

R
HIST
E

362
115

I

THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

EDITED BY

S. R. GARDINER, D.C.L., LL.D.

FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

(For the January number only)

AND

REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A., PH.D.

FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE AND LECTURER IN DIPLOMATIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

(For the whole year)

VOLUME XVI.

1901



57932
25/9/02

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

NEW YORK AND BOMBAY

1901

Sir Anthony Hungerford's 'Memorial'

ON the fifteenth day of my hearing (records Archbishop Laud) the ninth charge was made by Sir Edward Hungerford. He said he had come to Lambeth to have a little book licensed at the Press. The author was Sir Anthony Hungerford, whether Sir Edward's grandfather or his uncle. I remember not the relation. He says he came to my chaplain, Dr. Bray, to license it, and that Dr. Bray told him there were some harsh phrases in it which were better left out, because we were upon a way of winning the papists. . . . He says my chaplain expressed a dislike of Guicciardin's censure of Pope Alexander VI. He says he came and complained to me, and that I told him I was not at leisure, but left it to my chaplain. So the charge upon me was that my chaplain was in an error concerning this book, and I would not redress it.

The chaplain was 'in an error' concerning the book, and the archbishop was 'in an error' concerning its authorship. The mention of 'Guicciardin's censure' identifies it with 'The Advice of a Sonne, professing the Religion Established in this Church of England, to his dear Mother, a Roman Catholic,' the first and longer of two pamphlets by Sir Anthony Hungerford of Blackbourton, Oxfordshire. This Sir Anthony was not the grandfather or uncle, but the father of Laud's accuser. He attacks the papal claim to infallibility with the allegation of papal immorality, quoting from 'those historians most affectionate to the Sea of Rome.' But he neither revels in unsavoury details nor indulges in the scurrilous vituperations and ribald violence and buffoonery which disfigure so many of the Puritan tracts, Jesuit pamphlets, and Anglican replies of the period. Tried by the controversial standard of the time, his style seems unusually restrained and courteous. In fact, though we agree with the archbishop when he pathetically exclaims, 'But how this could be treason against Sir Edward Hungerford I cannot see,' we feel that the prohibition was needless and impolitic. Sir Edward Hungerford, a man of considerable property and influence in three counties, and afterwards a general of repute in the parliamentary army, went away with his family pride wounded and his fanaticism roused, and circumvented the archbishop. The book was printed in Oxford in 1639,¹ and probably excited little

¹ There are copies in the Bodleian, in the British Museum, and in Durham University Library (Routh collection). The last is beautifully bound in white vellum with

notice. The writer of this paper has not been able to discover any Roman reply to it. A dead controversialist whose arguments were neither virulent nor novel doubtless did not seem to the Society of Jesus an opponent worth considering.

Of the two treatises forming 'the little book' the first was regarded by Sir Edward and his contemporaries as the more important. Anthony Wood indeed speaks of the second as a mere appendix to the first. The modern reader reverses this decision. Neither is valuable to-day as a contribution to religious controversy; but the second pamphlet, by reason of its autobiographical character, appeals to all who think, with Robert Browning, that the history of a soul's development will always be worth study. In 'The Memorial of a Father to his Dear Children, containing an Acknowledgement of God His Great Mercy in bringing him to the Profession of the True Religion at this present Established in the Church of England,' Sir Anthony Hungerford is not trying to convince others, but to show how he himself came to be convinced. His time-worn arguments are strung on a thread of personal experience, and the dry bones of controversy are vivified by the spirit of a man who had at once the aptitude and training, the earnest purpose and requisite knowledge to examine the foundations of his creed. Moreover sixteenth-century autobiography is rare enough to be precious. Anthony Hungerford's introspectiveness was not common in that age of action, discovery, and objective thought, and was probably the result of his early Jesuit training and the stillness and leisure of his later life. And even he makes his 'Apologia pro Vita sua' with a direct simplicity and absence of egotism and self-dissection which no modern writer telling a similar tale could imitate. He clearly never recoiled from the task his conscience set him, or felt the force of the words which haunted Newman, *Secretum meum mihi*. His brevity and reserve in narration sprang not from sensitiveness, but from the lack of it. He was not interested in his own case. The fact and ground of his conversion seemed to him worth recording, not his emotions during the process. Yet, in spite of himself, Anthony gives us a clear impression of his character—of his piety, ability, and freedom from all worldly and unworthy ambition—and his bald statements are stamped with the 'form and pressure' of a picturesque and momentous epoch.

The beautifully written manuscript of this 'Apologia pro Vita sua' has been carefully preserved by the Southbys of Berkshire, whose house, Carswell, near Farringdon, was not far removed from Blackbourton, and into whose family Anthony Hungerford's step-

gold tooling. It bears the coat of arms of Sir Edward Hungerford, and on the *last* page the inscription, 'Ex dono Edwardi Hungerford ordinis Balnoi militis Primo-geniti Anth. Hungerford militis huius Libri Authoris.'

daughter Elizabeth Wiseman² married. All quotations in this paper are made from the original manuscript.

It is well knowne to many of my friendes yet living (thus Anthony opens his 'Memorial') how my first age was intangled with the superstition of Rome, the seedes whereof being sowed in Childhood grewe up with me for many yeares, till it pleased God in mercy to pluck it upp by the rootes. This possiblie will seeme strainge to those that knew my Father: who both in heart & outward profession did oppose the erroneous tenentes of the Roman Church: But the truth is that the many troubles wherewith all his estate was encumbered during the life of my Grandfather houldinge him in continuall employment & travell in the worlde abroade, did enforce him to leave all cares at home, & with the rest the breeding of his Children to my Mother: who being born & bred of parentes that were devoted with great fervour to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, and her self a zealous follower of their stepps, held it a principall parte of her dutie to God & nature to guide us in that path which she her self conceived to be the onelie & undoubted way to heaven.

Anthony Hungerford's grandfather was Sir John Hungerford of Down Ampney, near Cricklade. He was descended from the younger of the two sons of that Walter Hungerford who was Henry V's steward of the household, and who was made Baron Hungerford and lord high treasurer of England under Henry VI. His first-born, Robert, who succeeded to Farley Castle, was the ancestor of the Wiltshire branch of the family; for his second son, Edmund, he made provision by purchasing the manor of Down Ampney. This Edmund was Sir John Hungerford's great-great-grandfather.

Anthony's father, also a Sir Anthony Hungerford, was one of the eight children borne to Sir John Hungerford by his first wife, Bridget Fettiplace, of Swinbrook, near Burford. He was for many years 'Captain within the Realme of Ireland;' and even after 'the life of my grandfather' he was 'held in employment in the world abroad,' for, in February 1584, he had the constablership of Dungarvan. He lived till 1594, and he was buried at Hinton Charterhouse, the home of his stepmother's sister Mrs. Shaw.³

Anthony's mother was Bridget Shelley, daughter of John Shelley of Michelgrove, Sussex, and granddaughter of William Shelley, justice of the common pleas under Henry VIII. The Shelleys were devout Romanists, and Bridget must have been a clever and attractive woman. Anthony invariably speaks of her with affection. 'You may justly chalenge as of your right from me all sincere affection, dutie, & observation; besides the bond of nature, my obligation being much increased by your most loving & con-

² The daughter of his second wife, Sarah, widow of Walter Wiseman.

³ Eleanor, daughter of Walter, Lord Hungerford, was the second wife of Sir John Hungerford, of Down Ampney. Her sister, Mary, married Thomas Shaw, died in 1613, and was buried in Farley Castle Chapel.

tinued care of me.' Thus he prefaces his 'Advice of a Sonne,' when, having unlearned his early lessons, he yearned to teach his teacher.

Even in our tender yeares (he says) she found the meanes that we were accustomed to the rites & practices of that religion, which being full of ceremonys pleasinge to the eye, did first winne my liking by the outward sence before my yeares had afforded me the least use of reason.

His education as a boy was carefully designed to strengthen the influences which had surrounded his infancy. Had he been born half a century earlier he would doubtless have been sent to the not far distant monastery of Glastonbury, which at the dissolution was the public school of 'three hundred sons of gentlemen.' As it was, Lady Hungerford could only take care that the families in which, according to the custom of the time, the boy was placed to be trained in the duties, graces, and accomplishments of a gentleman, were 'houses wholie carried with a Roman bias.' Anthony persistently starves our curiosity for mundane details, and we are left to conjecture that some of the families connected with the Shelleys were selected, such as the Lovels, the Copleys of Gatton, the Darrells of Scotney Castle, where Father Blount had his chief hiding-place.

Priests, Anthony tells us, 'were familiar guests in the houses where I had my breeding,' and early 'sowed such seedes of instructions as quickly took roote in ground before manured for the purpose.' First and foremost they taught him 'certain generall positions, such as I have since well observed to be the maine foundation of their buylding in the consciences of all their ignorant and unlearned followers.' These 'first rules' were—

(1) That the Church of Rome was the true and Catholique Church of Christ.

(2) That all our forfathers had lived & dyed in the Communion of this Church.

(3) That this Church had a priviledge from God himselfe not to erre in direction of her children.

(4) That out of the fellowship of this Church no soule might be saved.

(5) That the religion professed by publique authoritie in the Kingdome was a late Composition of noveltie and libertie, full of faction and division, the badge of error.

These lessons being delyvered by teachers that wanted neyther witt nor wordes apt to their endes, & such as coulde disguise themselves in the fairest showes of an austere & holie life, did worke a great impression in my heart, & so dim the eye of my weak judgment with a mist of prejudice as that it hid now noe more the strength to discern of Couloours, yet did not these cunning maisters cease to build further upon all occasions with stuff sutable to their first ground worke.

Thus Anthony was trained till he was 'about sixteene yeares of age,' when his father, 'having recovered himself out of the stormes

of trouble which had long beaten on him,' returned home. Anthony's mention of his age, and his opening sentence, connecting his father's absence from home and pecuniary embarrassment with 'the life of my grandfather,' indicate that this home-coming and new-found peace and prosperity followed upon Sir John Hungerford's death⁴ in 1581, when Anthony was between fifteen and sixteen.

'Give me a child until he is seven,' say the Jesuits, therein showing themselves wiser than Sir Anthony Hungerford, who now began 'to make it his principal care to see his sons instructed in the religion & service of God established in the kingdom.' We hardly need the discreetly brief assertion that 'finding we had both bene guided the contrary way, & did still retaine so strong savour of those errours wherewithal we had been seasoned, it did grieve & discontent him much' to feel certain that the course of domestic life did not run smoothly at this period. Beyond compelling his boys to attend their parish church Sir Anthony used no other means 'for the reclayming' of them than 'persuasion with reason, the salve most proper for the curing of the soules maladies.' This treatment proved successful in the case of the elder son, John,⁵ 'who was ever carryed with more judgement & moderation than myself, & attended my Father's admonitions with a more hedeiful and less partiall ear.' But the writer of the 'Memorial' enacted the part of the 'deaf adder,' and with youthful conceit 'held himself prepared to encounter with the greatest Clerkes of the adverse part.' The boy had, in fact, been carefully grounded in the controversial commonplaces of Dr. Bristow, whose 'Motives,' published in 1569, had become a popular text-book with English Romanists; for when his teachers saw that he 'was about to be sent abroade into the worlde,' and that there was no choice but that 'he must converse with heretiques,' they began to arm him 'against all assaults that witt or learning of the contrarie part might make upon me.' Anthony's 'going abroade into the worlde' was going up to Oxford. On 12 April 1583 Anthony Hungerford, of Wilts, matriculated at St. John's College. Wood asserts that his residence in Oxford was curtailed by his father's pecuniary embarrassments; and the writer of his life in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' repeats this assertion without examining or proving it. 'He was educated in this university,' so runs the account of Wood, 'with other Roman catholics, but for a short time; for his father was much troubled with the encumbrances of

⁴ On 10 Oct. 1581 Anthony Hungerford (the father) writes from Ireland to Walsingham telling him of the death of his father and mother, and praying that no advantage of law may be taken against him in England (*Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1574-1585*, p. 324).

⁵ John Hungerford was born in 1565, and died in 1634. He married (1) Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Berkeley, (2) Anne, daughter of Edward Goddard, of Woodhaye. He had seven children by his first wife.

his estate, and could not look after his son; the mother, who was a zealous papist, caused him to be trained up in her religion.' But in fact Wood has confused the order of events. When Anthony was sixteen, and was sent to Oxford, his father had *recovered himself from the troubles wherewith his estate was encumbered*. If Anthony's sojourn in Oxford was a short one it was not owing to parental poverty. But was it for any cause curtailed? One fact, definitely stated in the 'Memorial,' discredits the supposition.

In my younger yeares though I were wholie addicted to the Roman religion, yet by my Father's importunities & commande I was enforced to go to Church, but being now about Twenty yeares of age, & finding this to be a trouble to my conscience, I resolved to forsake wholie the Communion of the Church of England, and to be admitted into the bosome of the Church of Rome. To which end I went to Neale, who tould me that he being a priest of Queene Maries time might not meddle with any man in that kinde, but for this purpose I must resort to some Jesuite or Preist of a later edition. Whereupon by one Etheridge, a phisition then living in Oxford, I was brought to one Twiford,⁶ a preist or Jesuite, I note not whether, by whom I was reconciled to the Roman Church.

Anthony was then in Oxford at the age of twenty, and down to that date had, at least occasionally, conformed. We cannot, therefore, attribute his presence in Oxford in 1587 to a possible connexion with the Jesuit Residence of St. Mary's, nor his affirmed departure about 1587 to religious disabilities. His father was well known 'to oppose the erronious tenentes of the Roman Church,' and he could never have been in the position of those sons of recusants 'deprived, on account of their religion, of a liberal education' for whom 'Etheridge, a phisition,' opened a seminary. It is, moreover, unlikely that, a minor and unmarried, he was already settled in 'my house at Blackbourton' when he wrote the 'Memorial,' from which he might have ridden over to Oxford.

Etheridge, mentioned above, was a notable person in the Oxford of Anthony's day. A student who had refused a courtier's career, regius professor of Greek till expelled by the Act of Supremacy, a doctor of medicine through the pressure of poverty, a schoolmaster⁷ from love of his fellow Romanists, a sufferer for conscience' sake whose loyalty and friendship were impaired neither by bitterness nor by zeal, a Hebrew scholar, an accomplished Latinist, a poet, a mathematician, a musical composer and performer, Dr. Etheridge is an excellent example of the many-sided, adaptive

⁶ Probably a secular priest from Douai. One Twyfford is mentioned as 'lodging at my Lady Paulett's by Temple Bar' in a report made by one of Walsingham's spies in 1583 (P.R.O. Dom. Eliz. vol. clxxxviii. n. 72). The name does not occur in Foley's lists of members of the Society of Jesus who assumed aliases.

⁷ William Gifford, afterwards archbishop of Rheims, was one of his scholars in an ancient hall 'opposite almost to the south end of Catstreet in St. Mary's parish.'

ability, combined with unswerving faithfulness to conviction, which characterised some of the best men of the century.⁸ On the other hand, that century also produced men whose lives were one long struggle not to commit themselves on the subject of their creed. To this class Thomas Neale belonged.⁹ Pits, while dwelling on his timid nature, expresses belief in his genuine Romanism. Wood only ventures the assertion that he was 'more catholic than protestant.' During the first two decades of the queen's reign he had occasionally conformed; but the Jesuits, who, with Campian and Parsons at their head, had established themselves in Oxford in 1580, were preaching a less complaisant creed. He could no longer 'occasionally frequent the church and receive the sacrament,' and 'dreading to be called in question for not doing so,' he retreated into studious obscurity in the 'village of Cassington, distant from Oxford north-west about four miles.' Here Anthony sought him out; and we can imagine with what relief the cowardly, shuffling priest—the reputed author of the Nag's Head fable—found himself able to refer his would-be convert to the special powers of reconciliation granted to the Douai and Jesuit missionaries.

Neale, who on this occasion must have damped Anthony Hungerford's youthful ardour, subsequently became the first cause of his defection from the Roman church. Even while clamouring for a formal reception and the right to incur the newly increased penalties of recusancy, Anthony's early allegiance to his teachers was beginning to waver. Already the liberal influences of 'casual reading and discussion' had begun to undermine the 'ignorance and great confidence' which parental opposition had only served to deepen.

I began about the yeare 1584 to thinke more charitablie of some tenentes of the Church of England being before confidentlie persuaded, and to that purpose much confirmed by Campion's *Bravado*,¹⁰ that the whole bodie of the Protestants doctrine was a stranger to *Scriptures*,¹¹ to *Counsels*,¹² & all the antient & approved *Fathers*,¹³ & could

⁸ The career of the Romanist Etheridge finds a parallel in that of the puritan Dr. Burgess.

⁹ It is characteristic of Neale that nine books of his Latin translation of the 'Commentaries of Rabbi David Kimhi on the Twelve Minor Prophets' were dedicated to Queen Elizabeth (Royal MS. 2. D. xxi) the other three to Cardinal Pole. The latter were published at Paris in 1557.

¹⁰ 'Rabsaces Romanus, seu decem rationes oblatis certaminis in causa fidei redditae academicis Angliae.' *Campian Englished*, a translation 'made by a Priest of the Catholike & Roman Church,' was not published till 1641; so Anthony never knew it.

¹¹ Campian's 'First Reason' is 'The Sacred Scriptures,' 'the majesty of Gods Sacred Word being by our adversaries most unworthily dishonoured, for they are not able to subsist except they make violent incursions and sallies upon the said Divine Bookes.'

¹² Campian's 'Second Reason' is 'The Councils.' English protestants profess to honour the first four councils; if they did indeed they would give 'supreme honour to the Bishop of the First Sea;' they would acknowledge the sacrifice of the altar;

derive itself from noe greater antiquitie than *Martin Luther*¹⁴ whom I believed verilie to have bene the first founder of their religion.

'Campion's Bravado' describes the little book sent forth in 1580 by the leader of the Jesuit mission as a defiance to his *alma mater*. Those modern readers into whose hands it has chanced to fall will easily understand its influence on an undergraduate of literary tastes. Its bold assertions, its virulent yet somehow never coarse abuse, its specious lucidity, its apt illustrations, its incisive epigrammatic phrases mark it off from all other controversial writings of the time. Those who are most alive to Campian's weaknesses and most intolerant of his opinions cannot but acknowledge the attractiveness of his easy style, and admire the masterly brevity with which in ten short sections he treats the principal points separating the Roman and Anglican communions.

From thinking more charitably of the English church Anthony 'grew to have some scruple of a point or two of Roman doctrine;' but mindful of the advice of his first teachers that he should in such a case instantly 'have recourse to the lawful pastores of the Catholique Roman Church,' he set down his difficulties in writing, a friend promising to 'procure a resolution from some learned man of that side.' The learned man selected was Thomas Neale, whose prescription 'for the solving of these doubts' either exhibited some curious slip of memory or the pen on the part of the physician, or was misread by the patient. Its chief ingredient was 'a text quoted as out of the viij Chapter of Isaiah's Prophesie "Unlesse you believe you shall not understand."' Down to this time Anthony 'had seldom looked into the Scriptures.' His father had exhorted him to hear God's Word as 'the onelie meanes to discover truth from falsehood;' but he had ever made refusal, with the assertion of his teachers that 'the Scriptures of heretics were mangled, ill-translated, & mere corruptions of God's sacred word,'¹⁵ and that,

they would 'beseech the Court of Heaven for intercessions;' they would 'restrain voluptuous apostates from all execrable yoking together.' But 'the Church prizes all general Councils and that of Trent equally with those of the first ages.'

¹³ Campian's 'Fifth Reason' is 'The Fathers.' 'If at any time hereafter it may be thought lawful to make our repayre to the Fathers the warre is ended. They are all as entirely ours as Gregory the Thirteenth.'

¹⁴ This is, of course, the common charge of Campian, Bristow, Stapleton, and others.

¹⁵ This was the repeated and not wholly groundless assertion of the Roman writers of the time, notably Bristow, Campian, Staphylus, and Gregory Martin. Thus Gregory Martin picked out of the old translations of Coverdale, reprinted in 1562, the words 'congregations,' 'divisions,' 'sect,' as protestant mistranslations for 'church,' 'schism,' 'heresy.' Thus, too, in 1565, the bishop of Worcester writes to Archbishop Parker: 'In mine opinion your Grace shall do well to make the whole Bible to be diligently surveyed by some well learned before it be put in print; & also to have skillful & diligent correctors at the printing of it, that it may be done in such perfection that the adversary can have no occasion to quarrel with it. The setters forth of this our common translation followed Munster too much, who doubtless . . . often

'since they were full of difficulties which had entangled many a soule,' he had learned as a 'sovereign preservative against heresie to receive their sense from the Church, being approved by the testimony of God himselfe to be the pillar & ground of the truth.' But the sovereign preservative was not found quite satisfactory when the symptoms of the disease appeared. He sought eagerly, but vainly, in the chapter named, and those next to it, for anything which 'sorted' with Neale's purpose, and the sentiment *credo ut intelligam* did not commend itself to him.

I must confesse it seemed to me a preposterous way when I desired to establish my confidence in the pointes I doubted of, with some groundes of reason, he should persuade me to this as the fittest course to believe them first & understand them after, so that my doubts remayned, yet were they not of any pointes essentiall, but I continued devoted to the Church of Rome, and so held on *till aboute the beginning of the yeare 1588.*

The great crisis of the reign marked and occasioned the turning-point of Anthony Hungerford's religious life. Early in the year, when 'the most fortunate and invincible Armada' was preparing to set sail, he had occasion to consult a seminary priest named Hopton¹⁶ on the subject 'of a match my Father held in speech for me with a gentleman's daughter of the country.' Hopton, 'a willie & well-spoken man,' discouraged the arrangement. Anthony might look higher, for 'there was a tyme at hand wherein men well affected in religion might have hope to receive great advancement in the state.' This oracular utterance being incomprehensible to the inquirer, Hopton

without stay or scruple did expound unto me, and freely toulde me that the Kinge of Spaine was then preparinge to invade this realme, yet not moved with any humours of ambition, but a desire to advance the true religion & to free the Catholiques from the greate oppression they indured under the government of the present Queene: the which his design if it were followed with success accordinge to the likelihood that might be conceaved there could be noe question but the whole fruite and benefitt would redound to the Popish partie of the Realme.

If Dr. Etheridge represents the best type and Thomas Neale the poorest type of those Englishmen who clung to the 'old religion,' 'Hopton the preist' is a good example of 'the seedsmen in the tillage of sedition, who warily crept through the land, and laboured secretly to pervert the people to *allow of the Pope's absolute autho-* swerved too much from the Hebrew.' Again he writes, 'Your Grace should much benefit the Church in hastening forward the Bible which you have in hand' (*i.e.* the Bishops' Bible); 'those that we have be not only false printed, but also give great offence to many by reason of depravity in reading' (Strype, *Life of Parker*, vol. i.)

¹⁶ Possibly a member of the well-known Yorkshire Romanist family of that name. Sir Ralph Hopton, ambassador to the court of Spain, died at Blackbourton in 1649, and was buried under the altar of the little church; and in some letters written by Anthony's sons we find allusions to a Mr. Hopton.

ritie over all princes & countries, striking many with pricks of conscience to obey the same;' ¹⁷ while his conduct illustrates Walsingham's statement, that

about the twentieth year of her majesty's reign she discovered in the king of Spain an intention to invade her dominions, and that a principal point of the plot was to prepare a party within the realm that might adhere to this foreigner.

If the engagements off Calais and Gravelines had had a different issue, and Philip had landed on the Kentish shore, would he have found such a party in readiness? Probably many a country gentleman who had not brought into the country 'bulls, *Agnus Dei*, hallowed beads, and other merchandise of Rome,' ¹⁸ who had 'kept his conscience modestly to himself,' ¹⁹ and had not desired public office, was as unconscious as the writer of the 'Memorial,' of 'the great oppression endured by Catholiques,' of which Hopton talked. Many certainly shared his illogical loyalty. Did many also share his ignorance of a principle which had been pronounced *de fide*, and which had long been generally acquiesced in, theoretically at least, by western Christendom?

This speech [*i.e.* that of Hopton] (continues Anthony) did much amaze me, for the like tune had never sounded in mine eares before. I thought my ghostlie Father had onelie bene busied in Godlie meditations, prayer and workes of devotion, but when I observed that he beinge a subiect native of the Realme held privitie with the purpose of a Foraine Prince, at that tyme a professed enymie of this state, which could ayme at noe lesse then the ruine and subversion of the Prince and Kingdome, I must confesse it gave me great distaste. Yet after searchinge into this secrett I perceaved well that Hopton the Priestes approbation of the Spanishe intentions was not at randome, but by the book, for I understood at last that it was received for doctrine currant amongst the learned of that side that the Roman Bushope had a power in some cases to depose Princes from their kingdomes, withall to discharge the subjectes of Princes so deposed from all bond of allegiance and that subjectes so discharged were so farr freed from all rules of loyaltie and obedience as that with warrant of conscience they might endeavour to the uttermost of their abilities to further the execution of the Pope's answers against their deprived Princes; & lastlie this I learned to be the case of Queene Elizabeth that Princesse worthy of eternal memorie then raingninge against whom the sentence of deprivation had been pronounced by Pius V. ²⁰

Anthony, we see, begins by 'greate distaste' at this position, importing the supereminent power of the 'Roman Bushope over kings and kingdomes & subiectes oathes.' Feeling that 'this doctrine carried with it a mightie consequence,' he proceeds to ask by

¹⁷ Tract. Eliz. 36, 'The Execution of Justice in England for the Maintenance of Publique and Christian Peace' (*Somers Tracts*). ¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Letter of Walsingham to the French government, drawn up by Bacon.

²⁰ The bull drawn up in 1569, and made known to the malcontents in England in the following year.

'what warrant it might be established.' It is 'by reason of her servility to the Pope' that he at length 'begins to question the doctrine of the Church of Rome.' His ultimate protestantism is the outcome of his patriotism.

He looks in the New Testament for confirmation from the practice or words of Christ, the apostles, and the infant church of the papal claim to deposing power. If this principle was to be 'accepted on the credit of the Church alone,' how was the church defined? and by what warrant had it received a 'privilege to be free from erring'? To answer these two important questions Anthony, like a greater man of the Elizabethan age,²¹ set himself 'to ply the reading over the volumes of the Fathers of the Church & ecclesiastical writers, . . . and that with so great a vehemency of mind that he arrived at a very considerable knowledge therein;'—how considerable can be gathered from the marginal references and quotations in the 'Advice of a Sonne.' It is noteworthy that, obedient to the commands of his first teachers, he 'had recourse for the resolution of his doubts' only to 'the lawful pastores of the Catholique Roman Church.' In particular he resorted to that controversial armoury 'De Locis Theologicis,' the creation of the learned Spanish Dominican Melchior Canus,²² and to the writings of the good Polish bishop Stanislas Hosius,²³ especially the treatise 'De Loco et Autoritate Romani Pontificis in Ecclesia Christi et Conciliis.' From these writers Anthony learned that 'the Church that challenged this infallibilitie for direction in all points of faith was included within the compase of an assemblie of Bushopes & other pastores spirituall;' and further that such a general council can err unless it be convened and confirmed by the pope. So the infallibility of the church means the infallibility of a general council, and the infallibility of a council means the infallibility of the pope. The doctrine of deposing power rested, therefore, simply on the assertion of an infallible pope.

Anthony took one step further back. What proof was there that the pope was infallible? Again he turned to the New Testament. We presume that he had a license to read the Scriptures. He complains in the 'Advice of a Sonne' that a layman must needs obtain a permit for their exploration; but certainly he ignored the caution thereto appended against the use of private judgment in interpretation, although he appears dutifully to have read Bellarmine's 'De Interpretatione Verbi Dei.' He complains that he can find no proof that St. Peter alone out of the apostles was chosen to be 'the supreme pastor & ministerial head of this church on

²¹ Archbishop Parker.

²² Melchior Canus, 1523-60, a bitter opponent of the Jesuits, whom he denounced as antichrist in truly protestant fashion.

²³ Hosius's treatise on the *Origin of Heresies* was exceedingly popular in England under the name of *The Hatchet of Heresies*, a translation made by Richard Shacklock and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.

earth,' save certain 'texts miserable racked from their literall & proper sence,' and this though he has been told that the church, 'the true and infallible expounder of the Word of God,' did hold these texts as proofs and confirmations of the papal claims. It is characteristic of the man and of his time that he never dreams of the possibility of error in any passage of the written word, or alludes to the *a priori* argument for infallibility, so often urged by modern Romanists. Here are the passages of Scripture, there the interpretation attached to them by the church. But we have seen that the church in this connexion is a concrete assembly, the infallibility of whose decisions depends on their confirmation by the pope.²⁴ Therefore it is the pope who is *verus interpret verbi Dei*.²⁵ The pope's claim to infallibility rests on his own testimony, 'an evidence in common reason subject to suspicion.' No reflexion on the natural advisability that the church should be guided by a supreme infallible pastor enters Anthony's lawyer-like mind to help it to overcome this difficulty. 'When I found myself thus carryed about in a circle,' he exclaims, 'I suspected much that till then I had shaped my course by some false & uncertaine compass'—a prim, self-contained little sentence, which yet surely indicates a painful spiritual crisis. But if out of his course he had not lost his helm, and with undaunted courage he tried another tack.

Nevertheless, because I had heard them make great boast of Antiquitie I was willing to observe even from their owne collection whether this position of the Pope's not erring with a Counsell or alone judicallie defininge were knowne to any of the learned Fathers of the primitive Church.

He cannot discover that any of them had delivered this principle concerning the 'Roman Bushope's infallibilitie in cleare tearmes of doctrine to be received.' So he reviews their 'use & practice,' 'the clearest interpreter of their judgements' on this point. He finds that the Roman church was undoubtedly held in greater reverence than any other in the world²⁶ (1) 'in respect of the Cittie where was the seate of the Roman Monarchy;' (2) 'by reason of her Bushopes who for 200 years and more from her first

²⁴ The reference for this proposition is to Canus, *De Locis Theologicis*, lib. i cap. iv. (Conc. 1.)

²⁵ 'Papa cum Concilio est verus interpret verbi dei et non potest errare' is written in the margin of Hungerford's manuscript, with a reference to Bellarmine's *De Interpretatione*.

²⁶ Was Anthony thinking of the well-known, much-commented-on Latin translation of the passage in Irenaeus, *Adv. Haeres.*: 'Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorum principalem necessesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quae est ab Apostolis traditio'? And did he, in spite of his Roman training, take 'convenire' to mean 'to resort to,' not 'to agree with,' and 'necessesse est' to indicate a natural necessity, not a moral obligation? The possibility becomes probability in the light of the next sentence. Anthony was evidently acquainted with Irenaeus's list of Roman bishops, ending with Eleutherius, who died in 190.

foundation had bene learned, Godly, and renowned for their constant suffering for the Gospell of Christe.' But he also 'noted that there was not to be found any learned writer of the first and purest age but dissented²⁷ in some point of doctrine from the Roman Bushope living in their tymes.'

Was it credible that these holy men, had they 'believed for truth this position of the pope's infallibilitie,' would have carried themselves in so opposite a course of wilful contradiction, or that when battling with heretics they would have forborne 'to press this principle as the most likelie & compendious meane for reducing them to the Churches Unitie'? Yet neither Arians nor 'other Heretiques that sprunge up in the ages followinge were ever encountered . . . with an argument drawne from this pretended priviledge of the Roman Bushope.'

But what was precisely meant by the term 'infallibilitie'? Anthony turns to contemporary controversialists for a definition. A casual allusion shows that he read 'A Fortresse of the Faith,' by Stapleton,²⁸ 'whom Wood describes as the most learned controversialist of all his time;' and several references are made to the 'De Potestate Summi Pontificis' and the 'Disputationes de Controversiis Fidei adversus huius Temporis Haereticos' of Bellarmine, the brilliant and eloquent cardinal archbishop of Capua. He also read some of the 150 treatises of the cardinal's defender, Gretser;²⁹ the often reprinted and translated work 'Against Heresies' of the Spanish Franciscan, Alfonso de Castro,³⁰ who in the previous reign had accompanied Philip II to England; and the 'De Planctu Ecclesiae' of another but earlier Spanish Franciscan,³¹ Alvarez Pelagius, a pronounced ultramontanist. Next, pursuing the same plan of study which had led him to observe first the words, then the acts of Christ and his apostles, first the writings, then the practice of the fathers, he turns from the theories of papal apologists to the lives of the popes as revealed in histories of the early and medieval church. Once more we note that he did not consult protestant writers, but restricted himself to 'Historians of their owne.' These historians—Onufrius, whose 'De Primatu Petri et Apostolicae Sedis Potestate' was written against the Centuriators, Platina, author of the 'Opus de Vitis Summorum Pontificum ad Sixtum IV,' Guicciardini, the Florentine historian—sufficiently showed him that many a pope had erred *de facto* both in doctrine and in morals.

²⁷ Anthony quotes Cyprian against Stephanus on 'rebaptization.'

²⁸ Stapleton formulated a moderate theory as to the relations between the pope and civil governments, denying the papal right to dethrone for *civil* causes.

²⁹ Gretser (1561–1625) defended Bellarmine (1542–1621), *Adversus Pareum, Ruillum, Pappum, aliosque Calvinianos et Lutheranos Praedicantes Bellarmini calumniatores*, and again in his *Vindiciae Bellarminianae et Muricum Predicantium*.

³⁰ The complete works of Alfonso de Castro (1495–1558) were published at Paris, 1565.

³¹ Alvarez Pelagius was grand penitentiary to Pope John XXII at Avignon, and died in 1352; his *De Planctu Ecclesiae* was finished in 1332.

Papal apologists had found a way out of the difficulty by drawing a distinction between the 'Roman Bushope considered as a private person and as Head of the Universall Church,' so that a wicked or heretical man became *ex cathedra* 'an infallible and undoubted oracle;' but Anthony, plain and downright Englishman that he was, declared that 'he could not digest this miracle of their own making.' It is noteworthy that his definition of an *ex cathedra* utterance is almost identical with that of the Vatican decree, while he did not need that decree to tell him that 'the doctrine of the sovereign jurisdiction & the vertue to have infallibility for the Churches direction' was 'the mayne supporter of all religion in the Church of Rome.' Bossuet might class the question of papal infallibility among 'matters speculative and vain;' Keenan's 'Catechism' might declare it a 'protestant invention;' English Romanists might assure Mr. Pitt that they 'acknowledged no infallibility in the pope.' But to Anthony Hungerford in the sixteenth century it had grown 'very cleare that howsoever the writers of the Roman Church did pretend Scriptures, Councells, & antient Fathers—yet in plaine tearmes that when they say the Church cannot erre—they meane her head, that is the Roman Bushope.'

It will be necessary henceforth to chant 'I believe in the Pope,' instead of 'I believe in the Church,' said the French bishop Maret after the promulgation of the Vatican decree. Three centuries before it Anthony, referring to a yet earlier papal utterance, declared that he found that

quicumque salvus est, though otherwise rightlie he mainteynes all the principles of the Christian faith, must add this article of Pope Boniface³² to his creed, to professe his religion in communion with him & under his obedience.

To that article Anthony's patriotism forbade him to subscribe; for he was too clear-sighted not to perceive that out of the doctrine of infallibility springs naturally the claim to deposing power, which, in its turn, 'has begotten a monster of fearful & ugly feature, the treacherous killing of Christian Princes,' such as the assassinations, 'nowe fresh in memorie,' of Henry III and Henry IV of France. Hopton, the priest, had said truly that an infallible pope might certainly depose princes for the welfare of their subjects' souls, and might even go a step further, and pronounce sentence of death upon an obstinate and active heretic; and the Englishmen who fought

³² Boniface VIII, whose bull 'Unam Sanctam' (1303) was the first which fulfilled Bellarmine's definition of an *ex cathedra* decree—that it must (1) proclaim a general law, and (2) be addressed to the whole church. Anthony refers to the words, 'By the Catholic faith we are compelled to believe that there is one Holy Catholic Church, out of which there is no forgiveness of sins; and of this Church there is only one chief, to wit Christ, and his vicars and successors, by virtue of the commission to St. Peter conveyed in the words, "Feed my sheep."'

against the king of Spain, yet remained in communion with the church of Rome, were in a strange anomalous position.

Until now Anthony had been content, with the 'Collier'³³ commended by Hosius, to believe many things 'with the Church in grosse;' but since the 'authority of the church' meant simply the decision of an infallible pope, and papal infallibility appeared a non-proven and suspicious doctrine, Anthony's 'explicit belief' was at an end. He does not seem to have felt with Bellarmine that the doctrine of papal infallibility was the corner stone of Christianity; but he does hold that 'it is the stay of all religion in the papacy;' and

withall I called to mind what my Father had often delivered unto me by the way of serious & loving admonition charging me upon his blessing as I should answer for my soule at the dreadful day of accompt, that I should not condemne the religion mayntained by authoritie within the Realme before I knew it and that I should not refuse with a minde free of prejudice at the least to heare or reade what might be alleadged for it.

Hitherto Anthony had been deaf to this admonition, and had consulted only Roman teachers, but now

I determind to applie myself to reading & conferrance with some persons learned of either side comparing all statements with the evident testimonie of Godes sacred worde. . . In which course the farther I waded the more I misliked the Doctrine of the Church of Rome.

Anthony does not tell us the names of the learned of either side with whom he conferred, nor when he made 'profession of the true Religion at this present established in the Church of England.' But we do know that the match with the 'gentleman's daughter of the countrie,' about which he consulted Hopton, did not take place, and that it was not till 1595 that he married his cousin Lucy, daughter of Sir Walter Hungerford, of Farley Castle, and widow of Mr. John St. John; and we may perhaps conclude that his self-prescribed course of patient theological study covered the seven intervening years. The statement that he called to mind what his father had often delivered to him probably indicates that his conference with the learned of either side did not begin till after Sir Anthony Hungerford's death in 1594, and certainly shows that he was not living under the parental roof. We must suppose, therefore, that he had already settled in that quiet home in the upper valley of the Thames where his children were born, and where in due course the 'Memorial of a Father' and the 'Advice of a

³³ The Collier's Creed ('Foi du Charbonnier') was proverbial. There were various versions of the story; the simplest represents the ignorant 'carbonarius' as routing the devil by the steadfast assertion, 'I believe what the Church believes.' Hosius (*De Auctor. Sacr. Script.* lib. iii.) quotes this story as an illustration of the foolishness of trying to confute the devil from the Word of God.

Sonne' were written.³⁴ A reference in the latter to the work of Suarez, 'Contra Anglicanae Sectae Errores,' which James I ordered to be burnt as subversive of the authority of princes, and a quotation in the former from that monarch's reply to Bellarmine, show that neither treatise was composed before the second decade of the seventeenth century; while in a preface to the 'Memorial,' dated 1627,³⁵ Anthony states that 'it is now divers years since I penned this shorte relation.'

This preface is too characteristic of the writer to be omitted.

It is now divers years since I penned this shorte relation following the which I kept by me with purpose when I should take my farewell of the world to leave as my memoriall to my Children: But my kind good friend Maister Doctor Clayton³⁶ being lately with me and having casually a sight of it, persuaded me with many reasons to make it publick; whereunto I assented, principally from this motive, to make knowne God's great mercy in this worke with me: Whose goodnesse, as I am bound to acknowledge in many blessings of this life, so much more in this. For the fairest comforts the Earth affords, though as they come from God they are exceeding good, yet many times to the possessors, by reason of their ill use of them they prove but deluding dreames. They are bona bonis and mala malis. But a right understanding and practise of our duty to God, doth conduct us in a calme through the greatest stormes and adventures of this world to a Life of rest and everlasting felicity.

From my house at Blackbourton
this 7th of Aprill 1627.

The following June *quicquid mori potuit egregii viri Domini Anthonii Hungerford* was laid in the chancel of the village church. Another Anthony, the eldest child of Sarah Wiseman—*coniux sua secunda et dilectissima*—reigned at Blackbourton in his father's stead, and raised a monument above his parents' grave. Under his father's name, with pious filial pride, he wrote the words—

In Memoria Aeterna erit Justus.

But perhaps Anthony himself would have preferred the motto inscribed on the tomb of his uncle Sir Walter Hungerford at Farley Castle—

'Tyme Tryeth Truth.'

LAURA M. ROBERTS.

³⁴ The site of the Hungerford house may still be traced in the meadow at the east end of the church of Blackbourton, a retired village between Alvescot and Bampton, in Oxfordshire.

³⁵ The preface, like the rest of the 'Memorial,' is in a thoroughly Elizabethan hand. Anthony wrote, as he was taught in his young days, a clean, small, distinct, compact hand, strikingly different from the loose straggling writing of his son Edward, some of whose letters are of the same date as the preface to the 'Memorial.'

³⁶ Perhaps the master of Pembroke College and regius professor of physic in the University of Oxford.