

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF  
ANTHONY CADE, B.D.,  
VICAR OF BILLESDON, 1599—1639

by

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“In this place the great Duke of Buckingham was at school, nor was he ashamed of the circumstance; passing through this place he related the story to a gentleman, his companion, with some pleasantry”.<sup>1</sup> The source of this anecdote is not revealed, but its content is authenticated by the life of George Villiers written by his contemporary, Sir Henry Wotton: “He was nurtured where he had been born, in his first Rudiments, till the year of ten; and then sent to Billesdon School, in the same County, where he was taught the principles of Musick, and other slight Literature, till the thirteenth year of his age”.<sup>2</sup> The Villiers family seat at Brooksby was ten miles across country from Billesdon: why was the young George sent to school there, rather than to Leicester or Melton Mowbray? The answer lies in the unusual ability of the then vicar of Billesdon, Anthony Cade. “I *ever* accounted it a great blessing of God, and it is *still* the ioy of my heart to record”, Cade wrote many years later, “that in my stronger yeeres I was thought worthy to be employed in the trayning vp of some *Nobles*, and many other yong *Gentlemen* of the best sort . . . in the Learned Tongues, Mathematicall Arts, Musicke, and other both *Diuine* and *Humane* Learning; and that Many of them haue since risen to great places and dignities in our Church and Common wealth”.<sup>3</sup>

The outline of his early life has been preserved in the archives of the University of Cambridge. Born at Ollerton, Nottinghamshire, in 1564, of parents in moderate circumstances, he went to school there, and later to Mansfield Grammar School. Aged 17, he went up to Caius College, Cambridge, as a sizar, taking his B.A. in 1585 and his M.A. in 1588. An ordination testimonial from the Master of the College, Thomas Legge, states that “his life and conversation hath bene amongst us very honest, quiet, and civill, for the space of seaven whole yeares and more, and his learning alwayes accounted very sufficient, and answearable with the best of his degree and calling”.<sup>4</sup> Under the influence of this Master, Caius at this time was a notorious haven for recusants. Archbishop Sandys of York wrote: “All the popish gentlemen in this country send their sons to him”. Of Cade’s contemporaries, nineteen became Roman priests, and over twenty others were recusant laymen.<sup>5</sup> Cade seems to have reacted against this influence; nor is there any evidence that he fell under the spell of Lancelot Andrewes, whose lectures on the Ten Commandments were attracting great numbers of undergraduates during Cade’s period of residence. If anything, he belonged to the opposing camp, of orthodox Calvinism.<sup>6</sup>

On going down he spent eight years at Skeffington; at first, this can only have been as tutor to the young Skeffingtons of Skeffington Hall. He was ordained deacon and priest in 1593, then becoming curate of the parish, a post he held until February 1600. In 1597, aged 33, he obtained his first living when Lord Cromwell, great-grandson of Henry VIII's minister and the owner of Launde Abbey, presented him to the benefice of Allextton, where he was instituted on 15 December.<sup>7</sup> Two years later he proceeded to the degree of B.D., and the same year was presented by Thomas Skeffington to the living of Billesdon, the institution taking place on 19 June.<sup>8</sup> Cade held the two parishes in plurality, residing at Billesdon and putting in his younger brother, Thomas, as curate at Allextton.<sup>9</sup> The parish of Billesdon also included the two hamlets of Goadby and Rolleston, which were looked after by Robert Drayton, the schoolmaster at Goadby.<sup>10</sup> Thus Cade himself was left with plenty of time for his tutorial work. It was thus in 1602 that George Villiers arrived at Billesdon vicarage.

Little is known of Cade's activities during his early years at Billesdon. In 1607 an archidiaconal visitation produced these comments:

*Walls and floor of church out of repair. Also churchyard — the part wh. belongs to Rowston.*

*Poor man's box wanting, cover for comm<sup>n</sup> table, cover for font, table of degrees . . .*

*The parish clarke is very ould, &c . . .*<sup>10</sup>

A pleasant font-cover, still in use, may well be the result of this censure. The same year, for no obvious reason, Cade incorporated as M.A. at Oxford, and in 1608 he presented his brother Thomas to the living of Hallaton (South Mediety), of which he had obtained the patronage for one turn. Thomas was three years younger than Anthony, and followed a very similar career at Cambridge. He had married and had two children, Thomas and Mary, both baptized at Billesdon. He remained at Hallaton until his death in 1627, when Anthony was charged with the duty of inducting his successor. From 1608 onwards Allextton was staffed by young curates, John Andrews until 1613, thereafter Malachi Crosley, each ordained to this title.<sup>10</sup> Bishop Barlow's visitation of 1611 gives us a further glimpse of Cade as he appeared to his churchwardens:

*2. Our minister is a preacher licensed by the University of Cambridge, and preacheth ordinarily every Saboth unrepably: 3. he hath another benefice at Allextton, where he maintayneth a preacher: 4. he hath obtayned this benefice lawfully, and liveth unblameably: 5. studieth painfully: and is free from base worldly affayres: 6. No market man: But a preserver of all decency and good orders, and a diligent performer of these and the following articles without offence . . .*

*Our Church is furnished with the books, ornaments and other necessaries required in the Articles, well repayred and maintayned, and the Churchyard also.*

*Wee have no glebe land belonging to the vicaridge (and therefore can make no terrier). No thing is decayed belonging to the vicaridge, but all things much bettered by the present Incumbent . . .*<sup>11</sup>

This year was marked by an outbreak of the plague in Billesdon.

On 7 February 1613, now aged 48, Cade married Alice Bale (*née* Cooper), a 34-year-old widow from Thurmaston, then living with her in-laws at Saddington.<sup>12</sup> The Cades had two daughters, Elizabeth, born the following year, and Grace three years later. The year of their marriage was marred by the murder of young John Skeffington, the last of the line. The circumstances of "this unfortunate event" are recounted by Nichols<sup>13</sup>; it evoked from Cade a Latin poem consisting of five lines, each of five words, which can be read either horizontally or vertically with identical results:

SKEFFINGTON	<i>terris</i>	<i>defecit</i>	<i>nobile</i>	<i>nomen</i>
<i>Terris</i>	<i>praeclarum</i>	<i>quondam</i>	<i>solamen</i>	<i>honoris,</i>
<i>Defecit</i>	<i>quondam</i>	<i>patriae</i>	<i>dulcissima</i>	<i>gemma.</i>
<i>Nobile</i>	<i>solamen,</i>	<i>dulcissima</i>	<i>gemma</i>	<i>Britannis,</i>
<i>Nomen</i>	<i>honoris,</i>	<i>gemma</i>	<i>Britannis</i>	<i>irreparanda,</i>

In spite of the academic nature of this composition, Cade describes himself as *lachrymis immersus* — "drowned in tears"; doubtless he was genuinely attached to this ill-fated family. John Skeffington was the same age as George Villiers, and was probably one of the "young gentlemen of the best sort". In 1614 the new bishop of Lincoln, Richard Neile, held a visitation, and Cade was appointed to preach the sermon on the second day. The Chancellor of the diocese reported:

*Text, Hosea 9.9. They are deeply sett, they are corrupt as in the day of Gibeah, he will remember their Iniquity, he wil visit their Sins.*

*A plane sermon, but one thing not so wel approved, vizt: That the Precher ought to particularise the faultes of his Parishioners in the pulpit. This days conference was to no great purpose.*<sup>14</sup>

In 1617 John Cade, "an aged man", was buried at Billesdon, and may well have been Anthony's father, whose name was John.

Up to this point there has been little to distinguish Cade from many another of his contemporaries. But George Villiers had now become the favourite of James I, and he had not forgotten his old tutor. He showed some of his writings to the king, who was much impressed, and then introduced him in person.<sup>15</sup> Not content with this demonstration of affection, Buckingham proceeded, as Cade reveals, to offer him preferment:

*Right Honourable, Your goodness continually practised in your greatnesse, to the benefit of many, bindes all highly to honour you, and account you as a Conduit ordayned of God to conueigh many benefites from his Royall Maiesty vpon inferiours. Among which your Honourable kindnesse to me, in prouiding for me, without my sute or knowledge, a right famous and noble place, to rayse my fortunes, and exercise my Ministry in, (the like whereof many haue sought with great sute, cost, and labor, and haue not found) deserueth all thankfulness that can bee imagined, much more then can bee performed.*

What this "noble place" was, cannot now be ascertained; in any event, Cade declined the offer.

*But feeling my selfe too weake for the greatnesse of that place (not for my doctrine, the soundness & wholesomnesse whereof I am ready to testifie and iustifie, if need require, with my bloud) but by the weaknesse of my voyce, not able to reach the halfe of that spacious Church and numerous people, I humbly pray your Honour to take without offence my Refusall, and my hartly desire that that great and worthy Congregation may be furnished with a man of a stronger voyce and better sides (i.e. lung power), who may doe there much more good then my selfe: who in my declining yeares must rather affect a more retired life, and a charge more possible to be performed with better satisfaction to my selfe and to Gods people.<sup>16</sup>*

In actual fact, Cade had still over twenty years to live, and was about to achieve some measure of public recognition of his qualities. The sentences just quoted are taken from the *Epistle Dedicatorie* of his first published work, which appeared in 1618. It is a sermon preached at a function in Leicester known as the Ordinary Monthly Lecture, "intermitted" by Bishop Barlow in 1611,<sup>17</sup> and revived by 1614, *whereunto . . . resorted (by occasion) many learned Iuditious Gentlemen, whose presence, together with the Concourse of many learned Ministers . . . required matter of more then ordinary worth and learning. To satisfie whom, he admonishes the reader, If I haue layd the grounds of my Sermon more Schoole-like then thou thinkest fitte for the country, bear with mee, now thou knowest the occasion.<sup>18</sup>* He adds that he has enlarged the sermon to ground men more strongly against *Innouators* and to oppose the spreading of those opinionate & fansifull younglings, who drawing bad iuyce from Arminius and Vorstius, beginne to bud and blossome in our Academie, whence nothing but good and wholesome food should be brought into the Country. He appeals to all good men to put to their hands to repress all such hurtfull growing innouations, disquieting, distracting, and disgracing the peace and beauty of our Church, to the offence and hazarding of many Soules.

The vexed question of predestination and free-will was very much in the air at the time, and the teachings of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609) were formally condemned by the Synod of Dort that very year. Conrad Vorstius was the author of a *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo* which was controverted by James I, and publicly burnt in 1611. Although Cambridge had been accustomed to controversy on this matter since Peter Baro began lecturing there in 1574, Arminius's own doctrines had been widely disseminated only since 1614, so that Cade was well abreast of the theological current of his time.<sup>6</sup>

The sermon bears the title *Saint Paules Agonie*, and is described by the publisher in the running titles as "a very moving and feeling sermon". The text is Romans 7.24: *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?*, and the sermon is set out under the following heads:

1. *The irregular motions of Lust, though not yeilded vnto, are sinne.*
2. *This sinne remayneth in the Regenerate.*
3. *The Regenerate doe see and feele their sinnes, more then other men.*
4. *Sinne is the onely thing that grieues the Regenerate.*

5. *The true feeling of our sinnes, will make vs earnestly seeke for a remedie.*

The first two heads develop the teaching of Article IX, *Of Original or Birth-sin*. All five heads are deduced from Romans, chapter 7; and Cade argues that what is true of St. Paul is true of all God's children. The final prayer is worth quoting in full:

*Lord make vs sensible of all our wants & corruptions, that there be no sinne in vs, which wee doe not see and feele by thy light and grace, and labour to mortifie it, and to hate it as the greatest euil in the world, that it may be as vnpleasant vnto vs as it is vnto thee, and that we may heartily seeke a remedy, and with all thankfulness embrace it, and growe dayly in grace and all holy vertues, till we become perfect men in Jesus Christ, to the glory of thy great name, the assurance of our adoption, the adorning of our profession, the good and comfort of others, and the eternall comfort of our own soules.*

Cade displays a wide range of reading, including Chemnicus, Azorius, Gregorius de Valentia ("a famous Iesuite"), "Tolet", and Bellarmine among Roman writers, and the Anglicans Morton and White. As we shall see, these authors were well represented in his library.

Two years later Cade followed up this success with another striking sermon. Two eminent judges, Sir Henry Hobart and Sir Edward Bromley, visited Leicester to hold Assizes, and the High Sheriff for that year, John Cave of Pickwell, invited Cade to preach the Assize Sermon. At the request of the two judges and many others of those who heard it, this sermon was also printed. It had the title *A Sermon of the nature of Conscience, which may well be termed, A Tragedy of Conscience in her, First, a Wakning; Secondly, Wrastling; Thirdly, Scourging*, and for its text Matthew 27, verses 3 - 5, Judas' repentance and suicide. *I haue sometime drawne out of this Text*, he informs the judges, *conuenient matter for a countrey Congregation: But in hope it will affoord better and fitter matter for this more worthy assembly, I haue selled my thoughts and meditations vpon it againe*. The treatment is dictated by the occasion. He begins by analyzing the character and actions of Judas under three heads:

<i>Protasis.</i>	The Awaking of Conscience.	Verse 3a.
<i>Epitasis.</i>	The Conflict of Conscience.	Verses 3b & 4.
<i>Catastrophe.</i>	The Scourge of Conscience.	Verse 5

The preacher then makes various applications of this material to the law courts of justice. He highly commends the Assize system:

*that we are not compelled to seeke for [justice] many costly myles, but may . . . haue our witnesses & controuersies heard at home at our owne doores, and that in most honourable publike and solemne manner, twise in the yeare (besides inferior Sessions) . . .*

He utters "A *Caueat* to the Inferior ministers of the Law, especially to Lawyers", enlarging upon three particular scandals: first, bad causes maintained against the innocent; secondly, honest suits drawn out to great length and costliness; and thirdly, lawyers who become "Scare-babes and Bug-bearers to their Innocent neighbours, vsing the Lawes for traps & snares

to catch and entangle the vnwary". Conscience is compared to a book in the soul, and recommended in preference to consulting a lawyer:

*Thy booke is then from the best Authour, able to counsell the Counsellors: & it is thy readiest, cheapest, & faithfulest Counsellor: thou mayst have him at home without a iourney, without wayting, heare what thou desirest without a Fee: ponder vpon it, and confer with him again at thy leasure & pleasure.*

Sin, on the other hand, is like the new-Italian poysons, which (men say) goe downe insensibly, and peradventure sweetly: & will be sometime ere they worke, or be felt: but at the last they bring remedlesse death.

Meanwhile, another visitation had taken place: in 1619 the visitor reported on Billesdon church:

*The Church wanteth whiteing & newe Sentences of Scripture.*

*A seate att the upper end of the north Ile is unborded in the Botham & an ill fashioned one.*

*Some part of the walls on the north side want pargetting. (i.e. plastering).*

*Their Byble is insufficient.*

*The South porch wanteth slating.*

*The west side of the churchyard especially the Southwest corner is out of repair.*

*It also wanteth some of the covering stones on the East side near unto the gate theare.*

*They want a flagon for the wine.*

*The chauncell wanteth whiteing.*

*It wanteth pargetting etc. all over.*

*The leads are insufficient.<sup>19</sup>*

Notes in the margin report that a new flagon was bought in November of the same year for 25s., and that Thomas Cade appeared on 4 December, and certified that all the necessary work had been carried out.

A new benefactor now enters the scene in the person of John Williams, who became bishop of Lincoln in 1621. At this time he was very close to the duke of Buckingham, and it was probably at Buckingham's request that he made over to Cade the living of Grafton Underwood, near Kettering. In order to be able to accept this, Cade had to resign from the benefice of Allexton.<sup>20</sup> Presumably it was a change for the better from the financial point of view: he thanks the bishop for

*furnishing me with increase of means, both to live in better sort without want (and thereby without contempt), and especially to furnish me with many useful books of all kinds and sides: in perusing, examining, and extracting the quintessence whereof, is my daily labour and my greatest worldly contentment.<sup>3</sup>*

After this brief period of recognition, Cade seems to have relapsed into obscurity for some years. In 1628 he was invited by the Mayor and Corporation of Leicester to examine John Angel, a candidate for the position of Master of the Free School. On his recommendation, Mr. Angel was accepted, with the promise of a rise in salary of £10 *per annum*. The

following year, as this increment had not been forthcoming, a number of petitions were sent to the Mayor on Mr. Angel's behalf, including a long and eloquent letter from Cade. The plea was successful, and Mr. Angel was awarded his £10.<sup>21</sup> Encouraged by this favourable result, Cade also wrote to the Mayor to beg a place in the Bedehouse (*i.e.* Trinity Hospital) for a parishioner, Hugh Marlow,

*whom I have known above these thirty yeares a true, honest, & paynfull labourer, vntil now that Age, weaknes, and lamenes have disabled him: he carries a thankful hart, and a good tonge, & is fayr conditioned, & hath thus long lived vnblameably and with the good love of his neighbours, and vndoubtedly will deserve of him selfe your love & liking; if the Interest of my love may procure him admittance. Places fall not every day: but if it may please you to insert his name in your booke, and reserve a place for him when it falles: you shall make both him and mee your Beedsmen . . .*<sup>22</sup>

This letter seems to have been less effective, as the Billesdon registers show that "Hugh Marlow, an ould laboring man", was buried there in 1635. Cade had married him at Skeffington in 1594.

We saw that in his undergraduate days Cade was surrounded by Romish recusants, and the early years of Charles I's reign saw a general recrudescence of papist activity. Even some of Cade's young gentlemen were "seduced or drawn to embrace the present religion of the Papacy".<sup>3</sup> At Billesdon there was one obdurate family named Worshipp: William and Dorothy had been married in church in 1602, and their daughter Catherine was baptized there a year later; but in 1626 Cade reported:

*There bee no Recusants in our towne of Billesdon, nor any that have not received the Communion orderly at this last Easter time, except onely Mrs Worship wife of William Worship, who have nether come to ye Church nor received the Communion all this yeare: and their daughter Catherine Worship, who cometh often to our Church, but received not the Communion.*<sup>23</sup>

Catherine was what was called a "halfe Recusant"; she married one William Curtis, gentleman, and they had two little girls, both baptized and buried according to the rites of the Church of England. Nevertheless, old Mrs. Worshipp and the two Curtises still stood excommunicated in 1637. To counter the spread of Roman ideas, Cade produced his *magnum opus*, published in 1630 under the comprehensive title:

*A Justification of the Church of England, demonstrating it to be a true Church of God, affording all sufficient meanes to Salvation. Or, A Countercharme against the Romish enchantments, that labour to bewitch the people, with opinion of necessity to be subject to the Pope of Rome. Wherein is briefly shewed the Pith and Marrow of the principall bookes written by both sides, touching this matter: with marginall reference to the Chapters and Sections, where the points are handled more at large, to the great ease and satisfaction of the Reader.*

This admirably summarizes both the thesis and the method of the work. It makes no claims to originality, but presents a thorough and clearly

arranged digest of the leading authors of the day: on the Roman side, chiefly Baronius and Bellarmine; on the Anglican, the list is naturally longer, and is divided by Cade himself into three classes. Among *Bishops* he draws on Andrewes, Jewel, Morton, Ussher, and White; his *Doctors* include Abbott, Bilson, Downham, Fulke, Reynolds, Whitaker, Field, Favour, White, and Prideaux; and the list ends with three notable *Divines*, Foxe, Perkins, and Hooker. The book is cast in the form of an argument between a Protestant Minister and a Roman Catholic, named *Antiquissimus* and *Antiquus* respectively. The treatment of the subject is set out in a lengthy Table of Contents, and the matter is divided into Chapters, Sections, Subsections, and Paragraphs to aid reading, memorizing, and quick reference, or, as he puts it, "view and carrying away". Evidently he was a most methodical and efficient teacher with a real talent for organizing his material. A note to the Reader warns him that

*The Stile in Treatises of this nature is not required to be Rhetoricall to please the eare, or as Sweetmeates to delight the Taste; but Scholasticall, Logicall, or Theological, that is intelligible and significant to informe the vnderstanding, and conuict the conscience. Which if it performe, It is all that I affect, or thou maiest in reason expect in such a worke.*

Probably as a result of the publication of this book, Cade received an invitation from Bishop Williams, to whom it is dedicated, to visit him at his palace at Buckden in Huntingdonshire. This visit was evidently the high point of Cade's life, and his account of it must be quoted in full.

*Right Reverend Father in God, I have often with great comfort related among my friends what I observed about five yeares agoe at my being at Buckden (an ancient house belonging to the Bishoprick of Lincoln) how bare, naked, and ruinous I had seen it in former times, and now worthily repaired and adorned by your Lordship: The cloisters fairly pargetted and beautified with comely compartments and inscriptions of wise counsels and sentences; the windows enriched with costly pictures of Prophets, Apostles, and holy Fathers; and beyond all, the Chappell for Gods immediate service, most beautifully furnished with new Seats, Windows, Altar, Bibles, and other sacred books costly covered, clasped, and embossed with silver, and gilt with gold; with Bason, Candlesticks, and other vessels all of bright shining silver; and with stately Organs curiously coloured, gilded, and enameled: no cost spared to set forth the dignity of that house dedicated to Gods worship: And the whole service therein performed with all possible reverence and devout behaviour of your own person, and all the assembly; and with the organs of sweet ravishing angelicall voices and faces of young men, lifting up with heavenly raptures all the hearers and beholders hearts to heaven, and enforcing me to think and meditate, When such things are found on earth in the Church Militant, Oh what unconceivable joyes shall we finde in heaven, in the Church Triumphant! . . . I did also ordinarily speak among my friends of the government of your great house, with all subjection and gravity; and of your hospitalitie (such as S. Paul prescribes to Bishops) entertaining your numerous*

*guests with bountifull provision, and feasting them with variety and plenty of all good things, (but with exemplary sobriety in your own person) and with wise, learned and religious discourse, as wholesome for their souls, as your meats for their bodies . . .*<sup>24</sup>

Not long after, the bishop appointed him to preach at a Visitation, the first held by William Warr after his appointment as Archdeacon of Leicester, which took place in St. Mary-[de-Castro] on 11 October 1631.<sup>25</sup> The bishop had informed Cade in private conversation that his

*desire was, to have the Consciences of all people (preachers and others) in [his] Diocesse, rightly informed, and soundly convicted of the lawfulness, and perswaded to the practice of the established service of God, with the Rites and Ceremonies of our happily Reformed Church; and that [him] selfe would leade them the way, and give them a fair example.*<sup>24</sup>

Cade was delighted to hear this, and naturally made it the subject of his sermon. The title was *A Sermon necessary for these times, shewing the nature of Conscience . . .* and the text Romans 2.15: *Which (Gentiles) show the work of the Law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile (or, between themselves) accusing or else excusing one another.* It is divided into three parts, the first (expounding "the work of the Law written in their hearts") reverting to the simile of the Book in the Soul which he had used in his Assize Sermon. In the second part ("their conscience also bearing witness") he deals with the very topical issue of the puritan conscience in relation to the ceremonies of the Church of England. After asking the questions *Doth erring conscience binde?* and *May a Christian Prince urge his subjects to observe such ceremonies in God's service, as he knows to be lawful, though some subjects think them unlawfull, or doubt of their lawfulness?*, and answering them both in the affirmative, he discusses what is to be done when Prince and Conscience are in conflict, and reaches the conclusion that the conscience must be reformed. He then proceeds to make practical suggestions, first to the Magistrates:

1. *That great care be taken for amending the Law-book of Conscience; that is for better information of the erring, and resolution of the doubting Conscience . . .*

2. *That the scrupulous be not too hardly dealt withall upon any sudden proceeding: for they sinne not willingly, but of a pious humilitie and fearfulnessse to offend God, and therefore are much to be pitied, and better instructed.*

This sentence clearly reveals Cade's sympathetic understanding of the Puritan mentality: it might almost have come from the pen of Richard Baxter.

3. *That compulsion or punishment be not hastened so long as there appeares a desire and godly endeavour to be better informed. But*

4. *These things being first well performed, first sufficient information offered, secondly a tender usage of the parties, and thirdly a convenient time given to settle the Conscience; men not yeelding may be accounted refractarie and obstinate, rather than tender-conscienced . . .*

and as such deserve punishment. To the people, he points out that, first, we have had wise sovereigns; secondly, their "constitutions" are scriptural and ancient; thirdly, our ceremonies are approved "by the most excellent Divines of forrein reformed Churches"; and fourthly, our Church has been continually blessed as no other reformed Church has. To deal with the present situation, he recommends

1. *Much hearing and reading of the word of God . . .*
2. *Learned, diligent, and conscionable preachers . . .*
3. *That the hearers be well catechized in the grounds of Religion . . .*
4. *Some ancient and learned men, and long students, such as have read the ancient Fathers, and Ecclesiasticall histories, to shew the rites and ceremonies (beside the doctrine) of the ancient Primitive Church in the best and purest times. You may heare with much profit and comfort all Preachers, even the youngest in their freshest wits, memory, and strength, for points of salvation, taught in the holy Scriptures, within their reading, and compasse of studies: but for rites and ceremonies trust onely the graver and well-read Divines, which have searched Antiquity.*

In Part III ("their thoughts accusing, or else excusing") he draws a vivid picture of a deadened conscience, and brings the sermon to an end by commending means "to procure and preserve a good Conscience". Every morning we should consider the business, company, and temptations of the ensuing day, and every night search our conscience and judge ourselves. When Sunday approaches, we should look back

*that if we finde all well, we may blesse God for it; if any thing still amisse, reconcile our selves to God more throughly. And these things we should renew and perform most exactly in our preparation to the holy Communion.*

The example is quoted of the young Lord Harington, who used to keep a catalogue of his sins, and review it daily, weekly, and monthly, *and the day before the receiving of the holy Communion, he alwayes humbled himself with fasting, prayer, and confession.* Although Cade quotes this instance from Daniel Dyke's *The Mystery of Selfe-Deceiving*, published in 1615, Harington may have been known to him personally, as his seat was at Exton, in Rutland; indeed, he may have been one of Cade's *Nobles*. He died of small-pox in 1614, aged 21. The sermon is furnished with a *brief Appendix at the end, fitter for young preachers to reade at home, then for people to heare from the pulpit*, it was written *specially to such younger and poorer ministers, as either are not able or willing to purchase many costly books of this subject, or not at leisure to reade them.* Cade defends the four ceremonies which most offended the Puritan conscience: kneeling for communion, the sign of the cross in baptism, the wedding ring, and the surplice. It is the most interesting of Cade's published works to the modern reader, and also enjoyed some success in its time, being reprinted in 1639, three years after the first edition, and again in 1661, during the great debate on ceremonies at the Restoration.

Cade's family life had been greatly altered by two events. In 1630 his elder daughter, Elizabeth, had died at the age of fifteen, and two

years later the younger, Grace, married John Lynn, of Southwick Hall, near Oundle. She was just fifteen and he was nearly eighteen. It would be most appropriate that one of Cade's *young Gentlemen of the best sort* should have married his daughter, and all the evidence points to this pleasing conclusion. They had eleven children, only five of whom grew up. Anthony and Alice Cade from then on were alone in the vicarage.

A further inspection of Billesdon Church in 1633 revealed that Cade's visit to Buckden had not led to any effort to beautify his own place of worship on similar lines:

*The Buttris on the Northside the Chancell in decaie.*

*The Walls of the outside the Chancell in manie places in decaie, specialle on the Southside, & want pointing throughout.*

*The East window of the Chancell in some decaie in glasse.*

*The inside of the Chancell wants whitening & playstereing & painting.*

*The Communion table is old, mangled & indecent, a new one to be provided.*

*A new Book of Common Prayer to be provided tempore Caroli Regis.*

*The booke of Homilies wanting, to be provided.*

*The Register booke beginneth but 1599. They say they have in-deavour'd but cannott have it supplied.*

*The Windowes of the Church especially on the Northside in decaie in the glasse.*

*The Churchwall on the Northside neare the Northeast corner in decaie, and in the foundation of the wall.*

*The Church wants whitening.*

*The table for the degrees of marriage wanting.*

*The north part of the Church in decaie in the stonework.*

*The south door of the Church not sufficient having crackes & holes in it.<sup>26</sup>*

Steps were evidently taken to remedy these deficiencies, though no account of them survives, as the inspection of 1639 only comments:

*The windowes of the Steeple want boarding.*

*Erasmus paraphrase & the booke of canons are wanting.<sup>26</sup>*

The well-known Metropolitan Visitation of Archbishop Laud in 1635 resulted in the production for the first time of a Terrier for Billesdon. This engaging document sets out, *inter alia*, the exact procedure to be observed in paying tithe, with full instructions for cases when there are less than ten lambs, pigs, or swarms of bees. It also reveals that the vicarage then contained *seven bays of buildings with chambers, and seven bays more without chambers*.

In 1633, at the suggestion of Bishop Williams, the Leicester Town Library had been moved from the chancel of St. Martin's to the Guildhall; and in 1636 the bishop invited all the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Leicester to contribute books of their own to augment the Library. Cade presented twelve volumes, each inscribed:

*Bibliothecae publicae Leicestrensi hunc tomum cum caeteris dedit  
Antonius Cadus, Vicarius de Billesdon.*

Ten of the twelve volumes, which are still in the Guildhall, are works by Spanish Jesuits, of which he had made good use in his printed writings, though it is hard to believe that they would have much interest for the burgesses of Leicester. Some of the books were bought from William Morton, a preacher in Leicester, and the prices paid ranged from 24s. to 1d. In one, an unknown hand has added after Cade's name the words *Vir pius, probus, doctus* ("a devout, upright, learned man"). The same year saw the publication, after five years delay, of his Visitation Sermon of 1631. He had given it to a friend, after many requests for *copies or the publication, to procure the printing: but my friend unfriendly kept it in his own or his friends hands so long, that till the end of this last yeare I could not get my copie again.*<sup>24</sup>

Cade was now past the normal span of life; in 1638 his wife Alice died, aged 59, and Robert Drayton ended his long service as curate of Goadby, whether by death or resignation is not known. The story draws to its close. On 17 January 1639 a note in the Billesdon register records:

*Anthony Cade Bachelour of Divinity having continued Vicar of Billesdon 38 yeares, and ready to depart thence, called the Churchwardens and overseers of the poor of that towne together, and delivered unto them thirteene pounds six shillings and eightpence, to be put to use upon sufficient bonds to rayse twenty shillings yearly for the use therof, which xx<sup>s</sup> the Churchwardens in every yeare shall divide and distribute to the poore of the town of Billesdon every yeare then beeing, according to their discretion.*

With later additions, this gift enabled the churchwardens to buy a field which is still known as *Poor's Close*, and the charity continues to be distributed to this day, the yearly income being, of course, greatly increased. According to Cade's will,<sup>27</sup> the distribution was to take place on the day of The Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (2 February), but this detail seems to have been lost sight of. Shortly after, having resigned his two livings, he went to live with Grace and John Lynn at Southwick Hall. He was then 75, and after two years of retirement, he died there, and was buried in the chancel of the church, beneath a tablet bearing the simple inscription:

*Here lyeth the body of that Reverend, Learned and Pious Mr Anthony Cade. Buried July the 6th, 1641.*

His portrait, painted at the age of 63, now hangs in Caius College, and shows a shrewd but kindly face.<sup>28</sup> It is a pity that he tells us so little of his parochial work. A chance reference to *private school-catechizings on Fridays*<sup>3</sup> is all that can be gleaned. Even the sermon on ceremonies tells us absolutely nothing about the services at Billesdon. He was in some ways a typical country parson of his time, conservative alike in his Calvinist theology and his reluctance to introduce Laudian furnishings, however much he might admire them elsewhere. On the other hand, various references to country ministers and congregations suggest that he appreciated the opportunity of addressing better-educated hearers when the chance came his way. He was untypical alike in his connections with the nobility and in his diligent reading, which he kept well up to date at least to the

age of 70. His Visitation Sermon was accepted for publication by the Cambridge University Press. Thus he was too gifted and too successful to provide an example of the rank-and-file country parson of the Jacobean and Caroline period, though not a sufficiently original thinker or preacher to attract the attention of posterity outside his own county. It is clear that he was a skilful and devoted tutor, and that he won for himself a position of considerable standing in both town and county of Leicester. What is perhaps the most remarkable aspect of his character is his quick reaction to the successive theological currents of his day: Arminianism, Roman Catholicism, and Puritanism. Each of these deviations is criticized from an orthodox Church of England standpoint with a wealth of learning hardly to be looked for in one who had spend thirty years in small Leicestershire villages before his first appearance in print. His *Nobles and other young Gentlemen* have long since passed to their rest; his books slumber on the shelves of a few great libraries; but the church where he ministered for close on forty years still stands, free from *decaie*, though he would recognize little inside it but the font and its cover; his neat handwriting can still be inspected in the register, and *the poor of the town* still benefit from his generosity.

## APPENDIX I

## TITLE-PAGES OF CADE'S PUBLISHED WORKS

1. SAINT / PAVLES / AGONIE. / A SERMON PREACHED /at LEICESTER,  
at the *Ordinary Monthly Lecture*: / Specially touching the Motions of Sinne,  
remaining / *in the Regenerate*. / BY A. CADE, BACHELER / in Diuinity, and  
of Bilsdon in / *Leycester-shire*. /  
*GAL. 5.17. / The Flesh lusteth against the Spirite, and the Spirite a- / gainst  
the Flesh, and these are contrary the one to the / other: so that yee cannot doe  
the things that ye would.* /  
LONDON, / Imprinted by *Bernard Alsop*, and are to be solde / at his house by  
Saint *Annes Church* neere / *Aldersgate*. 1618. /  
(*STC 4328. Stationer's Hall, 5 March 1618. c. 15,000 words*)
2. A / SERMON / OF / THE NATVRE / OF CONSCIENCE WHICH / may  
well be tearmed, / A TRAGEDY OF CONSCIENCE / *in her*. / First, a  
Waking. / Secondly, Wrastling. / Thirdly, Scourging. /  
*Preached before the Right Honourable Sir Henry Ho- / bart Knight and Baronet,  
Lord Chiefe Iustice of the / Common Pleas: and Sir Edward Bromley Knight, /  
one of the Barons of the Exchequer, at the Assises at Leicester.* 1620. Iuly, 25. /  
By Anthony Cade Batchelour in Diuinity. /  
LONDON, / Printed by *Bernard Alsop* for *Thomas Iones*, and are to be / solde  
at his shop in Chancery Lane, and in / *Westminster hall*. 1621. /  
(*STC 4329. Stationer's Hall, 11 December 1620. c. 9,000 words*)
3. A / IUSTIFICATION / OF THE CHVRCH / OF ENGLAND. / Demon-  
strating it to be a true Church / of GOD, affording all sufficient / meanes /  
SALVATION. / OR, / A Countercharge against the *Romish* enchant- / ments,  
that labour to bewitch the people, with / opinion of necessity to be subiect to /  
the Pope of *ROME*. /  
*Wherein is briefly shewed the Pith and Marrow of / the principall bookes written  
by both sides, touching / this matter: with Marginall reference to the Chapters /  
and Sections, where the points are handled more at / large to the great ease  
and satisfaction / of the READER.* /  
By ANTHONY CADE, Bachelour / of *DIVINITY*. /  
*GALAT. 3.1. O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that you should not  
obey the truth?*  
LONDON, / Printed for *GEORGE LATHVM*, dwelling at the Bishops / head  
in *Pauls Church-yard*, Anno 1630.  
(*STC 4327. Stationer's Hall, 8 August 1629. 452 pages*)
4. A / SERMON / NECESSARY / FOR THESE / TIMES, / Shewing the nature  
of Conscience, with / the corruptions thereof, and the repairs / or means to  
inform it with right know- / ledge, and stirre it up to upright / practise, and how  
to get and keep a good Conscience.  
*Preached at Leicester, at the first visitation of the Re- / verend Archdeacon of  
Leicest. M. Warre.* /  
To which is adjoynd a necessary, brief, / and pithy treatise of the Ceremonies /  
of the Church of England. /  
By ANTHONY CADE *Batch. of Divinity.* /  
*2 Cor. 1.12 Our rejoycing is this, the testimonie of our Consci- / ence, that in  
simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshy / wisdom, but by the grace of  
God, we have had our con- / versation in the world, &c.*  
Printed by the Printers to the *Universitie* / of *Cambridge* 1636 /  
(*STC 4329a & 4331. c. 15,000 words*)
5. Identical with the above, except: for 1636 read:  
*And are to be sold by John Sweeting / near Popes head alley in Corn-hill. /  
1639. /  
(STC 4330 & 4331)*

6. CONSCIENCE / It's Nature and Corruption, with it's re- / pairs and means to inform it aright. / IN A VINDICATION / OF THE / PUBLICK PRAYERS / AND / CEREMONIES / Of the Church of / ENGLAND. / Made known to the famousest foreign Divines, / and by them approved. / By ANTHONY CADE B.D. / 2 Cor. 1.12. / *Our rejoycing is this, the testimony of our Conscience, that in / Simplicity and Godly sincerity not with fleshy wisdom, &c. / 1 Cor. 14.40. / Let all things be done decently and in order. / LONDON, / Printed for JOHN WILLIAMS at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1661. / (Wing C. 192. Note the insertion of a reference to the Book of Common Prayer, then under discussion at the Savoy Conference)*
7. AN / APPENDIX / TO THE FORE- / GOING SERMON, / Concerning the Ceremonies / of the Church of / ENGLAND, / By the same Author. / Printed by the Printers to the Uni- / versitie of Cambridge 1636. (STC 4331: included in 4329a and 4330 and in Wing C. 192. 44 pages.)

Note. Nos. 1, 2 and 3 of the above are in the Leicester Public Library (Leicester Authors); no. 1 is in Leicester University Library (252 Pamphlet); no. 7 is in Billesdon Church.

## APPENDIX II

*Terrier of 1635.*

(Written for William Ward by Valerius Germanicus Stephens 1722)

*A TRUE TARIER NOTE OR MEMORIAL OF THE GLEBE TITHE CUSTOMES IN BILESDON & Rouleston in the County of Leicester belonging to the Vicoridge of Bilesdon observed and written by Anthony Cade Batcholer of Divinity haveng continued Resident Vicor of Bilesdon one and thirty years as confirmd by the Testimony of the Churchwardens and sidesmen and the Inhabitants thereof August 1635.*

**THE PARSON HOUSE** In primis The Vicaridge house in Bilesdon containing seven bays of Buildings with Chambers and seven bays more without Chambers, for the Kitching, barns Stables neat houses &c the whole ground of the houses & garden and close adjoining being by Estimation one Acre the Church yard lying on the north side of ye house ye town field of Bilesdon on ye South & West and ye town street or lain towards ye East.

**THE PARSON LAND** *Item* one Earable land esteemed to be half a Rood Lying in the north field of Bilsdon towards Tilton & Newton upon little dale furlong shooting north and South ye Heirs of Skeffington Lying on ye west side & Mr W<sup>m</sup> Bent East.

**THE COMONS SHEEP COMMONS** *Item* four Cowpastures one horspasture and Twenty within the Lordship of Bilesdon according to antient custome.

**HAY** *Item* the tithe hay and Corn of all such closes near unto the Town of Bilsdon as have not now or had not of late years any signe of Ridge or furrow which might argue that the said Closes had been taken out of the ancient Earable Field.

**WOOLL OR LAMBS** *Item* the tithe of all the wooll and Lambs growing feeding, or breeding in the fields, closes commons or pastures of Bilesdon or Rouleston, to be pay'd to the Vicar according to ye ancient custome; if ye owner of ye sheep so feeding have only Seven Eight nine or Ten Lambs (or Fleeces) in one year he is to pay one for the tithe, and for so many Lambs (or Fleeces) as he lacks of tenn the Vicar is to pay unto him so many half pence. If the owner have only Six lambs which rise not to a full tithe, the custome is that half a Lamb is due for the tithe and that an indifferent price be set on that Lambe and then to cast lotts or draw cutts whether of ye parties (the owner or ye Vicor) shall have ye whole Lamb paying half the price to ye other party the like for the fleeces. If the owner have fewer lambs or fleeces he is to pay for every one of those which he hath only one halfpenny to the Vicar, And for chusing the tithe Lambs or fleeces the ancient custome is, The owner or his Deputy may first in every ten chuse two; And then out of the rest of ye ten ye Vicor or his Deputy is to chuse one for ye tithe: and so pass on to ten more doing the Like till all be tithed; And if any remains above the even Number of Tenns they are to be tithed as afore; is said of nine Eight or Seven &c.

**TITHEING OF LAMBS** Also the time of Chusing & Marking the tithe Lambs, is the third day of May and ye ancient custome is for ye owners of ye dammes to suffer the tithe Lambs to go with their dams to be suckled untill Lammas, the Vicar paying for every tithe Lamb so Sucking two pence to the owner of the Dams. Also concerning Selling away and buying of Sheep or putting them out of one parish into another; the ancient Custom is this: As many as are Wintred in the parish & therein Continued untill Candlemas even at noone; they are to pay the tithe Wooll and Lambs to the Vicor; Except ye owner sell them for Necessity, and

that Necessity be made known to the Vicar, that it is not pretended by frawd to deceive him of his tithes but true and reall necessity; for in such case of true necessity they are to pay only halfpence a peice for every ewe and lamb so sold before tithing time or clipping day. Also if any Sheep be brought into the parish before Candlemas (though not long before) they are to pay tithe as if they had been wintred in y<sup>e</sup> parish.

And if any Sheep or lambs that have been wintred in the parish happen to Die after Candlemas before clipping time, the owner to pay halfpence apiece to the Vicar in regard of their Skins or Wooll. Also if any buy or bring in Sheep into y<sup>e</sup> parish after Candlemas and take their fleeces not having Wintred them, they are to pay for every such sheep & lamb one halfpeny to y<sup>e</sup> Vicar. And for such as are bought or brought into y<sup>e</sup> parish after clipping time they are to pay only after the rate of fourpence an hundred for every Month that they keep them in y<sup>e</sup> parish untill Wintring time.

- Item* the tithe of Hemp, flax growing in y<sup>e</sup> parish.
- PIGGS** *Item* for Tithe Piggis for which y<sup>e</sup> custome is, that y<sup>e</sup> owner may chuse two and the Vicar or his Deputy the best next for his tithe, as oft as the sow hath Seven piggis or more at one litter; and the tithe pig must be suffred to suck y<sup>e</sup> dam till it be three weeks old, but y<sup>e</sup> Vicar is not to have any tithe pig at Six, tho: y<sup>e</sup> Sow have Six pigs at a litter never so often: for y<sup>e</sup> Custome is not to sett over piggis from litter to litter of y<sup>e</sup> same sow.
- PIDGEONS** *Item* The tenth part of young ripe pidgeons taken in y<sup>e</sup> Dovecoats Chambers or houses.
- EGGS** *Item* Tithe Eggs of henns, geese ducks Turkie and other fowles: to witt for every hen or female two eggs and for every cock or male three eggs, to be pay'd to the Vicar in lent time, at or before good Friday.
- Item* Tithe geese bred in the parish.
- FRUITE** *Item* The tithe of Aples pears plums Cherries Walnuts wardens and of all other fruit Trees.
- BEEES** *Item* the tenth swarm of Bees, to witt when by Joyning Severall years together y<sup>e</sup> Number of Swarms arise to ten, the tenth is due to y<sup>e</sup> vicar, which y<sup>e</sup> owner is to hive and the Vicar is to give him another hive as good for it, & fetch it away.
- OFFERINGS** *Item* Touching Offerings: Ever Man & Woman married or unmarried, householder or Servant of age to receive y<sup>e</sup> holy Comunion is to pay to the Vicar twopence for their offerings at Easter: except Children living in their parents houses not taking any wages And apprentices, for they only are to pay pence a piece for their offerings. Moreover every householder in Billsdon occupying any parcell of land (be it small or great) is to pay to y<sup>e</sup> Vicar one peny and halfpeny every year at Easter with their offerings. But for more ease and even Reckening they have used to pay one year a peny and another year two pence, for example and Remembrance, in the odd years of our Lord (as 1633, 1635 &c) the od peny and in the even years (as 1632, 1634 &c) the even two pence.
- LAMAS TITHE** *Item* for Lammas tithes, In Bilsdon and Roulston (where tithe milk is not paid) the Custome is to pay for evry new milk cow one peny & one farthing, and for every Srafer one halfpeny to the Vicar yearly at Lammas: and for every fole an halfpeny at Bilsdon; but at Roulston for every fole one peny as they do at Goadby. At Lamas also they of Bilsdon and Roulston Recken and pay for their odd fleeces and Lambs, and make even with the Vicar.
- ROULSTON RENT** *Item* there belongs to the Vicar of Bilsdon a yearly Rent, cald y<sup>e</sup> parsonage Rent, to be pay'd by him or them that have the tithe corne & tithe hay of Roulston, that is to say Twenty Shillings at Candlemas & tweny Shillings more at Witsontide.

*Item* the Inhabitation of Roulston are to pay yearly unto the Vicar of Bilsdon or to his Curate for Reading Comon prayers in their chappel every Sunday Thirteen Shillings forepence; because by an old Composition, the Vicar should find one to Read prayers three times in every week, and that one of these times may be the Sunday, the Inhabitants [are] content, to give a Mark a year as the Tradition goeth; and as it hath been accustomed time out of mind & Memory of Man.

(*Billesdon Parish Records*)

#### NOTES

1. J. Throsby, *Excursions in Leicestershire* (London 1790), 134
2. H. Wotton, *Harleian Miscellany*, VIII, 164
3. A. Cade, *A Justification of the Church of England* (London 1630)
4. Lincoln Diocesan Archives: Letters Testimonial, 4 July 1593/Unlisted
5. J. Venn, *Biographical Register of Gonville and Caius College* (Cambridge 1897), I, 109 and *passim*; *Caius College* (London 1901), 76-85
6. H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge 1958), *passim*
7. Lincoln Diocesan Archives: Presentation Deeds, 1597/49
8. *ibid.*, 1599/16
9. W. G. D. Fletcher, *Documents relating to Leicestershire preserved in the Episcopal Registers at Lincoln* (Lincoln 1893), 75
10. Leicester Archdeaconry Records: Transcripts of Parish Registers; A. P. Moore, "Leicestershire Livings in the Reign of James I", *A.A.S.R.* XXIX, 165
11. Presentment at the Visitation of William Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, 28 August 1611. Facsimile as frontispiece to *Handlist of Records of Leicester Archdeaconry* (Leicester 1954)
12. Billesdon Parish Register I, note on flyleaf; Transcript of Saddington Parish Register
13. J. Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (1795-1815), II, ii, 434
14. Cambridge University Library, MS Baumgartner 8, ff. 199-202. I owe this reference to Professor Patrick Collinson
15. Nichols, *op.cit.*, II, ii, 436. It was possibly on the occasion of James's visit to Leicester on 15 August 1616
16. A. Cade, *St. Paules Agonie* (London 1618), Epistle Dedicatorie to the Right Honourable the Lord Marquesse of Buckingham.
17. J. L. Stocks, *Records of the Borough of Leicester, 1603-1688* (Cambridge 1923), 115. Lectures of this kind were very common, and were suspect as seedbeds of Puritanism
18. A. Cade, *St. Paules Agonie*, Admonition to the Reader. Cf. C. E. Welch, "Early Nonconformity in Leicestershire", *T.L.A.S.*, 37(1961), 33
19. Records of Leicestershire Archdeaconry: Church Inspections
20. H. I. Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy*, III, 5; Lincoln Diocesan Records: Presentation Deeds, 1621/15
21. Leicester Corporation Records: Hall Papers, VIII, 336, 350, 373. The letter is printed in C. Deedes, J. E. Stocks, & J. L. Stocks, *The Old Town Library of Leicester* (Oxford 1919), x, xi; and (in part) in J. L. Stocks, *Records of the Borough of Leicester, 1603-1688* (Cambridge 1923), 231. For the John Angel, Schoolmaster, see Joan Simon, "The Two John Angels", *T.L.A.S.*, 31(1955), 43-6
22. Hall Papers, VIII, 337 (26 May 1629)
23. Transcripts of Billesdon Parish Registers, 1626, 1633, 1637; Billesdon Parish Registers, 1602, 1603, 1627, 1635, 1638, 1640
24. A. Cade, *A Sermon necessary for these times...* (Cambridge 1636), Epistle Dedicatorie. J. Pocklington, *Altare Christianum* (London 1637), p. 87, also commends the furnishings of Buckden. The chapel has since been demolished
25. *ibid.*, Title-page; Leicester Archdeaconry Correction Courts Act Books
26. Records of Leicester Archdeaconry: Church Inspections
27. Peterborough Consistory Court Wills, Book G, no. 207
28. Reproduced in C. Deedes, J. E. Stocks & J. L. Stocks, *The Old Town Library of Leicester* (Oxford 1919), facing p. 1.