

ELIZABETHAN NON-CONFORMIST TEXTS

Volume I: Cartwrightiana

Edited by
Albert Peel and Leland H. Carlson



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VOLUME II

The writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne

Edited by Leland H. Carlson and Albert Peel

VOLUME III

The writings of Henry Barrow

1587–1590

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VOLUME IV

The writings of John Greenwood

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VOLUME VI

The writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow

1591–1593

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Cartwrightiana

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and Leland H. Carlson*

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CARTWRIGHTIANA

Edited by
ALBERT PEEL
LITT. D.

and
LELAND H. CARLSON
PH. D.

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TO THE MEMORY

OF

THE REVEREND WILLIAM HARROP

PREFACE

ONE of the first essentials for the study and the writing of history is the accessibility of sources. If manuscripts are in far-distant places or in repositories only occasionally open to students, and if printed books are excessively rare, difficulties are multiplied. The use of the photostat and the microfilm does something to relieve the situation, but they help individuals or only a few, and those who provide calendars of manuscripts or definitive editions of rare printed works can count themselves useful handmaids to historians.

A century ago the Parker Society rendered conspicuous service in over fifty volumes of reprints which look as unattractive as they are useful. A contemporary attempt was made to form a Wycliffe Society which would do for the non-Anglican groups what the Parker Society did for the Anglican divines ; but it came to little. True, an occasional Puritan work is incorporated ; some of Cartwright's to which Whitgift replied appear in the three volumes of Whitgift's *Works* ; but in the main the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists have had to wait until the 20th century for the kind of attention the Anglicans received in the 19th. In 1907 Frere and Douglas broke the ice in *Puritan Manifestoes*, which reprints pamphlets dating from 1566 to 1573. In 1909 William Pierce printed *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, and in 1912 Mr. Champlin Burrage's *Early English Dissenters* contained many transcripts of contemporary sources. In 1915 W. T. Whitley published *The Works of John Smyth*, and in the same year appeared my calendar of MSS. in the Dr. Williams's Library, *The Seconde Parte of a Register*. It was the intention to follow that work with a reprint of *A parte of a register*, to which the Puritans of 1590 intended it to be a successor, but two wars and the pressure of other duties intervened, though I have always regarded it as a commitment.

Cartwrightiana

Perhaps an even greater need, however, has been that for an authoritative edition of the writings of the early Separatists and Independents — Browne, Harrison, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, three of whom gave their lives for their faith. Since the publication of *The Seconde Parte of a Register* there has been constant demand for such an edition; most of their works are rare, some of them extremely so, and yet it is impossible to understand the rise and development of Independency and of the democratic idea in religion and in politics without adequate reflection upon them. From time to time the Congregational Historical Society has reprinted individual works, edited by T. G. Crippen and Dr. A. J. Grieve, and in 1943 the Royal Historical Society printed my edition of Penry's manuscript note-book. But the desired definitive edition remained but a dream, though the pressure to provide such an edition has been cumulative through the years. Though one's preference would have been to finish the work, *Elizabethan Puritanism and Separatism*, I have long had in hand, it seemed a clear duty first to provide the sources so that, if time prevent the completion of my plans, others may carry them out.

The problem has been two-fold — to discover the time the preparation of such an edition entails, and to find the resources to meet the greatly increased cost of publication, particularly heavy when works must be printed *verbatim* and *literatim*. The problem has been solved by the public spirit of the Sir Halley Stewart Trust, which has not only underwritten the publication costs but also made a grant towards research expenses.

Originally the scheme was to provide the *corpus* of the writings of the fathers of Independency, and to follow it with the reprint of *A parte of a register*. It was found, however, that many of the *parerga* of Thomas Cartwright, the Presbyterian leader — some of them not in print or previously unidentified — were so interlocked with those of the Independents that a volume of *Cartwrightiana* seemed a necessary preliminary.

Cartwrightiana

Acknowledgment must be made of the generous help of the Sir Halley Stewart Trustees, and I am also grateful to the Rockefeller Foundation for grants for the purchase of photostats.

The Librarians of the British Museum, the Lambeth Library, and the Dr. Williams's Library, in London; of the Bodleian; the Cambridge University Library; the Rylands Library in Manchester; the Sterling Library at Yale; the Houghton Library at Harvard; the Huntington Library in San Marino; and the Union Theological Seminary Library in New York — and their staffs — have done much to expedite my labours. They have also readily granted permission to print the works in their charge. I am also indebted to Sir Fitzroy and Lady Calthorpe, not only for leave to print manuscripts in the Yelverton Collection, but for the gracious hospitality which has made work at Elvetham Hall a pleasure.

To the printers, who had a far from easy task, the gratitude of readers and editor alike is due.

Professor Norman Sykes, of Cambridge, was good enough to read the text, Professor A. F. Scott Pearson, of Belfast, the proofs, of this first volume. It has profited by their expert knowledge, but they have no responsibility for blemishes that remain.

ALBERT PEEL.

* * * * *

The untimely death of Dr. Albert Peel on November 3, 1949, was a serious loss to the religious and scholarly world. As a zealous student of English Nonconformity, he had delved deeply into the origin and development of Puritanism. As an editor, he had guided the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* and the *Congregational Quarterly*. As a contributor of articles and book reviews, he had advanced the cause of research. As a writer of monographs, he had thrown new light on obscure parts of English history. And as minister

Cartwrightiana

and friend, he had aided the work of others, preached the message of good will and understanding, and exemplified his teaching by his life.

It is a great misfortune that he never saw the completion of his work. He left materials for a seven-volume project on the writings of English nonconformists. Volume I was in page proof, and needed the final supervision of its originator. My work as co-editor has really been that of proof-reading, checking, correcting, and verifying. I have re-edited and collated those materials which are available in Dr. Williams' Library, Lambeth Palace Library, and the British Museum. In a few cases I have been able to improve the transcriptions of difficult manuscript readings, but throughout I have found that Dr. Peel had been a careful editor.

It is difficult to make long range plans in these uncertain times, but I hope that the remaining volumes may be completed without undue delay. The entire series is as follows :

- Volume I. *Cartwrightiana*.
- II. *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne*.
- III. IV. *The Writings of Henry Barrow and John Greenwood*.
- V. *The Writings of John Penry*.
- VI. VII. *A Parte of a Register*.

There remains the pleasant task of making acknowledgements. For their interest and encouragement in this work, I wish to express my thanks to Mrs. Albert Peel ; to Professor Herbert Heaton, of the University of Minnesota, Professor Marshall Knappen, of the University of Michigan, and Professor J. E. Neale, of the University of London. Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall, of New College, London, kindly made a survey of the materials shortly after the death of Dr. Peel. Miss Margaret Peel not only has compiled the index, but she has also helped in every stage of my work. Without her knowledge of her

Cartwrightiana

father's work, my task would have been immeasurably greater. To the printer, whose task has not been easy, a word of thanks is due.

I feel a deep obligation to the Trustees of the Sir Halley Stewart Trust. Without their sponsorship and generous support, the publication of this volume and of the remaining works in the series would have been impossible. To the publishers, George Allen and Unwin, and to Sir Stanley Unwin personally, I feel grateful. And to my own colleagues and administrative officials of Northwestern University who made possible my trip to England, I owe a debt of gratitude.

LELAND H. CARLSON

CONTENTS

PREFACE	PAGE vi
INTRODUCTION	1
<p>I. CARTWRIGHT'S EXAMINATION IN 1590 AND THE OATH <i>Ex Officio Mero</i></p>	<p>21</p>
<p>1. Whitgift's Interrogatories to Cartwright (Yelverton MSS.)</p>	<p>21</p>
<p>2. Cartwright's Answers (Yelverton MSS.)</p>	<p>23</p>
<p>3. The Imprisoned Ministers and the Oath (Yelverton MSS.)</p>	<p>28</p>
<p>4. Treatise on the Oath (Hastings MSS.)</p>	<p>30</p>
<p>II. RESOLUTION OF DOUBTS ABOUT ENTERING THE MINISTRY (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MSS.)</p>	<p>47</p>
<p>III. LETTERS</p>	<p>48</p>
<p>1. An Answer to Harrison's Letter, 1584 (Dr. Williams's Library)</p>	<p>48</p>
<p>2. To Anne Stubbe (Harl. MSS.)</p>	<p>58</p>
<p style="padding-left: 40px;">Anne's Letter (Addit. MSS.)</p>	<p>60</p>
<p style="padding-left: 40px;">Cartwright's Reply, 30 Aug., 1590 (Harl. MSS.)</p>	<p>63</p>
<p>3. <i>Two Very Godly and Comfortable Letters</i>, 1589. (From the unique copy in the McAlpin Collection)</p>	<p>75</p>
<p style="padding-left: 40px;">(i.) To a Godly and Zealous Lady</p>	<p>77</p>
<p style="padding-left: 40px;">(ii.) To a Godly Merchant</p>	<p>88</p>

Cartwrightiana

	PAGE
4. Two Letters to "M ^{ris} D. B.", 1575, 1576 (C.C.C., O., MSS.)	105
5. To Arthur Hildersham, 1583/4 (Trinity College, Dublin, and C.C.C., O. MSS.)	108
6. To Francis Hastings, 1587 (Hastings MSS.)	115
IV. <i>The Holy Exercise of a True Fast.</i> 1580, 1610 (B.M. 4324. e.1.)	118
Appendix "Of Fasting" (from Cartwright's <i>A Treatise of the Christian Religion</i>)	152
V. A SHORT CATECHISM (Ellesmere MSS.)	156
VI. PREFACE TO <i>An Hospitall for the Diseased</i> , 1579. (B.M. C. 31 b. 13.)	174
VII. SPEECH AT DAUGHTER'S BETROTHAL (Rylands MSS.)	179
VIII. WORKS OF DOUBTFUL AUTHORSHIP	192
1. The Ministry and Ceremonies (C.C.C., O., MSS.)	192
2. A Psalm and Three Prayers (from <i>A Godly and Learned Sermon, vpon the 91 Psalme.</i> Emmanuel College, Cambridge)	194
3. A Reproofe of Certeine Schismatical Persons (Lambeth MSS.)	197
INDEX	262

INTRODUCTION

It may seem strange that any of the works of Thomas Cartwright, the distinguished leader of the Elizabethan Puritans, should have failed to reach print during his life-time, or soon afterwards. Standard-bearer of the Presbytero-Puritans against Whitgift, first in Cambridge and then on the wider field, he was held to have vanquished his adversary, powerful as that adversary had become in Church and State : indeed, Whitgift was often taunted¹ with having failed to answer Cartwright's *Rest of the second replie* (1577). He had, however, resources other than arguments, and he did not hesitate to use them, as the Puritan leader had already reason to know.

Meanwhile the Puritan ministers regarded Cartwright as their leader, and *An Almond for a Parrat*² jeers at him as "the Idoll of Warwicke," proclaimed "supreme head of the Church" by "the sinod of saints." To him, from his Cambridge days to the end of his life, the ministers invariably looked for guidance, and his advice was frequently asked on a great variety of subjects, but especially about the use of vestments and ceremonies and the limits of conformity.³

A typical example, a discussion whether ministers should relinquish their charges rather than wear vestments and use ceremonies they deemed Popish, is recorded in *A parte of a register*, 401-8, and Peel, *Seconde Parte of a Register*, I. 136 ff.⁴ A manuscript on the same subject, possibly Cartwright's, is printed within.

¹ See Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright*, 280 ; Pierce, *The Marprelate Tracts*, 19, 21, 43, 215.

² R. B. McKerrow, *Nash's Works*, III. 359-360.

³ See Pearson, 149 ff., 271 ; Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions* (1593) and *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline* (1593) ; and Usher, *The Presbyterian Movement in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, *passim*.

⁴ See also Pearson, 149 ff., and below, p. 192.

Cartwrightiana

But Cartwright's leadership was not limited to ministers alone. In Samuel Clarke's words¹ :

He was sent to from divers eminent Divines beyond the seas, wherein they craved his advice for the direction of young men in the method of their studies, as also in the behalf of the Churches in general, for his counsel in regulating their proceedings in the waitiest affairs . . . His carriage and deportment was such, that there was not a Nobleman or Gentleman of quality in all the Country that looked Heavenward, or was of any account for Religion and learning, but they sought to enjoy his company, and found much pleasure and content therein: for his conversation was such, that scarce a word came from his mouth that was not of some good use and concernment.

As this suggests, his leadership was recognised abroad as well as at home—and he visited France, the Low Countries, Germany, Geneva, and the Channel Islands. His intellectual pre-eminence was freely and widely acknowledged: Beza's statement, "the sun doth not see a more learned man" is well-known. It is all the more remarkable that the number of works bearing his name after 1577 is so few, and some explanation must be sought. His own words² in 1590, when denying any connexion with Martin Marprelate, must be noted :

from the writing of my last book which was thirten years agoe I never wrote nor procured any thing to be printed which might be in any sort offensive to her ma^{tie} or the state.

This silence is the more remarkable in that, in 1577 itself, on the title-page of *The Rest of the second replie*, Cartwright had repeated the verses from *Isaiah* 62 he had used on the title-pages of the *Replye to an answeare* and *The second replie*, from the last of which we quote :

For Syons sake, I will not hould my tonge, and for Ierusalems sake, I will not reeste; vntill the righteousness therof break forth as the light, and the saluation therof be as a burning lampe . . . Ye that are the Lordes remembrancers, kepe not silence, and gyue him no rest: vntill he repaire, and set vp Ierusalem the praise of [the] world.

What influences were brought to bear, we wonder, to bring

¹ *Generall Martyrologie* (1651), 370.

² To Burghley: Lansdowne MSS. lxiv. 50; Pearson, 451.

Cartwrightiana

about so complete a change in Cartwright's attitude? At the moment, however, it is to be noted that the qualification—"not offensive to her ma^{tie} or the state"—is the more important part of his disclaimer. It could scarcely be expected that a man in Cartwright's position of leadership, in whom learning was married to an itching pen, should remain altogether silent and write nothing at all. No doubt he made the endeavour to write only such words as even Whitgift—ever waiting to catch him out—must deem innocuous. If he had "dangerous thoughts"—and there is no doubt he had some Whitgift considered very dangerous—he kept them out of the risky medium of print, leaving the more radical and venturesome Independents to brave the wrath of the Queen and her little black husband. The contrast between the end of Cartwright, dying in comfort and full of years in 1603, and that of John Penry, hanged in 1593 at the age of 30, leaving a wife and four little girls, the eldest of them only four, is significant. Both had dared to challenge Whitgift; both he had pursued with relentless resolution and implacable hatred; if at times he seemed to be lenient with Cartwright he was merely watching him as a cat does a mouse, always ready to pounce; if he allowed him a measure of freedom it was with the expectation that he would incriminate himself. Penry would not be silent or discreet; he refused to compromise or dilute his message, and so he came to his early and tragic end. Cartwright played for safety—he said to Burghley in October, 1590, that in the four years since he returned from the Low Countries he had "sparingly spoken of any matter in controversy"—and, aided by powerful protectors, he escaped with his life.

Two works between the date of *The Rest of the second replie* and 1590 do bear Cartwright's name. The first, however, was not printed by him. It appears on pp. 86 - 96 of Robert Browne's *An ansvere to master Cartwright His letter for ioyning with the English Churches: whereunto the true copie of his sayde letter is annexed* [1585?], in which Browne says that Cartwright's letter

Cartwrightiana

is in many mens handes, and was seene [? sente] abroad
vnsealed and open, as if he cared not who shoulde read it.

Such a letter, however, could not by any manner of means be considered "offensive to her ma^{tie} or to the state."

The other is an 8-page Latin epistle, a Preface to Dudley Fenner's *Sacra Theologia* (1586), dated 3 *nonas Septemb. An.* 1585, *Ornatissimo et clarissimo fratri et in ministerio collegae, Domino Dudleio Fennero*, and signed, *Tui amantiss. Frater & in Ecclesiae ministerio collega, Thomas Cartwright*. This, apparently, the only work published during the thirteen years which bears Cartwright's name in full, only a vivid imagination could construe as containing anything offensive to the Queen or State; nevertheless such is Cartwright's caution that in his *Brief Apologie . . . against . . . Mr. Sutcliffe* (1596) he points out that this "Epistle commendatorie" does not necessarily make him of Fenner's judgment in regard to the book's contents.¹

One work, indeed, he did intend to publish, the *Confutation of the Rhemists Translation*, which did not see the light until 1618. The publisher's Preface helps to reveal the conditions under which Cartwright lived and wrote, at the same time as it shows the general esteem in which he was held. In answer to Queen Elizabeth's request that he should answer the translation Beza had replied that²

she had one in her own Kingdome, far abler than himself to undertake such a task, and upon further enquiry declared that it was Master Thomas Cartwright.

Walsingham thereupon wrote to Cartwright, saying the Queen desired his return from Antwerp, urging that he should undertake to answer the books of the Jesuits and begin with the *Rhemists Translation*, promising him £100 a year, to be paid in advance half-yearly, with permission to reside where he would. By direct letters and by resolution in their classical meetings his brother ministers also pressed him to undertake the task.³

¹ C.1 verso.

² Clarke, *idem*, 371.

³ Pearson, 208; Usher, *Presbyterian Movement*, 78

Cartwrightiana

In 1586, however, when his answer to the Preface of the Translation was ready, and the whole work almost finished, Whitgift forbade him to proceed, and, to the dismay of the Puritans, Cartwright obeyed. Ten years later, answering Sutcliffe's accusation that his silence on matters in controversy had been due to cowardice, he thus alludes to the incident¹:

And that he dareth me not once but sundry times to answer touching these matters of Discipline, I think it not so fitte for me to vndertake it, there being so many better able therevnto then I, especiallie in this declyning & forgetfull age of mine. And yet if my answer might have either that allowance of print, or passage that his hath, and none other were found: I myself in the weaknesse I am in, would not be behind with answer to anie thing that he hath bene able to alleadge in this behalfe: If there be any thing in his writings, the answer wherof is not already set downe by such as haue written in that cause: And that my silence in the cause of Discipline is not altogether either of th' inhabilitie or feare, Mr. D. *Sutcliffe* would so willingly fasten, or rather force vpon me, let this be for an Argument, that where I was set on worke by the right honorable Sir *Francis Walsingham* for th' answer of th' annotations of the Iesuites vpon the new testament, & had traueled therein to a rude and first draught of a great part thereof: vnderstanding from some in authoritie that I might not deale with it, I did not onely not set any thing out my selfe, but also earnestly laboured by letters and friendes heere and in Scotland both the hindaunce of printing some partes therof, which beeing brought to Sir *Francis* afterwarde (much against my will) came into the handes of diuers to whom I would never haue let them come.

This refers to part of the *Confutation* which had fallen into the hands of Waldegrave, to be eventually published by him², though not until 1602, when he was safely established in Edinburgh. Even when the full work appeared in 1618 the publisher withheld the names, not only of the ministers of London and Suffolk who had urged him to undertake the task,

¹ *Brief Apologie*, C 1 verso — 2 recto.

² Σὺν Θεῷ ἐν χριστῷ: *The answer to the preface of the Rhemish Testament*. By T. Cartwright.

Cartwrightiana

but also of the Cambridge scholars still alive who had begged him to take the project in hand thirty-five years before.¹

The *Confutation*² reveals how hard it was for Cartwright to maintain his vow to avoid controversy³, even as it reveals that Whitgift's instinct that a rebuttal of the Roman position would reflect also on the Anglican was thoroughly sound: it was perhaps for this reason that Cartwright was never encouraged by the Bishops, as were other Puritans, to engage in oral and written debate with Roman Catholic opponents in Lancashire and elsewhere.

The years 1590 and 1591 were a watershed in Cartwright's life. Whitgift, with the aid of Bancroft and the High Commission, then broke the Classical Movement, after a sustained attack on the ministers who were its leaders. Cartwright and his followers were closely questioned about their activities, and the legality of the use of the oath *ex officio mero* became the subject of violent controversy. James Morrice and Robert Beale among the laymen vigorously attacked the use of the oath, and many of the ministers resisted its application to them, for they refused to accuse themselves. Cartwright's objection is stated with due documentation in the Hastings MS. printed below (p. 31) and probably also in a statement setting out the views of the ministers in prison (below p. 28).

Any further study of the Classical Movement will have to estimate how far their claims that no attempt was made to practise the discipline accords with the minute-book of the

¹ To the Studious Reader the Publisher says (A. 2 verso):

"But yet receiving new discouragements from his great Adversaries, together with his continual imployment in the ministry, and other special and necessitated labors and sufferings, but especially his being prevented by death, he did not wholly finish it according to his first purpose, nor survey so accurately as otherwise he would, all the quotations of ancient writers which he had occasiō to mentiō. For what heart could he haue to spend his labor in that which was so unlike to be made usefull by the presse . . . The onely griefe is, that the copy is not perfected, further then the 15. of Revelation. Beside the small defects by Mice, through 30. yeares neglect, which we haue supplied out of D. Fulk. But this the Reader must be intreated to beare with, and to take in good part this care of mine, whereby this work which lay so long hid and fruitles, is preserued and now made publick for thy benefit that it should not utterly perish. Make speciall use therefore of what is come as it were through the fire unto thee for that end. Farewell."

² For a good summary see Pearson, 205 ff.

³ Perhaps the repression exacerbated his feelings towards the Papists: in the Preface to the *Confutation* [E. 4 recto] he says: "these swinish Jesuites treade the pearles of the Greeke Copies vnder their filthy feet."

Cartwrightiana

Dedham classis and with the evidence set forth by Bancroft in *Dangerous Positions* and the *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*.

From the time of Cartwright's examinations before the Commissioners in 1590 and 1591 the position was much the same; even when in 1596 the worm turned, and he wrote his *Brief Apologie . . . against all such slaunderous accusations as it pleased Mr. Sutcliffe in his severall pamphlettes most iniuriously to loade him with*, he deals in the main with charges against his character rather than with ecclesiastical affairs.

But if during the last quarter of a century of his life Cartwright published next to nothing that was controversial¹, that does not mean his pen was idle. There were learned commentaries on *Ecclesiastes*, *Colossians*, *Proverbs*, and *Revelation*, which only appeared after his death. He was a devout as well as a learned man, and religion to him was much more than controversy. He held that a minister had in a real sense the cure of souls, and he was ever ready to counsel and advise. People, often people of standing — noblemen, gentry, and men of substance with whom his life on the Continent and at home had brought him into contact — besought his aid on points of belief and matters of conduct, and he was nothing loth to answer their questions, especially if they gave him a chance to counter Popish teaching he deemed pernicious. Perhaps Whitgift never fully realized how by silencing preachers he drove them to use the pen, though it may be that he felt it would be easier to nail down the written and printed word than the spoken. Cartwright, at any rate, even though he would do nothing in direct disobedience to the commands of the Queen and those in lawful authority, would always seek for ways to exercise his teaching and pastoral ministry. That ministry took many forms, all of them, except the first, illustrated in the works here printed.

¹ *The Christian Letter* (1599), in reply to Hooker, has sometimes been attributed to Cartwright on what seem quite insufficient grounds.

Cartwrightiana

First came *Sermons*, one of the main forms of contemporary reading. These might appear separately or in volumes of exposition or commentary.

Second came *Catechisms*. The central place occupied by catechizing in the teaching ministry of the Elizabethans, both for adults and for children, is often overlooked. It will be considered in introducing Cartwright's catechism.

Third. *Pastoral letters and private instruction*, often cast in a form suitable for wider circulation. As the twentieth century preacher is said to have sermons that are "travellers"—the same applies to preachers in centuries before the twentieth—so the Elizabethan with the cure of souls would write a letter to an individual which, though fitting a particular case, was suitable for wider circulation.

One subject of perennial interest was health. A succession of plagues during Cartwright's life-time not merely posed problems for theologians, but it was but the extreme form of all too prevalent disease. Cures and recipes had a place perhaps second only to marvels and sermons in the reading of the time, a fact of which a shrewd observer like Cartwright was not unaware. While he denied¹ that he was a miracle-worker, a not unnatural interest in illness was stimulated by his own complaints². So it is that sickness is frequently mentioned in his books and letters, and it is with no surprise that his initials are found on a collection of remedies. The vigorous, even eloquent, Preface to this *Hospitall for the Diseased* would not have detracted from his reputation had it borne his name, though moderns will smile that an educated man should recommend such cures. Analogies such as that in the Preface to the *Confutation* [B.2., *recto*] are frequent :

is the reading of the scriptures by the people, like vnto strawberries, that are good onely some season of the yeare: is it physick when men are sick and not meat when they be whole? is it triacle to driue out poyson and not preservative to keepe from it?

Not only so, but through many of his writings there runs a

¹ *Apologie*, B. 4 verso; Sutcliffe, *Exam.*, 38 verso, 39; Pearson, 295, ff. Cf. *An Almond for a Parrat* (McKerrow, *Nash's Works*, III, 350): "not one of them shall escape; no, not T.C. himselfe, as full as he is of his miracles."

² See Pearson, *passim*.

Cartwrightiana

psychological, even a psychotherapeutical, note that is strikingly modern. The emphasis on the interplay of mind and body and on the use of sublimation is in strangest company with the crudest of suggested cures.

As we have seen, Cartwright was revered as a leader by the ministers, and respected for his learning and influence by the Puritan laity. Holding him in such high regard, they would naturally desire the widest publicity for all he wrote, perhaps none the less when he eschewed matters of controversy. During his life-time three works appeared which are probably his, bearing his initials either then or subsequently. They are :

1. *Two Very Godly and Comfortable Letters*. 1589 (below, p. 75).
2. *The Holy Exercise of a True Fast*. Anonymous 1580, T.C. 1610 (below, p. 118).
3. *An Hospitall for the Diseased*. Gathered by T.C. 1579 and frequently afterwards (below, p. 174).

None of these bears Cartwright's name, and it is even possible that they were printed without his knowledge, though perhaps more likely that he connived at publication.

After his death in 1603 — and Whitgift's, for the protagonists and Elizabeth died within a few months of each other — publication would perhaps be less dangerous. James, however, proved no more friendly to the Presbyterians than his imperious predecessor had been — he rebuffed the aged Cartwright at a pre-Hampton-Court meeting — and though the works already published were given a new lease of life, and others were issued, they still, in the main, bore initials only. Two highly-respected ministers, John Dod and Arthur Hildersham, though their names are not mentioned in the will, seem to have been his literary executors. They no doubt felt it their duty to print or reprint all that they could. It cannot be proved, however, that they were responsible for the new editions just mentioned, and Cartwright himself may have arranged for the publication of the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, which appeared, with a Preface to King James, in 1604. That on *Colossians* (1612), which has his name in full, but no Preface,

Cartwrightiana

is thus referred to by W[illiam] B[radshaw] in his Preface to Cartwright's *Treatise of Christian Religion* (1616)¹:

Many haue bin sorrie (good Reader) to see some writings of this learned and godly Author come forth in publike, since his death, with so many defects and maimes. To giue an instance hereof, there is an exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians, published vnder his name; wherein hee hath had very much wrong done to him: it being nothing else but a bundle of raw and imperfect notes, taken by some vnlearned hearer, neuer perused (or so much as seene) by the Author himselfe. Wherein there is scant any good coherence of matter to be found, or any perfect periods and sentences handsomly knit together, or suitably depending one vpon another.

This Treatise of Religion, now reprinted, was the first; whereof there was much expectation and desire; as of that which would be of more generall vse to all sorts of people: in which respect the Author himself was known to make more account of it, and would (if God had prolonged his daies to haue perfected the same according to his own wishes) haue giuen fuller satisfaction to his iudicious and impartiall Reader. His purpose was, to set downe in most plaine and familiar manner, all the necessarie points of positie Diuinity, whereunto God (in a gracious measure) hath inabled him; as may appeare euen by the first impression, though it were published with many wants and imperfections.

What paines and faithfulness hath been vsed in this second edition, for the supply of defects, and amendment of the faults of the former, will appeare to them that shall take time and paines to compare them together.

His helpe was principally vsed herein, who was well acquainted with the Author and his purpose; and who hath done no more herein in effect, then what he had helpe in, either from the Authors owne little Catechisme, or from some directions in the best and last copie that he left behind him, or which the necessity of the method which he propounded did require.

The first edition (as appeares) wanted a beginning; by meanes whereof the whole worke was as the trunke of a body without the head; the reason whereof was the transposing of the doctrine of the Scripture, (wherewith he first began the Treatise) into a more fit place; this as neare as can bee, according to the Authors mind and speciall direction, is supplied in the first Chapter: the like transposition of other particulars, not well vnderstood by

¹ A 2 recto — A 3 verso.

Cartwrightiana

his seruant that copied forth the booke, afterwards was a cause of the multitude of other errours also, which wee hope are now sufficiently amended, all particulars being brought to their proper places. Only there is in the exposition of the last petition of the Lords Prayer, a large discourse of Gods gouernment concerning sinne; which were to bee wished had been brought backe to the tenth Chapter, which is the first and fittest place for that argument to bee handled in: and also whether by the Printers negligence, or his that writ the copie, there is one whole question and answere / which belongs to the latter end of the seuenteenth Chapter, placed out of order, and set in the beginning of the eighteenth Chapter. There are also (to my griefe) many other verball faults which the Printer and the transcriber must diuide betweene them, which though they may bee easily discerned by the iudicious and aduised Reader, yet may make others to stumble; and therefore I earnestly pray thee good Reader (which thou easily maiest doe) that thou wouldest amend them in the first place, according to the direction following.

Further thou art to be entreated that hereafter thou esteeme nothing to bee his, but what shall bee published or approued by them, to whom by his last will and Testament hee committed the perusall and examination of his writings. Farewell.

What were the other works with "defects and maimes" to which Bradshaw refers? No doubt the first edition of the *Treatise of Christian Religion* itself, published in 1611, of which the only copy known to me is in the McAlpin Collection in the Union Theological Seminary Library, New York. Dod and Hildersham may have arranged for the *Commentary on Proverbs* (1617), the *Confutation* (1618), a *Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (1622) and the *Harmonia Evangelica* (1627).

If unauthorised people printed Cartwright's manuscripts, it may also be true that others exploited his initials. In Emmanuel College, Cambridge, is a copy of a rare work¹, *A Godly and Learned Sermon, vpon the 91 Psalm. Declaring how, & to what place, a Christian man ought to flie in the daungerous time of the Pestilence, for his best safetie and deliuerance. By T.C. Whree—[sic] unto are ioyned, certaine fruitfull Prayers, very necessarie for the time of infection.* This was

¹ Also in the Bodleian. *S.T.C.*, 4303.

Cartwrightiana

printed for Edward White in 1603, and has no preface or colophon. There is nothing to indicate authorship, and nothing Cartwright could not have written: indeed it seemed so reminiscent of the *Hospitall for the Diseased* and of other works of Cartwright in its method of approach, its references to the plague, and its prayers, that, the initials and the date both suggesting Cartwright, I was inclined to assume that the sermon was his, and that the printers had endeavoured to get a work of his on the market immediately after his death. The one thing that raised doubts was that the text of Scripture quoted was not the Genevan version Cartwright might have been expected to use, or any other version known to me. It was possible, however, that Cartwright had made his own translation, and the presumption seemed to be that he was the preacher.

In the Huntington Library in 1947, however, a fellow-student¹ asked if I had any references to Elizabethan plagues and pestilences he might have missed. He studied my copy of this sermon eagerly, and then showed me some extracts from it, taken from some source he did not remember, but dating, he was confident, from an earlier date than 1603. This led to further search, and finally to *S.T.C.* 18878:

Osiander, Andreas: *How and whither a Christen man ought to flye the horrible plague of the pestilence . . .* Tr. [M. Coverdale]. 8°. Southwarke. J. Nicolson for J. Gough. 1537. *Trans. out of hye Almayne into Englishe*².

The Huntington Library had no copy of the date 1537, and it was not until later that I was able to pursue the matter and discover whether the T.C. volume of 1603 was merely quoting from the earlier work or was identical with it. The B.M. copy (C.37. c.30) bears no translator's name, but has the initials M.C. in the colophon before the 4-page *A conforte concernynge Howe wyfe, chyldrē & other frendes shalbe comforted the husbonde beyng dead*. Another copy, undated (C.37. b.51) is bound up with *A very excellēt & swete exposition vpon the xxii³ Psalme*

¹ Dr. Paul Kocher, of the University of Washington, now of the University of Nebraska.

² The B.M. has copies of German editions in 1533, 1543, and 1562.

³ *i.e.*, Ps. 23 of the English Bible

of David . . . Translated oute of hys Almayne into Englyshe by Myles Coverdale. 1538, but *How and whither* itself does not carry Coverdale's name. The B.M. catalogues yet another edition, 1564, though the volume itself is missing¹; the entry reads: "*How and whither a Chrysten man ought to flye the horribyle Plague of the Pestilence. A sermon out of the Psalme Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi. Translated out of hie Almaine* [i.e. from A. Osiander's *Wie und wohin ein Christ die grausamē plag der pestilenz fliehen soll.*] by M.C. [i.e. Miles Coverdale] (A comfort concerning them that be dead) [1564]. See Christian Man." Under "Christian Man" we have the words: "Leonard Askell for Thomas Purfoote, London."

Several questions suggest themselves:

(1) What is the evidence that Coverdale was the translator? His name does not appear in the 1537 or 1538 editions, and apparently only the initials on the missing 1564 edition. Was Coverdale's name as translator carried over from the exposition of Ps. 23? If Coverdale had translated, would he not have used his own version of Ps. 91, especially as the same publisher had published his Bible in 1536? Or is it possible that the name became attached through another work with a not dissimilar title — a translation of a book of Otto Wermüller published in 1555 (B.M.: G. 11661):

A moste frutefull piththye and learned treatise, how a Christen mā ought to behaue himself in the dañger of death; and howe they are to be releued and cōforted, whose deare frendes ar departed oute of thys worlde, most necessarye for this our unfortunate age and sorrowfull dayes.

There is no name of author, translator, or printer, and no date, but at the end "An exhortacion written by the Lady Jane, the night before she suffred, in the end of the new testamente in Greke, whych she sent to her sister Ladye Katherine." The *D.N.B.*, under Coverdale,² says the work was printed abroad about 1555, and also by Singleton in 1561 and 1579, and is "the second of four treatises of Otto Wermueller translated by Coverdale; contains the first publication of Lady

¹ According to *S.T.C.*, there is a copy in the Huntington Library.

² See also Coverdale's *Remains* (Parker Society).

Cartwrightiana

Jane Grey's Exhortation, written the night before her execution."

(2) Even if the translation in 1537 was by M.C., how did it come about that it was published as an original work "By T.C." in 1603? It can scarcely be thought that two men as learned and devout as Dod and Hildersham found a copy among Cartwright's papers and assumed it was his, as some did the *Directory of Church Government* found in his study and published in 1644. The only alternatives seem to be: (1) that "T.C." was a misprint for "M.C.", a hypothesis which does not explain why the work appeared as an original and not as a translation; (2) that the publishers deliberately changed the initials in an attempt to deceive the public. The four items at the end of the work may have been Cartwright's, and Edward White, "dwelling neere the little North doore of S. Pauls Church, at the signe of the Gun," may have salved his conscience that way. They, too, may have been borrowed from some source: as they appear, so far as has been ascertained, in the 1603 edition only, and may possibly be Cartwright's, they are printed below (p. 194).

This emphasises what a hazardous pursuit is his who tries to identify the authors of anonymous works of the period: he must walk very warily, even when he has the initials "T.C." as data. Those initials are familiar to all students of Elizabethan literature, if not for Cartwright himself, yet for "profane T.C.", Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, on whom Martin Marprelate showered his ridicule. When it is remembered that Cooper took a degree in medicine and even practised for a time, it can only be with fear and trembling that we assign a work which refers to healing and cures to one T.C. rather than to another.

Then there is Thomas Churchyard, whose "chippes" of various kinds were always flying about. Acquaintance with them, however, scarcely suggests that he could be responsible for any of the writings included in this volume, any more than Thomas Campion, the poet, could be. More dangerous are people like Thomas Cobhead, who published *A brieife instruction*