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und singet von meinewegen. Der herr tröst sein volkh ewigklichen. Amen! --
Gesandt von Wien.“

Wir sind am Ende unserer Ausführungen angelangt. Hoffentlich ist es mir gelungen, ein einigermaßen zutreffendes Bild dieser kostbaren Handschrift gegeben zu haben und damit einen bescheidenen Einblick in das Leben und Trachten jener kleinen Gemeinde überzeugter Glaubenskämpfer.⁵⁰⁾ Wenn überhaupt jemand, dann durfte wohl sie das Wort Matth. 10, 22 auf sich beziehen: „Und ihr müsset gehaßt werden von jedermann um meines Namens willen. Wer aber bis an das Ende beharrt, der wird selig.“

Daß sich dies freilich nicht mehr im Diesseits ereignen werde, daß die Brüder bereits in den siebziger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts kaum noch Hoffnung auf eine Wendung der Dinge zu ihren Gunsten hegten, ja daß sie den ganzen Zeitgeist endgültig als ihnen fremd und feindlich gesinnt erkannten, beweisen die inhaltsschweren Worte, mit denen der Kodex schließt:

„Der Herr erbarm sich über der welt Blindhait.“

A Treatise on England's Perils. 1578

by Albert J. Schmidt

As the decade of the 1570's drew to a close, Elizabeth's England seemed destined to endure from its foes a vigorous offensive both at home and abroad. No doubt, memories of the Northern Rebellion of '69 and the Ridolfi plot two years later made the foreign and domestic situation appear all the graver.

Jesuits and seminary priests were infiltrating the realm. Especially in the north country — which for a variety of reasons enjoyed no settled state — they were not likely to foster any sentimental ties with the crown unless the same was worn by the Queen of Scots. The ban of excommunication against Elizabeth in 1570 had been especially designed to weaken the queen's domestic position: it placed the moderate Catholic in a dilemma because his registering political loyalty became a virtual impossibility.

⁵⁰⁾ Das U.S. Mennonite Central Committee ließ in den vergangenen Jahren bereits mehrere Mikrofilme der Handschrift anfertigen. Vielleicht ist es dieser (oder auch einer anderen daran interessierten) Stelle doch einmal möglich, einen vollständigen Abdruck herauszugeben. Unser Kodex verdiente es wahrhaftig!

The state of affairs abroad was no more assuring. Persistent reports circulated of a Catholic league fashioned by the French Guise, the pope, English Catholic emigres, and the Spanish king — all of whom were disposed at the opportune moment to descend upon England. This serious threat increased with the political deterioration of the neighboring Netherlands. The precarious peace achieved after the sack of Antwerp in late 1576 dissolved into war again during the summer following when the Spaniard Don John and the States General finally parted ways. More alarming for the English was Don John's victory over the army of the Estates in January, 1578. Although Elizabeth might have been disgusted with the faithless and opportunistic policy carried out by the statesmen of the southern provinces with regard to both the Prince of Orange and herself, their defeat could but strengthen her potential foe. No one doubted Don John's role in a Catholic league directed against England: not forgotten were the rumors that he had planned no later than the year before to invade the realm, liberate the Queen of Scots, marry and rule with her under the banner of Catholicism.¹⁾ The waning strength of the Estates and the waxing of the Spaniard's in turn not only revealed England's peril from the Catholic league, but it left prostrate the strategic Netherlands for other outside meddling. French fishing in these troubled waters was especially to be feared; yet it was with the French that Elizabeth had to contend when the Estates turned to the Duke of Alençon, the youngest brother of the French king, for assistance.²⁾

Elizabeth obviously could and would not tolerate French domination of the Low Countries; on the other hand, she was not inclined to commit recklessly an English force to prevent it if there was some more pleasing alternative available. She readily observed that the ardent German Protestant Duke John Casimir of the Palatinate might be used to forestall French aggression. Then, too, she was not unwilling to use her favorite weapon of courtship on the young Frenchman when it seemed apparent that he was not his brother's tool. In any case Elizabeth was not likely to regard the matter as one for hasty action. In this respect she differed from those intensely anti-Spanish members of her privy council — the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Dr. Thomas

¹⁾ Cf. Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols., (Oxford, 1925), I, 345n.

²⁾ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 378ff.

Wilson — who were not prone to detach matters political from those religious because they considered the reformed religion an ample foundation for constructing a courageous and lasting foreign policy.³⁾ They constantly proclaimed the urgency of immediate and decisive action to prevent evil from befalling the commonwealth.

Dr. Thomas Wilson (1523—1581)⁴⁾, author of the appended treatise and secretary from 1577 until 1581 with Walsingham, was an outspoken critic of what he considered the queen's fence-straddling foreign policy. Wilson — humanist, religious reformer, civilian, economist, member of parliament, rackmaster, diplomat, privy councilor and secretary — was one of those versatile Tudor figures whose interests encompassed a variety of endeavors. He is perhaps best remembered for his writings on logic, *Rule of reason* (1551); on rhetoric, the *Art of rhetorique* (1553); and his translation from the Greek of the *Three orations of Demosthenes* (1570). His *Discourse upon usurye* (1572) established his reputation both as a social reformer and as an authority on economic matters. His analysis of the foreign and domestic situation in 1578 pointed primarily to two factors in his past experience: religious and diplomatic. The ardent Protestantism which he had learned at Edwardian Cambridge — where he had established firm friendships with Martin Butzer, Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, and the scholars Cheke, Ascham, Smith, and Haddon — was deeply rooted.⁵⁾ Wilson's anguish at the hands of the Roman Inquisition during Mary's reign seems only to have enforced the earlier views with a stronger hatred of all things Catholic. Diplomatic missions to the Netherlands in 1574—1575 and 1576—1577, besides giving Wilson first-hand knowledge of Netherlandish problems, made him a warm personal friend and partisan of both the Prince of

³⁾ Leicester is difficult to classify when it comes to religion, but he does fit in with this group politically. Cf. Conyers Read, "Walsingham and Burghley in Elizabeth's Privy Council," *English Historical Review*, XXVIII (1913), 34—58.

⁴⁾ Cf. A. F. Pollard's article in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXI, 603—607.

⁵⁾ Wilson's association with Butzer is noted in J. G. Nichols, ed., *Literary Remains of Edward VI.* 2 vols., (Roxbury Club, 1857), II, 304—305. Wilson contributed verse in Butzer's honor when he died. Cf. Walter Haddon, ed., *De obitu doctissimi et sanctissimi theologi doctoris Martini Bucerii* (London, 1551). Cf. G. H. Mair, ed., *Wilson's Art of Rhetorique* (1560 ed., Oxford, 1909), p. 14, for Wilson's admiration of Katharine Brandon. Wilson was tutor to her two young sons who died of the sweating sickness in 1551. Cf. Wilson's *Epistola de vita et obitu duorum fratrum Suffolciencium Henrici et Caroli Brandon* (London, 1551).

Orange and John Casimir. To the house of Orange he contemplated sending his daughters to wait upon the Princess;⁶⁾ to Casimir he dispatched some greyhounds.⁷⁾ Convinced that England's welfare was as inextricably tied to the cause of such men as William the Silent and Casimir and to that of the reformed religion, Wilson in 1578 set forth in writing what he deemed England's foreign policy should be.⁸⁾ Not only did the author in the tract he wrote present a keen analysis of the malaise of international and domestic problems confronting England, but he left an interesting commentary on the factional opposition to Elizabeth's policy at a critical moment in English history.

Pollard in his biographical sketch of Wilson mentioned this hitherto unpublished treatise among the Domestic State Papers at the Public Record Office but apparently confused it with a Latin tract. In any case he ascribed to it a title which it did not have and gave no clue as to its contents. This manuscript, penned by Wilson but left without either signature or title, is identified by its endorsement, "A discourse touching this kingdoms perils with their remedies, written by secretary Wilson and this copy all of his handwriting." Dated April 2, 1578, the treatise appears below in its original form and orthography.

The chyefest care that ought to bee had for the mayntena'ce of any state or kingedom is to seeke first and principallie the glorie of God and his rightuousenes to bee faithfullie settled ev'rywhere for as God is the author of al goodnes and wellfayre, so ought we to looke stil upon hy', and directe al our doinges by his holie wyl, expresselie as he hath com'a'ded and not otherwyse. This fundac'on beeing thus layde, no dowbt but al our buyldinges and actions whatsoev' erected thereupon shal have good successe and prosper most triu'phantlie, let Satan and his adherents rage nev' so moche. And because evil forseen hurteth the lesse, it wer good to knowe how and by what meanes this noble realm is like to bee trowbled aswel abrode, as at home.

And first we have our auncient enemies the frenshe, myghtie and da'gerouse neigboures, who beeing not our frynds, wil beecu'me our foes, whose natures are alwayes styrring, and ca'not rest neuters to any bodie. There hath been a matche of mariage propownded, wche beeing consummated in the feare of God, is greatlie to be wyshed, and hope thereupo' maye bee conceived that great good wyl folowe, especiallie yf God doe blesse the saide mariage wt yssue.⁹⁾ But if this office of mariage

⁶⁾ Daniel Rogers to Wilson, 24 March 1577/78, Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth, 1577—1578, no. 733.

⁷⁾ Ibid., no. 820 (4).

⁸⁾ Public Record office, London, State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, CXXIII, no. 17.

⁹⁾ With Alençon. Like many of his colleagues in the council, Wilson was not disposed to view the queen's marriage with the Frenchman enthusiastically, but

doe not take place, for that disagreeeme't maye fowle out upon articles, then better it had been, that nev' any dealinges or offers had been made, especiallie seeing the matter hath proceeded hetherto so farre, for Prynces faylinge if their purposes beeing mightie and of greate mome'nt, can hardelie digest the foyle, but wyl rather seeke a revenge, and turne their hartie pretended loves to thexecuc'on of dedlie hatred. The meanes how to worke this purposed revenge, is by matchy'g elsewhere wt a like myghtie potentate, and so combyny'ge their forces together wt others their allies and adherents they wyl seeke by any apte occasion offered, or devised practise, the destruction and utter ruyne of this most noble kyngdome. The mayntena'ce of the Catholik Romane religion, wil bee the chiefest pretext and cover, to practice this greate harme agaynst us. And for their better encourageme't in this quarel, ful power and authoritie shalbee geaven frome the pope, to deale agaynst us, as agaynst infidels and Turks. Now what force and power the Pope hath in the consciences of Catholiks, to bende them to his wyl, and to worke al myschief possible agaynst the smale nu'ber of the godlie protesta'tes, I neede not use greate speache to make prooffe thereof, the thyng it selfe is most notoriousse. Besides, the frenshe are our auncient enemyes, and provoked to worke revenge upon us, by our late actions in fra'ce, in soccoury'ge the afflicted¹⁰⁾ there wt some relief, when they wer in greatest distresse. Moreov' the house of Guyse hath alwayes an eye to Englande, for their Cosyn Germanes sak, the Scottyshe Queene, whose enlargeme't they wyl seeke by al meanes possible, and at the least wyse for her sake disturbe the quyet of this Realme, and faylinge of her, they wyl seeke to have her sonne¹¹⁾, who beeing gotte over into their hands (as what maye not bee donne wt the Scottishe nac'on for monye, the beeing so poore of themselves) there shal wa'te no meanes to attempte greate matters agaynst this noble Realme. Neyther can the restoring of the S[cottish] Q[ueen], do any good, who wyl not be receaved into Scotland, when the other shalbee delyvered. And it is thought the practise is nowe in hande, to gette the yonge kinge out of Scotlande by one means or another.¹²⁾

Next after the frenshe, we are to feare Spayne, who are asmoche offended wt us as fra'ce, for the cawse of religion and for aydinge those of the loue countrie in their necessitie. And to be reve'ged of us, they wyl seeke to ioyne with fra'ce, that Monsieur¹³⁾ maye marie wt the daughter of Spayne, wche is the Queene mothers¹⁴⁾ chief desire, that it may so bee, whatsoever' she pretendeth otherwyse to our most graciouse Sov'ayne. Agayne it is to bee feared, that the yo'ge Scottishe kinge whylbee sought unto to bee had into Spayne, yf he ca'not bee brought into fra'ce, and perhappes a consent may be with fra'ce and Spayne to gett this yo'ge gentlemā' out of Scotland, to matche with the other daughter of Spayne. What wylbee, it is harde to saie, but hereof is some lyklyhoode. Kyng Philippe is so sette to bee

he deemed it better than no marriage at all (Cf. Mauvissière to Henry III, 16 Jan. 1579/80, P.R.O., London, MSS, French Transcripts [Baschet], XXVIII, 161, 175 b, and 187 b for comments on Wilson's marriage views.)

¹⁰⁾ Reference to English support of the Huguenots.

¹¹⁾ James VI of Scotland and later James I of England.

¹²⁾ Reference to the so-called Lords of the Congregation who wielded political control in Scotland and who were responsible for Mary's exile.

¹³⁾ Alençon.

¹⁴⁾ Catherine de Médici.

revenge of the loue countrie, and consequentlie of us next adioyny'ge neighbour, that he hath bought a surcease of armes wt the Turke verie latelie, for 700 000 crownes. And hath made suche a preparation for the su'mer warres, both for men and monye, as it is thought he wyl rather hazard his whole patrimonye, than suffer the dyshonorable losse of the loue countrie.

Scotlande is the thyrde place whe we ouyht greatlie to feare in respecte to that yo'ge kynge, who beeing not cherysed by our most graciouse Sov'ayne, must of necessitie bee forced to seeke relief of some other myghtie Pry'ce. for then he is not hable to lyve of hymselfe, nor his nobilitie neyther, who to make their own profite and gayn the more, it is to bee feared, wyl seeke the support of some foreyne Pry'ce, either fra'ce or Spayne. And then what evil may happen to us by the waye of Scotlande, it is to iudge by the actions of former ages.

Nowe to looke to the state at home, whe is the fourthe consid'acōn. It wer verie meet that the darnel wer syfted frome the good corne, for that the Papists doe so abounde wtin this lande, as it is to be feared, greate harme one daie wyl folowe hereupon. The pope sendeth his bulls of reco'ciliacōn hither, whe have been accepted as it is thought of dyv'se. And indeede those that heretofore have usuallie gone to the Church, have refused of late yere to cu'me of late years, onely as it shoulde seeme upon their reco'ciliacōn wt the church of Rome. The p'erson of the S[cottish] Q[ueene], is most narrowlie to bee looked unto, leas't by some secrete practise she bee not had awaye, by those that favor her, and so caried into france, or to some other place, to the endles trowble of our most graciouse Sov'ayne.¹⁵⁾ Other cōpetitors woulde bee looked unto but none so greatlie to bee feared, as the Scottishe Queene and her sonne. The gauls wtin this Realme, are many and of dyv'se natures, whe woulde bee sought out, and remedied by al the good meanes possible especiallie the papists are ov' muche suffered em'ngst al other and as it is thought have the best part of the wealth of this Realme in their handes, lyvinge frugallie, and beeing putte to no charge as others are, al this tyme of her maties most graciouse Reyne. The clergie and church men are greatly discouraged and out of harte, for that they are not better countena'ced, and none of them to any place of authoritie wtin this Realme. Yea those religious men of the laytie aswel as of the clergie doe mourne greatlie, and are grieved to see the obstinate papists to lyve unpunished, yea, in many places to be cherished.¹⁶⁾

The remedies of al the evil that maye fawle upon this Realme, are to bee reduced to twoe principale heades. Whereof, the first is, that as I saide at the begynnye, Christ must be our fu'dacōn, and the corn'stone of our buydinge, neyther must we suffer any to laboure in the lordes vyneyarde, that doth not seeke his glorie,

¹⁵⁾ By his interrogation of the Ridolfi conspirators (Cf. Calendar of Salisbury MSS, I, 520ff.) and Commons' speeches in 1572, Wilson revealed himself as the Queen of Scots' implacable foe. In parliament he consistently demanded the strongest measures against Mary (Diary of Thomas Cromwell, 1572 [J. E. Neale transcripts, Institute of Historical Research, London]).

¹⁶⁾ This last sentence seems an admirable summary of the Protestant dissatisfaction with Elizabeth's slow-moving religious policy. Such discontent accounts for the numerous efforts made in the Commons to doctor the settlement with more continental Protestant ingredients.

suffra'ce hetherto, and ov' moche the favour showed have been the cause that papists are waxen so boude, who by seventie, as in tymes past, myghte bee brought to lyve in due obedie'ce to God, and their Sov'ayne. The seco'd poynte is, that those abrode who are faithful, and of the same religion that we professe, myght be united to us, and we to them. I doe meane for fra'ce, the kynge of Navarre, and the pry'ce of Condye wt their allies, for the loue countrie, the States, wt the pry'ce of ora'ge and the reformed places there, for Germayne, the pry'ces of the religion, and especiallic Duke Casimire, for Scotlande, the kynge to bee made assured unto this Realme, and the nobilitie there beinge godlie affected, and yet poore, to be relieved from he'se wt yerelie pensions in soche sort as shal best seeme to her matie. To have zeal and to encourage al those of the religion to ioyne with the afflicted protesta'ts abroad. And great reason it is, that as others seeke to make themselves stronge both at home, and abrode, so our most graciouse Sov'ayne, shoulde endeavour to strengthen her selfe, wt her fryndes, allies, and good subiectes, that wt force and good foresight, she may wtsta'de force, and avoyde al purposed myschief.

To the glorie of God, and preservacōn of her selfe, and her people committed to her charge.

Zeitschriftenschau¹⁾

Literaturberichte geben Heinz Liebing, „*Reformationsgeschichtliche Literatur 1945—1954*“ (Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift f. Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte 28, 1954, S. 516—537), Robert Stupperich, „*Vom Humanismus zur Reformation*“ (Archiv f. Kulturgeschichte 36, 1954, S. 388—401) und August Buck, „*Italienischer Humanismus*“ (ebd. 37, 1955, S. 105—122). Hingewiesen sei auch auf den Registerband zu dem „*Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte*“, der 1954 erschienen ist.

Eine Folge von Ansätzen, die sich vor allem unter didaktischen Gesichtspunkten mit der Reformation befassen, ist in GUW. (Bd. 5, 1954) erschienen. Ernst Walter Zeeden, „*Deutschland im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*“ (S. 470—486) und Walter Peter Fuchs, „*Die weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Reformation*“ (S. 706—714) geben allgemeine Überblicke. Fuchs betont vor allem die Bedeutung der Reformation für die Entwicklung des modernen Staatensystems. Hans Pitsch zeigt, wie „*Der Weg Luthers vom Mönch zum Reformator im Geschichtsunterricht an der Oberstufe*“ (S. 714—729) zu behandeln ist. E. W. Zeeden behandelt „*Probleme und Aufgaben der Reformationsgeschichtsschreibung*“ (ebd. 6, 1955, S. 278—300), die sich aus der Annäherung der konfessionellen Standpunkte heute ergeben. Auch

¹⁾ Abkürzungen der Zeitschriftentitel:

AHSJ. = Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu
 BHR. = Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance
 BSHPF. = Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français
 CHH. = Church History
 EHR. = English Historica Review
 GWU. = Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht
 HJb. = Historisches Jahrbuch
 HZ. = Historische Zeitschrift
 Jb. = Jahrbuch
 JEH. = Journal of ecclesiastical History

JHI. = Journal of History of Ideas
 NAKG. = Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis, N. S.
 RBPhH. = Revue Belge de philologie et histoire
 RHE. = Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
 RHPH. = Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
 WZ. = Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe der Universität...
 Z. = Zeitschrift
 ZGORh. = Zeitschrift f. Geschichte des Ober-rheins
 ZKIG. = Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte