii. 376.

later the Earl of Huntingdon appointed him to a lecture-ship at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire. <sup>(1)</sup>

Some idea of Hildersham's turbulent career is seen from the fact that he was silenced four times for non-conformity, in 1590, 1605, 1611 and 1630, <sup>(1)</sup> while, on one occasion he was fined and on another imprisoned for three months. But he was opposed to the separation of the independents, and like Travers, he had conference with Jacob on disputed points. <sup>(2)</sup> A contemporary says <sup>(3)</sup> that he was no dissenter from the church of England on matters of faith, but disagreed on questions like the wearing of the surplice, baptizing with the sign of the cross, and kneeling at communion, so that in this way he continued to be 'presbyteriarily affected'. A further <sup>(4)</sup> example of this is seen in his writings which reveal his close adherence to the Scriptures and his love for the scholarly exposition of them. He was known to be a great admirer and friend of Cartwright, who at his death

(1) Neal, i. 555.

(2) S. Clarke, A General Martyrologie, p. 151.

(3) W. Lilly, History of his Life and Times, 1602 - 1681, p. 4.

(4) Lectures upon the Fourth of John preached at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire (1629); One hundred and fifty-two lectures on Psalm 51 (1642).

left his papers to him and Dod to peruse and publish as they thought fit. (1) In a letter dated 1584 (2) Cartwright addressed him as 'my loving brother' and this is not surprising since they both stood together before the High Commission in 1591 to be questioned for their offences. (3) After the publication of the canons of 1604, Hildersham led a puritan deputation before the Council to have them rescinded, but it was not favourably received, while he himself was sent to prison. (4) He died in 1631, having ministered at Ashby for about forty years, except for intermittent periods caused by suspension and imprisonment. (5)

It would have been strange if such a forthright presbyterian stalwart as Hildersham could have been a contemporary of the editor of the presbyterian Book of Discipline without some contact. Proof of such is found in 1624 when John Swan of Kanke in Staffordshire, 'a religious man' (6) left fifty pounds in his will to be distributed

(1) Clarke, op.cit., p. 151.

(2) T.C.D. M S 295.

(3) Beaulieu M S S Hist. M S S Comm. pp. 33-34.

(4) Frere, History of the English Church, p. 317.

(5) Brook, Puritans, p. 381.

(6) Dr. Williams Library Morrice M S ii. 431 (8)

to silenced ministers at the discretion of Hildersham. It is of the deepest interest that Hildersham, by the hand of his son, Nathaniel, despatched one tenth of this sum at his disposal to Travers, the receipt for which, dated 5 March 1624, was in the hands of Brook when he wrote his Lives of the Puritans.<sup>(1)</sup> Of even greater interest is the letter<sup>(2)</sup> of thanks which Travers sent on the same day to Hildersham at Ashby-de-la-Zouch. He addressed him affectionately as 'my loving and revered friend', and acknowledged with the deepest gratitude not only the legacy but his love as well. The letter reveals<sup>(3)</sup> a very deep friendship between the two men, as well as showing that Hildersham regarded Travers as a silenced nonconformist in need of financial assistance, and by his acceptance of this gift, Travers obviously did not object to his being regarded as such. It is also to be noted that his letter was written in London, which would suggest<sup>that</sup> this was now his permanent home since his interview with Jacob eight years previously.

(1) ii. 329; See also Momice MS loc. cit.

(2) B.M. Add. M S 4276, f. 157. Copy in Appendix VII.

(3) Five months afterwards Hildersham was found in Hampstead suffering from a fever (Clarke, op. cit., p. 153) so that if Travers was still seeking a 'good occasion wherein I might shew my love to you agayne' (Appendix VII), the opportunity very soon presented itself.

So far, in considering Travers's religious opinions in these last years of his life, it has become clear that he certainly cannot be reckoned anything other than a nonconformist. But when we come to his last known activity in the religious world of his day, it would almost seem as though his maturest years gave his opinions the semblance of conformity, for, five years before his death, he published a book in defence of the doctrine of the Church of England against recusants.

During the reign of Elizabeth, English catholics were strictly watched and their activities closely controlled by a series of penal statutes which curbed their liberty, even to the extent of taking from them the ordinary rights of citizenship. (1) But on the accession of James, they had as high hopes for his sympathy and support as the presbyterians, for he was the son of a catholic mother and had sometimes made as though he might adopt her faith. Yet, like the presbyterians, they were soon to be disappointed, for during his first parliament in March 1603, he spoke audaciously in warning tones against them and 'that arrogant and ambitious supremacie of their (2)

(1) H. O. Wakeman, Introduction to the history of the church of England, p. 337.

(2) B. Magee, The English Recusants, pp. 53 ff.

Head the Pope <sup>(1)</sup> In the next year a bill <sup>(2)</sup> for the execution of statutes against jesuit seminary priests and recusants was passed, and after the Gunpowder Plot in 1606, all catholics were rendered ineligible to practise as barristers, attorneys, or physicians, and were forbidden to act as guardians or trustees, while even their homes were subject to inspection by the magistrates. Yet these measures against catholics did not prevent them from further intrigues such as those against the archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Salisbury in 1609, <sup>(3)</sup> nor did it stem their increasing growth in population. In 1614 the jesuits alone had <sup>58</sup> priests in England, 68 in 1615, and nearly 100 in 1619. <sup>(4)</sup> Thus throughout his whole reign, James was compelled to keep a watchful eye on this potentially rebellious section of his subjects, and he seized every opportunity of revealing his anti-catholic hatred, as for example, in 1616 when he urged <sup>(5)</sup> the justices of assize to act against them.

- (1) C. H. McIlwain, Political Works of James I, p. 275.  
 (2) S. R. Gardiner, History of England, p. 203.  
 (3) E. Sawyer, Memorials of affairs of state in the reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I, iii. 43, 47, 48, 49.  
 (4) E. L. Taunton, History of the Jesuits in England 1580 - 1773, p. 402.  
 (5) McIlwain, p. 344.



In the year of Charles's accession, catholicism in England was given a further impetus by his marriage to a French princess by proxy in Paris on 8 May. In particular, the jesuits experienced a considerable increase in their numbers. (1) A second novitiate was opened by them in London in 1628, where they had eighteen novices. They held regular meetings and under the names of certain sympathisers, they shared in a soap factory at Westminster in order to increase their funds. All this so alarmed the puritans that they implored the king to enforce the laws against catholics. In December of the same year, James wrote (2) to Archbishop Abbot asking:

that no good means be neglected on your part for discovering, finding out, and apprehending of Jesuits, seminary priests, and other seducers of our children to the Romish religion, or for repressing popish recusants and delinquents of that sort, against whom you are to proceed by excommunication, and other censures of the church, not omitting any other due and lawful means to bring them forth to public justice.

Abbot had always been most diligent in maintaining the uniformity of the church in all its practices, even to the manner of praying before the sermon, (3) and James was ever anxious to see that the people were truly edified by sound preaching. In 1622 (4) he requested Abbot to see

(1) Taunton, *op.cit.*, p. 414.

(2) E. Cardwell, Documentary annals of the reformed church of England, ii. 155.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 133.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 146.

that all preachers gave profitable doctrine in their sermons. But the new King Charles regarded it as his plain duty to defend the church against heresy. This duty was obvious not only because the numbers of catholics were increasing, but in the year of his accession the country was at war with Spain, and an expedition to Cadiz having failed, there were rumours that the English catholics were intriguing with the Spaniards about an attempted landing at Essex. <sup>(1)</sup> In spite of the close watch being kept on the activities of all catholics, a meeting of jesuits was discovered in 1628 <sup>(2)</sup> at the recently erected college in Clerkenwell. Alarmed at such audacity, a sub-<sup>(3)</sup>committee of the house of Commons drew up a resolution on 24 February of the following year, deploring the growth of catholicism, and recommending ten methods of combating its activities, one of which was the due execution of laws against catholics. A week later parliament, after <sup>(4)</sup> a tumult, issued a protestation to say that:

Whosoever shall bring in innovation of religion, or by favour or countenance seem to extend or introduce popery, or Arminianism, or other opinion disagreeing from the true and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy of this kingdom and commonwealth.

- (1) G. G. Perry, History of the church of England, i. 340.  
 (2) S. R. Gardiner, History of England, vi. 238.  
 (3) Gee and Hardy, Documents, p. 523.  
 (4) Ibid., p. 527; F. C. Montague, History of England, p. 161.

In the next year, 1630, an important book was published with the title, Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae or 'A Justification of the religion now professed in England: wherein it is proved to be the same which was taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ and his holy Apostles; written for their use that have desired such prooffe'. A book of this kind was an obvious necessity in view of the catholic pressure without the English church, and perhaps it was also necessary because of pressure from within. Richard Montague a rector in Essex had published in 1624 an answer to a catholic pamphlet, A Gag for a New Gospel,<sup>(1)</sup> with the title A New Gag for an old Goose, but instead of denouncing catholicism, he expressed views very much akin. He maintained that the catholic church, though corrupt, was a part of the true church, and that the practice of auricular confession and the doctrine of the real presence were orthodox. Rebuked by Abbot he wrote Appello Caesarem, still adhering to the same beliefs, and for this, the House of Commons in 1625 committed him to prison. After his release the king appointed him bishop of Chichester, but in later years Montague was again found guilty of trying to catholicise

(1) W. H. Hutton, The English Church, p. 16.

(1)  
the English church. If there were many others within the church with the same opinions, then a defence of her orthodoxy was doubly necessary.

The author of Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae designated himself as 'W.T.' and with something approaching certainty, these initials can be taken to mean none other than Walter Travers. This conclusion is based not only on the correctness of the initials, but also on several other considerations. The only other religious authors of that time with the same initials are William Tindale and William Traheron, but it is unlikely that either of them would be interested in the writing of such a book.

(2)  
Brook has attributed the work to Travers, and it is generally catalogued under his name. (3) Moreover, the anti-catholic arguments expressed in it are identical with those found in Travers's former book on the same subject, An Answer to a supplicatorie Epistle of G.T. (4) Further, certain features about the Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae are very typical of Travers's writings, for example, his verbosity, the copious references in the margin to Biblical texts, and the constant antipathy to the apocryphal writings. Consequently it is on fairly good evidence

(1) M. W. Patterson, History of the church of England, p. 332.

(2) Puritans, ii. 330.

(3) Pollard and Redgrave, Short Title Catalogue, p. 563.

(4) See p. 161 above.

3

**VINDICIÆ**  
**ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ:**  
 OR  
**A IUSTIFICATION**  
**OF THE RELIGION NOW**  
**PROFESSED IN**  
**ENGLAND.**

Wherein it is prooued to be the same  
 which was taught by our Sauiour Iesus  
 Christ, and by his holy Apostles; writ-  
 ten for their vse that haue desi-  
 red. such prooffe.

---

BY W. T.

---

Acts 24. 14.

*This I professe vnto thee, that according to the way which they call Heresie, so doe I serue the God of my Fathers, beleeuing all things which hath beene written in the Law, and in the Prophets.*

*Vigilius against Eutyches: lib. 1.*

*This is the Catholique Faith and Profession which the Apostles haue deliuered, which the Martyrs haue confirmed, and which the Faithfull preserue euen to this present age.*

---

Printed at London by T. C. & R. C. for Michael Sparke,  
 dwelling at the blue Bible in Greene Arbor. 1630.

(1)  
that the book is attributed to Walter Travers.

The title page states that the place of printing was London, the printers being T.C. (2) and R.C. (2), and the publisher was 'Michael Sparke dwelling at the blue Bible in Greene Arber,' but nothing more is known of printers or publishers. According to the title, certain people had desired to have proof that the doctrine and practice of the church of England was really in accordance with the true religion taught by Christ and after him by the apostles, and Michael Sparke in response to this desire had undertaken to publish such a proof. The one that came to hand was this one by Travers, but whether Travers forwarded his proof on his own initiative, or at the request of the publisher, is not known. All that is stated about the author is found in the epistle to the reader written by 'A.B.' The latter commends this work 'by a learned author whom I never knew, but in his workes; whose writings doe seem to bear witnessse to his labours and indefatigible pains in study'.

(1) A copy of Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae in M S was item 484 in Puttick and Simpson's sale catalogue of Dawson Turner's M S S June 6 - 10, 1859, but no trace of it can be found.

(2) Probably 'Cotes,' see Pollard and Redgrave, *op. cit.*

The book has eighty pages, and is divided into ten chapters. As in his former anti-catholic work, presbyterianism is not mentioned since the author's primary task is to defend protestantism rather than any section of it. Travers writes throughout as a loyal member of the English church, referring eleven times to 'our church in England'. Beginning in the first chapter with God as the source of true religion, who revealed himself in Christ, he passes on in the second to consider the two doctrinal standards of the English church, the Articles of Religion, and the Prayer Book. For him these standards contain the same doctrine as that taught by Christ. Unlike the teaching of the church of Rome, they have no place for image worship. They maintain that divine service should be in the vulgar tongue, since Christ spoke in the language of his day, and that preaching should be from the canonical Scriptures and not the uncertain or fabulous writings of men, since the former practice guarantees adherence to the truth of the Gospel. Only two sacraments are to be recognised, and not seven, since only Baptism and the Lord's Supper were instituted by Christ. The latter sacrament is to be administered in both kinds, while belief in transubstantiation is

regarded as an 'absurd and damnable error',<sup>(1)</sup> unwarranted in the New Testament. On the same grounds, petitions to Mary or the Saints are dismissed for prayer is to be offered to God only, and through one mediator only, Jesus Christ.

The final chapter deals with martyrs. After tracing the history of martyrdom from Old Testament days until the end of the Roman Empire in the West, it is shown that those who died for their faith during the Marian regime suffered death for the same faith as the martyrs in the early church, that is, for the true doctrine taught by Christ; whereas catholic martyrs have never died for such a doctrine, but because their false doctrine made them enemies of the state.<sup>(2)</sup> So Travers concludes his arguments with these final words of the book:

The martyrs of the Primitive Church dyed for that truth, which is now professed in England, which having beene thus proved by this Treatise, there bath beene performed whatsoever is desired; which God grant may be of as good use to such as have desired it, as the writer from his soule doth pray God may vouchsafe them.

The writing of this book marks the last known appearance of Travers on the religious platform of his day, and its contents would indicate that while inwardly he probably still preferred the presbyterian discipline to any other, yet his main desire was not primarily for

(1) P. . 49.

(2) Cf. J.S. Leatherbarrow, Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants,



pure discipline, but for purity of doctrine. There being no apparent hope of reviving presbyterianism in the church at this time, he was content to fight for the bigger issue of protestantism in general, when it was being threatened by its enemies. It is worth noting that in the year that Travers's last book appeared, Alexander Leighton was arrested and received the most degrading and painful punishment <sup>(1)</sup> for publishing in 1628 Sion's Plea against Prelacy in which he advocated the divine right of presbytery. <sup>(2)</sup> It is almost certain that Travers agreed with the main contention of such a book, but his silence on this issue indicates that in his maturest years, he had come to see that there were larger issues at stake. His championship of the English church against the catholics must have done much in helping leaders of that church to forget his former outspoken nonconformity, and in particular, it must have pleased Laud, now rising to the zenith of his power (already bishop of London), who was as violently opposed to catholicism as he was to presbyterianism, for we learn <sup>(3)</sup> that at his trial he gave a list of

- (1) Drysdale, History of the Presbyterians in England, pp. 248 - 52.  
 (2) S. R. Gardiner, History of England, vii. 144.  
 (3) Hutton, The English Church, p. 47.

twenty-two people whom he himself had won from the church of Rome.

During this last period of his career, Travers has been found on two occasions in London, where also he made his will, and the most justifiable conclusion is that he lived during these years somewhere in the great metropolis. (1) Apart from the few scattered facts already mentioned, nothing is known of his attitude to or participation in the contemporary religious world, though if living in London, he must have had full knowledge of it. Perhaps he was not sufficiently interested in the events of that age to warrant his intervention. There was no presbyterian movement to engross his energy. Drysdale (2) referring to this period says:

Presbyterianism as a sentiment still beat strong in many hearts, but as a practical system was cherished only partially among certain classes of Puritans hating prelacy, yet willing to acquiesce in episcopacy as an ancient and tolerable mode of church government, while evading not a few of the prevailing usages and rubrical arrangements.

- (1) His name is not found in any of the records of the corporation of London.
- (2) Op. cit., p. 241.

Puritanism in general had been relatively quiet during Bancroft's primacy, 1603 - 10, <sup>(1)</sup> but after his death, it gathered strength, showing itself in the zeal for sabbatarianism and also in the establishment of puritan lectureships, as for instance in London. <sup>(2)</sup> It was strongly opposed and openly criticised by the King who, in his Declaration of Sports in 1617, rejected the puritan way of life, and it was also the target of attack for such prominent churchmen as Lancelot Andrews, John Donne and George Herbert. However its growing power gradually divided the people of England into two camps, the king's party and the parliamentarians, the former allied to the English church, and the latter with the puritans, who became more and more presbyterian until eventually they were able to depose the king and seize the reins of government.

With regard to Travers's personal life in these final years, it is very unlikely that much will ever be known. What is probably the earliest and most reliable source <sup>(3)</sup> says that he lived to a good old age 'in a meane and low, but very contented condition', and this is the

(1) Heylyn, Aërius Redivivus, p. 384.

(2) D. A. Williams, 'Puritanism in the city London government!' (The Guildhall Miscellany, No. 4, Feb. 1955, p. 3)

(3) Dr. Williams Library, Morrice M S ii. 431 (12).

impression given by several other writers, <sup>(1)</sup> though  
<sup>(2)</sup> Heylyn mentions 'a small estate' and Collier <sup>(3)</sup> 'a  
 slender fortune'. It is known <sup>(4)</sup> that Archbishop Usher  
 still retained a high esteem for his old provost and  
 visited him several times when he came to England for  
 the purpose of obtaining books to add to the Trinity  
 College Library. According to Clarke <sup>(5)</sup> these visits were  
 paid tri-annually. If Usher in 1603 took the trouble  
 while on one of his visits to London in the company of  
 Challoner to visit Goodman at Chester <sup>(6)</sup> it is very likely  
 that he would make a point of seeing Travers on the same  
 occasion, especially if the latter was residing in London.  
 What throws some light upon his pecuniary circumstances is  
 the fact that on one occasion, Usher offered him money for  
 his support 'which he thankfully refused'. <sup>(4)</sup> Obviously  
 Usher would not have made the offer if he considered that  
 Travers's circumstances did not warrant it. On the other

- (1) T. Price, History of Protestant Nonconformity, i. 361.  
 (2) Op. cit., p. 316.  
 (3) Ecclesiastical History, vii. 151.  
 (4) Dr. Williams Library, Morrice M S ii. 431 (8).  
 (5) A General Martyrology, p. 512.  
 (6) Bernard, Life and death of . . . . Usher, p. 42.

hand, probably Travers reckoned that although he had no affluence of wealth, if he had sufficient for his needs, that was all that he desired, and this would seem to be borne out by the size of the estate that was his at death.

Travers's will, <sup>(1)</sup> dated 14 January <sup>(2)</sup> 1635, was proved ten days later, so that his death must have occurred some time between the 14th and 24th of this month. Being <sup>(3)</sup> unmarried, it was to his nieces and nephews that his generous thoughts first turned, and to them he leaves his share of the tenements in Nottingham bequeathed to him in his father's will. The assets in cash at his disposal came to £351. One hundred is to be given to his nieces and nephews, but twice this amount is to be used in helping to educate two students for the ministry, one in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and the other in his old university in Ireland, Trinity College, Dublin, for which he still must have cherished a kindly thought.

(1) Appendix III.

(2) The Walter Travers who became vicar of Wellington in Somersetshire in 1635 (Wood, Fasti Oxonienses, v. 204) was a nephew of Travers (See Family tree, Appendix IV).

(3) Fuller, op. cit., iii. 145; Urwick's suggestion (Non-conformity in Herts, p. 250) that John Travers was his son is incorrect, he being a nephew.

The will then reveals that there was a third educational institution in which he had a special interest. Dr. Thomas White who had been a contemporary of Richard Hooker in his college days in Oxford, was for many years vicar of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, London. <sup>(1)</sup> He became known as a great encourager of learning and as particularly generous to the poor. In 1624 he died, and by his will left £3,000 for the purchase of a house suitable as a college. His executors three years later carried out his wishes in the founding of Sion College, on Victoria Embankment. <sup>(2)</sup> Why Travers became interested in this college is not known <sup>(3)</sup> for no evidence is available to show that he was acquainted with the donor, nor was the latter associated with the puritan movement.

Travers's gift to the college by his will was in three parts. The first consisted of a little plate, a silver pot, a standing goblet, two silver bowls and some silver spoons. Secondly the college was to have as much of his library as would be useful to them, not only the books, but such things as harps, globes and compasses. The actual task of sifting the books was given to the senior dean, Richard Houldsworth <sup>(3)</sup> and a colleague, and

(1) W. Reading Account of Doctor White, p. 3.

(2) London, E.C. 4.

(3) E. H. Pearce, Sion College and Library, p. 243.

(1)

part of their choice is seen in the Book of Benefactors in the college archives in which under the year 1636, there are three columns of book titles, 150 in all. At the end of this long list there are the words 'cum aliis' so that the full quota of volumes received by the college is not known. However the titles of these 150 books are of extreme interest in showing the width of Travers's reading, since there are books in six languages, dealing with medicine, patristics, alchemy, rabbinics, as well as Bibles, dictionaries, and a 'Prognostica finis mundi'. Probably few, if any, of these books exist today, since the college and the library suffered in the Great Fire of 1666.<sup>(2)</sup> The third part of his gift to the college took the form of a legacy of fifty pounds, in order to maintain in the college a preacher in Latin, who was to receive ten shillings each quarter. It became available

(1) P. 28.

(2) Reading, op. cit., p. 20.

(1)  
 in the autumn of 1637 and the first preacher to receive  
 it was Dr. Johathan Brown, rector of St. Faith and  
 prebendary of Westminster. Intermittently such a preacher  
 was duly appointed until the year 1654. (1)

Travers appointed as his executor Roger Hughes and  
 in the capacity of overseer his nephew, Elias Travers,  
 to each of whom he donated ten shillings for the making  
 of a gold ring as a memento. Commenting on Travers's  
 generosity in his will, Fuller (2) remarks, 'O! if this  
 good man had had a hand [equal] to his heart or rather a  
 purse to his hand, what charitable works would he have  
 left behind him !

After his death, apart from the books bequeathed to  
 Sion College, there was found (3) in his study a copy of the  
 articles that had been objected against Cartwright in 1590,

(1) Pearce, op. cit., p. 177; The idea of founding such  
 a college seems to have come entirely from White,  
 since no reasons pointed to the necessity for it,  
 nor was there any demand for it. Even the origin  
 of the name is obscure. But the college still con-  
 tinues to function as a training centre for the  
 clergy of the church of England. It is of interest  
 that Fuller 21 years after Travers's death wrote his  
Church History 'from my chamber in Sion College'.  
 (Epistle to the reader).

(2) Church History, iii. 145.

(3) Ibid., p. 116; Strype, Whitgift, ii. 23.



but unlike his books, it is impossible to trace the destination of this or any of his manuscripts. However there is fairly strong evidence for the assumption that Usher secured at least some of them for the library of Trinity College, Dublin. On 20 June 1636 Usher received  
(1)  
a letter from Francis Burnett, a London bookseller and agent, in which it is stated:

I suppose your lordship hath not yet received ..... Mr Travers wrightings which I writ for to Doctor Travers and had answeere he would seeke and sort them owt and send them to Mr Walby to send over as soone as he could ..... besides which Mr. Hughes of London executor to Mr Travers hath other manuscripts of Mr Travers heer which as he can looke owt he promiseth [?] me to send your lordship with some other books.

(2)

Doctor Travers was the nephew, Elias, mentioned in his will as his overseer, and who at this time was rector of Thurcaston, Leicestershire. Three months later on

(3)

13 September, Burnett again wrote to Usher that he had often written to Doctor Travers and to Walby about sending on the books, but from the latter he could get no reply, while Doctor Travers gave another promise that he

(4)

would send them. The last letter that Usher received

(1) T.C.D. MS D. 3, 3, f.77.

(2) Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, iv. 261.

(3) T.C.D. MS f. 78.

(4) Ibid., f. 80.

from Burnett was on 6 October 1636, but it did not add anything to the information given in the other two.

However, almost a year later, on 6 December 1637, a letter from J. G. to Usher<sup>(1)</sup> states:

Mr Gattane [Gattacre ?] was this day with me to inquire of your Grace's health and wished me to certify your grace that he thinks by this time Dr Travers' MSS are at Chester.

Nothing further can be ascertained as to whether the manuscripts ever reached Dublin, and since an examination of the Trinity College collection has shown that none are in the handwriting characteristic of Walter Travers, there can be no certainty on the matter. It is however possible that the two manuscripts of the Book of Discipline already considered<sup>(2)</sup> might have belonged to Travers, though they are not in his handwriting. Furthermore, it would be unlikely that Elias Travers would have prevented the manuscripts from reaching Dublin as he himself also had a deep interest in Trinity College, Dublin, seeing that, following his uncle's example, he mentioned the college in his will,<sup>(3)</sup> leaving it one thousand pounds to maintain a preacher 'to sett the light in the darkest place'.

(1) G. E. Elrington, Works of Usher, xvi. letter CCCCXXVIII, p. 535.

(2) See p. 271 above, n.1.

(3) Somerset House P. cc, 148 (2 Oct. 1641); S.P. Ire., lxiii. No. 261, f. 148 r.

## Chapter IX

### Travers's influence and importance

Presbyterianism as the state religion of England...	p.449.
Travers's influence on the Westminster Assembly...	p.452.
Summary of his career.....	p.455.
Character, abilities and thought.....	p.459.
His debt to influential people.....	p.463.
Travers's ecclesiastical importance.....	p.465.
Cartwright and Travers.....	p.468.

Chapter IXTravers's influence and importance

After Travers's death in 1635, the next few years saw the steady rise of presbyterianism to the zenith of its power. This was due chiefly to the extreme measures taken by Charles and Laud against it, measures which called forth Milton's condemnation in *Lycidas* (1637). In Scotland their efforts had completely failed having been met with the fiercest opposition crystallised in the signing of the National Covenant. In England when the Short Parliament on 13 April, 1640, showed opposition to the King's desires, it was dissolved on the fifth of the next month. But the Long Parliament that assembled in the following November made it quite plain that the King and his Archbishop had gone too far, and that episcopacy would soon have to give place to the wave of puritan revolt that surged forward, the central force of which was presbyterianism. Laud was imprisoned in 1641, while mobs surrounded the houses of parliament in order to exclude the bishops from their places in the House of Lords. Petitions flooded in while the parliamentary army went about destroying church altars and other furnishings offensive to the puritans. Finally in the critical year of 1643 'as the necessary price of the Scottish alliance' (1)

(1) G. M. Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, p. 170.

a bill for the abolition of episcopacy 'root and branch' was passed by both houses, and three years later 'on the ruins of the church and of the monarchy', <sup>(1)</sup> presbyterianism became the state religion of England. There followed fourteen years of puritan intolerance, Laud being executed in 1645, Charles in 1649 and about two thousand clergy <sup>(2)</sup> were ejected from their livings. In 1660 puritanism, both in its presbyterian and independent forms having fallen into the gravest disfavour, was displaced by episcopacy and Charles II became King.

The astonishing speed with which presbyterianism had been established by parliament was due to three causes. Firstly there was the presence of the victorious Scottish army on English soil which had come to the aid of the parliamentary party and its commissioners were simultaneously negotiating their treaty in London. Secondly there was the shower of pamphlets that demanded the complete abolition of episcopacy. It is estimated that during the years of presbyterian ascendancy, about 30,000 pamphlets appeared dealing with ecclesiastical <sup>(3)</sup> matters. Thirdly there was the work done by the most

(1) J. H. Blunt, The Reformation of the church of England, ii. 548.

(2) W. H. Hutton, The English Church from Charles I to Anne ii. 548.

(3) Drysdale, op. cit., p. 264.

renowned church conference of that century, the Westminster Assembly.

When episcopacy had been abolished by parliament, something had to be done to erect another kind of ecclesiastical structure to take its place, and so on 12 June 1643, at the command of both Houses, there came into being the famous Westminster Assembly of Divines which met on 1 July 1643 in the Abbey and continued in office for the next five and a half years. (1) By the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643, England was committed to presbyterianism, and the Westminster Assembly was given the task of working out the details of how it would be organised throughout the land. It consisted of 121 divines, 30 lay assessors (10 from the house of Lords and 20 from the house of Commons), 3 scribes, while 8 Scottish commissioners (5 clerical, 3 lay) attended, but without the power to vote. Thus as a deciding body, it

(1) The various accounts of the Assembly are found in G. Gillespie, Notes of Debates and Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; S. W. Carruthers, The Westminster Assembly; and The Everyday work of the Westminster Assembly; W. M. Hetherington, History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; A. F. Mitchell, The Westminster Assembly; J. Lightfoot, Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines; W. A. Shaw in Cambridge Modern History, iv. pp. 356 ff.

was entirely English. Apart from the Scottish commissioners, who in spite of their inability to vote, wielded a very great influence over the assembly, there were three other parties among its personell. There were the presbyterians, the largest group, the independents, a small body but with marked ability, and then there were the erastians who believed that the state should have the power to establish whichever form of church government it desired.

The influence of Travers on the Assembly's decisions is undoubted, and is clearly seen at two points. After they had drawn up a revision of the Articles of Religion, they came at the end of the year 1644 to consider what should be the discipline and government of the church. During the debate on whether a man should be ordained to a specific congregation or not, Edward Calamy, a clerical member and at this time curate of St. Mary's Aldermanby, intervened to oppose the proposition of ordaining ministers to a specific congregation and in support of his view cited <sup>(1)</sup> the opinion of Travers that 'the teacher' (*διδασκαλος*) mentioned in the book of Ephesians, chapter IV was a vagrant preacher, not employed in any permanent place.

(1) Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 224.

But on the final outcome of this debate on church discipline and government, Travers had a very far-reaching effect for in this year, 1644, at the opportune moment, there was published a work with the title - A Directory of Church government anciently contended for, and as farre as the Times would suffer, practised by the first Non-Conformists in the daies of Queen Elizabeth. The sub-title stated, 'Found in the study of the most accomplished Divine Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his decease; and reserved to be published for such a time as this'.<sup>(1)</sup> This was the English translation of Travers's Book of Discipline already considered<sup>(2)</sup> and it was published deliberately for the benefit of the Westminster Divines who were now engrossed in this very question. The title page states that it was published by authority in London and printed for John Wright in the Old-baily. The possessors of the book who entered it at the Stationers' Hall on 11 February, 1645, designated it as 'written by Mr Tho: Cartwright',<sup>(3)</sup> but unless they did not know of

(1) A. F. Mitchell (op. cit., p. 52) is incorrect in making 1585 the year in which a copy was found in Cartwright's study. It was not then completed.

(2) P.285 above.

(3) Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1640 - 1708, ed. G. E. B. Eyre and C. R. Rivington, i. 149.

(4) A. Kippis, (Biographia Britannia, v. 287) also attributes the work to Cartwright.



Travers's editorship, they very probably had some evidence that Cartwright was the translator into English.

Other works of the same pro-presbyterian type had appeared, as for example Smectymnuus in 1641 and a work bearing a close resemblance to Travers's Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae . . . . . Explicatio, entitled The Platforme of the Presbyterian Government in 1644, but none had a more manifest influence on the Assembly's final decisions than this English translation of Travers's Book of Discipline. This can be easily seen in comparing the latter with the Assembly's Form of Presbyteriall Church - Government and of ordination of ministers which was approved on 10 February 1645. Both begin with the same premise that Christ instituted the type of officers that were necessary for the edification of his church. Both maintain that these officers were of two kinds, extraordinary and perpetual, the latter being pastors, teachers, elders and deacons. Both emphasise preaching as the primary duty of the pastors, and both believe that proper church government can be effected through four types of assemblies - elders meeting in particular congregations, classical presbyteries, provincial synods, and national assemblies. The Westminster form differs from the Book of Discipline in that it omits any consideration of

fasting, holidays, marriage and schools, and it ends not with the form of subscription, but with a detailed account of ordination. In all, the likenesses are too obvious to be regarded as accidental, and, at the very least, it can be confidently asserted that it was Travers's Book of Discipline which remained uppermost in the minds of <sup>the</sup> Westminster compilers. (1) It is at this point then that Travers's great influence on the ecclesiastical world of his day reached its culmination.

Any summary of Travers's long and varied career must naturally begin with the fact that in his youth he had the advantage of a godly upbringing, and later of a good university education which laid the foundations of his immense learning. It was Cambridge which first sowed in his mind those seeds of nonconformity which were to blossom forth later in the zealous and outspoken presbyterian leader. J. B. Mullinger says: (2)

If to the Cambridge of Crammer, Latimer, Ridley and Tyndale belongs the high honour of having first recognised and promulgated in England the doctrines of the Reformation to the Cambridge of the Pilkingtons, Beaumont and Cartwright belongs the more equivocal distinction of having educated our earlier Puritanism and given shelter to the principles of Dissent.

Travers was one of those who enjoyed such education and shelter. His expulsion from Cambridge only served to

(1) Cf. W. Haller, The Rise of Puritanism, p. 11; Mitchell, op. cit., p. 52; Gillespie, op. cit., pp. 1-8; T. Leishman, The Westminster Directory, p. 135.

(2) The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunct

whet his appetite for more intimate knowledge of presbyterian discipline, for immediately he betook himself to the fountain head, Geneva. In that bracing atmosphere, he felt compelled to put his thoughts on paper and his first publication there in 1574, the Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae..... Explicatio put the name of Travers on the permanent list of presbyterian authorities.

Until now his experience of the Discipline had been only in the capacity of a studious onlooker, and as England at this time offered no opportunity to practise it, we find Travers receiving presbyterian ordination abroad in order to enter the active ministry which was afforded him in the merchant congregation of Antwerp. Here he made contact with continental protestantism and particularly with men from whom he probably imbibed much of his antipathy to catholicism, for as merchants, they took great joy in chasing the vessels of the Spanish papists on every possible occasion. (1)

This continental ministry did not last long but seems to have been regarded as a stepping stone to the wider platform of presbyterian activity in the homeland. At first the door of such opportunity seemed closed against him, and had it not been for the ready help of

(1) A. F. Pollard, Elizabethans and the Empire, p. 19.

Burghley, Travers might well have been forced to seek refuge once more on the Continent. His appointment at the Temple appeared to be most suitable, since it was a place in which his scholarship would be deeply appreciated, while all the time his pulpit gifts were being exercised to the full. Nor was his pen idle, for he was also employed in writing a dissuasive from the church of Rome. At a later date when Hooker arrived as ~~ma~~ster, there was witnessed one <sup>(1)</sup> of the two greatest puritan controversies of the sixteenth century, where two scholarly minds clashed with full force in the arena of ecclesiastical polity. Both acquitted themselves well and it is to be regretted that this lively debate was cut short by the silencing of Travers, the manner of which was even more regrettable.

Yet Traver's silencing was but the signal for his entering on the yet wider field of organising presbyterianism on a national basis. In London which was the chief centre of activity, he is found in the capacity of moderator and secretary to that classis, while at the same time, he is entrusted with the very high responsibility of editing the best-known handbook of

(1) The other being that between Whitgift and Cartwright, cf. H. H. Henson, Puritanism in England, p. 15.

presbyterianism that the century had ever seen, the Book of Discipline. Shortly afterwards he is found writing a defence of this discipline in order to confirm his former conclusions. Yet despite his zealous efforts on behalf of presbyterianism coupled with those of Cartwright and the other leaders of the movement, he is compelled to watch it come to grief, crushed between the adamant antagonism of the Queen and the unrelenting opposition of its many enemies.

Although only a little more than half of Travers's career was over when he left England for Dublin, still his career as an advocate of presbyterianism was virtually at an end. His remaining years must be regarded as an anti-climax in comparison. For one with a scholarly mind like his and a ready pen, the administrative work of a university provostship in Dublin must have been very irksome. When we add to this the special economic difficulties that beset the infant college in a land that had hardly known the impact of the Reformation, and one in the throes of a rebellion, the brevity of his time in Ireland is not surprising.

During the last thirty-seven years of his life which were spent in England, apart from the few occasions when he is found associated with presbyterians or puritans, he was not an influential figure, except perhaps for his last book written in opposition to catholicism. From what we know of this last period, he must still be reckoned a presbyterian, but one content to live in silence and obscurity.

Any appraisal of Travers must begin with the integrity of his character, which in spite of his many misfortunes throughout his career, remained unimpeachable. His sincerity and the genuineness of his piety cannot ever be called in question. Hooker, his opponent, called him 'a good man',<sup>(1)</sup> and Usher, who as his student sat at his feet for four years, held him in the highest esteem ever afterwards.<sup>(2)</sup> One early authority has referred to him as a most godly and humble man. In the light of such virtues one can understand something of the secret of the depth of conviction that was apparent all through his life. His absolute sincerity gave a sturdiness to his views, which when fanned by his lively zeal, were apt to be expressed

(1) P. 204 above.

(2) Dr. Williams Library, Morrice M S ii. 431 (12).

with a stark forthrightness which would appear as very extreme to those who differed from him. It was probably this aspect of his nature which prompted the criticism levelled at him by one writer, <sup>(1)</sup> namely, that Travers had not learned to work with other people.

Then to this sincerity and sturdy zeal, there must <sup>(2)</sup> be added his oratorical gifts which according to Fuller were beyond the average. 'Mr. Travers's utterance was graceful, gesture plausible, matter profitable, method plain, and his style carried in it *indolem pietatis*, "a genius of grace" flowing from his sanctified heart'. With such a preacher in the Temple Church, it is small wonder that vast audiences crowded to hear his words.

If Travers had a ready tongue, he also had a ready pen whether in Latin or English. He possessed an uncommon knowledge of oriental languages and his close study of the Bible and of the writings of the early Fathers added tremendous weight to his arguments for the divine rightness of the discipline he advocated. Because of this, he was a controversialist whose conclusions were hard to <sup>(3)</sup> refute, and his opponents, it is said, were wont to

(1) Paget, Introduction to Fifth Book of Ecclesiastical Polity, p. 73.

(2) Church History, iii. 142.

(3) Morrice M S loc. cit.

acknowledge him as 'an eminent scholar'. It was the matching of his great intellectual powers with those of Hooker at the Temple which will ever make that debate one of the richest in ecclesiastical history.

All of Travers's thinking began with the Bible, which to him was the authoritative verbally-inspired word of God. After studying this book, and having discovered in it that the presbyterian discipline was the only discipline approved by God (though it would seem at some points to be a forced discovery) he had found a rock of truth on which he could stand and from which he could condemn other disciplines. This explains in great measure his intolerant spirit, a spirit which characterised Elizabethan presbyterianism, and was in fact characteristic of the whole age. <sup>(1)</sup> Doubtless in those days of upheaval and revolution in men's religious thinking, a certain amount of intolerance was necessary to enable the new faith of the Reformation to resist its numerous enemies. <sup>(2)</sup>

(1) A. J. Klein, Intolerance in the reign of Elizabeth, p. 160.

(2) A. Toynbee, An Historian's approach to Religion, p. 171.



In Travers's case, his intolerant spirit showed itself in three directions: first, in its most violent form, it was manifest in his keen antipathy to catholicism and such antipathy shows itself in his two anti-catholic books. For him, the authority of the church of Rome was not the Scriptures but the Pope, who consequently must be regarded as anti-Christ. This was the typically Calvinistic view, and it will be remembered how Hooker at this point differed from Travers, because the former began with a wider authority than that of the Bible. Travers, whose bedrock authority was Biblical, could not tolerate a church whose doctrine and polity were out of keeping with the word of God. But Travers on much the same grounds had to oppose the church of England, yet not on account of its doctrine. He believed that its doctrine was Biblical and therefore Genevan, so that on this score, anglicans and presbyterians were one. (1) But this did not diminish his antagonism to the polity of episcopacy which to him was based on tradition rather than the Bible. (2) Professor Sykes has pointed out that the essential conviction of presbyterianism in Elizabeth's

(1) T. Rogers, The Catholic Doctrine of the church of England, p. 8.

(2) The English Protestant Tradition, p. 26.

reign was 'that the church of England represented but an uneasy half-way house between Rome and Geneva, and needed "the reform of the reformation" to make it complete and self-consistent'. In the light of that conviction, Travers was the perfect representative presbyterian. What he desired was an entire remodelling of the whole ecclesiastical system, and he refused to be content with anything less. Thirdly, he was also intolerant even of those who were anti-episcopal, but not presbyterian, namely, the independents. Their system had got a semblance of the proper discipline, but their separate congregations did not express the integration of the church, or the closely-knit authoritarianism of the body of Christ which Travers, Cartwright and the other presbyterians desired. To the latter no church could have authority which was not a state church, so that unlike the independents, they were willing to tarry for the magistrate, not seeking to destroy the state church of England, but positively to work for its conversion.

Another feature of Travers's career which must not be overlooked is the help he received at many points from influential people. First and foremost there was the Lord Treasurer, Burghley, who sheltered him and pleaded

on his behalf on many occasions. (1) Others worthy of mention were Walsingham and Davidson who were prominent during the days at Antwerp, and Loftus who initiated him into the Dublin provostship. Two others (2) who held him in high esteem were Sir James Altham, a judge who was a member of parliament for Bramber in Sussex (3) and well-known for his interest in religion and learning, and Sir Edward Cook, who staunchly advocated the full reformation of the church. To all of these, Travers owed a very great debt, but most of all to Burghley.

Yet in spite of all the help of his friends and co-workers, Travers's presbyterian ideals for England were never realised. The small though very active body of presbyterians in England today must at its best be regarded as only a shadow of what Travers would have wanted (4) for the whole country. In a previous chapter the reasons for the failure of the presbyterian movement in Elizabeth's reign have been noted, and most of those

- (1) Burghley's constant high regard for Travers is hard to explain. It must have been solely on personal grounds for Burghley had no time for an ecclesiastical system that belittled the authority of the sovereign. On one occasion (10 July 1598) he wrote to his son: 'Serve God by serving the Queen. For all other service is indeed bondage to the Devil'. (Strype, Brief Annals of the Church and State, p. 343)
- (2) Brook, Puritans, ii. 330.
- (3) D.N.B.
- (4) See pp. 37-50 above.

reasons also explain its failure after Travers's death. Even when its discipline was established by act of parliament, with the exception of London and Lancashire, it was never adopted throughout the land, for the English people all through the Reformation period had never known anything but episcopal church government, and had no real desire for any other. Presbyterianism seemed too incompatible (1) with episcopacy to give any hope that one day there might be a fusion of the two systems of church polity. On this point S. R. Gardiner (2) categorically states; 'She [England] has never been, and it may be affirmed without fear of contradiction, that she never will be presbyterian'. Travers was in fact standing for an unpopular cause (3) which was never liked either by monarch or people, and so his failure was even more so the failure of the movement whose aims and principles he so vigorously advocated.

Yet that movement would undoubtedly have been even less successful had it not been for the influence of Travers's life and work. As a man of tremendous

(1) H. O. Wakeman, Introduction to the history of the church of England, p. 330.

(2) History of England.... 1603 - 1616, i. 139.

(3) H. H. Henson, Studies in English Religion, p. 120.

influence his name will be remembered always in the religious history of the two centuries in which he lived. There was first of all his writings, especially the Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae . . . . Explicatio and the Book of Discipline which have become authoritative statements on the genius of presbyterian polity, the latter of which stamped its views upon the Westminster Assembly documents which have remained the standards of worldwide presbyterianism until the present time. To the presbyterian movement itself, particularly in Elizabeth's reign, Travers imparted a stubbornness and a sense of divine rightness, which to a great extent explains why it ever existed and why it survived for so long amidst such opposition by the Queen, and such ruthless criticism by Whitgift, Bancroft and others of the church's leaders. As to the Westminster Assembly, if, as Professor Sykes thinks, <sup>(1)</sup> that Assembly lost its opportunity of fusing episcopacy with presbyterianism, Travers must have been partially to blame, for the Westminster Divines manifested the same stubbornness in favour of presbyterianism as their predecessors had done in the Elizabethan period. Furthermore, the impression he left upon the students of the Temple cannot

(1) Old Priest and New Presbyterian, p. 114.

(1)  
 be omitted. Collier says: 'it was thought the wrong impression the lawyers received from Travers's preaching made some of them afterwards abet the Puritans in the House of Commons'. Through his preaching they must have been given a deep respect for presbyterianism and encouraged to question the tenets of episcopacy, which they actually did, even to the extent of causing annoyance to Hooker after Travers's departure, so that the former was very glad when he was relieved of the mastership. The effects of Travers's teaching on the student mind of Usher has already been seen (2) even though he failed to convert him from episcopacy. Yet here it is important to draw attention to his influence on those who remained within the episcopal fold. The two best examples are Usher and Hooker. In the case of the former, Travers mellowed his insistence on episcopacy, but in the case of the latter he sharpened it. The result was that Travers indirectly caused the writing of one of the greatest classics in English literature, and one of the most thorough and balanced statements of episcopacy that was ever known. If Travers directly benefited presbyterianism, indirectly he benefited Christendom even more.

(1) Ecclesiastical History, vii. 150.

(2) P. 402 above.

Finally, it is impossible to consider Travers without seeing him in relation to Cartwright, the two being so closely linked together in the same movement, to which, according to Fuller,<sup>(1)</sup> they were as head and neck. While Cartwright is generally recognised as the protagonist of English presbyterianism, he is excelled by Travers in two respects. The latter contributed more to the thinking of the movement, because his presbyterian views are set out methodically in his writings, whereas those of Cartwright are more scattered and piecemeal in lectures, and answers to opponents. Further, Travers can claim to be the first to have systematised the tenets of presbyterian discipline in an orderly and persuasive form. Again, not only did he live longer than Cartwright, for the latter died in 1603, but his influence was of longer duration. Travers's importance is unique in that he is the bridge between Geneva and Westminster, spanning the gap between Calvin's first practice of presbyterian discipline in Switzerland, and its establishment by the state in England. He is the nexus between Geneva and London. Travers's first book on the discipline was written in Geneva and his second was published in London during the sitting of the Westminster

(1) Church History, iii. p. 28.

Assembly, and as we have seen, its main principles were adopted as one of that Assembly's standards. In Travers is seen how the well of Geneva eventually produced the reservoir of Westminster.

Yet he was not forgotten after that Assembly. In 1650 the anonymous ministers and elders who published A Vindication of the Presbyteriall Government and Ministry (1) mentioned him in support of the antiquity of presbyterian government, and thirty years later, the University of Oxford passed a decree (2) condemning his books to the flames along with the books of many other authors, in that they were subversive of the absolute power of the monarch in ecclesiastical affairs. No student therefore of ecclesiastical history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, nor of the polity of presbyterianism in any century, can afford to omit his name from the list of primary authorities that must be consulted. Thus, the writer of this thesis can find no better words with which to conclude than those borrowed from Thomas Fuller, (3) written three hundred years ago about the same Walter Travers: 'I am almost angry with myself for saying no more of so worthy a divine.'

(1) P. 19.

(2) State Tracts..... privately printed in the reign of K. Charles II, ii. 155.

(3) Church History, iii. 131.



Cartwright's letter from Geneva to Travers's Father

(1)

B.M. Add. M S 33271, ff. 41 - 2

The grace of our Lord god and the most comfortable assistaunce of God his most hollie Spirit through Jesus Christe oure only mediator be with you and remaine with you for ever. That good and holie will of god which I knowe you desire dayly maye be fulfilled in all thinges, that good will the Lorde hath declared unto your sonne Mr Robert Traverse to be this that he would not have him to be any longer in this unkinde and unthanckefull world, which for that which is both ment and done well recompenseth evill againe, but would drawe him to him self where he might fully enjoye the fruite of his labor and godlines. And althoughe I doe not doubt but that good Spirit which teacheath you to desire the will of god maye be done, will teach you also at this time to be content and thanckfull nowe when it is done. Yet I knowe you shall not want enemies that will goe aboute to drive you from that patient contentment that you desire so earnestly to keepe, ffirst yt you have lost your sonne but thanks be to the L. he is not lost whome the L. hath in his Cumpanye neyther have you lost him which is there whether you shall goe and enjoye him everlastingly. Therefore Mr Traverse I desire you by the gatheringe together and metinge of the Sainctes and by the comminge of our Savio<sup>r</sup> Christe that your sorrowe which your naturall affection will move you unto maye be swallowed upp with the consideracon of that meetinge which the very dume and deaf Creatures doe groane for and which we ought much more to sigh for, whose cause that comminge and metinge shalbe for. yf we desire that metinge of Sainctes and comminge of Christe our Savio<sup>r</sup> howe maye we take to hart that whereby our savioure C: maketh him self waye to that his comminge, and howe doe we

(1) Another copy is in Bradford City Library, Hopkinson MS XVIII, ff. 125-6

desire the metinge of his Sainctes, when we would not have them to be gathered into that place where the can only meete & abide together. ffor assuredly they can never meete here in this worlde. Therefore as Davide comforted him self with that that once he should enioye his sonne againe, so the god of Comfort make you to feele and your godly bedfellowe also theis greate mercies of the L. that where he sometimes chuseth the parentes and passeth by the Children, sometime choseth the Children and passeth by the parentes. So that when they once be parted in this world they can never meete againe. The Lordes election hath here so mett both in the Children and in the parentes confirmed with such undoubted Argumentes of the knowledge of god and of unfayned faith that you be assuredly perswaded that his partinge is but for a time, the which thinge more assured you be thereof then David could be of his childe, yet beinge such as no certen knowledge of his election then could appeare so much more cause of mercye have you offered into your handes of the L. then David had. But that will strike you that beinge so toward learninge and godlines and what other thinge might make for commendacon of a yonge man that godly light that shined so cleare him should almost no soner begune to blase and shewe forth it self then the L. would forth with put it forth. Here againe Mr Traverse you knowe right well that light is increased a Thowsand fould and therefore no grief cometh that waye. But you will saye we have no benefitt of it, we have not indeed that fruite we might have had of him yf the L. anger with us for our sinnes had not taken him awaye. But this lamentacon doth not appertaine unto you, to me rather that did reape and should furth have reaped of his sweete and lovinge Companye more proffitt then ever you should have taken. Here also all the godly that ever knewe him or ever shall understand of him did ioyned them selves with you and will communicate in this

sorrowe, whose partes are as greate in yt as yours. And therefore you shall doe them injury yf you take that all to your self which of right appertayneth to them, and so lament your sorrowe as though none ells but you were sorrye for him. And if greate lamentacons were required in the behalfe of those that dye in the feare of L. and be with god, your Sonne Mr Gualter hath paide it alreadye so plentifully that yf you should not moderate your sorrowe more then he, you might reconne some incommoditie in this your ould age which you should not so well beare out as being yonge, which I rather make mention of that at least in regarde of him, and other your Children you doe not exceede in this sorrowe for the death of your sonne. for I make the Accompte after this sorte that for so muche as his brothers death went so neare him that he coulde hardly be brought to Receive comferte, yf he shoulde heare anye thinge otherwise then well yt would geve him such a deepe wound as would hazerd him also, for you knowe he is of nature very weake and sorrowe will sone kill suche. I wisshed him to come home because his thinne nature will hardly devour and overcome the difficulties of travell but I could not perswade him. Towchinge the manner of your sonnes death you have also to reioyce. ffor when as you see sometime the Children of the iust and the Children themselves also godly to be taken awaye by the secreate iudgement of god by deathes violence of drowninge etc. It pleased the L. to call him awaye by such a death wherein no such token of the wrath of god appeared, for he died in his bed of an Ague, and was there where he wanted no kepinge nor phisicke, for there was never a daye that the Phisicon came not twice at the least, and was buried in the Land of Conoran very comlye accompanied with the Studentes and professors in the Universitie. The somme is, Mr Traverse, that as you have good cause of reioysinge in many consideracons to what side so ever you turne your self so to reioyce in the L. and to receave the Comforde that the L. offreth in such wise as you maye be hable to comferte your Bedfellowe and your Children. I must as you see

make an end of writinge. But I will praye to the L.  
to comfort you. And I knowe Mr Gwalter hath written  
at lardge to you and effectually of this matter. And  
therefore with my hartie Comendacons both to you  
and to your Bedfellowe I will committ you both to  
the mercifull kepinge of the Lord our god who kepe  
you through Christe. Mr Gwalter ... very dilligent  
about him all the tyme of his sicknes.

ffrom Geneva

yours to his power

Thomas Cartwright 1574.

A P P E N D I X 11Will of Walter Travers's father

District Probate Registry, York, xix. f. 875.

In the Name of God, Amen. The fiftenth daie of September, in the yeare of oure Lorde God a thousande, five hundrith, seaventie and five, I Walter Travers, of the Towne of Nottingham, Gold Smythe, beinge weeke and feeble in bodie, but of good sounde and perfect remembrance, thanks be to God thearfore, do ordaine and make this my last Will and Testamente, in mannr and forme followeing: First, and before all thinges, I commende me into the hands of oure Lorde, who haste created and redeemed me, beschinge the most humblye, for Jesus sake, pardon and forgiveness of all my synes, asseuringe myself also undoubtedlie as trustinge to thy promeys, O Lorde, which cannot deceave, that, altho' I be in my selfe most unworthie of thy Grace, yet, for that Jesus Christe, thou wylte receive me to the. Not accomptinge to me my synnes for whiche he hath suffered, and fully satisfied this Justice allredie; but imputing to me, of thie fre grace and mercie, that holynes and obedience which he hathe performed, to thie moste perfecte lawe, for all those that shoulde beleve in hime, and come unto the, in his name. Withe faithe, O Lorde, seinge that of thy goodnes thoue haste wrought and planted in me, by the preachinge of the hollie gospell, I stedfastelie hope for the performance of thy promyse, and everlastinge liffe in Jesus Christe. This blessed hope shall reste with me to the laste daie, that thou rayse me upp agane, to enjoye that liffe and glorie that now I hope for. Thearefore, I commende my sowle into the handes of God, my bodie I will that yt be honestlie buried, and lade upp in pease to the comynge of the Lorde Jesus, when he shall come to be glorified in his sayntes, and to be marvolous in theme that beleve; in that daie when this corruptible shall put on incorruptible, and this mortall immortalitie accordinge to the Scriptures. And as for those goods and landes that God hath given me, I declare this my Will, and full mynde and intente thearof, in forme followinge, that is to saie, I give and bequethe all and singular that my messuage, house, stable, and gardens thearto belonginge, which I latelie purchased from Thomas Cowghem, late of the saide town of Nottingham, Alderman, deceased, wherein I nowe

dwell, to Anne Travers my wiffe, for and duringe her naturall liffe, and after her decease, to Anne Travers, my daughter, and to theires of her bodie lawefullie begotten, and to be begotten: And, for defalte of such issue, to Walter Travers, John Travers, and to Humfrey, my sones, equallie amongste theme, and to theires of theire bodies lawefullie begotten and to be begotten; And, for defalte of such Issue, to the righte heires of me the saide Walter Travers, the Testator, for ever. Further, I will that the saide Anne, my daughter, during her lyffe, after the decease of my ~~my~~ said wiffe, havinge the saide messuage and premyses, shall give and paie yearlie, ten shillings at two usuall daies in the yeare by even porcons, to my overseers: to be by theme distributed to suche poore people, within the towne of Nottingham, as they shall think moste mete and conveniente, allso, I give and bequethe all my other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, not before by me given in this my Testamente and presente laste Will, to my said Wiffe, Anne Travers during her naturall liffe; and after her decease, to my said three sones, Walter, John and Humfrey, equallie amongeste theme, or so many of theme as shal be then livinge, and to theires of theire bodies lawefullie begotten and to be begotten: and, for defalte of such issue, to Anne Travers, my daughter, and to theires off her bodies lawefullie begotten and to be begotten: and for defalte of such Issue, to the righte heirs of me the saide Walter Travers for ever. And I will that my saide daughter Anne peaceablie permytt and suffer my saide thre sones to have and enjoy the saide landes to them bequithed, which I bought of Robert Wynsell, notwithstanding anie bondes, or assurance thearof, heartofore by me to the saide Anne, or to her use made. And for the disposinge of my goods and chattells that God hath given me, I will that my debts be paide and my funeralls discharged, of the whole: and the resedue of all my goods and chattells, gold, silver, plate, and houeshoulde stuff, moveable and unmoveable (my debts paid and funralls discharged), I give to Anne, my wiffe, and to Anne Travers my daughter, equallie betwixte them, and I do make and ordeine the saide Anne my wiffe, and my saide daughter my full Executrices of this my Testament and laste Will; and I make my well beloved sones, Walter and John Travers, supvisors of the same, to se the same justlie and trewlie executed, done and performed: theis beinge witnesses - Laurence Brodbent, Esquire, the Queenes Highness Receivor

APPENDIX III

within the Counties of Nottingham and Derby -  
Thomas Atkinson - Symon Willson - Richard Ogle -  
Arthur Francis - John Warde and others.

This Will was proved in the Exchequer Court of  
York, 18th January, 1575, by the Oaths of  
Ann Travers (widow, the relict) and Anne Travers  
(the daughter) the co-executrixes therein names;  
to whom probate was granted they having been  
first sworn duly to administer.

I leave this Will to be the property of  
the stocks named in my former Will, that is to the  
property of my brother John which are Elizabeth, Elizabeth  
and John, and of the property which are only  
Edward, wife to Mr Parsons of Hastings, Edward and her  
children.

Next I give in manner as followeth £100 to be equally  
divided, viz, £33 among the children of my brother John  
last and next like, and of another £30 a gift of my  
sister Anne before named, and to the children of my  
sister Anne which are William, Robert and at Amsterdam,  
and to his two sisters Elizabeth and Barbara, living  
about Rotterdam in Holland the other £10 to be  
equally divided among them.

Further I give £100 to the founding of a student to be  
brought up in Emmanuel College in Cambridge for the  
Society.

Also, I give another £100 to the like use to Trinity College  
by Dublin in Ireland.

Item, to King College in the City of London I give the  
little plate which I have, that is one silver pott, a  
standing Goblet, two silver Bells, one deep and another  
shallow, and a set of silver spoons whereof I have in  
possession but one, the other three are to be bought to  
make up the dozen.

Further I give the said King College one each of my  
library as two of them orderly appointed by the rest to  
serve, the same shall think fit and convenient for their  
use, bothe books and all other things belonging to such  
as libraries, and globes, compasses and such like, and every

## A P P E N D I X III.

WILL OF WALTER TRAVERS.

(Public Record Office, Sadler Nos. 4 and 7 P.c.c.).

AFTER PRAYER TO GOD for His Gracious direction in it I Walter Travers of London, clerke doe here set downe my Last Will and Testament in forme and manner as followeth, Imprimus whereas my father dyeing seized of three tenements in Nottingham left one to his daughter Anne and the other two to his three sonnes then liveing, that is to me the said Walter the eldest, John the next and Humfrey the youngest, I leave this my interest to the posterity of the two stocks named in my fathers Will, that is to the posterity of my brother John which are theis, Elias, Samuell, John and Walter, And also Susan, Elizabeth and Anne, And of the youngest Humfrey which are only Hannah Parsons, wyfe to Mr Parsons of Hasings, Sussex and her children.

Next I give in manner as followeth £100 to be equally devided, viz, £80 among the children of my brother John, part and parte like, and of thother £20 I give £5 to Hanna Parsons before named, and, to the children of my sister Anne which are Humfrey Denman now at Amsterdam, and to his two sisters Elizabeth and Bothsua, liveing about Rettford in Nottinghamsheire the other £15 to be equally devided among them

Further I give £100 to the founding of a Student to be brought up in Emannuell Colledge in Cambridge for the Ministrey

Item, I give another £100 to the like use to Trinity Colledge by Dublyn in Ireland

Item, To Sion Colledge in the City of London I give the little plate which I have, that is one silver pott, a standing Goblet, two silver Bolles, one deepe and another shallowe, and a dozen of silver spoones whereof I have in possession but nyne, the other three are to be bought to make up the dozen.

Besides I give the sayd Sion Colledge soe much of my whole Library as two of them orderly appointed by the rest to survey the same shall think fitt and convenient for their use, bothe bookes and all other things belonging to them as harpes, and globes, compases and such like, And what



they see not convenient for them I give to the children of my forenamed nephues that are to be brought up in good learning to be ordered by my executor and overseer Finally I give to the said Colledge £50 binding them to give every quarter one peece of Gould of ten shillings to the Minister that shall preach in Latine at Clerum, or if that use alter to some other as convenient, All my other goods whatsoever I leave to be disposed of in good and sound discretion of my executor that is Mr Roger Hughes whome I pray in his friendship to take this burden upon him and to my overseer whome I name to be my nephue Elias whome I likewise praye to yeild his helpe herein, by them to be disposed as they shall thinke good upon my nephues children, servants, freinds and any other that have well deserved and I give to either of them my executor and overseer ten shillings apeece to make a Gould ring for a remembraunce

This was dictated unto me by Mr Walter Travers the 14th January 1634: John Wheatley, scr; Jonah Vty.

Probatum fuit Testametum suprascritus apud London Coram Venerabili viro Basilio Wood, LLD. surrogato venerabilis viri Domini Henrici Marten, militis legum etiam Doctore Curie Prerogative Cantuariensis Magistri Custodis sive Commissory l'time constitut vicesimo quarto die mensis January Anno Domini juxta cursum et Compucacoem Ecclie Anglicane, Millesimo sexcentesimo tricesimo quarto/ Juramento in huiusmodi Testamento nominat cui commisses fuit A ministratio omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti De bene et fideliter Administrando ead ad Sancta die Evangelia Jurat /Rogerii Hughes, executores

Walter Travers, Clerke, of London, Proved 24th January 1634/5.



APPENDIX VLetter from the Mayor of Leicester and others to the Earl of Huntingdon requesting the appointment of Travers as preacher

Archives of the Leicester Museum,  
Hall Papers, I, No. 157. ( Ap. 12, 1586 )

Right Honourable, our very good Lord; our duty humbly promised. May it please your honour favourably to accept of this our humble suit, which we presently make, both for our private good, and for the public benefit of the inhabitants of this town of Leicester. So it is, our very good Lord, that being deprived by the just judgment of God for our sins, of our faithful, godly, and learned preacher, Mr Johnson ( as your honour full well knoweth ) we have been destitute ever sithence of the blessed benefit of a resident preacher, faithfully to divide with us the everlasting bread of our salvation. And understanding that the godly preacher, Mr Travers - a man, as we are credibly informed, of singular godliness and approved learning - now resteth uncharged with any cure, and hearing besides of his godly travails bestowed in other places, with the good success that it hath pleased God to give him in them, we have emboldened ourselves to acquaint your lordship with our extreme want of a resident preacher, and with our especial liking of this man; humbly beseeching your honour with convenient speed to help to relieve the one and to effect and further the accomplishment of the other. And we shall, as for all other your honour's benefits conferred on this town, so especially for this, most humbly pray to God for your honour's long life and good preservation, and rest ourselves most dutifully at your lordship's command. Thus humbly recommending unto your honour's godly disposition this our present grievous want, and to your favourable approbation this our nomination of Mr Travers, beseeching your good lordship to remember us heréin - as occasion shall be offered your honour and as your other serious business shall permit you - we humbly take our leave, and commit your honour to the protection of the Almighty.

Leicester, the 12th of April 1586.

Your honour's humbly to command,

James Clarke ( Mayor )  
Richard Parkins ( Recorder )  
William Morton  
George Tatham  
Philip Freake  
Thomas Clarke  
Robert Heyricke

John Eyrick  
Thomas Sampson  
John Tatam  
William Noryce  
John Middleton  
James Ellis  
William Ludlam.

Appendix VILambeth MS 892 no. 190.

Touching Mr. Traverse.

1. Hee hath published in print, that her Majesty hath not her place, among suche as are too gouverne the Churche, but amongst those, which are to bee governed. De Disciplina Ecclesiastica.
2. Hee hath also in the same book published, That Kinges and Princes, are subject to Excommunication as well as other private men. Ibidem.
3. He approveth of those mens Iudgemente, that have of late yeres, sett downe the Praetended Forme of DisciPLYNE, as an Article of their Beleif. In his Book against Dr. Bridges, yf that bee of his doing, as it is supposed.
4. Hee hath been a cheif dealer in the unlawfull Assemblies in London, for xvi and xvii yeres past. In which Assemblies, diverse verie seditiouse poyntes have been agreed upon. As appeereth by Mr. Edmond's Examination in the Starre Chamber.
5. He hath separated himself from the Churche of England, and ioyned himself into a newe Brotherhood. As appeereth by Mr. Edmond's depositions mentioned, and by sondry other Letters.
6. Hee was the Author, or at least the Finisher of the Book of DisciPLYNE, which lately the Brotherhood endeavored secretly to have established, without her Majestys authoritee. As appeereth by certen Lettres of Mr. Fieldes and Mr. Gelybrandes.
7. Hee hath been a chief director of the unlawfull and seditiouse Conventicles, which have been in the Contrey, beeing a speciall man, for the receaving and annswering of their Lettres. As appeereth by Mr. Johnsons Examination in the Starre Chambre.
8. Hee animated the Ministres of Northamptonshyre to make a Survey, lyke maliciouse Sycophantes, of all the Ministres lyves and dispositions, which did not concurre with the sayd Brotherhood in their unlawfull Attemptes. Ibidem.

Appendix VI (continued)

9. Hee gave his approbation and encouragement to the Ministres of Northamptonshyre, for an Offer and Challenge to have been made, at the Parleмент house dore, for disputation with the Bishoppes: viz: That xty or xxty should come thether, in their gownes, in grave maner, and offer a Petition to that effect. As appeereth by Mr Johnsons Examination in the Starre Chambre.

10. Hee hath been the Moderator and Ruler in the foresayd unlawfull Assembles at London wherein the foresayd Book of Disciptyne, of his making or correcting, hath been (for the greatest parte of it) putt in practise. As appeereth by Mr. Stone, and Mr Barbers Examination in the Starre Chambre.

11. Hee hath ioyned in confederacie, with the rest of the Brotherhood in London for opposing themselves unto the ordinarie course of the Lawes in this Realme: viz: that (according to the Jesuites Resolution) the Brethren, beeing convented before the Magistrates, touching their proceedinges, for the setting up of their Praetended Disciptyne, should refuse to bee examined upon their Oathes. As appeereth by Mr Stones Examination in the Starre Chamber.

12. (Overleaf) Hee was, among the rest, one that was acquaynted with Copingers purposes, touchinge his extraordinarie calling. And albeit hee could not bee ignorant, that hee had some mischievouse plott in his head, for the promoting of the Praetended Disciptyne, and for the Releeving of Mr. Cartwright, and the rest of the Brethren, then in prison: yet hee did not disclose the same. This appeereth by diverse of Copingers lettres.

Appendix VIITravers's letter to Hildersham

( B.M. Add. M S 4276, f. 157 )

Endorsed: To my loving and revered friend Mr  
Hildersham at Ashby-de-la-Zouche be yrs d'd'

Sir I have received by your sonne Nathaniel both your love and ye legacie whereof you wrote ffor your friendly and loving kindness testified by them both. I hartily thank you and would be glad of any occasion wherein I might shew my love to you agayne. In ye meantyme I acknowledge to have received from you fyve pound as part of ye legacy wch ye lately deceased Mr John Swayn gave to be bestowed upon poor ministers. Thus praying God mercifully to preserve and bless both yourselfe and all yours, I recommend me to your mutual prayers at London 1624 March ye 5th,

by your loving friend

Walter Travers.

APPENDIX VIIITravers's first letter to Burghley from Dublin

(S.P. Ireland, clxxv. No. 63, f. 226)

Right Hon. It may please your good L<sup>d</sup>ship to understande that uppon my arrivall heere and the delyverye of your Lo favourable letters in my behalf to my L<sup>d</sup> Chancellour it pleased His Lo<sup>p</sup> that I should remayne in the newe Colledge. Soon after resigninge his plasce of beeinge provaste by his L<sup>p</sup> order I was chosen to succede in that place. By reason whereof besyde the common charge of the House, I am appointed there to reade a latine lecture in Divinitye in the terme tyme. For mye mayntenance in doinge of these dutyes it is promised that I shallbee allowed 40 l<sup>i</sup> yeerelye, all which comfortes as I acknowledge nexte under God to come unto mee by your L<sup>p</sup>s honourable lettres and favour, so my care is and shallbee, God willinge, which I hope, to approove my self in all good dutyes right thankfull to your L<sup>p</sup> for the same. In which dutyes as I knowe your L<sup>p</sup> most requyreth my chief care shalbee in the mayntenance of the godlye peace of the Church, to performe with quyetnes the thinges that belonge to mye service, wythout just cause of offence to anye, and with as much fruite to all, especyallye those whom my laboure doe most respecte as bye anye meanes I maye bee able to performe. Thus much havinge written in this mye most necessarye dutye of thankfulness to y<sup>o</sup> Lo. I humblie crave pardon of the same, in a fewe more lynes, to certifiye the state of this newe Colledge. Beeinge a quadrant of bricke of 3 storyes, and on everye syde within the Court, it is 120 foote broade, the west syde which is of chambers, and the north syde wherein are the Chappell, hall, butterye, and kitchin, are orderlye fynished, the othe two sydes are onelye walles, savinge some lytle beginninge of chambers, which for want of further meanes, is yet unperfit. Yf the whole were finished, it woulde convenyentlye lodge 200 scholars and 20 fellowes. Of assured perpetuitye it hath not 40<sup>l</sup> a yeare, whereof the chiefe partes are 16<sup>l</sup>, which is raysed of the groundes about the Colledge, given by this cite with the seate therof, and 10<sup>l</sup> is the gifte of Mr. Shane, a gentleman of Conaght. Thus farre I Presume to certifiye your L<sup>p</sup> of our poore and hard beginninges hopinge that uppon certayne knowledge of o<sup>r</sup> so needfull estate, God maye encline y<sup>r</sup>

Lo-harte to a favourable disposition to relye it by y<sup>r</sup> Honorable mediation for us to her Excellent Matie uppon whose onelye meanes to her Matie as o<sup>r</sup> estate doth wholye depende so dare wee most humblye beseech y<sup>r</sup> good Lo. to vouch safe us y<sup>r</sup> honourable mediation to procure us some competent endowment of her royall bountye for the setlinge and mayntenance of the state of this Colledge. Least wee should bee esteemed to neglect anye dutye, wee have written o<sup>r</sup> most humble supplication to her Matie in this behalf but least wee might presume heerin about that which is meete, wee humblye praye y<sup>r</sup> Lo to dispose of it and of all such thinges concerninge the state of this house as to y<sup>r</sup> grave wisdomes shall seeme to bee most conveyent. Our poore socyetye hath written common lettres to y<sup>r</sup> Lo. dutifullye cravinge this favour. But o<sup>r</sup> hope is, that the cause itself thus farre advanced as it is come by y<sup>r</sup> Lo. specyall favour will prevayle more to comforte and strenghten y<sup>r</sup> Lo. favourable disposition to this countrye and Colledge than anye thinge that wee are able to wryte or dooe by anye meanes. Wee have beene advysed to make our suit, in particular, for one hundreth ponde a yeere in concealed landes which yf it maye bee granted wee are put in hope bye sundrye good meanes that so much in noe longe tyme wilbee recovered. Yf y<sup>r</sup> Lo. in wisdomes fynde this o<sup>r</sup> suyte conveyent, wee most humblye beseech the same to procure this Colledge the grant therof, or otherwise in so much landes growinge bye attayndure or some other good waye, wherebye this poore naked house maye have some thinge after the maner of the coontrye to feede it and a mantell to put uppon it. Thus restinge wholye uppon that which God maye dispose of o<sup>r</sup> estate by y<sup>r</sup> good Lo. I most humblye and continuallye praye, as mye dutye specyallye byndeth mee, that the Lord Almightye maye longe preserve and blesse y<sup>r</sup> Lo. And after a happye lyfe grant you the ryches and glorye that maye abyde for ever. From Trinitye Colledge by Dublin this 15 of August a. 1594.

By y<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup> most humblye to bee commanded.

Water [sic] Travers.



APPENDIX IXThe provost and fellows of Trinity College to Burghley

(S.P. Ireland, clxxv. No. 63, f. 228)

Right Honorable ou' verie good Lo. and most worthie Chancellor, the experience of your Lo. speciall favour, wherby wee have any begininge and hope of a Colledge and Universitye in this land, doth move us in regarde of the unsettled and unprovided estate of our poore socyetye to become most humble suyters to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. for it. The present state of this new Colledge, inhabited and furnished with some number of students nowe this seven monneths ryseth not in any yearly certaine and perpetuall endowment bestowed uppon it to the some of 40<sup>l</sup> a yeare; noe, though wee accompte the benefitt of the grounde that lye aboute it, and are as parte of the seate thearof. Theare hath bene gyven nere 2,000<sup>l</sup> for the building of it, and yet the whole is not finished for wante of meanes. But when it may be profited it will be fitt to receive and lodge 220 students. In mayntayeninge of whom at their studie, whereas all the hope of the fruite of this endeavor consisteth and our poore and meane condicion of lyffe, yeeldeth us not any hope otherwise to fynde meanes for procuringe of the same. Ou<sup>r</sup> onlye refuge is hearin to yo<sup>r</sup> good L. hopinge to fynde yet more comforte whence wee have received so much alreadye. Whearfore as wee have bene advised, ou<sup>r</sup> most humble suyte to your Lo. hearin is that of your accustomed goodness to this poore Countrie and in christian compassion of the nude and weake estate thearof, it may please yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. by yo<sup>r</sup> honorable mediation to her excellent Matie for us to procure to this Colledge a grant of a hundreth pounds of attainted and concealed lands a yeare, wee have sent o<sup>r</sup> humble petitions hearof by M<sup>r</sup> Henrye Lee one of the fellowes diverted to her Matie that yf yo<sup>r</sup> good Lo. shall see it convenient to be delyvered, ou<sup>r</sup> duytie might not be wanting. Otherwise, both for it, and all things concerninge the state of our Colledge wee relye whollye uppon your Lo. grave wisdom and honorable favour. Right humblye cravinge to be respected hearin not accordinge to our movinge pleading and perswading of this request, but as the necessitie of the cause it self the state of the Countrie, the Service of Almightye God, and of her excellent Matie May requyre.

our

Thus recommendyng this/humble suyte as the hope in a greate part of the civile and comfortable lyfe of this people and of theire dutifull searvinge of Almightye God, and sayth full obedience to her Ma.<sup>tie</sup> wee cease not to praye continually that the Lo. in his mercie may direct and blesse you<sup>r</sup> Lo. in all yo<sup>r</sup> weyghtye affayres as may be most to his glorye and yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. unspeakable comforte both in this lyfe and that which is to come. From Trinity Colledge by Dublin this 15 of August 1594.

By you<sup>r</sup> Lo. most humble to be commanded.

The Provost and fellowes of Trinity Colledg by Dublin in Ireland.

Appendix X

(State Papers 83 ; IO : No.26.)

Travers to Davison 12 Nov. 1578

Cum pro tuis maximis erga me promeritis omnia mea studia et officia tibi deberi agnoscam literarum officiarum de quo mihi discedens Mandaras nullo modo pretermittendum aut negligendum esse existimam. In primatis rebus tuis nihil novi a discessu tuo accidit, totam enim familiam clementissimus deus eadem benignitate fovet et tuetur qua solebat. Ab exercitu rumores quidam de prelio inter quosdam nostros et hostium levis armaturos equites commisso afferuntur sed ita varii atque incerti ut de iis rebus nihil ausim scribere presertim cum Raymundum scribam tuum iis literis quae una cum iis ad te perferentur, omnia certa et minime dubia ad te perscripsisse putem. De Gandensi negotio magna omnium expectatio est quod recte secas ucer (?) administratum plerique indicant ad summam huius reipublicae pertinere. Multis non solum ex plebe sed et magna authoritate viris video probari ut quacumque lege et condicione rem componant ac ne papatus quidem instaurationem recusandam esse, ut civile bellum evitetur. Atque hii quidam contendunt e duobus malis minus esse eligendum, et iniustissimam pacem iustissimo bello preferendam esse. Hiis adiungunt quae de pace eiusque commodis atque inprimis de commi----- hoste repellendo et de religione per omnes provincias propaganda quae item de bello presertim civile et eiusdem miserrimis eventibus de ferro de incendio, de fratribus in mutuam perviciem armatis et coeteraque eiusdem quae in hanc sententiam afferri et possuit et solent. Verum ab his quantumvis viri boni sint atque prudentes et papatum oderint, alii dissentiunt. Qui a bello civili presertim et iis miseriis et calamitatibus quae inde oriantur non minus quam illi abhorrent pacisque tam dulce nomen non minus avide amplecti atque exoculari parati sint, quae cives suis civibus conciliare, et Evangelium ac regnum dei augere atque amplificare possit. Itaque tantum apud eos hac rationes valent ut si officium, si fides, si religio patiatur, nullam rationem recusandam esse putent quae ad pacem pertinebit. Sed si quid contra sanctitatem religionis, aut vitae honestatem faciendum sit non quidem bellum inferendum esse iis qui mandarint sed deo potius

quam hominibus parendum esse nam quod illi pro se afferunt de pace iniusta et maiore male declinando, hanc sententiam maxime confirmare cum iniustissimam, id est vel incommodissimis et iniquissimis rationibus factam non inhonestissimam dixerit et cum peccato nullam gravem malum esse possit. Quae ratio cum tam honesta sit, ut nemo qui pietatem vel simulare velit ab ea aperte dissentiat, aliud quiddam excogitant et Gandenses non modo impiè nihil facturos esse si papatum rursus admiserint sed contra potius officium et fidem violare si non admiserint cum religio suadenda non cogenda sit et illi suis civibus non ex sommo sed inferiore loco presint. Quibus ut illi respondeant magistratibus mandatum esse ostendunt ne cives suos Idololatria sese (?) polluerent et dei cultum superstitionibus profanare patiantur adeoque ne quid dei lege vetitum impune fieri permittant aut ab ea mandatum pretermitti Hoc mandato iuxta antiquos illos Hervas Ezechiam, Iosiam, Asam, Josaphatum aliosque complures regna sua omnibus eiusmodi sordibus perpurgasse, universi Asam etiam capitale fore statuissent si quis a vero dei cultu pertinaciter abhorreret. Jam nostra aetate a piis principibus Angliae Germaniae aliarumque regionum cum summa eorum laude factum esse idque cum iis rationibus et exemplis quae supra meminimus tum etiam certissimo verae religionis evertendae periculo persuasi, si quibus suis erroribus et superstitionibus libertas permittenda sit, donec amicis suasionibus atque consiliis ab impuris dogmatibus atque ceremoniis avocari possit Ita enim fore perspexisse, ut Arianorum Anabaptistarum aliorumque complurium hereticorum colluvies Ecclesiam mundarete et in certum discrimen congererent quod et in iis locis accidit qui haec consilia secuti sunt. Reliquus est ultimus locus de inferiorum magistratum potestate quam illi ita tractant ut totius reipublicae administrationem ita inferioribus magistratibus cum summis communibus (communibus ?) esse dicant ut si qua urbs summi magistratus mandato scaelus aliquod admiserit, admissi acaeleris non solum summos magistratus, sed et inferiores qui urbibus aut ulli parti reipublicae presunt adeoque et totum populum reos futuros esse. Quem admodum si qui summo imperio

potiantur urbi alicui imperare velint, ut publica prostibula et lupanaria permittant, aut ut larr-ienam in innocentes vel latrocinium in vicinos exerceant urbium pretoribus et Senatoribus caeterisque inferioribus eiusdem ordinis magistratibus negant licere; ut tam impiis et iniustis mandatis cives suos parere sinant nisi tantorum scaelerum societate se velint constringere sed probe et ex officio facturos esse si ostenderint fidem suam quoque solenni sacramento et muneris a deo impositi ratione civibus suis obligatam esse. itque non posse pati ut se et totam urbem tali scaelere deo obnoxios reddant et si ea de causa oppugnentur, posse se iustis armis contra armatam Iniustitiam tueri unde colligunt multo magis hoc in Idololatria turpissimo animarum prostibulo et laniena faciendum esse atque in hanc sententiam Libuae urbis exemplum afferunt quae in sacra historia defecisse a Jeramo memoratur, quod ille a vero dei cultu deficiens vellet Idololatria in regno suo stabilire. Atque haec quidem illi in utramque partem disputant ( ut omittam quae Πολιτικῶτεροι adungant (?) imminere rectum bellum a Romanis prudentiae esse ante vertere caeteraque id genus alia ) ex quibus satis liquere potest quid facere sit honestum ideoque etiam et quid expediat nisi forte ii sumus (?) qui aliquod expedire putemus quod non honestum sit. Quae ego eo diligentius collegi ne officio deessem, si qua in re labor naus tuis rationibus inseruire posset civus operam pro meo erga te amore atque observatio, non in hostiae illius maritimae de qua scribit Johannes in Apocalypsa vulneribus sanandis, sed fodiendis et exulcerandis, et in iis tantum rebus quae honestae atque proclarae sunt positam atque collocatam esse et optem et sperem. Ecclesiola nostra dei gratia eodem statu est quo reliquisti. Diaconum magna pauperum et egestas et multitudo desiderat, Nos hospitem meum huic muneri idoneum Indicamus tu si placet et diutius abfuturus sis, quid videatur significes. Quale a mercatoribus nostris responsum superiore die retulerim ante discessum tuum intellexeras in eo ne videar acquiescere proxima curia mihi exponendum erit quid sentiam qui dies vellem in aliud tempus incidisset, ut in ea re tua et authoritate et consilio uti potuissem nunc mihi uni cum multis disceptandum erit. Sed

deus ut spero providebit quem persuadeas tibi velim  
me assidue pro tua et salute et dignitate  
venerari cognatum tuum si non discesserit a me  
quaeso amantissime salutes vale Primodie Id  
Novembris 1578

Honoris tui studiosissimus

Gualterus Traversus

( Postscriptum Literas Q' uxor tua resignavit  
quod sante (?) tibi solutam optat quam sibi .....  
liberis ..... hodie vicatim .....per....dilegentissime  
perquesiti sunt cuius causa perhibete .....  
perditionis et insidiarum a' papatis Wallonis et  
hostibus.....cives, urbem et religionem conjuratis  
.....deus ecclesiam suam habeat (?) quod it  
faciet si ille constanter ad a .....)

dosso : Clarissimo viro Domino Gulielmo Davisone  
Serenissimae Reginae Angliae Legato in  
Belgia.

Gandavum.

Appendix XI

Inner Temple Library. Petyt MSS. Letters to the Benchers and Treasurer of the Inner Temple 1570 - 1679.

No 5. John Aylmer, Bishop of London 29 June (1581) to the Benchers of the Inner Temple.

After my verie hartie commendacions ;  
Wheras heertofore upon the good report of some of my  
frends I recommendid Mr Travis unto you to be your reader,  
a man otherwise unknown to me, and therefore somuch the  
more doubtfully. Being now by the further report of  
his welldoeing and orderly behaving of him self hitherto  
amongst you better and more thorowly persuaded of him  
I presumed that I might iustly adde somuch unto his  
former commendation, as his woorthines shewed among  
you and reported unto me hath augmented his credit with  
us bothe and therefore now the more bouldly upon this  
triall I hartily praie you so to contynue your  
good liking and favor towards him, as he shall  
contynue his good behavior and credit with you : and  
so commend you to the gracious direction of god.  
Fullham this XXIX th of June.

Your assured loving frend in Christ

John London.

APPENDIX XIILetter from the Privy Council to the Inner Temple  
requesting a pension for Travers

Inner Temple Library. Petyt MSS. Letters to  
Benchers and Treasurer 1570-1679, No. 12, Privy  
Council to Benchers, February 19th, 1585/6.

-----

After our hartie commendacions/ We have received  
your letters of aunswere to ours touchinge the con-  
tynuance of the pensyon of xxl. to Mr. Traverse/  
Where by we perceive by your sondry allegacions made  
to that effect (verie slender in our opynyons) that  
yow cann easelie be content to spare him. For neither  
can the pensyon in proportion amount to everie mans  
myte in such a multitude that yow sholde seeke to  
ease youe selves of that bourden as ye terme yt,  
neither is one mans sufficiencie suche, how so ever  
he be qualified, that he may not neede some subsy-  
diarie helpe in so great a charge as both those  
houses beinge, admitting his habilitie and state of  
bodie sholde allwayes serve thereunto, which is also  
under the common lott and condicion subiecte to  
infirmities. Wherof as we had some consideracion  
at the writing of our letters, soe doe we thinke  
yow in reason ought to have, aswell as your neighbors  
of the Middle house, whome we take to be equallye  
interested with yow in the personn that is Master  
of the Temple. As for other obiections and impedi-  
ments causeles, immagined and suspiciously doubted,  
thei moughte well have beene spared to us, to whome  
Mr. Traverse is sufficiently knowen by his publique  
labors and paynes taken againste the common adver-  
saries, impugners of the State and the Religion  
under Her Majesties most gratiouse govermente professed  
and establyshed, which our opynyons of him have beene  
confirmed by the good testimonye of diverse whoe have  
had acquaintance with other his private labors amongst  
yow, with whome for the opynyon we holde of their  
judgements we colde well have liked to have found yow  
concurring: and soe we thinke his care over yow and  
his travayles bestowed among yow, in charitye and  
kinde dealing to have no lesse deserved. Therefore



we once againe verie hartelie pray yow to deale with him according to our earnest request by our former letters in allowing him, (after the rate of the pensyon agreed upon to be given him at the first), for the tyme he hath beene, leste not satisfyde on your partes, and herafter soe to contynue yt towards him, showing your selves as forward in all suche good duetyes as your neighbors of the Middle Temple, with whome yow are ioyned in one peryshe, and from whom in their soe good examples yow canne not swarve with oute the hinderance of your Church and sondrie inconvenyencies. Wher unto yet yf yow shall not like to yelde, then is he to contente him self with oute such helpe from yow, with his other meanes and the contynuanee of his preachinge there which we will yowe, may be with oute discontynuanee or discountenance frome yow by any meanes. And requyre yow soe to signifye unto him, because we wold have him to proceed with some comforte in that his mynisterie amongst yow. But yet loking for better aunswer from yow, and agreable both to this our soe earnest request, and (as it seemeth to us) unto all good equitye, we bydd yow hartelye farewell.

From the Courte at Greynwyche, the sixth. of Februarye, 1585.

Your loving frendes,

W. Burghley,

A. Warwyke,

C. Howard,

Hounsdon,

Cobham,

Wa: Mildmay,

F. Knollys,

James Croft,

Fra: Walsyngham.

Appendix XIII

Travers's letter to Burghley relating the details of his controversy with Hooker at the Temple.

Dr. William's Lib. Morrice MSS, Part A. pp. 64-77

Anno 158

In this year Mr. Walter Travers in a letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh gives his Lo<sup>pp</sup> a large narritive of the Archb<sup>ps</sup> sending a letter to inhibit him from preaching in the Temple or elsewhere and of the controversie in Doctrinall forms about this time begun betweene him and Mr. Thomas Hooker.

Right Honourable manifold benefits which all the subjects within this dominion do at this present and have many yeares enjoyed under her Maties most happy and prosperous reigne, by yo<sup>r</sup> godly wisdom and carefull watching over this estate night and day, I truely and unfeignedly acknowlege from the bottom of my heart, might worthy to bind us all both to pray continually to Almighty God, for the continuance and increase of the life and good estate of yo<sup>r</sup> Honours, and to be ready with all good dutys to satisfie and save the same to our powers, besides publick benefits common unto all, I must needs and do most willingly confesse my selfe to stand bound by more special obligation to serve and honour you then any other, for the honourable favour it hath pleased yow to vouchsafe me both oftentimes heretofore and also now of late in a matter more deare unto me then any earthly commodity. That is the unfolding and furthering of my service in the ministry of the Gospell of Jesus Christ, for which as I have been alwaies carefull so to carry my selfe as I might by no meanes give occasion once to be thought unworthy of so great a benefit. So do I still next under her Maties most gracious countenance hold nothing more deare and precious unto me then that I may alwaies remain in yo<sup>r</sup> Honours favour, which hath oftentimes been helpfull and comfortable unto me in my ministry, and to all such as reaped any fruit of my single and faithfull labour, in which dutyfull regard I most heartily beseech yo<sup>r</sup> Ho. to vouchsafe to do me this grace, to conceive nothing of me otherwise then according to the duty wherein I ought to live by information against me before yo<sup>r</sup> Ho. have heard my answer, and been throughly informed of the matter, which although it be a thing that yo<sup>r</sup> wisdoms not in favour but in justice yield to all men, yet the state of the calling to the Ministry, whereunto it hath pleased God of his goodness to call me (although unworthiest of all) is so subject to misinformations as except we may find this favour with yo<sup>r</sup> Honours, we cannot looke for any other, but that our

unindifferent parties may easily procure us to be hardly esteemed of, and that we shall be made like the poore fisher-boates in the sea which every swelling wave and bellow raketh and runneth over, wherein my estate is yet harder then many other of my rank and calling, who are indeed to fight against flesh and bloud in whatsoever part of the Lo. Host. and field they shall stand marshalled to serve, yet many of them deale with it naked, and unfurnished of weapons. But my service was in a place where I was to encounter with the well appointed and armed, with skill, and authority, whereof as I have alwaies thus discerned, and therefore have been carefull by all good means to entertaine still yo<sup>r</sup> Honourable respect of me, so have I especiall cause at this present wherein misinformations to the Lo. Archb. of Cant. and other of the High Commission have been also so farr to prevaile against me, that by their letter they have inhibited me to preach or execute any act of Ministry in the Temple, or else where, having never once called me before them to understand by my answer the truth of such things as had been informed against me. We have a story in our books, wherein the Pharisees proceeding against our Saviour Christ without having heard him and reproved by an honourable Counsellor (as the Evangelist doth terme him) saying doth our law condemne any man before we have heard him and know what he hath done, which I do not mention to the end, that by any indirect and covert speech I might so compare these, who have without ever hearing of me pronounced a heavy sentence against me for notwithstanding such proceeding I purpose by God's grace to carry my selfe towards them in all seemly dutyes according to their places, much lesse do I presume to liken my cause to our Saviour Christ, who hold it my chiefest honour and happiness to serve him, though it be but amongst the hindes and hired servants, that serve in the basest courts of his houses, but my purpose in mentioning it is to shew by the judgements of a Prince and great man in Israel, that such proceeding standeth not with the law of God, and in a Princely pattern to shew it, to be a noble part of an honourable Counsellor, nor to allow of indifferent dealings but to love and affect such a course in justice as is agreeable to the Law of God. We have also a plain rule in the Word of God, not to proceede any otherwise against any Elder of the Church, much less against me that laboureth in the Word and in teaching which rule is delivered with this most earnest charge and obtestation I beseech and charge thee in the sight of God and the Lord Jesus Christ and the Elect Angells that thou keepe these rules without preferring one before another doing nothing of partiality or inclining to other parts which Apostolicall and earnest charge I refer yo<sup>r</sup> Ho. Wisdome how it

hath been regarded in so heavy a Judgement against me without ever hearing of my cause and whether as having God before their eyes, and the Lord Jesus by whome all former judgements shall be tryed again, and as in the presence of the Elect Angells, witnesses and observers of the regiment of the church, they have proceeded thus to such a sentence.

They alledge indeed two reasons in their letters whereupon they restraine my ministry, which if they were as strong against me as they are supposed, yet I referr it to yo<sup>r</sup> Ho. Wisdome, whether the quality of such offence as they charge me with, which in effect is but an indiscretion, deserve so grievous a punishment both to the church and me in taking away my ministry, and that poor like commodity from me, which it yieldeth for the necessary maintenance of my life; if so unequall a ballancing of faults and punishment should have place in the common wealth, surely we should shortly have no action upon the case, nor trespasse, but all should be Pleas of the Crown, nor any man amerced or fined, but for every light offence put to his Ransome. I have credily heard that some of the ministry have been convicted of notorious transgressions of Lawes of God and men, being by no ability to do either service in the church then to read, yet hath it been thought charitably, and standing with christian moderation and temperance not to deprive such of the ministry and benefice but to justice (inflict) some tolerable punishment, which I write not because I thinke such ~~were~~ to be favoured, but to shew how unlike their dealing is with me, being through the goodnesse of God not to be touched with any such blame, and one who according to the measure of the gift of God have laboured now painfully some yeares in regard of the weake estate of my body in preaching of the Gospell, and as I hope not altogether unprofitable in respect of the church. But I beseech yo<sup>r</sup> Ho. to give me leave briefly to declare the particular reasons of their letter and what answer I have to make unto it.

The first is this, (as they say) I am not lawfully called to the function of the Ministry nor allowed to preach according to the lawes of the Church of England. For any answer to this I had neede to divide the points, and first to make an answer to this to the former wherein (leaving to shew what by the Holy Scriptures is required in a lawful calling and that all that is to be found in me) that I be not so long for yo<sup>r</sup> other weightyer affaires, I rest in this answer; my calling to the ministry was such as in the calling of any thereunto is appointed to be used by the Orders agreed upon in the Nationall Synods of the Low Countryes for the direction and guiding of their Churches which orders are the same with those whereby

all the French and Scottish Churches are governed, whereof I have shewed such sufficient testimony to my Lo. the Archb. of Cant. as is requisite in such a matter, whereby it must needs fall out, if any man be lawfully called to the Ministry in all those Churches then is my calling also (being the same with theirs) lawful.

But I suppose notwithstanding they use this generall speech, they meane only that my calling is not sufficient to deale in the Ministry within this land; because I was not made Minister according to that Order, which in this case is ordained by our lawes. Whereunto I beseech yo<sup>r</sup> Ho. to consider throughly of mine answer because exception now again is taken to my Ministry, whereas, having been heretofore called to question for it, I so answered the matter as I continued my Ministry, and for any thing I deserved, looked to have that more objected unto me.

The Communion of Saints (which every Christian man professeth to believe) is such that the acts which are done in any true Church of Christ, according to His Word, are held as lawfull, being done in one Church, as in another. Which as it holdeth in ~~the~~ Acts of Ministry, as baptisme, marriage, and such like, so doth it in the calling to the Ministry by reason whereof all churches do acknowledge and receive him for a Minister of the Word, who hath been lawfully called thereunto in any Church of the same profession. A doctor created in any University in Christendome is acknowledged sufficiently qualified to teach in any country. The Church of Rome it selfe, and their Common Law holdeth it that being ordered in Spain they may execute that that belongeth to their Order in Italy or any other place, and the churches of the Gospell never made any question of it, which, if we should now begin to make doubt of and deny such lawfully called to the Ministry as are called by any other Order then our own, then may it well be looked for that other churches will do the like. And if a Minister called in the Low Countries, be not judged lawfully called in England, then may they say to our preachers which are, that being made by any other Order then theirs; they cannot suffer them to execute any act of ministry amongst them, which in the end must needs make a schisme and dangerous division in the churches. Further I have heard of those that are learned in the lawes of this land, that by expresse statute to that purpose Ao. 15<sup>m</sup> upon subscription to the Articles agreed upon A<sup>o</sup> 62 that they who pretend to have been ordered by any other place of ministry within this land as they been ordered according to that is now by Law in this case established, which comprehending manifestly all, even such as were made Priests according to the Order of the

Church of Rome, it must needes be that the Law of a Christian land professing the Gospell should be as favourable for a Minister of the Word, as for a Popish priest which also was so found in M<sup>r</sup>. Whittingham's case, who not withstanding such replyes against him enjoyed still the benefit he had by the Ministry and might have done till this day if God had given him life so long, which if it be understood so are practised in others only should the charge of the person alter the right which the Law giveth to all others. The place of Ministry whereunto I was called was not preventative, and if it had been so surely they would never have prevented any man whome they never knew, and the Order by this church is (agreeable herein to the Word of God and the antient and best Canons) that no man should be made Minister sine titulo. Therefore having none I could by the Orders of this Church have entered into the Ministry before I had a charge to attend upon, when I was at Antwerp. And to take a place of Ministry amongst the people of this nation, I see no other cause why I should have returned againe over the seas for Orders here, nor how I could have done it without disallowing the Order of the Churches provided in the country where I was to live whereby I hope it appeareth that my calling to the Ministry is lawfull and maketh me by our Law, of capacity to enjoy any benefit or commodity that any other, reason of his Ministry may enjoy, but my cause is much more easie, who reaped no benefit of ministry by law receiving only a benevolence and voluntary contribution, and the Ministry I dealt with being of preaching only which every Deacon here may doe, being licenced and certaine that are neither Ministers nor Deacons; those I answered to the former of these two points, whererof if there be yet any doubt, I humbly desire for a finall end thereof that some competent Judges in law may determine of it according to the Order of this Realm whereunto I referre and submit my selfe with all reverence & duty.

The Second is that I preached without license whereunto this is mine answer. I have not presumed upon the calling I had to the Ministry abrode to preach or deale with any part of the Ministry within this Church without consent, and allowance of such as were to allow me to it, my allowance was from the BP of London testified by his two severall Letters to the Inner Temple, who without such testimony would by no meanes rest satisfied in it, which letters being to be produced I referre it to yo<sup>r</sup> Ho. Wisdome whether I have taken upon me to preach without being allowed (as they charge me) according to the Order of this Realm, thus having answered the second point also I have done with the objection of dealing without calling or licence.

bear me witness of mine earnest exhortations and prayers  
 with The other reason they alledge is concerning a late  
 action, wherein I had to deale with M<sup>r</sup>. Hooker Master of the  
 Temple, in the handling of which cause they charge me with an  
 undiseration and want of duty. In that I weighed (as they  
 say) against certain points of Doctrine taught by him as  
 erroneous, not conferring first with him, nor complaining of  
 it to them. My answer hereunto standeth in declaring to yo<sup>r</sup>  
 Ho. the whole cause and carriage of that cause, and the  
 degrees of proceeding in it which I will do as briefly as I  
 can, and according to truth God being my witsesse, as neare  
 as my best memory and notes of remembrance may serve thereunto.  
 After that I have taken away that which seemed to have moved  
 them to thinke me not charitably minded to M<sup>r</sup>. Hooker, which  
 was because he was brought into M<sup>r</sup>. Alveyes place, whereunto  
 this church desired that I might have succeeded, which place  
 if I would have made suite to have obtained, or if I had  
 ambitiously affected and sought I would not here have refused  
 to have satisfied by subscription such as the matter then  
 seemed to depend upon, whereas contrarywise notwithstanding I  
 could not hinder the church to do that which they thought to  
 be most for their edification and comfort, yet did I neither  
 by speech nor letter, make suite to any for the obtaining of  
 it following herein that resolution which I judge to be most  
 agreeable to the Word of God that is, that labouring and suing  
 for places and charges in the church is not lawfull. Further  
 whereas at the suit of the church some of yo<sup>r</sup> Ho. entertained  
 the cause, and brought it to a neare issue that there seemed  
 nothing to remaine but the commendation of my Lo. the Archb.  
 of Cant. when as he could not be satisfied but by my subscri-  
 bing to his late Articles and that my answer agreeing to  
 subscribe according to any law, and to the statute in that  
 case provided, but praying to be excused for subscribing to  
 any other, which I could not in conscience do either for the  
 Temple (which otherwise he said he would not commend me to)  
 nor for any other place in the church, did so little please  
 my Lord Archb. as he resolved that otherwise I should not be  
 commended. I had here utterly no cause of offence against M<sup>r</sup>.  
 Hooker who I did in no sort esteeme to have prevented or  
 undermined me, but that God disposed of me as pleased him by  
 such meanes and occasions as I have declared. Moreover as I  
 had taken no cause of offence against M<sup>r</sup>. Hooker for being  
 preferred, so there were many witnesses that I was glad that  
 the place was given him, hoping to live in all godly peace  
 and comfort with him both for acquaintance and good will which  
 had been betwixt us and for some bond of affinity in the  
 marriage of his nearest kindred and mine. Since his comeing  
 I have so carefully endeavoured to maintaine all good corres-  
 pondence and agreement with him as I thinke he himselfe will

bear me witness of mine earnest exhortations and conferences with him about the matter, the rather because that contrary to my expectation he inclined from the beginning but smally thereunto, but joynd rather with such as had allways opposed themselves to any good Order in this Church and made themselves to be thought indisposed to this present state proceedings, for both knowing that God's commandment charged me with such duty, and discerning how much our peace might further the good service of God and his Church, and the mutuall comfort of both our lives, as the contrary would hinder the service of God and his Church, and tend to the disprofitt and discomfort of both of us I had resolved constantly to seeke peace, and though it should fly from me (as I saw it did by meanes of some who little desired to see the good of our church) yet according to the rule of God's Word to follow after it, which being so as I take God to witness who searcheth the hearts and raines, and by his Son will judge the world, both the quick and the dead). I hope no charitable iudgements can suppose me to have stood evill affected towards him for his place, or desire to fall into controversie with him which my resolution I so pursued, that whereas I discovered sundry unfound points of his Doctrine (as many of his sermons tasted of some lower leaven or other, yet thus I carryed my selfe towards him, matters of smaller weight, and so courtly delivered that no great offence to the church was to be feared in them, I wholly passed as one that had discovered nothing of them, or had been unfurnished with replies, for other of greater moment, and so openly delivered as there was just cause of feare lest the truth and Church of God should be prejudiced and perrilled by it, and such as the conscience and duty of my calling would not suffer me altogether to pass over, this was my course to deliver (when I should have occasion by the ? ) the truth of such doctrine as he had otherwise taught, in a generall speech without touch of his person in any sort and further for convenient opportunity to confer with him upon such points. According to which determination, whereas he had taught certain things concerning predestination otherwise then the Word of God doth as it is understood by all the churches professing the Gospell, and not unlike that wherewith Coranus sometimes troubled this church, I both delivered the truth of such points in a generall doctrine without any touch of him in particular, and conferred with him also privatly upon such Articles. In which Conference I remember, when I urged the consent of all churches and good writers against him that I knew, and desired if it were otherwise to understand what authors he had followed in such doctrine, he answered me that his best author was his own reason, which I wished him to take off as a matter standing more with christian modesty and wisdom in doctrine not



received of the church, not to trust in his own judgement so far as to publish it before he had conferred with others of his profession labouring by daily prayer and study to know the will of God, as he did to see how they understood such doctrine, notwithstanding which warning he replying, that he would some other time deale with me more at large in that matter, I wished and prayed him not to do so for the peace of the church which by such meanes might be hazarded seeing he could not but thinke that men who make any conscience of their Ministry will judge it a necessary duty in them to teach the truth, and so convince the contrary.

Another upon like occasion of this doctrine of his, that the assurance of that we believe by the Word is not so certaine as of that we perceive by sense, I hath taught the doctrine otherwise namely the assurance of faith to be greater, which assureth of things both above and contrary to all sense and humane understanding, and dealt with him also privatly upon points according to which course of late when as he had taught that the Church of Rome is a true church of Christ, and a sanctified church by profession of that truth which God hath revealed unto us by his Son, though not a puer and perfect church, and further that he doubted not but that thousands of the fathers which lived and dyed in the superstition of that church were saved because of their ignorance which excused them misalledging to that end a text of Scripture to prove it, the matter being of set purpose, openly and at large handled by him, and of that moment that might prejudice the faith of Christ encourage the ill affected to continue still in their damnable waies and others weake in faith to suffer themselves easily to be seduced to the destruction of their soules. I thought it my most bounden duty to God and to his church whilst I might have opportunity to speake with him to teach the truth in a generall speech in such points of doctrine.

At which time I taught that such as dye, or have dyed at any time in the Church of Rome, holding in their ignorance that faith which is taught in it, and namely the point of Justification in part by workes, could not be said of the Scriptures to be saved. In which matter foreseeing that if I waded not warily in it I should be in danger to be reported (as hath fallen out since notwithstanding all the fathers I said directly and plainly to mens understanding that it was not indeede to be doubted, but many of the fathers were saved, but by the meanes I said was not their ignorance which excuseth no man with God, but their knowledge and faith of the truth which appeareth, God vouchsafed them, by many notable monuments and records extant of it in all ages, being the last

point of my sermon, rising so naturally from the text I then expounded, as would have occasioned me to have delivered such matters, notwithstanding the former doctrine had been sound, and being dealt in by a generall speech without touch of his perticular. I looked not that a matter of controversie would have been made of it, no more then had been of my like dealing in former time.

But for otherwise then I looked for M<sup>r</sup>. Hooker shewing no grief or offence taken of my speech all the weeke long, the next Sabbath leaving to expound, in proceeding upon his ordinary text professed to preach againe that he had done the day before, for some question that his Doctrine was drawn unto, which he desired might be examined with all sincerity.

So proceeding he bestowed the whole time in the discourse confirming his former doctrine and answering the places of Scripture which I alledged to prove that a man dying in the faith of the Church of Rome is not to be iudged by the Scripture to be saved, in which long speech, and utterly impertinent to his text under colour of answering for himselfe he impugned directly and openly to all mens understanding that true doctrine which I had delivered, and added to his former points some other like, as willingly one errour followeth another, that the Galat. joyning with faith in Christ circumcision as necessary to salvation might notwithstanding be saved, and that they of the Church of Rome may be saved by such a faith in Christ as they have; and a generall repentance of all their errours notwithstanding their opinion of Justification in part by their works and meats, I was notwithstanding necessarily (though unwillingly) drawn to say something to the points, he objected against some doctrine.

Which I did in a short speech in the end of my sermon, with protestation of so doeing not of any sinister affection to any man but to beare witnessse to the truth according to my calling, and wishing, if the matter should neede further to be dealt in, some other convenient way might be taken of it, wherein I hope my dealing was manifest to the conscience of all indifferent hearers of me that day to have been according to peace and without any uncharitableness being duly considered.

For that I conferred not with him the first day, I have shewed that the cause, requiring of me in duty at least not to be altogether silent in it, being a matter of such consequence, the time also being short wherein I was to preach after him, the hope of the fruit of our communication being finall, upon experience of former conferences and my expectation being that the Church should be no further troubled with

it upon the motion I made of taking some of other course of dealing, I suppose my deferring to speake with him till some fit opportunity cannot in charity be judged uncharitable.

The second day his so unlooked for opposition with the former reasons, made it to be a matter that required of necessity some publick answer, which being so temperate as I have shewed, if notwithstanding it be censured as uncharitable, and punished so grievously as it is, what should have been my punishment if (without all such caution and respect as I qualified my speech) I had before all and in the understanding of all so reproved him to offending openly that others might have feared to do the same which (yet if I had done) might have been warranted by the rule and charge of the Apostle. Them that offend openly rebuke openly that the rest may also fear and by his example, when Peter in the very case that is now betwixt us (not in preaching) but in a matter of conversation had not gone with a right foote as was fit for the truth of the Gospell confessed not privately with him, but as his own rule required him, openly before all, that others might fear and feare and not dare to do the like, all which reasons together duely weighed I hope will shew the manner of my dealing to have been charitable and warrantable in every sort.

The next Sabbath day after this M<sup>r</sup>. Hooker kept the way he had entred into before, and bestowed his whole hour and more only upon the questions he had moved and maintained wherein he so set the agreement of the Church of Rome with us, and their Disagreement from us, as if we had consented in the greatest and weightiest points, and differed only in certain small matters which agreement noted by him in two chief points is not such as they would have men to believe. The one is that he said they acknowledged all men sinners, even the blessed Virgin though some of them freed her from sin. For the Counsell of Trent holdeth that she was free from sin. Another then that he said they teach Christ's righteousnesse to be the only meritorious cause of takeing away sin, and differ from us only in applying of it. For Thomas Aquinas their chief Scholeman and Archb. Catharinas teach that Christ tooke away only Originall sin, and that the rest are taken away by our selves; Yea the Counsell of Trent teacheth that the righteousnesse whereby we are righteous in Gods sight as an inherent righteousnesse which must needs be of our own workes, and cannot be understood of the righteousnesse inherent only in Christ's person, and accounted unto us.

Moreover he taught the same time that neither the Galatians nor the Church of Rome did directly overthrow the foundation of Justification by Christ alone, but only by consequent, and therefore might well be saved, or else neither the Lutherans, nor any which hold any manner of errors could be saved, because said he every error by consequent overthroweth the foundation. In which discourse and such like he bestowed the whole time and more which if he had affected either the truth of God, or the peace of the Church, he would surely not have done: whose example could not draw me to leave the Scripture I tooke in hand, but standing about one hour to deliver the doctrine of it, in the end upon just occasion of the text, leaving sundry of his unfound speeches and keeping me still to the principall, I confirmed the believing the doctrine of Justification by Christ alone to be necessary to the justification of all that should be saved, and that the Church of Rome directly denieth a man is saved by Christ alone without the works of the Law, which my answer as it was necessary for the service of God and the Church so was it without any immodest or reproachfull speech to M<sup>r</sup>. Hooker, whose unfound and wilfull dealing in a cause of so great importance, to the faith of Christ and the salvation of his Church, notwithstanding I knew well what speech it did deserve, and what some zealous earnest men of the spirit of John and James surnamed Boanerges sons of thunder would have said in such a case, yet I chose rather to content my selfe with exhorting him to revisit his doctrine as Nathan the prophet did the advice, which without consulting with God he had of himselfe given to David concerning the building of the Temple, and with Peter the Apostle to endure to be withstood in a case not unlike his. this was in effect that which passed betwixt us concerning this matter, and the invectives I made against him, wherewith I am charged which rehearsall I hope may cleare me (with all that shall indifferently consider of it) of the blame laid upon me for want of duty to M<sup>r</sup>. Hooker in not conferring with him whereof I have spoaken sufficiently already, and to the high commission in not revealing the matter to them, which yet now I am further to answer.

My answer is that I protest, no contempt nor wilfull neglect of my lawfull authority staid me from complaining unto them, but these reasons which follow: First I was in some hope that M<sup>r</sup>. Hooker, notwithstanding he had been over carried with a shew of charity to prejudice the truth, yet when it should sufficiently be proved, would have acknowledged it or at the least indured with peace, that it might be offered without reproach or offence to him, to such as would

receive it, either of which would have taken away any cause of iust complaint, when neither of these fell out according to my expectation and desire but that he replied to the truth and objected against it, I thoughte he might have some doubts and scruples with himselfe, which is yet they were learne he would imbrace sound doctrine, or at the least suffer it to have his course, which hope of him I willingly nourished so long as the matter was not bitter and immodestly handled betweene us.

Another reason was the cause it selfe, which according to the parable of the Tares, which are said to be sowed amongst the wheate, spring up first in his grasse, therefore as the servants in that place are not said to have come to complain - unto their Lord till the tares are come to shew their fruit in their kinde so I thinking yet but a time of discovery of it, what it was desired not their sithe to cutt it down.

For further answer it is to be considered, the conscience of my duty to God, and to his church did bind me at the first to deliver sound doctrine in such points as had been other wise uttered in the place, where I had now some yeares taught the truth otherwise the rebuke of the prophet had fallen upon me, for not going up to the breach and standing in it, and the perill for answering for the bloud of the city in whose watch-tower I sate, if it had been surprisid by any default.

Moreover my publick protestation, in being unwilling to deale in that publick manner, and wishing that if any were not satisfied some other more convenient way might be taken for it, and lastly that I had resolved (which I offered before to some dealing with me about the matter) to have protested the next Sabbathday that I would no more answer in that place my objections to the doctrine taught by any meanes, but some other may satisfie such as should require it. These I trust may make it appeare that I failed not in my duty to authority, notwithstanding I did not complain, nor give over so soone dealing in the cause, If I did how is he cleare that can alledge none of all these for himselfe, who leaving the expounding of the Scriptures, and his ordinary calling, voluntarily discoursed upon Schole points and questions, neither of edification, nor of truth, who after all this, as promising to himselfe and to untruth a victory by my silence, added yet the next day being the Sabbath, to the maintenance of his former opinions these which follow.

That no additament taketh away the foundation except it be a primate, of which sorte neither workes added to Christ by the Church of Rome, nor circumcision by the Galatians, as

one denieth not him to be a man that saith he is a righteous man, but he that saith he is a dead man, whereof it might seeme that a man might without hurt add works to Christ, and to pray also that God and St. Peter could save him, that the Galat. case is harder then the case of the Church of Rome, because the Galatians joynd circumcision with Christ which God had forbidden and abolished but that which the Church of Rome joynd with Christ were good workes which God had commanded, wherein he committed a double fault, one in expounding all the question to the Galatians and consequently of the Romans and other Epistles of circumcission, and other ceremonies of the Law (as they who answer for the Church of Rome do in their writings) contrary to the cleare meaning of the Apostle, as may appeare by many strong and sufficient reasons. The other is that he said the addition of the Church of Rome was of workes commanded by God, whereas the least of their workes whereby they looked to merrit, was of such workes, and most were workes of superarogation, and of workes which God never commanded but was highly displeas'd with, as Masses, Pilgrimages, Pardon paines in Purgatory and such like. Further that no one sequell urged by the Apostle against the Galatians for joyning circumcision with Christ; but might be as well enforced against the Lutherans, that is for their ubiquity, it may be as well said to them, if ye hold the body of Christ to be in all places ye are fallen from grace, ye are the curse of the Law; saying cursed be he that fulfillleth not all things written in this booke with such like.

He addeth yet further, that no a BP of the Church of Rome (to (be a) cardinall, ye no the Pope himselve, acknowledging Christ the Saviour of the work, denying other errorrs, and being discomforted for want of workes whereby he might be justified, he would not doubt to use this speech; thou holdest the foundation of Christian faith, though it be but as by the hem of the garment, only shouldest not thou hope that virtue may passe from Christ to save thee that which thou wouldest by Justification, by thy workes overthroweth indeed by consequent the foundation of Christian faith, but be of good cheer thou has not to do with a captious sophister, but with a merciful God who will justifie thee for that thou holdest, and not take the advantage of doubtfull constructions, to condemne thee; and if this said to be an errorr, I hold it willingly, for it is the greatest comfort I have in this world, without which I would not desire either to speake or live; Thus **far** being not to be answered any more in it, he was bold to proceed, the absurdety of which speech I neede not to stand

suitor by these presents to yo<sup>r</sup> Ho: that by yo<sup>r</sup> godly wisdom

upon, I thinke the like to this, and other such in this sermon and the rest of this matter hath not been heard in publick places within this land since Queene Maryes days, what consequent this doctrine may be of, if he be not by Authority ordered to revoake it, I beseech yo<sup>r</sup> Ho; as the truth of God and his Gospell are deare and pretious unto you, according to yo<sup>r</sup> godly wisdome to consider.

I have been bold to offer unto yo<sup>r</sup> Ho: a long and tedious discourse of these matters, but speech like to tapistery, which being foulded up sheweth but part of that which is wrought, and being unlapt and laid open sheweth plainly to the eye all the worke that is in it. I thought it necessary to unfold this tapistrie, and to hang up the whole charter of it in yo<sup>r</sup> most [?] that so you may the more easily discerne of all the pieces, and the sundry workes and matters contained in it wherein my hope is that yo<sup>r</sup> Ho. may see that I have not deserved so great a punishment as is laid upon the Church for my sake, and also upon my selfe in taking from me the exercise of my ministry, My punishment how heavy it may seeme to the church, or fall indeed to be, I refer it to them to iudge, and spare to write what I feare, but to my selfe it is exceeding grievous, for that it taketh away from me the exercise of my calling, which I do not say is deare unto me as the meanes of that little benefit whereby I live, although this be a lawfull consideration and to be regarded of me in due place, and of the authority under whose protection I most willingly live, even by God's commandments both unto them and unto me, for the love that I should beare both to the glory and honour of Almighty God, and to the edification and salvation of his church, for that my life cannot any other way be of like service to God, nor of such profit to men by any meanes. For which cause as I discerne how deare my Ministry ought to be unto me so it is my most hearty desire, and humble request to God and to yo<sup>r</sup> Ho: and to all the authority I live under to whome my dealing therein belongeth that I may spend my life (according to his example who in a word of like sound, but of fuller sense, comparing by it the bestowing of his life to the offering poured out) upon the sacrifice of faith of God's people, and especially of this church, whereupon I have already poured out a great part thereof in the same calling from which I now stand restrained, and if yo<sup>r</sup> Ho: shall find it so that I have deserved so great a punishment, but rather performed the duty which a good and faithfull servant ought in such a case to do to his Lo: and the people he putteth him in trust withall carefully to keepe, I am a most humble suitor by these presents to yo<sup>r</sup> Ho: that by yo<sup>r</sup> godly wisdome

Report of the Lambeth Conference

Dr Williams Lib. Morris MSS. B. pp. 165 - 170

some good course may be taken for restoring me to my ministry and place again, which so great a favour shall bind me yet in a greater obligation of duty (which is already so great as it seemed nothing could be added unto it to make it more greater) to honour God daily for the continuance and increase of yo<sup>r</sup> good estate, and to be ready with all the poor meanes God hath given me to give yo<sup>r</sup> Ho. that service I may possibly performe. But if notwithstanding my case be never so good yo<sup>r</sup> Ho: can by no meanes pacifie such as are offended, nor restore me againe, then I am to rest in the good pleasure of God, and to commend yo<sup>r</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Ho: protection under her Matie my private life, which it shall be lead in duty and the church to him, who hath redeemed to himselfe a people with his pretious bloud and is making ready to come to judge both the quick and the dead, to give to every one according to that he hath done in this life be it good or ill, to the wicked and unbelievers iustice unto death, but to the faithfull, and such as love and obey his truth, mercy and grace to life everlasting.

(meaning Dr Sparke) the other I know  
 what the things are in Yo<sup>r</sup> Honours most bounden servant  
 you think ought to be amended, and suppliant:

judiciallie before us, nor come not  
 Authoritie for these things, but by  
 object what you have to say against  
 be answered. For which cause it shall  
 (speaking in duty) to charge the  
 you suppose to be blameworthy in it.  
 Archbishop being likewise affirmed by  
 Dr Sparke made answer to this effect: That  
 humble and hearty thanks to Alim, God  
 presence that after so many years, wher  
 never be admitted to any indifferent  
 pleased God of His precious goodness,  
 we had now that spirit and favour  
 N. personages, as might be worthe  
 Excellent Majesty for the reformation  
 were to be redressed, it was now  
 that convenient libertie and freedom  
 promised us, to declare what  
 to be revisited (sic, revised) and  
 endeavour, because it concerned  
 satisfaction of such as were in  
 the good issue of it depended upon  
 desired that before we entered any  
 weeke for gracious direction and  
 At which words freeing himself to  
 ArchB. interrupted him saying he  
 there, nor that place a conventicle.



Report of the Lambeth Conference

Dr Williams Lib. Morrice MSS, B, pp.368 - 86.

A True Report of the first conference at Lambeth had in the presence of the Rt. Hon. the Earle of Leicester, the Lord Gray and Sir Francis Walsingham, betweene two Bishops which were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, and two Ministers, Mr Dr Sparke and Mr Travers, concerning things needful to be reformed in the Book of Common Prayer.

FIRST the Archbishop began to declare; -  
whereas my L of Leicester had requested for his satisfaction in such points of the Booke of Common Prayer as were called unto question, that he might here (sic) what the mynisters did reprove, and how such things were to be answered, he had graunted my L to procure such to come hither for that purpose, as mighte seem best to his good L; and now, I perceiue, said he, you are the men whome my L is desirous to heare; of whome the one I never sawe nor knewe before, (meaning Dr Sparke) the other I knowe well. Let us heare what the things are in the Booke of Common Prayer which you think ought to be amended; you appeare not nowe judiciable before me, nor come not as called to question by Authoritie for these things, but by way of conference to object what you have to say against the booke, that it may be answered. For which cause it shall be free for you (speaking in duty) to charge the booke with such matter as you suppose to be blameworthy in it. Which speache of the Archbishop being likewise affirmed by my L of Leicester, Dr Sparke made answer to this effect; - That we gave most humble and hearty thanks to Allm. God and to that H presence that after so many years, wherein our cause could never be admitted to any indifferent hearing, it had pleased God of his gracious goodness, so to dispose, that we had now that equitie and favour shewed us, that before so H. personages, as might be worthie meanes to hir most Excellent Majesty for the reformation of such things as were to be redressed, it was now lawful for us, with that convenient Libertie and freedome which had bene promised us, to declare what points of the Booke had need to be revisited (sic, revised) and reformed. Which our endeavour, because it concerned the service of God and the satisfaction of such as were in Authoritie, and for that the good issue of it depended upon the favour of God, he desired that before we entered any further, we might first seeke for gracious direction and Blessing of God by prayer. At which words framing himself to begin to Pray, the ArchB. interrupted him saying he should make no prayers there, nor that place a conventicle.

Then Mr Travers joining with Mr Dr Sparke desiring that it might be lawfull for them to praye before they proceeded any further, that it was verie convenient for the better preparation of ourselves and of all that were present, to a reverand regard, in speaking and hearing of the things which were to be dealt withall. But the A. not yielding thereunto, continuing to term it a conventicle if any such prayer were suffered to be made. My L. of Leics. and Sir F. Wals. willed Mr Sparke to content himself, seeing thei doubted not but that we had prayed already before our coming thither. Therefore Mr Sparke leaving to use any such prayer as he had prepared, made a short sweete prayer in very fewe but gracious words, notwithstanding the A. ceased not to interupt his speach with like words as he had used before, which so finished, a little after hee began againe to speake in this manner.

Mr Sparke, The pints of the Booke which we minde to stand upon we referre especially to 2, Whereof the first contained such matters as concerned the books appointed to be read in Church for Holy Scripture, and the second the Doctrine of the Sacrements. Touching the Books we are to speak of the Canonically and the Apocrypha, And of the Canonically we have 2 things to shew, wherein concerning them we esteem the Book not to agree with the Word of God.

Whereof the first is the disgrace done to the Canonically Scriptures, in that some parts of them are appointed not to be read, which being so appointed by the Booke is greivously punishable by Statute, if anie thing be done, or used otherwise, how that the mynister should be liable to a great punishment for reading such Chapters we think it can not stand with the word of God. Further they are saide by the saide Booke to be appointed not to be read as least edifying, and which may best be spared. Whereunto being added that certain chapters out of the Apocrypha are appointed to be read for them and to be read as Holie Scripture and parts of the Old Testament - which cannot be intended but to be for the contrary reason, that is that edifie more, and can less be spared, whereby the Apocrypha are made equall. nay preferred before the canonically. We suppose, for all these respects, cannot be justified by Gods Word.

To this the ArchB answered that the Books called Apocrypha were indeede parts of the Holy Scripture and of the Old Testament, that thei had been used to be read in Church in ancient time, and that they might and ought to be read amongst us. Whereunto Mr Travers replied that the title of Holy Scripture in the peculiar stile, whereby the Holy Ghost distinguished the Canonically Scripture of the Old Testament from the Apocrypha and from all writings, Further that such are only Holy Scriptures as are given inspiration from God, the Holy Ghost inspiring Holy men of God by whom they were delivered unto us. Here the ArchB. answered that the Apocrypha were likewise given by inspiration from God, as were also whatsoever the Heathen had written well. Whereunto Mr

Mr Travers replied that in a generall sense of the word Inspiration it was true that he had said of the Apocrypha for so the Apostle teacheth, that no man saith Christ is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost, And in another place it is said the infinite varietie of gifts, mynistries and operations, is of one and the same spirit, which giveth to everie man according as it pleaseth him. But here said he is a question of such an Inspiration as did so whollie carie and governe the Holy men of God so inspired, as that in reporting and setting down these Holy writing thei were exempted from all possibilitie of Error, in which sense the Holy are said to be Holy Scripture, and given by inspiration from God as proceeding from the Holy Ghost first and then from Holy men so fully possessed and inspired by him as it were not possible for them to erre in that service and therefore not in some parte onlie, but through out and in every parte and respect divine and Holy; which agreeing neither to the Apocrypha nor to any othe writings whatsoever, but only to the Canonically Scriptures it remained strong against him, which he had affirmed, that it standeth not with Gods Word that the Booke of Common Prayer doth as generallie and indifferently call the Apocrypha Holie Scripture and parts of the Old Testament as it doeth the Canonically, and much more, that it prefereth some part of them before some of the Canonically as well more edifying and which may lesse be spared.

The ArchB answer to this was that we could not shew any error to be in the Apocrypha, that thei have been held for Holy Scriptures by the ancient Fathers, and so vouched and cited them, namely by Ciprian and by Augustine and divers others from the beginning of Christs Church so allways esteemed and therefore read in the Church unto this day, Whereunto Mr Travers saied that notwithstanding it were so, that the Apocrypha Books could not be touched with any error - which after by good prooffe would fall out otherwise - yet the Authors of them were not so wholly directed by God in the writing of them but that they might have erred, which made an infinite difference between them. He added further that they had not always caried that credit in the Church which he had spoken of as appeareth both by other, and namely by Jerome, who declareth what reckoning the Church made of them, and himselfe freelie calleth some of them fictions and falsles. To this he saide Jerome had made question of them, so others had made question of some of the Canonically, and that we could not be ignorant what Eusebius and some of the Councells had judged of the matter. So that ( said he ) if men would cavill thei might make a question upon the reason of the Canonically, whereby it appeared that this doubting of the Scriptures was a

out of the Apocrypha, which the Arch B confessed.  
Then Mr B Gray prayed the Arch. B. to answer a thing,  
which he moved, not for argument but to be satisfied and

dangerous way for Atheisme to enter in by among us. Which speach of so unequall comparison provoked Mr Travers to saye he supposed these writings ( which are of so divers kindes ) to be equall, and so much more to preferre the Apocrypha afore the Canonically not to be from Blasphemie, the difference of honour being as great betweene the one and the other, as betweene human and divine writings and in respect of the Authors of them, as between God and man. Where the A.B. willing him not to be so hastie Mr Dr Sparke replied that the reading of them had forbidden by the councills and namely Laod 3. To which the A B answered that so that Councill declared the Apocalyps to be Apocrypha which if he would have to be in Authority in the one, he was also to grant it in the other. Mr Dr Sparke replied that the Apocalyps had other evident proof to shew it to be Canonically. But this testimony declared that to be untrue which he had said of the use of the ancient Church to reade them. Then the A B willed us to come to the errors of the Apocrypha, for said he, thither you will come as good earlie as late. Mr Dr Sparke said he would but first he had to shew another thing touching the Canonically Scriptures which was the mistranslation of them. Thus when we had doubled this pointe, we began to enter into the next reatche (?) which was not long.

In the entrance whereof Mr Sparke said that notwithstanding it were hard to have any translation in which no want might be found, yet it was meete that of all translations extant, the best should be appointed to be read in the publique assemblies of the Church, Now said he whereas we have divers translations of the Holy Scripture, that which in the book is appointed to be read is the worst and to be charged with sundrie grosse and palpable error ( as an example Sparke pointed out that in Matt. I where all other translations rightly had ' Mary was married to Joseph ', on this a long discussion ensued, Travers maintaining that the mistranslation failed to emphasize Mary's Virginity. To all which replie, no other answer being made, but the same which had been before and the L.L. desiring to heare some other matter than this, which required some skill in the tongues, and the B. taking small pleasure in it and making haste to come to the objection of the Errors in the Apocrypha, for which they thought they were better prepared to make their answer, Mr Sparke with this consent, as with tide and minde, was carried on to the Discoverie of the Errors of the Apocrypha, and so we come to the same. My L of Leics. asked if that chapter were one of those which are appointed by the Booke to be read out of the Apocrypha, which the Arch B confessed. Then my L Gray prayed the Arch. B. to answer a thing, which he moved, not for argument but to be satisfied and

turned to the mis-translation of the Scriptures. The Arch B

instructed in it, which was, what error the people might be in danger to learne by the hearing of this read, and by the believing of it? And whether it was an error to thinke that the witches had power to raise the bodies of the dead?. To which he making none other answer, but that it was a question among the learned whether they have any such power or no, and no further replie at that time being made unto it Mr Sparke sailed forward and touched next with the 9th oof Judith, this my L of Leics. confirmed to be true and the rest acknowledged in like manner, with which speeches we passed by the Apocrypha and began to enter into private Baptism.

Sparkes indictment of Private Baptism was it was not agreeable to God in sundrie respects, first for the place is private; next for the persons also private, as being laymen, as we call them, nay women as may appeare to be intended by the booke; then for such a case of necessity as it is there supposed, and last of all, for the doctrines whence this practice is come. which are, that the children not baptised should be in danger of damnation, and that the outward baptism with water, even for the worke wrought, saveth the childe that is baptized ( the Arch B held that the booke did not appoint women to baptize, but accepted as lawful Baptism administered by them in necessitous cases) at this point the night came so fast upon us as the L.L. being willing to rise, he could go noe further, and we were fane allso to put into land before we had rune half the course. So the L.L. departed and the conference of the first day finished.

The second day when my L. Tres. was also present and the Arch. B of York in place of the B of Winchester. The ArchB of C. began with the rehearsall of the points debated the first day, and required us to proceede in objectinge what we had farther to saye. Then Dr Sparke's having observed the repetition to have been made to the dis-advantage of the good cause, rehearsed it again, noting what things he had omitted, and how he had not satisfied the matters which had been objected, by which occasion then, as by a contrarie wind, allreadie a good way upon the voyage, we were cast back again, and touched again all the places we had been before. Which was rather done because my Lord Treasurer was not at the conference the first day and was desirous to informe himselfe of the matter that had been objected. Wherein leaving the repetition of the same things it shall be needful onlie to note these points which were further added by occasion the second day ( As to the Apocrypha Travers claimed that the writings not quoted by Christ could not be " Holy Scriptures", but the Lord Treasurer refused to accept this as a sound argument, the question whether Jesus cited all the prophets was then discussed, and from this Sparke again turned to the mis-translation of the Scriptures. The Arch B

pointed out that here he was at a disadvantage as he knew no Hebrew, while both Sparke and Travers were both proficient. After reconsideration of Ecclus 46 and Judith 9 the subject of Private Baptism was again introduced. The presense (?) seemed to agree unto the statement of Travers, that Baptism by one who was no minister was no Sacrement, but a profanation of the Sacrement, but the Arch. B maintained his former position with regard to Baptism by women) My L. Treas. said he thought indeede, when the booke was made, that the practice in this land was such and so knowne to bee, the Arch B of York following said he dis- allowed it and had forbidden it in all his diocese, that he had spoken to the Q. of England of it, and would not suffer it, speaking very earnestly in the matter( apparently these words refer to the Archbishop, not the Queen) then for the case of necessatie the Arch B of Cant. answered that Calvin against the Annabaptists held Baptism to be necessarie and reproved the Anabaptists for deferring it so long. To whom Mr Travers replied that Calvin did not otherwise judge Baptism necessarie, then so as it might not of contempt or negligence be ommitted, whereof he condemned the Anabaptist for deferring so long. He further added; - other necessaties then that which excludeth contempt and negligence is not acknowledged neither by him, nor by any other professing the gospell, and that generallie all the Churches of our profession condemned any other case of necessatie. Here my L of Leics. said he would remember Dr Sparke of some other matter as of the Interrogatories on publique Baptism and of the Crosse( a very long discussion followed, the main question being whether the God Father could answer the questions for the child) Then came the Crosse, against which Mr Sparke objected the Ceremonies taken from the heathen, and thei which have no necessarie use were not to be retained; for which purpose he alleadged Deut.7 and I2. and sundrie other places. To which my L. Treas answered that this was not of the heathen, nor of the papists, but afore popery was used in the primitive Church, being a matter of greater mysterie than commonly was thought, as that the Christians gloried in the Crosse wherewith they were reproached by the heathen as by a thing ignominous and shamefull, To this Mr Travers replied that Ceremonies were they never so ancient and of never so good institution by men, if they were abused to Idolatrie, and were of no necessarie use were to be abolished ( Travers continued his argument by claiming that just as the brazen serpent had to be destroyed when it led to Idolatrie, so the use of the Crosse ought to abolished and he concluded);-

There is added to the Crosse in Baptism a signification and doctrine which can not stand with the word of God, for it is not lawfull for the Church to institute mysticall rites and ceremonies; that is with signification annexed unto them,

this being a kind of sacrament which noe man may institute and this.....is not nay private or singular opinion of our own, but sette down by the famous and worthie Churches as appeared in the observations annexed to the Harmony of the confession of the Churches. The Arch.B of Cant. answered nothing to this so grave and reverend testimony of the Churches, but onlie that we were wont to find fault with dumb ceremonies and now we blamed them that had any signification. He added further that Mr Beza did leave the Churches their liberty in using the Crosse, which my L. Treas. said was wisely done. Then Mr Travers said Mr Beza did godlie and wiselie in that he would not condemn the Churches which used it, nor prejudice liberty by his judgement, but his opinion is clear with us, that it ought to be abolished; nay further, he giveth Councell to the ministers rather to forego their mynistris then to subscribe to the allowance of it. Here my L. of Leicester said it was a pitiful thing that so many of the best ministers and painfull in their preaching stood to be deprived of these things. To whom Mr Travers saide, my L. we acknowledge the peace of the Church ought to be dearer unto us than our lives, but with your L good favour, I must needes sai in conscience to God, and in the Dutie I owe to her Moste Excellence Majesty, to you good L.L. and to this whole Church and State that the mynistris in so doing have done well, and ought not to have yielded though thei were to be put from their ministrie, the matters being such which they were required to subscribe unto as your L. hath partlie heard and partlie is further to be shewed ( after touching on private Communion and the apparell of ministers, Leics asked if the Puritans had any other points materiall of Doctrine) The Arch B said yea we would call the A. B.s Authoritie and jurisdiction unto question and other things. Then Mr Travers said he had to object against the booke, the allowing and justifying of an insufficient ministrie, which is directlie against the Word for which purpose he alledged I Tim.3, that a B (which is every minister) ought to be able to teach Tit.I, and such like. Here my L Treas. asked what Scripture there was that he held should minister the Sacrement must needes be a preacher? Mr Travers answered Matt.28, Goe forth preach and Baptize, which Christ having so joyned together it was not lawfull for men to put asunder, He added further that it was not our private oppinion, but the universall doctrine and practice of the gossell. Whereunto the Arch B saying he has mis- informed the company for that the French Church had allowed in the beginning some such. Mr Travers answered saying that he spake of the Doctrine and discipline of

the Churches which he held universally to be such as he had saide, till he showed the contrary, then the Arch B answering that the Apost. rule was an idea of a minister, Mr Travers replied that to make it an Idea overturned all religion seeing that so the dutie of the Magistrate Commonweales Churches Householders parents children and so every man would make his dutie an Idea.

My Lord Treasurer objected it was impossible, To whom Travers answered that if other Churches being under the Bloody Sword of the Magistrats and wanting the protection and favour which God had given to us, did keepe this order, it could not be thought impossible for us in so happie a time, and so great meanes to attaine it. Then Mr Sparke began to object against non- residence and Pluralities, but that being a little talked of as a matter dis- allowed of by all judgements, and needing no debating, my Lord of Leicester saying it grew late said he would break of our disputation with another matter. Which he did in making a request to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which being a little talked on the Lordes arose, and the company departed.



APPENDIX XVTravers's second letter to Burghley from Dublin

(S. P. Ireland, clxxxii. No. 63, f. 215)

Righte honorable and my very good L. it may please yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. to understand the necessitie of this poore Colledge so requiring that we who are now remaining in it, have sent two of the fellowes of o<sup>r</sup> societie, with o<sup>r</sup> most humble supplicac<sup>i</sup>on to her most excellent Ma<sup>tie</sup> for obtaininge one hundreth pounds by yeare in fee ferme, of landes attainted, or concealed, for the necessary maintenance of the same. We have also sent by them o<sup>r</sup> right humble petition to yo<sup>r</sup> L. o<sup>r</sup> most worthy Chancelor, in all dutifull and earnest manner beseeching the same, to become o<sup>r</sup> honorable mediator to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> for obtaining her highnes royall graunt therof to this societie. Herunto my particular dutie to this fellowship, but cheefely to yo<sup>r</sup> L. by whose speciall favor I receive the comfort that I enjoy in this place, have moved me to adde also this my most humble and dutifull request to yo<sup>r</sup> L. in the same cause which for as much as it is a suite respecting the service of Almighty god and not the particular benefit of any person, I most humbly beseech yo<sup>r</sup> L: In yo<sup>r</sup> accustomed goodnes and favor to this secretie, and for good sake, who I hope may be greatly glorified by this meanes, to receive o<sup>r</sup> cause to yo<sup>r</sup> most honorable patronage, and so effectually furtherance as both we and all the posteritie of this kingdome may give thankes to god in such behalfe. We have little to alledge, that may perswade so great regard of o<sup>r</sup> request, but o<sup>r</sup> hope is, that for what reasons yo<sup>r</sup> L: in greate wisdomme saive it to be expedient at the beginning of this suite for a Colledge heare, that there should be such a nursery for religion, obedience, vertue and good lerninge in this country, and hath advanced it by sundry honorable benefits and favours hethereto, for the same reasons will also effectually further at this time so necessary a suite, as may settle the state thereof for ever. Without which comfortable helpe and effectually favor, it cannot long continue, being maintained onely (except a few closes hereabout) by some smale and not certeine benevolences. Which would be such a disappointment of so many gracious favors of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> of yo<sup>r</sup> honors tender care for it hetherto, of the great

charges of this poore country, and of the hope it hath to rise out of darkenes, to se the light of the true knowledge of god, as would be much lamented by all persons well affected, and desiring the advancement of vertue and lerninge wherfore that so great inconveniences mighte be prevented, and all such christian indevors may take effect, in the establishing of such a mother of an universiti in this land, I most humbly beseech yo<sup>r</sup> good L: effectually to regard o<sup>r</sup> most necessary and dutifull petition. The persons by whom we send it are both of this nacion, brought up sometime in Cambridge, and fellowes of this Colledge, but the one which is M<sup>r</sup> Luke Challoner of the first fundacion dwelling in the Citie, a godly lerned man of excellent gifte and the principall meanes in the procuring and oversight of the building of this Colledge, the other is remaining in it and an ordinary reader of humanitie in the same, who being such, can truely and throughly enforme yo<sup>r</sup> L: of all things that may concerne the state of this house. But I feare me, while I earnestly desire to further this godly and important suite for the good of this country least in trobling yo<sup>r</sup> L: overlong, I may hinder some other waightie service of the State, and as the poet saith In publica Comoda peccem, cum tot justineas tantaque negotia solus. Wherefore most humbly taking my leave, I beseech Almightye god, long to preserve yo<sup>r</sup> Lp: a father to this Country also, and particularly a most honorable patron and chancelor of this societie.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors moste humble and at commandment

Water Travers.  
[sic]

dorso.

To the righte honorable my singular good Lo: the Lo. Burghley Lo: highe Thresurer of England, etc.

4 Sept. received M<sup>r</sup> Travers to my L. from Dublin. For yo<sup>r</sup> favorable furtherance of theire suite to his Matie for C li landes attainted or concealed for the maintenance of the Colledge.

Appendix XVI

Travers's request to Burghley for help after being silenced by Whitgift

B.M. Lansd. MS L.No.78

Right Honourable notwithstanding it be an ordinary thing with the people, being not able to judge and discourse of the causes themselves, to justify authority, howsoever that proceeded, and to disallow the things condemned by them, whatsoever they be; yet sundry good reasons encouraged me to present this my most humble petition to your lordship, and to hope by your Lordship's great wisdom and equity to be relieved. There were many notable precedents of ancient times, both in our sacred stories, and in other ecclesiastical, which shows that God in his wisdom and providence had so disposed, that a gracious aspect of a notable and honourable counsellor had oftentimes qualified the indispositions of some, occupying chiefest place in the government of the Church against the faithful preachers of God's word. This comfort I am in so much greater hope to receive by your Lordships means, for your great wisdom and deep judgment to discern of the causes, wherewith God had blessed your Honour, in his gracious mercy, to his own glory and the good of his people. That for the excellent spirit given unto one, many might have cause to honour and glorify him that gave it. Moreover the honourable favour which your Lordship had vouchsafed me in my ministry, even to the using of my service for a time in the instruction of the Church in your Lordship's own house, and many times in supporting and furthering the same in the Temple, did give me good hope, if I have not misgoverned myself, so far as to make me unworthy of the continuance of your Lordship's countenance and favourable regard of me that I can not be destituted of so comfortable protection in my so needful time. But if your Lordship shall find, that the thing for which I am blamed has been dutifully done by me, and to the good service of Almighty God, of her most excellent Majesty, as Defender of the Faith; and under her Highness, to the Honours of her Majesty's Council, and the Church: which I served by bond of that calling, which none, while I dealt according to his duty in it, could lawfully and without offence to God take from me; then I trust that as some had been means to strike me down, so your good Lordship would be, as God's fatherly hand, to set me up again. Wherefore in good hope of such issue, as may be honourable to God, and to your Lordship, as the worthy

Appendix XVI (continued)

means profitable to his Church, and comfortable to me so continuing of my ministry, I beseech the Almighty dayly more and more to sanctify the noble spirit he has endued his Lordship with, and so to direct you in your high and honourable state in this life, as it may be incomparably increased by participation of the glory of his kingdom in the life to come. Writ the Temple in London the 28th day of March, 1586.

Your Lordship's bounden at Commandment

(1)

Walter Travers.

(1) A corrupt version is found in Strype, Whitgift, i.475.

I Primary Sources

(a) Manuscripts

Bradford City Library

Manuscripts MS. 2111.

I. Primary Sources

British Museum

- (a) Manuscript p.522.
- (b) Printed
  - (i) Records p.524.
  - (ii) Contemporary Works p.526.

II. Secondary Sources

Cambridge

- (a) Works of Reference p.532.
- (b) General Works p.533.
- (c) Special Studies p.540.

Hertford County Hall

Acts of archdeaconry of Ely

Inner Temple Library

Petyt MS Letters to the Benchers 1570-1879.

Lebath Palace Library

Carew Papers 614, Lebath MS 642.

Leicester Museum

Hall Papers 1.

SourcesI Primary Sources(a) Manuscript

## Bradford City Library

Hopkinson MS xviii.

## British Museum

Additional MSS 2857I, 38492,  
4276, 4736, 6394, 8978, 1589I,  
3327I.

Baker MS M.m.I.

Burney MS 362.

Cotton MS Galba C.vi.pt 2.

Egerton MS 2877.

Harleian MSS 29I, 3795, 4888,  
6849, 7029, 7039, 7042, 758I.Lansdowne MSS xv, xlii, 1,  
lxiv, lxiii, lxviii, lxix,  
lxxii, cviii, cxv.

Sloane MS 27I.

Stowe MS I80.

## Cambridge

Baker MSS xxxii, E.e. iv.

Trinity College, Book of  
Admissions.

## Dr Williams Library

Morrice MSS parts A, B, G, L, M.  
Volumes i, ii.

## Hertford County Hall

Acta of archdeaconry of Hunts

## Inner Temple Library

Petyt MSS Letters to the  
Bencher's 1570- 1679.

## Lambeth Palace Library

Carew Papers 6I2.  
Lambeth MS 892.

## Leicester Museum

Hall Papers I.

Manuscripts ( continued )

## Leyden

Universiteit te Leiden, codex  
actorum senatus I.

## Oxford

University archives  
Bodleian Library MSS Mus. 55, 20, 21.  
Christ Church College MS 294  
Arch. Wake  
Epistles.  
Regents' Park College Gould MS  
Jersey Records I.

## Public Record Office

Patent Rolls 34 Elizabeth 20,  
39 Elizabeth 57.  
Sadler MSS 4, 7.  
State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth xii,  
lxxviii.  
Domestic, Elizabeth, Add.  
xxv.  
Elizabeth, Holl. and  
Fland. vi, ix, xiii,  
xiv, lxxxiii.  
Elizabeth, Scot. xlvii.  
Domestic, James I, vi.  
Ireland ii, xxii, xxx,  
lxiii, clxi, clxiii,  
clxxv, clxxxii, clxxxiv  
lxii, clxxxvii, cxcvi,  
ccii.  
Subsidy Rolls 13th Elizabeth E.

## Sion College Library

Book of Benefactors

## Somerset House

Will (P. cc. 148)

## Trinity College, Dublin

Account Book of Roger Parker  
Book of Benefactors  
University archives  
Usher MSS A, C, D.

## York

District Probate Registry, xix.

Primary Sources(continued)(b) Printed(1) Records

A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records, ed.F.A.Inderwick (1896)

Archbishop Adam Loftus and the Foundation of Trinity College, Dublin(1892) [No editor's name mentioned]

Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, ed.J.T.Gilbert, 2 vols (1891)

Calendar of the Middle Temple Records, ed.C.H. Hopwood (1903)

Calendar State Papers, Foreign, 1553-8, 1577-8, 1578-9.

Cartwrightiana, ed. A. Peel and L.H. Carlson(1953)

Chartae et statuta collegii sacrosanctae et individuae Trinitatis Reginae Elizabethae juxta Dublin (1844)

D' Ewes S., A Compleat Journal of the House of Lords and House of Commons in Elizabeth's reign (1643)

Documents illustrative of English Church History, ed. W. Gee and W.J. Hardy (1896)

Hertford County Records, ed.W.J.Hardy, 4 vols (1905)  
Historical MSS Commission

Beaulieu MSS( 1591)  
Cecil Papers,vi,vii.  
Seventh Report(1603)  
Sixth Report (1589)

Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922, ed. E. Curtis and R.B. Mc Dowell (1943)

Lascelles R., Liber munerum publicorum Hiberniae 1152-1827 (1852)

Letters of Elizabeth and James I (Cambd. Soc. XLVI)

Lightfoot J., Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines, ed.J.R. Pitman(1824)

Livre des Anglois, ed. A.F. Mitchell (n.d.)



(i) Records ( continued)

Maxwell C., Irish History from Contemporary Sources  
1509 - 1610 (1923)

Minute Book of the Dedham Classis, ed. R.G. Usher (1905)

Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple, ed. C.T. Martin, 2 vols (1904)

Original Letters illustrative of English History, ed. H. Ellis, 4 vols (1846)

Original Letters relative to the English Reformation, 2 vols ( Parker Soc. 1846)

Particular Book of Trinity College, Dublin, ed. J.P. Mahaffy (1904)

Prothero G.W. Select Statutes and other  
constitutional documents illustrative  
of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I  
(1913)

Records of the Borough of Leicester 1509-1603, ed. M. Bateson, 3 vols (1905)

Records of the Borough of Nottingham, 9 vols (1885) [No editor's name mentioned]

The Seconde Parte of a register, ed. A. Peel, 2 vols (1915)

Winwood Sir R., Memorials of the affairs of State in  
the reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K.  
James I, ed. E. Sawyer, 3 vols (1725)

Zurich Letters, 2 vols (Parker Soc. 1842)

PRIMARY SOURCES.(b) Printed(ii) Contemporary Works

A brief discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfort (1575)

A Parte of a Register containinge matters written by divers Godly and learned in our time which stand for and desire the reformation of our church in discipline and ceremonies (n.d.).

Ainsworth H., Counterpoyson Considerations touching the points in difference between the Godly ministers and people of the Church of England and the seduced brethren of the separation (1608)

An humble motion (1590)

Answer by letter to a worthy gentleman who desired of a Divine some reasons by which it might appeare how inconsistent Presbyteriall Government is with monarchy (1644)

Apologie or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly called Brownists (1604)

Appeale to every impartiall, judicious, and Godly reader whether the Presbyterie or Prelacie be the better Church Government (1641)

A Remonstrance or Plaine Detection (1590)

Arthington H., The Seduction of Arthington by Hacket (1592)

Bancroft R., Dangerous Positions and Proceedings published and practised within this Iland of Brytaine under pretence of Reformation and for the Presbiteriall Discipline (1593)

A Survay of the Pretended Holy Discipline (1593)

Tracts ascribed to Richard Bancroft ed. A. Peel (1953)

Baylie R., A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time (1645)

(ii) Contemporary Works (continued)

Barlow W., Summe and Substance of the Conference . . . . . at Hampton Court (1625)

Booke of the Forme of common prayers (1586) ed. P. Hall in Fragmenta liturgica (1848)

Bradshaw W., A treatise of the nature and use of things indifferent (1605)

A Proposition on concerning kneeling in the very act of receiving (1605)

English Puritanisme containing the maine opinions of the rigidest sort of those that are called Puritanes in the Realme of England (1605)

Bridges J., A Defence of the Government established in the Church of England (1587)

Browne R., Of Reformation without Tarrying (n.d.).

Calvin J., Institutes of the Christian Religion trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols. (1845)

Cartwright T., A Reply to an answer made of M. Doctor Whitegifte againste the Admonition to the Parliament (n.d.).

The second replie of Thomas Cartwright: agaynst Maister Doctor Whitgiftes second answer, touching the churche discipline (1575)

The rest of the second replie of Thomas Cartwright agaynst Master Doctor Whitgifts second answer, touching the Church discipline. (1577)

Collection of certain letters and Conference lately passed between certain preachers and two prisoners in the fleet (1590)

(ii) Contemporary Works (continued)

- Cosin R., Conspiracy for pretended discipline  
(1699)
- Directory of Church Government . . . . practiced by the first  
Non-Conformists in the daies of Queen Elizabeth (1644)
- Fenner D., Defence of the Godlie ministers against  
D. Bridges Slaunders (1587)
- Ferne H., Episcopacy and Presbytery considered  
(1647)
- Fulke W., A briefe and plaine declaration  
concerning the desires of all those  
faithfull ministers that have and do  
seeke for the discipline and  
reformation of the Church of Englande  
(1584)
- Gillespie G., An assertion of the government of the  
Church of Scotland (1641)
- Hall J., Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted  
(1640)
- Henderson A., The Unlawfulness and danger of Limited  
prelacie (1641)
- Hildersham A., Lectures upon the Fourth of John (1629)  
Lectures on Psalm 51 (1642)
- Hooker R., Works ed. B. Hanbury, 3 vols (1830)  
Works ed. J. Keble, 3 vols (1863)
- Jacob H., A Treatise of the sufferings of Christ  
(1598)  
A defence of a Treatise touching the  
sufferings and victorie of Christ  
in the work of Redemption (1600)

(ii) Contemporary Works (continued)

The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's true visible and Ministeriall Church (1610)

[?]

A Counterpoyson (of a certaine forme of ecclesiastical government prescribed by the word of God and perpetuall for all ages) (n.d.).

Johnston F., Certayne Reasons and Arguments proving that it is not lawful to heare or have spiritual communion with the present ministerie of the Church of England (1608)

Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici (1647)

Knox J., Works ed. D. Laing, 6 vols (1895)

Ley W., A brief platform of that government which is called Presbyterial (1648)

Lilly W. History of his life and times 1602-81 (1715)  
Platform of the Presbyterian Government (1644)

Presbyteriall Government Examined (1641)

Protestation of the King's supremacie made in the name of the afflicted ministers and opposed to the shamefull Calumniationes of the Prelates (1605)

Second Admonition to the Parliament (n.d.). [1572]

Smectymnius, An Answer to a Book entitled an Humble Remonstrance (1641)

Sparke T., An Answer to Master John De Albinas notable discourse against heresies (1591)

The Highway to Heaven by the cleare light of the Gospell (1597)

Spencer E., A View of the state of Ireland (1633)  
State Tracts ..... privately printed in the reign of K. Charles II 2 vols. (1693)

(H) Contemporary Works ( continued)

- Stoughton W., An assertion for true and Christian church- policie (1604)
- Stubs P., The Anatomie of Abuses (1585)
- Sutcliffe M., An Answere to a Certaine Libel Supplicatorie (1592)
- An Answere unto a certain calumnious letter pub. by M. Job Throkmorton (1595)
- A Treatise of Ecclesiastical Discipline (1591)
- Travers W., A Defence of the Ecclesiasticall Discipline ordayned of God to be used in His Church (1588)
- An Answere to a Supplicatorie Epistle of G.T. for the pretended Catholiques written to the Right Honourable Lordes of Her Majesties privie Counsell (1583)
- A Supplication made to the Privy Council (1612)
- Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae et Anglicanae Ecclesiae ab illa aberrationis, plena e verbo Dei, et dilucida explicatio (1574)
- Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae (1630)
- Trojan Horse of the Presbyteriall Government Unbowelled (1646)
- Udall J., A Demonstration of the truth of that Discipline (1588)
- Usher J., Works collected by C. E. Elrington (1864)
- Vindication of the Presbyteriall Government and Ministry (1650)

(ii) Contemporary Works (continued)

Walsingham Sir F., Journal Dec.1570 - April 1583  
ed. C.T.Martin (1870)

Way of the Presbiterian Government - as it is  
established (1647)

Whitgift J., Works (Parker Soc.1853)

II Secondary Sources(a) Works of reference

Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period 1485-1603, ed. C. Reid (1933)

Bibliography of British History, Stuart Period 1603-1714, ed. G. Davies (1928)

Dictionary of National Biography

Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th edition)

Flower R., Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum (1953)

Handbook of Dates, ed. C.R. Cheney (1945)

Hunt R.W., A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (1953)

Pollard A.W. and G.R. Redgrave, A Short Title Catalogue of books printed in England Scotland and Ireland 1475 -1640 (1926)

Brady W.M.,

Briggs C.A.,

Bright W.,

Brennen tot de Geschiedenis der Vorreformatie 1572-1610, ed. P.C. Kolthuis (1913)

Calderwood D.,

Cambridge Modern History, II, IV (1903)

Clarke S.,



II Secondary Sources(b) General Works

- Adair P., A true Narritive of the rise and progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (1866)
- Ames J., Topographical Antiquities, ed. T.F. Dibdin, 4 vols (1816)
- Bacon F., Works, 3 vols (1778)
- Bailey T., Annals of Nottinghamshire, 3 vols (1856)
- Beckett J.C., A Short History of Ireland (1952)
- Bibliotheca Scriptorum Ecclesiae Anglicanae (1709)
- Bindoff S.T., Tudor England (1955)
- Blunt J.H., The Reformation of the Church of England, 2 vols (1882)
- Borlase E., The Reduction of Ireland to the Crown of England (1675)
- Brady W.M., The Irish Reformation (1867)
- Briggs C.A., American Presbyterianism; its origin and early history (1885)
- Bright W., The Roman See in the Early Church (1896)
- Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Universiteit 1574-1610, ed. P.C. Molhuysen (1913)
- Calderwood D., History of the Church of Scotland 1560 - 1625 (1680)
- History of the Kirk of Scotland, ed. T. Thompson, 8 vols (1845)
- Cambridge Modern History, ii, iv (1903)
- Clarke S., A General Martyrologie (1660)

Secondary Sources(b) General Works (continued)

- Collier J., An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, 9 vols (1840)
- D' Alton E.A., History of Ireland, 3 vols (1906)
- Davids T. W., Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex (1863)
- Davies H., The English Free Churches (1952)
- Dix Dom. G., The shape of the Liturgy (1945)
- Donaldson G., The making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 (1954)
- Dowden E., Puritan and Anglican (1900)
- Edwards E., The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, 2 vols (1868)
- Edwards R.D., Church and State in Tudor Ireland (1935)
- Elliott- Binns L.E., The Reformation in England (1937)  
The Story of England's Church (1945)
- Gardiner S.R., History of England from the accession of James I to the disgrace of Chief- Justice Coke 1603-1616, 2 vols (1863)
- Jackson R.V., T.J. History of England 1603- 42, 10 vols (1883)
- Kennedy W.F.,
- Geyl P., The Revolt of the Netherlands (1932)
- Gilbert J.T., History of Dublin (1903)
- Godfrey G.T., Notes on the Parish Registers of St Mary's, Nottingham 1566 to 1812 (1901)
- Gwatkin H.M., Church and State in England to the death of Queen Anne (1917)
- Hallam H., The Constitutional History of England (1854)

Secondary Sources(b) General Works (continued)

- Haweis J.O. W., Sketches of the Reformation (1844)
- Henson H.H., Puritanism in England (1912)
- Studies in English Religion in the seventeenth century (1903)
- Heron D.C., Constitutional History of the University of Dublin (1848)
- Historical Account of the Monastic Institutions suppressed in Ireland at the period of the Reformation (1825)
- History of the Church of Ireland from the earliest times to the present day, ed. W.A. Phillips, 3 vols (1934)
- Hoadley B., The Original and Institution of Civil Government discussed (1710)
- Hook W.F., Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, 7 vols (1868)
- Hunt J., History of Religious Thought in England, 2 vols (1870)
- Irwin C.H., A History of Presbyterianism in Dublin (1890)
- Jackson R.W., T.J. Johnston, J.L. Robinson, A History of the Church of Ireland (1954)
- Kennedy W.P.M., Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, 3 vols (1924)
- Studies in Tudor History (1916)
- Killen W.D., History of the Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (1886)
- The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, 2 vols (1875)
- Kippis A., Biographia Britannica, 5 vols (1784)

Secondary Sources(b) General Works ( continued)

- Kirk R.E., The Apostolic Ministry (1946)
- Le Neve J., Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 3 vols  
(1854)
- Magee B., The English Recusants (1938)
- Mant R., History of the Church of Ireland,  
2 vols (1840)
- Mason A.J., The Church of England and Episcopacy  
(1914)
- Mitchell J., Life and Times of Aodh O'Neill (1864)
- Monasticon Hibernicum, ed. A. Archdall, 3 vols (1873)
- Montague F.C., The History of England from the  
accession of James I to the  
Restoration (1907)
- Motley J.L., History of the United Netherlands,  
4 vols (1869)
- Neale J.E., Elizabeth I and her Parliaments  
1559 - 1581 (1953)
- Queen Elizabeth I (1952)
- The Elizabethan House of Commons  
(1949)
- Patterson M.W., A History of the Church of England  
(1909)
- Peel A., The Congregational Two Hundred 1530-  
1948 (1948)
- Perry G.G., History of the Church of England,  
3 vols (1861)
- Pollard A.F., The Elizabethans and the Empire  
(1923)
- Price T., The History of Protestant  
Nonconformity, 2 vols (1836)

Secondary Sources(b) General Works ( continued)

- Rashdall H., The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 3 vols (1936)
- Reid J.S., History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 3 vols (1867)  
Seven Letters to the Rev. C.R. Elrington (1849)
- Rogers T., The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England (1854)
- Sayle C.E., Early English Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge 1475-1640 (1909)
- Schaff P., A History of the Creeds of Christendom (1877)
- Shaw W.A., A History of the English Church during the civil wars and under the Commonwealth, 2 vols (1900)
- Stopford E.A., The Unity of the Anglican Church (1867)
- Sykes N., Church and State in England since the Reformation (1929)
- Wallace R.S., Old Priest and New Presbyter (1956)
- Watson E.V., The Crisis of the Reformation (1938)
- White E.J.D., The English Religious Tradition (1953)
- Taunton E.L., The History of the Jesuits in England 1580- 1773 (1901)
- Tawney R.H., Religion and the rise of Capitalism (1942)
- The Guildhall Miscellany, no.4, Feb. 1955.
- The Norman People (1874) [Editor's name unmentioned]
- Thompson J., The History of Leicester (1849)
- Toynbee A., An Historian's approach to Religion (1956)

Secondary Sources(b) General Works (continued)

- Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, 5th ser. ii, xi.
- Transactions: East Herts Archaeological Society (1906)
- Trevelyan G.M., England under the Stuarts (1948)
- History of England (1945)
- Typical English Churchmen from Parker to Maurice, ed. W. E. Collins (1902)
- Usher R.G., The Reconstruction of the English Church, 2 vols (1910)
- The Rise and Fall of the High Commission (1913)
- Victoria History of the County of Kent, 3 vols (1926)
- Waddington J., Congregational History 1567-1700, 2 vols (1874)
- Wakeman H.D., Introduction to the History of the Church of England (1914)
- Walker W., A history of the Christian Church (1949)
- Wallace R.S., Calvin's doctrine of the Word and Sacrament (1953)
- Watson E.W., The Church of England (1944)
- White N.J.D., Four Good Men (1927)
- Whitney J.P., The History of the Reformation (1940)
- Williams A.T.P., The Anglican Tradition in the life of England (1947)
- Wood A., Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss (1813)
- Fasti Oxonienses, 5 vols (1815)
- Woodhouse H.F., The Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology (1954)

Secondary Sources(a) Special Studies(b) General Works (continued)

Alford J.S.,

Wodrow R., Selections from....Biographical Collections,  
ed. R. Lippe (1890)Wylie W.H., Old and New Nottingham (1853)

Babbage S.B.,

The Church of England and Puritanism  
during the reign of Elizabeth, 1558-  
1603 (London University Ph.D. thesis,  
1963)

Bainton R.H.,

The Reformation in the Elizabethan Church  
(1953)

Baird H.M.,

Dynasty Days (1940)

Ball W.W. R.,

Notes on the History of Trinity College  
Cambridge (1877)

Banks C.W.,

Life and Times of John Selwin (1941)

Bayne C.G.,

Anglo-Roman Relations 1558-1598, 2 vols.  
(1913)

Bayne R.,

Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity  
Fifth Book by R. Hooker (1900)

Bernard H.,

Life and Death of Anne Boleyn (1864)

Bibby E.,

'The Puritan clerical movement of  
Elizabeth's reign' (Manchester University  
M.A. thesis 1939)

Black J.B.,

The Reign of Elizabeth 1558-1603 (1911)

Bonnard G.,

In Controversy in Martin Luther's  
(1915)Book of Trinity College, Dublin 1591-1821 (1940)

Boughay A.H.W.,

'History of Trinity College, Cambridge'  
(Unpublished typescript in Trinity  
College Library, Cambridge, M.A.)

Secondary Sources(c) Special Studies

- Ainslie J.L., The Doctrines of Ministerial Order in the Reformed Churches of the 16th and 17th centuries (1940)
- Arber E., An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy (1879)
- Babbage S.B., 'The Church of England and Puritanism during the Primacy of Bancroft, 1604-1610' (London University Ph.D. thesis 1941)
- Bainton R.H., The Reformation in the Sixteenth Century (1953)
- Baird H.M., Theodore Beza (1898)
- Ball W.W. R., Notes on the History of Trinity College, Cambridge (1899)
- Banks C.W., Life and Times of John Calvin (1851)
- Bayne C.G., Anglo-Roman Relations 1558-1565, 3 vols (1913)
- Bayne R., Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity: Fifth Book by R. Hooker (1902)
- Bernard N., Life and Death of James Usher (1656)
- Bibby E., 'The Puritan classical movement of Elizabeth's reign' (Manchester University M.A. thesis 1929 )
- Black J.B., The Reign of Elizabeth 1558 - 1603 (1936)
- Bonnard G., La Controverse de Martin Marprelate (1916)
- Book of Trinity College, Dublin 1591- 1891 (1892)
- Boughey A.H.F., 'History of Trinity College, Cambridge' ( Unpublished typescript in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, n.d.)



Secondary Sources(c) Special Studies (continued)

- Brook B., Memoir of the life and writings of Thomas Cartwright (1845)
- The Lives of the Puritans, 3 vols (1813)
- Brook V.J.K., Whitgift and the English Church (1957)
- Brown J., The English Puritans (1910)
- The Pilgrim Fathers (1920)
- Burrage C., John Penry (1913)
- The Early English Dissenters, 2 vols (1912)
- The true story of Robert Browne (1906)
- Cardwell E., A History of Conferences (1840)
- Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England, 2 vols (1839)
- Carr J.A., Life and Times of James Ussher (1895)
- Carruthers S.W., The Westminster Assembly (1943)
- The Everyday Work of the Westminster Assembly (1943)
- Church R.W., Introduction to Book I of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity (1868)
- Cooper C.H., Annals of Cambridge, 4 vols (1852)
- Cooper C.H. and T. Athenae Cantabrigienses, 3 vols (1858)

Secondary Sources (continued)

- Coverdale, Memorials of (Parker Soc.1838)
- Dakin A. Calvinism (1941)
- Dalrymple D., Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain in the reign of James I (1766)
- Davies E.T. Episcopacy and the Royal Supremacy in the Church of England in the XVith century (1950)
- Dawley P.M., John Whitgift and the Reformation (1955)
- Doumergue E., Jean Calvin, 4 vols (1902)
- Drysdale A.H., History of the Presbyterians in England (1889)
- Dyer G., History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge, 2 vols (1814)
- Elrington C.R., Life of James Ussher (1848)
- English Historical Review, xxxix (1924)
- English Puritan Divines in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1849)
- Frere W.H., The English Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1904)
- Fuller T., Abel Redivivus, 2 vols (1867)
- Church History of Britain, 3 vols (1868)
- The History of the Worthies of England, 3 vols (1840)
- The History of the University of Cambridge (1840)

Secondary Sources (continued)

- Garrett C.H., The Marian Exiles (1938)
- Gee H., The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion 1558-1564 (1898)
- Gillespie G., Notes of Debates and Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster (1846)
- Haller W., The Rise of Puritanism (1938)
- Hanbury B., Historical Memorials relating to the Independents, 2 vols (1839)
- Heppe H., The Reformers of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century (1859)
- Hessel J.H., Ecclesiae Londino - Batavia Archium - Epistolae et Tractatus (1889)
- Hetherington W.M., History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines (1843)
- Helyn P., Aërius Redivivus or History of the Presbyterians 1536 - 1647 (1672)
- Heywood J., and T.Wright Cambridge University Transactions, 2 vols (1854)
- Hutchinson J.Hely, 'An Essay towards a history of Trinity College, Dublin' (Unpublished typescript in T.C.D. Library of original MS ) 2 vols (n.d.)
- Hutton W.H., The English Church from Charles I to Anne (1903)
- Innes H. McL., Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge (1941)

Secondary Sources (continued)

- Jourdan G.V., The Reformation in Ireland in the XVIIth century (1932)
- Knappen M.M., Tudor Puritanism (1939)
- Leatherbarrow J.S., Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants (1947)
- Lorimer P., John Knox and the Church of England (1875)
- Macphail W.M., The Presbyterian Church (1908)
- Mahaffy J.P., An Epoch in Irish History (1903)
- Maitland S.R., Essays on subjects connected with the Reformation in England (1849)
- Marsden J.B., History of the Early Puritans (1850)
- Martin D.J., Ablaze yet not consumed (1949)
- Maskell W., History of the Martin Marprelate Controversy (1845)
- Maxwell C., A History of Trinity College, Dublin. (1946)
- McIlwain C.H., The political works of James I (1918)
- Meyer A.O., England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth (1916)
- Mitchell A.F., The Westminster Assembly (1883)
- Moffatt J., The Presbyterian Churches (1928)
- Mullinger J.B., A History of the University of Cambridge (1888)
- The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the accession of Charles the First (1884)

Secondary Sources (continued)

- Murphy H.L., A History of Trinity College, Dublin from its foundation to 1702 (1951)
- Nares E., Memoirs of William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1831)
- Neal D., History of the Puritans, 5 vols (1822)
- Nichols J., The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth 3 vols (1805)
- Paget F., An Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity (1907)
- Parr R., Life of James Usher (1686)
- Pearse E.H., Sion College and Library (1913)
- Pearson A.F.S., Church and State (1928)
- Der Älteste Englische Presbyterianismus (1912)
- 'Puritan and presbyterian settlements in Ireland 1560 - 1660' 2 vols (1952) Unpublished typescript in the library of the Presbyterian College, Belfast.
- Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism (1925)
- Peile J., Biographical Register of Christ's College 1505 - 1905, 2 vols (1910)
- University of Cambridge, Christ's College (1900)

Secondary Sources (continued)

- Pierce W., An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts (1908)  
John Penry (1923)  
The Marprelate Tracts, 1588, 1589 (1911)
- Pollen J.H., The English Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1920)
- Read C., Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (1955)
- Shirley F.J., Richard Hooker and Contemporary Political Ideas (1949)
- Smithen F.J., Continental Protestantism and the English Reformation (1927)  
Presbyterianism in England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1937)
- Soames H., Elizabethan Religious History (1839)
- Southern A.C., Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559 - 1582 (1950)
- Strype J., Annals of the Reformation (1824)  
Brief Annals of the Church and State under the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (1731)
- The Life and Acts of John Aylmer (1821)  
The Life and Acts of John Whitgift, 3 vols (1822)
- Stubbs J.W., The History of the University of Dublin (1889)

Secondary Sources (continued)

- Taylor W.B.S., History of the University of Dublin.  
(1845)
- The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, 1953, 1954, 1956, 1957.
- Travers S.S., A Pedigree with Biographical Sketches of the Devonshire Family of Travers  
(p.p. 1898)
- Trevelyan G.M., Trinity College - an Historical Sketch (1943)
- Urwick W., Early History of Trinity College Dublin 1591 - 1660 (1892)
- Nonconformity in Herts (1884)
- Usher R.G., The Presbyterian Movement in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1905)
- Venn J. and J.A., Alumni Cantabrigienses (1927)
- Wakeman H.D., The Church and the Puritans 1570 - 1660 (1887)
- Walton I., Life of Richard Hooker (1665) Printed in C. Wordsworth, Ecclesiastical Biography, iv and J. Keble, Works of Hooker, i.
- Whittingham William. Life, ed. M.A.E. Green (1870)
- Williamson J.B., The History of the Temple, London  
(1924)





