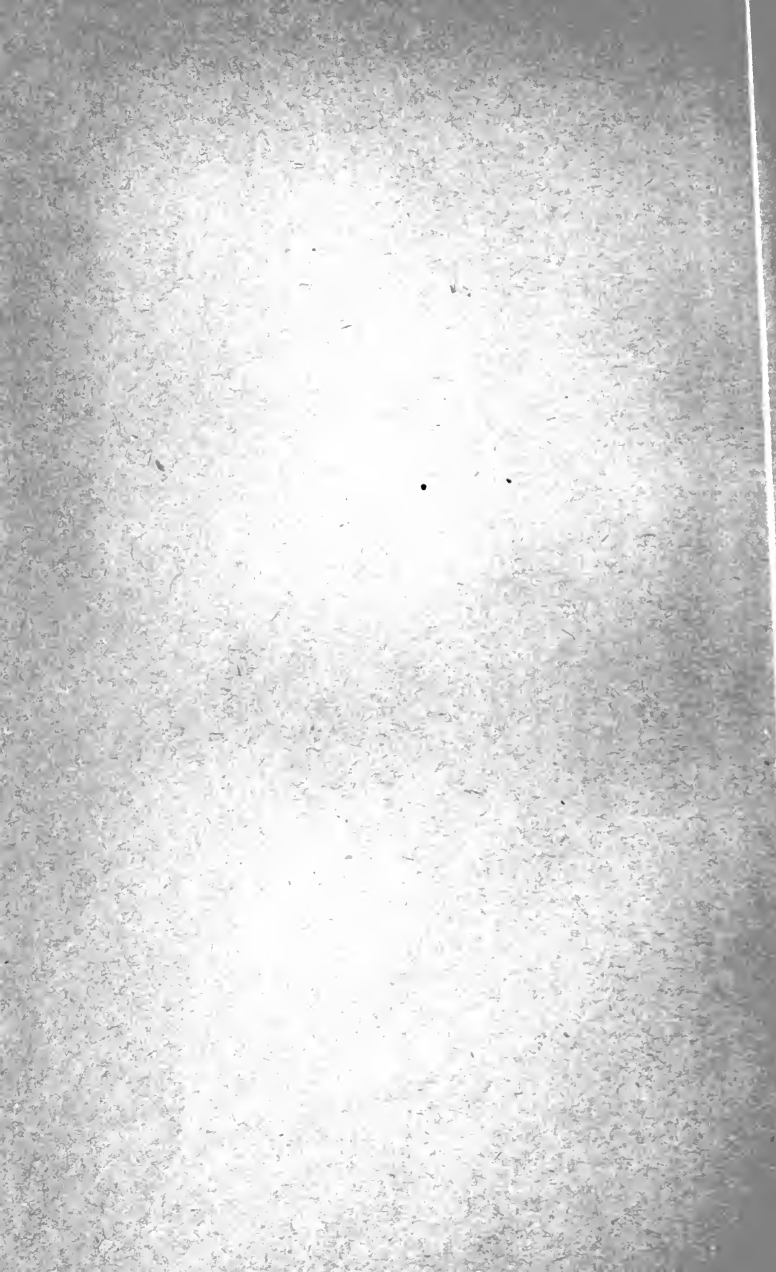




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BLESSED THOMAS PERCY.

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Vol. V.

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EDITED BY

THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.



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PREFACE.

IT is perhaps hardly necessary to follow the precedent set in the four previous volumes by prefixing a short Preface to this new accession to the HISTORICAL PAPERS. I may be allowed, however, to call special attention to the first and second of the papers composing the present volume. It is not so much because it secures a Protestant succession to the throne that Catholics feel outraged by the Coronation Oath. To that we are more or less resigned. Our objection is that the terms of the present oath offer a gratuitous insult to the adherents of the ancient faith, as is powerfully brought out by Father Bridgett. In the short account of *Blessed Thomas Percy*, the recently beatified Earl of Northumberland, it is made clear that, contrary to what our ordinary History Books tell us, the Northern Rising in 1569 was not an act of treason against a lawful sovereign, but the resistance of northern Catholicism to the attempt to suppress it by persecution. *The Landing of St. Augustine* explains the significance of the recent celebration of the Thirteenth Hundredth Anniversary of the coming of our great English Apostle. *The Hungarian Confession* is an interesting illustration of the frauds by which the early Protestants succeeded in raising a prejudice against the Catholic Faith. *The Reformation at St. Martin's, Leicester* extracts from the parish registers of that church an object-lesson in the true character of the Reformation changes.

SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

October, 1898,

31 Farm Street, Berkeley Square, W.

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4634

The English Coronation Oath.

BY THE REV. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

THE memory of few of my readers will carry them back to the morning of June 20th, 1837, when the first word spoken by every one was: "Well, so the poor King is dead, and we have a Princess on the throne, God bless her!" That morning is vividly in my memory, for I was already of the mature age of eight years and some months; and still more vividly do I remember the magnificent ceremonial which, a year later, on June 28th, 1838, accompanied Her Majesty's coronation. I now refer to these things, because the length of time that has elapsed obliges us to acknowledge, however reluctantly, that the day cannot be so far distant when we shall see the renewal of these solemnities. I wish that it were more distant, first, out of respect and gratitude to the venerable Lady whose name brightens the annals of the last sixty years, and secondly, because it will entail the repetition, not merely of a great national act of piety in a religious coronation, but also of a national act of impiety which has almost faded from the memory of men—I mean the solemn abjuration by the monarch, in vile and insulting terms, of the most cherished doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church.

Let me hasten to say, in a spirit of sincere loyalty to him who is next to wear the crown of England, that I make entire abstraction from the character of his personal act, and shall in no way discuss his responsibility. I think, however, that I am not going beyond the limits of what is right and becoming in tracing to its historical sources what Cardinal Wiseman has designated, "a national crime,"¹ a term which I shall presently explain and justify.

Many of my readers may be ignorant of the formula of which I am about to treat, for it is scarcely touched on in any of the usual sources of information. I propose then, first, to make a short historical review of the English Coronation Oath, and then to dwell on that part of the formula which was added about two centuries since.

I.

All countries seem to have been agreed that it was fitting that the accession of a prince should be accompanied by some contract, promise, or profession. A most interesting discovery has been made in the ruins of ancient Babylon. It is an inscription recording, amongst other things, the coronation, or at least proclamation, of Nabonidus, a monarch of the Babylonian Empire in the sixth century before Christ.

To the house of the sceptre they brought me. Their offering they poured out and kissed my feet, they proclaimed my majesty in the land, Merodach to the lordship of the land has exalted. Now they sang: "Oh, father of the land, who has no equal."

¹ In a letter printed in the *Life of Father Ignatius Spencer*, p. 253.

This is in strange contrast with the homage, accompanied by solemn admonition and prayer, of Christian coronations; yet there seems to have been even then some compact between the monarch and his people; for the same inscription tells us that the two princes, Evil-Merodach and Labasi-Kudur, were dethroned, because "they broke their oaths."¹ In the history of the anointings of the Jewish kings, we have no mention of a coronation oath; their powers, however, were strictly regulated and limited by the Divine law. The earliest record of royal unction among Christian kings certainly belongs to our island. It is a sad one. Gildas, writing of the British kings who ruled in various parts after the retirement of the Roman legions, says: *Ungebantur reges, et paulo post ab unctoribus trucidabantur*—"Kings were anointed and soon after slain by their anointers." The most ancient order for the benediction of a King is found in an English Pontifical, that of Archbishop Egbert, who died in 766. But perhaps I had better first give the outline of the "Benediction and Coronation of a King," as it is in the present Roman Pontifical. The King is to fast three days in the week preceding his coronation, which will take place on a Sunday. The ceremony is to be performed if possible by the Metropolitan, and (as usual with such ceremonies) is a kind of interlude in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The Pontiff addresses a beautiful exhortation to the King, who makes the following profession:

I who, by the providence of God, am about to be King, profess and promise before God and His angels, that henceforth, according to my knowledge and power I will do

¹ *Times*, January 9, 1896.

and keep justice and peace to the Church of God, and to the people subject to me, with due regard to the mercy of God, according as I shall be able to ascertain by the counsel of my faithful [advisers]. Also to pay due and canonical honour to the bishops of God's churches, and observe inviolably whatever has been granted to the churches by emperors and kings. Also to pay due honour to my abbots, counts, and vassals, according to faithful counsel.

The King then kneels and places both hands on the Gospels held open by the Bishop, saying: "So help me God and His holy Gospels," and kisses the Bishop's hand. Then follow prayers and litanies, and the Bishop, with the oil called that of the catechumens (the same which is used in Baptism), anoints in the sign of the Cross the forearm, and the neck between the shoulders. The Mass begins, and the King having been clothed with royal vestments kneels at his faldstool. Before the Gospel he receives the sword with appropriate exhortations and prayers, and the crown and sceptre, and is placed upon his throne. The *Te Deum* is sung and the Gospel, and the Mass proceeds, the King makes his offering, and is expected to receive Communion after the celebrant.

The Roman Pontifical was never used in England before the Reformation, but the ceremonies and prayers of our old English Pontificals are substantially the same. I have no intention of dwelling in detail on the various parts of the ceremonial. I will merely observe regarding the unctions, that formerly chrism was used as well as oil of catechumens. The King was first anointed with the oil on the palms of the hands, the breast, between the shoulders, on the

forearm, and on the crown of the head; and then with chrism on the forehead.¹

Since the Reformation the coronation has lost none of its splendour, though some consider it a mere religious pageant,² imparting no sacredness. Many of the old rites have been retained, as the anointing, girding with the sword, crowning and enthroning.

As regards the oil, it seems that a change has been made. There are animal, vegetable, and mineral oils of many kinds, but the Catholic Church knows one only for sacred purposes, that which was in use in Palestine in the time of our Lord—the oil of olives, which He sanctified (I may add) by His agony and sweat of blood in the olive-grove. The oil of catechumens and the oil for the sick are both the same in substance, but consecrated by the Bishop with different prayers. Chrism is also olive-oil, but mixed with balsam. The Anglican Bishops who prepared the oil for the coronation of Charles I., made a signal innovation. He was anointed with the oil of ben, made from the ben-nut and mixed with many choice perfumes. This nut-oil was used also in the unction of the Catholic King, James II., and he is said to have made a largess of £200 to the perfumer.³

Before reviewing the oaths taken by our kings I may say that, though English Catholics attached sacredness to the person of an anointed King, they did not consider that the coronation oath and anoint-

¹ Robert Holkot; and the various rituals published by Maskell.

² Cassell's *Dictionary of English History*, Art. "Coronation."

³ On the coronation of Charles I. and other kings, see the Ritual, with notes, by Christopher Wordsworth, M.A., published for the Henry Bradshaw Society, in 1892.

ing were necessary to his authority, or conferred on him an absolute immunity.¹ The King had all his rights and duties from the moment of his accession or acceptance, and he thereupon entered into a tacit contract with his people. We have an instance of what was thought of the ceremony of royal unction in the history of Richard II. Shakspeare has here somewhat misled us. Wishing to depict the fickle character of that King, he has represented him as at first proclaiming the Divine right of kings in language such as would have delighted James I. :

Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed King :
The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord.²

After his deposition he goes to the opposite extreme :

With mine own tears I wash away my balm,
With mine own hands I give away my crown,
With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,
With mine own breath release all duteous oaths.³

Perhaps Shakspeare is true to the character of Richard II., in that neither in his prosperity nor in his adversity, does he advert to the breach of his coronation oath. But as regards the unction he has not reported correctly.

This anointed King was deposed by the nobility and clergy in October, 1399. After his deposition he was pressed by the Parliamentary Commissioners to renounce all the honours and dignity pertaining to a king. *Respondit quod noluit renuntiare spirituali honori characteris sibi impressi et inunctioni.*—"He

¹ On this point see Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i. 146.

² *Richard II.* Act iii. scene 2.

³ *Ibid.* Act iv. scene 1.

replied that he would not renounce the spiritual honour of the character impressed upon him and his anointing."¹ Of course the Church does not admit a royal character, like the character of Baptism, Confirmation, and Order, nor is royal unction a sacrament. It is improbable that Richard made any mistake on this subject. His words merely prove that in his misfortune and disgrace he thought tenderly and reverently of his solemn consecration to the royal dignity. We may contrast his chivalrous words with those of Queen Elizabeth. For prudential motives she had been crowned after the old Catholic forms. She knelt before the high altar, and took the customary oath. After her anointing, when she had retired to change her dress, she revenged herself on the Church and her own compliance by saying to her ladies that the oil had an evil and greasy smell, and then returned to the altar to complete her hypocrisy by hearing Mass and receiving Communion. Her preparation for her coronation had been to fix the day by the calculations of a conjurer.² But let us pass to something worthier.

In the Pontifical of Egbert the royal declaration is made in the form of a decree.

It is the duty of a king newly ordained and enthroned to enjoin on the Christian people subject to him these three precepts: first, that the Church of God and all the Christian people preserve true peace at all times. Amen. Secondly, that he forbid rapacity and all iniquities to all degrees. Amen. Thirdly, that in all judgments he enjoin equity and mercy, that therefore the clement and merciful God may grant us His mercy. Amen.³

¹ See Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, iii. 13.

² See Miss Strickland's account.

³ Martene, lib. ii. ; Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon History*, c. viii.

In the oath administered by St. Dunstan and St. Oswald to Edgar at Bath in 973, by St. Dunstan, at Kingston, to Ethelred II. in 978, the promise to observe these things is made by the kings. After reciting it aloud they laid a written copy on the altar.¹ We possess the formula as spoken in Anglo-Saxon.² So, too, William the Conqueror, when crowned by the Archbishop of York in 1066, immediately after the Battle of Hastings, did not claim the right of a conqueror, but standing before the altar at Westminster, "in the presence of the clergy and the whole people," writes the chronicler, Florence of Worcester,

he promised with an oath that he would defend God's holy Churches and their rulers; that he would, moreover, rule the whole people subject to him with righteousness and royal providence, would enact and hold fast right law, utterly forbid rapine and unrighteous judgments.

"The form of election and acceptance," remarks Bishop Stubbs, "was regularly observed, and the legal position of the new King completed, before he went forth to finish the conquest."³

William Rufus made the same promises to Lanfranc, though I need not say that he observed none of them; so did Henry I., and he confirmed them by a charter. The formalities of the coronation of Richard I. became a precedent for future coronations, but no change was made in the oath either by him or his brother John, only the Archbishop

¹ Cotton MS. H. iii.

² Hickes, *Religious Antiquities*, ii. 194, and Taylor, *Glories of Regality*, Additional Notes, p. 329.

³ *Constitutional History*, i. 258.

reminded the latter, or rather adjured him on God's behalf, that he should not take the honour to himself, without a full purpose to keep his oath, and John replied that by God's help in good faith he would keep all he had sworn.

There is no need to go through the whole series of our kings. What had been promised by the Anglo-Saxons was promised also by every one of the Normans. Some additions were gradually made, not in the democratic, but in the regal sense, as that the King "should recover the decayed or lost rights of the crown."¹

By the time of Edward II., in 1308, the oath was framed in the form of question and answer, as it still remains. Special commemoration was made of the good laws of St. Edward. The original formula (given in Rymer) is in French. In English it is as follows :

Sire, says the Archbishop, will you grant and keep, and by your oath confirm to the people of England, the laws and customs to them granted by the ancient Kings of England, your righteous and godly predecessors; and especially the laws, customs, and privileges granted to the clergy and people by the glorious King St. Edward, your predecessor? The King replies: I grant them and promise. Sire, will you keep towards God, and Holy Church, and to clergy and people, peace and accord in God, entirely, after your power? I will keep them. Sire, will you cause to be done in all your judgments equal and right justice and discretion, in mercy and truth, to your power? I will so do. Sire, do you grant to hold and to keep the laws and righteous customs which the community of your realm shall have chosen, and will you defend and strengthen them to the honour of God, to the utmost of your power? I grant and promise.

¹ See the formula in Blackstone's note.

It is to be well noted that the King did not bind himself not to repeal, with the consent of his Parliament, laws then existing. The words were, *quas vulgus elegerit, les quels la communaulte de vostre royaume aura esleu*—"which the community shall choose or shall have chosen." In a word, he limited his administrative not his legislative power. It was for want of understanding this that George III. obstinately refused to consent to Catholic Emancipation, as contrary to his coronation oath.¹

In view of the later conduct of Henry VIII. it is very remarkable that, before his coronation, he manipulated the oath he was to take, softening the expressions about the rights of the people, and interpolating clauses regarding the rights of the crown. The document still exists, and has been printed in facsimile by Sir Henry Ellis.²

The coronation of Edward VI. introduced several novelties. Not only was the acceptance of the King by the people not asked, as had always been the custom, but the forms were changed by the Archbishop, Cranmer. The oath was indeed a fair one. The young King bound himself

1. To the people of England, to keep the laws and liberties of the realm. 2. To the Church and the people, to keep peace and concord. 3. To do in all his judgments equal justice. 4. To make no laws but to the honour of God, and the good of the commonwealth, and by the consent of the people as had been accustomed.

But, just as Cranmer before taking his own oath of obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff, previously to his

¹ See Stubbs, ii. 317, and Macaulay's observations on the coronation of William and Mary.

² *Original Letters*, Series 2. i.

consecration, had made a private declaration that he did not intend to be bound by his words, so, immediately after receiving the coronation oath of Edward, he declared to him that his right to rule was derived from God alone, that neither the Bishop of Rome nor any other bishop could impose conditions on him; and that his duties would be, as God's vicegerent, to see that God be worshipped and idolatry be destroyed, that the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome be banished, and images be removed, and so forth.¹

Yet this new interpretation of the nation's ancient words, and this first reference to *idolatry* in connection with the royal office, were made in the presence of the altar where hung the Blessed Sacrament. It is even said that the King made his oath upon the Sacrament laid upon the altar,² and the ceremonies concluded with a solemn High Mass sung by the Archbishop. In a year or two the Blessed Sacrament was cut down, the altar-stones broken, and Mass abolished.³

Mary Tudor was crowned by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and took the accustomed oaths, "which oaths," says the record, "her Highness, being led to the high altar, promised and swore upon the Sacrament lying upon the altar, in the presence of all the people, to observe and keep."⁴

¹ Lingard, from Strype's *Cranmer*.

² Planché, *Royal Records*.

³ *A propos* of Cranmer's conduct, Bossuet writes: "How blind, how contradictory to itself is the Reformation, which, in order to raise a horror of the Church's practices, must call them idolatrous! Obligated to excuse the same things in her first authors, she holds them for indifferent, and makes it more conspicuous than the sun, either that she mocks the whole universe by calling that idolatry which is not such, or that those she admires as her heroes were of all men the most corrupt." (*History of the Variations*, bk. vii. sect. 107.)

⁴ J. R. Planché, *Royal Records*, p. 18.

Of Elizabeth's coronation and perjury I have already spoken. James I., Charles I., Charles II., and James II., swore in the very words of the formula used by Edward II., which I have given above, except that, after mentioning the laws and customs of St. Edward, a clause was added, "according to the law of God, and the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom." As it was the Bishop who used these words, "true profession," James II. could, or thought he could, leave to the Bishop the responsibility of the word "true," and yet answer sincerely, "I promise to keep it," *i.e.*, not to violate what is established.

After the Revolution of 1688, when the time came for the coronation of William and Mary, a Bill was quickly passed through both Houses, settling the terms of the coronation oath: "All parties," says Macaulay, "were agreed as to the propriety of requiring the King to swear that, in temporal matters, he would govern according to law, and would execute justice in mercy. But about the terms of the oath which related to the spiritual institutions of the realm there was much debate. Should the chief magistrate promise simply to maintain the [reformed] Protestant religion established by law, or should he promise to maintain that religion as it should be hereafter established by law? The majority preferred the former phrase."

This was the first use of the word Protestant in the coronation oath. All mention of St. Edward and his laws was henceforth most consistently omitted.

I now come to the principal subject of this paper. I again quote Lord Macaulay: "The Convention had

resolved that it was contrary to the interest of the kingdom to be governed by a papist, but had prescribed no test which should ascertain whether a prince was or was not a papist. The defect was now supplied." By the Bill of Rights (October, 1689,) "it was enacted that every English Sovereign should in full Parliament and at the coronation repeat and subscribe the Declaration against Transubstantiation."¹ As usual, Macaulay leaves us to find out elsewhere what were the words of this Declaration and what was its history. Its outline was first drawn by the Puritans in the great rebellion against Charles I. in 1643; it was enacted by the Parliament of Charles II. (in 1673) in the Test Act, to keep Catholics out of office, both civil and military; and in an enlarged and more insulting form, it was imposed on all Members of Parliament in 1678. It was now extended to the wearer of the crown, and the longer and more virulent and offensive form was chosen for the purpose. It runs as follows:

"I, A. B., by the grace of God, King (or Queen) of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, do solemnly and sincerely in the Presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever: and that the invocation or adora-

¹ So it is given by Macaulay. But the words of the Act (1 William and Mary, Sess. 2. c. 2) are that the declaration shall be made by the King on the first day of meeting of his first Parliament, sitting on his throne in the House of Peers, in the presence of the Lords and Commons, *or else* at coronation, whichever should first happen.

tion of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.”

I reserve for a time my remarks on this Declaration, and will first complete its history. The first of our Sovereigns who uttered these shameful words was Queen Anne, at her coronation, April 23 (O.S.), 1702, being the feast of St. George. The place was before the high altar of Westminster, where St. Edward is said to have had his vision of our Lord's Presence under the sacred species, a church erected for the very purpose of enhancing the majesty of that Holy Sacrifice now declared to be idolatrous. The same oath has been required from every subsequent monarch. It was taken by Her Majesty Queen Victoria at the opening of her first Parliament, November 20th, 1837.

When, in 1829, at what is called Catholic Emancipation, this, and the similar oath of the Test Act, were abolished for members of Parliament and for most holders of office, civil or military, a few offices were declared to be not open to Roman Catholics, and for these the old test was reserved. Those from whom it was still required (besides the Sovereign) were the Lords Chancellors of England and Ireland, the Chancellors of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, and perhaps some others. No one has yet dared to moot the question in Parliament of abolishing this Declaration for the supreme ruler of the British Empire, but it has been repealed as regards all others.

On March 20th, 1866, Sir Colman O'Loughlan got leave to introduce a Bill for abolishing what he truly called "this relic of barbarism." His motion was seconded by Sir John Gray, a Protestant, and the Government declared that they would make no opposition. The Bill regarded at first only the two dignities of Lord Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor of Ireland. On the second reading, April 24th, Mr. Whalley said that—

Whatever was meant by Transubstantiation, it had always been considered as that particular feature of the Romish faith against which persons might object without being open to the charge of religious bigotry.

The word "object" is assuredly a mild rendering of calling God to witness that the practice of others is idolatrous. If a Protestant cannot bring himself to admit the Real Presence or the Incarnation, we regret it, but we do not consider his profession of disbelief as a personal insult directed against our-

selves ; whereas the Declaration against Transubstantiation is neither a profession of Protestant faith nor of Protestant un-faith, but a studied and gross insult offered to the Catholic Church. Mr. Whalley would, I suppose, have been quite surprised at the saying of Mr. Charles Butler, that "a Protestant is not more hurt at a Turk's calling him a Christian dog than a Catholic is at a Protestant's calling him an idolater." The next words of Mr. Whalley, as reported in Hansard, are very curious :

The mass [he said] derived all its efficacy from a power conferred on priests by the pope ; and though it was the policy of this country to allow every man to worship God as he pleased, they never, on any pretence of religious liberty, had allowed a foreign prince to interfere in that house.

So this declaration, which had been first introduced in order to settle the throne on foreign princes, was at last defended on the plea of English patriotism ! and by what a defender ! and with what arguments !

The Bill was read a third time on June 12, 1866, and the only opponents were Whiteside, Newdegate, Whalley, and Chambers. It was introduced in the Upper House by the Marquis of Clanricarde, and read a second time on July 16th ; but on the representation that a commission was sitting on the general subject of oaths, it was withdrawn. The commission had reported on the advisability of retrenching these acrimonious declarations ; and when Sir Colman O'Loughlan re-introduced the measure on February 7, 1867, it was on a wider basis. It was no longer to be confined to Ireland, but to regard every officeholder in England as well as Ireland ; but it had no

reference to the Sovereign. Mr. Newdegate thought it was very cruel to isolate the monarch, and wished that some of the great officers of the State should at least declare their adhesion to two of the Thirty-Nine Articles — the twenty-second and twenty-eighth, rejecting Purgatory as well as Mass. He met with no supporters. The third reading was on May 14th.

It was introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Kimberley, who had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His speech was very noteworthy.

He had himself [he said] been called upon to make that Declaration before the Irish Privy Council, in the presence of a large number of persons of the Roman Catholic faith; and he must say he had never in his life made a declaration with more pain than when he was required before men holding high office, and for whom he had the greatest respect, to declare the tenets of their religion to be superstitious and idolatrous.¹

The Bill passed the Lords with little opposition, and received the royal assent, July 25, 1867. The Act, which is called ch. 62 of 30th and 31st Victoria, is short, and consists of only two clauses. It runs as follows :

“Whereas by various Acts a certain Declaration, commonly called the Declaration against Transubstantiation and the Invocation of Saints, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as practised in the Church of Rome (and which Declaration is more fully set forth in the schedule to this Act annexed), is recognized to be taken, made and subscribed by the *subjects* of Her Majesty, for the enjoyment of certain civil offices, franchises, and rights :

¹ Hansard's *Debates.* ,

“And whereas it is expedient to alter the law in that respect, and to abolish the said Declaration :

“Be it enacted by the Queen’s most excellent Majesty, &c., as follows :

“1. From and after the passing of this Act, all such parts of the said Acts as require the said Declaration to be taken, made, or subscribed by any of Her Majesty’s subjects as a qualification for the exercise or enjoyment of any civil office, franchise, or right, shall be, and the same are hereby, repealed, and it shall not be obligatory for any person hereafter to take, make, or subscribe the said Declaration as a qualification for the exercise or enjoyment of any civil office, franchise, or right within the realm.

“2. Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to enable any person professing the Roman Catholic Religion to exercise or enjoy any civil office, franchise, or right, for the exercise or enjoyment of which the taking, making, or subscribing the Declaration, by this Act abolished, is now by law a necessary qualification, or any other civil office, franchise, or right from which he is now by law excluded.”

Since the passing of this Act, the Lord Chancellorship of Ireland has been opened to Catholics, but not that of England. It is, however, a popular mistake to suppose that any subject of the Queen has now to make the offensive Declaration invented by the Parliament of Charles II. and William III. I say subject, for alas! the clauses of the Bill of Rights and of the Act of Settlement are still unrepealed, which exact it from the Sovereign. Lord

Derby, however, remarked, "The oath which the Bill abolishes is *totidem verbis* the same as the one required to be taken by the Sovereign at his or her coronation; and consequently the Bill does open up a much larger question than at first sight it would appear to do." Mr. Newdegate also said that, if it was offensive to Catholics for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to make the Declaration, of course it was more offensive for the Sovereign to do so; therefore the next step would be to interfere with the Act of Settlement itself. I hope Mr. Newdegate will be found to have been a prophet.

II.

It certainly does not appear at first sight why, among all Catholic doctrines and practices, those which refer to the Holy Eucharist and the saints should have been selected for repudiation. They have no political significance; there is nothing in them that leads to tyranny or the exercise of arbitrary power; there is nothing that presupposes weak intellect, or moral degradation, or vicious tendency of any sort in those that hold them. Lord Macaulay had so little inclination towards Transubstantiation, that he considered it of all things to him the most incredible; yet, looking at facts, he acknowledged that those who believed it might be the most acute and virtuous of men.

When we reflect that Sir Thomas More was ready to die for the doctrine of transubstantiation, we cannot but feel some doubt whether the doctrine of transubstantiation

may not triumph over all opposition. More was a man of eminent talents. He had all the information on the subject that we have, or that, while the world lasts, any human being will have. . . . We are therefore, unable to understand why what Sir Thomas More believed respecting transubstantiation may not be believed to the end of time by men equal in abilities to Sir Thomas More. But Sir Thomas More is one of the choice specimens of human wisdom and virtue.¹

Luckily for Macaulay, when he entered Parliament the Declaration formerly required from members had just been abolished ; for though he could easily have professed his disbelief of Catholic doctrine, he could not, without belying his own principles, have accused Sir Thomas More, and others like him, of idolatry.

It is surely worthy of note that when Cranmer, at Edward's coronation, gave the first warning to the Sovereign that he ruled over idolaters, image-worship was the idolatry and the Mass was at least indifferent. It was still image-worship that constituted the great apostasy of the Catholic Church according to the Homilies. But by the Parliaments of Charles II. and subsequent kings, image-worship was allowed to fall into the background, and the Sacrifice of Mass and invocation of saints were made the unpardonable crimes. In Cranmer this is easily explained. Until the close of Henry's life he had taught the Catholic doctrine on the Eucharist, expressly affirming both Sacrifice and Transubstantiation ; while Henry's last vagary had been to destroy certain images as idols. The Elizabethan silence may perhaps be explained by the fact that, while there was the greatest unanimity among English and Continental Reformers against

¹ Essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*.

the Mass as a Sacrifice, there was much division regarding Real Presence and Adoration.

There are two things that explain the selection made by England of these doctrines to be repudiated by way of political test: first, the convenience of finding an effective bar against Papists; secondly, a special hatred derived from the first English Reformers. As regards the first, it must be admitted that the test was effective. No Catholic could speak the words and remain a Catholic. Yet effective things are not always desirable. The Declaration kept out Catholics, but did not exclude atheists. If a club of anarchists, eager to prevent any gentleman from joining them, should decree that every candidate should call his own mother by the vilest name that can be given to woman, it would no doubt be an effective test. What less was it to ask Catholics to accuse their own spiritual mother, the Church of the saints, of idolatry and superstition? In the second place, I attribute the choice of this formula to an inveterate hatred of the Holy Mass derived from Protestant tradition. The writings of the early English Reformers are full of such passages as the following, which is found in the writings of Miles Coverdale, one of the consecrators of Parker, and in those of John Bradford: which copied from the other I cannot say.

The devil [say these writers] by giving his daughter Idolatry, with her dowry of worldly wealth riches and honour, to the pope and his shaven shorlings, they have by this means in so many years past been begetting a daughter which at length was delivered, to destroy preaching, even the minion Missa, Mistress Missa, who danceth daintily

before the Herods of this world, and is the cause why John Baptist and the preachers be put into prison and lose their heads. This dancing damsel is trimmed and tricked on the best and most holy manner that can be, even with the word of God, the epistle and the gospel, with the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, with the pomander and perfumes of prayer, and all godly things that can be, but blasphemously and horribly abused, to be a mermaid to amuse and bewitch men sailing in the seas of this life, to be enamoured of her. And, therefore, besides her aforesaid goodly apparel, she hath all kinds of sweet tunes, ditties, melodies, singing, playing, ringing, knocking, kneeling, standing, lifting, crossing, blowing, mowing, incensing, &c.¹

Worse and obscene things follow, which I omit.

Ribaldry of this kind was preached and printed continuously, while all Catholic books were rigidly suppressed. What wonder if the word Mass became a term of horror and opprobrium! To account for the hatred of the Reformers themselves for Holy Mass it would be necessary to enter into the history and nature of the general revolt of the sixteenth century called the Reformation. This of course I cannot now even touch upon.

But I will give one small illustration of the effects of the Protestant tradition. It is but a straw to show the fury of the gale. Shakspeare had made Iago exclaim: "By the mass, 'tis morning."² The tender conscience of the Master of the Revels (the official censor, like our Lord Chamberlain), had the words changed into: "In troth, 'tis morning." Was this from reverence for sacred things? Far from it. The Protestants of the days of James I. were not

¹ Bradford's Works, p. 288; Coverdale's Works, p. 265.

² *Othello*, Act ii. scene 3. See Singer's note.

able to hear the word Mass pronounced even in an oath. They could bear a great deal of profanity and indecency, but not to be reminded of the Mass. It was well enough for Othello to cry, "Death and damnation! Oh!" or, "Perdition catch my soul!" Such words befitted his mighty passion. It might, no doubt, have been appropriate to make Iago swear by the Mass. Venice might recognize the word, but Protestant London could not bear it!

And here I will offer a few reflections that may help to explain what is a historical puzzle—this intense and continuous hatred of Protestants for what we cherish and adore. First, then, we must remember that to affect zeal for God's honour is no proof whatever of real religion or spirituality. The Jews accused our Lord of blasphemy, and the idolatrous heathen called the first Christians atheists. Nor, on the other hand, is it any presumption against the possession of truth, that the holders of a doctrine should be accused of impiety. Our Divine Lord warned us to expect such accusations.

In the second place, idolatry is a very evil-sounding word; it is not the name of an innocent error, but of a gross religious crime; yet if we look into history, we shall see that it has been often cast by the vilest men against the best. Who were so brutal as the Iconoclasts—the enemies of images in the eighth century—Constantine Copronymus, the Greek Emperor, and his party? To them all Catholics were gross idolaters. The first English Protestant Bishops, with their Calvinistic and Zwinglian divines, renewing the folly and rage of the iconoclasts, declared in their Book of Homilies that

Laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects and degrees of men, women and children, of whole Christendom (an horrible and most dreadful thing to think), have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested by God, and most damnable to man, and this by the space of eight hundred years and more.

Since this accusation notoriously included in its sweep men infinitely superior to those who uttered it—great philosophers, great statesmen, great ecclesiastics, innumerable saints of every class—was there the slightest presumption that those against whom it was made deserved the reproach? And once more, when this accusation of idolatry was renewed by the statesmen and legislators of Charles II., not any longer on account of the supposed image-worship, which Catholics indignantly repudiated, but on account of the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament and invocation of the saints, which they cordially admitted and defended; let it be remembered that all these maligners were either the dupes of Titus Oates or used him as their tool. Is it likely that such men were among the “little ones” to whom it pleases the Heavenly Father to reveal His mind, which He hides from the wise and prudent of this world? Who were the accusers? Many were men like Lord Shaftesbury, notoriously infidel and immoral. When was the accusation made? At that period of English history when the country had sunk, politically and morally, to the lowest depth it has ever reached? Who were the supposed idolaters? The Catholic Church of all climes and ages. Who were the worst of the idolaters? The most fervent of the Catholics.

Good God [cried St. Thomas of Villanova, alluding to such accusations], if those who forsook all the riches and pleasures of the world, to live in the greatest purity and simplicity, like angels in human form, living for Thee alone, for Thy honour, for Thy service, and intent on Thy praises day and night, seeking nothing but Thee, hurting no man, doing good to all, humble, modest and pious; if such as these were deceived and lived in error, and, as thinking evil of God, perfidious and sacrilegious, have been condemned—who then have been saved?

St. Thomas of Villanova was a Spaniard. English Catholics, however, were quite able to defend themselves. I must give you one specimen of the language and style of reasoning adopted by our Catholic champions when this accusation of idolatry was first broached. I quote from a little-known English work of Nicolas Sander, written in the early days of Queen Elizabeth:

Many things are to be abhorred, which are in these our days taught against the truth of the gospel, yet never was anything so maliciously invented, so blasphemously uttered, so foolishly maintained, as to say that it is idolatry to worship with godly honour the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar.

For that saying presupposeth external idols not to have been taken away by the coming of Christ, which is against the express word of God. It presupposeth also that idolatry should be maintained among Christians themselves, not only in groves, hills, and corners, but even openly, in the midst of the whole church, by public doctrine and universal practice, which never chanced, no not even among the Jews.

And—which is most abominable of all—it presupposeth that Christ, who came to end and overthrow all idols, and specially those which were made by hand of man, now Himself should give occasion why His own people should worship baker's bread and wine of grape, and that this

idolatry should be committed by pretence of His own word; yea that it should be done unto Himself in His own mysteries falsely and wickedly, if by any means Christ may be falsely adored.

Can there yet a more lewd and foolish point be added to this opinion? Yea verily. They that teach the worshipping of the sacrament of the altar to be idolatry, say the Bishop of Rome was the cause of that worshipping. They teach also the Bishop of Rome to be Antichrist, which Antichrist is well known to impugn by all means the honour of Christ. And yet they confess both that Christ only made and instituted this sacrament and that the Bishop of Rome himself worshippeth the same. Thus at the length it cometh about that Antichrist finding this great mystery made by Christ, setteth it up to be worshipped of others, and himself worshippeth the same, altogether pretending the honour of Christ, and yet intending thereby (as they say) to diminish His honour. Who ever saw a doctrine so evil hanging together? . . .

Are we, so many hundred years brought up in the faith of Christ, so foolish, as to adore a dead piece of bread, as our adversaries belie us? St. Chrysostom writeth, that in his time very few cities were left where idolatry was used. And yet do all the cities, not only of Mahomet, of the Tartarians, of the Moors, but do all the cities of Christendom still commit open idolatry? For I am sure no Protestant alive can devise any city of the Christians under the sun, where Christ's Body and Blood were not worshipped under the forms of bread and wine, openly, as well in the Greek as in the Latin Churches these many hundred years together. Where was the Church of Christ? Was Our Saviour, who was promised to inherit all nations, brought to that straits, that He had not one chapel reserved to Him in all the world, where idolatry was not outwardly committed? And how committed? By pretence of His own Gospel, of His own word, of His own deed.¹

Now, I can easily imagine a Protestant struck by these arguments, and very loth to think of Catholics

¹ *The Supper of our Lord.* By Nicolas Sander, bk. vi. ch. 3, p. 292 (1566).

as idolaters, and yet unprepared to accept their doctrine of the Real Presence, or Transubstantiation. In such a case is he logically compelled to think Catholic worship idolatrous? I would reply that assuredly he need have no such thought. If Catholics were mistaken as to Transubstantiation, or the Real Presence of our Lord, they would still not be idolaters, except in what is called a material sense. I mean that they would not have any of the guilt or the evil effects of idolatry in their souls. There would be nothing mischievous or degrading in their worship.

The Catholic Bishop Milner argues as follows :

Let me suppose that, being charged with a loyal address to the Sovereign, you presented it by mistake to one of his courtiers, or even to an inanimate figure of him, which for some reason or other had been dressed up in royal robes and placed on the throne. Would your heart reproach you, or would any sensible person charge you, with the guilt of treason in this conduct?¹

The matter has, however, been well put by the Protestant Bishop, Jeremy Taylor. He thus refutes the charge then frequently made against Catholics, though it had not yet been turned into a political engine.

Idolatry is a forsaking the true God, and giving Divine worship to a creature or to an idol, that is, to an imaginary god, who hath no foundation in essence or existence ; and it is that kind of superstition which by divines is called the superstition of an undue object. Now it is evident that the object of their adoration [*i.e.*, of Roman Catholics]—that which is represented to them in their minds, their thoughts and purposes, and by which God principally, if not solely, takes estimate of human actions, in the blessed Sacrament,

¹ *End of Controversy*, Letter 36.

is the only true and eternal God, hypostatically joined with His holy humanity, which humanity they believe actually present under the sacramental signs. And if they thought Him not present, they are so far from worshipping the bread in this case, that themselves profess it to be idolatry to do so; which is a demonstration that their soul hath nothing in it that is idolatrical. The will hath nothing in it that is not a great enemy to idolatry.¹

The same thing was put in a nutshell by Dr. Johnson. Boswell asked him what he thought of the idolatry of the Mass. The Doctor answered: "Sir, there is no idolatry in the Mass. They believe God to be there, and they adore Him."²

These words will, I hope, be sufficient to remove from all candid minds, however Protestant, the thought that they need condemn the Catholic Church of idolatry even interiorly. But the subject I have been discussing, and which I now bring to an end, is the impolicy, the injustice, the outrage of pronouncing a solemn condemnation of Catholic worship at the accession or coronation of a new monarch, when nothing should be heard but mutual pledges of loyalty and affection.

I do not suggest that the time is come for re-opening what is called the Protestant Settlement of the Crown; but I believe that the time is quite ripe for abolishing this remnant of the bigotry of the seventeenth century. When Sir Colman O'Loughlan brought forward his Bill in 1866 and 1867, he used no arguments either in the preamble or in debate. He merely stated that it was expedient to abolish "a relic

¹ *Liberty of Prophecy*, sect. 20.

² This matter is developed in the Appendix.

of barbarism." He knew he had the whole House with him, with the exception of three or four, who were themselves relics of barbarism. Should it be necessary to find arguments to relieve our monarchs from the burden that has been laid on them, they will occur in abundance.

An admirable letter was addressed by the venerable historian Dr. Lingard to the Lord Chancellor, on the occasion of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's taking the Declaration, on meeting her first Parliament. He shows how "cruel and indecorous" it was to require from a young girl of eighteen, not a profession of public and hereditary belief, but an unqualified condemnation of the belief and practice of others.

It will not be denied [he writes] that before a man may safely and consistently affix the stigma of superstition and idolatry on any Church, it is incumbent on him to make the doctrine and worship of that Church the subjects of his study; to be satisfied in his own mind that he understands them correctly, and not merely as they have been misrepresented by their adversaries; and to weigh with impartiality the texts and arguments by which they may be assailed and defended. But who can expect all this from a young woman of eighteen?

May we not add, or from a man of fifty or sixty?

Lingard goes on to show how impolitic it was to require the Sovereign to insult nine millions of her own subjects, as well as to speak offensively of other crowned heads with whom she was allied and of their national creed and worship.¹

¹ Lingard's letter was reprinted in the *Dublin Review* for January, 1838, p. 265.

On the same occasion the chivalrous Charles Waterton wrote with his wonted outspokenness :

Who could suppose that, in these times of intense religious investigation, we should ever see a British Queen forced, by an execrable Act of Parliament, to step forward and swear that the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, at which Alfred the Great, St. Edward the Confessor, and millions upon millions, not only of Englishmen, but of all nations, both before and since their time, have kneeled and do kneel in fervent adoration, is superstitious and idolatrous? . . . Had I been near her sacred person, the sun should not have set before I had imparted to her royal ear a true and faithful account of that abominable oath. It is a satire on the times; it is a disgrace to the British nation; it ought to be destroyed by the hand of the common hangman.¹

To these considerations we may add, has not the Empire extended since the days of William and Mary? If it was possible then to hate and trample on the small remnant of Catholics in England, and to treat the 800,000 Catholics of the Irish nation² as without political or religious rights, is it expedient now to insult the many millions of free-born Catholics throughout a world-wide Empire?

In the seventeenth century the question was not merely of securing a Protestant heir to the throne, but of total suppression of Catholic worship. Some fanatics would have it suppressed because they judged it idolatrous; some politicians called it idolatrous because they wished it to be suppressed. James I., who was both fanatic and politician (of a sort), had declared, shortly after his accession, that toleration

¹ In a letter printed in Wakefield, dated June 15th, 1838.
See Walpole's *Kingdom of Ireland*, bk. v. ch. 2.

was contrary to his conscience ; as long as he could find one hundred men to stand by him, he would fight to death against the toleration of an idolatrous worship.¹

James Usher, Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, with eleven other prelates, promulgated a declaration that—

To permit the free exercise of Catholic worship would be a grievous sin, because it would make the Government a party, not only to superstition, idolatry, and heresy of that worship, but also to the perdition of the seduced people, who would perish in the deluge of Catholic apostasy.²

A few years later, Milton, in his tract on *True Religion*, wrote :

As for tolerating the exercise of their religion (*i.e.*, of the papists), supposing their state activities not to be dangerous, I answer that toleration is either public or private, and the exercise of their religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way. Not publicly, without grievous and insufferable scandal given to all conscientious beholders ; not privately, without great offence to God, declared against all kind of idolatry, though secret. . . . We must remove their idolatry and all the furniture thereof, whether idols or the mass, wherein they adore their God under bread and wine. If they say that by removing their idols we violate their consciences, we have no warrant to regard conscience which is not grounded on scripture.

These were the principles of the seventeenth century. They are no longer practicable, nor are they held by Protestants : why then retain a formula which belonged to a system of belief and government now exploded ? Is it nothing that so many mayors,

¹ Lingard, *James I.* ch. 2.

² *Ibid.* *Charles I.* ch. 5.

magistrates, and judges, in England and Ireland are Catholics? so many of our bravest officers in the army and navy? that the Earl-Marshal is a Catholic? that Catholics are Governors in our colonies, Ambassadors at foreign Courts, members of Her Majesty's Privy Council? in the Ministry, in Parliament, in every department of public life? Have not our Bishops been more than once thanked by a grateful Sovereign, for their prayers offered up for the Royal Family in that very Sacrifice which this Declaration stigmatizes as idolatrous?

Again, it has become the policy of England carefully to avoid interfering with the religion of the millions of India, or hurting their religious prejudices. Are, then, the worshippers of Vishnu and Siva to be conciliated, and Catholics still to be scorned and outraged? I quote the following words from a recent article in the *Daily Chronicle*:

Misrepresentation of the ancient beliefs by incompetent missionaries is a great hindrance to the progress of Christianity. What, for instance, can be more absurd than to represent the Hindus as ignorant and idolatrous worshippers of the work of their own hands? Bishop Heber's Missionary Hymn, though written with the best intention, really contains a gross libel upon vast multitudes of our fellow-subjects in India. What ground had the Bishop for asserting that in the island of Ceylon, "every prospect pleases and only man is vile"?

What is here said of Hinduism might perhaps be contested by some, yet the words express the tendency of English thought and policy, and those who think worst of Catholics would probably class them in religious faith and practice above Brahmins and Buddhists. Yet the natives of our Indian Empire

are conciliated by proclamations, while the worship of Catholics is repudiated as idolatrous and superstitious.

One word more. I have hitherto spoken of abolishing this Declaration as being an insult to Catholics. But may I not speak of it as insulting to the monarch who is asked to take it? Our Divine Lord was called by an old poet "the first true gentleman that ever breathed;" and the word gentleman is so high that there is nothing incongruous in the appellation. Well, most certainly, a Christian King should hold gentleness and honour as the brightest of his crown-jewels. Is it, then, treating our King as a gentleman to suspect his word and his oath, to oblige him to multiply phrases that he is not equivocating, nor guilty of evasion, nor dispensed to lie, and the rest? We tie a conjurer into his chair with knots and double knots: are we thus to tie a King upon his throne? The conjurer will in any case give us the slip; and how will twisted and knotted phrases bind a King who is not a man of honour? Oh! how dignified was the simple coronation oath of our Catholic forefathers, how worthy of a King, and worthy of a great and free and Christian nation. Dryden uses the phrase:

And kind as King upon his coronation-day.

It was no doubt a proverbial expression; but it can never be used again in England until the hateful note of discord introduced at the Revolution is silenced.

But I need not continue. Catholics and Protestants alike will bless the man who shall relieve the nation from a burden which is both a folly and a crime.

APPENDIX.

I. NATURE OF IDOLATRY.

It may be of use to give some further development to what has been said on the sin of idolatry and its special guilt. St. Augustine, who knew the practice and spirit of idolatry well, and was perfectly acquainted with its history among civilized nations, remarks that it had its source in the degradation of the human heart. No one, he says, ever gave the name of God except to what he esteemed the highest and best, at least the best to himself. All men who worship a god of any kind retain in their mind the attributes of power, of knowledge, and supremacy as belonging to a Divine Being; but they vary in their attribution of moral qualities or perfections. The voluptuary clothes that Being with a lustful nature like his own; the blood-thirsty man invents cruel gods and goddesses; the agriculturist, seeing the fertility of the earth dependent on the sunshine, the rain, or the brimming stream, gives Divine Power to the forces of Nature. He may perhaps suspect the existence of a still higher Being, something eternal and supreme, but he thinks that this Being regards men with indifference, and that men need not trouble themselves about His worship. The nobler pagans, on the contrary, without perhaps denying the existence of the *dii minorum gentium*, reserved their homage for what was worthy of it. It is with great truth that Shakspeare puts into the mouth of the pagan, but high-minded, Arviragus, the exclamation:

All gold and silver rather return to dirt,
As 'tis no better reckoned, but of those
Who worship dirty gods.¹

¹ *Cymbeline*, iii. 6.

The false esteem of earthly things is the parent of false worship, or of the false imagination of things in Heaven. Idolatry, then, with all its immoral consequences, is a crime, a sin against human nature, as well as against the Divine.

Thus far Protestants would easily go with us. Let us make then a supposition. Could we imagine a religious error, which should in no way degrade any of the Divine Attributes, surely that error would at least be free from the special guilt of idolatry. Trinitarians, denying of course that their doctrine on the Nature of God is erroneous, maintain that their worship of Three Divine Persons would have no idolatrous taint even in the Unitarian hypothesis. Those who believe the Incarnation of the Second Person, and who worship Jesus Christ as God-Man, deny the right of Socinians to call them idolaters, even if Socinianism were true. And Catholics, while of course denying that Transubstantiation is an error, may boldly challenge the logical right of those who disbelieve it, to brand it as idolatrous.

Of course, had Jesus Christ been a mere man, had He lived and died as a mere man, and were this known and recognized by His worshippers, it would certainly be idolatry to attribute to Him Divine attributes in Heaven, to praise Him with Divine titles, and to invoke Him as if Divine powers were inherent in Him. This would be like the idolatrous apotheosis of heroes and kings by the heathen of old. No Christian, however, does this. In the eyes of those who worship Jesus as God, He is not a human being who has grown into something Divine, or who is confused with what is called Divine. The majority of Christians believe that the Divine Being, clearly recognized as the sole object of supreme worship, has assumed to Himself a human nature, recognized as human. No change is

supposed by them to have happened to the Divinity, though an infinite elevation has been conferred on the Humanity; by union, not by mixture or confusion. The Socinian, on the other hand, holds that Jesus was a mere man, though an ideal or perfect man, and that the Divine Being made Himself known through the teaching and the life and death of that perfect man, but contracted no personal or hypostatic union with Him. The Socinian must therefore consider the majority of Christians as accidentally, and (as we say) materially idolaters; yet he cannot call them real idolaters. They have no idolatrous intentions. They do not by their belief in any way degrade or distort the Divine Being. Christians, who believe in the Incarnation, hold all the sublime things said of the true God in the Psalms and Prophets. They contend that the Divine perfections of power, bounty, mercy, justice, truth, wisdom, purity, long-suffering, are even better understood through the life, death, and resurrection of God Incarnate. I would defy any fair-minded, truth-seeking Socinian to read carefully such a book as Bossuet's *Élévations sur les Mystères*, and yet maintain that the belief in the Incarnation is a dishonour to the Divine Nature.

We reason then in a similar way regarding Catholic belief in the Real Presence and Transubstantiation. It in no way degrades, obscures, distorts, or disturbs, either the perfections of the Eternal God, or the knowledge of Jesus Christ, as learned from the Holy Gospels. The Catholic who adores Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, does not adore bread and wine as if united to Jesus Christ—that would be the heresy of impanation or consubstantiation which he rejects. He believes that there is no bread or wine present to be adored. The “accidents” (which alone fall under the senses) are there as a visible clothing, but

they have (practically) the same relations to our Lord's Body, as the swaddling-clothes or the winding-sheet. Supposing that all this was a mistake; that Jesus Christ was not there, and that bread and wine remained; then certainly Catholics would be mistaken; "materially" they would be idolaters, but not "formally." They have no thought of worshipping bread and wine under any conditions. I would beg of any candid and truth-seeking Protestant to acquaint himself with such books as St. Anselm's *Prayers*, or St. Alphonsus Liguori's *Visits to the Blessed Sacrament*. He will of course be startled at seeing prayers addressed to what he thinks an inanimate object, but he will remember that to the Catholic the object of those prayers is Jesus Christ, present though invisible; and he will then carefully note whether any sentiment is uttered unworthy of a Christian, any grace asked unfitted for God to grant, any conclusion drawn relaxing Christian morals, or anything attributed to God derogatory to His perfections. He will find that the Life and Death of Jesus Christ are recalled in the most affectionate way, His Divine words pondered, and the heart moved to the most perfect love and adoration in spirit and in truth.

2. RECKLESS CHARGES.

The truth of what has just been said may be made more manifest, to men of good faith and loyal hearts, by considering that those who have been bent on proving Catholics to be silly, debased, and brutalized idolaters, have never dared to weigh these clear and public facts sincerely, but have been compelled to invent charges which they should have known to be untenable and slanderous. When Milton, for instance, called Catholic communion "a banquet of cannibals," he should have known that he was

trying to excite hatred by an untruth, if not by a blasphemy. He was guilty of the same kind of scoffing, as when the Jews on the Day of Pentecost saw the effects of the Holy Ghost and said: "These men are full of new wine." Coverdale, the Reformer, thus tries to insult and ridicule the worship of Catholics: "Heaven is My seat, saith God, and the earth is My footstool, and yet will they truss Him up so short that they will bring Him into a little pix, wherein a man cannot turn his fist."¹ Now this man professed to be a worshipper of Jesus Christ, and he knew that Catholics believe Jesus Christ in Flesh and Blood to be present in the Holy Eucharist. With regard to our Lord's Human Nature, it can surely make no difference whether we count by inches or by feet. How then does his argument apply to the Incarnation? How long was the Infant Jesus when He lay in the crib? If it was a question of the Divine Nature, God has no size, and is all present everywhere. Coverdale knew this, and knew that Catholics knew it as well as he. Yet he continues: "He filleth all places, and is contained in no place; and yet will they at their pleasure place Him in the chalice." He knew that pagans might object, and did object, that Christians confined the Omnipresent God to a crib or a cross; and he knew that the answer he would have given to pagans would equally serve Catholics to answer his own scoffing. "He was never visible to the mortal eye," continues this sophist, "and yet will they make Him appear at every knave's request, that will do as other men do, I mean pay their ordinary shot; and so doing he shall not only see Him, but shall eat Him up every morsel." The man knew that Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament is even less visible than He was on earth to every wicked Jew or to every senseless dog. But Coverdale writes all this in order

¹ *Coverdale's Works*, p. 427. Parker Society.

to draw his conclusion in these words, that Catholics "make of the bread an idol of all other most to be abhorred, both for that, as they use it, it is a plain anti-christ, spoiling Christ of His victory achieved by the once offering of Himself for all; and also for that it putteth the believers thereon from the true adoration of God the Father, and maketh them to honour, for the invisible, immense, and eternal God, that visible, measurable and corruptible bread and wine." Clearly this is either the reasoning of a deist, or it is deliberate confusion of terms and misrepresentation—more probably the latter, since he concludes with this impious buffoonery: "Judge whether the devil, if he would come in the likeness of a priest, might not swallow up Christ, and so bring Him into Hell, from whence, because there is no redemption there, Christ's Body would never come, but be damned."

When the Reformers were once started by their leaders on this method of confounding the Divine and the human in the Incarnation, they vied with each other how they might work out their sophisms, to the scorn and hatred of Catholics. I am loth to quote blasphemy, but it is necessary to show whence came the Declaration against Transubstantiation and what were its consequences. Here then is a specimen of what may be found in a thousand books. "The Catholics thought it possible for a creature to make the Creator, for a man unable to create the smallest particle of matter, to give being to that very Power that made the vast stupendous universe. They could see ten thousand Eucharists coined at the baker's oven and believe each to be the whole Divinity. They could follow a procession in which their supposed Almighty God was led forth upon some public calamity to implore His own mercy. An omnipresent God might according to their doctrine be confined within a glass, and He that

made the sun was to be conducted by a lanthorn. In a word, there was no absurdity which pride and avarice did not impose on imbecility.”¹

Passages such as the above make us understand what sort of men our Divine Master had in mind, when He said : “Give not that which is holy to dogs ; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest perhaps they trample them under their feet, and turning upon you, they tear you.”² But they also make us wonder how Protestants who believed the Gospels could read with approbation attacks on the Holy Eucharist, which might equally be directed against the Incarnation. As if Mary did not *make* her Divine Son in a fuller sense than the priest makes the Blessed Sacrament. As if the Infant Jesus was not carried in procession ; or He that made the sun did not light lamp or candle when Nicodemus came to Him by night. It was certainly thoughts and words, like those I have quoted from Milton, Coverdale, and D’Aubant, that found expression in the Declaration against Transubstantiation, composed and sanctioned by the British Parliament. Even were Catholic doctrine false, such words would still be misleading, calumnious, and insolent.

3. OBJECTIONS DUE TO SPITE.

It ought to be very carefully noted that the doctrines and objections of the first Reformers were often due to spite rather than conviction, and of this we have their own frequent assurance. In no matter was this more conspicuous than in the Holy Eucharist. Though Luther defended a real presence, after a sort, he wrote to the people of

¹ Introduction by Abraham D’Aubant to the Works of William Thomas, Clerk to the Privy Council of Edward VI. (1774).

² St. Matt. vii. 6.

Strasburgh that "it would have been a great pleasure to him, had some good means been afforded him of denying it, because nothing could have been more agreeable to the design he had in hand of prejudicing the Papacy."¹ In writing of communion under both kinds he declares that he was influenced not by his belief in Divine institution, but by a frenzy of insubordination to the Church. "If a council did ordain or permit both kinds, in spite of the council he would take but one, or take neither one nor the other, and would curse those who should take both in virtue of such an ordinance."² In his book against Henry VIII., who had defended the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation, Luther writes: "Lest I be ungrateful to the teaching of the Lord Henry, I will now transubstantiate my own opinion, and I do it as follows: formerly I laid it down that it is of no matter whether you think of Transubstantiation in this way or in that; but now, having seen the fine reasons and arguments of this Defender of the sacraments, I decree that it is an impiety and a blasphemy, for any one to say that the bread is transubstantiated." So with regard to adoration. Luther retained the Elevation until the year 1543. When he then abolished it he still wrote in his *Little Confession* in 1544 that "it might be retained with piety, as a testimonial of the real and corporeal presence in the bread, since by this action the priest did say, 'Behold, Christians, this is the Body of Jesus Christ which was given for you.'"³ At the same time he declares that if he attacked the Elevation, it was only out of spite to the Papacy; and if he retained it so long, it was out of spite to Carlstadt. In a word (he concludes) it should be retained when rejected as impious, and should be rejected

¹ Ep. ad Argentin. See Bossuet, *Variations*, bk. ii. c. 1.

² Formulary of the Mass in 1523. Ap. Bossuet, bk. ii. c. 10.

³ Bossuet, bk. vi. c. 25.

when commanded as necessary.¹ At last, in 1545, the year before his death, he called the Eucharist "the adorable sacrament," and Calvin wrote with dismay that "by this decision Luther had raised up the idol in God's temple."² Time went on, and the disciples of Luther and Calvin could come to no agreement regarding the Real Presence; but as they were animated by an equal hatred of the Catholic Church, they united in denouncing Transubstantiation. So the Calvinists of France, in their synod of Charenton in 1631, declared that in the worship of the German Lutherans there was neither idolatry nor superstition; that the doctrine of the Real Presence, taken in itself, has no venom in it; that it is neither contrary to piety, nor God's honour, nor the good of mankind" (although it is untrue). This decree, as Bossuet observes, was made opportunely, for in that year, 1631, the great Gustavus was thundering in Germany, and it was currently believed that Rome itself would be soon in the power of the Lutherans. Both parties, however, were to reject Transubstantiation as impious, and external adoration as idolatry. Let them admit the presence of bread, and it mattered not whether Jesus Christ were present or absent.

In the early days the Lutherans had taught that Christ's Body should be adored because it is present; while Calvinists had admitted that it would be adorable *if only* it was present. Their later doctrine came to be that adoration was not due to the presence unless that were made visible, nor to be paid in any case unless commanded. As Bossuet remarks: "You may hear the voice of the King never so much, if you see him not with your eyes, you owe him no respect; or at least he must declare expressly it is his intention to be honoured, otherwise you should behave as in his absence." These new theologians prohibited adoration even on the

¹ *Parva Confessio*, Bossuet, bk. vii. c. 33.

² *Ibid.* c. 34.

part of believers in the Real Presence, lest the adoration should be referred to the bread, as well as to Jesus Christ ; or at least, lest some should suppose it to be so referred, and so be scandalized. To quote Bossuet once more. "When the wise men adored the Divine Infant in His crib, it was doubtless to be feared lest they should worship, together with Jesus Christ, the crib in which He lay ; or at least the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph might have taken them for crib-worshippers."¹

Some may think these references to foreign Reformers do not concern Englishmen. Yet English doctrine has been for the most part a mere echo of voices from the Continent. In the early days, when the differences between Luther and Carlstadt and Zwingle were just beginning, the Englishman Tyndale wrote to the Englishman Frith : "Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. . . . I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing (!) till the matter might be reasoned in peace, at leisure, of both parties. If you be required, show the phrases of the Scripture and let them talk what they will. For as to believe that God is everywhere hurteth no man that worshippeth Him nowhere but within the heart in spirit and verity ; even so, to believe that the body of Christ is everywhere (though it cannot be proved) hurteth no man that worshippeth Him nowhere save in the faith of His gospel. You perceive my mind ; howbeit if God show you otherwise, it is free for you to do as He moveth you."²

I confess that I am unable to perceive Tyndale's mind, except that, whatever should be believed, Catholic truth must be denied, and whatever should be worshipped, it must not be in union with the Catholic Church. In

¹ Bossuet, bk. xiv. c. 95—105.

² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v. p. 133.

obedience to Tyndale's admonition Frith declared in his answer to Sir Thomas More, who had brought against him the words of his friend Barnes, a follower of Luther: "If the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be holden as ratified, he would never speak more words about the Sacrament, for in that point they did both agree with him that the sacrament was not to be worshipped,¹ and *that idolatry being taken away*, he was content to permit every man to judge of the sacrament, as God should put into their hearts(!); for then there remained no more poison, that any man ought or might be afraid of."² Still, says this liberal-minded instructor of the Church, he does not want his negation of Transubstantiation to be made an article of faith; he wishes it "to be left indifferent for all men to judge therein, as God shall open their hearts."³ These Reformers thought that God could open men's minds to heresies the most contradictory, and even to the Catholic doctrine; not, however, to Catholic practice; that was "poison," "venom," and "idolatry." Could it be more clear that spite and hatred, not reason or Scripture, were the mainsprings of their reform?

Let those, then, who no longer share this spite, and who deplore that it should ever have existed, hasten to put an end to that Declaration, which was its coarsest expression.

¹ On this point Luther often vacillated.

² Foxe, v. p. 10.

³ *Ibid.* p. 12.

5

Blessed Thomas Percy, Martyr, Earl of Northumberland.

BY THE REV. G. E. PHILLIPS.

FEW writers, even among Catholics, appear to have given quite the attention it deserves to the magnificent confession of the Faith made, both during life and still more at his death, by the martyred nobleman who forms the subject of this little memoir, and whose name has so recently been added by the Holy Father to the list of Blessed. Nevertheless (as was pointed out by the pleader of his Cause at Rome), the ardour of Blessed Thomas Percy's faith, and his heroic devotion to the cause in which he suffered, would have made him no unfit companion for Blessed Thomas More, the martyred Chancellor of England; whilst some of the incidents of his life are sufficiently stirring in themselves to have supplied materials to a far more able pen. Still, from the numerous though scattered mentions found in the State Papers, the publications of the Surtees Society, and other works referred to in their places, I have tried to put together the story of his life and sufferings; together with such particulars, as I have found, with reference to his less known fellow-martyr, Blessed Thomas Plumtree.

§ I.

He was born in 1528, and was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Percy, brother and heir-presumptive to Henry Algernon, sixth Earl of Northumberland, who

was childless. His mother, the Lady Eleanor, was daughter to Sir Guischart Harbottle, who had fallen at Flodden Field in 1513, slain by the hand of the Scottish King himself.¹

Sir Thomas and his lady seem after their marriage to have resided at Prudhoe Castle, on the Tyne, one of the many fortresses belonging to the Earl; and there most probably were spent the early years of the future Martyr's life. It was a time when there was rarely peace for long together upon the Scottish border, and when, even whilst a truce existed between the English and the Scotch, the tranquillity of the country was too often disturbed by petty feuds between the gentry of Northumberland themselves. The din of arms must thus have been familiar to the little Thomas Percy, even from his earliest years.

When he was but little more than eight years old, there broke out, in the October of 1536, the movement known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, which stirred the whole North of England, from the Scottish borders to the Humber. Gathering together under banners bearing the representation of our Lord upon the Cross and the Chalice with the Host, the good simple people of the northern counties marched in thousands into Yorkshire, crying out for the re-establishment of the monasteries, the repeal of the laws by which the Pope's authority had been abolished, and the restoration of the ancient Faith in its entirety. For a moment even Henry quailed before them, and thought it necessary to dissemble his resentment until, by deceitful promises of redress of their grievances, he had cajoled them into dispersing and returning to

¹ *History of Northumberland.* By Cadwallader J. Bates, p. 209.

their homes. But, in the next spring, on their reassembling, having meantime despatched more numerous forces to the Duke of Norfolk, his lieutenant, he succeeded in securing the persons of their leaders; and these were forthwith sent up to London to be tried and executed, whilst their more humble followers were hanged in scores at York, Hull, and Carlisle.

In the Pilgrimage of Grace no one, after Robert Aske, its leader, seems to have figured more conspicuously than Sir Thomas Percy, our Martyr's father. He led the vanguard of the pilgrim army, composed of six thousand men, marching under the banner of St. Cuthbert. After their dispersion, he returned to Prudhoe Castle; but, on being summoned to Doncaster by the Duke of Norfolk, he surrendered of his own accord, and being taken up to London, was thrown into the Tower. Thence, after the formality of a trial at Westminster, he was drawn to Tyburn on June 2nd, 1537, and there hanged, in company with other supposed leaders of the movement, amongst whom were the Abbot of Jervaulx and a Dominican friar named John Pickering. The official report of the trials, now published amongst the State Papers,¹ shows that the charge, on which these sufferers were condemned, was that they "did, as false traitors, conspire and imagine to deprive the King of his royal dignity, viz., of being on earth *Supreme Head of the Church of England.*" We may therefore be allowed to hope that, in the sight of God, they died true Martyrs for the Catholic Faith.

¹ Given in De Fonblanque's *Annals of the House of Percy*, vol. i. pp. 570, 571.

The knowledge, if not the actual recollection (for he was nine years old when it occurred), of the circumstances which led to his brave father's death, in defence of the very cause for which he was himself to die so gloriously, cannot have failed to influence the character of our Martyr, especially considering the sufferings which Sir Thomas Percy's execution brought upon his family. As a consequence of his attainder, his children were excluded from succeeding, either to the earldom of Northumberland, or to the estates which, on the demise of the Earl, their uncle, a few weeks later, would naturally have fallen to them; and for a time they had to depend entirely upon the charity of strangers. The Lady Eleanor Percy, their poor widowed mother, seems to have been considered too much implicated in the so-called treason of her husband to be allowed to retain them in her charge; and for a while, at all events, the little Thomas and his still younger brother Henry were placed under the keeping of Sir Thomas Tempest—one of the Commissioners appointed for the trials of the pilgrims—who lived at Holmeside, near to Durham.

The cost of their maintenance there—to his honour be it said—was defrayed by none other than the Duke of Norfolk,¹ who, in spite of the relentless manner with which he had executed the King's vengeance on the defeated pilgrims, pitied the forlorn condition of these homeless children of their leader. The position of Holmeside exposed it, however, to the attacks of Scotch marauders, who might be tempted, it was feared, to carry off the little

¹ De Fonblanque, ii. p. 4.

Percys in hopes of obtaining the payment of a ransom. Some months later, therefore, at the request of Sir Thomas Tempest, Bishop Tunstall wrote to Cromwell, begging that some place might be provided for them "more within the country. The children be young, and must be among women."¹ We are not told what followed from the Bishop's application, nor how long the poor children were kept separated from their mother;² and but little more is known with reference to the early life of our Martyr.

Meantime Henry VIII. passed to his account, and was succeeded by his son, Edward VI. Under the boy-King, in the February of 1549, an Act of Parliament was passed "for the restitution in blood of Mr. Thomas Percy,"³ who in that year attained the age of manhood. By this Act the young Percy was so far rehabilitated, as heir to his father, as to be entitled to inherit any property which might come to him from collateral branches of his family; and he was enabled also to receive the benefit of an annuity which his uncle, the late Earl, had left him. About this same time, moreover, he was knighted. It was not till three years later that restoration was made to him of any part of the Northumberland estates, but he was then allowed to take possession of Langley, Ellingham, and certain other manors. Meantime the entire barony of

¹ *Henry VIII. Domestic*, vol. v. p. 118.

² In the year following her husband's execution, Lady Percy is mentioned as being at Preston Tower, a residence some ten miles south of Berwick, which she had inherited from her father's family, with a portion of the Ellingham estate. (Bateson's *History of Northumberland*, ii. p. 106.

³ *Lords' Journals*, 2 Edward VI.

Alnwick was bestowed by the young King on the adventurous and unprincipled Dudley, Earl of Warwick, with the then unprecedented title of Duke (not Earl) of Northumberland.

The downfall of this nobleman, consequent on his attempt in 1553 to exclude Queen Mary from the throne, removed the chief obstacle to Sir Thomas Percy's reinstatement in the ancient honours and possessions of his family; and we may be sure that from the first he must have had the sympathy of the good Queen, whose own fidelity to the Faith had been the occasion of so many sufferings. Soon after her accession, Sir Thomas Percy was named Governor of Prudhoe Castle, and throughout her reign he showed himself a faithful and active supporter of her interests. In the April of 1557, he earned particular distinction by capturing, after a two days' siege, the Castle of Scarborough from Sir Thomas Stafford, who had seized upon it whilst in conspiracy with the French King against Queen Mary. The restoration of Sir Thomas Percy to the earldom quickly followed, and on May 1st of the same year he was created Earl of Northumberland, with remainder to his brother Henry: the subordinate titles of Baron Percy, Baron Poynings, Lucy, Bryan, and Fitzpane, having been conferred upon him on the previous day.

The patent of his creation set forth that "the same was done in consideration of his noble descent, constancy of virtues, valour in deeds of arms, and other shining qualifications." Of the ceremony of his installation at Whitehall, Hutchinson writes: "It was attended with great pomp. The procession was preceded by eight heralds and twelve trumpeters. He

was accompanied by the Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, and Rutland, and the Lord Montague—walking in the middle in robes of crimson velvet, and a coronet of gold.”¹

Queen Mary gave him a fresh proof of her confidence by appointing him at the same time Warden General of the Marches, in conjunction with Lord Wharton. He was soon called upon in this capacity to show his prowess in the field. A fresh outbreak of hostilities with the Scotch occurred in the July of 1557, when the latter crossed the Border. The new Earl of Northumberland led an expedition to the Cheviots, where he not only gained a victory, but succeeded in taking prisoner Sir Andrew Ker, the Scotch leader.

In the following January the Queen commissioned him to treat with Scotland for a truce between the two kingdoms, and wrote at the same time to the venerable Bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstall, requesting him to assist the Earl with his counsel in this important matter.² The truce, however, proved but of short duration; and in the summer of the same year we again find the Earl and his brother, Sir Henry Percy, occupied, not always with complete success, in repelling the inroads of the Scots, now led by French officers.

Meanwhile, we must not forget to mention the Earl's marriage, in the same year, 1558, with Anne Somerset, daughter of the Earl of Worcester—a saintly lady, who, by her patient endurance throughout the long period of her widowhood and exile, proved

¹ *View of Northumberland*, ii. 238.

² *State Papers, Scotland*, 1558, January 21 and 23.

herself no unfitting consort for the destined Martyr. His mother, the Lady Eleanor, seems to have continued living on her Ellingham estate, which she had made over to him, but had to receive back for her lifetime ; and we find her complained of to Cecil, in 1563, as having had Mass said in her house. She died in 1567.¹

§ 2.

In the November of 1558 Queen Mary died ; and the accession of her half-sister, Elizabeth, was the signal for England's being plunged again, more hopelessly than ever, into heresy and schism.

The new Queen soon made it clear that her first object was to sever all connection between England and Rome ; and, following the bad example of her father, to leave no stone unturned to wrest to herself the authority which God has given to the Roman Pontiff.

The Earl of Northumberland was absent from the opening of Elizabeth's first Parliament, detained, perhaps, by the unsettled condition of the Scottish Border ; but his name appears in the Lords' Journals as present a week later, and in the records of the following Session there is a melancholy interest in reading it in company with the honoured names of the courageous Bishops who then made a firm but fruitless stand in defence of England's ancient Faith, and who all, with but one exception, suffered in consequence deprivation of their sees, with either imprisonment or exile. It was in this first Parliament of Elizabeth that the Catholic religion was deposed from its place as the religion of the country,

¹ De Fonblanque, ii. p. 37.

its observance being made into a legal crime; and that there was set up in its stead the institution still styled in law the Established Church of England, to which all the old Catholic churches and Cathedrals were made over. In face of the perversions of all history with reference to this event, which are now circulated so assiduously by some Anglicans of high position, it is useful for us carefully to bear in mind the two Acts of 1559, by the enforcement of which this change of the religion of our country was chiefly brought about: the Acts, namely, of Supremacy and of Uniformity.

By the first of these the spiritual authority of every foreign prelate within the realm was declared to be abolished, the jurisdiction formerly exercised by the Pope being made over to the Crown. Assertors of the Pope's authority were to be punished, first by forfeiture of property, and then by perpetual imprisonment; whilst a third offence was to be visited with the penalty of death, inflicted as in cases of high treason. By the Act of Uniformity the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was prohibited, and it was required that in all churches the ministers should use the Protestant Book of Common Prayer alone, under like penalties of forfeiture, deprivation, and death.¹

Thus was the so-called Church of England brought into existence, and most justly did our Martyr Earl exclaim later, as he stood upon the scaffold: "As to this new Church of England, I do not acknowledge it!" How, indeed, could he acknowledge it as the Church of Jesus Christ, when he had himself been

¹ Hallam, *Constitutional History of England*, i. 152; Lingard, vi. p. 13.

present at its making, and knew whose handiwork it was?

Many a glorious martyr has, however, first quailed before his persecutor, and yielded for a time, through weakness, to something which could not be reconciled with his conscience; and in spite of the magnificent confession of the Catholic Faith made in his later years (in which faith, moreover, as we know from his dying speech, he had never wavered for a moment), it is still uncertain whether at the time of the passing of the two Acts referred to, the Earl of Northumberland had sufficient courage openly to resist the royal pleasure. At all events, his name has not come down to us in the list of those who so bravely gave their votes against the measures.¹ It is not impossible that he may have been temporarily absent from the House; but nothing can be asserted with certainty, since in the Lords' Journals there is an absolute and highly suspicious silence with reference to the proceedings of the very week—the last week of April—in which took place the final voting on the Bills of Supremacy and Uniformity. There seems to be no doubt, however, that, either at this time or a little later, he did allow himself to be implicated, in some way or another, in the schism; since, in his answers to the questions put to him during his imprisonment, he speaks of having been “reconciled to the Church of Rome two years and more,” before the Northern Rising. Be this, however, as it may, he seems always to have been regarded as—at least at heart—a thorough Catholic; for which very reason he was ever looked on with suspicion by

¹ Given by D'Ewes, p. 28.

Elizabeth and her Ministers, though for a while they found it useful to employ him.

Northumberland was present at the closing of Elizabeth's first Parliament, on May 8th, and immediately returned northwards with a commission from the Queen addressed to himself, the Bishop of Durham, and Sir Joseph Croft, to conclude a fresh treaty with the Queen Dowager of Scotland.¹ The venerable Bishop, with whom he was to act, had been hindered by his extreme age and infirmities from being present at the Parliament, the acts of which had filled him with sorrow and dismay; and on the conclusion of the treaty, about the end of June, he caused himself to be conveyed to London with such haste as he could bear, in hopes of being able even yet to do something, by remonstrating with the Queen. It is needless to say that the remonstrances of the good Bishop were altogether ineffectual. And, having been placed in confinement and deprived of his see (as already ten of his brother Bishops had been), on account of his refusal to take the new Oath of Supremacy, he died a few weeks later—a prisoner in the palace of Dr. Matthew Parker, whom Elizabeth had intruded into the archbishopric of Canterbury.

In the August of the same eventful year 1559, Northumberland received a fresh appointment from Elizabeth—a commission, namely, “for the reformation of the disorders committed by the Scots upon the frontier.”² With him were joined Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, and the instructions

¹ State Papers, *Scotland*, May 10th, 1559.

² State Papers, August 6th, 1559.

secretly issued at the same time to the first of these, prove that the Earl's name was placed at the head of the commission merely to deceive the public; the real purpose of Elizabeth and Cecil being to give all the secret encouragement they could to the Scottish insurgents, whom the fanatical John Knox was heading, in the hope of bringing about what they succeeded ultimately in accomplishing, viz., the dethronement of the unfortunate Queen Mary.¹ The Earl's connection with the commission, which was from the first, as I have said, but nominal, soon came to an end entirely; and that he was no party to the transactions carried on is shown by a letter of Sadler's, written from Berwick a few days after he had entered on his mission, in which he tells Sir William Cecil that "he intends to take the assistance of Sir James Croft in preference to that of Sir Henry Percy, or the Earl of Northumberland: that he thinks the former not in any wise comparable to Croft, and the latter very unmeet for the charge committed to him."²

To have been thought "unmeet" by an unscrupulous agent of Elizabeth's, need certainly be taken as no blame in our eyes; and it is worth remarking that, at the time referred to, Sir Henry Percy, whom Sadler seems to have considered less "unmeet" than his brother, the Earl, had already so far abandoned his religion as to let himself be used by Cecil as a medium of communication with John Knox. The understanding, which already existed between Sir Henry and the Scotch heresiarch, is

¹ Lingard, vi. 34.

² State Papers, August 29th, 1559.

shown by a letter of the latter, written on July 1st in which he requires such friendship from Sir Henry, "that there may be conference and knowledge from time to time between the faithful (*i.e.*, the Protestants) of both realms."¹

His brother's apostasy must have been one of the sorest trials of the Earl; and it was not till several years later, that Sir Henry was brought back to the Faith, when he atoned for his past infidelity by the patient endurance of much persecution.

It was not long before Northumberland was driven by the mistrust of the Government and the opposition of his own colleagues in the office to resign the Wardenship of the Marches. He then retired to the south, and during the next few years lived much at his Sussex residence of Petworth. Though he still enjoyed, at all events externally, the favour of the Queen, who in 1563 bestowed on him the Order of the Garter, indications are not wanting that in consequence of his well known attachment to the ancient Faith, he was at this time kept more or less under surveillance, and perhaps occasionally restricted in his movements. Thus in the May of 1565, Throckmorton, Elizabeth's agent in Scotland, wrote to Lord Leicester, praying that "the Earl of Northumberland be stayed in London. From all I hear it is very necessary. The Papists in these parts do stir themselves." In the next month, moreover, of the same year, we find the Archbishop of York reporting the Earl to the Privy Council, as one "obstinate in religion."²

¹ State Papers, July 1st and August 4th, 1559.

² State Papers, May and June, 1565.

These facts seem inconsistent with the notion of his having ever given up the Catholic religion, and yet his words, already quoted, with reference to his "reconciliation" seem at first to imply that he had, for, when asked after his seizure, "Were you reconciled to the Church of Rome before you did enter into the rebellion? and by whom?" he answered: "I was reconciled by one Master Copley two years and more before our stir;" adding, in answer to a further question, that the said Master Copley "hath no certain abiding, but was sometimes in Lancashire and sometimes elsewhere."¹ In times such as those of Queen Elizabeth, it must have been an easy matter, either through ignorance, or weakness, for an otherwise well-meaning Catholic to be betrayed into some compliance, which, without extending to apostasy, might still be incompatible with a right profession of the Faith, and so, until confessed, cause just trouble to the conscience. Since, then, more than four years before the rising, which only broke out in the autumn of 1569, the good Earl already bore the reputation of "an obstinate Papist;" it seems necessary to understand him to have yielded only to some lesser weakness of this kind.

If we suppose the "reconciliation," he mentions, to have taken place before the end of 1566, it may perhaps account for his bolder attitude in Parliament, when, in the November of that year, an Act was passed to heal the legal informalities in the consecration of the first Anglican Bishops, the Act which

¹ Sir Cuthbert Sharpe's *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*, pp. 204, 213.

declared the manner of their consecration to be "good, lawful, and perfect." On this occasion the name of the Earl of Northumberland heads the list of the peers who gave their votes against the measure;¹ and from this time, at all events, any previous weakness there may have been was repaired by a zeal and courage worthy of one reserved by God for the crown of martyrdom.

The troubles of the unhappy Mary Queen of Scots—whose subjects, incited by the continual intrigues of Elizabeth and Cecil, had openly rebelled against her—were naturally viewed with the liveliest sympathy by the Catholics of England, for they placed, in Queen Mary, as heiress to the English throne, their own hopes of relief from persecution in the future. Northumberland, in particular, made no secret of his sympathy, and when, in the May of 1568, the Scottish Queen was forced to flee from her own kingdom and seek refuge at Carlisle, the Earl set out from Topcliffe, in Yorkshire, where he was staying at the time, to do what he could for her safe and honourable entertainment. His views, however, with reference to the Royal fugitive were very different from those of Elizabeth and her minions; and his demand to be allowed to take charge of Mary met with a rude refusal from the Deputy Warden of the Marches; nor were either he or his Countess permitted to have speech with the captive Queen, excepting once in presence of some others. The Earl found means, however, of occasionally communicating with her during her confinement in the course of the next year at Bolton and at

¹ Lords' Journals, 8 *Eliz.* November 6th.

Tutbury; and he himself, in his answers when examined, tells how he had written "praying her especially to regard the advancement of the Catholic religion." This, in fact, more than any mere compassion for her sufferings, was, he makes quite plain, the one real cause of his supporting her; and he adds that, when the idea of marrying her to the Duke of Norfolk had been mooted, he "sent her word how her marriage with the Duke was disliked, he being counted a Protestant. If she ever looked to recover her estate, it must be by the advancing and maintaining of the Catholic faith; for there ought to be no halting in those matters."¹

Meanwhile, the exercise of the Catholic religion had been becoming day by day more difficult and dangerous, and the only wonder is that the ancient Faith contrived, as it did, still to keep its hold upon the people, and that it continued for so long a period, and particularly in the northern counties, to be yet in reality the religion of the land. In virtue of the sacrilegious and unjust Act of Uniformity, all the grand old churches and cathedrals, with which, throughout its length and breadth, the soil of England had been covered by our Catholic ancestors, had been diverted from the sacred purpose to which they had been originally consecrated, and had been given over during the last eleven years to the ministers of the new State-made religion, whose pretended mission was derived, not from the Vicar of our Blessed Lord, but only from the Queen. The crucifixes and the images of our Blessed Lady and the Saints had been everywhere torn down and

¹ Sharpe, p. 192.

broken, on the senseless plea that they were incentives to idolatry; and the innumerable altars, on which the Holy Sacrifice had been daily offered up for centuries, had been overturned and desecrated; whilst the Holy Mass itself might now no more be heard, or offered up, unless in the safe concealment of some vault or secret chamber. The priests too, who, remaining faithful to their trust, had refused to take the oath affirming the Royal Supremacy in matters of religion—an oath which, of course, no Catholic could take without apostasy—had been ruthlessly ejected from their cures, turned adrift to live how and where they could, and liable, if found still exercising their priestly office, to immediate seizure and imprisonment; or, if the offence were often repeated, to the punishment of death. Nor were the lay people free to refuse the ministrations of the new-fangled clergy forced upon them, but were made liable to a fine each time they were absent from their services on a Sunday.

Nevertheless, although the ministers of the new religion were thus supported by the whole power of the law, their own confessions supply us with the clearest evidence of the extreme difficulty which they experienced in thrusting its acceptance on the people. Indeed, if the whole subject were not so supremely sad, the story of the difficulties encountered by these so-called Bishops (on whom Elizabeth had astutely conferred the titles of the ancient sees), in their attempts to execute their office, would be highly entertaining. Thus, to take a few examples out of many: in the August of 1561, the State Papers show us Scory, the new Bishop of Hereford,

indignantly complaining to Cecil, that "a number of Popish priests, who had been driven out of Exeter and elsewhere, had been received and feasted in the streets, with torch-lights!"¹

In the same year, the newly-made Bishop of Carlisle, in reporting the state of his diocese to the same official, writes: "The priests are wicked imps of Antichrist, for the most part ignorant and stubborn, and past measure false and subtle;" and in the following January, the same prelate is found again complaining of the "great prevalence of Popery in his diocese," and announcing in dismay that "Articles of Religion in French are being circulated among the disaffected Papists of the North." As to Durham, Dr. Pilkington could find no other way of describing his experiences than by saying that, "Like St. Paul, he has to fight with beasts at Ephesus;" and even as late as 1576, Dr. Barnes, his successor, in writing of his difficulties with "the reconciling priests and massers" of Northumberland, "whereof there was store," actually goes on to call Durham an "*Augiæ stabulum*, whose stink is grievous in the nose of God and men, and which to purge far passeth Hercules' labours."²

Lastly, to pass to Yorkshire (for our present interest is with the northern counties), the words of Sir Ralph Sadler have repeatedly been quoted, in which, when the rising we are now to speak of had begun, he writes to Sir William Cecil: "There are not ten gentlemen in all this country that favour her (the Queen's) proceedings in religion. The common

¹ *Domestic*, 1547—1580, pp. 180—192.

² Surtees Society's Publications, vol. xxii., preface.

people are ignorant, superstitious, and altogether blinded *with the old Popish doctrine*, and therefore so favour the cause which the rebels make the colour of their rebellion. . . . No doubt all this country had wholly rebelled, if at the beginning my Lord Lieutenant had not wisely and stoutly handled the matter.”¹ It is hardly necessary to explain that, in the mouths of men such as Sadler and the Protestant Bishops, the terms “ignorance” and “superstition” were but synonyms for adherence to the ancient Catholic belief.

There would be no difficulty in multiplying such quotations, but the above seem sufficient to prove the tenacity with which, in spite of every obstacle, the good people of the north retained their affection for the ancient Faith; and this fact explains the readiness with which—like their fathers in the Pilgrimage of Grace—they flocked to join the banners of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, when, in 1569, in the beginning of Elizabeth’s twelfth year, a brave, though in reality ill-judged, attempt was led by these two noblemen, to obtain the restoration of the Catholic religion.

§ 3.

Unwise as the Rising of the North was, and difficult to defend when measured by its prospects of success, no one can set himself to an impartial study of its history without feeling that the movement originated solely and entirely from the desire of the actors to bring about the restoration of the Catholic religion, the practice of which had become impossible under

¹ *Domestic Papers*, Addenda, 1569, December 6th.

the persecuting policy of Elizabeth and her Chief Secretary, Sir William Cecil. This is proved conclusively, not only by the proclamations of its leaders and by the whole conduct of those that took part in the movement, but even still more clearly by the admissions of their adversaries themselves.

In the spring of the year, 1569, Dr. Nicholas Morton, a former Prebendary of York Minster, had been sent by the Pope as Apostolic Penitentiary to the northern counties, for the purpose of imparting to the persecuted priests the faculties which there were then no Bishops in England to bestow. He was related to two of the Yorkshire families afterwards most prominent in the rising, the Nortons and the Markenfields, whose estates lay near to Ripon; and was declared by Francis Norton to have been "the most earnest mover of the rebellion." The Earl of Northumberland, who was then residing at his Yorkshire seat of Topcliffe, was amongst those whom Dr. Morton visited; and in a letter written afterwards to Lord Burghley, the same Francis Norton tells how the Earl had sent for his father, old Mr. Richard Norton, and declared to him "the great grief he had for that they all lived out of the laws of the Catholic Church, for the restitution whereof he would willingly spend his life."¹ Sander, moreover, in speaking of the conferences held between the leaders before the actual outbreak, relates that when certain persons urged the policy of putting forward some other pretext for the rising rather than the Catholic faith, the Earl of Northumberland exclaimed: "I neither know of nor acknowledge any other, for we

¹ Sharpe, p. 281.

are seeking, I imagine, the glory not of men but God." ¹

If the liberation of Mary Queen of Scots from her unjust captivity did enter into the designs of the leaders of the rising, it was because they considered the freedom of the Catholic heiress to the English throne an indispensable condition for securing their religious liberty. "In the having of her," says the Earl in his answers to the Privy Council, "we hoped thereby to have some reformation in religion, or at the least, some sufferance for men to use their conscience as they were disposed; and also the freedom of her whom we accounted the second person and right heir apparent." ²

If we turn, moreover, to the letters of the Earl of Sussex, Lord President of the Council of the North, written from York to Sir William Cecil and to the Queen herself at the first beginning of the outbreak, we find him again and again asserting *religion* as its cause. "These Earls and their confederates will do what they can for the cause of religion, and therefore this matter should not be dallied with." "They have been . . . drawn on . . . to what was intended by those wicked counsellors at the beginning . . . I mean the cause of religion." And a few days later, "the people like so well their cause of religion that they flock to them in all places where they come." ³

Other similar expressions from the despatches of Government and other officials, and even from a

¹ Bridgewater's *Conceriatio*, fol. 46.

² Sharpe, p. 193.

³ *Domestic*, Addenda, 1566—1579, pp. 103, 108, 112.

letter of Elizabeth herself, will be quoted later ; but the above appear sufficiently to show how clearly it was understood on all sides that the desire to restore the Catholic religion was the actuating motive of the rising.

The early autumn was spent by the northern Catholic gentry in holding frequent consultations. Northumberland's reluctance to take action was due, as he says in his answers, partly to his "finding the matter apparently without all likelihood of success," and therefore "likely to breed bloodshed" to no purpose ; and partly to his strong sense of his obligation to remain submissive to his Sovereign, so long as the fact of her excommunication should remain uncertain. His doubts on these two points caused him much painful hesitation, and made him the last of all the leaders to give his sanction to the enterprise ; and even then he only yielded under pressure which was little short of violence, and whilst still maintaining his loyalty to the person of the Queen herself.¹

To solve their doubts as to the lawfulness of their contemplated rising, the two Earls, on November 8, 1569, addressed a joint letter to Pope St. Pius V., asking for advice and help. It is true that they were driven into taking action long before the Holy Father's answer could arrive ; and that, when it was given, the movement already had been crushed. Still the Pope's letter has a very special interest, since apparently it justifies completely the enterprise looked at in itself. A summary of this

¹ The true loyalty of the Earl's sentiments towards the Queen is shown by a letter which he wrote to her on the day before the outbreak. (Sharpe, p. 320.)

important document is given by Sir Cuthbert Sharpe, and it should be noticed that it was dated Feb. 20, 1570, that is five days before the famous Bull by which Elizabeth was excommunicated. Clearly Dr. Morton had not been wrong in representing her as considered by the Pope to be already practically excommunicated, and deprived of her right of sovereignty.¹

In replying to the Earls (writes Sharpe), the Pontiff, "hopes that God has put it into their hearts to recall the kingdom to its former obedience to Rome, and to establish it; and he exhorts them to persevere, being assured that God, who had excited them to this attempt, would assist them; 'and if, in assisting the Catholic faith and the authority of the Holy See, death should happen to you, and your blood be poured out, it is much more honourable to attain eternal life for the confession of God through a glorious death, than by living shamefully and ignominiously in obedience to the caprice of a weak woman, with detriment to your souls.' He then exhorts them not to desist, but rather to follow the example of Thomas of Canterbury, and to rely upon God, who, through them, would restore the ancient religion and dignity of the kingdom."²

A few days after the two Earls had despatched their letter to the Pope, they were startled by a sudden summons to present themselves before the Queen, who had received information of their move-

¹ "Master Coply and another priest consulted by the leaders, thought that the formal excommunication ought to be waited for before rising." (Sharpe, p. 204. Answers of the Earl.)

² Sharpe, p. 319.

ment. On this they held a last consultation with their chief supporters at Brancepeth Castle, the residence of Lord Westmoreland, where, though almost wrung from him by force, Northumberland's agreement to the rising was at last obtained.¹ Accordingly, setting out from Brancepeth with such forces as could hastily be gathered, the two Earls made a public entry into Durham on the afternoon of November 14, amidst the acclamations of the people. Their first care on entering was to proceed to the Cathedral and give directions for its immediate restoration to Catholic worship, the communion-table and Protestant books of service being carried out and publicly destroyed; and this was the signal for St. Cuthbert's city once more to assume its old appearance, and openly show itself the Catholic town it had always remained at heart. During the short month the

¹ The following is Northumberland's own account of this Council, held at Brancepeth, as abridged from his answers on examination: "My Lord (of Westmoreland), his uncles, old Norton, and Markenfeld were earnest to proceed. Francis Norton, John Swinburne, myself, and others thought it impossible; so we broke up and departed, every man to provide for himself. Lady Westmoreland, hearing this, cried out, weeping bitterly, that we and our country were shamed for ever, and that we must seek holes to creep into. Some departed, and I wished to go, but my Lord's uncles and others were so importunate that I and my Lord should not sunder, or we should cast ourselves away, that I remained a day or two. If any of us had provided a ship, we should have been glad; but when I found I could not get away I agreed to rise with them, and promised to go and raise my force in Northumberland, to join Lord Westmoreland upon the Tyne. They disliked my departing, but I told them I must go, unless I went under my Lord's standard without force of my own. I had got away an arrow-shot, when the Nortons and others came to persuade me to return. Being desperately urged, I returned, and met my Lord riding homeward, I thought, but he passed towards Durham. When I understood they would begin the matter there, I would no further, and willed my Lord to return home and take better advice. I walked up and down till sunset, and then they forced me to go." (*Domestic, Addenda, June 13, 1572.*)

rising lasted we read there of altars rebuilt in nearly all the churches, and of masses heard by crowded congregations ; of holy water carried to the people's houses, and of processions headed by the cross ; and, best of all, of thousands kneeling at the feet of priests commissioned by Christ's Vicar, to receive absolution from their sins and censures.

On this first day of the rising the Earls stayed no longer in Durham than was needed for the proclamation of their enterprise ; and returning to Brancepeth for the night, they set out next day with their army southwards. But this public restoration of the Catholic religion in a city such as Durham, in the beginning of Elizabeth's twelfth year, is an event so striking as to deserve more attention than it has usually received. Let us then interrupt the narrative to supply some details regarding it not noticed by most writers, especially as it was an occurrence so closely connected with the Earl of Northumberland.

The following account of the proceedings in Durham on November 14, is contained in a letter to the Earl of Sussex from Sir George Bowes, then in command of Barnard Castle, and is interesting from the fact of its having been written on the following day : "The doings of the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland. Yesterday, at four of the clock in the afternoon, the said Earls, accompanied with Richard Norton, Francis, his son, with divers other of his said sons ; Christopher Nevill, Cuthbert Nevill, uncles of the said Earl of Westmoreland ; and Thomas Markenfield, with others to the number of three (score) horsemen armed in corselets and coats of plates, with spears, arquebuses, and daggers,

entered the Minster there, and there took all the books but one, and them and the communion-table defaced, rent, and broke in pieces. And after made a proclamation in the Queen's name that no man, before their pleasure known, should use any service; and calling the citizens before them, told them how they had done nothing but that they would avow and was after the Queen's proceedings. And so tarrying about the space of one hour they departed, putting a watch of twenty-four townsmen to the town, which took a servant of mine, which I sent thither, and him carried to his lodging, and there he was kept till this morning, and so came away. In haste at Barnard Castle, the 15th of November, at twelve of the clock, 1569."

The fact of a watch of twenty-four of their own fellow-townsmen being thought by the Earls a sufficient force to guard the city, shows clearly how entirely they had the sympathy of the citizens of Durham in their proceedings at the Minster; and, in fact, we have the express declaration of the Earl of Sussex, made in answer to questions from the Queen as to the "Earls' outrageous doings at Durham," that "there was no resistance made, nor any mislike of their doings." He says too in another letter: "They pay for all they take, and suffer no spoil. At Durham a man of the Earl's took a horse of the Dean's out of his stable, but the horse was restored and the taker punished."¹ Indeed, the whole conduct of the people at this time showed that they were no mere passive spectators of the attempt to give back to them the means of practising again their

¹ *Domestic*, Addenda, pp. 119, 110.

ancient Faith, but were actual and glad co-operators in it: and yet it must not be forgotten that for the eleven years preceding they had been entirely debarred from attending (unless occasionally by stealth) either mass or sacraments; and that every church and chapel in the country had been for the same space of time in the hands of ministers, who, whether priests or not by ordination, had all conformed to the new heresy, and who were for the most part animated by a virulent hatred of everything that savoured of the old religion, attendance at their own services being, moreover, enforced by rigorous penalties. Of these, James Pilkington ("the late supposed Bishop," as one of the Earls' proclamations described him¹) had openly praised God for having kept him from the "filthiness" of the religion and the orders of his predecessor, Cuthbert Tunstall;² whilst the fanatical Dean Whittingham (who then presided over the Cathedral, and who owed his only orders to the Calvinist ministers of Geneva³) displayed his love of Catholicity by sacrilegiously rifling the tomb of Venerable Bede, whose relics he scattered to the winds,⁴ and by burning the corporal cloth of St. Cuthbert, which had been upheld by the monks as a banner at the victory of Nevill's Cross.

As to the eleven Canons who then occupied the places of the monks, two brothers of the Bishop—John and Leonard Pilkington—may be supposed to have shared his sentiments; as also Swift, his Vicar-General, who afterwards presided at the trials for

¹ Sharpe, p. 98.

² Bridgett and Knox, *Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy*, 48.

³ Estcourt, *Question of Anglican Ordinations*, 149.

⁴ Bollandists, *Acta S. Bedæ*, Maii 27.

ecclesiastical offences which followed the suppression of the rising ; whilst of the rest it is enough to say that all of them had been appointed, or at least confirmed in office, by Elizabeth ;¹ and that (sad to tell) no less than three amongst them—Stephen Marley (last Subprior), Thomas Spark, and George Cliff—were apostate monks, who, following no principle except the securing of their worldly interests, had accepted each successive change that had followed the suppression of their monastery in 1541, renouncing their Faith again finally on the accession of Elizabeth.

The first two of these ex-monks were probably in 1569 the only members of the Chapter who had been validly ordained, George Cliff having apparently received no more than acolyte's orders from Bishop Tunstall.² Nearly all of these worthies seem to have fled from Durham on its occupation by the Earls, since a memorial of Cecil's is found to contain the following item under the heading of "Proceedings for the suppression of the rising : " "The Bishop and Dean of Durham and all ecclesiastical persons (to be) commanded to return to their charges."³ Most, however, of the more subordinate officials appear without reluctance to have lent their services to the faithful priests, who, as long as the rising lasted, were allowed to take undisturbed possession both of the Cathedral and the other churches. Of these priests a word must now be said.

¹ One—John Rudd—had been dispossessed by Mary. See Le Neve's *Fasti*. Hardy's Edition.

² Surtees Society's Publications, *ibid.* p. 137. He was made a Canon by Elizabeth.

³ Most of the details which follow are gathered from the Reports of the trials held after the rising, published by the Surtees Society, *ibid.* pp. 127, seq.

In virtue of special faculties received from Rome, the chief conduct of religious matters was undertaken by a zealous and courageous priest named William Holmes, whose memory deserves to be rescued from the oblivion into which it has been allowed to fall. So conspicuous, indeed, was the part played by this man at the time we speak of, that it won for him from his enemies the name of the "Pope's Patriarch;" and we find him so described by them in their despatches. Thus after the suppression of the rising the Attorney-General writes to Cecil: "One Holmes, thought to be the Patriarch, is indited here (Durham), but he is fled."¹

Mr. Holmes was assisted in his difficult and dangerous undertaking by three other priests, named Robert and John Peirson and John Robson. The first of these is spoken of by one of the witnesses at the trials held after the rising as "the priest of Brancepeth," and he appears to have been private chaplain to the Earl of Westmoreland. John Peirson (perhaps brother to the former) was one of the Minor Canons of the Cathedral, and had probably made his submission to the Church some time before. Whatever may have been his history, there was evidently no question raised about his orders, and he was now fully reinstated in his ministry, for which he afterwards suffered deprivation of his benefice.² It was in his chambers on the Palace Green that Mr. Holmes appears to have found a lodging, and there that he received some of the conforming clergy, who came to him for absolution from their censures. As to

¹ *Domestic*, Addenda, 1570, April 1.

² Sharpe, pp. 231, 260.

Mr. Robson, no particulars seem discoverable, beyond the frequent mention of him in the trials as having said mass in the Cathedral.

The burning of the Protestant service-books at the Cathedral had been the signal for a similar proceeding at the other churches; those, for instance, of St. Oswald's—consisting of “a Bible, the Book of Comon Praier, the Apologe, and the Homilies”—having been brought down, as was afterwards deposed, and “byrnt at the brig ende.”¹ The next step was to rebuild a certain number of the ruined altars, on which the Holy Sacrifice might again be offered up, and to replace the holy-water vats at the church doors; and the laborious way in which this work was set about shows how permanent it was meant to be by its directors—Mr. Holmes and Mr. Robert Peirson—to whom Lord Westmoreland's uncle, Mr. Cuthbert Nevill, lent his powerful support. Orders are said to have been given by them for the rebuilding of no less than five of the Cathedral altars, although only two seem to have been actually erected. These were the High Altar in the choir and that of our Blessed Lady in the south transept, called the Lady Bolton Altar from the tithes of Bolton chapelry with which it had been anciently endowed. For the re-erection of these altars two of the old altar-stones, which lay buried under rubbish (one at the back of the house of Dr. Swift, Pilkington's Vicar-General, and the other “in the century garth”), were with considerable trouble got back into the Cathedral, three days being spent in the work of their erection by some dozen workmen, some of whom afterwards, when put

¹ Probably Elvet Bridge.

on their trial, had the weakness to profess themselves sorry for their "fault." In at least four also of the other churches—those, namely, of St. Giles, St. Margaret, St. Nicholas, and St. Oswald—the altars and the holy-water fountains were restored in the same way, and in these and the Cathedral as many masses as the small number of priests available would permit began now to be celebrated, to the indescribable delight and comfort of the crowds that flocked to hear them.

It is hard, indeed, to realize what must have been the joy of these long persecuted Catholics, to hear their well-loved churches once more echoing with the old familiar Latin chants of mass and vespers; to receive again in the old way holy water¹ and blessed bread; to be suffered freely (as they quaintly expressed it) to "occupy their gaudes," *i.e.*—to use their beads in responding to the *Pater* and *Ave*—as the widow, Alice Wilkinson, declared upon her trial "many thousand dyd;" to be able once more to confess their sins to a true priest, who had power from Christ's Vicar to forgive them; and, above all, to feel that our Blessed Lord Himself was once more present on the altar, and could be received as their food in Holy Communion.² How sad to think that all this was but to last so short a time!

¹ Holy water was also taken to the people in their houses. The parish clerk of St. Nicholas' owned to having "willed two boys to go about the parish with holy water."

² The following "Libel against hearers of Mass," published by the Surtees Society (*ibid.* p. 131) from the private book of Swift, the Vicar-General, is instructive as showing the charges on which those tried before that worthy in the ensuing April were indicted: "That the said A.B., about St. Andrew last past, or before fourteen day of December, 1569, by the instigation of the divell . . . did unlawfully erecte . . . or cause to be erected . . . one alter and holie-water

The first High Mass, of which we find mention, was sung in the Cathedral on St. Andrew's Day (Wednesday, November 30th), by Mr. Robert Peirson, the choir consisting of the official singing-men of the Cathedral, who (whatever their weakness afterwards at the trials) seem at the time, at all events, to have been troubled by no other scruple than that they had not yet been "reconciled" to the Church; on which point, however, they were reassured by the good priest, who told them "that all that were reconciled in heart" might take part in the singing.¹ The "throng of people" on this occasion is declared by one witness to have been "so much that she could not see the mass, and so sat down in the low end of the same church and said her prayers."

The crown was put to the work of Durham's reconciliation to the Church by the public absolution of the people from their censures, pronounced by Mr. Holmes on December 14th, which happened that year to be the Second Sunday of Advent. On that day Mr. Holmes mounted the Cathedral pulpit, and after preaching on the state of heresy and schism which the new religion had established in the country, exhorted all his hearers to submit once more to the

stone, . . . and also in the same monthes and yere came to Masse, Matens, Evensong, procession, and like idolatrous service, therat knelling, bowing, knocking, and shewing such like reverent gesture, used praying on beades, confession or shriving to a prest, toke holy water and holye breade; and did also then and ther heare false and erronious doctrine against God and the Churche of England preached by one W. Holmes in the pulpit, and, subjecting himselfe to the same doctryne and to the Pope, did, among other like wicked people knowen to him, knell down and receive absolution under Pope Pius name [St. Pius V.], in Latin, false-termining this godly estate of England to be a schisme or heresy."

¹ Declaration of Thomas Wark. (Surtees Society, *ibid.* p. 153.)

Catholic Church, and to kneel down whilst he gave them absolution; "affirming," as a witness at the trials said, "that he had authority to reconcile men to the Church of Rome:" and "thereupon he openly reconciled and absolved in the Pope's name all the hearers there." Then, making his way through the still kneeling crowd to the high altar in the choir, he offered up the Holy Sacrifice, with what feelings of joyful gratitude we can well imagine. The day concluded with "Evensonge in Latten," and the singing of the anthem, *Gaude Virgo Christipara*, in honour of our Blessed Lady.

On this self-same Sunday, at Bishop Auckland (Pilkington's own place of residence), a similar consoling scene was enacted in St. Helen's Church by a priest named George White, who, "coming into the church (at whose procurement the deponent cannot say), went into the pulpit, where, when he had preached against the state of religion established in this realm, he willed them to revert to the Church of Rome; and thereupon read absolution in the Pope's name to all the people, . . . and afterwards . . . said Mass there."¹

How general the Catholic revival was throughout the county would best be shown by a list of the various places which figure in the depositions; but of these it seems enough to mention Sedgefield, Long Newton, Lanchester, Chester-le-Street, Stockton, and Monkwearmouth. How many souls were strengthened by it to bear steadfastly the fearful troubles which were so soon to come upon them, can be known to God alone; but that its effects did not

¹ Surtees Society, *ibid.* p. 181.

soon pass away is proved by the angry words, already quoted, of Bishop Barnes—Pilkington's successor—who (in writing to Lord Burghley six years after its occurrence), says of the Church of Durham that its "stinke is grievous in the nose of God and men, and which to purge far passeth Hercules' labours."¹

During the week which followed the public "reconciliation" of the people of Durham, Mr. Holmes seems to have had the happiness of receiving back into the Church most of the Protestant ministers yet remaining in the town. Amongst these were no less than five of the Minor Canons of the Cathedral, who, fortified with a commendatory letter from Mr. John Peirson, their former comrade, on Friday, December 9th, went out all together to see Mr. Holmes at Staindrop—"who, beside the letter of Sir John Pierson's, was heartily moved upon their submission to reconcile them from the schism; every man acknowledging his state of life for eleven years last past privately and secretly, did promise that they would not turn off the same." It would seem, however, that Mr. Holmes was not satisfied with regard to their Orders, at all events as far as the priesthood was concerned; for he "was content to admit them as deacons to minister in the church, but not to celebrate."²

Unhappily, most of these somewhat hastily converted ministers seem to have lacked either the sincerity or the courage to stand the test of persecution, and returned again to their old ways. Still

¹ Surtees Society, *ibid.* p. 22 x.

² Depositions of William Smyth and William Blenkinsopp, Minor Canons, who both, unfortunately, afterwards retracted. (Surtees, *ibid.* 138, 144.)

a brave profession of his Faith was made by one of them, John Browne by name, who, in addition to his minor canonry, held also the curacy of Witton Gilbert. No less than three witnesses made deposition afterwards that, in the chapel of Witton Gilbert, on a Sunday or holiday in December last, they "heard Sir John Browne, curate there, say openly to his parishioners after this sort: 'I have these eleven years taught you the wrong way in such learning as is against my soul and yours both, and I am sorry and ask God mercy therefor, and you my parishioners; and do here renounce my living before you all; and wheresoever you meet me, in town or field, take me as a stranger and none of your curate.'"¹

For a few days after his reception back again into the one true fold, this brave man had the consolation of ministering at the services in the Cathedral, where he is once mentioned as serving Mr. Holmes' Mass; but his name was naturally struck off from the list of the Cathedral clergy on the suppression of the rising, and most probably he had to flee the country.

§ 4.

It is time for us to return to the Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Westmoreland, his fellow-leader in the rising. Unfortunately for the ultimate success of their attempt, they had been hurried into taking action without sufficient time for preparation. They were, moreover, disappointed both as to the co-operation of many of the gentry from whom help had been expected, and also as to

¹ Surtees Society, *ibid.* p. 174.

assistance which had been looked for from abroad. Thus, although they were enabled to carry all before them for a little while, nevertheless the movement could not sustain itself, and was soon forced to collapse. Meanwhile, however, the Earl of Sussex, the Queen's representative in the North, was so doubtful of the fidelity of his own troops, of whose Catholic sympathies he was well aware, that he dared not stir from York against the insurgents till reinforcements should reach him from the South; and his letters to Cecil betray his great anxiety.

The uncompromising manner in which the religious purpose of the rising was put forward by the two Earls, is well shown by the following proclamation which they issued a day or two after their entry into Durham: "Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles, Earl of Westmoreland, the Queen's true and faithful subjects, to all the same of the old and Catholic Faith,— . . . As divers ill-disposed persons about her Majesty have by their crafty dealing overthrown in this realm the true and Catholic religion towards God, abused the Queen, dishonoured the realm, and now seek to procure the destruction of the nobility; we have gathered ourselves together to resist force by force, . . . and to redress those things amiss, with the restoring of all ancient customs and liberties to God and this noble realm."

It is true that in a later manifesto, put forth when they were beginning to retreat, the Earls sought to disarm hostility and win fresh adherents by speaking only of the need of fixing the succession to the throne, without making any open reference to religion. But the successor, whose claim they wished to get

acknowledged, was none other than Mary Queen of Scots, through whom they hoped eventually to obtain the restoration of the Catholic religion. The idea, however, of placing her upon the throne at once was not even mooted—as we know from the declaration of Northumberland himself. He was guilty, therefore, of no hypocrisy in calling himself in the above proclamation “a true and faithful subject of Elizabeth.”

On the day following their entry into Durham, the Earls moved southwards, with the intention of liberating, if possible, the Scottish Queen, who was then confined at Tutbury, in Staffordshire. Nothing, it would seem, could well exceed the enthusiasm with which “the sturdy men of the North” flocked to join them.

“No sooner,” writes Mr. de Fonblanque, “had they set up their standards in Durham, than men of all classes, from nobles and knights, accompanied by their tenants mounted and equipped for war, down to unarmed labourers bringing only their stout hearts and good-will, rallied round their natural chiefs.” They went on, continues the same writer, “steadily increasing their numbers, till, . . . on the 23rd of November, the force amounted to 6,000 men.”¹

“All their force both of horse and foot,” writes Sir F. Leek to the Council, “wear red crosses, as well the priests as others.”² Their standard, representing our Blessed Lord with Blood streaming from His Wounds, was borne by old Mr. Richard Norton, High Sheriff of Yorkshire in the previous year, whose

¹ *Annals of the House of Percy*, ii. pp. 51, 57.

² *Domestic, Addenda*, Dec. 3, 1569.

long grey hair and venerable bearing excited the enthusiasm of the beholders.

The chief chaplain of their army appears to have been none other than the Blessed Thomas Plumtree, illustrious for his martyrdom at Durham after the suppression of the rising. In an old ballad of the time he is called "the preacher of the Rebels;" and the same title is given him in Lord Scroop's list of the prisoners whom he sent to Durham: "Thomas Plomtree, a priest and their preacher;"¹ and as, in the report of the trials held at Durham, he is only mentioned once as having there said Mass, it seems probable that he accompanied the two Earls on their march southwards, and only returned to Durham with them. As to this holy man's earlier life, we unfortunately know no more than that he was "an old Queen Mary's priest" (that is to say, one of those ordained before Elizabeth's reign began), and that he had been at one time master of a school at Lincoln, which position he had resigned for his Faith.² His close connection with the rising makes it probable that he belonged by origin to Durham; and it seems not at all unlikely that he had moved thence to Lincoln along with Bishop Watson, who, previous to his nomination to the bishopric of Lincoln, was Dean of Durham. A despatch of Fenelon, the French Ambassador, described Blessed Thomas Plumtree, a

¹ Among manye newes reported of late,
As touching the Rebelles their wicked estate,
Yet Syr Thomas Plomtrie, *their preacher* they saie,
Hath made the north countrie to crie well a daye.
Well a daye, well a daye, well a daye, woe is mee,
Syr Thomas Plomtrie is hanged on a tree.

(Sharpe, pp. 123, 383.) In a summary of those executed (p. 140), Sharpe, by an evident mistake, calls him *William* Plumtree.

² Bridgewater's *Concertatio*, fol. 405.

few days after his martyrdom, as *estime home fort scavant et de bonne vie*.¹

Staindrop and Darlington seem to have been the Earls' first stopping-places after leaving Brancepeth, and at each, as at Durham, they proclaimed the re-establishment of Catholic worship. Leaving Darlington on November 17th, after assisting publicly at the Holy Sacrifice, offered up most probably by Blessed Thomas Plumtree, they passed into Yorkshire, continually receiving fresh adherents and nowhere meeting an opponent, and proceeded through Richmond and Northallerton to Ripon, where the Holy Mass was thus once more celebrated in St. Wilfrid's stately Minster. Thence, advancing still further south, they encamped on November 23rd on Clifford Moor, near Wetherby. So far everything had gone favourably. "They had succeeded in dispersing the levies in course of formation for the Queen's service, had captured a body of 300 horse at Tadcaster, and cut off communication with York, where Sussex lay with a garrison not exceeding 2,000 men, 'whereof not past 300 horsemen.' A vigorous assault would have placed him and the city at their mercy."²

At this point, however, the unfortunate failure of supplies and money, as also differences of opinion amongst the leaders, put a stop to further progress, and necessitated their return into the bishopric of Durham. Marching, therefore, again northwards, they succeeded in capturing, first the port of Hartlepool, through which they hoped to receive succour from

¹ Jan. 21, 1570. Given by Sharpe, p. 188.

² De Fonblanque, ii. p. 58.

abroad, and a little later Barnard Castle, where seems to have occurred almost the only fighting, and to which they laid a formal siege. The sympathy felt by a large portion of the garrison for the undertaking of the Earls, was shown by some hundreds of them leaping from the walls to join them ; and, at the end of ten days, Sir George Bowes, the royalist commander of the castle, found it necessary to capitulate, and was allowed to march out with such troops as remained faithful to him, and proceed to York.

Whilst the siege was still continuing, the Earl of Northumberland, in consequence of the rumoured approach of hostile troops from Berwick, had returned with five hundred horse to Durham ; it was thus he was present in the Cathedral on December 4th when Mr. Holmes publicly absolved the people.¹ Also along with him and as chaplain to his soldiers, the Blessed Thomas Plumtree seems to have returned, for he appears to have been the celebrant of the Mass said on that memorable day immediately before Mr. Holmes' sermon. Amongst the citizens of Durham tried afterwards for having been present at the services held in the Cathedral, one, Ralph Stevenson, admitted that "he was at Plomtre Masse in the Collidge Church and was at Holmes' preichinge. . . . He toke absolucion of the said preicher, emongst the resydew of the people."²

Meanwhile, the approach of his long expected

¹ Surtees Society's Publications, *ibid.* p. 161.

² *Ibid.* p. 181. The Close, occupied by the Prebendaries' houses on the south side of the Cathedral, is still called "the College." Probably the Cathedral came to be spoken of as the "College Church," from the erection in it of a College of Canons in place of the former monks.

reinforcements had set Sussex free to commence a movement northwards, other troops to join him having been gathered at Newcastle. The hopelessness of any ultimate success to be obtained by the insurgents was thus made daily more apparent. They held their last council of war at Durham on December 16th, when Lord Westmoreland seems to have been in favour of still standing out, but the gentle and more timorous Northumberland, afraid of causing useless bloodshed, and anxious still, as far as might be possible, to avoid resistance to his Sovereign, was desirous that they should cease hostilities.¹ Opinions being thus divided, no course but flight was open to them. On the same night, accordingly, dismissing their poorer followers to their own homes, the two Earls, with the chief part of the gentry that had joined them, rode off to Hexham. A few days later they made their way across the Scottish frontier, trusting to find safety for a while amongst the half independent clans dwelling on the borders; and thence, not long afterwards, Lord Westmoreland and many others succeeded in escaping to the Continent.

The whole north was now at the mercy of the Earl of Sussex, whom the Queen had especially charged to execute on the offenders the full severity of martial law. "The most repulsive feature," writes the author of the *Percy Annals*, "in the retaliatory

¹ Reports (perhaps exaggerated) of the Earl's hesitation had already reached his enemies. On the previous November 24th, Lord Hunsdon wrote from York to Cecil: "The other [Northumberland] is very timorous, and has meant twice or thrice to submit; but his wife encourages him to persevere, and rides up and down with their army, so that the grey mare is the better horse." (*Domestic, Addenda.*)

measures now adopted by Elizabeth and her agents, is the cold-blooded calculating spirit in which wholesale executions were inflicted upon the 'meaner sort,' while those were spared who were able to ransom their lives. The gentlemen and substantial yeomen who fell into the hands of the authorities were allowed to escape the penalty of their offences by a money payment; while the poor peasants . . . were consigned to the gallows by hundreds. . . . A report, drawn up in October, 1573, by Lord Huntingdon, put the number of rebels actually executed at 'seven hundred and odd, . . . wholly of the meanest of the people, except the aldermen of Durham, Plumtree, their preacher, the constables, and fifty serving men.'"¹ "In the county of Durham alone," says Lingard, "more than three hundred individuals suffered death; nor was there between Newcastle and Wetherby, a district of sixty miles in length and forty in breadth, a town or village in which some of the inhabitants did not expire on the gibbet."²

Blessed Thomas Plumtree was taken in his flight together with some three hundred others, and conducted to Carlisle. Thence, a few days later, he was sent back by Lord Scroop to Durham along with some thirty landed gentlemen, whose estates were marked for confiscation, and committed to the custody of Sir George Bowes, the late opponent of the Earls at Barnard Castle, who was now installed in Durham Castle as Marshal for the keeping of the "prisoners rebels." In pursuance, probably, of the following suggestions, found in a memorial of Cecil's.

¹ De Fonblanque, ii. pp. 76 and 80.

² Vol. vi. p. 217.

—“For some terror . . . particular examples are to be made at Durham, where the Bibles and Common Prayers were misused. . . . Some notable example is to be made of the priests that have offended in this rebellion”¹—Father Plumtree was singled out amongst the very first for special punishment, in hatred of his priestly character.

The Earl of Sussex came himself to Durham to preside in person at the executions, which began on January 4th. On that day the blessed Martyr was led out from the Castle, in full sight of the old Cathedral in which he had so lately offered up the Holy Sacrifice, and conducted down the winding street which leads to the market-place, where his gibbet was erected. Dr. Bridgewater, writing within twenty years of the occurrence, relates that, “on his arriving at the place of execution (*jam ad mortem ducto*), his life was offered to him, if he would but renounce the Catholic Faith and embrace the heresy;” to which the Martyr nobly answered, “that he had no desire so to continue living in the world, as meantime to die to God. Wherefore, having fearlessly confessed his Faith, by God’s grace he suffered death in this world, that he might merit to receive from Christ eternal life.”²

Surtees³ quotes the register of St. Nicholas’ (the church in the market-place where the Martyr suffered) as recording, on January 14th, the burial of “Maistre Plumbetre.” If the date assigned be accurate, the Martyr’s body must have been left

¹ *Domestic*, Addenda, p. 172.

² *Concertatio Ecclesie in Anglia*. Treves, 1589, fol. 406.

³ *History of Durham*, iv. p. 51.

hanging on the gibbet, "for some terror," for the space of ten whole days. The ancient cemetery, in which he seems to have been laid, is now covered by the pavement of the market-place.

The remainder of the priests who had worked so zealously at Durham, during the brief restoration of the Catholic religion, seem to have succeeded in escaping; although of none of them, except William Holmes, "the Patriarch," is it possible to find further actual mention. Against Mr. Holmes, who had escaped to Scotland, a special indictment had been made out at Durham, and more than one allusion to him is found in the State Papers of the time. Thus, on February 15, 1570, Lord Hunsdon writes from Berwick to the Privy Council, that "Lord Home is the principal receiver of the Queen's rebels, and has Mass in his house; for the Patriarch, who was at Durham with the Earls, is now at Fast Castle," near Dunbar. A little later (March 17th), he writes again to say that he has received information that "the Patriarch and other rebels have prepared a ship to pass into Flanders," and that he hopes to intercept them, as "Mr. Randolph" (Elizabeth's Commissioner in Scotland) "has practised with the master of the ship." Lord Hunsdon's hopes in this respect were, however, doomed to disappointment; and on the following April 1st he was obliged to inform Cecil that, by the contrivance of Lord Home, who had received warning of his plot, Mr. Holmes and his companions had been sent to Orkney, to be conveyed by that circuitous route to Flanders.¹ There, amongst the English exiles for

¹ *Domestic*, Addenda, and Sharpe, p. 72.

the Faith, "William Holmes, priest," is named in the *Concertatio* of Dr. Bridgewater, published some years later.

This section may be concluded with the following beautiful letter, written by Mr. Holmes from Louvain, in the September of 1571, to one of his fellow-fugitives of the rising—George Smythe, of Esh Hall, Durham—who had not yet succeeded in escaping to the Continent, being kept a prisoner by Lord Lindsay: "I am sorry to seem to neglect you in not writing; but I have to write when I should sleep. I have prayed for your spiritual comfort, and am glad to hear of your courage in God's cause. You may rejoice that you are thought worthy to suffer for His sake: walking on the seas tried Peter's love, but he was not suffered to drown. Drink the cup of persecution willingly, though bitter in taste, and your reward shall be everlasting life."

This letter, intercepted by the spies of Cecil, and now published by the Record Office, can never have been seen by him for whose encouragement it was written.

§ 5.

None of God's saints have won the crowns they now wear in Heaven, without going through much suffering here on earth. It seems indeed a necessary condition for the acquiring of sanctity in any high degree to have first passed through the school of suffering, since there is no way of becoming like to our Blessed Lord without taking up the Cross.

It could not be otherwise with Blessed Thomas Percy; and we have now reached a period in his life at which began for him a long course of tribu-

lations, destined in God's providence to fit him for his final triumph.

The brave Countess of Northumberland had clung faithfully to her husband throughout the campaign, riding everywhere with him and his army. On passing into Scotland after the flight from Durham, they both took refuge for a little while in the cottage of a Liddlesdale outlaw, known upon the Borders as John of the Side. It was only for a few days, however, that the Earl's enemies allowed him to enjoy even this poor shelter, which Sussex, in writing to the Queen, described as "not to be compared to any dog-kennel in England."

Acting in agreement with the Ministers of Elizabeth, the Scotch Regent, Murray, had already made a proclamation, in which he warned his subjects that "the rebellious people of England intend to enter Scotland in a warlike manner, and set up again the Papistical idolatry and abominable Mass;" and, on hearing of the arrival of the fugitives amongst the Border clans, he succeeded, by the free use of threats and promises to the men of Liddlesdale, in procuring their expulsion.¹ On being driven thence, Northumberland, thinking that his late rough hosts would at least respect his wife, and not wishing to expose her to further unknown perils, left her amongst them, and set out to seek protection from the neighbouring clan of Armstrongs. No sooner had he gone, however, than the poor Countess found herself robbed of all her personal effects, including her money and her jewels, whilst her horse and those of her attendants were seized by the outlaws for their

¹ *Foreign*, Dec. 18 and 22, 1569.

own use. Happily she was not left very long in this miserable state, but was rescued by the friendly Laird of Fernihurst, who conducted her a few days later to Fast Castle, on the sea-coast, where with many of the other fugitives she was protected by Lord Home.

Meanwhile the Earl himself had been betrayed into a snare laid for him by the Regent, through the treachery of a certain Hector Armstrong, whom, when a fugitive in England, he had himself formerly protected. By this man he was entrapped into a conference with an envoy from the Regent; and whilst talking with the latter was suddenly surrounded by a troop of horsemen. These succeeded in conveying him to Hawick, in spite of the brave resistance of his followers, who gave pursuit and contrived to kill the leader of the capturing party.¹

The betrayal of the Earl to the Regent, in the manner just related, took place on the Christmas Eve of 1569, but eight days after his flight from Durham.² Torn away, as he was, thus suddenly from all his friends and followers, and committed to the mercy of a declared and faithless enemy, it is not easy to imagine a much more forlorn condition: and his "great distress and misery, clean without apparel or money;" and still more his anxiety of mind as to the condition of "his friends, his men, and those that were with him," and, above all, of "his children"—four little girls (of whom the eldest was no more than ten), now bereft of both their parents, and left behind in England—are feelingly described in a letter, which was addressed on the Earl's behalf a few days later

¹ De Fonblanque, ii. p. 68.

² *Domestic*, Addenda, Dec. 25, 1569.

to his brother, Sir Henry Percy,¹ who, throughout the rising, had taken open part against him, but who now began to show some willingness to help him.

The news of Northumberland's capture by the Scottish Regent was communicated to the Queen on the day after its occurrence by Lord Sussex, who had at once received information of it. Nothing else, however, would content Elizabeth but that the Earl should be handed over to herself; and she, with this object, immediately commenced negotiating in spite of the warning sent to her by Lord Hunsdon, that he found "the nobility and the commonalty of Scotland bent wholly to the contrary," and that "if his spies did not much fail, most of the nobility thought it a great reproach to the country to deliver any banished man to the slaughter."²

The only effect this message had upon Elizabeth is shown by a letter, in which she seeks to rouse the bigotry of the Scottish Regent, telling him that "as the rebels, besides their treason against her, have purposed the alteration of the common religion, she cannot think that any godly wise councillor will either maintain them or impeach their delivery."³ This acknowledgment of the religious purpose of the rising, made by Elizabeth herself, is worth noting.

In the end, finding it impossible otherwise to obtain possession of her victim, Elizabeth was not ashamed to bargain with the successor of Murray as to the price of the Earl's surrender; and at last, in spite of her known avarice, agreed to pay for him

¹ De Fonblanque, ii. p. 71.

² *Domestic*, Addenda, January 13th, 1570.

³ *Foreign*, January 24th, 1570.

£2,000—worth at least £24,000 of our present money. Thus the Blessed Thomas Percy had, like our Lord, the glory of being sold for money to his enemies; and what added to the infamy of the transaction was the fact that they were at the same time treating for his ransom with the Countess, whose offer they would have accepted had not Elizabeth outbidden her. Meanwhile, the Earl himself had been placed by the Regent in strict confinement at Lochleven, in the Castle famous for having been a short time previously the prison of Queen Mary. There he was left to languish for two years and a half.

We are indebted for a reliable account of the captivity and martyrdom of Blessed Thomas Percy (from which I shall not scruple to quote freely) to the pen of Dr. Nicholas Sander,¹ the much calumniated historian of the Anglican schism, who was for some time in Flanders with the Countess of Northumberland, besides being in actual correspondence with the Earl.

After speaking of the wonderful gentleness and patience with which the saintly man bore his captivity at Lochleven, and of the continual fasts and watchings and pious meditations, by means of which he strove to win that "crown of glory, which the just judge now has rendered to him," this writer goes on to relate that, although the Calvinist Laird of Lochleven, who had the Earl in keeping, "often brought thither a number of persons of his sect, who tried to draw the Earl away from the Catholic faith into their new errors;

¹ *Martyrium sanctissimi viri Thomæ Percei, Comitæ Northumbriæ.* It was published, after Sander's death, in Bridgewater's *Concertatio*, Treves, 1589. So far as I know, it has not yet been translated.

these men, nevertheless, were never able, either by cunning arguments and speeches, or by any kind of threats or promises, to prevail on him to depart even in the smallest matter from the communion of the Catholic Church; and yet, if he would but have yielded somewhat to their heresy, there were not wanting persons quite prepared to promise to him, not merely his release from prison, but also his old rank and honours. If, as often happened, meat was brought to him on days on which Catholics observe a fast, he contented himself with bread alone; and by his example he moved some of those attending on him to repent of their apostasy. Sometimes he spent whole days upon his knees, . . . and prayer, to which he had been devoted all his life, was now more than ever his delight." "I myself," continues Sander, "have seen a fair sized book, elegantly written and illuminated by himself, into which he had brought together a quantity of prayers gathered out of various works."

The above account of the promises made to the Earl at this time, if he would but renounce his Faith, is confirmed by the following passage taken from an intercepted letter, which was addressed, in the May of 1570, to the Duchess of Feria in Spain, by Sir Francis Englefield, then living in exile for the Faith at Antwerp. After mentioning the Earl's imprisonment at Lochleven, the writer of this letter says: "Hunsdon has offered Northumberland conditions of pardon; but he has refused them without liberty (be given) to the Catholics to live as such."¹

¹ *Domestic*, Addenda, May 7, 1570.

The unselfishness with which, at the cost of all manner of sacrifices to herself, Lady Northumberland laboured for her husband's liberation could not be surpassed; and at one time it really seemed as if her efforts were about to be successful. With the Earl's keeper, William Douglas, of Lochleven, she contrived to come to an agreement as to the sum which would be accepted, and the raising of the money seemed to be the only further thing required. For this purpose, seeing no hope of obtaining it as long as she remained where she was, and afraid lest her own liberty should sooner or later be interfered with, about the June of 1570 she moved northwards to Aberdeen, with the view of making her way thence to the Continent. In this she received much help from Lord Scaton, who, after entertaining her for some time "in old Aberdeen in the Chancellor's house"—where "it is said," wrote Randolph, "she hears Mass daily"—himself set sail with her for the Low Countries in the following August.¹

In Flanders, the Countess received a kind welcome from the Duke of Alva, who undertook to interest the King of Spain on her behalf; and from that monarch (though only after several months' delay) she received a promise of 6,000 crowns, which fell far short of the sum demanded by Lochleven. Nothing, however, could daunt her zeal, and at last, in the January of 1572, she was able to send word to her husband that, thanks to a further promise of 4,000 crowns from Pope St. Pius V., the sum required for his ransom was obtained; and that nothing was

¹ Sharpe, p. 346.

now left, but to take the necessary measures for securing his safe passage to the Continent.¹

How high the hopes of the Earl's many friends abroad had risen, may be gathered from the following letter written from Louvain, in the month just mentioned, to the prisoner of Lochleven by none other than the Dr. Sander I have quoted. It was intercepted by the agents of Elizabeth, and so was never suffered to convey the consolation intended by its writer. We see from it that Sander was then on the point of setting out for Rome, whither St. Pius V. had summoned him; and it contains a very pleasing reference to that Pope's affection for the imprisoned nobleman.

"Amongst my other fortunes, I account it not the best that I am forced to leave this country, when you, as we hear, are drawing near to it; for now I depart to Italy, being called for to Rome; and yet amongst my adversities, I accept it the least that I go not hence before I see you in some towardness to come hither. What travail my Lady has taken for your delivery, not only do I know who was a part of

¹ The Countess' long and touching letter conveying the above intelligence is given in the *Annals of the Percies*, ii. pp. 16—101. In speaking of persons likely to be able to assist her husband, she describes Dr. Allen (afterwards Cardinal) as "the most singular man in my opinion, next to Mr. Sanders, on this side the seas. If he might be had (to help you), I think you could not have the choice of the like, whensoever God should send you hither." The following shows the anxiety both of the Earl and herself for their children, who had been separated from them, and were apparently in the hands of Protestants. "For your children, the best means that I can imagine to have them transmitted hither were a suit to be made to have them licensed to come to see you. . . . The eldest of all I wish the rather, because her age is fittest to receive instruction, and most ready to take knowledge now of the virtuous examples, which *here* she could see and learn, and *there* doth want altogether."

it, but all men see ; because she was no longer able to work by private means, but was forced to follow the Court, and to press upon the Duke's grace even against his will. God saw her tears and heard her prayers. But what say I, hers? He saw and heard yours, which were so earnest that they also appeared in her. I shall long to hear from you, being at Rome ; and, much more, to hear of your delivery, and to deliver your letter of thanks to him that there loves you ; and truly if he loves you, as he has given good evidence, then God loves you. For these three hundred years there was no such man in that See, albeit many excellent men have sat there. But you have a more proper token of God's love—your imprisonment, affliction, trouble, and tedious oppression. That do you embrace, and you have conquered the world. As you have borne yourself well in adversity, so take care not to forget the goodness of God if He send you prosperity, as I beseech Him to do.”¹

The activity of the spies employed by Cecil (now Lord Burghley) on the Continent, is proved by the quantity of letters such as the above, which they found means of intercepting, and which are now calendared in the volumes published by the Master of the Rolls, together with the letters of the spies that sent them. It was through the agency of one of these spies—a man named John Lee, who, by his pretended zeal for the Catholic Faith, and his feigned ardour in the cause of Mary Queen of Scots, had contrived to worm himself into the confidence of the poor Countess and the other exiles—that the

¹ *Domestic*, Addenda, January 8, 1572.

Ministers of Elizabeth received prompt and full information of each step taken by the unfortunate lady for her husband's liberation.

On learning, therefore, that a final agreement was on the point of being come to between the Countess and Douglas of Lochleven, Elizabeth determined at once to push on her negotiations with the Scottish Regent to the conclusion, on which she had set her mind. The shameful bargain for the Earl's surrender was accordingly arranged on April 16, 1572, as is shown by a letter from the Queen herself to Lord Hunsdon, the Governor of Berwick, in which she signifies her willingness to pay the £2,000 demanded. Its actual payment seems, however, only to have been extorted from her by the repeated assurances of Lord Hunsdon, that the Scots "would not deliver up the Earl without the money."¹

It is true that Mar, the Scottish Regent, strove to veil the infamy of his own part in the proceeding by accompanying his surrender of the Earl with a hypocritical request that his life might be spared; but it seems impossible that he should have had any doubt as to Elizabeth's intention in demanding him. The delivery of the Earl to Lord Hunsdon took place at Eyemouth, near to Coldingham, on May 29, and thence on the same day he was conveyed to Berwick. Sander relates that his heartless keeper at Lochleven, in placing him upon the vessel which was to carry him to Coldingham, had treacherously endeavoured to persuade him that he was about to be set free, and conveyed across the sea to Flanders; and that the meek confessor of Christ, although sus-

¹ State Papers, *Scotland*, 1572, April 16, May 1, 2, and 7.

pecting some deceit, had bestowed a parting kiss on his betrayer, in imitation of his Master.

Hunsdon, who had probably expected to find his prisoner either querulous or sullen, and who was hardly likely to understand aright the calmness, even in the midst of danger and of sorrow, of one who had given up all earthly things for God, remarks with something of a sneer, in announcing the Earl's surrender to Lord Burghley, that "he is readier to talk of hawks and hounds than anything else, though very sorrowful and fearing for his life."¹ He did not see that he had no right to expect a prisoner to discuss with his captor the things which really lay deepest in his heart. Still, that Lord Hunsdon was not without some sense of the disgraceful nature of the transaction to which he was a party, appears from the remark, which Sander says he made on paying down the price of the Earl's blood to the Scotch lord who surrendered him: "You have got your money, but you have sold your faith and honour!"

§ 6.

As soon as Elizabeth heard that the Earl had been actually surrendered, she wrote herself to Hunsdon, giving instructions with reference to his confinement, and enclosing a long list of questions, drawn up by Burghley, to which a written answer was to be required from him. "You may use speeches," wrote the Queen, "to terrify him with the extremity of punishment if he shall conceal anything. As you see cause, you may also comfort him with hope, *so as it be not in our name*, if he will utter the truth of

¹ State Papers, *Scotland*, May 29, 1572.

every person. . . . We like not any chargeable entertainment of him in his diet, considering him as a person attainted.”¹

Reference has been already several times made to the Earl's full and careful answers to these questions, which have been published, with all their quaintness both of phrase and spelling, by Sir Cuthbert Sharpe.² Surely it is impossible to read them without being struck by the singleness of purpose and scrupulous regard to conscience which characterized his whole conduct with reference to the rising.

“Entertainment,” such as accorded with the instructions of the Queen, seems to have been found for him in the house of Sir Valentine Browne, the Treasurer of Berwick, whose report of him to Lord Burghley, as “nothing altered from his old mummish opinions, which he would persuade to be taken as the cause of the rebellion,”³ is a fresh testimony, if one were wanted, to the confessor's fidelity to his religion. In the same letter, dated June 8, his keeper speaks of him as “standing in great hope of Her Majesty's mercy,” which seems to show that Hunsdon had acted on Elizabeth's insidious permission to “comfort him with hope,” intended by her never to receive fulfilment.

News of the Queen's orders did not reach Berwick till July 11, on which day Lord Hunsdon received instructions to convey the Earl to York for execution. A further delay of some six weeks, however, followed, occasioned partly by the real or pretended hesitation

¹ *Domestic*, Addenda, June 5, 1572.

² *Memorials of the Rebellion*, pp. 189, seq.

³ *Domestic*, Addenda, June 8, 1572.

of the Queen, partly by Hunsdon's blunt refusal to undertake the charge of being the Earl's "carrier . . . to execution into a place where he had nothing to do," though at the same time he declared himself quite willing to "deliver him at Alnwick, but no further."¹

It seems to have been during this latter portion of his stay at Berwick that Blessed Thomas had a violent and dangerous attack of fever, in which his one anxiety, as Sander tells us, was his fear that it might rob him of the Martyr's crown.

The disagreeable task of conducting him to the place where he was to be martyred was entrusted, at the suggestion of Lord Hunsdon, to Sir John Forster, on whom the revenues of a large part of the attainted nobleman's estates had been bestowed, together with the use of Alnwick Castle. It was an undertaking not altogether free from risk, and it is evident that those that had to carry it out were not without anxiety. Not only did the route from Berwick lead necessarily through Northumberland, the actual earldom of their victim—where, as Hunsdon himself had previously written to the Privy Council, the people "knew no other prince but a Percy," and loved in particular the good and virtuous Earl Thomas "better than they did the Queen"²—but Durham and a great part of Yorkshire, the chief scene of the recent rising, had also to be traversed. Accordingly, with the duplicity which from the first had characterized the proceedings of the Earl's enemies, they diligently spread the report that he was about to

¹ *Domestic*, Addenda, July 11.

² *Foreign*, 1569—70; December 31, 1569; and *Domestic*, Addenda, January 13, 1570.

be reinstated in his former honours ; and even he himself seems to have been kept in ignorance of the orders which the Queen had given, though he can hardly have been really doubtful as to the ultimate result.

Arrived at Alnwick, his own feudal castle, he was handed over to Sir John Forster on August 18, and there the following night was spent. The journey thence to York was broken both at Newcastle and Darlington, and thus occupied three days ; and in consequence, as it would seem, of the weakness left by his late illness, the Earl was conveyed in a carriage surrounded by a strong guard of horsemen.¹ Friends came in numbers to greet him as he passed, and his cheerful and intrepid expression filled them with admiration. When they offered him good wishes for his life and honour, Sander says that he replied : " That life would be more pleasing to my flesh than death—not so much on account of myself, as of my wife, my children, and my friends—I neither can nor will deny, provided that my conscience be not injured. For, rather than that should suffer, let death come and life depart."

York was reached on the afternoon of August 21, a mid-day halt having been made at Topcliffe, which had been the Earl's last place of residence before the rising. Here it seems possible he may still have found his children, and have been allowed to say farewell to them. We are not told where he was lodged on the one night he spent in York, but we may presume he would be taken to the castle.

¹ The strength of the force employed is shown by Forster's charge of £154 11s. 4d. for his journey from Alnwick to York and back. (Sharpe, pp. 333, 334.)

This presumption falls in with what Sander tells us of his farewell interview with Sir Thomas Metham, a venerable sufferer for the Faith, who, together with his lady, had been for several years detained a prisoner in York Castle, on account of their refusal to attend service, or receive Communion, in the Protestant church.¹ "He had formerly," says Sander, "been united in close intimacy and friendship with the Earl, and was desirous to see him enduring imprisonment for our Lord, in order that his own constancy in his holy resolution might be strengthened by the spectacle." Having obtained the permission of his keeper, "he saw him and held converse with him, and bade him a last adieu. Then returning to his own place of confinement, he gave up his soul to God a few days afterwards, so that having loved each other in life, in death they were not divided."

At York a last attempt was made to draw the prisoner, if possible, from the Catholic Faith; and his life (whether with the Queen's authority or not) was offered him if he would but abandon his religion. Of this fact, Sander says,² he had received most

¹ A letter addressed to Cecil (*Domestic*, Addenda), dated York, February 6, 1570, describes Sir Thomas Metham as "a most wilful Papist. . . . He does much hurt here, and is revered by the Papists as a pillar of their faith. . . . I caused him to be committed to the Castle, where he remains and does harm, yet would have done more if he had remained at large."

² It seems necessary to caution readers against a most strange mistake made by Tierney (in a note to Dodd's *History*, iii. 13) with reference to this offer of life made to the Earl. Through want of attention to the text of the passage from which he is quoting, he makes Sander "mention it only as *auditum quendam incertum et præterea nihil*." Due care in reading Sander would have shown him that the words, "*auditum quendam, &c.*," refer not to the offer of life made to the Earl, if he would apostatize (which fact Sander says he has *ab auctoribus certissime fidei*), but solely to a ridiculous report that the Earl had been called on to adore an image of Elizabeth.

certain information; and the self-same thing is affirmed by Cardinal Allen.¹

It is hardly necessary to say that Blessed Thomas refused to listen to an offer of his life made dependent on such a condition; and at last, about nine o'clock on the same evening (August 21), Sir John Forster, seeing that he could not induce him to alter his determination, announced to him that he was to prepare to suffer execution about two o'clock on the afternoon of the next day.

The Earl received the announcement with a joy which impressed even his enemies, and then set himself, as was his wont, to prayer. It was not long, however, before he was interrupted by the return of Forster, in company with the Protestant Dean of York, and a minister named Palmer, who had come to argue with him. His success in repelling their attacks extorted even Forster's admiration, who was heard to exclaim next day: "I have known the Earl of Northumberland for many years, but never have I seen in him such wisdom, eloquence, and modest firmness as he displayed last night." Finding themselves overcome in argument, the two ministers requested that he would at least join with them in prayer; but this too he refused, saying that "he knew they were not members of the true Church of God."

On their departure he again applied himself with great joy to prayer, and, though urged by his faithful attendant, named John Clerk, to take some rest, he replied: "If Christ chid His disciples, for not watching one hour with Him, do you wish me, who have so

¹ *Responsio ad Persecutores.* Published by Bridgewater, fol. 316.

little of life left, to sleep for an hour?" and thus he continued in this holy exercise all through the night, except for some portion of an hour, when through simple weariness he fell asleep: nor would he allow himself to break his fast, except by tasting a few plums. When the hour appointed for his death drew near, making the sign of the Cross upon his forehead as he came forth bareheaded from his cell, he surrendered himself with a calm and steady countenance into the hands of those who were to conduct him to the broad open place, in York known as the Pavement, where the scaffold had been set up for his execution, and where an immense crowd had gathered.

I must tell the story of his martyrdom in the words of Sander, merely omitting things which seem unnecessary. "On arriving at the place of execution the Earl took off his cloak, and again making the sign of the Cross, not only on his forehead, but also on the steps, he mounted cheerfully to the platform, where Palmer, the same Protestant minister who had visited him the night before, began to urge him to acknowledge his crime against the Queen in presence of the assembled crowd.

"On this the Earl, turning towards the people, said: 'I should have been content to meet my death in silence, were it not that I see it is the custom for those who undergo this kind of punishment to address some words to the bystanders as to the cause of their being put to death. Know, therefore, that, from my earliest years down to this present day, I have held the Faith of that Church which, throughout the whole Christian world, is knit and bound together; and

that in this same Faith I am about to end this unhappy life. But, as for this new Church of England, I do not acknowledge it.'

"Here Palmer, interrupting him, cried out in a loud voice: 'I see that you are dying an obstinate Papist; a member, not of the Catholic, but of the Roman Church.'

"To this the Earl replied: 'That which you call the Roman Church is the Catholic Church, which has been founded on the teaching of the Apostles, Jesus Christ Himself being its corner-stone, strengthened by the blood of Martyrs, honoured by the recognition of the holy Fathers; and it continues always the same, being the Church against which, as Christ our Saviour said, the gates of Hell shall not prevail.'

"When Palmer tried a second time to interrupt him, the Earl said: 'Cease, pray, to further trouble me, for of this truth my mind and conscience are most thoroughly convinced.' And when Palmer still would not be silent, the Earl, turning to the people, said: 'Beware, beloved brothers, of these ravening wolves, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, whilst, meantime, they are the men that devour your souls.' At this, rushing straight down from the platform, as though he had received a blow, Palmer left the Earl free to finish his address.

"'To me it has been a grievous sorrow,' he continued, 'that, in consequence of an occasion furnished in a manner by myself, so many of the common people have been put to a violent death for the zeal with which they strove to further God's religion, and clung also personally to myself. Would that by my own death I might have saved their lives! and yet

I have no fear but that their souls have obtained the glory of Heaven.'

"As to other matters brought against me, they are already fully explained in my answers to the questions set me by the Privy Council ; but I know that in them there is no room for mercy, and therefore from them I expect none : but from Him alone, whom I know to be the author of all mercy, who will, as I truly believe, grant mercy to me.'

"After commending to his brother's care his children, his servants, and some small debts,¹ he begged all present to forgive him, declaring that he on his part forgave all from his heart. Then kneeling down he finished his prayers.

"Then, after kissing a cross, which he traced upon the ladder of the scaffold, with his arms so folded on his breast as to form a cross, he stretched himself upon the block ; and as soon as he had said, 'Lord, receive my soul !' the executioner struck off his head. At that same instant, a great groan, which sounded like a roll of thunder, burst from the weeping spectators, as with one voice they called on God to receive his soul into eternal rest.

"It was thought very wonderful that, from the moment of his laying himself upon the block, he gave not even the smallest sign of fear, and made no movement whatsoever, either of head or body.

¹ His brother, Sir Henry Percy, who succeeded him in the earldom, was at this time a prisoner in the Tower, on a charge of conspiracy to free the Queen of Scots. His return to the Faith seems to have dated to about this time, and he incurred in consequence the severe displeasure of Elizabeth. After being long restricted as to his place of residence, and continually watched by spies, he was again thrown into the Tower, on no definite accusation ; and at length murdered there, in 1585 ; on account, as Catholics believed, of his religion.

“The people gathered up the martyr’s blood so diligently with handkerchiefs and linen cloths, that not even a straw stained with it was suffered to remain without their carrying it home to be treasured as a sacred relic. For throughout his life,” Sander concludes, “he was beyond measure dear to the whole people.”

Thus, at the comparatively early age of forty-four, did Blessed Thomas Percy win his crown in the year 1572, on August 22nd, the octave-day of the Assumption of our Lady, and, as it happened, on a Friday. A despatch, sent a few days later to Lord Burghley,¹ informs us that the actual hour of his death was three o’clock. He thus had the privilege of expiring at the same time as our Blessed Lord, for whom he had laid down his life.

Drake’s *History of York*² supplies the following particulars with reference to his burial: “His head was set up on a high pole on Micklegate Bar, where it continued for two years, but was afterwards stolen from thence. The body was buried in Crux Church by two of his servants, where it now lies without any memorial.”

Since Drake wrote, the Church of Holy Crux, which stood at one end of the Pavement, has been pulled down, and the site built over. All exact traces of the tomb of Blessed Thomas Percy seem thus unfortunately to be lost at present. At Stonyhurst College there is preserved one of the Thorns from the Crown of our Blessed Lord, which had been given to the martyred Earl by Mary Queen of Scots,

¹ *Domestic*, Addenda, September 2nd.

² Tom. i. p. 143. Edition of 1788.

as a proof of her grateful appreciation of his services. "The Earl," writes Mr. de Fonblanque, "had worn it, mounted in a golden cross, around his neck to the day of his death, when he bequeathed it to his eldest daughter, Elizabeth;" who "in her turn gave, or bequeathed it, to the Jesuit Father Gerard." The golden casket, in which it is now enclosed, bears, says the same writer, the following inscription: "Hæc spina de Corona Domini sancta fuit primo Mariæ Reginae Scotiae, Martyris, et ab ea data Comiti Northumbriæ, Martyri, qui in morte misit illam filiæ suæ, Elizabethæ, quæ dedit societati."¹ The Countess of Northumberland survived her husband's martyrdom for more than twenty years. She bore with edifying patience the sufferings and privations of her exile till her death, which took place at Namur in 1596. Her youngest daughter, the Lady Mary Percy, who seems to have been born during the Earl's imprisonment at Lochleven,² became the foundress in 1598 of a community of Benedictine Nuns at Brussels, since removed to the Abbey of St. Mary at East Bergholt, where it still flourishes. Amongst these good Religious, who playfully speak of the martyred father of their foundress as their "grandfather," the memory of the Blessed Thomas Percy has been ever held in special veneration.

¹ *Annals of the House of Percy*, ii. 121, 122.

² A MS., quoted in the *Catholic Magazine* of August, 1838, gives June 11, 1570, as the date of Lady Mary Percy's birth, which would thus seem to have occurred during her mother's residence at Old Aberdeen.

§ 7.

Such was the life, and such the death of Blessed Thomas Percy ; but this little memoir would not be complete without a brief reference to his Beatification. By the Brief of December 29, 1886, a large group of our English martyrs were beatified, as we commonly say, but, as we should more correctly say, recognized as having already in days long past attained to that honour. Gregory XIII., as this Brief of 1886 tells us, "granted in their honour several privileges appertaining to public and ecclesiastical worship, and chiefly that of using their relics in the consecration of altars, when relics of ancient holy martyrs could not be had. Moreover . . . he permitted also the Martyrs of the Church in England, both of ancient and more recent times, to be represented in like manner by the same artist (Nicholas Circiniani) in the English Church of the Most Holy Trinity in Rome, including those who, from the year 1535 to 1583, had died under Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, for the Catholic faith, and for the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff." Leo XIII.'s words imply what is a well-known fact, namely, that no pictures of holy persons save those whose *cultus* is sanctioned are allowed by the Holy See to be painted on church walls, so that this permission accorded by Gregory XIII. was equivalent to a beatification. Thus the only question remaining for those who desired in recent times to promote veneration of our martyrs was to ascertain who were those thus painted on the walls of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Rome. In the case of some there was no difficulty in doing

this. The pictures themselves were, indeed, destroyed during the French Revolution, but copies had been preserved, and the names of fifty-four were attached to their portraits. These therefore formed the first group whose veneration was sanctioned in 1886. But there were also nine other portraits to which no names were attached, and although it was understood who these nine must be, the case, as far as they were concerned, was delayed for a more careful sifting of the evidence for identification. Blessed Thomas Percy was one of them, the others being the three Benedictine Abbots with four of their monks, and Blessed Adrian Fortescue, who all suffered in the reign of Henry VIII. The supplementary decree sanctioning their *cultus* was dated May 13th, 1895. We have now, therefore, the authority of the Holy See to support the contention which this little memoir has endeavoured to make good by historical arguments—that Blessed Thomas Percy was not a traitor to his country, but a martyr for his faith.



The Landing of St. Augustine.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

THE thirteen hundredth anniversary of the landing of St. Augustine falls in the present year (1897), and preparations for celebrating it with due honour are in the course of making. It is fitting, therefore, that the Historical Series should contribute its quota towards interesting the Catholics of England in so impressive an occasion.

The work of St. Augustine, it must always be remembered, was not the introduction of Christianity into the country now called England, but its introduction among the English people. There was a previous British race of inhabitants of the land, the predecessors of the present Welsh, Cornish, and Breton populations. It was they whom the Romans conquered, and to them the Christian religion had been announced long before. What the first origins of British Christianity were cannot now be ascertained with certainty, although there is abundance of evidence to show that they had been reclaimed from heathenism several centuries before the coming of St. Augustine. But about the middle of the fifth century the Anglian tribes, which had for long previously been a constant terror, commenced their more systematic invasions, and from that time onwards for more than a hundred years the land was delivered over to the horrors of a most barbarous war, which ended apparently only by practically

clearing the country of its British occupants, vast numbers of them being cruelly massacred, and the remainder betaking themselves westwards to the territories of their present occupation.

Gildas, a writer of the next century, has left us an account of these terrible times, distinct, not indeed in any record of definite facts, but in its portrayal of the general character of what was then happening. Canon Bright has condensed this almost contemporary description in a graphic summary, from which we may avail ourselves of a small portion.

The blow was struck, at intervals through a century, by invaders as ferocious as they were energetic, of whom a contemporary Gallic Bishop says that the Saxon pirates were "the most truculent of all enemies," and that they made it a point of religion "to torture their captives rather than to put them to ransom," and to sacrifice the tenth part of them to their gods. The idolatry which had its centre in the worship of Woden and of Thunor was sure to render its votaries doubly terrible to a Christian population. Hence it is that we have to read of devastations which Gildas cannot relate without being reminded of the Psalms of the captivity. In his declamatory verbiage we see, clearly enough, a grim picture of flashing swords and crackling flames, of ruined walls, fallen towers, altars shattered, priests and Bishops and people slain "in the midst of the streets," and corpses clotted with blood and left without burial; of the "miserable remnant" slaughtered in the mountains, or selling themselves as slaves to the invader, or flying beyond the sea, or finding a precarious shelter in the forests.¹

In this way the land became once more a pagan land, for its former altars were all either thrown down or converted into pagan temples, and its new

¹ *Early English Church History*, pp. 22, 23.

occupants were not only pagans, but the bitterest enemies of the Christian name. That such a people, almost before the blood of their British foes had dried upon their swords, should bow the neck in willing obedience beneath the Christian yoke, and that, before another half-century was over, their country should become a home of faith and a nursery of sanctity, exciting the admiration of the entire Christian world, was nothing less than a miracle of grace, and we may well ask how it was wrought.

Three men stand out among the rest as the chosen instruments which God employed in laying the foundations of English faith—Gregory, Augustine, Ethelbert; but of these three St. Gregory is the one whose personality, in the records left behind, is by far the most distinct. Indeed, of all the Popes there is perhaps no single one who has portrayed himself so much to the life as he has done in his multitudinous letters. These letters reveal him to us as a man of vast energy and enterprise, a born ruler, whose eye was attentive to every quarter of his world-wide jurisdiction, and who knew well how to watch over its varied spiritual interests. But they reveal him to us also—and this is what was so distinctive in him—as a man of the largest and tenderest heart. His was just the kind of heart which the spectacle of the British boys in the Roman slave-market, viewed doubtless with unconcern by the many, could not fail to stir deeply, leaving on it an abiding impression. The story has been often told, but this account would be incomplete without it. Let it be told therefore in the words of its earliest relator, Venerable Bede.

It is said that, on a certain day, when, in consequence of the recent arrival of some merchants, a great store of things were offered for sale in the forum, and large numbers had gathered there to buy, Gregory himself came amongst the rest, and perceived amongst the goods for sale some boys, noticeable by their white skins, fair countenances, and the beauty of their (flaxen) hair. Gazing on them he asked, so it is said, from what land or region they had been brought, and he was told that they were from the island of Britain, where the inhabitants were all of this type. Again he asked if these islanders were Christians, or still infected with the errors of paganism. It was answered that they were pagans. Then, drawing a long sigh, he exclaimed: "Alas! that the author of darkness should possess men with such bright faces, and that such grace of front should bear within minds destitute of internal grace." Again he asked for the name of this people, and was told that they were called Anglians. "It is well," he rejoined, "for they have the face of angels, and it behoves such as they to be the co-heirs of angels in Heaven. What is the name of the province from which they come?" "The people of their province," was the answer, "are called Deirians." "That too is well," he said—"Deirians, snatched from the ire of God (*de ira Dei*) and called to the mercy of Christ. And how is the King of that province named?" He was told that he was named Ella, and, playing upon the word, he exclaimed, "Alleluia (*Ella-luia*), for the praise of God our Creator must be sung in those parts."

This event may possibly have happened before 578, when Gregory was sent to Constantinople as *Apocrisiarius*, or Papal representative at the Imperial Court, but most probably it happened after his return, and therefore between 583 and 588, this latter being the recorded date of the death of Ella of Deira. Gregory was at the time Abbot of the Monastery of St. Andrew, on the Cœlian Hill, a monastery which he had formed out of his own family palace, for he was of senatorial rank. His first impulse,

after seeing the English boys in the market-place, was to petition the reigning Pope (who, if the incident was after 583, must have been Pelagius II.), that he might himself be sent to the distant island. Pelagius acceded to his pressing desire, and he took his departure at once, but with the utmost secrecy, fearing lest that should happen which did, in spite of his precautions, thwart his purpose for the time. The Romans were indignant at the loss of one in whom so many hopes were reposed, and they constrained the Pope to have the fugitive brought back.

Shortly afterwards (in 590) Gregory himself succeeded to the Pontificate, and we may be sure that even from the first he was mindful of his cherished purpose. Yet it was not till about 595 that he found himself able to select a little band of Benedictine monks, whom he took from his own Monastery of St. Andrew, and despatched on the mission which he would have gladly undertaken himself. A sufficient explanation of this delay might be sought in the disturbed state of civil and ecclesiastical affairs nearer home, but Gregory may also have been waiting for an opportune moment, which, until 595, did not offer itself. Ethelfrid, the "Devastator," as Nennius calls him, the fierce invader who, some twelve years later, defeated and massacred the Britons at Bangor Iscoed, was then reigning in the northern district, from which the Anglian boys had been taken. Whilst he lived, the hopes of a successful apostolate in those parts might well have seemed poor, but in the Jute kingdom of Cantia, or Kent, a spontaneous desire to learn something of the religion of Jesus Christ had been felt, and apparently an

application had been made to the neighbouring priests either of Gaul or of the Britons, and the knowledge of it reached the ears of Gregory. It is possible he may have learnt it from St. Gregory of Tours, who, if we can trust his non-contemporary biographer, visited his Roman namesake about this time. This Saint was well acquainted with Queen Bertha's mother, and may have been the instructor of her own youth. But in any case Pope Gregory did learn the good news, for he tells us so himself in his letter to the Frankish Queen Brunehild, and likewise, in almost the same terms, in his letters to the boy Kings of Burgundy and Austrasia. To Queen Brunehild he writes: "We make known to you the news which has reached Us, that the English race, by the permission of God, desires to become Christian, but that the priests who are their neighbours show no solicitude for them." It is not difficult to infer what had happened. Ethelbert had married a Frankish Princess, Queen Bertha, who, herself a Christian, had taken with her as chaplain a Bishop named Luidhard, and probably also some Christian attendants. The request for aid doubtless proceeded from these two, supported by some, few or more, whom they had succeeded in winning over to a desire to know more of a religion which so edified them in its adherents. To the pre-existence of this desire to hear we may ascribe much of the ease with which the missionaries gained their entrance into the country.

The man whom Gregory chose to be the leader of his missionary band was the Prior of his Monastery of St. Andrew's. Augustine's personality is not, as

has been acknowledged, very distinctly portrayed to us in the records which have been preserved to us, and the same must be said of St. Ethelbert. But this is very different from saying that there was no strong personality in them. No one indeed has supposed otherwise of St. Ethelbert, who could hardly have attained to the overlordship of the island unless he had possessed a considerable force of character. The same argument is obviously applicable to St. Augustine, whom, however, in their reluctance to recognize anything good in an "Italian emissary," Anglican writers are never tired of running down. Thus the late Mr. Haddan, in a passage the unfairness of which is a serious blot on his otherwise high reputation as an historian, permits himself to write thus :¹

If any man ever had greatness thrust upon him, with which, Malvolio-like, he did not know how to deal, that man was Augustine of Canterbury. The Pope and his missionary remind us of nothing more forcibly than of some Arnold or Moberly trying by mingled rebukes, advice, and warning, to get a timid and awkward boy to act his part properly in the semi-independent sphere of prefect or monitor. "Scarcely able to tear himself from the side of the truly great man on whom he leaned—shrinking back from exaggerated difficulties the moment he found himself alone—delaying on the threshold of his enterprise an unreasonable time, yet strangely ignorant, at the end of this delay, of the true position of the Celtic Churches,² already in the land to which he was sent, and still needing interpreters to enable him to preach to his future flock—asking with solemnity the simplest of questions, such as a novice might have settled without troubling the Pope, a thousand miles off, about the matter³—catching too readily at

¹ *Remains*, p. 42.

² It is rather Mr. Haddan who was ignorant of it.

³ What St. Augustine sought was not so much information, as authority to act.

immediate and worldly aids to success¹—ignoring altogether the pioneers whom he found at work before him²—and sensitively proud and unconciliatory towards supposed rivals³—Augustine has one claim to our respect, that of a blameless and self-denying Christian life.”

Mr. Haddan continues in the same unwarrantable strain, for which Canon Bright does well to condemn him. He forgets that had St. Augustine been such as he imagines, he could never have achieved so striking a success or have acquired the reputation which he bore among his contemporaries, who handed it down to future ages.

St. Augustine and his companions started on their journey somewhere about the opening of 596, and soon got as far as Provence. Here, however, they heard a description of the character of those to whom they were sent which filled them with consternation. “Smitten with a sluggish fear [says Bede], they bethought themselves of returning home instead of approaching a barbarous, cruel, and unbelieving race, whose language even they did not know.” They were not slow in determining to beg for a release from their charge, and sent back Augustine, their leader, to seek it of the Pope. But Gregory was not prepared thus at the very outset to forego the execution of his purpose, and he knew how to communicate his own burning zeal to his disciple. Augustine returned to Provence with a revived courage, which

¹ It was only common sense to avail himself of Ethelbert's influence with his subjects, and Bede tells us that the missionaries had exhorted the King to be careful not to force them into embracing Christianity.

² Bishop Luidhard, to whom this criticism refers, may have been dead for aught we know.

³ That is, the British Bishops, but here also Mr. Haddan is drawing from his imagination, not from the facts.

he was able in his turn to communicate to his companions. In this he was powerfully aided by the letter which he bore with him :

It were better (wrote St. Gregory) not to enter upon good deeds than to turn back from them when begun. Let not then the fatigue of the journey, nor the tongues of evil-speaking men affright you ; but with all earnestness and fervour continue, under the Divine directions, what you have begun, knowing that if the labour is great the glory or the eternal reward will be greater still. . . . May the Almighty God protect you by His grace, and permit me to see the fruit of your labours in our everlasting country ; so that, as I cannot toil with you, I may at least share with you the joy of the reward, for I do indeed wish that I could share the toil. God keep you safe, most dear sons.

We have seen how an arm-chair critic can make light of the dangers which struck a momentary terror into the hearts of the missionaries. If, however, we bear in mind what Gildas has told us of the ferocity of the Saxon tribes, and the way in which they had raged against the British priests and their altars ; if we reflect also how exactly it resembled that of the various barbarian races which had overrun and devastated the southern regions through which the missionaries were then passing, we can realize how fearful must have seemed the prospect before them, and how calculated to make even stout hearts quail. We ought also never to forget that what has enabled the Christian heroes of all time to surmount obstacles terrible to flesh and blood, is not mere natural courage, but the strength from on high which is often best "perfected in weakness." It was in this strength that the apostles of England picked up their courage once more and resumed their journey.

It was in the summer of 596 that they made their second start, for the letter from St. Gregory just quoted is dated July 23, 596. It was necessary, however, to winter in Gaul, where they had letters to deliver to the princes and prelates whose aid would be of value, and thus their arrival in England was not till the spring of 597. Bede's account of the landing places it in the Isle of Thanet: "On the east coast of Kent there is an island called Thanet, of considerable size, containing, according to the customary computation of the English, six hundred families; it is separated from the mainland by the Wantsum, a river some third of a mile broad, which is fordable only in two places, for it has two outlets into the sea. At this spot landed the servant of the Lord, Augustine." It is well to have a distinct idea of the place, where, according to a very probable theory, the landing took place. The River Stour, rising near Ashford, and flowing through Canterbury, eventually passes under Richborough Castle and by the outskirts of Sandwich, in the neighbourhood of which town it discharges its waters into Pegwell Bay. In old times it had also an outlet dividing off a few miles to the west of Minster, and running northwards into the sea just to the east of Reculvers. This second outlet, which together with the first makes Thanet into an island, is now represented only by a small brook, but in former days the two outlets broadened into a wide channel called the Wantsum. Richborough and Reculvers were the two Roman fortresses guarding its southern and northern entrances. On the Thanet side of the channel, a little to the east of Minster, is a farm on somewhat higher ground than the sur-

rounding marsh, which is still called Ebbs Fleet Farm. In the days of St. Augustine it must have been the end of a low promontory, forming on its western side a small cove. It is here that, according to the most accepted theory, Augustine and his party landed.¹

Having landed, the missionaries at once sent messengers to King Ethelbert, to announce that they "had come from Rome, and had brought good news, which offered to all who would listen an assurance of eternal joys in Heaven and a kingdom without end in fellowship with God, the Living and the True." The answer was that for the time being "they should remain where they were in the island, and that all their needs should be supplied until he could resolve what he should do with them." This further resolution was not long delayed. "After some days [says Bede] the King came over to the island, and taking his seat in the open air, bade Augustine and his companions to come there to meet him." He chose the open air, in the superstitious belief that, if the visitors were intending to practise upon him by magic arts, their intentions might by this means be frustrated. Presently they came, as Bede beautifully puts it, "trusting not in the power of evil spirits, but in the power of God, carrying a silver cross as their standard, and a picture of our Lord and Saviour painted on a wooden tablet, whilst they sang

¹ Thorne, however, a Canterbury chronicler of the fourteenth century, tells us the landing was at Richborough itself, which he speaks of as "in Thanet;" telling us that the spot was yearly visited by pilgrims on St. Augustine's feast. To this, as the Canterbury tradition, some weight must attach, though it is not so easy to see how Richborough could have been in Thanet.

processional litanies, supplicating God for the salvation both of themselves and of those for whom and to whom they had come." Bede does not mention it, but a later writer, on the faith of an account professing to come from an old man whose grandfather had been baptized by the Saint, tells us that he was a man of tall stature, towering head and shoulders over the people. The same account also speaks of the impression made by his mild and reverend countenance. We can understand, then, how lively an impression was made upon Ethelbert and his attendants by the solemn and heart-elevating spectacle. Ethelbert was a prudent man, however, and wished to yield only to the conviction which is born of careful consideration. "Your words are fair," he said, "and so too are the promises you announce; but they are new and uncertain, and I cannot therefore assent to them to the abandonment of the beliefs which I and all the English have held for so long." He added that he well understood the kind intentions which had brought them from so far, and that he would see therefore to their hospitable entertainment, and would be glad to let them receive into their Church all whom they could convert.

The scene of this interesting meeting, perhaps the most interesting that has ever taken place on English soil, cannot be identified with absolute certainty. If the landing was at Richborough, the meeting must have been there too. If it was, as we have supposed, at Ebbs Fleet, there is high probability to recommend the spot where the late Lord Granville recently erected a memorial cross. This is in a field

not half a mile north-east of Ebbs Fleet Farm, and just in front of the Cliff End Farm. By one walking from Minster to Ramsgate by the lower road, it will be found on his right hand, just after he has passed under the railway-arch, and it is quite close to the line, so as to be easily visible from the train. In the days of St. Augustine it must have been just at the water's edge, and therefore quite where we should expect such an interview to have taken place. The field seems formerly to have been named Cotmanfeld ("Field of the Man of God"), a name which in part survives in that of the neighbouring farm, which is called Cottington.

Quickly after the meeting at Ebbs Fleet the missionaries responded to the royal invitation, and took their departure for Canterbury. They must have gone along the old Roman road, which started from near Richborough, and have thus approached the royal city from the hill on which still stands St. Martin's Church. There were as yet none of the later glories of the city for their eyes to admire, but they saw it before them as the city which the Divine will had confided to their zeal, and, lifting up the emblem of salvation once more, they entered it with a chanted prayer, to the efficacy of which its later glories may surely in large measure be attributed: "We beseech Thee, O Lord, in Thy mercy to take away Thy wrath and Thine indignation from this city and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia."

The little Church of St. Martin just mentioned is a still more interesting topographical link between us and our first Apostle than the place of his confer-

ence on the sea-shore. How far the present structure can be referred to the Roman period, and so be identified with the building which St. Augustine found standing, is a point which has been much disputed. But there can be no doubt, especially after the quite recent discovery of a Roman arch and window in the west wall, that some portions go back as far. With what feelings then must we ever regard the venerable little church when we read in the pages of Bede a passage like the following :

Near the city (of Canterbury), on its eastern side, was a church dedicated to St. Martin, which had been built long before, whilst the Romans still occupied Britain, and in which the Queen, who, as we have said, was a Christian, was accustomed to pray. It was in this church that they too (Augustine and his companions) began in the first instance to meet together, to sing, to pray, to say Masses, to preach, and to baptize ; until, after the conversion of the King, a fuller liberty was allowed them to preach everywhere, and build or restore churches.

The happy event alluded to in this last clause followed soon upon the arrival of the missionaries, for Bede himself assigns it to the same year,¹ and the Canterbury tradition says he was baptized on Whit Sunday (June 1st).

The scope of this paper is confined to the landing of St. Augustine ; nor is it necessary to repeat the well-known story of the rapid spread of the true faith throughout the Kentish kingdom. The foundations though speedily were solidly laid, and so when, in the next reign, the temporary apostacy of the Sovereign caused the falling off of many of his subjects, the recovery was very rapid, and also proved lasting. To

¹ ii. 5.

sum up, then, the extent and significance of St. Augustine's work during the short period of his eight years' episcopate. His personal successes were confined to Kent, where he founded two sees, those of Canterbury and Rochester ; but he made efforts to extend the faith to other parts of the country, and these efforts, if not at the time successful, ought at all events to be regarded as seeds of which the fruit was gathered in later years. He had made efforts which, had they not been met with an unreasoning and disedifying perversity, would have secured him the co-operation of the British clergy, and the directions given him by Pope Gregory as to the character of the destined Hierarchy show what plans he must have been forming for the conversion of the other English tribes, particularly those of the north. He was thus the man who gave the first impulse towards the Christianizing, not of Kent only, but of the entire island, an impulse which we may be sure exercised its influence over the subsequent sending of Paulinus to York, and thereby over the summoning of Aidan and his companions to take up the work from which Paulinus had been driven off. To the self-same impulse we must likewise allow a causality in stirring up Felix and Birinus to undertake the evangelization of East Anglia and Wessex. It is on this ground that St. Augustine is entitled to be regarded as the Apostle of England, as Canon Bright has clearly shown.

If the title (of Apostle) belongs to the man who first brings home to any part of a given people the knowledge of Christ and the ordinances of His religion, then it is enough to remark that Augustine came into Kent when all the "Saxon" kingdoms were still heathen. He came to confront

risks which Aidan, for instance, had never to reckon with on appearing in Northumbria at the express invitation of St. Oswald. . . . His long precedency in the mission-field is a simple matter of chronology: it means that he threw open the pathway, that he set the example, and that a generation had passed away before "Scotic" zeal had followed in his steps.¹

This obviously sound reasoning is nevertheless displeasing to many of Canon Bright's co-religionists. If Augustine was the Apostle of England, with what face, they anxiously ask themselves, can we claim the inheritance of his succession without acknowledging ourselves to be an Italian Mission? Accordingly, there has been a division of opinion among Anglican divines, some taking the rational view of Canon Bright, others repeating the watchword of Bishop Lightfoot: "Augustine was the Apostle of Kent, but Aidan was the Apostle of England." It will be interesting to see how this division of opinion will be affected by the pilgrimages of the coming season, for on the memorial cross those who visit it will find inscribed:

Augustine at length brought to Ebbs Fleet in the Isle of Thanet, after so many labours on land and at sea, at a conference with King Ethelbert on this spot, delivered his first discourse to our people, and auspiciously *founded the Christian faith*, which with wonderful rapidity was diffused throughout the whole of England.

It is the traditional judgment which these words express, and indeed they almost seem to have been suggested by the words of the Council of Clovesho, in 747:

¹ *Waymarks in Church History*, p. 309.

That the birthday of the Blessed Pope Gregory, as also the day of death falling on May 26, of St. Augustine, Archbishop and Confessor, who, sent by the aforesaid Pope, our Father St. Gregory, *brought to the English race* the knowledge of faith, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the knowledge of the heavenly country, be honoured and venerated by all as is becoming.

What is there in either of these two utterances to consist with the contention which would set up Aidan as a rival to Augustine, and confer upon him a title which he would have been the first to disown and which is offered him only under the stress of controversial necessities?

“But with what commission did Augustine come?” It is the Bishop of Stepney¹ who puts the question, and, in view of the pretensions of the Anglican Archbishops of Canterbury, a few words on the subject will be of service.

The Bishop of Stepney enlarges the question, and in so doing indicates the nature of his own answer.

Did he come in the interests of Rome to enlarge the area of the claims of the Papacy? Did he come to demand allegiance, homage to St. Peter, to an infallibly-inspired successor of St. Peter, to the Vicar of Christ on earth, to whom all appeals must come, from whose unerring decision no appeal lay on earth or in heaven? From first to last, in all Gregory's letters, no word of the kind. . . . His business was to create an English Church, not to build up an outwork of Rome.

The phrases which the Bishop thus piles up one upon another are of his own choice, and are none of ours. Let us venture to substitute some others which less misleadingly enunciate the doctrine of the

¹ Op. cit., p. 37.

Catholic Church. "Did he come (let us ask) to found a Church which should be independent of the See of Peter or one which should look up to it as the necessary centre of unity and the necessary source of all lawful ecclesiastical authority?" If the question is thus put, let us see if it be true that, "from first to last, in all Gregory's letters (there is) no word of the kind."

Of one of these letters the Bishop of Stepney himself allows that "it was clearly intended to be the Charter of the English Church."¹ It is the letter, written in 601, which accompanied the gift of the pallium, and is marked by a tone of authority throughout.

Since the new Church of the English has been brought to the grace of Almighty God, through the favour of the same Lord and your labours, we grant you the use of the pallium, to be used in it [the English Church] exclusively at the solemn celebration of the Mass; in order that you may ordain for as many places twelve Bishops, who shall be subject to your rule, but so that the Bishop of the city of London may in future be consecrated by his own Synod and receive the pallium of office (*honoris*) from this Holy and Apostolic See, to which, by God's ordinance, I minister. And we wish you to send a Bishop to the city of York, having ordained one who may seem to you suitable for the purpose; but so that if the same city, with the neighbouring districts, shall receive the Word of God, he also may ordain twelve Bishops and enjoy the dignity of metropolitan; for, if spared, we propose, with the Divine permission, to give him also the pallium, wishing nevertheless that he be subject to the orders of your Paternity. But, after your death, let him govern the Bishops whom he has ordained, and not be subject in any way to the Bishop of London. . . . But let your fraternity have, subject to itself, by the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 84.

ordinance of our Lord Jesus Christ, not only the Bishops which it has ordained, nor only those ordained by the Bishop of York, but also the priests of Britain.¹

And in the previous letter,² in which he answers certain questions put to him by Augustine, he makes, in reference to the last point, a distinction between the Bishops of Gaul, and the British Bishops in the west of England. "Over the Bishops of the Gauls we give you no authority, because the Bishops of Arles have received the pallium from my predecessors in ancient times, and it is not right that we should deprive them of their authority;" but "as for all the Bishops of the Britons, we confide them to your fraternity that the unlearned may be taught, the weak strengthened by persuasion, and the perverse corrected by authority."

Could anything be clearer than that the man who wrote thus, regarded every Bishop in Britain, and in Gaul also, as his own subjects? His letter reminds us of the *Universalis Ecclesiæ*, by which Pius IX. reconstituted the English Hierarchy in 1850. He marks out dioceses as he thinks best, determines the order of subordination which shall prevail among the prelates to be set over them, and imparts to each the authority which such an order will require. He directs that the other Archbishops shall be under Augustine during the latter's lifetime, but independent of his successors and of one another after his death. He subjects to his authority other Bishops not sent by himself but found already existing in the country, and declines to place in the same subjection the Bishops of Gaul, not on the ground that to do

¹ Bede, i. xxix.

² *Ibid.* xxvii.

so would exceed his power, but only on the ground that it would be unjust to withdraw authority from one to whom it had been communicated by his predecessors, and who had not misused it. He sends one pallium and promises others, and expressly states that in sending it he is imparting authority to consecrate suffragans. Nor does he hesitate to describe the injunctions he is giving as, "the ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ," clearly in the consciousness that he is using authority which our Lord had bestowed and had sanctioned with the assurance that whosoever hears the successors of His chief Apostle hears Him.

Only trifling, in short, can seek to extract out of language such as this, any meaning short of a distinct assertion of Papal claims in the full sense in which Catholics now understand them, and it is trifling to argue, as some have done, that Gregory intended the English Church to be independent of the authority of his own See, from the mere fact that he gave directions for the consecration of future English prelates by prelates in their own land. It may be suitable that an Archbishop should receive his consecration from his highest ecclesiastical superior, but obviously there are practical inconveniences in such a course when the archiepiscopal sees are far removed from the city of Rome. Nor is consecration by the Pope himself in any sense necessary, for it is not consecration which assigns to a prelate either his degree of authority over those placed under him, or his degree of subjection under those placed over him. Jurisdiction is imparted by an expression of will on the part of the superior, and is independent of con-

secration, though the two are intended to combine in the same person ; and that this was Gregory's own doctrine is sufficiently clear, from his placing the British Bishops, by such an expression of will, under the authority of St. Augustine, although he had not consecrated or sent into the country a single one of them.

If the letters of Gregory to Augustine are sufficient of themselves to prove that he conceived of his authority over the English Church precisely as Leo XIII. does now, it may be thought unnecessary to appeal to his other letters. Why, however, is it that our Anglican writers, like the Bishop of Stepney, in the little book already several times mentioned, appear to know nothing of the many similar and confirmatory passages in Gregory's other letters, but know only of the one passage in which he reproved John the Faster, even then in a tone of authority, for calling himself a Universal Bishop? The meaning which Gregory attached to this designation and for which he condemned it, is one which is perfectly ascertainable and has no bearing on the question of Papal authority. The Bishop of Stepney is himself, by the title which he uses, an illustration of the incongruity which Gregory thought so improper. For a man to call himself Bishop of Stepney is to imply that there can be no other lawful Bishop of Stepney, and is therefore by implication to claim that Stepney lies outside the sphere of episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. It is something very different from taking such a title as Archbishop of Canterbury, with the understanding that it involves authority of a higher order over other sees such as London. So Gregory's objection was that John, by

calling himself Universal Bishop, was implying that the entire world was his diocese, and that there was no part of the world left for another Bishop to govern. In no sense did he blame him for pretending to exercise superior authority over other Bishops.

Had Gregory meant otherwise, he would have been contradicting in the most egregious way both the tenour of his own active and authoritative interposition in the ecclesiastical difficulties of every part of the world, and the many distinct expressions in which he asserts the world-wide character of the government confided to him. As regards the former, let any one in doubt read carefully through his many interesting letters, and ask if the various administrative measures which they either take or imply, do not amount to that very exercise of Papal authority in which the Popes engage now. As regards the latter, what other construction can we put on such a passage as this, in which he says of the Bishop of Bizacium: "As for his saying that he is subject to the Apostolic See, whenever any fault is found in Bishops, I do not know what Bishop is not subject to it;"¹ or this, in which he repeats the same with special reference to the see of Constantinople: "As for what they say of the Church of Constantinople, who is there that doubts but that it is subject to the Apostolic See, as indeed the most pious Emperor and our brother, the Bishop of that see, assiduously profess;"² or this, in which he gives practical effect to the claim by entertaining the appeal of an Oriental priest, John by name, who had been condemned by the judges appointed to try him at

¹ Ep. ix. n. 59.

² *Ibid.* n. 12.

Constantinople in a case of heresy, and reversing the decision of that see: "Wherefore, reprobating the decision of the aforesaid judges, we, by our definitive sentence, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ enlightening us, have declared him (John) to be Catholic and acquitted of all charges of heresy;"¹ or this, in which, referring back to the last-mentioned incident, he writes to the Bishop of Ravenna, who claimed an exemption barring appeals from his judgment to that of Rome: "Do you not know that the cause which arose between John the Presbyter and John of Constantinople, our brother and fellow-Bishop, was brought, in accordance with the Canons, to the Apostolic See and was decided by our sentence. If then a cause coming even from the city where the Sovereign resides is brought under our cognizance, how much more must the matter which has arisen among you be decided here by a discovery of the truth;"² or this, in which he declares that a Synod held at Constantinople, "without the knowledge and consent of the Apostolic See, is null and void in whatsoever it may enact," and therefore bids his representative at the Court, should any one attempt to hold such a Synod, "relying on the Apostolic authority, to turn the robber and ravening wolf out."³ Similar citations might be multiplied almost indefinitely from the Letters of St. Gregory, and surely they should suffice to disillusion any candid reader who has been led to think that the beliefs on which the first English hierarchy were established, are in any way different from those on which our present Catholic Hierarchy rests.

¹ *Ibid.* iv. 15.

² *Ibid.* vi. 24.

³ *Ibid.* ix. 68.

The faith, then, which St. Augustine brought was the same faith which is ours now. He is our Apostle, therefore, and we must feel deeply grateful that his work should have proved so splendid and enduring. Of the splendour of our pre-Reformation Church, of the purity of its faith, and of its strong attachment to the See of Peter, there can be no real controversy, and as we measure the thirteen centuries which have rolled by since Augustine landed on our shores, we are struck by the comparative length of the Catholic period when set side by side with the Protestant period which succeeded it. Nine hundred and fifty years of unbroken unity, held together by the links forged by Gregory and Augustine between England and the Apostolic See, against three hundred and fifty years of wide-spread and progressive division growing out of the schism initiated by Henry and Elizabeth—for it was reserved for this country, in the day when it departed from the unity into which Gregory had led it, to present to the world the saddest of all illustrations of the sad truth in which, nevertheless, Gregory could find a crumb of consolation: "It is a signal grace of Almighty God, that there is no unity amongst those who are separated from the doctrine of Holy Church, no kingdom divided against itself being able to stand."¹ And Gregory is right. It is indeed a consolation that division should dog the footsteps of schism, nor is there anything so much as these present hopeless divisions which attracts English minds towards that principle of Catholic unity which Augustine brought with him from Gregory thirteen hundred years ago.

¹ *Ibid.* viii. 2.

The Hungarian Confession.

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BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.
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IT is often a puzzle to understand how nations which for a thousand years were so deeply attached to the Catholic Faith could have been brought in the course of about a century to regard the same Faith with an equally deep-rooted aversion. And if the puzzle is to a certain extent solved for us when we perceive that the ideas of the later age about Catholic doctrines and institutions are grotesquely erroneous and calumnious, we are further perplexed to understand how such false ideas could in the first instance have obtained currency. Those who have devoted study to the subject know that downright frauds have played their part, and that not a small part, in producing the evil result—frauds, that is to say, in which the few were the perpetrators and the many the victims.

An example of the kind of frauds which have done duty in this way is the document usually called the Hungarian Confession. It is a fraud directed primarily against the Jesuits, but through them against the Catholic Church herself, which would have to be held responsible for the use of so improper a formulary by a Religious Order within its communion.

In England this spurious document has not been extensively used for controversial purposes. It was

brought forward, however, in 1847, by Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. Dr. Wordsworth, in the second of his *Letters to M. Gondon*, assumed its genuineness as undisputed, citing the authority of Streitwolf and Klener,¹ who had given it a place in their Collection. But finding to his apparent surprise that the *Dublin Review*² was not prepared to accept such an argument as final, he endeavoured in another letter to support it by reasons drawn from the German works of Herr Mohnike. To Mohnike we shall have to refer presently, and we may therefore dismiss Dr. Wordsworth, except to say that, misled by his advocacy, subsequent English controversialists have occasionally assumed the genuineness of the so-called Confession.³

It is in Germany which (or else Hungary) is probably the country of its origin, that the fraud has

¹ *Libri Symbolici Catholice Ecclesie* in 1838. These writers were Catholics in some sense, and their Collection counts as a scientific work. In the body of the work they give the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, the Canons and Decrees of Trent, the Profession of Faith of Pius IV., and the Catechism of the Council of Trent. As appendices they give five other Professions of Faith which they say are of less authority, but of which the other four are as clearly genuine as they are unobjectionable. Fourth in number among these five is our Hungarian Confession, and the account given of it in the Preface is as follows: "The author is unknown, and its age is not clearly ascertained; but it appears to have been composed in Hungary about the year 1673 by Fathers of the Society of Jesus. This inhuman form, which is so very different from the Tridentine Profession of Faith, was first of all exacted from the Evangelicals in Hungary (whence its name of Hungarian Confession) who were received back into the Catholic Faith, but its use was afterwards extended even to Germany." It is significant that in the second edition of their work, published eight years later (1846), although the passage in the Preface remains unaltered, the authors have silently removed the Confession from the Appendix in which the other four Professions of Faith are still to be read.

² July, 1847.

³ See the *Antidote* for April 29, 1890, and the *Gainsborough Discussion* (1888) in Father Anderdon's *Polemica*.

been chiefly utilized. In particular we may notice that in 1821 Dr. Wald, of the University of Königsburg, having taken for the subject of his Easter Programme, or Closing Address, "Confessions of Faith as employed in the Roman Church," included this Confession in his list, and maintained that there was satisfactory evidence of its having been publicly prescribed in Hungary and used on several occasions in Germany. This statement was at once challenged by the Catholic party, with the result of drawing forth several books and articles, among which were the three best works on the subject, that of Provost Jordansky,¹ of Gran, on the Catholic side, and those of Dr. Mohnike² on the side of Dr. Wald.

Dr. Mohnike was a man of scholarly reputation, and there is an appearance, though not the reality, of judicial method about his treatise, which imparts to it a certain persuasiveness. His conclusion is that the Confession is certainly genuine, and that its use on four distinct occasions has been sufficiently demonstrated. These instances are stated by him as follows: (1) In 1750, the Confession was publicly made by two young ladies, daughters of the Hofkammerrath Majus, in the Convent of Escherde, on their reception into the Church by the Jesuit Fathers. (2) In 1725, it was made by a certain matron named Anna Klasin, at Ulm in Bavaria. (3) In 1717, it was taken by Duke Maurice of Saxony-Zeiz, on his reception into the Church, at Tocksan in Hungary.

¹ *De Hæresi abjuranda quid statuat Ecclesia Romana.* Auctore Alexio Jordansky.

² *Urkundlichen Geschichte*, in 1822, and *Zur Geschichte des Hungarischen Fluchformular*, in 1823.

(4) In 1674, it was taken at Presburg in Upper Hungary, or in its neighbourhood, by Elias Gressner and others, ex-ministers of the Evangelical religion, who at that time were forced by threats of persecution into unreal conversion. Gressner, it will be seen, is the name attached to the text as cited below.

For an examination into the first three of these cases, and the amusing way in which the evidence breaks down in each of them, the reader may refer to *The Month* for July, 1896. It is enough here to say that in each of them the ultimate argument in which Mohnike and those he cites are driven to take refuge, is that the genuineness of the Confession is conclusively established by its use at Presburg in 1674, and that its use on the subsequent occasions is therefore presumable. We can go, then, at once to the root of the matter by examining into the evidence for its use in 1674.

Let us begin by placing the document before us. There are great variations in its text, as there are wont to be in the texts of spurious documents. The text given here, with the note at the end, is from the book in which it first appeared—Lani's *Captivitas Papistica*.

The Confession of Faith of the new Catholics in Hungary.

I. We believe and confess that, through the singular care of our rulers, spiritual and temporal, solely and entirely by the diligence and assistance bestowed upon us by Messieurs the Jesuit Fathers (*Dominorum Patrum Societatis*), we have been converted from the heretical way and belief to the true Roman Catholic and saving (way). And that we wish, of our own free-will without any compulsion, to confess the same publicly with mouth and tongue before the whole world.

II. We confess that the Roman Pope is the Head of the Church and cannot err.

III. We confess and believe that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ, and has power, according to his pleasure, to forgive and retain sins, to cast down into Hell and to excommunicate.

IV. We confess that every novelty which the Pope has established, whether it be in the Scriptures or out of them, and everything which he commands, is true, divine, and of saving power; and that the laity must receive all such as the word of the living God.

V. We confess that the most holy Pope ought to be honoured with divine honour, and with deeper genuflexions than Christ Himself.

VI. We confess and affirm that the Pope must be listened to by every one and in all matters, as the most holy Father, and that all heretics who resist his orders, without exception and without compassion, should not only by means of the fire be cast out of our midst but should also be thrust down body and soul into Hell.

VII. We confess that the reading of the Scriptures is the origin of all heresies and of all sects, and is also the source of all blasphemies.

VIII. We confess that it is a divine, holy, and useful thing to invoke the dead saints, to honour their pictures, to bow the knee before them, to make pilgrimages to them, to dress them up, to burn lights before them.

IX. We confess that every priest is much greater than the Mother of God herself, since she only gave birth to the Lord Christ once, and does not give birth to Him any more; whereas a Romish priest sacrifices and creates the Lord Christ, not only when he will, but also in whatever way he will; nay, after he has created Him he even devours Him.

X. We confess that it is useful and salutary to read mass for the dead, to give alms for them, and to pray for them.

XI. We confess that the Roman Pope has power to change the Scripture, and, according to his will, to add to it or take from it.

XII. We confess that the souls after death are purified in Purgatory, and that aid towards their redemption is obtained through the masses of the priests.

XIII. We confess that to receive the Lord's Supper under one kind is good and saving, but under both kinds is heretical and damnable.

XIV. We confess and believe that those who receive the Holy Communion under one kind receive and use the whole Christ with His Body and Blood, His Divinity and His Bones, but that those who use both kinds, obtain and eat only plain bread.

XV. We confess that there are seven true and real sacraments.

XVI. We confess that God is honoured through pictures, and that by them He is made known to men.

XVII. We confess that the Holy Virgin Mary ought to be held both by angels and by men to be higher than Christ, the Son of God Himself.

XVIII. We confess that the Holy Virgin Mary is a Queen of Heaven and reigns equally with her Son, who is obliged to do everything according to her will.

XIX. We confess that the bones of the saints have great power in themselves, and that they ought on that account to be honoured by men and have chapels built to them.

XX. We confess that the Roman doctrine is Catholic, pure, divine and saving, ancient and true; but that the Evangelical doctrine (from which we freely depart), is false, erroneous, blasphemous, accursed, heretical, perditionous, seditious, impious, spurious, and fictitious. While, therefore, the Roman religion, with its one kind, is wholly and entirely good and holy in all its interpretations, we curse all those who have offered us this opposite and impious heresy with its two kinds. We curse our parents who brought us up in this heretical belief; we curse all those who caused us to doubt or suspect the Roman Catholic belief. So too (we curse) the two who gave us the accursed chalice. Yea, we also curse ourselves and call ourselves accursed, in that we took part in this accursed heretical chalice, which it did not become us to drink out of.

XXI. We confess that the Holy Scripture is imperfect and a dead letter as long as it is not explained to us by the Pope of Rome, but is left to the layman, or common man, to read. We confess that a mass for the dead, said by a Roman priest, is of much more use than a hundred and more Evangelical sermons. And we, therefore, curse all the books which we have read in which this heretical and blasphemous doctrine is contained. We curse also all our works which we did whilst we lived in this heretical doctrine, so that they may not receive from God their deserts at the Last Judgment. All this we do with a right conscience, and by a public act of retractation, in the presence of the Reverend Lord Father, of the honourable gentlemen and the respected matrons, of the youths and maidens, we confirm (our belief) that the Roman Church in these and the like articles, is the truest Church. Moreover, we swear that we will never, as long as our life lasts, return to this heretical doctrine under both kinds, even if it were permitted us or could be done. We swear, also, that as long as there is a spark of life in our bodies, we will persecute this accursed Evangelical doctrine, utterly, secretly, and openly, by violence and deceit, with words and deeds, even the sword not excepted. Lastly, we swear before God, before the Holy Angels, and before you here present, that (even if there should come to pass some change in the authorities of Church or State), we will never, through fear or through favour, decline from this blessed Roman Catholic and Divine Church, nor return to the accursed Evangelical heresy, or take up with the same again.

[“The chief leader among these new Catholics was Elias Gressner, principal pastor in the city of Neusohl, who, after he had first of all signed it, was compelled soon after to recite it in the church there, just about the time when we at Presburg were brought up before the court of the high priest and received this news of his apostasy.”]

Here is the document, and we are not surprised to hear from Mohnike, that when he showed it to a Catholic friend, the friend's reply was, “If that is

Christianity, I turn to the heathen." What then are the evidences for its use which have satisfied minds by no means deficient in character and learning, though filled with prejudice against the Catholic Church?¹

In the year 1676 there appeared at Leipsic a book bearing the following title :

In the name of the crucified Jesus, who powerfully protects, mightily consoles, and gloriously delivers His captives, A short and truthful History of the horrible and almost unparalleled captivity under the Papists, as also of the marvellous Delivery from the same, of Magister George Lani, Hungarian, School Rector in the distinguished town of Karpfen, in Hungary, who remained true to his God and the Evangelical Church. This man, purely and solely because he would not fall away from Evangelical Truth, nor sign the shameful Reversal Letters, was, although blameless, summoned to Presburg in 1674, and condemned from life to death.

Such then is the book which, for brevity's sake, is usually called the *Captivitas Papistica*. As indicated in the above descriptive title, a large body of Lutheran and Calvinist ministers were summoned before a Court Delegate of the Empire, held at Presburg, over which Archbishop Szelepczenyí of Gran, as Stadtholder of Hungary, presided. But the charge against these preachers was not, as Lani says, a charge of heresy, but of treason.² There had been a conspiracy forming for some years previously in Hungary, of which several

¹ For what follows, I am much indebted to Father Bernhard Duhr, S.J., who, in his *Jesuiten-fabeln*, published by Herder (No. 7, pp. 141—166), has given an excellent account of the history of the Hungarian Confession, as well as of other famous charges against the Society of Jesus.

²—See the account in Von Mailath's *History of the Austrian Empire*.

powerful Hungarian noblemen were the leading spirits. Its object was to drive the Germans out of Hungary, and, for the purpose of strengthening themselves, the conspirators had entered into negotiations with the Turks on the one side, and with the French on the other. These heads of the conspiracy were Catholic, but the charge brought against the preachers was that they had entered into an alliance with them, and were seeking to stir up their adherents by an organized system of inflammatory sermons. The object these preachers had in view (so it was alleged), was to exact a restoration of certain funds which the Racoczky princes used to allow them as long as they were themselves Lutherans, but which on their secession to the Catholic Church they had withdrawn. The conspiracy being discovered, its leaders were tried, and mostly executed. The ministers who stood for their trial were likewise convicted of the offence charged, and condemned to death. The death sentence was, however, remitted to all of them save one or two. The others were offered the alternative of signing Reversal letters, as they were technically called, or of being sent to the galleys. These Reversal letters were letters by which they, the signatories, acknowledged to their conviction (it was disputed whether an acknowledgment of guilt was involved), and were of two kinds—one for those who desired to remain in the country, another for those who preferred banishment. Those who elected to remain undertook by their Reversals to abstain in future from all ministerial work as Lutheran or Calvinist preachers, and to live henceforth peaceably as private citizens. Those who elected for banishment undertook by their

signatures to leave the kingdom within a stated period. Most of the persons convicted chose to sign these Reversals, and were treated accordingly. Some, on the other hand, refusing to sign, were sent after an interval to the Neapolitan galleys. These numbered seventeen, whose names are preserved, and Lani was one of them.

The text of these Reversal letters is given by Lani, and also in two other writings of the time, the *Animadversiones* of an anonymous author, who had himself apparently signed them, and the *Brevis Extractus*, which is an account of the whole affair written by Lapsansky, the secretary to the Court Delegate. Further reference will be made to these two other documents presently, but meanwhile it is important to observe that, though the text of the Reversals differs somewhat in the three sources, in none of them is there any clause requiring or implying a surrender of the religious opinions of the signatories.

Nevertheless, Lani, who did not sign, and was sent to the galleys, maintains in his *Captivitas Papistica* that religion was the real crime for which they were punished. He speaks therefore of himself and his fellows, and of himself particularly, as martyrs, but of those who signed the Reversals as apostates; and he states that shortly after the latter had signed the Reversals, the (Hungarian) Confession was offered them, and they were required to sign that as well. Here it is important we should have before us his exact words, which are as follows: "When those who remained in the country had signed these Reversals, they were very soon after in many places forced into apostasy. The Jesuits then prescribed to them

the following Confession of Faith, and they were compelled to read it out *publicly before the whole people.*" Then he gives the form already transcribed from his pages under the heading, "Confession of Faith of the new Catholics in Hungary." At the end of this form in Lani's first Latin edition of 1676, it is stated, as we have seen, that the Profession was made by Elias Gressner, chief pastor of Neusohl, but no other name is mentioned. It is noticeable, too, that although in this manner Lani gives the text of the alleged Confession and testifies to its having been taken by these new Catholics, he troubles himself otherwise very little about it. The staple of his book is occupied with his own history and sufferings, and his own heroism as compared with the sinful cowardice of his former colleagues.

It will be asked how Lani could have managed to publish the *Captivitas Papistica*. The answer is, that after having served with the rest in the Neapolitan galleys for about a year, he contrived to escape, and then after an interval returned, not indeed to Hungary, but to Germany. It was thus at Leipsic, not at Presburg, that he caused his book to be printed.

Its contentions did not remain long unchallenged. A Jesuit Father, George Heidelberger, according to Lani himself, wrote an *Anti-Lanius*, but I have not been able to find it or to learn more about its contents than its title implies. The name of Heidelberger is not found in De Backer's *Bibliographie*, and he was presumably therefore not a Jesuit. A more important publication was the *Brevis Extractus*, above mentioned as having been written by Lapsansky, the Secretary

of the Court Delegate which tried the prisoners. This document, in the temperance of its language and the lucid simplicity of its narrative, contrasts favourably with Lani's involved story and inflated style. Lapsansky does not refer to Lani's allegation about the new Catholics, perhaps because its absurdity was too patent in a region where the facts were known. The purpose he keeps in view is to prove that Lani is untruthful in contending that it was their religious beliefs which had brought the preachers into trouble. He gives an outline account of the conspiracy in which they had been implicated and of the evidence by which they were convicted. On this point he gives the text of two letters written by a minister named Wittnyedi: one to Kelzer, the Governor of Eperies; the other to Nicolas, Count of Bethlen, one of the rebel leaders. If these letters are authentic, they convict the prisoners beyond a shadow of doubt, and Lapsansky tells us the originals were produced in court, and the handwriting was recognized by the prisoners themselves. There was also confirmatory evidence of their guilt in the agreement between the contents of the letters and the after-events: for, after an engagement between the rebels and the Imperial troops in which the former were defeated, the bodies of several preachers were found among the bodies of the slain rebels. Lapsansky ends by saying that it is mere wantonness and calumny for the condemned persons to say that they were suffering for their religion, and he asks them whether they had ever been disturbed in their religious assemblies previously to the rebellion, or whether those of their co-religionists who had taken

no part in the rebellion were not still enjoying a full liberty of worship. It may be added that, as Von Mailath the historian mentions, the Kaiser wrote to the King of Sweden, who had interceded for these preachers, vehemently protesting that they had been punished only for treason and in no way for religion. This point is of importance, because it convicts Lani, the sole authority for the alleged use of the Hungarian Confession, of having given an untruthful account of the circumstances of his conviction.

The *Brevis Extractus* appeared in the same year as the *Captivitas Papistica*, 1676, and was at once answered, probably by Lani himself, in the *Funda Davidis*. We need not concern ourselves more with this latter work except to say that it repeats the charge against the New Catholics of having recited the Confession we are considering, but names, besides Elias Gressner, Simon Fridvalsky as having been among the guilty parties.

So far then we are reduced to the testimony of a single witness, George Lani, for evidence of the use of the Hungarian Confession by Catholics, and probably what has been already said will be deemed sufficient to divest this one witness of all claims to be believed. We have, however, a witness on the other side who came forward most opportunely to provide us with a fuller insight into the character of this Lani, and the credibility of his allegations.

The ministers who signed the Reversals, we may be quite sure, did not appreciate the description which Lani had given of them, and one of their number was moved to take up his pen to protest. He does not give his name, but it was clearly well

known to Lani, whose rejoinder will be referred to presently, and he appears to have been one of those who signed the Reversals for the ministers electing to go into exile. It is clear, too, that he at least had not bought his liberty by any change of religion. He is a Protestant still, and writes from a Protestant standpoint. His treatise has already been mentioned, and is entitled: *Animadversiones Theologico-politico-historico-criticæ in narrationem Georgii Lani*. This treatise is very severe on Lani for calling his fellow-ministers who signed the Reversals, Pseudo-Evangelicals, inconstant, and unscrupulous men. It goes through the *Captivitas Papistica* paragraph by paragraph, making comments upon each portion, and gives a very different account of Lani from his own. It calls him a great bragger and exaggerator, and suggests that he is also a liar. It says that the literary attainments of which Lani boasts were of no great merit, that he was not a professor as he tries to make out, but a mere common schoolmaster, and that if he gave out that he had previously held a professorship elsewhere, which he had vacated in order to take charge of the boys' school at Karpfen, he gave out what no one had ever thought of believing. The *Animadversiones* also calls him a coward, and ridicules a story in the *Captivitas Papistica*, in which Lani claims, by his courageous interposition, to have rescued some young Protestants out of the hands of a band of soldiers. It says he had nothing to do with their rescue, and that, whereas he boasts of his presence of mind when a drawn sword was pointed at his breast, it was not his breast but another's at which the sword was pointed.

It further accuses him of having given a false account of the nature of the Reversals which those who accepted them had signed.

Coming to the question of the Confession, this treatise says to Lani:

I should have recommended you not to eke out your sections with such uncertain and doubtful stories; especially as they are circulated without the attestation of any certain author. For although the Jesuits may have used (*usurparint*) this Confession elsewhere, and have prescribed it to their new Catholics, how can you say that it was used by the new Catholics in the Kingdom of Hungary? Your answer will be, "I find it in writing." What a ridiculous answer! Why, you are as bad as that Mass-priest who thought that whatever was in manuscript only was false, but that all printed matter, however mendacious, must be true. Anyhow, it is not all printed matter which is true, for in your own narrative there is a great deal which is false and destitute of all foundation. Be off to the author from whom you got this Confession, and stay with him for a while till you have learnt better things. Then perhaps you will come back a wise man.

Later on, in his *Animadversiones*, this writer returns to the Confession. It is in an Appendix, where, having finished with Lani's *Captivitas Papistica*, he passes on to his *Funda Davidis*. Perhaps the full title will be of interest: "The Slinger of the Sling of David—not David, the holy Psalmist, but David, the self-styled constant man—is told of his lies, his inconsistencies, his paradoxes, and such like." Then the writer commences thus: "Lying is base and ignominious in all, but specially in one to whom one looks for the truth. But David, not considering this, is not afraid to lie without a blush on his forehead. I will give you some specimens." Among these are:

4. In his 68th section, he (Lani) states that the Confession for new Catholics was publicly given to the ministers to be recited by them. To what ministers was it given, at what time, and in what place, and in whose hearing? As for what you say about Gressner, that is your make up.

5. In the same section you mention Simon Fridvalsky, of Deutsch-Leibau, as a new Catholic who blasphemed against the worshippers of the true God. Who (I should like to know) saw him, or heard him do so? He (Lani) does not blush to lie thus, in the face of Christendom, about one who up to this hour is continuing in his Evangelical faith in the village close to Deutsch-Leibau. Out on him for such a lie.

These *Animadversiones* naturally irritated Lani and his friends, who were not long in returning to the fray. Their rejoinder is entitled *Clypeus Veritatis seu Vindiciæ Narrationis Historicæ Captivitatis Papisticæ*.¹ The title-page claims the authorship for two disciples of Lani, George Gassitius and Christopher Mazarius, but it is generally assumed that under these names the personality of Lani himself lies concealed. How far this assumption, which is that of Protestant quite as much as of Catholic writers—for instance of Mohnike—is justified, I cannot say. I can only observe that if it is, Lani was not one of those who have scruples about self-praise, for the book describes him as “a man worthy of all admiration for his patience under such various misfortunes,” as “one who had deserved well of the persecuted Church,” as “one whose writings were characterized by a striking modesty of style,” and so on. The authorship, however, of the *Clypeus Veritatis*, whether it be from Lani’s own pen or from

¹ P. 30. The *Captivitas Papistica* with the *Funda Davidis*, the *Brevis Extractus*, the *Animadversiones*, and the *Clypeus Veritatis*, are all in the British Museum Library.

that of his disciples, is evidently from him in the sense that it gives his answer to the *Animadversiones*. What, then, has he to say to the charge brought against him by the *Animadversiones* of having fabricated out of his own head the story of Gressner's and Fridvalsky's use of the Confession, as well as of the general statement that the Catholics prescribed it to their converts in Hungary, whereas there was no evidence of its use by them in Hungary or elsewhere, save the mere fact that some one or other who had not given his name had printed it in a book? To this question the *Clypeus Veritatis* has no other reply save the following :

1. Cease to prostitute your affections on the Roman harlot, and out of mere hatred of the author (*i.e.* Lani) to call in doubt a matter most certain which is confirmed by excellent witnesses, and which even the Loyolitæ do not deny. [He does not, however, name any of his excellent witnesses, and we may have our doubts as to whether the Jesuits admitted or not the truth of the charge.]

2. The form alleged by the author to have been thus used will not seem so uncertain and doubtful to those who are well acquainted with the impudence of (the Jesuits), as evinced by the Confessions they obruded on our people, as you yourself bear witness, in Bohemia, Moravia, and other provinces.

The writer of the *Animadversiones* had not given any testimony to the use of the Confession in Bohemia, Moravia, and other provinces, and we are thus granted another insight into the accuracy of statement practised by Lani and his friends. What the author of the *Animadversiones* did say was that the Confession was not in use in Hungary, but might perhaps have been used by the Jesuits in other places,

although the only sort of evidence to prove it was the bare fact of the Confession appearing in a printed book without an author's name.

3. Show the contrary if you do not believe what has been said [by Lani—that is, prove the negative].

We have now before us all the materials necessary to estimate the value of Lani's allegations. It is clear—

1. That in stating that the Confession was used by Gressner, Fridvalsky, or any others in the neighbourhood of Presburg, at the time of his own trial, he was merely telling a falsehood.

2. That the text of the Confession was in print in some unknown book by an anonymous author, and that this was considered sufficient proof of its use in other parts.

3. That Lani's party professed to believe that among these other parts were Bohemia and Moravia, but that they could bring forward no evidence for their theory.

Hence the Confession at least loses all title to be called Hungarian. There is not an atom of proof that it was ever used in that country.

We may, then, leave Lani, although before doing so it will be of interest to mention that among the seventeen ministers sent to the Neapolitan galleys, of whom Lani was one, another was Francis Foris Ottrococksy. Ottrococksy served out his punishment in the galleys, or rather the small portion of it which was not remitted, and then remained for some time in Italy and went to Rome. There he had an opportunity of studying the working of the Catholic religion,

and the effect of what he saw was to convert him. He wrote a book, *Roma Civitas Dei*, which is unfortunately not in the British Museum Library. Dr. Woodruff's answer to it is, however, there, and contains extracts from which one can gather the spirit and the beliefs of the writer. It is hardly necessary to say they correspond with what we know to be the Catholic religion, not with the perverted notions of the *Confessio Novorum Catholicorum*. Ottrococksy went back in due time to his own country, where he laboured in the priesthood, and died piously at Tyrnau.

Perhaps enough has been said on the subject of the Confession. Still, as Lani, or his disciples, have alleged an earlier use of it by Catholics at all events in Moravia, Bohemia, and elsewhere, and Mohnike claims to have supplied authentic evidence of this, not indeed in Bohemia or Moravia, but in Lower Silesia, a district bordering on Bohemia, it will be well to hear what he has to say.

Mohnike, in his *Fluchformular*,¹ tells us that he had for long suspected that the origins of the Confession were to be sought in an earlier period, but that he had recently come into possession of evidence which converted this suspicion into certainty. Through the kindness of a certain Dr. Superintendent Worbs of Priebus, in Silesia, he had obtained a certified copy of an extract from the Sixth Supplement of the Annals of Glogau, in Lower Silesia. The author of these Annals was John Samuel Tschirschnitz, who wrote in 1790, at which time he was Syndic of Glogau. The extract runs thus :

¹ P. 140.

From the Acts of the Evangelical Church of Glogau, the following entry was communicated to me, Syndic Tschirschnitz, by Herr Pastor Posselt in 1791.

Then follows :

Confession-ticket and Oath to which the citizens of Glogau and Grünberg (probably about 1628) were compelled to subscribe :

I, a poor sinner, confess to you, Herr Pater, in the place of God, and of the Holy Virgin Mary, and of the dear Saints, that I for so long and so many years (NB. as it may approximately be) held the accursed, damnable, impious, and heretical doctrine, which is called Lutheran, was living in horrible error, and went to their abominable sacrament, at which time I received nothing else than baked bread and bad (*schlechten*) wine out of a vessel. All such wicked errors and damnable doctrines I renounce and promise never again to embrace. So help me God and the Saints.

Articles to which the Lutherans had to swear.

- I. We believe all that the Christian Catholic Church enjoins, whether it is in Holy Scripture or not.
- II. We believe in the intercession and invocation of Saints.
- III. We believe that there is a Purgatory.
- IV. We believe in Seven Sacraments.
- V. We believe that the Virgin Mary is worthy of greater honour and praise than the Son of God.
- VI. We believe that the Lutheran Church is false.
- VII. We believe that the chalice ought not to be used any longer.
- VIII. We believe that it is through the intercession of the Saints that we accursed Lutherans have been brought to the true knowledge of the Christian Catholic Church.

Here is the extract from Tschirschnitz in its entirety, and it is interesting to see how faithfully it reproduces the characteristic lineaments of the

anti-Catholic myth. We get a very obtrusively certified attestation from Dr. Worbs in 1823, to prove what Herr Posselt said to Herr Tschirschnitz in 1790 about something alleged to have happened some one hundred and sixty years earlier ; but we get nothing solid to attest the credibility of Herr Posselt's statement. We are left quite in the dark as to the credibility of these *Acta* of the Evangelical Church of Glogau. The one thing we do perceive about them is that they must have been drawn up in a very unscientific manner.

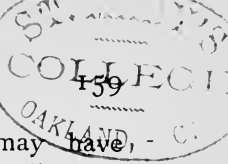
No date is assigned to the entry about the Confession tickets, which for aught we are told may have been made at any time between the date of the alleged occurrence and 1790. No indication is given of the source from which the ticket was obtained by the unknown person who made the entry, nor does the ticket seem to have borne the name or the signature of the person who received it. One would like also to have been told something of the circumstances under which the tickets were given, the more so as there is no certainty about the date of their use. We are only told, by Herr Posselt in 1790, that it was somewhere about 1628. And lastly, it requires explanation that these *Acta* of the Evangelical Church, though extant in 1790, and recognized as containing such important evidence, were not forthcoming in 1823 to confirm the testimony of Tschirschnitz.

Here, however, Dr. Worbs comes forward to relieve our anxiety, if not with original documents, at least with a bold conjecture. Soon after the close of the Thirty Years' War, he tells us, on the authority of the *Loci Communes of the Silesian Gravamina*, another

work of which he forgets to state the nature, age, and authorship, the terrible Count von Dohna was sent into Silesia, and among other places to Glogau, to force the Lutherans into apostasy. Then, say the *Loci Communes* :

Many out of fear, anxiety, or fright, many in folly and ignorance, many too in sheer levity of spirit, applied to Herr von Dohna, who offered to each of them Confession-tickets (*Beichtszettel*) to sign, which if presented would cause any soldiers, who might be quartered upon him, to leave his house and pass on to that of some one without a ticket. And, the city being very populous, what with the unforeseen haste required, and the terrible character of the tortures threatened, the number of these applicants was so great that they struggled and pressed against one another, and the many priests who sat by the side were insufficient to write out for them, or von Dohna to sign, the tickets.

What is usually understood by a Confession-ticket is a card certifying that the holder has been to confession, but Dr. Worbs, though without giving his reasons, assumes that the Confession-tickets used at Glogau on this occasion were abridged Professions of Faith, and that the Confession-ticket whose text was furnished by Tschirschnitz was one of them. And he further assumes, though again without giving his reasons, that the real Profession of Faith pronounced by these enforced converts was the Hungarian Confession, but that the tickets abridged it into the above shorter form, because, the multitude of applicants being so large, it was impossible for the secretaries to write out so many copies of the longer form. In this dexterous way Dr. Worbs satisfies himself that he has discovered the earliest use of the Hungarian Confession. Nor is he disturbed by the



reflection that even this shorter form may have proved too long to be thus repeatedly transcribed by the hurried secretaries.

It is unfortunate, however, for his theory that the Count von Mailath gives a radically different account of what happened at Glogau on the occasion of von Dohna's visit, an account which reads much more favourably for the Catholics, and has likewise the advantage of assigning to the term "Confession-ticket" its usual meaning.

The Count tells us that the object of von Dohna's visit was to recover for the Catholics the ancient Church of St. Nicholas, which the Lutherans had forcibly taken away from them and refused to surrender. According to the practice then universal, he proceeded to quarter his soldiers upon the inhabitants, and it was natural that he should quarter them on the aggressors who had necessitated his visit, rather than on their Catholic victims. He seems to have accepted "Confession-tickets" as a test by which to identify the Catholics, but many of the Lutherans also, pocketing such convictions as they had, contrived to obtain these tickets for themselves, and so evade the threatened calamity. It is in this sense only that they can be said to have been persecuted into apostasy.

We have now traced the history of this strange document as far as we have any records to lead us, and we have discovered, what we might have expected, that from first to last it can find no solid ground on which to establish itself. In every instance the witnesses who testify to its use are Protestant, not Catholic witnesses, and in every case their testimony hopelessly breaks down. If, too, we cared to

bestow more time on the subject, we might appeal to the intrinsic evidences which lie on the face of the document, for it betrays its Protestant authorship by using modes of expression which accord with Protestant usage, and not with Catholic usage. No Catholic would in a formal document speak of "Roman Catholic doctrine," or of a "Roman priest," or a "Roman Pope." No Catholic would call the Lutheran religion by such a name as "Evangelical." And, as the Jesuits are said to have drawn up the form, we may note that such a phrase as *Domini Patres Jesuitæ* ("*Herrn Vater Jesuiten*") is just the kind of phrase which Jesuits would avoid. All these phrases, on the other hand, are customary among Protestants.

The Confession then is of Protestant origin, but in what sense? Of course it is conceivable that from the first it was a deliberate forgery—that is to say, a form drawn up by some malignant person with the deliberate intention of passing it off seriously as a form which Catholics did not shrink from using. Still it seems more probable that in the first instance it was intended as a satirical composition, like the *Letter of the Three Bishops* over which Mr. Collette has made himself so foolish.¹ Where fraud came in, if this hypothesis is correct, was in the subsequent stages. Preachers and writers who either knew or should have suspected the truth, persuaded themselves that the document was of genuine Catholic origin, and then mendaciously ascribed it to particular persons on particular occasions, well knowing that they had not a shred of evidence for their charges.

¹ See *Mr. Collette as a Controversialist*. By F. W. Lewis. London: Catholic Truth Society. One Penny.

The Reformation at St. Martin's, Leicester.

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BY DUDLEY BAXTER, B.A.
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IT is always pleasant to study history at its sources. When we trust ourselves to the historians, although we may profit by their skill and knowledge, we feel, also, that they may be reading into their story some prepossessions of their own. But, when brought face to face with the original records, we know that we have the facts themselves just as they were, and can hear them tell us their own tale. Such sources of English history are the Churchwardens' Accounts which in some parishes have escaped the ravages of time, and they are particularly interesting for their entries during the reigns of the last three Tudors. If any one desires to make a study of continuity, and discover whether it did or not persist through that period of drastic measures, he could not well do it more profitably than by reading through these old registers.

Several of them have already been laid under contribution for this purpose, but the more of them we can have the better, and we can obtain an excellent supply from Nichols' *History of Leicestershire*, vol. iv. pt. ii. of which gives copious extracts from the Churchwardens' Books of St. Martin's Church in that town.

St. Martin's was the largest church in Leicester,

and its history has been intimately connected with the history of the town. The two most prominent of the town guilds were founded in it—the Guilds of Corpus Christi and of St. George. The Guild of Corpus Christi held, as it always does, the first rank, out of respect to the Blessed Sacrament, and we can appreciate its position in the town when we learn that its two joint-masters were associated with the Mayor in the civic government. The chapel of the guild was the Lady chapel at the east end of the south aisle.

St. George's Guild had its chapel at the west end of the same aisle, and there in the pre-Reformation days might be seen the statue of St. George in full armour and on horseback. This Guild appears to have been very popular, and enjoyed very peculiar privileges. Every year between St. George's day and Whit Sunday, there was a procession of the Saint called the Ride of St. George, which must have been a gorgeous pageant. All the townsmen were specially summoned to it by the Mayor, and were bound to attend. We shall see traces of it as we read the Churchwardens' entries.

Besides this Ride of St. George, there was another similar festival on Whit Monday, which was held with great solemnity. Two processions started, one from St. Martin's Church, carrying with it the statue of St. Martin, and the other from St. Mary's Church, carrying with it a statue of our Blessed Lady. The common terminus of the two processions was the Church of St. Margaret, where a special service was held. Of this procession, also, the entries bear many traces.

To these entries let us now pass, and we may begin with one which gives us a picture of some of these processions, perhaps that of Whit Monday. Nichols summarizes them thus :

In the year 1498, in the procession there were 12 Apostles, 14 banner bearers, and 4 that bear up the canopy: each allowed one penny for their labour, 1523; but other years they used to be feasted and nothing given them. They had musick went before the Mary, sometimes a harp for which paid 4d., 1507 2d., 1523 a minstrel 2d., with these virgins went in procession, spent on them 3d., 1518.

N.B.—The Apostles names were wrote on parchment for which they paid 4d., 1499. They used to spend in points 1d., tucking strings and whipcord 2d., gloves two pair 2d., which in 1505 are said to be for God and St. Thomas of India.

The "Apostles" were twelve men who represented each an Apostle, and bore his name written on parchment.

Next comes an entry which is interesting as showing the antiquity of an expedient for collecting money which, though with somewhat changed accompaniments, is still in vogue. For a church ale was a sort of subscription dinner at which money was collected for Church purposes.

1498. Received of the church ale on our Lady's Assumption, 2s. 7d. ob.

Item, bread on our Lady day Assumption, 2d.

Next we come to some entries about vestments and processions. The use of vestments and processions belongs to the outward expression of belief in the Sacramental system, and particularly in the Holy Mass. Hence from the following entries testifying first to their use, then to their alienation,

and to their subsequent recovery followed again by alienation we can obtain the clearest evidences of what the "Reformers" thought about the Mass and the sacraments, and can judge for ourselves whether those Anglicans who are now restoring the use of vestments and candles are in so doing departing from or merely returning to the "Reformation settlement," for in this, as in other respects, they have been correctly termed "Reformers of the Reformation."

1507. Paid for a day's work mending all the red copes of silk, 4d.

Item, a day's work, mending the red suit of velvet, 4d.

Item, two days' work, mending the Trinity banner and the great streamer of silk, 10d.

1544. Paid to Robert Gouldsmith, for mending a chalice belonging to St. George's chapel, and a pix, 1s. 4d.

Paid on Palm Sunday to the Prophete . . . and for ale at the reading the pass' on, 2d.

For the procession at St. Margaret's on Whit-monday to the vicar, priests, and clerks, 1s. 1d.

For bread and ale that day, 1s.

To the sunners [collectors] at St. Margaret's for the offering [offertory], 8d.

For other charges at the procession on Whit-monday, 10s.

"The Prophete" was one deputed to sing the prophecy at the beginning of the Palm Sunday service. "At the reading of the Passion" of course means "on occasion of reading it," that is, after the service. Money in those days was worth about twenty times as much as in ours. Thus, their 4d. was about equivalent to our 6s. 8d.; their 1s. 4d. to our £1 6s. 8d., and so on.

1545. Two amusing entries are worth noting :

Paid for three quarts of claret wine that was given to my Lord Judge's chaplain, 9d.

A gallon of wine for my lord of Lincoln's chancellor when he preached at St. Martin's, cost 12d.

Paid to the ringers for king Henry the Eighth, 12d. [that is, when the bells tolled for his death, which took place in 1547].

Other items are :

Paid for charcoal on Easter even 2d. [for the New Fire]. The church and particularly the nave were this year repaired ; chief workmen 7d. per day ; ordinary labourers 4d.

These entries bear witness to the policy of Henry VIII., which was, whilst enforcing a repudiation of Papal Jurisdiction and destroying the monasteries, to leave the old Catholic ceremonies practically untouched, and so encourage the notion that the changes made had not touched the substance of the ancient religion. But in 1547 Edward VI. came to the throne, and then Cranmer, who was Protestant to the core, finding a sympathizer in the Regent Somerset, had everything his own way. We know from the general history of the country how he laid violent hands on the Liturgy, called in the old Service Books, caused the altars to be overturned and tables substituted. It is terrible to read of the sacrileges of those days, and the manner in which the old churches, rendered splendid by the loving faith of past generations, were turned into dismal, mutilated preaching-houses. But the accounts shall tell their own tale, and a sad one to Catholics. Immediately a great sale took place.

1547. The parcels of the goods that was sold forth the church of St. Martin's the 20th day of March, in the first year of the reign of Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, &c.

Item.	Received of Mr. Mayre for old gere,	5d.
"	" Mr. Tayllor for one vest and an albe,	12d.
"	" Mr. Dampport for two vestments [<i>i.e.</i> , chasubles],	6s. 8d.
"	" Mr. Cotton for two hangings for the high altar of white damask and purple velvet,	33s.
"	" Mr. Vycker for an old vest of green,	2s. 2d.
"	" Mr. Manbe for altar-cloths,	12s.
"	" " for an organ case,	3s.
"	" Mr. Dampport for altar-cloths,	3s.
"	" " altar-cloth of red velvet and white damask,	17s.
"	" Richard Davy for two vestments of blue velvet,	29s.
"	" " two yellow copes,	13s.
"	" " a blue velvet cope,	18s.
"	" Mr. Manby for three white copes,	17s.
"	Sold to Mr. Reynold, one canopy,	20s.
"	" " one vestment red,	6s. 8d.
"	" Mr. Cotton one pall of blue velvet,	13s. 4d.
"	" Thomas Hallam, one green cope of Brydgs [Bruges] sattin, and an altar- cloth of the same,	10s.
"	Received of Willim Odam for the rood light,	7s. 8d.

Paid to Robert Sexton and his fellow, for taking down
tabernacles and images, 22d.

Received on St. Ch . . . and at Easter of the parishioners
at God's borde, 15s. 3d. . . .

The above list gives one some idea of the number
of vestments the old parish churches once had.
"God's borde" is of course here the communion-
table, substituted for the discarded altar. We next
find the churchwardens selling the Church plate at
Coventry.

Item, Received of Mr. Tallamore, then mayor of Coventry, the 11th day of August, for certain plate sold to him, as appeareth by his particular bill thereof, £24 5s. 10d.—

an enormous sum in modern money.

Item, Paid in expences, two days at Coventry, when we sold the plate there, for our horses and ourselves, 3s. 4d.

Still the unholy auction proceeded.

1547. Mem. That Simon Nyx and Thomas Hallam, churchwardens, William Manby and John Eryk, Hew Barlow and William Bladvyn, then hath sold these parcels following, by the commandment of Mr. Mayor and his brethren, according to the King's Injunctions, in the year of our Lord 1546, and the first year of the reign of Edward the Sixth.

First, sold seven cloths that hung before the roodloft, price 3s. 8d.

The "rode cloth" was a veil or hanging which used to be drawn in front of the rood-loft during Lent, so as to cover the rood or crucifix; in pre-Reformation days during this holy season the altars, images, and pictures were veiled or covered with special "clothes," mention of which occur several times in these Accounts, while the great Lent veil was suspended between the choir and the altar.

Sold to Nicholis Eyrike a tabernacle 2s. 8d. Other tabernacles in the account were sold for 1s., two for 5s.; another for 3s. [tabernacles here mean niches, canopies, &c.]

Sold to Henry Mayblay the horse that the George rode on, price 12d. Sold to Jhon Eryyke the organ chamber, 8s. 6d. Sold to Simon Nyx the florth and vente (?) that the George stood on, 3s.

Sold to Mr. Newcome 100 pounds weight of the organ

pipes, 16s. A man of Stoughton Grange bought as much alabaster as came to 1s. 8d. ; and another man as much as came to 10d.

A large quantity of brass was also sold by the hundredweight.

Sold to Rychard Raynford the Sepulchre light, weighing three score and 15 pounds, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound—21s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

This is an interesting item which requires some explanation: while the Blessed Sacrament was reserved in the Easter Sepulchre (after the manner to be presently explained) lights were placed around and these often were thirteen large wax tapers symbolizing our Lord and His Apostles. The chief one, which represented our Lord, "the Sepulchre Light," was usually, as in this case, of enormous size.

Eight pound of wax at $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. [from which the candles were made]; and so all the whole that is already sold cometh to £13 2s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Item, paid for an Homily for sir William the parish priest, 12d.

By the "Homily" is meant a copy of the First Book of Homilies which had just been issued by royal authority and commanded to be everywhere used.

From other items in this year, we gather that a few of the old Catholic ceremonies were retained until the appearance of Edward VI.'s second Book of Common Prayer; also the procession on Whit Monday continued during the first two years of this reign.

In the year 1548 we find the following items:

April 13th. Item, paid to the King's Majesty, 3s. 4d.

Paid to sir William, the parish priest, for washing of his surplice, 3d. ; for a surplice cloth for sir William, 6s. ; and for making the same, 2od.

For the holy lofe the fourth day of March, 3d. [and so also upon other days.]

This is an interesting entry, revealing as it appears to do, how little sympathy the people felt with the inroads into their ancient worship. They had not much courage to resist the royal orders so far as they were pressed upon them, but they kept to their old customs as much as they safely could. The holy loaf was the "Blessed Bread," or *Pain Béni*, still distributed in some French churches.

1549. Sir William Bradley was then vicar.

The prefix "Sir" was given to priests in those days, and now became a distinguishing mark between the old priests and the new ministers. Thus below we shall find mention of the Protestant "Mr." Brown.

Paid for the Paraphrase of Erasmus, 10s.

This was an official English translation just issued. It was one which Bishop Gardiner characterized as full of false translations and errors, and of which he says that, "if this paraphrase go abroad, people shall learn to call the Sacrament of the Altar, 'holy bread' and a 'symbol.'"

We now come to an item which Mr. Round would term, "the Reformation in a nutshell."

For 2 chains and nails for the Bible, 5d.

Henry VIII. ordered that a Bible in English should be placed in each parish church, attached to

the wall or otherwise by a chain. It was the establishment of the Bible and Bible only rule of faith, a rule which does not seem to have worked more harmoniously in these early days than since ; for the effect of these chained Bibles was that Protestant zealots gathered round them reading and disputing, in loud and angry voices, even whilst public service was going on. The scandal became so great that in Henry VIII.'s reign, only a few years after the order to place these Bibles in the churches had been issued, an Act of Parliament had to be passed which prohibited the reading of the Bible in public, or even in private, save by persons of rank and education.

But the iconoclasm proceeds :

For taking down the rood-loft, rod.

And to crown it all—

In that year the church was white limed all over.

We are sometimes told, that at the Reformation the Church of England, still remaining the same, merely "washed her face." If we could believe in the identity between the old and the new, the proceedings, general throughout the country, of which this entry gives us a specimen, seem to show that "whitewashed her face" would be a more exact description. One shudders to think of what the Catholic parishioners must have suffered at seeing their beautiful mural decorations thus obliterated—and how beautiful they must have been we are beginning now-a-days to realize, for in some places where the whitewash has been removed, enough of the painting remains to show how once the walls must have glowed with colour.

But the work took time and still continued.

1550. Received for the holy water stoke [stoup], 16d.

Paid for work in the new quire [*i.e.*, in dismantling it],

June 5. . . .

Further sale of vestments and catche coppe bells [?] [and even of the ceilings in two of the chapels.]

A book of service [Common Prayer] for the church cost 4s. 8d.

1551. Received for the table in the Rood chapel, 5s.

„ „ „ in our Lady chapel, 6s. 8d.

These were probably the altar tables themselves.

Sale of candlesticks, bells, stoups, the vente (?) over St. George's altar, painted cloth, etc.

For two persons, a week's work, for taking down the altar in our Lady's quire, 4s. 9d. For cutting down the quire, 8d.

For painting the rood-loft, 40s.

Lent to the parish priest, sir William, of the church money, 13s. 4d.

“Painting” must have meant “daubing over”—but the price was heavy.

In 1552 a vestment press and a crown of wood covered with silver, probably once on our Lady's statue, were sold, and a “lecterne was sett up on the pulpit.” 2s. was spent on “matts to be about the table,” doubtless the wooden communion-table.

Finally, 3s. 4d. was paid to “a minister” to help the Vicar on a Sunday, and 5s. “for one officiating during his absence in London.” Evidently the above-mentioned 13s. 4d. “of the church money” was given to the Vicar for his journey. We cannot say why he went, but as the money was lent, not given, he probably went on private business.

In 1553 the sale of vestments still continued.

What a wealth of vestments St. Martin's Church must have once owned!

Received of Nicholas Gaussun, of Nottingham, for two copes, one vestment, and two tenakyles of cloth of tesshew, one vestment, and two tenakyles of cloth of silver, and two copes, and one vestment of blue velvet, £18.

Received of Richard Dare, for a corporas case and eight shets, one towel [altar-linen], one altar-cloth, and the rowd coat [*i.e.*, rood-cloth], 38s. 4d.

A vestment of blue velvet was sold for 10s.

Received of Nicholas, goldsmith, for two shirts that was for St. Nicholas, and a hold towell, 3s. 4d.

Received of Richard Hewis for corporas case, and St. Martin's cowte [coat], and a towell of diaper work, 2s. 8d.

Received of John Wryght for 14 banner cloths, 4s.

For the priest's wages, 26s. 8d.

Of Mr. Mayor towards the priest's wages, 13s. 11d.

Paid for a book of Preaffrasys [Paraphrases], 7s.

For the new service, 5s.

For a book concerning the Rebels, that was read in the church, 16d.

The "rebels" were the Englishmen who demanded the restoration of the ancient religion, which was now being exterminated by foreign as well as English heretics, even German Lutheran soldiers being employed to crush it. The "book" must have been Cranmer's letter to the Western rebels.

But there was to be a brief respite in these destructive operations of heresy, for on July 6, 1553, the young King died, and his Catholic sister Mary ascended the throne. On the Palm Sunday following there was a meeting of the churchwardens, from the accounts of which we find that several things had been bought in at once for the use of the church "upon the old Religion." To proceed with the items.

1554. Payments to sir Richard for his wages at Easter, 30s.

Was Sir William dead, or had he to retire in favour of Sir Richard?

For two copes and a vestment of blew velvet, 20s.

For the brazen lectory, 20s. [Probably bought back again.]

To the commissioners, for two priests, 3s. 4d.

For the church bill for the collectors, 6s.

For a rood coat, 20d. for three corporas cases, 12d.

For 12 banner cloths, 2s. For a white sattin cope, 10s.

To Sir Richard for his wages 30s. at Midsummer.

For a sacring bell, 8d. [The bell rung during Mass.]

To the Queen's Commissioners, for the cope of tissue that were sold, £8 [?]

Payments. To the Sexton, for setting up the altar, and mending the church cloths, 12s.

For nine and a half yards of say, for Mr. Mayor's seat and Mrs. Mayoress, 10s. 3d.

For a red skyn for the same, 6d. For red nails for the same, 2s.

To sir William Burrows, for a Psalter, a Processioner, a Manual, and a Cowcher, 6s. 8d.

A Cowcher was a large Service-book, so called because being so large it required to lie on a reading-desk in the quire or elsewhere. Probably that mentioned was a *Vesperale*, or an *Antiphonale*.

To sir William Burrows, for packthread and canvas for the organs, 4d.

For mending the organs, for glew, nails, leather, packthread, and weights of lead to lay upon the organs, 6s.

For two candlesticks for the altar, 2s.

For a Manual, to wed, chrysten, and bury withall, 3s. 4d.

For a Mass-book and a Cowcher, 10s.

For a grayl to sing in the church on, 10s. [A book of Graduals.]

For dressing and harnessing St. George's harness,
6s. 8d. [!]

To Syngylton for a cross, 20s.

For carrying the altar stone from Mr. Mayor's house to
the church, 4d.

This last is a very interesting item. Does it imply that the Mayor had preserved the holy altar-slab in the hopes of a restoration of the old religion? With this object Catholics under Edward, and again under Elizabeth, must have frequently bought in and preserved altar-slabs, chalices, and other sacred things.

Many days work and stones about the altar.

For one yard and a quarter of red sey to cover the canopy and the Sacrament, 17d.

For a pyx for the Sacrament, 2s. 6d. [Evidently the Blessed Sacrament was again reserved in the church.]

For painting the church and dressing the altar, 9s.

For a vestment and an albe, and all belonging thereto,
13s. 4d.

For 4 yards of sey cloth for the high altar, 2s. 4d., and "gatherers for the Sepulchre light" are again appointed.

1555. The preamble runs thus :

In the first and second year of the reigns of our sovereign lord and lady, Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, King and Queen, defender of the Faith.

Then follows ;

Received for Sepulchre light, 4s. ; and at another time,
7s. 8d.

For five bells [to be tolled] at the burial of Mr. Ovende,
5s. 4d.

For his lying in the church, 6s. 8d. ; more at his 7th day for bells, 2s. 4d.

Payments.—For holy water stock [stoup], 5s.

For painting the Pascal stock, 4d. [Paschal candle.]

Item, for the pyx, 4d.

For oyl and cream, and mending the chrysmatory, 12d.

[Hence the Holy Oils were again consecrated and in use.]

For the priest's wages for Midsummer quarter, 33s. 4d.

To sir William Hobbs, 33s. 4d. [Was he a new vicar?]

To Francis Swynsworth, for singing, 6s. 8d.

To Richard Lylling, for playing on the organs, 5s.

To Richard Mason, for making the altar in our Lady's Chapel, 18d.

For a pattern of a chalice, 11s. 3d. [? a paten and a chalice.]

For a cross and censers, 5s. 4d.

For timber, and for making the Sepulchre, 5s. [in Holy Week].

For the Sepulchre light, 4s.

For painting the Sepulchre, and a cloth for our Lady's altar, 22d. Some banners cost 3s.; and the offering at St. Margaret's, and drink there for the attendants, cost 12d.

The word "Sepulchre," which occurs so frequently, refers to an ancient custom which, as it does not belong to the Roman rite, is no longer in use in England. Before the Reformation an imitation of the Holy Sepulchre was made somewhere near the high altar on Good Friday, and after the Mass of the Presanctified the Cross which had just been venerated was deposited in it, there to wait till Easter Sunday morning. Candles were lighted in front of the Sepulchre, and it was the custom to watch there during the Friday evening and Saturday. On Easter morning the Cross was carried back in a joyful procession to the high altar. This usage went back to Saxon times, but later a third Host, consecrated on Maundy Thursday, was on Good Friday placed in a pyx sometimes set into the Cross of the Passion, and was deposited along with it in the Sepulchre.

This addition assimilated the ceremony to our modern ceremony of carrying the Blessed Sacrament to the Altar of Repose on Maundy Thursday. Still the difference of days marks the difference of the ideas underlying the two ceremonies, nor can the Altar of Repose be properly called a "Sepulchre."

Sometimes these Easter Sepulchres were temporary structures as at St. Martin's, sometimes permanent portions of the church fabric, viz., walled recesses, tombs, richly carved vaulted enclosures, or even special chapels as at York Minster and Winchester Cathedral.

A pottel of wine given to Mr. Doctor when he preached, 6d.
For a cross and sauters [psalters], 5s. 3d.

1556. Received in Lincoln farthings, 2s., etc. [these were contributions towards the maintenance of their diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln, and are frequently mentioned].

Paid for two banner poles, 15d.

To the three shepherds at Whitsuntide, 6d. For ale and cakes at St. Margaret's, 18d. [probably connected with the annual Whit Monday pageant]. For scouring the eagle, 16d. For making the seats in Trinity chapel, 18d.

For two dinners, etc., at the Visitation, 12d.

For nine copper dishes for the rood-loft, 9s. [?]

1557. All the gatherings [collections] for the altars, 11s. 11d.

Paid for making the Rood Mary and John, 13s. 4d.

For three gallons of ale, and 4d. in cakes at St. Margaret's, 19d.

Paid for a lock for the font, 2d.

For bearing of the cross and banners, 14d.

This year were appointed two gatherers for the Sepulchre light, and two for the Rood light.

By "gatherers" are meant persons who collected money for the Sepulchre light.

1558. The gilding the Rood Mary and John cost 1s. 10d., and more later. For a strike of charcoal for hallowed fire, 5d., and so 1560. (?) NB.—Two pounds of candles at Christmas generally used.

Again, there are charges for the Whit Monday pageant, which was to be the last production of this popular local festivity.

Thus we have seen how the church was restored to the Catholic faith—the altars set up again, the vestments and church furniture replaced, though on a smaller scale; the roodloft rebuilt and gilded; while Holy Mass and portions of the Divine Office were said once more within its walls. What a number of similar scenes must have taken place all over the country, and how pathetic to think of the short time this restoration of the Catholic worship lasted!

On November 17, 1558, Queen Mary died and Elizabeth at once succeeded. Accordingly the next item in the accounts is that of “ale for the ringers when the Queen’s Grace was proclaimed, 8d.” And then commences almost immediately a repetition of the vandalism of King Edward’s reign. The next entry gives one a shudder: a Catholic might term it *his* description of the Reformation in a nutshell:

Paid for drink for 4 men at taking down the altar stones. . . .

Also:

A Bible, a copy of Erasmus’ *Paraphrase*, and a Service Book (*i.e.*, of Common Prayer) were brought this year.

1560. The entries proceed :

Paid for 2 matts, 8 yards of length, for the table, 12d.
[presumably the Communion-table].

Paid to the players for their pains (*sic*), 7d.

1561. Now commences the second act of desecration. The poor old church is again deprived of its furniture :

Received for a sale of vestments, 42s. 6d. For banner cloths, 2s. For the Rood-loft, 12s.

Several other things were also then sold :

To the mason for his work on Good Friday and Easter even, 14d.

Instead of attending the beautiful services of Holy Week, the mason was doubtless mutilating all remnants of Catholicity.

For a table for the Commandments and a Kalendar, 16d.
For a frame to the Commandments, 14d.

The "Commandments" were those set up over the communion-table. They were put there on account of the First (Anglican "Second") Commandment, the insinuation being that the "idolatry" of the Mass was now removed from the table underneath.

Various repairs and alterations follow, and "Mr. Mayor's" seat is again renovated. At the same time, apparently, pews were introduced throughout the building. The poor parishioners must have been bewildered by these frequent changes, and it is well known that Catholics vainly cherished the hope of Elizabeth's ultimate conversion, or at least of a Catholic successor to the throne.

For mending the priest's surplice, and the clerk's,
14d.

For a dinner bestowed on the clerks that keep the choir
at Christmas, 6s. 8d.

1563. Paid for pulling down the organ chamber, 2s.

For making the Communion-table frame, 3s. 4d.

For a Communion book, 3s.

For the Communion at Easter, 3 quarts of malmsey and
9 quarts of claret wine, 4s. 6d.

Paid to the ringers on Black Monday, at the command-
ment of master Mayor, 12d. [?]

1564. Received for 29lb. of brass, 6s. [Perhaps the
monumental brasses were then taken up and sold.]

For new books for the Leterne [lectern], 1s.

For a book of Homilies, 3s. 4d. Prayers, 8d.

And now, having destroyed the ornaments placed
in the church in honour of our Blessed Lord, they
apparently proceeded to beautify an earthly lord's
temporary dwelling-place. The Earl of Huntingdon
here mentioned was, as President of the North, a
well-known persecutor of Catholics.

For a day's work about my lord's seat [the earl of
Huntingdon], 10d., etc.

For matts for my lord's chapel, 3s. 4d.

For 5 yards of broad green . . . a yard and $\frac{3}{4}$ of narrow
green for my lord's seat, 6s. 2d.

1565. Received. For a cope and two albys [albs],
26s. 10d.

For 4 towels, 9s. For timber of the rood-loft, 12s.

Paid for lime and stone, and working about Mr. Mayor's
seat, 8d.

For removing timber out of Mr. Venholde's chapel. . . .

It is noticeable that the chapels, once dedicated
to Saints, now become laymen's property—probably
as enormous and comfortable pews, conducive to sleep
during the lengthy sermons.

1566. Paid Mr. Vicar, for a service-book, 8s.

For four quarts of malmsey at the Communion, 2s.

1567. Received for the organ pipes and the case of all things thereto belonging, £5. Paid for putting out the imageries [images] out of the pulpit, 3s.

To Mr. Brown, Vicar, for certain arrears of tenths and subsidies, as appears by his bill, £5.

Mem. A chalice, weighing 15 ounces and $\frac{1}{4}$, sold at 5s. 4d. per oz., amounting to £4 4s. 4d.; and bought a communion cup and cover, double gilt, weighing $21\frac{1}{2}$ ounces at 6s. per oz., £6 9s.

Another terse incident showing whether the new service of Holy Communion was the Holy Mass or not. The extraordinary amount of wine consumed at the former service points, perhaps, to a large number of communicants. As the law enforced the same under heavy penalties, we cannot be sure that their attendance was voluntary.

1568. In this year there is only one entry of interest, as follows:

For work about the seats where the minister and clerk sit, 20d.

1569. Received of Mr. Norris for the eagle, £4 18s. [viz., the brass lectern used for the Divine Office.]

1570. Paid for carrying the stones and rammel away where the cross stood, 8d. A stone of the cross, lead, and iron of the same. . . .

This was probably the churchyard crucifix.

A measure was this year passed by the Mayor and Aldermen regulating the charges for having the great bell tolled at funerals, according to the social position of the deceased; also another, enforcing fines upon those who refused upon their election to act as churchwardens.

1571. Paid for taking down things over the font, 12d.

Paid for taking down the petyshons [partitions] about the chancel, 20d.

Paid for cutting down the images heads in the church, 20d.

Paid for cutting down a board over the font, 14d.

Paid for taking down the angels' wings. . . .

These were probably on the roof, as may be seen in churches in the eastern counties.

1573. For cutting the pillar next Mr. Mayor's seat, 16d.

Mention is here made of some payment due to the Queen's Majesty, being part of a legacy left towards "maintaining the preaching of the Gospel of Christ."

1575. Paid for an hour-glass, 4d.

This was used to time the dreary and lengthy sermons of those days. And now it was Mrs. Mayoress's turn :

For five yards of green seys for Mrs. Mayoress's seat, 7s. 6d. ; for trimming the same, 1s. 3d.

1589. For a book called the *New Catechism*, 16d.

1591. The Sacrament used to be received monthly [as appears from the years 1591 and 1592], and so successively till this present [*i.e.*, till about 1811, when Nichols wrote].

1593. Paid for two mats for the forms at the communion table, 8d. ; and for seven mats for the new seats, 20d.

1593. For washing, painting, and gilding the Queen's arms, £5 11s. 8d.

And yet again :

For serge to trim Mr. Mayor's seat and Mr. Clark's seat, 5s. 4d. For a red skin, 10d. For 19 hundred garnishing nails, 12d. (!)

1595. Received seven books that were chained in the church, and given by Simon Crafts. Paid for binding the seven books, 5s. Paid for a Prayer-book to John Walker, for the Queene, 8d.

1596. A levy was made this year for the communion plate, &c.

1597. Here begins, and continues in the following years, an account of the particular receipts and payments at the Communion, and it was received 17 times this year. The receipts were between 1s. 2d. and 6s. The charge of bread and wine between 1s. 10d. and 7s.

1598. Paid for painting the Communion-place and church, 80 yards, 26s. 8d.

For ledging the seats in the Communion-place, 2s.

The Acts and Monuments, or Book of Martyrs, given by Mr. Barsey. [This was Foxe's untruthful compilation.]

1599. Received for the burial of Mrs. Renouls in the chapel called Mr. Renouls' chapel, 10s.

1600. This year the overseers for collecting for the poor, being four, are named, and so the following years, according to the Statute.

1601. Mr. Holmes, April 13, had what was gathered at Communion after the bread and wine was paid for. Wine was now at 14d. the quart, and used at Communion from two to eight quarts.

Mr. Mayor's seat new trimmed. [A periodical event !]

1602. It is agreed, that whoever refuses to be churchwarden shall pay for his fine 20s.

Paid for mending of Sir Edward's and my Lady's seat, several sums. [This was Sir Edward Hastings of the Abbey Gate, who doubtless had obtained the Abbey lands.]

Paid to Mr. Holmes (the minister) for keeping the Register-book for a year and three-quarters, 5s. 10d.

This year Queen Elizabeth died, and by this time the Church of England, "the Protestant

Reformed Religion established by law," was fairly started on its future course. The above "items" speak for themselves as to the manner of its starting and show how the old Catholic Church of St. Martin's, Leicester, was turned into a bare and cold Protestant place of worship. From the mention of the forms round the Communion Table, *e.g.* in 1593, it is plain that here as was usual among the new Protestant sects and as was widely prevalent in England, the communicants sat upon these forms, and so received the Communion, passing the bread and wine round to each other, while from the use of the term "Communion-place," and from subsequent items in the Accounts, we see that the Communion Table was placed in the centre of the church and not upon the elevated site of the High Altar, the square, wooden table being covered with a linen tablecloth, and the officiating minister wearing a black gown. Laud, in the seventeenth century, found both these customs rampant: we may compare the above therefore with the two following entries, &c.

1634. Paid for a sequestration from the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Laud), &c., 6s. 8d. ; three journies of the churchwardens to London.

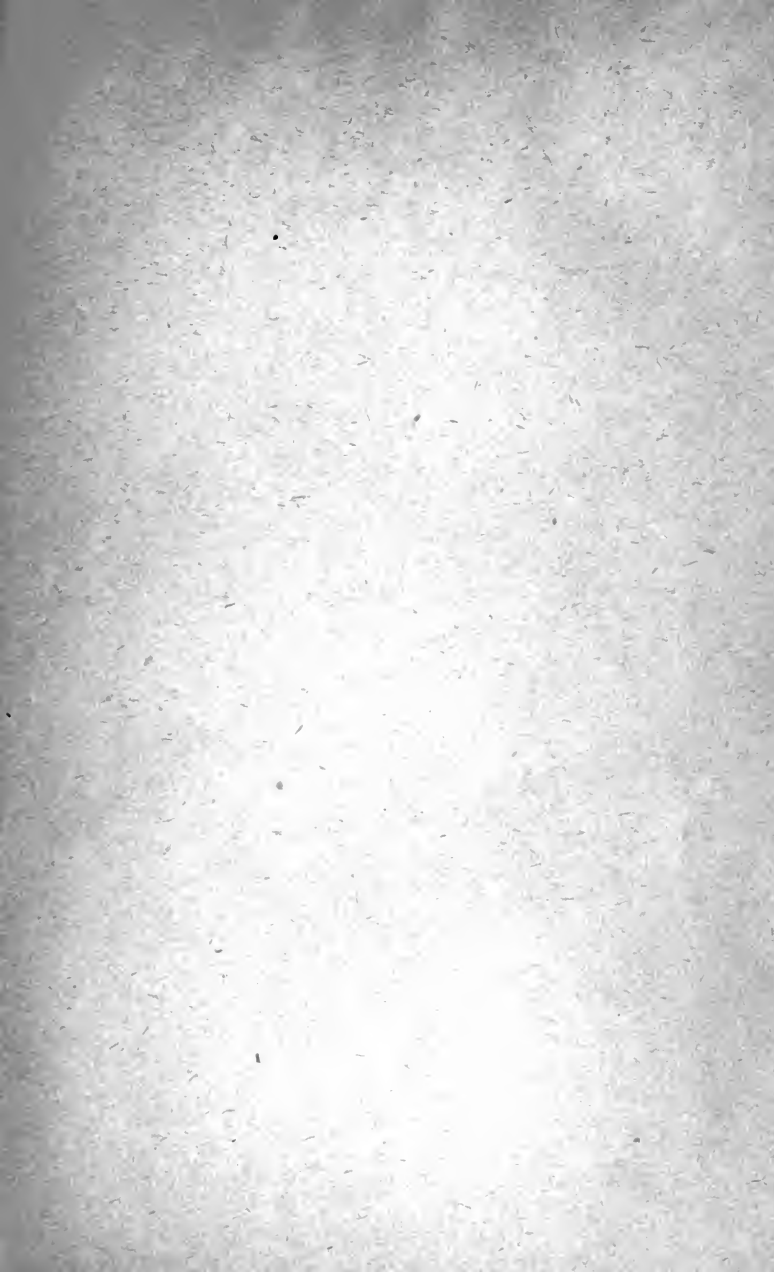
1635. Paid to the apparitor, for summoning us several times to appear at Court (High Commission), about the Communion-place, 18d. Painting King's arms, &c.

Paid Edmund Cradock, for charges, being excommunicated, about buying the surplice, 7s. 8d.

Paid Moses Andrew, &c., for taking away the two rows of seats in the church against the King's coming, 2s. 6d.

There are other entries in these Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Martin's which might be studied with

interest. But those which have been given suffice to set before us a graphic picture of the practical working of the Reformation measures, a picture which it is hard to reconcile with modern theories of continuity.



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