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ARTICLE I.

CHURCH-BOOK OF THE PURITANS AT GENEVA,
FROM 1555 TO 1560.¹

(PRESERVED IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE HOTEL DE VILLE, GENEVA.)

BY HORATIO B. HACKETT, PROFESSOR AT NEWTON.

WHO THE REFUGEES WERE.

THE existence of this document became known to the writer during a recent visit to Geneva, in the course of some investigations relating to the translation of the Scriptures into English known as the Genevan Version, and prepared under the auspices of the English refugees in that city, in

¹ This title may not be so exact, historically, as 'Notice of the English Colony'; but it may be sufficiently exact, even as characterizing the religious position of this class of men, and is adopted as more suggestive of the aspect of the document which sets forth its special claim to attention among us. This English Church at Geneva, according to Fuller, almost a contemporary historian, took stronger ground against traditions and ceremonies than any of the exiles who fled to the continent on account of their opposition to Romanism.

² Les persécutions d'Angleterre contre l'Evangile faisoient, de ce temps, venir beaucoup d'Anglois à Genève, qui y dressèrent Eglise pour leur nation, vivans paisiblement et en bonne conversation. — (Chronique de Michel Roset, Livre V. Chap. 71. Ms. des Archives.)

the age of Calvin and Knox.¹ These refugees were the pioneers of the Puritans, and belong to the class of men who, during the evil days of the relapse into popery, under the persecuting Mary, sought an asylum in Switzerland and Germany. There, as Macaulay recites, they "had been hospitably received by their brethren in the faith, had sat at the feet of the great doctors of Strasburg, Zurich, and Geneva, and had been, during some years, accustomed to a more simple worship, and to a more democratical form of church government than England had yet seen. These men returned to their country, convinced that the reform which had been effected under king Edward had been far less searching and extensive than the interests of pure religion required. But it was in vain that they attempted to obtain any concession from Elizabeth. Indeed her system, wherever it differed from her brother's, seemed to them to differ for the worse. They were little disposed to submit, in matters of faith, to any human authority. They had recently, in reliance on their own interpretation of scripture, risen up against a church strong in immemorial antiquity and catholic consent. It was by no common exertion of intellectual energy that they had thrown off the yoke of that gorgeous and imperial superstition; and it was vain to expect that, immediately after such an emancipation, they would patiently submit to a new spiritual tyranny. Long accustomed, when the priest lifted up the host, to bow down with their faces to the earth, as before a present God,

¹ It is an incorrect opinion that this version was designed specially for the English community at Geneva, or for the English refugees generally on the Continent of Europe. The authors of it, in their letter of explanation, address themselves to a much wider public: *To our beloved in the Lord, the brethren of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* This Genevan version was for a long time a rival of the now current version, which displaced the former only by degrees. Nine editions of it appeared in seven years after 1611, and it continued to be printed at intervals (sometimes by the king's printer, *cum privilegio regiae majestatis*) until 1644, and possibly much later. Under Cromwell measures were taken by Parliament to revise it, as superior to any other translation, but the political troubles put an end to the design. See the tract by *Philaethes*, p. 19. It is understood that some of the earliest clergymen who emigrated to this country used the Genevan version along with the authorized one, and that some of the first churches established here were better acquainted with it than with the other.

they had learned to treat the mass as an idolatrous mummery Since these men could not be convinced, it was determined that they should be persecuted. Persecution produced its natural effects on them. It found them a sect ; it made them a faction. To their hatred of the church was now added hatred of the crown. The two sentiments were intermingled, and each imbittered the other. The opinions of the Puritan concerning the relation of ruler and subject were widely different from those which were inculcated in the homilies. His favorite divines had, both by precept and by example, encouraged resistance to tyrants and persecutors. His fellow Calvinists in France, in Holland, and in Scotland, were in arms against idolatrous and cruel princes. His notions, too, respecting the government of the state, took a tinge from his notions respecting the government of the church. Some of the sarcasms which were popularly thrown on episcopacy, might, without much difficulty, be turned against royalty ; and many of the arguments which were used to prove that spiritual power was best lodged in a synod, seemed to lead to the conclusion that temporal power was best lodged in a parliament."

FORTUNES OF THE BOOK.

Any memorial, slight as it may be in itself, which derives dignity and interest from its connection with men who have acted such a part in their generation, whose influence recast, to some extent, the political and religious institutions of England, and has shaped the destiny of the dominant race of our own continent, is worthy of attention, and should be treasured up by those who revere their principles, with pious care and homage. It seems that the company of these exiles who sojourned at Geneva kept a brief record of their history as the members of a religious community, and that this record, on their return to England, was left in that city, and is preserved there still, in one of the public libraries. What fortunes it has shared, in the long interval between that day and this, may not be easily known. The last persons of the company who went back to England,

gave the book to the magistrates of the city as a token of their regard and as a memorial of the friendship which had bound the strangers and their benefactors to each other. There is reason to believe that this manuscript is known to few comparatively, even at the present time. Still more, in former generations it must have been left to slumber in its hiding places, and have been there quite unnoticed, save as the eye of some antiquary may have chanced to light upon it. It appears to have been overlooked by most of the later writers on this branch of English history.¹ It may not furnish any important additions to our knowledge; but it has some value, certainly, as a means of controlling dates, and of enabling us to trace the movements of some of the leaders of the Reformation during the earlier and more uncertain part of their lives.

ITS PRESERVATION AT GENEVA.

It was an ample reward for a distracting search of nearly two days (I had nothing but a vague rumor to guide me at first) to discover at length the object of my pursuit in the archives of the Hôtel de Ville. Three centuries have rolled away since the fingers which wrote the pages of that book have mouldered back to dust. Some of the brightest names in the annals of human courage and self-sacrifice are recorded in it. It was no common gratification assuredly to be able to take into one's own hands so interesting a relic of that distant and eventful age. The librarian granted readily my request to see the volume, and to be allowed to make some memoranda of its appearance and contents. Before proceeding far in this examination, I was informed that a member of the Society of History and Archaeology in Geneva had read a dissertation upon this very subject before that body, which had been printed in one of their annual publications.² The librarian showed me the Article; and on looking it over I saw at once that it was much more

¹ Mr. Hopkins, author of the *History of the Puritans*, informs the writer that he has met with no reference to this manuscript in the works which he has consulted.

² Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. The Article was presented on the 24th of March, 1853. Ten volumes of the "*Mémoires et Documents*" of the Society had been published in 1854.

complete than any description which I could prepare myself to give as the result of the hurried examination of a few hours. The author is Monsieur TH. HEYER, whose name is attached to other valuable papers in the same collection. Instead of relying, therefore, on my own recollections and personal inspection of the manuscript, I feel that I should be dealing much more fairly with those whom the subject may interest, if I simply transcribe from the original French the substantial parts of this dissertation, which fell so opportunely into my hands.

Some paragraphs have been omitted and others abridged as involving some repetition, or possessing a local rather than a general interest. Some additions have been made, partly in the body of the piece, but chiefly in the form of notes, and of a fuller expansion of the personal notices which illustrate the significancy of the names and incidents mentioned, from the nature of the case, so briefly in the record. Some of the letters, and extracts from letters, which M. Heyer translated from Latin into French either existed at first in English or have been translated into English by other hands. These original letters or the translations I have generally adopted, with a few slight changes, after comparing them with the original copies.¹ The few added portions, consisting principally of facts designed for the confirmation or illustration of the text of M. Heyer's Article, have been drawn from the sources named or intimated in the course of the Essay.²

HISTORY OF THE COLONY.

From the year 1553, when Mary succeeded Edward VI. upon the throne of England, a great number of the adhe-

¹ This could be done the more easily, as the Latin letters of Calvin, for instance, accompany the original Article. The limits of this mode of publication make it impossible to print them here.

² The main reliance has been on the publications of the *Parker Society*, relating to the Fathers and early writers of the reformed English Church. The contents of this 'Book of the English,' with a fac-simile of the chirography, might well form the subject of a tract by this Society, or at least of an appendix to one of the volumes.

rents of the reformation came upon the Continent to seek a place where they might freely profess their faith. Some of them repaired at first to France, others to different States of the North, and finally, about the middle of 1554, a small company of them arrived at Frankfort. Having found in this city a French church, recently established, the English easily obtained of the magistrates the same favor: They were allowed to celebrate their worship in the temple provided for the French, on condition, however, that they should not innovate too much in their ceremonies.¹

Thus situated, the English here entered into correspondence with their compatriots established in Strasbourg, Zurich and other places. They sought to organize themselves, and ere long received additions to their number. John Knox, Richard Cox, and other distinguished men joined them. But if they were all agreed to repudiate the Romish faith, they were not all agreed for a long time on certain points of doctrine, and especially on forms of worship. Hence, arose discussions more or less violent, in which their brethren elsewhere in Germany and in Switzerland were led to take part.² The circumstances of this controversy are related at great length in a curious work³ which appeared for the first time in 1575, and which has been reprinted as late as 1846.

¹ This means, as we learn from the Narrative of the Frankfort Troubles, that they should follow the worship of the French Protestants as their model.

² "The exiles," says Neale, in his *History of the Puritans*, "were most numerous at Frankfort, where that contest and division began which gave rise to the PURITANS, and to that separation from the Church of England which continues to this day." One of the parties insisted that they should adhere to the liturgy and form of worship established under Edward VI., and the other, that they ought to recede further from the Romish usages, in imitation of the reformed churches on the Continent. Knox belonged to the progressive party, and, among other arguments, urged that when Providence affords us a time and place for reforming abuses, we are guilty of treason against God if we neglect the opportunity.

³ A brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in the Year 1555. This narrative has been ascribed to Whittingham, whose name occurs so often in this account of the Church-Book. No one can read the narrative with a knowledge of the facts of Whittingham's history, without perceiving in it many indications which favor strongly that opinion of its authorship. The edition of the 'Discourse' which I have used is that in the 'Phoenix' (Vol. I. p. 44, sq), printed at London in 1708.

Some among them, therefore, wrote to Calvin; and in the printed correspondence of this reformer we find the letter which he sent in reply to the English refugees at Frankfort. The nature of their representation to him may be inferred from his answer to them. The best history of this question, so fruitful in its results, is furnished by the letter of Calvin, which we here subjoin:

"To the godly and learned men, Mr. John Knox and Mr. William Whittingham, his faithful brethren at Frankfort, etc.

This thing truly grieveth me very much, and it is a great shame that contention should arise among brethren, banished and driven out of their country for one faith, and for that cause which only ought to have holden you bound together, as it were, with an holy band, in this your dispersion. For what might you do better in this dolorous and miserable plague, than (being pulled violently from your country) to procure yourselves a church which should receive and nourish you (being joined together in minds and language) in her motherly lap? But now for some men to strive as touching the form of prayer and for ceremonies, as though ye were at rest and prosperity, and to suffer that to be an impediment that ye cannot there join into one body of the church (as I think), it is too much out of season.

Yet notwithstanding, I allow their constancy which strive for a just cause, being forced against their wills unto contention; I do worthily condemn frowardness, which doth hinder and stay the holy carefulness of reforming the church.

And as I behave myself gentle and tractable in mean things (as external ceremonies), so do I not always judge it profitable to give place to the foolish stoutness, which will forsake nothing of their own wonted custom. In the liturgy of *England* I see that there were many tolerable foolish things (*ineptiae tolerabiles*); by these words I mean, that there was not the purity which was to be desired. These vices, though they could not at the first day be amended, yet, seeing there was manifest impiety, they were for a season to be tolerated. Therefore it was lawful to begin of such rudiments or abcedarys, but so, that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly ministers of Christ to enterprise farther, and to set forth something more fil'd from rust, and purer. If godly religion had flourished till this day in *England*, there ought to have been a thing better corrected, and many things clean taken away. Now when these principles be overthrowen, a church must be set up in another place, where ye may freely make an order again, which shall be apparent to be most commodious to the use and edification of the church. I cannot tell what they mean which so greatly delight in the leavings of Popish dregs. They love the things whereunto they are accustomed. First of all, this is a thing both trifling and childish; furthermore, this new order far differeth from a change.

Therefore, as I would not have you fierce over them whose infirmity will not suffer to ascend an higher step; so would I advertise others, that they please not themselves too much in their foolishness; also, that by their forwardness, they do not let the course of the holy building: last of all, lest that foolish vain glory steal them away. For what cause have they to contend, except it be for that they are ashamed to give place to better things? But I speak in vain to them which perchance esteem me not so well, as they will vouchsafe to admit the counsel that cometh from such an author. If they fear the evil rumor in *England*, as though they had fallen from that religion which was the cause of their banishment, they are far deceived; for this true and sincere religion will rather compel them that there remain, faithfully to consider into what deep gulf they have fallen; for their downfall shall more grievously wound them, when they perceive you going forward beyond midcourse, from the which they are turn'd. Farewel, dearly beloved brethren, and faithful servants of Christ, the Lord defend and govern you. From Geneva, this 22d of January, Anno, 1555.

Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

This letter is dated the twenty-eighth of January,¹ 1555. We recognize in it the tone of a man who is accustomed to be heard, and who, while he gives wise counsels for the maintenance of peace, evinces clearly his desire that these English should advance still further in the work of the reformation. It is to these various suggestions, probably, that one of the parties replies on the fifth of April, in a letter preserved in our Public Library.² A few sentences from it will show its character.

Greeting: After that our very dear brother Thomas Sampson had communicated to us, sometime since, the letter that you wrote to him touching our common controversy with certain brethren, we considered it a mark of our duty and regard to you to inform you, as early as possible, of all that has been done, and with what design. But though it may, perhaps, seem to you somewhat late to write to you, when the matter is altogether brought to a termination: yet we implore you by Jesus Christ, not to suppose that the delay has arisen from any desire unduly to undervalue your authority. For it both is, and ought to be, most highly esteemed and regarded, not only by ourselves, but by the world at large. But since your reverence was many days' journey distant from us, and because there was great hope that all that controversy could be settled with less inconvenience between the brethren themselves, we were unwilling to disturb your most important occupations by our trifling and domestic concerns.

¹ The date in the Phoenix edition is January 22.

² Bibliothèque publique de Genève: Lettres diverses a Calvin, Vol. CXIII.

But though we are very loth to suspect our brethren of anything that savors of insincerity, we are, nevertheless, somewhat afraid that the whole affair and case has not been set before you with sufficient explicitness. For neither are we so entirely wedded to our country, as not to be able to endure any customs differing from our own; nor is the authority of those fathers and martyrs of Christ so much regarded by us, as that we have any scruple in thinking or acting in opposition to it. And we have not only very frequently borne witness to this by our assertions, but have at length proved it by our actions. For when the magistrates lately gave permission to adopt the rites of our native country, we freely relinquished all those ceremonies which were regarded by our brethren as offensive and inconvenient. For we gave up private baptisms, confirmation of children, saints' days, kneeling at the holy communion, the linen surplices of the ministers, crosses, and other things of the like character. And we gave them up; not as being impure and papistical, which certain of our brethren often charged them with being; but whereas they were in their own nature different, and either ordained or allowed by godly fathers for the edification of our people, we, notwithstanding, chose rather to lay them aside than to offend the minds, and alienate the affections of the brethren. We retain, however, the remainder of the form of prayer and of the administration of the sacraments, which is prescribed in our book, and this with the consent of almost the whole church, the judgment of which in matters of this sort we did not think should be disregarded."

Among those who subscribed this letter, and who represented the moderate party in the church at Frankfort on this question of the needed ecclesiastical reforms, were men who had once occupied eminent stations in the church at home, or rose to them after the accession of Elizabeth. Such were Richard Cox, who had been tutor and almoner to Edward VI., and was afterwards bishop of Ely; Richard Alvey, who became prebendary of Westminster in 1552; Thomas Bacon, chaplain to Cranmer, and afterwards prebendary of Canterbury; Edwin Sandys, who was successively bishop of Worcester and London, and finally archbishop of York; Edmund Grindal, appointed to the sees of London, York, and Canterbury; Robert Horn, dean of Durham, and then bishop of Winchester; Thomas Lever, master of St. John's, Canterbury, and prebendary of Durham; and Thomas Sampson, who was afterwards dean of Christ's Church.¹

¹ See Notes in the Zurich Letters (2d series), Vol. II. p. 755. One of the

The other party, at the head of which was Knox, regarding itself as oppressed, did not remain inactive, but soon dispatched one of their number, William Whittingham, to Basil and to Geneva, at both which places he was equally well received. Calvin, as would appear from the sequel, promised to him an asylum for his friends; he showed to Whittingham the letter from which some extracts will be cited, and to which, on the last of May, he made a reply, which is translated in the Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort. He there deplores anew these dissensions; but apprised as he was that the strife had grown out of the instigations of those whom he had seen, or who had often written to him, he spared not his reproofs, which he directed especially against the use of tapers, signs of the cross, and the like, which he rejected as superstitious.¹

Upon this, some of those who had written to him the letter of the fifth of April, that is Cox, Bale, and others, sent to him a long letter, dated the twentieth of September. Though under forms of expression always respectful, they defend with warmth the party opposed to Knox and Whittingham, and expatiate, with evident satisfaction, on the misdeeds of these two friends of Calvin. They shrink not from attributing to Calvin himself a part in the rupture which they deplore. "Your letter," say they, "was to them like the club of Hercules, by which they believed that they could easily beat down all their opponents. And, indeed, your name ought deservedly to have influence, both with us and all godly persons. But if you had been well acquainted with their devices, and if you had been sufficiently aware of

signers of the letter, David Whitehead, at a later period, embraced more thorough views, and was sequestered for non-conformity, in 1564.

¹ Our author has misunderstood Calvin's meaning here. Calvin, in his letter, alludes to these rites, not as prescribed in the English book of worship (which was not true), or as actually practised at Frankfort, but as admitted by his opponents to be wrong. He argues thence (*a majore ad minus*), that if they discarded the older ceremonies, they ought, with so much the more reason, to discard the later ones, for which no such plea of antiquity could be urged. It appears from their reply, that the defenders of Edward's liturgy also misunderstood Calvin's reasoning on this point.

their boldness and wicked designs, we have no doubt that you would never have suffered them to come near you, much less to impose on you in so barefaced a manner." They declare that they do not use lights or tapers in their worship; they justify their ceremonies as being not only unobjectionable in their character, but few in number. But as they say, it is by no means astonishing that these few and simple rites should appear too many, to *people who regard the public reading of the word of God as an irksome and useless ceremony*.¹ They recount at length the conduct of Knox, whom they charge with treason, for having published a book in which he was alleged to have uttered sentiments injurious to the German emperor, to Philip his son, the king of England, and Mary the queen.²

On the other side, Whittingham the next day after his return to Frankfort, wrote again to Calvin, that his friends there had already sent forward their effects, that they themselves would follow by as rapid journies as possible, and that they hoped to bring with them some of their countrymen at Basil.

ARRIVAL OF THE FUGITIVES AT GENEVA.

The chief of the church at Geneva had taken the necessary steps with the government to secure an asylum for his new friends. Already, on the tenth of June, the City Council was occupied with this subject. "Rev. Jean Calvin has represented that certain Englishmen are desirous to repair hither for the sake of the word of God, and asked that

¹ It is well known that the public reading of the scriptures was regarded with disfavor in the early churches of New England. Prayers at funerals were unknown for a long time, and were introduced at length after much opposition. See *Bib. Sacra*, Vol. X. p. 61.

² This charge was aimed, in fact, at the life of Knox; for if a whisper of it had reached the ears of the Emperor, the reformer would have been seized and put to death. Nothing but the caution of one of the magistrates of the city saved Knox from such a fate. He was compelled, notwithstanding that protection, to leave Frankfort, and take up his abode at Geneva. The charge was founded chiefly on a sermon afterwards printed, which Knox had preached in Buckinghamshire, in which he had inveighed severely against the complicity of the sovereigns named above in the corruptions of the papal church.

it may please the magistrates to open for them a church to enable them to preach and administer the sacraments. Therefore, Decreed that we advise the selecting of a proper place of worship for said English, and that the parties confer thereupon with Monsieur Calvin.”¹

This eminent man, at that time, was all powerful at Geneva. It so happened that he had occasion to make this request a few days only after the final overthrow of the Libertines. The leaders of this pestilent sect, arrested or dispersed, lay under the sentence of a capital condemnation, incurred by their attempt to effect a revolution in the state, under the pretext that too many foreigners were admitted to citizenship. They had been the political as well as the personal enemies of Calvin; and hence, deprived of their power at this precise moment, they were driven back and had left an open field to the friends of the strangers. Besides, if some of those who feared the influence of the French refugees were still found in the Council, they must have seen with pleasure the arrival of other strangers who would be able to balance the French influence. Thus everything concurred to favor the applicants, and to ensure their obtaining the same rights which had been granted to others.

Nevertheless, as several Englishmen had already arrived before any final action had been taken, Calvin, on the twentieth of October, presented himself anew before the Council, in support of his former request. He said that they had then promised to the strangers *Saint Germain* or *Notre Dame-la-Neuve*, and added: “At other times the said English had received other nations among themselves, and had given to them a church; but now it has pleased God to afflict them.”² They appointed three councillors to examine the case and report. Subsequently, on the fourteenth of November, it was decided to grant, both to the English and to the Italians, the church of *Marie-la-Neuve*.³ Finally, on the twenty-ninth of the same month, the two ministers

¹ Registres du Conseil, vol. de 1555, fol. 102.

² Ib., 2d vol. de 1555, fol. 17.

³ Ib. fol. 35.

named by the new congregation and paid by it, were approved by the Council and took the required oath.¹

RETURN OF THE EXILES TO ENGLAND.

The English colony having been once established and organized, our registers contain but few notices of them, for the simple reason, as we are authorized to believe, that the exiles furnished no cause for complaint. Since the colony consisted entirely of men who had fled from their country on account of the persecutions which the reformed suffered from Mary, they had of course, after the death of this queen and the succession of Elizabeth, no reason for remaining any longer, but would wish naturally to return to England.² Hence on the twenty-fourth of January, 1559, several among them, more especially some of the ministers, presented to the Council of the city a request, stating that, as it had pleased God to reestablish the reformation in their own country, they desired to return thither that they might labor to extend it there; and further, thanking them sincerely for the friendly reception which they had enjoyed in the place of their retreat, they asked that they might receive a regular permission to depart.³ Some months later, a person designated as *a bishop of England* presents himself to express his desires and feelings to the same effect, and to receive likewise a similar response.⁴

In pursuing this course, these English not only showed themselves grateful for the hospitality which they had received, but conformed strictly to the law of the Genevans, which forbade the inhabitants to leave the city without per-

¹ Registre du Conseil, 2d vol. de 1555, fol. 51.

² "The tidings of queen Elizabeth's peaceable coming to the crown," says Fuller, "was no sooner brought beyond the seas but it filled the English exiles with unspeakable gladness, being instantly at home in their hearts, and not long after with their bodies. I knew one right well, whose father, amongst them, being desperately diseased, was presently and perfectly cured with the cordial of the good news; and no wonder if this queen recovered sick men, which revived religion itself."

³ Registre du Conseil, vol. de 1557-59, fol. 361.

⁴ Registre du Conseil, 2d vol. de 1559, fol. 81, August 24, 1559.

mission. Besides, some among them had obtained the rights of citizenship. About the middle of the year 1557, we find it mentioned in the records of the Council, that there were certain Englishmen who desired to be received as citizens; and the information was not unwelcome, as it was understood that some among them were wealthy merchants.¹ Still it is not ascertained that, with the exception of some of this commercial class, any were received at this period, at least from the English, except Whittingham; but about a year later, six of his countrymen were also enrolled as citizens. These were *John Bodley*, having five sons; *William Williams*; *Richard Amondesham*; *John Baron*, having one son; *John Knox*, having one son, named *Nathaniel*; and finally, *Christopher Goodman*. The first five were received on paying the usual fee, very moderate for that time, six gold crowns and a fraction; the last two were received gratuitously, out of respect to their ministry of the word of God.² For those English who became, in a civil sense, Genevans, it was the more necessary that they should obtain a regular leave of absence in order that they might preserve their new rights for themselves and their children. The importance of this precaution is recognized, for example, in the terms of the dismissal granted, at his request, to John Bodley.³ In the month of March, 1560, we find that Baron, named above, asked and obtained liberty to remain, during three years, for the purpose of printing a book against the Anabaptists, and afterwards to return, without loss of his citizenship, to his country of Scotland where the gospel was preached.⁴

The last departure took place at the end of the month of May, 1560. The reader may be pleased to see, in full, the section of the register which makes mention of this event.

“*English citizens and residents.* Wm. Whittingham, citizen, in his own name and that of his companions, came to

¹ Registre du Conseil, 2d vol. de 1557, fol. 206, 28th of June.

² Registre du Conseil, fol. 211, July first.

³ Registre du Conseil, 2d vol. of 1559, fol. 91, 5th of September.

⁴ Registre de 1560 and 1651 (1561?), fol. 16, 17, 7th and 8th of March 1560.

thank Messieurs for the good treatment which they have had in this city, and signified that to serve the church in their own country it is necessary that they should remove thither, praying us to retain them as humble servants of the state, and declaring that, at all times and in every way in which they may be able to render service to the state and to individuals of the city, they will exert themselves to do so to the utmost of their power; and requesting us to give them an attestation of their life and conversation while they have been in this city. And they have presented the 'book' of those of their nation who came to sojourn in the city, as a perpetual memorial: Decreed, That an honorable dismissal be granted to them and an attestation of the contentment we have had with them, and that they be exhorted to pray for us and to do to strangers among themselves as others have done to them;— and let them always be ready to bear good affection to this city. And it is agreed that we retain those who are citizens and subjects as such in the future."¹

DESCRIPTION OF THE BOOK.

The 'book,' which forms the subject of this Article, exists still in the archives of Geneva. It is a manuscript of the quarto form, with a parchment cover, and bears the title,— *Livre des Anglais*.² It is divided into four parts. The first is the list of the English Company composing the congregation; that is, those who arrived on the 13th of October, 1555, in order to avail themselves of the privilege which was to be conceded to them (*to use the benefit of the churche then newly granted*), those who were at Geneva before the 13th of October, and those who came afterwards. The second is the list of the ministers, deacons, and elders elected annually. The third is a record of the baptisms celebrated in this church (*eglise*). The fourth is the list of marriages (*the names of all soche persons as have bene coupled by mariage*); and finally, those of the deaths, or rather the interments (*the*

¹ *Registre du Conseil*, fol. 44, May thirtieth 1560.

² This title, as the contents are in English, was affixed, no doubt, by a foreign hand.

*names of all soche of the English congregation in Geneva as have bene buried there).*¹

If this book had been kept with entire exactness, the first part should have included all the English who resided at Geneva from 1555 to 1560; for they all came there for the single object of enabling themselves to live according to the principles of the reformation, and without doubt according to the reformation of Calvin. But we cannot count upon any such accuracy in the plan of the book. In fact, some names which are found in the last part, are not found in the first part; and in comparing this first part with the fragments of the register of the inhabitants, which we have for that period, we discover still other omissions; while at the same time we obtain a knowledge of slight details which are not noticed in the 'book.'

As a means, therefore, of ascertaining as nearly as possible, the actual number of individuals who composed the English Colony, we have, in the first place, formed a table of all the English and Scotch received as residents from 1555 to 1560, and have inserted against the names the information relating to them, furnished both by the 'book,' and by the Genevan register. We have then brought together, in like manner, all the names which are not in our public registers, but only in the first part of the 'book'; and, finally, those which are found only in some one of the last parts of the same 'book.' By this process it is found that between

¹ We may add a few items to this statement. The form of the book is long and narrow. The paper is thick and of a coarse material. The hand-writing abounds in contractions. The mode of spelling words, as some examples in the body of the Article show, illustrates fully the antiquated style of that period. The manuscript is still in a good state of preservation. Thrice three centuries need not efface its lines or wear away its texture. There are many blank leaves between the written pages, appropriated to the different headings. The space left for additional entries looks as if the wanderers anticipated a longer exile than it proved to be their fortune to endure. It makes on one the impression that the day of hope broke suddenly upon them, and summoned them back to help forward the reformation at home, sooner than they had dared to expect. The American traveller could hardly seek out an object of greater ecclesiastical or antiquarian interest at Geneva, than this manuscript of the English Puritan Fathers.

the twenty-ninth of March, 1555, and the twenty-eighth of October, 1559, the number of persons who belonged to the community, either single or with families, was a hundred and forty-six, making a total of two hundred and twelve individuals. The date given in our registers is not that of the arrival, but only that of the taking of the oath of sojourn, which was often delayed more or less, although according to the requisitions of the government the stranger must present himself within the first three days of his arrival. The precise date in other respects is not always given in the 'book.'

DATE OF ADMISSION.

The day when the greatest number of admissions took place was the fourteenth of October, 1557. Among them were forty-four applicants, who make fifty-four persons, according to our tables. But the English were not the only ones who, on that day, formed such a crowd at Geneva. The number was so great that it was impossible to give them audience at once; and it was voted to call the English first, and then the others in divisions, according to their nationality. In addition to the English, four Spaniards and forty-four Italians were received at that time. As to the French, they were obliged to be sent away for that day, and on the morrow a hundred and forty persons took the oath. In all (44+4+44+140) there were two hundred and thirty-two admissions. It may well be supposed that the women and the children augmented this number considerably, since in the case of the English, though they came from a distance we see that one hundred and forty-six individuals represent two hundred and twelve persons, that is, nearly in the proportion of forty-five added to a hundred. Assuming, then, that the number of two hundred and thirty-two, as given above, should be increased after the same ratio, we arrive at a total of three hundred and thirty-six persons admitted to residence, in two days, by a city whose population was less than fifteen thousand souls. On the eighteenth of the same month, there were a hundred and seventy-seven admissions further, almost all of them French.

This was a critical moment for Geneva. The Bernese evinced anything but a friendly disposition towards the Republic; and it was known that the duke of Savoy, Pilibert Emmanuel, after having conquered the French at Saint-Quentin, in his capacity as general of the Spanish army, was preparing to retake all his estates; while at the same time from ten to twelve thousand men were already in the province of Bresse, now the French department of Ain. Measures were taken, therefore, to sustain a siege, and the public orders announced that all those who had not taken the oath must leave the city in three days.

The two hundred and twelve individuals, of both sexes and all ages, whom we have reckoned up, belonged to almost every class of society. By the side of noblemen, or simple gentlemen, we see arranged scholars, weavers, tailors, and other artisans, as well as merchants with their servants, that is to say, their apprentices and others committed to their care.

The second Part of the book makes known the pastors, the elders, and the deacons, elected on the first of November and the sixteenth of December, 1555, the sixteenth of December, 1556, the sixteenth of December, 1557, and the sixteenth of December, 1558.

The pastors were always two in number; the elders and the deacons varied from two to four.

The third Part records, from the fourth of January, 1556 to the twenty-third of January, 1558, nineteen baptisms, of which nine were those of boys, and ten those of girls.

The fourth Part enumerates, from the twenty-fourth of February, 1556 to April tenth, 1558, nine marriages, among which there was one in which the parties were English and Italian, and three in which they were Genevans and French. It is to be remarked that we find no instance of marriage between the English and the Genevans during the entire sojourn.

Finally, the fifth Part records, from the fifth of March, 1556 to April twelfth, 1560, eighteen deaths, of which seven were males, and nine females, and two twin infants,

one of them born dead, and both unbaptized (*bothe borne at abyrtne, theon alyve and thoder dede borne, bothe unchristend*).

It is quite remarkable that these different numbers of births, marriages, and deaths, distributed over about four years, correspond very nearly to those which are found among the native inhabitants of Geneva. Yet it is necessary to recollect that the English of whom we speak did not all complete a residence of four entire years.

EXPLANATION OF THE TABLES.

Instead of pursuing further, at present, this analysis of the contents of the 'Book of the English,' it may serve better, in order to give the reader an idea of its character and the interest of its details, if we now group together, in a tabular form, a summary of the information to be derived from this and other sources. For this purpose four tables or catalogues may be constructed. The first (placed last in M. Heyer's arrangement) simply enumerates all the names of the colonists, whether they are ascertained from the 'book,' or from the registers of the inhabitants and other Genevan records. The figures annexed to the names refer to the other following tables, in which the names occur in the order of the same figures. The object of the other tables will be found explained at the head of them. This first catalogue, therefore, answers in reality the purpose of an index to the use of the other tables, and by the aid of it it will be seen at once what persons belonged to the colony, and where the reader is to look to ascertain what facts the church-book or the other documents supply concerning them. Some account of the more distinguished men in the list may be suitably appended to the statistics of the subject.¹

¹ It may not be superfluous to state the plan of the Tables in a different form. In the first place our author examines the civil registers, and ascertains the names of the English and Scotch recorded there as admitted to habitation during the years 1555 - 1559. How far this list corresponds with that of those enrolled in the church-book as members of the congregation does not appear, of course, from this representation. Therefore,

NO. I. ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

The English and Scotch Colony established at Geneva from 1555 to 1560, arranged in the Alphabetical Order of the Names of the Family with a reference to the subsequent Tables.

Abbot, 144.	Chrispe, 115.
Agar (or Agas), 34, 131	Cole, 71.
Amondesham, 29, 99.	Colins, 77.
Anwick, 60.	Collyn, 137.
Argall, 114.	Cotes, 142.
Baker, 130.	Coverdale, 74.
Baron, 27.	Crofton, 12.
Batman, 83.	Daniell, 59.
Beaumont, 28.	Davidson, 81.
Beauvoir, 16.	Doton, 56.
Bellye, 110.	Dowes, 145.
Bentham, 72.	Drauffeld, 37.
Bertran, 17.	Dromond, 92.
Blackman, 75.	Dunce, 97.
Bodley 21, 125.	Duwick, 144.
Boggens, 53.	East, 39.
Bolton, 41.	Eill, 32.
Boudelley, 88.	Eneus, 85.
Bradebredge, or Brodebreche, 45.	Ffawcon, 132.
Brouhgton, 112.	Fferrar, 107.
Burtwick, 110.	Ffelde, 70.
Butler, 20.	Ffolgeham, 113.
Cant, 69.	Ffoster, 1.
Caryer, 136.	Ffuller, 20.
Catoborn, 47.	Gatolon, 52.
Chambres, 38.	Gawton, 20.
Chasseon, 89.	Gibbens, 68.

In the second place (the object of the third Table), he compares the civil list with the church-book, and eliminates the names in this civil list which do not appear in the part of the book, which contains the names of the members of the congregation.

In the third place, he continues the enumeration (incomplete in the second Table) of those mentioned in the book as members of the congregation, who are not mentioned as residents in the city records. As some of the foreigners became residents who did not belong to the congregation (at least do not appear as such), so, conversely, some belonged to the congregation who did not become residents.

And finally, in the fifth Table he adds four names of individuals who are mentioned incidentally in the church book, who, as far as there is any evidence to show, sustained neither the ecclesiastical nor the civil relation under remark.

- Gibson, 33.
Gilby, 5.
Goodman, 8.
Hall, 49.
Hamilton, 90.
Hancock, 51.
Harrison, 118.
Harvey, 96.
Havell, 79.
Hawkes, 66.
Hilliard, 126.
Hilton, 13.
Hindeson, 58.
Holiday, 40.
Holingham, 7.
Houghton, 112.
Jackson, 6.
Johans, 42.
Johanson, 140.
Jones, 124.
Kaulius, 80.
Kente, 138.
Keth, 121.
Knell, 67.
Knolles, 10, 43, 44, 104, 123.
Knox, 111.
Lambé, 91.
Lang, 55.
Langeley, 50.
Lelande, 62.
Lever, 94.
Linsey, 87.
Lock, 122.
Mansfeilde, 73.
Maston, 9.
Mawdes, 64.
Miere, 57.
Milles, 143.
Morley, 135.
Mosgrave, 57.
Newton, 116.
Pellain, 61.
Pellam, 134.
Pigeon, 98.
Pilkington, 101.
Plumer, 14.
Ponce, 100.
Potter, 11.
Prettie, 95.
Proctour, 76.
Pullain, 26.
Rethe, 24.
Richardson, 63.
Rowland, 49.
Samon, 133.
Sampson, 106.
Samuel, 22.
Sandelandes, 93.
Sandes, alias Ffoster, 1.
Seburne, alias Plumer, 14.
Smyth, 30.
Spenser, 31.
Stafford, 1.
Stanley, 117.
Staunton, 15.
Stephinson, 82.
Steward, 65.
Stivens, 146.
Storye, 105.
Stubbes, 18.
Sturn, 48.
Tailor, 35.
Umfrey (or Humprey), 139.
Valles, 46.
Vivian, 54.
Watson, 1.
Whitingham, 2.
Wiburne, 36.
Williams, 4, 86, 103, 108.
Willyes, 25.
Withers, 78, 112, 120.
Wood, 3.
Worchere, 23.
Yong (or Youg), 19, 119.

No. II. TABLE OF RESIDENTS.

English and Scotch received to Residence, from 1555 to 1559, with the Details furnished by the 'Book of the English,' the Registers of Inhabitants, and other Genevese Registers.

Nos.	Date.	Name.	Details furnished by the Book.	Details drawn from the Register of the Inhabitants, or from records of Council.	No. of Individuals.
1	1555. March 29	Stafford, Sir William,	Dorothee, his wife; Jeanne, his sister; Mistr. Sandes, alias Ffoster, their cousin; Edward, his son; Elisabeth, his daughter; John Watson, Arthur, James, and Edmond, his servants, and Elisabeth, his domestic.	Chevalier and English gentleman, Seigneur de Rochefort.	11
2	Oct. 24	Whitingham, William,	(From Chester, as is seen in the fourth Part).	—	1
3	24	Wood, Thomas,	Anne, his wife, and Débora, their daughter,	From London.	3
4	24	Williams, William,	And Jeanne, his wife,	From London.	2
5	24	Gilby, Anthony,	Elisabeth, his wife, and Goddred, their son,	—	3
6	24	Jackson, William,	Parnel, his wife; William and Andrew, their sons; Marguerite and Judith, their daughters.	—	6
7	24	Holingham, John,	Elene, his wife, and Daniel, his son,	—	3
8	24	Goodman, Christophe,	—	—	1
9	24	Maston, John,	—	—	1
10	24	Knolles, William,	—	—	1
11	24	Potter, Richard,	—	—	1
12	24	Crofton, Thomas,	—	—	1
13	24	Hilton, John,	—	—	1
14	24	Seburne, Christophe,	Alias Plumer,	—	1
15	24	Staunton, John,	—	—	1

16	1556. July 27	Beauvoir, William,	His first name is seen in the second part of the book.	Merchant; native of the Isle of Guernesey.	1
17	Aug. 10	Bertran, Thomas,	_____	Minister of the word of God, in the Isle of Jersey, from the time of the reformation of the word.	1
18	Nov. 30 1557.	Stubbes, John,	_____	Tailor; native of Coventry.	1
19	June 7	Young (or Yong), James.	And Anne his wife,	Tailor.	2
20	7	Ffuller, William,	Joice, his wife (whose family name was Butler, as is seen, from her decease, in the fifth part); Peter Lang (see No. 56) and Rich. Gawton, his servants; Marie Gawton, his domestic.	Gentleman.	5
21	7	Bodleigh (Bodley), John,	His wife: Thomas, John, and Laurence, his sons; Prothese, his daughter; John Boggens (No. 53) and Richard Vivian (No. 54), his servants, and Elenor, his domestic.	Native of Exeter.	9
22	7	Samuel, William,	And his wife,	From Camden.	2
23	7	Worchere, François,	_____	From London.	
24	7	Rethe, William,	_____	From Exeter.	
25	Oct. 14	Willyes, Peter,	_____	Merchant.	
26	14	Fullaine, John,	His wife, and Foi, his daughter,	Formerly minister in England.	3
27	14	Baron, John,	_____	Student (from Edinburg, Register of the Bourgeois, 1558).	
28	14	Beaumont, Robert,	_____	Student.	1

No.	Date.	Name.	Details furnished by the Book.	Details drawn from the Register of the Inhabitants, or from records of Council.	No. of Individuals.
29	1557. Oct. 14	Amondesham, Richard,	_____	Gentleman (from the county of Middlesex, Register of the Council, June 21, 1558).	1
30	14	Smyth, Harrye,	_____	Gentleman.	1
31	14	Spenser, Thomas,	From Wroghton, Wiltshire (according to the fourth part).	Student.	1
32	14	Eill, Michael,	_____	Gentleman.	1
33	14	Gibson, William,	Without fore-name in the first part; but, as we see from the fifth part, with that of William, in the record of his death or interment, the 16th of August, 1557; his wife and daughters. ¹	Painter.	4
34	14	Agar (or Agas), Thomas,	_____	Ribbon-weaver.	1
35	14	Taylor, James,	_____	Student.	1
36	14	Wiburne, Percival,	_____	Student.	1
37	14	Drauffeld, Roger,	_____	_____	1
38	14	Chambres, William,	_____	_____	1
39	14	East, Richard,	_____	Tailor.	1
40	14	Holiday, Adam,	_____	Student.	1
41	14	Bolton, John,	_____	Weaver.	1
42	14	Johans, Thomas,	_____	_____	1
43	14	Knolles, Thomas,	With Jeanne, his wife,	_____	2
44	14	Knolles, James,	_____	Carpenter; son of the preceding.	1
45	14	Brodereche, Augustus,	In the third part, he is called Bradebredge, as God-father of a son of Jean Bodley.	Student.	1

46	Oct.	14	Valles, John,	_____	Baker.	
47		14	Catoborn, John,	_____	Farmer.	
48		14	Sturn, John,	_____	Apothecary.	
49		14	Hall, Rowland,	_____	Printer.	1
50		14	Langeley, Thomas,	_____	Farmer.	1
51		14	Hancock, Thomas,	_____	Scholar.	3
52		14	Gatolon, Richard,	_____	Tailor.	
53		14	Boggens, John,	_____	Merchant.	
54		14	Vivian, Richard,	_____	Merchant.	
55		14	Lang, Peter,	_____	Servant.	
56		14	Doton, John,	_____	Hosier.	
57		14	Mosgrave, Thomas,	_____	Farmer.	1
58		14	Hindeson, Barnard,	_____	Farmer.	1
59		14	Daniell, John,	_____	Weaver.	4
60		14	Anwick, John,	_____	Gentleman.	
61		14	Pellain, John,	_____	Gentleman.	
62		14	Lelande, Harrye,	_____	_____	1
63		14	Richardson, Water,	_____	Weaver.	1
64		14	Mawdes, Richard,	_____	Formerly minister.	1
65		14	Steward, Thomas,	_____	Student.	1
66		14	Hawkes, Peter,	_____	Cordwainer.	1
67		14	Knell, Thomas,	_____	Formerly minister.	1
68		14	Gibbens, Richard,	_____	Weaver.	1
69	Nov.	29	Cant, Edward,	_____	_____	1
70		29	Fielde, Robert,	_____	_____	2
71		29	Cole, William,	_____	_____	1
				_____	_____	
72		29	Bentham, Thomas,	_____	_____	1
				_____	_____	
73		29	Mansfeilde, John,	_____	_____	1

¹ There were two, at least.

Nos.	Date.	Name.	Details furnished by the Book.	Details drawn from the Register of the Inhabitants, or from those of the Council.	No. of Individuals.
	1558.				
74	Oct. 24	Coverdale, Miles,	_____	_____	
75	24	Blackman, Robert,	_____	From Edmondbury.	1
76	24	Proctour, Richard,	_____	_____	1
77	24	Colins, John,	_____	_____	
78	24	Withers, William,	_____	From London.	
79	24	Havell, Richard,	_____	_____	
80	24	Kaulius, Erckenwalde,	_____	From London.	
81	24	Davidson, John,	_____	_____	
82	24	Stephinson, Corneles,	_____	_____	
83	24	Batman, John,	_____	_____	
84	24	(Illegible) William,	_____	_____	
85	24	Eneus, John,	_____	_____	
86	24	Williams, Charles,	Born at Leicester; made confession of his faith and received into the church, the 13th of August.	From Bristol.	1
87	24	Linsey, David,	Received the 15th of September, . . .	From Scotland.	1
	1559.				
88	May 9	Bodelley, Richard,	_____	_____	
89	9	Chasseon, Claude,	_____	_____	
90	9	Hamilton, Robert,	_____	_____	
91	Aug. 28	Lambé, Jacques,	_____	Ribbon-weaver, from Leith, in Scotland.	
92	Oct. 28	Dromond, Thomas,	_____	From Scotland.	
93	28	Sandelandes, Jacques.	_____	From Scotland; son of Jehan.	
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No. III.

Residents, but omitted in the Church Book.

[NOTE.— The individuals excepted here from the preceding Table are those not named in the first part of the 'Book.' Some of them were members of the church or congregation, but, through some oversight, were not recorded in the proper place. Thus, Coverdale was one of the elders, and must have belonged to the church, though he happens to be known only from his incumbency of the office to which he was chosen.]

10.	Knolles, William,	1
17.	Bertran, Thomas,	1
23.	Worchère, François,	1
24.	Rethe, William,	1
25.	Willyes, Peter, named in the third part, as father of a daughter baptized in 1558, of whom Knox is god-father,	1
27.	Baron, John, named in the third part, as father of a daughter baptized, and in the fifth part, on the death of the same,	1
46.	Valles, John,	1
47.	Catoborn, John,	1
48.	Sturn, John,	1
52.	Gayolon, Richard,	1
56.	Doton, John,	1
60.	Anwick, John,	1
61.	Pellain, John,	1
69.	Cant, Edward,	1
74.	Coverdale, Miles, occurs in the second part, among the elders elected the 16th December, 1558, and in the third part, as god-father of Eleazer Knox, the 29th November 1558,	1
77.	Colins, John,	1
78.	Withers, William,	1
79.	Hawell, Richard,	1
80.	Kaulius, Erkenwalde, is named in the fifth part, as deceased, 25th April, 1559,	1
81.	Davidson, John,	1
82.	Stephinson, Corneles,	1
83.	Batman, John,	1
84.	(Name illegible) Guillaume,	1
85.	Eneus, John,	1
88.	Boudelley, Richard,	1
89.	Chasseon, Claude,	1
90.	Hamilton, Robert,	1
91.	Lambé, Jacques,	1
92.	Dromond, Thomas,	1
93.	Sandelandes, Jacques,	1

No. IV.

Continuation of Persons inscribed in the First Part of the Book, but not mentioned in the Registers.

No.	Dates.	Names and Fore-names.	Details furnished by the Book.	No. of Individuals.
	1555.			
94	Before	Lever, Thomas,	—	1
95	Oct. 13	Prettie, John,	—	1
96		Harvy, Nicholas,	—	1
97		Dunce, Harry,	—	1
98		Pigeon, John,	—	1
99		Amondisham, Wm.	From Heston, according to the fourth part.	1
100	Oct. 13	Ponce, John,	—	1
	1556.			
101		Pilkington, James,	—	1
102		Peter,	—	1
103		Willyams, Peter,	—	1
104		Knolles, Thomas,	—	1
105		Storye, John.	—	1
106		Sampson, Thomas,	—	1
107		Fferrar, John,	—	1
108		Williams, Gualter,	—	1
109		Miere, Anthony,	—	1
110		Burtwick, John,	Chevalier, and Jn. Bellye, his page.	2
111	Sept. 18	Knox, John,	With Margery, his wife; Elisabeth, his mother; James, his servant, and Patrick, his pupil or ward.	5
112	Nov. 5	Withers, Ffrancis,	His wife; John Houghton, his servant; and Ales Bronghton, his domestic.	4
113		Ffolgeham, Nich.	—	1
114		Argall, Laurence,	—	1
115		Chrispe, Richard,	—	1
116		Newton, Théodore,	—	1
117		Stanley, Thomas,	—	1
118		Harrison, Richard,	—	1
119		Yonge, John,	—	1
120		Withers, Harrye	And Stephen, brothers of Francis Withers.	2
121		Keth, William,	And his wife, . . .	2
122	1557. May 8	Locke, Anne,	Harrie, his son; Anne, his daughter, and Katharine, his domestic.	4
123		Knolles Thomas,	Senior, with his wife, and his two sons, Michael and Nicholas.	4

No.	Dates.	Names and Fore-names.	Details furnished by the Book.	No. of Individuals.	
	1557.				
124	May 8	Jones, Thomas,	—	1	
125		Bodleigh, Nichol,	Brother of John Bodleigh,	1	
126		Hilliarde, Nich.	—	1	
127		John James,	} Children of	—	2
128		Mary Rowlandson,			
129		James N.	—	1	
130		Baker, John,	—	1	
131	Agar (or Agas), Ales	With Johan and Priscilla, his daughters, and Thomas, his son (see No. 34), from Colchester (fourth part).	3		
132	Nov.	Ffawcom, Mawde,	From Hadley, county of Suffolk (fourth part).	1	
133		Samon, Ales,	Widow,	1	
134		Pellam, John,	—	1	
135		Morley, William,	—	1	
136	Dec. 2	Caryer, Anthony,	—	1	
	1558.				
137	Feb. 17	Collyn, John,	Very aged (perhaps the same as No. 77).	1	
138	Apr. 28	Kente, Lawrence,	William, his son, and Elene, his daughter.	3	
139		Umfrey, Lawrence,	—	1	
140	June 2	Johanson, William,	Came to Geneva, Jan. 5, 1558.	1	
141		Abbot, Nicholas,	Came to Geneva, March 29, 1558.	1	
142		Cotes, William,	—	1	
				69	

No. V.

Those mentioned in the Book, but not mentioned elsewhere.

- 143. Milles, Peter, second part, one of the deacons named the 16th December, 1558, 1
 - 144. Duwick, Thomas, third part, father of Marie Duwick, baptized the 8th of December, 1558, 1
 - 145. Doves, John, fourth part, married the 10th of April, 1558 (said to be from Tunbridge, in the county of Kent), 1
 - 146. Stivens, Cornelius, second part; mentioned with Marguerite, his wife, on occasion of the death of two infants and that of their mother, 2
- 5

No. VI. RECAPITULATION.

Table No. II	108 individuals.
No. III.	30
No. IV.	69
No. V.	5
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PERSONAL NOTICES.

The object of this memoir requires us to glance at the personal history of some of the men whose names appear in the 'book,' and impart to it so much of its interest. The most prominent among them are the following.

William Stafford. The first in the order of time, and as it seems also the first in rank, is Sir W. Stafford, Seigneur de Rochefort. He was a rich and influential man. He arrived, in fact, the 29th of March, 1555, with his wife named *Dorothee*, his sister named *Jeanne*, a cousin (Mrs. Sanders or Foster), a son, a daughter, and five domestics, of whom four were men, in all eleven persons. At the end of six months a special favor was shown to him, explained and justified by these words: "Because he is an excellent person, a man of property and education: Decreed, that he be permitted to wear his sword,— he only, and not those of his family."

The 'book of the English' informs us that on the 4th of January, 1556, this dignitary presented, in baptism, a son who was named John, after Calvin his god-father. On the 24th of February, *Jeanne Stafford*, widow, called also *Williams*, afterwards again the countess, and probably the sister of Sir William, was married to Maximilien Celsus, who belonged to the noble family of the counts of Martinengo, and was pastor of the Italian church. She died a year after that (26th of Feb., 1557). As regards Sir William himself, he is mentioned in the trial of the Libertines, as having been insulted and violently attacked some time after the disturbance of the 16th of May, 1555, by a number of seditious fugitives. He was in company at the time of the seigneurs of Verace and Mallane, returning with them from a country seat situated beyond the bridge of the Arve.¹

¹ Histoire de Genève, par Gautier, T. IV. p. 45 (Manuscrit des Archives).

He died the 5th of May, 1556, and that event was the occasion, some weeks later, of a violent controversy between his widow, instigated by Robert Stafford, her brother-in-law, on the one side, and Calvin on the other. The former demanded of Calvin that he should give up the children of the deceased. The matter was brought before the Council. Calvin resisted the demand, especially in regard to the child whom he had presented in baptism. He urged that the surrender would be unjust to the memory of the deceased father, who out of affection to himself had called the child by his name, and inconsistent with his own obligations since he had promised to instruct the child in the gospel, and to take care that it was not, by any neglect or artifice, led away into popery. He complained that the mother was unstable in her religious principles, and wished to go back to the follies of the world, from which she had been withdrawn by the influence of her husband. Stafford, in reply, insisted on the rights of the mother, who wished to return to France, where also the gospel was preached in some places. He complained of the arrogance of the ministers at Geneva, and assailed them in terms which Calvin resented with boldness and warmth. The parties were heard at different times on the question, and after consultation with the clergy and other learned men, the Council refused the demand of Robert Stafford. The grounds were, that the oath taken by Calvin to instruct the child, in default of the father, was now obligatory on him; that the father's becoming an inhabitant of the city declared sufficiently his desire both to live himself, and to have his children live, according to the gospel; and that in his last sickness his wish was distinctly made known, that his children should remain at Geneva and be brought up and educated there. Some time after this the Council received a letter from the same Stafford, in which he threatened that if they did not give up his sister and her children, he would appeal to the king, and obtain redress from him against the Genevans: The record closes its account of this affair with the remark: *Let no one who seeks to benefit others be surprised at anything.*

William Whitingham. He was born at Chester, in 1524, and belonged to a good family. After having completed his studies, and obtained the usual degrees at the university of Oxford, he had permission, in 1550, to travel, and went to France. He there made the acquaintance of the learned men of Paris, and was on the point of proceeding to Italy, when he was arrested by a sickness which obliged him to change his plan, and remain for a time in different cities of France. Afterward he visited the universities of Germany, and came to Geneva, where he resided till towards the end of the reign of Edward VI., at which time he returned to England. But after the death of this prince, he repassed to France, whence he proceeded to Frankfort. When the English congregation was formed at Geneva, Knox, who was one of the ministers, being obliged to depart to Scotland, Whitingham was regarded by Calvin as the man best fitted to succeed Knox in his character as preacher. He resisted for a long time, but at length yielding to the importunities of Calvin, he was made a minister after the Genevan mode of ordination. Soon after this, in connection with Miles Coverdale, Christopher Goodman, A. Gilby, Thomas Sampson, and William Cole, he undertook the translation of the Bible into English, and remained at Geneva some time after the return of most of the other members of the colony, in order to complete the work.¹ Subsequently he filled various offices in England; and, last of all, that of dean of Durham, although he appears to have been always on intimate terms with the Presbyterians. He put into English verse some of the Psalms; translated the liturgy used at Geneva, and was reputed to be the author of the *Recit des Troubles de Francfort*.

Whitingham, even after his return to the established church, was no stickler for forms; and when reproached

¹ This is the usual statement; but later investigation has reduced the number of associates in this work. Whitingham, Gilby, and Sampson appear to have performed the actual labor, though they may have been aided with the advice of some of the other exiles. See Anderson's *History of the English Bible*, p. 390.

² He translated some of the Psalms in Sternhold and Hopkins's Version.

by one of his former associates at Geneva for consenting to wear "the sacerdotal vestments," replied that "he and others knew and had heard John Calvin say that for external matters of order they might not neglect the ministry, for so should they for tithing of mint neglect the greater things of the law." On the other hand, it is not strange that with this view of the indifferent character of such rites (the *ἀδιάφορα* of Paul), those who exalted the form above the essence looked coldly upon him as "a lukewarm conformist at best."¹ He died in 1579. We have found no trace of his first sojourn at Geneva, nor of his consecration to the sacred ministry there. Three letters, however, probably of the same year, viz. 1555, addressed by him to Calvin, show his deference and devotion to the reformer, and seem to indicate that he stood in intimate personal relations to him. The first, dated at Strasburg, the 11th of March, was written just after his return from Geneva to Frankfort, and closes with the words: *Vale doctissime, atque optime vir, meque ut facis amare pergas, proprieque tuum esse tibi persuadeas.* He subscribes himself *Tuus humilimus demissimusque scholasticus.* In the second, dated at Frankfort, the 25th of March, he relates that Knox, unjustly accused of the crime of treason before the magistrates, had received orders to leave the city, much to the regret of all good people and of the magistrates themselves; and that such was his own grief that he could not bear to write at length on so sad a subject, etc. The third letter, mentioned already, is that of the 21st of September, in which he announced his approaching departure for Geneva.

He was received to habitation on the 24th of October, 1555, and to citizenship, as we have seen, on the 31st of May, 1558. The 'book of the English' mentions him, at every election, among the elders or among the deacons. He married Catherine Jacquemayne of Orleans,² on the 15th

¹ The Article in Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* relating to this reformer, is one of the worst specimens of the *odium theologicum* that disfigure that partisan work.

² Our author omits to say that she was a sister of Calvin himself.

of November, 1556, and the contract of marriage is still preserved.¹ He presented a son (Zacharie) in baptism, on the 17th of August, 1557, and, on the 11th of December, 1558, a daughter, who died on the 12th of April, 1560. He never has the title of pastor or minister given to him. The fact that he served in this capacity as the proxy of Knox, and not so properly in his own right, may account for this omission.

Christopher Goodman (Table, No. 8). He was born at Chester, about 1519, and pursued his studies at Oxford, where he was professor of theology. He was one of those who repaired to Frankfort and thence to Geneva. The Anglican party represent him as very violent. Besides a Commentary on Amos, he wrote two works printed at Geneva in 1558. One of them was entitled: *How superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, etc.*, two volumes; and the other: *The first blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous regimen of women*, one volume.² He was thought to be severe in his judgments on men, and seemed to praise them with great reluctance. One of his friends is said to have written this epigram on him :

Nemo bonus, Servator ait, sed solus Olympum
Qui regit is bonus est : Gudmane, nemo bonus.

Received to habitation the 24th of October, 1555, Goodman was nominated pastor at every election by the colony; the first time with Gilby, the three other times with Knox. He appears, in the third part of the 'book,' as god-father of three children: on the 14th of August, 1557, for a son of Francis Withers and a daughter of John Baron; in July and December, 1558, for a son of John Pullen and a daughter of Whittingham. We see that he was on very good terms

¹ Minutes de Jean Ragueav, notaire, vol. de 1556-58, fol. 80, 31 Octobre, 1556. Dowry, 800 livres tournois; dower, 400.

² The better opinion now is that this 'first blast' was written, not by Goodman, but by John Knox. It was aimed at Queen Mary. A cynical critic of that day says of it:

"No queen in the kingdom can or ought to sit fast,
If Knox or Goodman's books blow any true blast."

with Calvin. Fuller ranks him among the fiercest of the Nonconformists.¹

*Thomas Bodley.*² Among the English families which came to Geneva, one of the most numerous, and also the most respectable, is that of which John Bodley was the head. He was received to residence the 7th of June, 1557. The 'book' mentions his wife, three of his sons, his daughter, and three domestics. Soon after his arrival in August, 1557, he had a fourth son baptized; and after his admission to citizenship there was a fifth. He is mentioned among the elders of the elections of 1557 and 1558.

The oldest of these sons, *Thomas*, afterward Sir Thomas Bodley, was born at Exeter the 2d of March, 1544. He was hardly thirteen years old, therefore, when he came to Geneva, where he remained until September, 1559. Here he continued the studies which he had begun in his early years, finished them at Oxford, was charged with various diplomatic missions by queen Elizabeth, and returning at length to literary occupations, as the great monumental act of his life, endowed and increased largely the library at Oxford, known as the *Bodleian Library*. His first measure in furtherance of this last object was to present to the university a large collection of books, purchased on the continent, and valued at £10,000. He died in 1612. He wrote his own biography up to the year 1609, in which he gives us an insight into the discipline by which he trained himself for the service of the state. At Geneva he attended the lectures of Chevelarius on Hebrew, of Beroaldus on Greek, of Calvin and Beza on divinity, and had also private teachers at home, among whom was Robert Constantine, author of the Greek lexicon, who explained to him Homer. At Magdalen college, Oxford, he was under the tuition of Dr. Humphrey, one of the Genevan

¹ Burnet makes Goodman one of the revisers of the Bishop's Bible in the time of Elizabeth. But instead of C. G. at the end of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which he assumes to be there, the letters are G. G., and are supposed to stand for Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, who died in 1601.

² See No. 28 of the Tables.

exiles (page 508), who afterward became the head of that society.

In 1576, being desirous to improve himself in modern languages, and qualify himself more fully for a public career, he began his travels, and passed nearly four years in France, Germany, and Italy. He was sent abroad by the government on some of the most important embassies of the age, and was eminently successful in them. But political disappointment changed abruptly the plan of his life. He aspired to be secretary of state ; but the intrigues of rivals "having relieved him of ever expecting that troublesome office, he retired from the court, and devoted himself wholly to the care and promotion of learning."

John Pullaine or *Pullayne* (No. 26 of the Tables). Born in the county of York, he was educated at New college, Oxford, of which he was clerk and chaplain. He was admitted to the number of the senior students of Christ's Church, and was distinguished for the elegance of his Latin and English poems. Having come to Geneva, he was received to habitation the 14th of October, 1557, with his wife and his daughter. He is designated as *formerly minister in England*. He is mentioned in the 'book' as one of the deacons, at the election in 1557, and in connection with the baptism of a son (28th of July, 1558), and the death of his daughter (3d of September, 1558). After his return to his own country, he was nominated to a rectorate. He wrote a treatise against the Arians, and translated into verse several portions of the Old Testament, and other writings, as the history of Susanna, that of Judith, the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, etc. The notices in the 'book' extend our knowledge of this reformer beyond the information furnished in the account of him in Wood's *Athenae*. It illustrates some of the difficulties to which the transition from Romanism to Protestantism in England gave rise, that a controversy arose after his death, respecting the rights of his children to his estate, because he had violated his vows of celibacy.

Thomas Bentham (No. 72 of the Tables). He was a

learned and pious ecclesiastic. He was distinguished at an early age for his knowledge of Hebrew, and of the Greek and Latin languages. It is said that he withdrew from England first to Zurich and then to Basil, and it was thence, no doubt, that he came to Geneva, where he was received as resident on the 29th of November, 1557. He preached to the English at Basil, and in conformity with the practice so much in vogue among the biblical Christians of that age, expounded to them from the pulpit some of the principal books of the New Testament. Under the reign of Elizabeth, he was appointed bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. He died in 1578 or 1579.¹ Wood's outline does not mention the sojourn at Geneva at all.

Miles Coverdale (No. 74 of the Tables). He was born in the county of York, under the reign of Henry VII., was brought up in the Romish church, and became a Dominican friar. At a later period he embraced the principles of the Reformation, and entered holy orders. Nominated bishop of Exeter under Edward VI., he was deposed from his see by Mary. He was received as a resident at Geneva on the 24th of October, 1558.² He is omitted in the first part of the 'book,' but is found as one of the elders in 1558, and as god-father of a son of Knox (Eleser, November 29th, 1558). He is the *aged bishop* who presented himself to the council in 1559, to give thanks in behalf of the English, and to take official leave on the eve of their departure to England. After his return he refused, probably on account of his Calvinistic opinions, to resume his bishoprick, though it was offered to him. Others ascribe his preference of a more private station to his advanced age

¹ It is disputed whether T. B. at the end of the Psalms, as the translator of that book, in the Bishops' Bible, stands for this Thomas Bentham, or for Thomas Becon, one of Cranmer's chaplains and prebendary of Canterbury. (See English Hexapla, p. 91.) Burnet supposes the initials (T. C. L.) at the end of Ezekiel and Daniel to refer to Bentham, and that opinion is probably correct. Though contrary to the usual order, he was accustomed in his signature to place Coventry before Lichfield.

² Not December, therefore, which Anderson gives as the earliest trace of Coverdale's presence at Geneva.

and enfeebled health. He continued to preach, however, to the last, and died in the eighty-first year of his age. The name of Coverdale is chiefly memorable for the place which he holds in the series of translators of the Bible into English, who prepared the way for the Common Version. His was the first translation of the entire scriptures ever circulated in England. It appeared in 1535, and was printed on the Continent. He was at Geneva less than a year. His direct participation in the translation executed there has been questioned, with good reason.

Thomas Sampson, (No. 106 of the Tables). He was born in 1517. He was educated at Oxford. After having studied law, and been converted to Protestantism, he was ordained by Cranmer, and became a celebrated preacher, under the reign of Edward VI. He was the means, it is said, of bringing John Bradford, the martyr, to a knowledge of the truth. The rage of the Catholic Mary compelled him to leave England. He proceeded to Strasburg, and there devoted himself still further to the study of theology. The letters written from Frankfort to Calvin make mention of him. He arrived at Geneva in 1556, according to the date in the 'book.' It appears, however, from a letter which he addressed to Peter Martyr, that he was at Strasburg the 17th of December, 1558, and still later he resided at Zurich. Under Elizabeth he was offered the bishoprick of Norwich. He declined the honor on the ground, no doubt, of his opposition to the usages of the Anglican church. He occupied for a time the office of dean of Christ Church, Oxford, but was displaced because he was "an enemy to organs, ornaments of the church, clerical vestments, and the square cap." Yet notwithstanding this dissent from the church of which he continued a minister, he was esteemed by all parties, and is characterized by bishop Grindal as "a learned and pious man."¹

John Knox.² This celebrated and rigid reformer is too well known to make it necessary to do anything more than

¹ See Zurich Letters, Part I. Lett. I. 32, 58, 69, and Part II. 75.

² See No. IV. of the Tables. M. Heyer remarks: "I will say here, once for all, that I have written the proper names as I think they ought to be written,

simply recapitulate the few circumstances which we find respecting his residence, or rather residences, at Geneva. It appears, in fact, that he came to this city before the establishment of the colony; but of this earlier visit we have not been able to find any trace. He is not named in the registers of the inhabitants. According to the 'Book of the English,' he arrived the 18th of September, 1556, with *Margery* his wife, *Elizabeth* the mother of the latter, a domestic named *James*, and a pupil or ward designated merely under the name of *Patrick*. The two first pastors, who, as stated already, were Goodman and Gilby, were elected the 1st of November, 1555, "to preach the word of God and administer the sacraments, in the absence of John Knox." But at the three following elections, Knox and Goodman were named as the pastors. Knox is mentioned again on the 23d of May, 1557, and on the 29th of November, 1558, on the occasion of the baptism of his sons *Nathaniel* and *Eleazer*. Whitingham stood god-father to the first, and Coverdale to the second of these children. Knox is finally mentioned also, in May, 1558, as god-father of *Naamy*, daughter of Peter Willies.

In our registers he is spoken of only at the time of his admission to citizenship, as has been noticed already, and in connection with a book in which he was concerned. But it may be better to cite the text of the record on this subject: "*English*.—It having been stated that a certain Englishman has written against the doctrine of predestination, so that the faithful of England have prayed the English of this city to reply to him, and this having been done, and request made that the reply be printed: Decreed, that the matter be laid before the ministers."¹ And, some pages further on, we read, in the margin, the names of Whitingham, Baron, Knox,

without troubling myself much about the frequent variations that occur in the 'Book of the English,' but especially in our registers. Our Secretaries of State at this period were evidently but little versed in the English language, and they used and abused the right which every one feels at liberty to exercise in the spelling of foreign names. Thus (to give a single example), we find Knoxe, Dnoxe, Enoxe, Knoux, and never, I think, Knox."

¹ Registre du Conseil, 2d vol. de 1559, fol. 141, 9 Novembre.

and these lines: "In view of the request to print a treatise in English, in reply to another Englishman who has written ill on the subject, and having heard the report of the senior lector who has conferred with the ministers: Decreed, that the permission to print be allowed; and that the said Whitingham and Baron promise to reply, in case that the said treatise composed by the said Knox contain anything contrary to the catholic and orthodox doctrine."

Lawrence Humphrey (No. 139 of the Tables). Lawrence Humphrey or Humfredus, mentioned in the 'book' as having arrived at Geneva in the spring of 1555, pursued his studies at Cambridge, and devoted himself to theology. Having had permission in 1555 to travel for a year, he joined the English colony at Zurich. He remained absent beyond his time, and thus forfeited his fellowship in the college. In 1560 he was nominated professor of theology at Oxford. He was then thirty-four years old. He was for many years president of Magdalen college, and then vice-chancellor of the university. His learning was extensive as well as minute; he was especially eminent as a linguist. His numerous works which remain, mark him as one of the acutest men and ablest scholars of whom England could boast in that age. He was dean of Gloucester in 1570, and of Winchester in 1580; but his attachment to Calvinistic principles hindered him from rising to higher positions. During his absence on the Continent he became fully imbued with the spirit of the Reformation. His opponents declared that he "stocked his college with a generation of Nonconformists, which could not be rooted out in many years after his decease." To the close of his life he maintained friendly relations with the pastors of Berne, Zurich, and Geneva, who had shown him hospitality, and testified his gratitude by showing kindness in return to the strangers who came to England. *Peregrinus ipse*, he wrote to one of his friends abroad, *didici peregrinis succurrere*.

Other ecclesiastics, among those who had sojourned at Zurich, formed also a part of the Genevan colony. Such were Robert Beament (No. 28 of the Tables); Perceval

Wiburne (No. 36); Richard Chambers (No. 38); William Cole (No. 71); Thomas Lever (No. 94), who had been pastor of the English congregation at Arau; and James Pilkington (No. 101),¹ who became bishop of Durham. John Baron (No. 27) has been already mentioned, who is recorded at first as a "student," and would seem to have been a printer. Another Englishman, Rowland Hall (No. 49), is expressly represented as practising this art;² and after his return to his own country, he printed a translation of the Edicts of Geneva (London, 1562).³ Besides, John Bodley and William Williams had a press at Geneva in 1558. This John Bodley, father of Sir Thomas, took a deep interest in the Genevan translation of the Bible, and is said to have defrayed the entire cost of the publication.⁴

SUBSEQUENT RELATIONS OF THE ENGLISH AND THE GENEVANS TO EACH OTHER.

This sketch would be incomplete if we should leave out of sight entirely the subsequent relation of the refugees and their protectors to each other. The republic which had granted an asylum to the colony, did not content itself with

¹ Pilkington was the first Protestant bishop of the See of Durham. The Parker Society has published a volume of his works, with a biographical notice, edited by the late Professor Scholefield, of Cambridge.

² His name stands as "printer" on the title-page of the first edition of the Genevan Bible.

³ See *Mémoires et Documents de la Société d'Histoire et Archeologie de Genève*, Tom. VIII. p. 439 (une Communication de M. Ch. Le Fort).

⁴ The art of printing in those days was eminently a liberal art, and demanded a superior literary culture on the part of those devoted to it. Stephens and Froben, for instance, were able to correct, as well as print, the text of the classic authors, and to adorn their editions with learned and elegant annotations.

Those, it should be remarked here, designated in the Tables as 'students' formed an important part of the colony. Most of them were young men occupied with studies designed to qualify them for the ministry, or some other public sphere, in which they might defend the Protestant faith against Romanism, and, in general, advance the cause of Christian truth. They were instructed by the learned men of their own community, and to some extent heard the lectures of the foreign teachers of theology at Geneva. Similar "schools of the prophets" existed in the other English colonies. They were supported chiefly

merely accompanying the exiles with their good wishes at the moment of departure. In compliance with a desire expressed by them, their friends at Geneva consented to part with one of their pastors, that he might proceed to London and take charge of the French church in that city. The person selected for this service was Nicolas Gallasius, either because no one could be found, beyond the circle of the Genevan ministers, more fitted to execute this mission, or more probably because the choice had been indicated by the bishop of London. He was a learned man, and enjoyed the special friendship of Calvin. He had lived at Geneva a long time, where he had received the rights of citizenship in 1551. In 1557 he had officiated as pastor to the church of their faith at Paris. The election of the company was ratified on the twenty-sixth of April, 1560, by the Council; and on the third of May that body granted an audience of leave (*de congé*) to the new pastor of London.¹ On the third of October, on the communication of a letter of thanks from his church, some assistance was granted to his wife, who was obliged to remain and pass the winter at Geneva.

Gallasius, on his arrival in England, did not fail to report to Calvin the friendly reception accorded to him. Under date of June 30, he wrote as follows:—

“I waited upon the bishop, by whom I was received very courteously. I presented to him, my father, your letter, which he read in my presence, with an open and cheerful countenance, and forthwith briefly related to me its contents; expressing his thanks to you for having written to him in so friendly a manner, and also for reminding him of his duty. He then accosted the elders who had accompanied me to his residence, to some of whom my arrival was

from funds contributed by wealthy merchants in London, who were in sympathy with the exiles, and, in anticipation of happier days in England, sought in this way to provide men, who at the opportune moment could be thrust at once into the field, and gather fruit for the Lord of the harvest.

¹ The *Registres du Conseil* (vol. de 1560–61) contain various notices of this transaction, under dates of April 19 and 21, May 3, and October 3.

by no means agreeable, and exhorted them not to be ungrateful to God and you; since they had obtained more than they had dared to hope for; that they should follow my recommendations, and henceforth act in all circumstances by my advice, and shew themselves friendly towards me, and admonish the whole church of their duty towards me. Then turning to me apart, he offered me his good offices, and that I might have familiar access to him as often as I wished. I requested that all matters in our church might be determined by his authority, by which means our people would be more effectually kept to their duty; and that he would be pleased to be present, or rather to preside, at the reading of your letter to them. He replied, that in this matter he resigned all his authority to myself, but that he would willingly attend if he could be of any use. He afterwards added something about appointing as my colleague Peter Alexander, who was acceptable to the people, and had begun to gather a church before my arrival; and who was the more acceptable because he neither required any salary, nor was likely to become a burden to what is now a poor and necessitous church; for he has a valuable prebend at Canterbury, the revenue of which he could easily receive during his absence, under the plea of this appointment. I replied that I would farther deliberate and confer with him upon this matter; but that I would take no steps without consulting him.”¹

Gallasius remained in England only three years. Perhaps he found his life there made unpleasant by some troubles which he experienced from a colleague, Peter Alexander, of Arles, who had lived in the family of the archbishop Cranmer, and who afterward had been pastor of the French church at Strasburg. But be this as it may, there were serious reasons relating to his health, which compelled him to return, as the bishop himself informs us in the following letter, the original of which is in the public library (*Bibliothèque publique*) at Geneva. It is addressed to Calvin, and dated at London, June 19, 1563:—

¹ The Zurich Letters, Vol. II. Ep. 29.

“ We are much indebted, most illustrious master Calvin, to your piety, and also to your whole church, for having so long afforded us the services of the most learned master Gallasius; who has not only left to his successor, master Cousins, in a state of quietness and good order, the church which he found, at his coming, in a most disturbed condition, but has also, by his advice and prudence, been of great use both to myself and our churches. I should not, indeed, have willingly let him go, had he not had a better reason for leaving us than we could wish. Our climate, it seems, does not agree with his constitution, and has greatly injured his health, besides depriving him of a beloved wife (to say nothing of his children); so that him whom we now send back as an invalid, there would be reason to fear, if he remained among us another winter, that we should not send back at all. It was, therefore, of the first importance for him to return to his native air for the recovery of his health; and we desire nothing more earnestly than that you may, each of you, be enabled freely to preach the gospel in your common country. Although, in the present state of things, partly through the delay or rather tardiness of some parties, and partly through the over-hasty conduct of others (to use no severer term), there seems but little hope of this; yet I doubt not but that God himself, by means unknown to us, that we may not glory in men, will bring the whole matter to a happy issue. I grieve from my heart that at your age, and with so slender a frame, you have been attacked, as Gallasius informs me, with a fit of the gout. I have no doubt but that you have contracted this disorder by excessive study and exertion. Henceforth, therefore, you must relax somewhat of your former labours and unseasonable lucubrations; lest, by not sparing yourself, you greatly increase your disease, and become of less benefit to the church. Think of Gregory Nazianzen, who, because he did not, when advanced in years, relax at all from that austerity which he practised in early life, was almost constantly obliged to keep his bed, and on that account was rendered less useful to the church. As you and

Bullinger are almost the only chief pillars remaining, we desire to enjoy you both (if it please God) as long as possible. I purposely omit mention of Brentius, who, having undertaken the advocacy of the very worst of causes, seems no longer to acknowledge us as brethren.

Master Gallasius, who brings you this letter, can give you the best information of the state of our kingdom and church ; so that I have at this time no occasion to write upon these subjects. Salute, I pray you, in my name, master Beza and your other colleagues ; as also master Antony, the professor of Hebrew. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve your pious colony to us and to his church.

Your most devoted in the Lord,

EDMUND GRINDAL.

Bishop of London.

This letter has been translated and printed in the collection of the Zurich Letters.¹ It is pleasant to meet with such sentiments of respect and affection for Calvin, on the part of one of the leaders of the Anglican church, who was also one of the signers of the letter written from Frankfort on the 5th of April, 1555, from which some passages were cited in the earlier part of this Article (page 476).

As to Gallasius himself, he appeared, on his return, before the Council, and presented his letters of recommendation from the French church at London, and of the English " who had formerly resided in Geneva, and cherished still a lively sense of the benefits which they had received here." In the following year he was called to serve the church at Orleans ; and after 1571 he fixed himself permanently in his original country, with the sanction of the Council, at the special solicitation of the queen of Navarre.²

GOODMAN'S LETTER TO CALVIN.

It would be inexcusable to part from this subject without reprinting, here, at least one of the several elegant Latin

¹ Zurich Letters, Vol. II. Ep. 42.

² Registre du Conseil. vol. de 1563, fol. 85, July 30.

epistles which, for the scholar, give so much interest to the dissertation of M. Heyer, on which the present Article has been founded. The Latin language, it is well known, was in that age, the medium of intercourse between the men of learning of different nations, and was almost as familiar to them as their own vernacular tongue. The following letter bears witness to the continued friendship, which these participants in so many common labors and dangers in the work of Christ cherished towards each other, after the cessation of their personal intercourse.

Eruditionis et pietatis eximiae viro, D. suo colendissimo D. J. Calvino, ecclesiae Genevensis fidelissimo pastori.

Ignosce mihi colendissime praeceptor, si cum multa scribenda nunc forent, tam paucis utor : nam sola excusatio tam diuturni silentii, paucis contenta non esset, nec status verum nostrarum narratio laconismum pateretur. Quibus (ut par esset) exponendis, neque otium nunc datur, neque negotium sustinet : quemadmodum ab isto, qui haec tibi laturus sit, plenius cognosces. Non me excuso, quod tanto temporis intervallo, nullas prorsus ad te (cum non ego solum sed tota Anglia tantopere debet) literas dedi. Solum hoc abs tua humanitate impetrare contendo, ne ulla beneficiorum istic acceptorum oblivione factum putes, sic enim me ipsum vita hac indignissimum judicarem : neve quod ulla unquam defuerit prompta voluntas huic officio praestando, modo vel internunciorum oportunitas, vel locorum, in quibus ut plurimum versatus fui, commoditas votis responderent. Res nostrae variae multaeque sunt, de quibus audire (si daretur) non esset prorsus injucundum : sed omnia hujus honestissimi pariterque pii juvenis narrationi refero, ut ab eo, cum visum fuerit et vacaverit audias. Est enim apud vos mansurus doctrinae et verae pietatis adipiscendae gratia : qui et hic spectator et actor tragediae, ut plurimum, interfuit. Quo nemo rei initium, progressum vel finem, quem nunc Dei clementia nacta sit, melius aut verius exponet. Ab eo quoque religionis formam, continuationis spem, ministrorum penuriam, ceteraque impedimenta et hostes cognosces : in quibus evitandis malis, consilium tuum tempestivum ac saluberrimum desideratur : Ne quod divina clementia partum sit, nostra socordia merito amittamus. Quod ad me attinet, est quod Deo gratias ingentes agam, cujus beneficio, bonorum animi in me propensi sunt, nec est, cur aliqua in re conquerer. Tantum in hac ministrorum paucitate expecto, donec omnia (quod religionem) melius disponantur et stabiliantur : postea reversus in patriam meam, si Deo videbitur. Nam nunc (ut audio) incipiunt nostri gnationes in Anglia persenticere, quod parum profuit illorum adulatio et invidia : qui ut aliis nocerent, superstitionem, repugnante conscientia, mixerunt, religionem violarent, tandemque in odium bonorum omnium, justo Dei judicio, incurrerunt. Adeo ut nullus

veritatis zelus, nulla pietatis exempla, nulla denique pessimorum hominum supplicia, ullibi compareant. Impietas, superbia, avaritia, luxus, omnes ut plurimum occupant, et passim omnibus in locis grassantur; porro sentiunt quem promoverunt, et in coelos usque extulerunt, faeminae gubernationis fructum. Deus pro sua infinita misericordia, iram suam, quam sumus commeriti et procuramus quotidie, procul a nobis avertat. Whittingamo nostro, cui silentium ob libertatem loquendi impositum fuit, linguam relaxarunt, idque absque ulla conditione, quod nullam voluerit admittere. Cum nostris qui apud vos fuerunt, durius agitur: sed nostrae probationis tempus est, aequum namque videri debet, ut aliquam crucis portionem sustineamus, qui tam longa conscientiarum tranquillitate, nobiscum terque quaterque beatis, in vestra beata civitate Dei, fruamur: cujus memoria omnem mihi molestiam non levat modo, sed aufert penitus. Frater noster Johannes Knoxoecus, scio ad te scribet, itaque de eo prolixius agere supervacaneum judico. Uxore sua piissima privatus ipse non satis validus corpore, animo tamen robustus, laboribus nunquam caedit. Tempestivus erat illius in Scotiam adventus, et non minus necessaria, nunc praesentia; cui precor annorum numerum, in patriae suae commodum et ecclesiae progressum augeri. Est etiam alius Johannes Wollocus diligens minister, et strenuus veritatis propugnator. Juvenes praeterea nonnulli bonae spei manum operae admovent. Sed istis commemorandis finem imponam, atque hunc juvenem D. Jacobum Kyrkcaldy, nobili Scotorum genere prognatum, religionis studiosissimum, et optimis moribus praeditum, tuae pietati commendo, simulque obsecro et obtestor, ut illi de hospite bono ac fideli, quocum permaneat, prospicias: sive ex ministris, sive ex praelectoribus, quos, scio, ejus familiaritatis nunquam poenitebit. Nominabam illi Dominum Danionem et Dominum Baesa, inter, caeteros, quibuscum se optime fore non dubito. Sed tuo judicio acquiescet per omnia, et pro omnibus, quae accepturus sit, satisfaciet. Ministros omnes queso ut meo nomine salutes potissimum D. Viretum et Dom. Farellum: Omnibus autem, tibi vero potissimum, totique Senatui vestro, me, quoad vixero debitorem contestor. Deus Opt. M. te tuosque omnes in ecclesiae solatium, quam diutissime conservet

S. Andre, 19 februarii, anno Domini 1561.

E Scotia.

Tui studiosissimus Christophorus GOODMANUS.