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THE
H I S T O R Y
Of the LIFE of
REGINALD POLE.



In TWO VOLUMES.

THE

Y R O T S I

W A T E R

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
L I F E
OF
REGINALD POLE.

V O L. II.

THE SECOND EDITION.

Nam quis nescit, primam esse Historiæ legem, Ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde, ne quid veri non audeat? . . . vult etiam, quoniam in rebus magnis memoriâque dignis, consilia primùm, deinde acta, postea eventus expectantur, et de Consiliis significari quid Scriptor probet, et in rebus gestis significari non solùm quid actum, aut dictum sit, sed etiam quomodo: et cùm de eventu dicatur, ut causæ explicentur omnes. . . . hominumque ipsorum non solùm res gestæ, sed etiam, qui famâ ac nomine excellent, de cujusque vitâ atque naturâ.

CICERO, de Oratore, lib. ii. § 14.

L O N D O N :

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M DCC LXVII.

Y P O T O N

I I I

REWARD POLE

H O N

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Notice is hereby given that the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the [Company Name] will be held on the [Date] at [Location]. The business to be transacted at said meeting is the election of a new Board of Directors for the ensuing year. Any person who is qualified to be elected as a Director may appear at said meeting and vote in person or by proxy. The proxy must be in writing and signed by the holder of the shares.

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[Signature]

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By Order of the Board of Directors, [Signature]

C O N T E N T S.

VOLUME II.

S E C T. VII.

HENRY VIII. dies, *p.* 1. Substance of Year.
 his speech to the Parliament, towards the ^{28th Jan.}
 end of his reign, *p.* 2. A short review of his cha- 1547.
 racter, *p.* 4. Last act of cruelty, *p.* 5. Remark-
 able argument of his want of good faith, related
 by the CARDINAL, *ibid.* Manner of his death,
p. 7. The CARDINAL endeavours to avail him-
 self of it, to the advantage of his country, *p.* 8.
 Writes to the Pope, *ibid.* Writes to the *English*
 Privy Council, *p.* 10. Tries to engage the Em-
 peror in the same interest, *p.* 12. Addresses an
 apology to *Edward VI.* brief account of that per-
 formance, *p.* 13. *Edward's* dispositions and edu-
 cation, *p.* 14. Changes in the ancient worship
 that took place immediately on his accession, ex-
 emplified particularly in what concerns the holy
 Eucharist, *ibid.* Plunder of the churches, *p.* 16.
Somerset-house raised on complicated rapine and sa-
 crilege, *ibid.* Further innovations in religion,
p. 17. Various sects rise up; foreign sectaries
 called over, *p.* 18. Universal consent of histo-
 rians, as to these facts, *p.* 19. Revolutions in
 the state, no less than in the church, *p.* 20. In-
 surrections, *p.* 21. The demands of the insur-
 gents, *ibid.* Duke of *Somerset's* ambition, abuse
 of power, and fall, *p.* 22. CARDINAL POLE'S

- Year. employment during these confusions, *p.* 24. Death
 10th Nov. of *Paul III.*—Description of a conclave, *ibid.* The
 1549. major part of the Cardinals agree to choose *CARDINAL POLE* Pope, *p.* 25. In what manner he receives the overture, *p.* 26. Exempt from ambition, *p.* 27. Writes, during the conclave, on the duties of the Papacy, *ibid.* The different impression his behaviour makes on two Cardinals, *p.* 28. His answer to another, who reproached him with aspiring to the Papacy, *p.* 29. Calumnies spread concerning him, *ibid.* Unanimity of the electors who engaged their votes in his favour, *p.* 31. His answer to Cardinal *Farnese*, on his desiring him to consent to his election, and to receive the homage, *p.* 32. A second deputation to him, with the same message, *ibid.* Change of affairs in the conclave, *p.* 33. Cardinal *de Montichosen* Pope; his speech to the *English* *CARDINAL*, *ibid.* The behaviour of the latter, when the conclave broke up, *p.* 34. Occasion on which he wrote *on the duties of the Papacy*, *ibid.* Returns to the government of *Viterbo*; which, after three years, he resigns, and retires from public life, *p.* 35.
- 8th Feb. 1550.
- 1553.

S E C T. VIII.

- CARDINAL POLE*, on *Edward VIth's* death, is appointed, by the Pope, *LEGATE* to the Princess *Mary*, *p.* 37. The purport of his credentials, *p.* 39. and of his letter to the Queen concerning this commission, *p.* 40. The Queen's answer, *p.* 43. The *French* Ambassador informs his court of these measures, *p.* 46. Character of the Princess *Mary*, at this period of her life, *p.* 47. She defeats the treasonable designs of the Duke of *Nor-*
Aug. 22d, *thumberland*, *p.* 49. Declaration of that noble-
 1553. man at his execution, *p.* 53. By what acts the
 Queen

Queen began her reign, *p.* 54. She sends the LEGATE a detail of her affairs, and asks his advice, *p.* 56. What conduct he judges most salutary, *p.* 61. He sets out on his journey to *England*; and dispatches from *Trent* a courier to the Emperor and *French King*, and informs them of the peace he was to negotiate, on the part of the Pope, between the two courts, *p.* 68. Is stopped at *Dillingen* by order of *Charles V.* The reason of this stay, *p.* 70. The Queen's marriage with that Monarch's son agreed on, *p.* 71. Advances towards a return to the ancient worship made by the *English* legislature, *p.* 73. *Wyat's* rebellion; the Queen's masterly speech, by which she exhorts the citizens of *London* to oppose it, *ibid.* Suppression of the rebellion; and manner of *Lady Jane Gray's* death, *p.* 75, 76. The Em-^{Feb. 6th,} peror consents to the LEGATE's coming to him at ¹⁵⁵⁴ *Brussels*, *p.* 78. The Queen consults him concerning the vacant Bishoprics: The reason for depriving several Bishops of their sees, and the character of these Prelates, *ibid.* Contrivance of a pretender to the See of *York*, to thrust himself into that Archbishopric, detected by the LEGATE, and defeated, *p.* 79. The Emperor refuses to let him proceed on his journey till after the Queen's marriage with his son: He sets out for *Paris*, on the treaty of peace between *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* draws up, on the road, a plan of it, of which an abstract is given, *p.* 82. *et seq.* The esteem he is held in by the *French King*, *p.* 88. On his return to *Brussels*, the Emperor still puts off his departure for *England*: His letter to the court of *Rome*, on a report that his disappointments made him desirous to be recalled; and his sentiments of the Queen's marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, *p.* 90. Abstract of another letter, which throws a light on his conduct in this whole negotiation,

- Year. and on his character in general, p. 94. The Em-
 25th *My*, peror, to justify the delays of the LEGATE's jour-
 1554. ney, will have his Legantine Powers examined
 by the *English* ministry: Abstract of these powers:
 Testimony given of the LEGATE in one of the
 patents, in which they are contained, p. 99. The
 Queen's marriage with *Philip*: Qualities which
 formed the character of this Prince, p. 105. The
 29th *July*, LEGATE congratulates him and the Emperor on
 1554. this alliance: His Legantine Powers are enlarged,
 p. 107. Urges the Emperor to consent to his
 departure for *England*, p. 110. *Philip* sends over
 the Count of *Horne* to notify to him his marriage,
 p. 113. He informs the Pope of the objections
 made by the Emperor, to his proceeding on his
 journey, p. 115. The like hindrances put to it
 in *England*, and the LEGATE's remonstrance to
Philip concerning them, p. 116. *Philip* sends the
 Emperor's Ambassador at his court, to inform the
 LEGATE of the state of the nation; his reply,
 p. 118. The *English* Ambassador at the Empe-
 ror's court writes to the Queen the cogent reasons
 for the LEGATE's journey taking place; *ibid*. His
 attainder is reversed, and the Lords *Paget* and
Hastings, with a train of gentlemen, sent to invite
 him to his country, p. 120.

S E C T. IX.

- CARDINAL POLE met at *Gravesend* by the Bi-
 shop of *Durham* and Earl of *Skewbury*, p. 124.
 Appears in the character of LEGATE: His recep-
 2d *Nov*. tion by the King and Queen, p. 125. His speech
 1554. in Parliament, which is answered by the High
 Chancellor *Gardiner*, p. 127. The manner in
 which he reconciles the nation to the Catholic
 Church, p. 129. Some reflexions on this great
 event,

event, p. 131. At the request of the magistrate, Year. he enters the city of *London*, in quality of LE-^{30th Nov.}
 GATE: *Gardiner's* speech on this occasion, p. 131: The substance of an important and accurate act of parliament, by which the nation's return to the ancient worship is confirmed by the whole legislature; and the abbey lands settled on the lay possessors, p. 135, *et seq.* A groundless objection to this settlement made by *Fra-Paulo* and Bishop *Burnet*, p. 143, *et seq.* The LEGATE sends the Pope an account of this revolution, p. 146. *Philip* writes to him on the same subject: Letters which pass between *Henry II.* and the LEGATE,^{30th Dec.} on the same, p. 148. He informs the Pope of different concerns, p. 151. On the death of *Ju-*^{10th Mar.}
lius and *Marcellus*, the Queen and *French King*^{1555.} are desirous to advance him to the Papacy; which measure is prevented by the sudden election of *Paul IV.* p. 152. In what manner the *English*^{23d May.}
 Ambassadors, who are sent to *Rome* on the part of the Sovereign and Nation, are received, p. 154. The Pope erects *Ireland* into a kingdom, p. 156.^{5th June.}
 The LEGATE goes to *Flanders*, as mediator of peace between *France* and the Emperor: Success of this negotiation, and his return to *England*,^{8th June.} p. 157, *et seq.* He writes to the governor of *Philip's* son, on the education of Princes, p. 163. *Philip* sets out for *Brussels* to take possession of the^{8th July.}
Spanish dominions, p. 165. Appoints the LEGATE chief of the *English* council, p. 166. The^{16th Sept.}
 LEGATE, with *Gardiner*, reforms the studies of the university of *Oxford*, p. 169. Death of *Gardiner*, and sentiments of the LEGATE on this incident: Character of *Gardiner*, p. 170. The LEGATE calls a national synod, which, under twelve^{11th Nov.}
 heads, sets forth the state of the nation with respect to doctrine and morals: The chief disorders which the errors and licentiousness of the two late reigns

Year. reigns had given occasion to; and the remedies which he judged most suited to the amendment of them, *p.* 172. The acknowledged excellence and fitness of these decrees, *p.* 195. And the depraved condition of the people, inferred from an observation made by the LEGATE at the conclusion of the Synod, *p.* 197.

S E C T. X.

For what misdeeds Archbishop *Cranmer* was attainted of high treason, and condemned to death, *p.* 200. The LEGATE endeavours to bring him to a sense of his guilt, *p.* 202. He is condemned for heresy, and the sentence revised and confirmed at *Rome*, *p.* 205. He abjures his past errors, in hopes of life, and then revokes his abjuration, and is put to death, *p.* 206. Instances of the like severity exercised by himself, for religious causes, in the former reigns, *p.* 208. Account of his education; his inconsistencies and prevarications, in religion under *Henry*, *Edward*, and *Mary*, *p.* 209. His claim to the panegyric bestowed on him by *Dr. Burnet*, examined, *p.* 214. Other persons put to death for heresy, *p.* 216. The statutes on which they suffered, *p.* 217. The treasonable practices which moved the government to put these laws in execution, *p.* 218. The LEGATE'S moderation in these transactions, attested by unexceptionable vouchers, *p.* 219. And related by himself, *p.* 221. One instance alledged as an exception to this behaviour, *p.* 223. Who the persons were who seem to have chiefly countenanced these cruelties, *ibid.* Some observations on the tenets and practice of the church of *Rome*, relative to the penalties inflicted on heretics, *p.* 224. The LEGATE, on *Cranmer's* execution, nominated to the See of *Canterbury*, *p.* 227. Ordained Priest and Bishop, *p.* 228. By what works of Christian piety

piety he signalizes the beginning of his primacy, ^{Year.}
p. 229. He is chosen Chancellor of the univer- ^{1st April,}
 sities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*: His memorable let- ^{1556.}
 ter to the latter, *p.* 229, 230. Revises the sta-
 tutes; flourishing state of this learned and illustri-
 ous body in his time, *p.* 231. His correspon-
 dence with *Ignatius Loyola*, *p.* 232, *et seq.*

S E C T. XI.

War between *Paul IV.* and *Philip*, *p.* 237. ^{Novem.}
 Origin of this Pope's malevolence to the *Engliss* ^{1556.}
 LEGATE, *p.* 239. He writes to *Paul*, *p.* 240.
 War declared between *France* and *England*, *p.* 241.
Paul recalls the LEGATE, and appoints *William* ^{25th Jan.}
Peyto in his stead, *p.* 245. The Queen opposes ^{1556-7.}
 these measures: Letters which pass between the ^{14th June.}
 Pope and her, *p.* 246. CARDINAL POLE lays
 down his character of Legate; his letter to the
 Pope; dissimulation of the latter, *p.* 249. His
 enmity to the LEGATE's friend, *Priuli*, *p.* 252.
 The LEGATE's fine remonstrance to the Pope, on
 these unbecoming proceedings, *p.* 252, *et seq.*
 The character of *Paul IV.* in the note of *p.* 253,
et seq. The LEGATE's letter to the Cardinal of ^{30th Mar.}
Trani, on the same subject on which he wrote to ^{1558.}
 the Pope, *p.* 264, *et seq.* Some reflexions on the
 CARDINAL's behaviour during this ill treat-
 ment, *p.* 267. Death of *Charles V.* character of
 that Prince, *p.* 268. Motive to which *Thu-* ^{23d Sept.}
anus ascribes his abdication, *p.* 269. *Fenelon's* re-
 mark on the same, *p.* 271. Death of Queen *Ma-* ^{17th Nov.}
ry, *p.* 272. The justice which Protestant histo-
 rians have done to this Princess, *p.* 273. CAR-
 DINAL POLE's last sickness, *p.* 274. His will,
ibid. Account of *Lewis Priuli*, his executor,
p. 275, *et seq.* Writes to the Queen a short time
 before he dies, *p.* 277. Prepares himself to die,
ibid.

- Year. *ibid.* With what sentiments he hears the news of the Queen's death, *p.* 278. The disposition in which he receives the last sacraments, and dies, *ibid.* His obsequies, *p.* 279. Letter of *Paul Sadolet*, Bishop of *Carpentras*, to the Lord *Priuli*, 18th Nov. on the CARDINAL's death, *ibid.*

S E C T. XII.


The character of CARDINAL POLE: His outward figure *, habit of body, manner of living, *p.* 282. Temper, conversation, remarkable sayings, *p.* 283, *et seq.* Aversion to flattery and falsehood, circumspection in discourse, open and ingenuous in carriage, *p.* 285. Industry, learning, eloquence, style, *p.* 286. Method of studying the Scriptures, *p.* 288. The works he left behind him, *p.* 289. Abilities for business and public life, *p.* 290. Exemption from vulgar passages, evenness of temper, *p.* 291. Facility in forgiving injuries, exemplified in several instances, *p.* 292. Care of his domestics; benevolence, generosity and disinterestedness, 293, *et seq.* Freedom from ambition. Fortitude, and greatness of soul, *p.* 296. Gratitude, *p.* 297. Patriot spirit, and the proofs he gave of it, *ibid. et seq.* Lenity towards those who dissented from the Church of *Rome*, *p.* 298, *et seq.* His love of solitude, and of what kind his retreats were, *p.* 300. Accuracy in all the rites of the church; reverence with which he performed the Liturgy, *p.* 301. The most common incidents furnish him with an opportunity of inculcating virtue, *ibid.* His sentiments of the duties of Episcopacy, and the manner in which he discharged them, *p.* 302. The esteem he was held in by his cotemporaries exemplified in several instances, *p.* 304.

* See Appendix, No. III.

THE
HISTORY OF THE LIFE
OF
REGINALD POLE.

S E C T. VII.

The CARDINAL, on the Death of Henry VIII. addresses an Apology for himself to Edward VI. Declines the Papacy, vacated by the Death of Paul III. And retires from Public Life, till the Accession of Queen Mary.

 W HILST CARDINAL POLE was exert-
ing himself at *Trent*, in the public cause
of Christianity, and advancing in the
career of true worth and glory, *Henry*
VIII. had finished a life, the course of which was
marked out by quite different characters from that
of his kinsman. I have already followed him
through the various scenes of guilt which diversifi-
ed the several periods of it, after he left the lau-
dable path, in which he first sat out; and made
such reflections on them as they naturally raise in
a breast which is not a stranger to the feelings of
justice, humanity, and religion. The last deed
VOL. II. B of

S E C T.
VII.

of plunder and sacrilege which disgraces these annals, was the seizure of what he had spared at the dissolution of the Abbeyes, and put an end to further rapine, which he still meditated. A speech he made to the Parliament, a little before his death, sets forth, in a very significant manner, the dispositions in which he was about to leave the nation, and the effects which the changes in religion, of which he was the author, already had on the temper, the manners, and principles of the *English*. The general air of the discourse, and the occasion on which he spoke it, sufficiently indicate that he was in high good humour with both houses, and therefore give greater weight to his complaints, and to the reality of those evils which caused him to make them. I shall present the reader with a summary of the speech, it being like the confession of a dying malefactor, who throws on his associates the whole blame of crimes which were perpetrated at his instigation, and by his example.

Having enlarged, in a very ridiculous and awkward manner, on the mutual love which subsisted between him and his parliament, “ he thanks them for the surrender they had lately made him of the chantries, hospitals, and other such foundations; and assures them, the revenues arising from these establishments, shall be employed in a much more godly manner than they were aware of.—He then tells them, that concord had ceased amongst them, and dissension every where bore rule.—That the Clergy preached one against another, taught contrary doctrines, and inveighed against each other with as little charity as discretion.—That the whole nation was at variance, through the obstinacy of some, and the curiosity of others.—That few or none published the word of God

LIFE OF REGINALD POLE.

3
S E C T.
VII.

God with truth and sincerity.—That, unless they mended these crimes, by sound doctrine and good living, *he, whom God had appointed his Vicar and high Minister, would see they did.*—Having addressed this part of his speech to the Bishops and the chief of the Clergy, he describes the lay Peers and the commons in not more favourable colours : “ that they railed at bishops, slandered priests, and mocked the preachers of the gospel ; whereas, says he, if they had just reason to find fault with spiritual persons, they ought to have recourse to him, who had an authority derived from God to reform all such abuses ; and being themselves by no means qualified to judge of such matters, they were not to take up with their own fantastical opinions.—That the Scriptures were disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse ; and those, who read them with more respect, were still very faint and remiss in the practice of their doctrine.—That he was sure, virtue and good living was never less practised, nor God himself less revered, honoured or served *.”

But allowing that wicked Princes have sometimes been the instruments of great good : no single instance can be produced where the Supreme Being, when he was about to reveal to men any important truth, which had been unknown in all past ages, or to reclaim them from any exemplary degeneracy, has ever chose so scandalous a King, as *Henry VIII.* or such servile and corrupt ministers, both in church and state, as that Prince made use of.

About the time of the speech I have related, and the seizure of the remaining church endow-

* Lord *Herbert*, page 534.

ments, a continual course of intemperance had brought on *Henry* such a gross and unwholsom habit of body, that it obliged him to be hoisted up to the upper apartments of his palace by pulleys. His effigy, where he spreads and swells in puffed unwieldiness, seems no less a resemblance of his mind than body. His temper grew froward in proportion as his strength and spirits wasted; and what *Tacitus* saith of the dissimulation of *Tiberius*, when that Prince was in the like situation, may be applied to *Henry's* cruelty; *that it stuck to him when every thing else failed*. His Queen, *Catharine Par*, dissenting from him in some religious tenets, nothing but great art saved her from the scaffold, where two of the former partners of his bed had ended their lives. The erroneousness of her opinions, however, had not drawn on her this capital displeasure, but, *because he disliked to be contradicted in his old age by his wife* *. His royal consorts seem, indeed, to have been, at all times, marked out for this sportive cruelty and inconstancy. He had made it high Treason for any woman, who was so unhappy as to be his choice, not to declare her own incontinence, if she had been guilty of any, before he married her.—Though he repudiated Queen *Catharine* and *Anne of Cleves*, on pretext of their being pre-contracted; and compelled the offspring of the first to subscribe to her own illegitimacy; yet, when he had changed his mind, and was about to substitute that Princess, next to *Edward VI.* in the act of succession, he made it felony to assert, that a prior contract invalidated a subsequent marriage with another person. All which a slavish parliament passed into law, and the statutes still disgrace our records.

* *Lord. Herbert*, page 560.

As the poison of venomous animals is most collected in their dying bites, the Earl of *Surry*, son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, as gallant and accomplished a youth as that or any other age has seen, fell a victim to these last dregs of a distempered mind and body : and the Duke his father was condemned to lose his head by the same axe which had struck off that of his son. He was attainted; the King had already seized his large possessions, and hurried on the trial on the most trivial accusations, before a profligate house of Peers, and with an indecency which creates horror. The long and signal services of this nobleman, a perpetual condescension to all the King's inclinations, and the submissions to which he let himself down in his last distress, were unavailing pleas for mercy ; and, had *Henry's* life been respited one night longer, the Duke was to have been beheaded on the following morning*.

S E C T.
VII.19th Jan.
1547.He died
28th Jan.
1547.

I shall conclude what I had to say of this Prince, by a fact, in which his want of good faith is as odious, as any instance of his bloodshed and violence. It is thus related by *CARDINAL POLE*, and gives a striking idea of that complete worthlessness, of which *Henry* chose his dispositions should be the pattern.

“ In his worst and most unjustifiable actions he never failed to allege the motive of conscience and religion ; in which he did no more than *Machiavel* prescribes, and he had learnt from his disciple, *Cromwell*: but in the following exigency he departed somewhat from this capital lesson.—There were some persons of consideration, who lived at their country-seats, without appearing at court, and who were obnoxious to him on account of their

* *Lord Herbert*, page 561, &c. and others.

SECT.
VII.

virtue. He was desirous to have them in his power, which was no easy matter, as they, in their turn, were no less on their guard against him, and therefore when he summoned them, they refused to come, unless he engaged his royal word for their safety. When he understood this, he ordered the assurance they desired to be sent them under his sign manual; shewed them a friendly countenance at their arrival; and, when they looked on themselves as secure from any danger, ordered them to be taken up.—Hitherto, says the CARDINAL, he had done nothing contrary to his Preceptor's instructions: on the contrary, this proceeding results from them; for he lays it down among the chief advantages of religion, that it is the readiest snare by which those we fear may be taken off. But, in what follows, he swerved from his master's art. For now having the persons at his disposal, and resolved their destruction, he spoke of his design publicly; and one who was present, having the honesty to reply, that this could not be done, as they were come up on the assurance he had given them of safety, he seemed to wonder at his simplicity for imagining that any engagement should hinder him from killing those he suspected: adding, moreover, that he had engaged his word for that very purpose, because otherwise they would have kept out of his reach. And what, says he, should hinder me, now I have them in my power, and mistrust their loyalty, to use the right I have over them?—This answer, adds the CARDINAL, was remarked by many*.”

Thus having lived by no other rule than his own unbridled lusts, and *being come* (as the wisest of

* Epist. R. Poli, pars 1^{ma}, pag. 145.

men has observed) *by a certain progression of evil, into the depth of it, he laughed at all restraint, both human and divine**. It is not easy to affirm, as Lord *Herbert* observes, in what sentiments he died with respect to religion. It is affirmed, by *Sanders*, that he was desirous to be reconciled to the church of *Rome*; and it was reported, also, that being given over by his physicians, and none of his servants daring to be the bearer of such disagreeable news, at length *Sir Anthony Denny* informed him of his condition; which he heard with less choler than was expected, and ordered *Archbishop Cranmer*, who was at *Croyden*, to be sent for: that, on his arrival, he found the King speechless; but asking him to give some token of his belief, that salvation was to be obtained through faith in *Christ*, he gently squeezed his hand, and expired †. *Sanders*, a cotemporary author, relates, that, during his last illness, he received the Eucharist with every signification of the most profound reverence: but that, his end approaching, he called for a large draught of white wine, and, turning to the person who presented it, said, *all was lost*, and having drank off the goblet, gave up the ghost ‡. And as no writer, except *CARDINAL POLE*, has said so much to this Prince's advantage as the above-mentioned, what he here relates can be as little suspected of slander, as other particulars in his commendation, of flattery. In his last moments he was overheard to mutter often the word, *Monk*: the natural result of a mind labouring with guilt, and haunted by those spectres,

SECT.

VII.



See his
treatise de
schism.
Anglic.
fol. 102,
in a tergo,
edit. Col.
Agrip.
1585.

* Est progressio in viâ iniquitatis viro indisciplinato.—Impius, cum in profundum venerit peccatorum, contemnit. *Prov.* cap. xviii. ver. 3. ed. vulg.

† Lord *Herbert's* life of *Henry VIII.* page 570.

‡ De schismate Anglicano, folio 102, &c.

SECT.
VII.

which the wrongs he had done to that body of men, raised.—Some time before his death, he caused the church of the *Franciscans*, in *London*, which had been shut up, to be opened; suppressed the stews on the bank side, and made two or three other dispositions, which have an equivocal resemblance of goodness, and of a sense of religion: but it was too late to testify a concern for preserving some of the planks, when the guilty and unskilful pilot had run the vessel on those rocks which tore away the rudder, and disjoined the whole frame.

As soon as the news of this great event reached the English *CARDINAL*, he turned his whole mind to avail himself of it, in order to repair the breaches which *Henry* had made in the faith and discipline of the church, and bring back his country to that unity, which he had violated. At this time, his cares were divided, as has been said, between *Rome*, where he was at the head of the Pope's council, and his government of *Viterbo*. The first step he took in order to bring about the design he meditated, was to write to *Paul III.* “That he, the Pope, had now an opportunity answerable to the greatness of his own soul, and to the exigencies of the times, of procuring to himself immortal glory; and doing a service to the christian world, than which no greater could be imagined—He tells him, that although the principal part of this undertaking was to be the effect of his own prudence and resolution, yet a great deal might be effected by the Emperor; and therefore, it was of great importance that a person should be sent to that Prince, who was agreeable to him, and qualified for such a negotiation.—That he knew no one so fit as the Cardinal of *Trent*, both with respect to the *English* affairs, as
to

to many other concerns of moment, which were soon to be treated between his Holiness and the Imperial Court, and therefore his earnest request was, that this Prelate might be one of the Legates who were to be sent thither.—That he wrote these few lines in haste, not to let slip the first opportunity of opening his mind to the Pope, but that he would shortly explain himself more amply*.”

He begins the following letter, “by representing again the great weight of the Emperor in bringing the affairs of *England* to a happy issue: but that this influence could never be exerted to the purpose, unless there was a good understanding between that Prince and his Holiness. That, in order to procure such a reconciliation, much would depend on the character of him, who was employed in the embassy: that he should be a person of prudence and experience, of whose attachment the Emperor could have no misgivings, and of whose counsels and good offices he had already made trial.—That sagacity and discernment would be requisite to make an estimate of those who had the Emperor’s confidence, and to render themselves acceptable to him.—That, if it was a difficult matter to meet with all these qualifications in the same person, he much desired the Cardinal of *Trent*, of whose disinterestedness and abilities there were such proofs, might be one of the embassy.—That, if there was any reason, of which he was ignorant, for not employing him in this affair, it might be convenient to send him beforehand; but this was to be done in such manner, as this prelate might not look on himself as slighted; and he must be given to understand, that a condescension for the *French* court was the mo-

* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 33.

SECT. VII. tive of the embassy not being conferred on himself: and that many plausible reasons might be assigned for this circumspection. You are acquainted, Holy Father, continues the CARDINAL, with the temper of *Madrucius*: he never thinks he has done any thing, in whatever he undertakes, till he has brought it to a conclusion. You know his readiness to second your intentions, and his zeal for the public service: and you are sensible of what moment such dispositions are. Several are of opinion, that the misunderstanding which subsists between your Holiness and the Emperor, is owing to the officiousness of certain persons, who, that they may appear to have at heart the respective interests of their masters, and forfeit no part of their favour, are little solicitous about the common welfare, and have alienated those, who, otherwise, would have been of great use*.”

About the same time, he wrote to the Privy Council of *England*. The letter is in *Latin*, according to the usage of those times, and to the following effect.—“ Although, my Lords, when I heard of the late King’s death, yet, as different rumours were spread abroad, I was neither informed to whom the crown was devolved, or of any thing concerning the state of the kingdom; I knew, however, that nothing could be resolved concerning the affairs of the nation, but by the high Court of Parliament, which is accustomed to be called immediately on the accession, in order to swear allegiance to the successor, to provide for the safety of the kingdom, and hear those, who may think themselves wronged. On this account, some things have occurred to me, of such moment, that unless they are weighed by your Lordships with great deliberation, and decided

* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 39.

with an equal rectitude and regard to religion, the whole realm may be brought into imminent danger. I seized, therefore, the first opportunity of opening my mind to your Lordships, and, not to be wanting in any thing, on my part, have sent this letter by a person, who might further communicate to you what I judge may be of use in the present juncture. As to the wrongs I, and those who belong to me, have sustained in the late reign, and which have reduced one of the first and most flourishing families in the kingdom to almost total ruin; the natural affection I bear to persons so nearly related to me, does not, indeed, permit me to be indifferent about their welfare, and neglect this opportunity, which your present meeting affords, of laying their case before your Lordships. I must say the same of many others, who, being reduced to the same straits, in their adverse fortune had recourse to me. Yet, my Lords, I shall ask nothing, either at this or any other time, but what is consistent with the public tranquillity; and the safety of those whom divine providence shall place at the head of the government. It is my desire, my Lords, it has ever been so, that public emolument should take place of all private considerations: and this principle is more necessary at this juncture, than it has yet been; for unless we strengthen the common weal, the care of our own fortunes will be to little purpose. In these troublesome and difficult circumstances, I acknowledge the watchful goodness of an all-powerful God over us, in giving to his people, in this time of need, a Pontiff, who, to say nothing more, bears my country the affection of a father; and, on many accounts, is as able, as willing to be useful to her: and, as an instance of these dispositions, proposes to send me to you, that I may not only suggest salutary measures, but bring with
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SECT.
VII.


SECT.
VII.

me means suited to the removal of our evils, provided they are accepted with the same dispositions with which they are offered*.”—It will cease to seem strange to the Reader, that the CARDINAL should write in this manner to the Privy Council, when he reflects, that the House of Lords not only wrote to him a common letter, on his being about to publish the Work he had inscribed to *Henry*, but each one of them signed it.—This letter, as we learn from the CARDINAL, had no effect: the members of the Privy Council refused to receive either the message, or him who brought it.

Edward had scarce filled the throne, when several Acts against different tenets of the ancient belief were preparing to be brought into the House: and the Emperor, who had notice of it, signified his resentment to the *English* Ambassador in very high terms. The Acts were not passed so soon as was imagined; and the CARDINAL, who seems to think this delay owing to that Prince's authority, and that he had been wrought on to behave in this manner by his Confessor, *Dominic Soto* †, wrote to him, “that the information he had received of what had passed between the Emperor and the *English* Ambassador, had encouraged him to send two of his household, with letters and instructions for the Court of *England*; and had or-

* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4^a, pag. 42.

† *Soto* was, as himself informs us, a Gardener's son: and having finished his studies, became a *Dominican*. He appeared with great applause at the Council of *Trent*, where his good qualities recommended him to the *English* LEGATE *Charles V.* made choice of him for his Confessor, employed him in several important affairs, and would have promoted him to the Bishopric of *Segovia*; but he refused that dignity. He was generally esteemed for his piety, prudence, and learning; and his writings still shew in what an eminent degree he possessed the latter advantage.

dered them to take the Emperor's Court in their way, and confer with him (*Soto*) on the business they were charged with: and exhorts him to take every favourable opportunity of cherishing the laudable dispositions the Emperor was in, with respect to the concerns of his country. At the same time he informs him, that he had already attempted to open a correspondence with *England*, but to no purpose; and though, some days ago, an incident had fallen out that determined him to make a second effort, it was with little hopes of success*." S E C T.
VII.

*Romæ, 8
Id. April.
1547.*

The disappointment which attended the CARDINAL'S late endeavours, and those he was now making, did not hinder him, some time after, from another undertaking, which, though equally unsuccessful, as to the purpose for which it was intended, has answered another, that of transmitting to posterity, one of the most entertaining and instructive pieces, that genuine eloquence and goodness of heart ever produced. This is a treatise inscribed to *Edward VI.* through the whole of which he addresses himself to that young Prince, and makes an apology for his own conduct during his father's reign. The temper and moderation of a speaker pleading for himself is every where kept up: and there is a reach of thought, a chain of reasoning, and an air of unaffected integrity not only diffused over the whole in general, but stamped on every division of it. The noble writer's high birth, the great insight he had in the art of government, give a dignity and weight to the observations he makes, not only on those who direct the councils of Sovereigns, but on their own sacred persons, whom he always considers as under the strictest obligation of attending to the du-

* *Epist. R. Poli* pars 4^{ta}, pag. 44.

ties of their station, as exposed to the eyes of the public, and as accountable, some time or other, to a tribunal more awful than their own. A copy of this valuable piece, and, perhaps, the only one extant *, which had formerly been in the possession of Cardinal *Hofius*, the author's intimate friend, was published some years ago, by one of the academy of *Leipsic*, with that good faith which should always attend superior learning. It has, likewise, been inserted by Cardinal *Quirini*, to whom the *German* professor made a present of the original, in the collection of **CARDINAL POLE'S** letters; and I have had occasion, in the course of this Work, to relate some facts from it, and have referred the reader to the passages.

1737.
Schelborn,
Amœnita-
tes Litera-
riæ, t. 1.
tom. 4.

It is probable this fine remonstrance was never permitted to reach the Prince, to whom it is addressed. He was surrounded by persons, who were the declared enemies of all such sentiments; and they had taken care to instil into him their own, both with respect to the principles on which this discourse proceeded; and to every thing which had any relation to it. He was of a tender and unpromising constitution, but had very acute parts, and was a proficient in the branches of learning he had been made acquainted with, much above his years. Those, to whom his education was intrusted, had made use of this aptitude, to train him up to prejudices, by which young

* Though this treatise was written with a view to be prefixed to the **CARDINAL'S** Work *on the Church's Unity*; yet it is neither in the *Roman* edition of that work, printed without date; nor in that of *Strasbourg*, printed with the notes of *Vigerius*, in 1555; nor in that of *Ingolstadt*, of 1587; nor in the great work of the pontifical Library, published by *Rocchaberti*, in 1698, though the compiler, in his preface, mentions it amongst **CARDINAL POLE'S** Works: nor, as Cardinal *Quirini* informs us, in any of the manuscript copies.

minds are made to conceive an averſion to truth, before they are informed what it is. The very ſubject of the exerciſes, by which they formed his ſtyle, were miſrepresentations of ſome article or other of the Catholic Religion. He was never allowed to ſee it in its real appearance, but had a ſpectre conſtantly placed before him in its ſtead. In virtue of the Supremacy, to which he had ſucceeded, the Biſhops were informed, “that all ju- riſdiction, eccleſiaſtical and civil, flowed from him, as from the ſupreme Head of the whole body; and that he granted them full power, which was to continue during his pleaſure, to exerciſe their ſacred functions, and confer holy Orders.” And they took out their commiſſions according to the tenour of his royal mandate *. The leading part of the Miniſtry were bent on ſubverting every meaſure the CARDINAL had recommended to the young King; and on the eſtabliſhment of thoſe tenets; whoſe pernicious conſequences he had ſo much inſiſted on: in a word, abolishing the an- cient Religion.

This will appear from what was practiſed with reſpect to the holy Eucharift; on which I ſhall be ſomething particular, becauſe from hence a con- jecture may be formed of the treatment which rites of a leſs ſacred nature met with. In order to diſ- poſe the minds of men to theſe changes, preach- ers were ſent about the kingdom, to diſſuade the people from aſſiſting at maſs; from the invoca- tion of ſaints, veneration of their images; from praying for the dead, proceſſions, and ſeveral other articles concerning the ſacraments and pious uſages, which all antiquity had received with re- verence, and practiſed with profit. Soon after, the altars were taken down, *to withdraw the people* Dr Burnet.

* Collier's Church History, part 2, book 3, page 169.

S E C T. *from the opinion of the mass:* and a contention arose, not only about the shape and name of what was to be set up in its room, whether it was to be the *Lord's table*, or *board*; but also, concerning the situation. It was, first, placed at the upper end of the church, where the high altar had stood; and then advanced forwards, that there might be a passage between the table and the wall. It was now placed to the east; now to the west; now to the other two points: the Ministers not agreeing which way to turn their faces. The sacred vestments, and decent habit of the Clergy were decried; and the use introduced of receiving the Sacrament sitting; and an eye-witness informs us, that he had seen a Curate leave the pulpit, and preach to the people from an elm-tree in the church-yard; and then return to the church, and leave the high altar, to sing the communion service on a tomb with his face to the north. This profane licentiousness gave such offence, in the first year of *Edward's* reign, that it was judged necessary to have an Act of Parliament passed, "against such as spoke against the Sacrament of the altar." Impiety went still greater lengths, (it is with reluctance that I repeat such horrors) and men affirmed, that this memorial and pledge of our ransom was of little worth; and in many places it was used with the greatest indignities, thrown out of the churches, and other enormities committed.

Register-
book of
the parish
of *Pet-
worth.*

Though the full-harvest of Sacrilege had been reaped in the former reign, yet the images of the saints, and the shrines which contained their sacred remains, the plate, jewels, and other costly ornaments, afforded large gleanings, and were, the same year, by the King's order, seized, and the spoil divided amongst those who advised the sacrilege, or under whose authority it was perpetrated. Soon after, an order of the King and Privy Council

cil forbid ashes to be received at the beginning of *Lent*, and candles and palms to be carried on the days that bear those names: and the Lords passed an act, by which they enforced the King's former injunction, for taking down all images, which either had not been removed, or were replaced as soon as the first heat of the royal visitation was over.

But that the reader may view, in one single group, all the different images of which rapine can be composed, I shall present him with a picture of impious greatness, which imagines it may attempt any thing, because it can do so with impunity. That stately fabric, which still bears the name of him who raised it, was built by the Duke of *Somerset*, on the ruins of the parish church of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, and of three episcopal houses. The cloisters of *St. Paul's* were likewise taken down, and the materials appropriated to the same use; as were those of *Barking* chapel, near the Tower. The parish church of *St. Ewen*, within *Newgate*; the college church of *St. Martin le Grand*, near the shambles, and the parish church of *St. Nicholas*, in the same neighbourhood, were intirely pulled down. *St. Margaret's, Westminster*, was doomed to the like destruction, and for the same purpose; but the workmen had no sooner advanced the scaffolds, when the parishioners assaulted them with such fury, with staves, clubs, and arrows, that they ran away terrified, and could never be prevailed on to return to a second attempt. And this pile of sacrilege was reared in the very year that *England* was afflicted with a pestilence, which swept away thousands. I have entered on this detail, because I suppose the whole records of Christendom do not furnish another such example.

SECT.
VII.

As the itch of novelty spread wider, a curate advanced, that the names of churches and of the days of the week, should be changed. Others taught, that abstinence from flesh should be kept on any days but *Friday* and *Saturday*; and *Lent*, at any other time than between *Shrovetide* and *Easter*. A preacher, at *St. Paul's* cross, informed his audience, that *Lent* was a political ordinance, and might be set aside at pleasure. This was followed by crying down all distinctions of days and times, and libelling that ancient and religious fast in the most scandalous rhymes: however, on *Bishop Gardiner's* complaint, a proclamation came forth, which enjoined the observance of *Lent*, and the King's *Lenten* diet was served up as formerly. It is remarkable, that these innovations were no less repugnant to the six articles which the late King had made the standard of orthodoxy, and enforced by the severest penalties, than to the doctrine of the Catholic Church: these, therefore, were repealed, and the tenets of *Zuinglius*, so much detested by that Prince, began to gain the ascendant.

The spirit of religious giddiness having now taken possession of the *English*, gave rise to a great variety of sects, which agreed as little among themselves, as with the church whose communion they had left. The Gospellers began to appear, who asserted the blasphemous doctrine of *Calvin*, that God is the author of sin. The Anabaptists published their dotages, and Archbishop *Cranmer*, when he examined some of them, who were about to renounce their errors, took his seat on an altar of the blessed Virgin in *St. Paul's* church.

These various modes of doctrine were not the growth of our country only, but several foreigners, who had signalized themselves the same way, were invited over by the Protector, who was an avowed

avowed favourer of the *Zuinglian* tenets, and kept up a correspondence with *Calvin*: and by the Primate, who being eager, at all events, to have the ancient religion intirely abolished, was indifferent as to the opinions which were set up in its place. *Peter Martyr* and *Ochin* were particularly employed to compile a liturgy: they were both monks, who had deserted their profession and entered on a married state, which, though *honourable in all*, who are free to embrace it, cannot but be greatly dishonoured by those who have vowed engagements with which it is incompatible. *Martyr* was a professed *Zuinglian*; and *Ochin* became, afterwards, a declared enemy of the divinity of JESUS CHRIST. *John Alasco* came over, about the same time, with a colony from *Poland*, and besides the errors of *Zuinglius*, and other frenzies of his own, found out twelve different meanings of the words of the institution of the Eucharist; and rejected Baptism, which, he said, was become an idolatry.

S E C T.
VII.

I have only related matter of fact, in which all history is agreed*; and shall content myself with adding

* *Bossuet*, Variat. des Eglif. prot. p. 1. l. 7. § 77, &c.

Dr. Heylyn's preface to the History of the Reformat. and his Hist. in *Edw.* VI.

Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. 2. book 4.

Echard's History of England, vol. 2. p. 311, and 312.

Burner's History of the Reformation, vol. 3. p. 216; *Chur-*
chill's edit. 1715.

Camden's Introd. to the Annals of *Q. Elizabeth*, p. 5.

Mr. Hume, throughout *Edward Vith's* reign.

I shall ask leave to cite a passage of *Dr. Burnet* from the place above marked, as his authority, in this case, will generally be less objected to, than that of most others. "The untimely death of King *Edward* was looked on, by all people, as a just judgment of God, upon those who pretended to love and promote a reformation, but whose impious and flagitious lives were a reproach to it. The open lewdness, in which many lived, without shame or remorse, gave great occasion to our adver-

SECT. VII. adding one observation of the Catholics of those times †; that when men depart from the authority of the church, they lose all criterion of truth and falshood, in matters of religion, and must necessarily *be carried about by every wind of doctrine.* The minds of the *English* let loose from the obligation of submitting to any mode of religion and established faith, became like the needle, deprived of its magnetic virtue, which points indiscriminately to all parts, and affords no direction to the bewildered mariner.

† *White*
of *Lincoln*,
in his
charge on
Bp. *Ridley*.
Westen,
prolocu-
tor to the
conv. 11th
of *Mary*.
Miles
Hubbard
display of
prote-
stants.

In all these revolutions the frame of the state had not been less convulsed than that of the church. The numerous regency, which *Henry* had appointed during his son's minority, was immediately set aside, and the young Prince's uncle, the Duke of *Somerſet*, invested with the whole power. The pretence made use of, was, that the dignity of government could not be maintained, if it was divided among many. But the discontents which the changes in religion, of which he was known to be the principal abettor; and the insolence and rapacity, with which he exerted an almost sove-

raries to say, they were in the right to assert justification by faith without works, since they were, as to every good, reprobate. Their gross and insatiable scrambling after the goods and wealth that had been dedicated with good designs, though to superstitious uses, without applying part of it to the promoting the gospel, the instructing the youth, and relieving the poor, made all people conclude, that it was for robbery, not for reformation, that their zeal made them so active." The marginal note on this passage is, *A character of the court in Edward's time.* And in the following page, "their irregular and immoral lives gave their enemies great advantages to say, they run away from confession, penance, fasting and prayers, only that they might be under no restraint, but indulge themselves in a licentious and dissolute life. . . . the people grew to look on all the changes that had been made as designs to enrich some vicious courtiers; and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedness upon the nation."

reign sway, caused the people to rise up in arms, at different times and in different places of the kingdom. These commotions first appeared in the county of *Wilts*, *Oxford*, and *Gloucester*; and soon communicated themselves to the neighbourhood of *Hampshire*, *Suffex*, and *Kent*: but the insurrections in *Cornwal*, *Devonshire*, and *Norfolk*, threatened not only the tranquillity of those provinces, but of the whole kingdom. The demands of the insurgents sufficiently shew what the sentiments of the bulk of the people still were with respect to the ancient worship; and they declared, they were ready to return to their former obedience, as soon as the grievances they complained of were redressed.

S E C T.
VII.

1549.

Their first demand was, that they might be allowed to have mass celebrated, as in ancient times, in which they believed that the very body and blood of Jesus Christ was contained.

That parish priests might administer Baptism at any time, in case of necessity.

That children might be confirmed by the Bishop.

That there might be holy bread and holy water, as a memorial of Christ's blessed body and blood.

That the holy Eucharist might be kept in churches.

That priests might live in celibacy.

That the six articles, set forth by the late King, might be observed.—By these, the belief of the real presence: communion under one kind: the obligation of vows of chastity: the utility of private masses: the celibacy of priests: the necessity of auricular confession were established.

They requested, that some abbeyes might be rebuilt, and their lands restored to the former possessors.

They further remonstrated; that the free-born community was oppressed by a small number of gentry, who glutted themselves with pleasure, whilst the poor commons were wasted with labour, and, like pack-horses, lived in extreme slavery.

That holy rites, established by antiquity, were abolished, and new authorized; and a new form of religion obtruded, to the subjecting their souls, who conformed to it, to pains which were not to end with death.

That they thought it necessary to have new counsellors placed about the King, during his minority; and those removed, who ruling as they listed, confounded things sacred and profane; and paid attention to nothing but enriching themselves with the public treasure, that they might riot in the nation's calamities.

That, therefore, they desired CARDINAL POLE'S attainder might be reversed; and he sent for over, and made one of the privy council.

As the Duke had the power of crushing those who complained, no regard was paid to their remonstrances; and they were either dispersed or beat wherever they appeared in the field. Besides large levies raised at home; that he might have a considerable military force, on whose service he could thoroughly rely, he had several regiments of Walloons, and *German* Lutherans, who had been sent for to awe the *English* at that critical juncture; and having nothing in common with the nation, were intirely at his beck, whose pay they received.

The fall of him, who had either been the author, or given occasion to all these disorders, must be placed among those revolutions, which had been caused by them. This haughty usurper of the royal authority had left his nephew just as
much

LIFE OF REGINALD POLE.

23

much of it as was necessary to enable himself to exert it in the full extent. He had taken the title of *Duke of Somerset*, by the divine permission; was acknowledged sole Regent and Protector of the kingdom; and had a stool placed on the throne, which almost equalled him to his sovereign. The manner in which he executed his vengeance on his brother, the Admiral, laid him open to his enemies, and has, more than any one misdeed of so exceptionable a regency, contributed to make his memory odious.

SECT
VII.



Having caused him to be attainted, and the bill being laid before the Upper House, the accounts which some of the Peers gave of the Admiral's conduct, were received as legal evidence: and not one had the integrity to move, that he might be heard in his own defence, and confronted with his accusers. The Commons were more scrupulous; but, on receiving a message from the King, requiring them to proceed, they acquiesced without further difficulty, and the bill passed in a very full house: near four hundred voted for it, and not above four against it. The Protector signed the warrant, and his brother was executed, soon after, on *Tower-Hill*. These were the lessons of justice, in which he instructed his royal pupil. His elevation, at length, made his fall more irretrievable; and that he might exemplify in his own person this scripture truth, that *men are punished in the way they offend*, he fell a victim to the intrigues of one, who, if possible, was more ambitious than himself. But though any further account of this event does not belong to this work, I cannot dismiss it, without observing, that an administration only of a few years, was long enough to make the nation experience that *woe, which is denounced against a land, whose King is a child, and whose nobles are luxurious*.

March
28, 1549.
The Earl
of North-
umberland

SECT.
VII.

In the midst of these confusions with which mad ambition, and still wilder fanaticism, shook his country to the center, an incident happened, which gave CARDINAL POLE an opportunity of shewing a moderation of desires, and greatness of soul, more extraordinary than those domestic examples of the opposite vices, which I have here related. He was now come to that time of life, when eminence of station is wont to be the favourite object; and few, even of the wise and good, stand in need of many arguments to persuade themselves they are qualified for the highest posts; and to be prevailed on, if not to seek them, at least to acquiesce in a choice made in their favour.

Nov. 10, 1549. He was at the head of the Pope's council, and governor of *Viterbo*, when *Paul III.* died, and the sacred college, which was at that time very numerous, met, as is usual, to choose a successor. The place destined for this purpose is called the *Conclave*, from the number of chambers which compose it; the name, which is of *Latin* derivation, signifying an inward or private apartment: and though the Cardinals are at liberty to hold this assembly where they think proper, yet, for many years, the Vatican palace, which joins *St. Peter's* church, has been made use of on these occasions. The majesty and security of the place, the ease with which it is guarded; the conveniency of water; the courts, galleries, and number of stately rooms, with which it abounds, making it more suitable than any other building. The place for the conclave is chosen in some convenient part of this spacious edifice, and divided into different lodgments, which are run up slightly with deal boards, and hung with serge, for the Cardinals and their attendants; and the rooms being small, are called *Cells*. These are fitted up within the nine days after

after the obsequies of the deceased Pope, and are drawn by lot; and the achievements of each Cardinal placed over the door of that which falls to him. On the tenth day after the Pope's death, the sacred college, having assisted at a solemn mass of the *Holy Ghost*, go in procession to the conclave, where they remain shut up till they have chosen a successor. The election is made in the following manner. Each Cardinal writes his name in a fold of paper, which he closes with a seal engraved for that purpose. On a second fold is the name of him to whom he gives his vote, written by the assistant, which every one has with him; but is not sealed: this again is inclosed in a third folding, on the back of which the Cardinal's motto or device is written, in the manner of a superscription to a letter. The Cardinals meet twice a week for the scrutiny, and two of them are deputed to open the outward folds of each billet, and read aloud the names of those for whom the votes are given, and register the number given to each. The third fold, which incloses the elector's name, is not broke open till the election is over, and is then opened, that the Pope may know who voted in his favour. This scrutiny is performed till two thirds of the votes concur in the choice of the same person.

If this method does not succeed, they have recourse to another, in which they make a trial to bring two thirds of the votes to that Cardinal, who had the greatest number in the former scrutinies: and if this second method likewise be unsuccessful, they have recourse to a third, which is called *Acclamation*, and is performed by some of the leading Cardinals making an open declaration for a candidate, whom they are desirous should be chosen, and in whom they think the others will unite.

SECT.
VII.

15 years.

As the Pontificate of *Paul III.* had been long, there had been many vacancies in the sacred college, and it was his peculiar praise, as I have shewn elsewhere, from the satyrist *Aretine*, to fill them with persons of distinguished merit. Cardinal *Alexander Farnese* had, at this time, the greatest interest in that body, in which there were so many who had been honoured with the purple by the late Pope, of whose family that young Prince was; and being desirous to have a person advanced to the papacy, whose probity and abilities might suit the present exigencies of the church, and on whose friendship he could rely, no one seemed so proper as the *English* CARDINAL. The proposal was received with approbation by many, especially of those who were in the Emperor's interest, and who were well acquainted with the place he held in that Prince's esteem. Those, on the contrary, who were of the *French* party, endeavoured to give him the exclusion, from an apprehension of his being too much swayed by the influence of the house of *Austria*. They interposed, therefore, the *French* King's authority, and offered their votes to some other Cardinals whom they knew to aim at the papacy; yet still the number of those, who seconded *Farnese's* motion, was superior.

Hen. II.

But I cannot give the reader so just a notion of this transaction, and of the CARDINAL's behaviour and sentiments of the whole affair, as in his own words, after the election was over, in a letter to the Bishop of *Badajoz*, to whom he seems, both on this, and other occasions, to have opened himself without reserve. "The prospect, says he, of the papacy, was offered me by the leading person in the conclave, whose authority, and the general esteem he was held in, swayed the major part of the electors. He told me, his motive in this determination,

determination, was the opinion he had of me; and that all his interest, favour, and industry, should be employed in my service. It was natural, that on such a proposal, I should feel the first motions of joy, which the sense of honour is apt to betray, and which are so involuntary, that it is not easy to suppress them. And yet, God is my witness, I was no more affected, than if I had been one of those animals, who don't covet honours, because they have no perception of them. I remained therefore silent, and seemed desirous to break off the conference, and to retire; which *Farnese* perceiving, that he might give me a plausible pretext of leaving him, told me, he did not insist on an immediate answer, and only desired I would take time to consult myself*."

The conclave lasted two months, during all which time neither he, nor any who belonged to him, were known to take one step which might advance his promotion; or that he was in the least affected by all that agitation, which the circumstances he was in, gave to others. He preserved the usual ease and cheerfulness of his behaviour, and when any of the Cardinals told him, as many did, that they would make him Pope, his answer was, "that on such occasions no regard should be paid to friendship, or private considerations; but that their care should be to place a person in that high station, who was equal to it, and for

* Hæc autem spes cum mihi proponeretur ab amplissimo nostri ordinis viro, et eo quidem, cujus autoritatem et gratiam maxima suffragiorum pars sequebatur; cumque idem, propter judicium quod se de me fecisse dicebat, omne studium, omnem operam, gratiam et autoritatem cumulatissime deferret—prorsus tacui. Ille vero cum me videret silere, et abituri speciem præ me ferre, ut honestius, credo dimitteret, dixit: Se tunc à me responsum non expectare, rogare tantum, ut spatium ad respondendum sumerem, &c. *Epist. R. Poli*, t. 4. p. 57. *Epist. ad Episc. Pac.*

SECT.
VII.

that end offer up their supplications, and direct their intentions."—So perfectly was he master of himself, that he seemed rather at home, in the retirement of his own library, than on a theatre, where such a prize was in competition, and he the most likely of any of the candidates to succeed. A proof of this is the excellent dialogue he wrote, at this time, *on the duties of the papacy**, of which I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere.

Amongst others who observed so uncommon an equality of mind, and so perfectly free from all ambition, was the *Spanish* Cardinal of *St. James*, who, at one of the scrutinies, when only two votes had been wanting to raise *CARDINAL POLE* to the popedom, and the eyes of all who were present were fixt on him, related, that he had not remarked the least emotion, at so critical a juncture, nor so much as a change in his countenance †. Another of the electors, who bore him an ill will, observed this tranquillity, but not with the philosophic eye of the *Spaniard*: for being obliged to leave the conclave, on account of his health, and being asked, which of the candidates stood fairest for the papacy, and what he thought of the *Englisch* *CARDINAL*? His answer was, that a more undeserving person could not be pitched on: that he had let them all see, he was a mere log, having neither been affected with such a prospect, nor by the intrigues which were used to exclude him

* *Poli vita*, p. 19.

† Fuit præter cæteros *S. Jacobi* Cardinalis, Hispanus, qui *POLI* constantiam magnopere se admirari ostenderet. Nam, cùm quodam die Cardinalium suffragia de pontifice eligendo recenserentur, et scrutinium (sic enim appellant) fieret, ac duo tantum *POLO* ad pontificatûs adeptionem suffragia defuissent, narrabat, se animadvertisse, eâ re *POLUM* nihil prorsus fuisse immutatum, sed eundem semper, quem antè solitus erat, vultum retinuisse. *Poli vita*, fol. 19.

from

from it*.—From which behaviour, it is presumed, every wise and good man will draw a consequence just the reverse to this censure.

S E C T.
VII.

The same steadiness appeared in a trial, on a like occasion, but of a more difficult nature, when one of the Cardinals reproached him with ambition, and being too much in haste to be chosen Pope; to which he made no other reply, than that he was too well acquainted with the duties and importance of that station, not to dread, rather than court it; and that he pitied those, who considered it in a different light †.

Though the greatness of his mind, which was not dazzled at such an elevation placed before him in full view, and the prospect of being raised to it, was admired by all who were witnesses of it: the little regard which he shewed at the sinister reports and slanders which some evil-minded and envious persons raised concerning him, was not less praiseworthy.—They gave out, that he favoured the modern errors; they upbraided him with too great lenity in the government of *Viterbo*, and with having a natural daughter, whom he had placed in a monastery at *Rome*.—His answer was, “that his character was in no danger from such imputations; and as soon as he was judicially accused, and knew who were his parties, he would then take care to state his case in such a manner, as would do no great credit to his adversaries. That, as to the accusation of heresy, all *Europe* was informed of what he had undertaken in defence of the Catholic faith; the dangers he had been exposed to, and his Prince’s hatred which he had incurred on no other account, but because no persuasion and no reward could prevail on him to approve an opinion which was contrary to the received tenets of anti-

* *Poli vita*, fol. 20.

† *Ibid.*

S E C T.
VII.

quity: that his mother's blood, and that of his elder brother, and of several of his relations, which was shed by King *Henry*, because they were steadfast to the same opinions, bore evidence of his attachment to them. As to the third slander, of a natural child, the inventors of it had done all that was necessary for its refutation; for having, in order to strengthen the calumny, caused the mother to be sought, whose daughter the CARDINAL had caused to be educated in a nunnery; it was discovered, to their confusion, that the child was the orphan of an *English* woman, who died at *Rome*; and that he had taken care of her education, that she might not be exposed to evil courses. It was likewise known, that besides the small effects which her mother left her, he had deposited a considerable sum in a bank, established for such purposes, which, at a proper age, might enable her to enter on a suitable marriage. Such acts of charity and humanity were customary to him, and he performed them in so secret a manner, that very few were informed from whom the benefaction came*.—I have had occasion to relate elsewhere, what he said in vindication of his government of *Viterbo*.

Sect. v.

To return to the conclave: It must be acknowledged, that the above-mentioned arts, which were made use of, either to gratify private ambition, or to exclude a choice, in which merit and favour equally concurred, were utterly unworthy persons met on such an occasion. But the behaviour of the electors, who had engaged their votes to the *English* CARDINAL, was no less honourable to themselves and him, than his own conduct. They were, as we have already seen,

* *Vita Poli*, fol. 19. et epist. *R. Poli* ad episc. *Pacensem*, 29^a epist. t. 4^l.

the greater number, and the most illustrious of the sacred college, and "I may well stile them, says he (from the overflowings of a good and grateful mind) a chosen band, since their unanimity continued not days and weeks only, but whole months; during all which time, not one of them spoke either to me, or any of my household, concerning their own private affairs; which could not have happened, had they been influenced in their choice by any other view than that of the public good. This consent in my favour was amongst persons, with whom I had neither parentage, nor country, nor any thing in common, but the fellowship of the same college. I had personal connections with few; and the greater part were those with whom I had a very slender acquaintance, and had no opportunity of deserving well, or being useful to any one; all which considerations are of great weight in such cases. When I saw, therefore, their filial affection and attachment, I could not but call to mind the words of the prophet, though spoke on a very different occasion, *who has procured me, who am a foreigner, and a banished man, such a numerous offspring* * ?

S E C T.
VII.

Farnesius

* Regredi verò non sinebat sacra illa Cohors—sacram autem se fuisse ea re vel maxime probavit, quod cum non dies, sed totos menses maneret hic consensus, nemo tamen ex tanto numero, qui certe maximam Collegii partem complectebatur, tam longo temporis spatio inventus est, qui aut mecum aut cum aliquo meorum de re sua privatâ quicquam ageret; id quod à nemine fieri potuisse mihi persuadebam, nisi ab illis, qui Republicæ et Ecclesiæ sua suffragia, id est, ipse DEO et CHRISTO Ecclesiæ Sponso, animos et vota sua hac in causâ penitus consecrassent. Cum igitur perpetuam eorum constantiam tamdiu expertus viderem, summa erga me studia, tanquam filiorum erga parentem, hoc unum contendentium, ut mihi supremus honor, et Patris erga se locus, deferatur.—Quibuscum nihil fere, præter Collegii societatem, commune habui, non patriam, non genus; quorum etiam plures privatim ex tenui amicitia, paucissimi usu atque

SECT.
VII.

Farnesius finding that the number who had acceded to those, who, from the beginning, declared themselves for CARDINAL POLE, amounted now to two thirds, which are required for the election of a Pope, went to him, accompanied with another of the leading Electors, and informed him of the choice made in his favour, and desired him to receive the homage which is paid on the like occasions *. It was night when this happened: and he answered, “ he could not approve of hasty and tumultuous proceedings, and requested the affair might be put off to the next day: and, if it was God’s good pleasure that he should be elected, the choice they had thought fit to make of him would take place in the morning, no less than at that time:” and, leaving an example of moderation, says his Historian, which he had neither read nor heard of before, he refused to receive the homage †.

A short time after, two others of the principal Members of the sacred College came to him, on the part of their Constituents, with the same commission, and having exposed to him, that they asked nothing but what was usual, he then told

atque consuetudine mihi erant conjuncti: nulla certè extabant mea in quemquam illorum merita et beneficia, quæ in hoc genere plurimum valere solent—quoties, me putas dixisse mecum illa Prophetæ: verba, *quis mihi genuit istos, &c.* Ep. *R. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}; pag. 60. Ep. ad Episcopum *Pac.*

* Tum verò id ipse numquam magis fensi, quàm illâ nocte, cùm ad me duo amplissimi nostri Ordinis viri rogatum venerunt verbis omnium, qui justum jam suffragiorum numerum expleant, ut me in illud Sacellum deduci paterer, quò Cardinales ad Pontificem deligendum convenire solent. Quò si venissem, suum de me judicium electione (quam adorationem vocant) festaturos profitebantur, &c. Epist. *R. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}, p. 58. Epist. ad Episcopum *Pacensem*.

† Atque ita adorari tum noluit. Quod ego antea fecisse quemquam neque audivi, neque verò legi unquam. *Vita Poli*, fol. 20. à tergo.

them,

them, he would do as they would have him. But they were no sooner gone, than he repented of the assent he had given, and sent one of his domestics to intreat those Cardinals, whose authority was the greatest, that the whole affair, if possible; might be put off till the next morning: and the person, when he returned; informed his Lord; that he had found them; of their own accord; come to that resolution*.

On the following day, other views and dispositions took place; the Cardinals who were in the Emperor's interest, closed with those who favoured the *French*; and proposed Cardinal *Morono*. He was but two and forty years old, yet had so high a reputation of integrity and prudence, that, in the ensuing scrutiny, he failed of being raised to the Papacy, only by two votes. His respect, however, for the *English* CARDINAL was such, that he would not have a second scrutiny for himself; but earnestly desired the Electors to return to their former resolution. The *French* party had now gained the ascendant; and CARDINAL POLE requested, they would honour some other person with their choice, and not permit the common cause to suffer by any further delays. On this; the Cardinals *Farnese* and *de Guise*, who had the lead in the Conclave, united their interest; and agreed to choose Cardinal *Monti*; who; afterwards, took the name of *Julius III*: *Farnese* communicated his intention to CARDINAL POLE, and asked his concurrence; which, though the Candidate proposed had not favoured his election, he gave with a satisfaction

* Cum verò paulò post duo alii ejusdem Ordinis insignes viri, et eadem autoritate praditi, cum iisdem mandatis ad me venissent, qui nihil à me præter consuetudinem, nihil nisi legitimum et justum postulari demonstrarent; tum quidem me in Eorum potestate futurum dixi, &c. Ep. R. Poli; pars 4^{ta}; p. 58.

that sufficiently attested his sincerity. The night was now far advanced, when the Cardinals met in the Chapel, to pay their obedience to the new Pope: and CARDINAL POLE, presenting himself with the rest, as the custom is, to kiss his feet, the Pope rose up, and embracing him, with tears told him, it was to his disinterestedness that he owed the Papacy: which he frequently repeated. And being, afterwards, at war with *France*, on account of the Duchy of *Mirandola*, and reduced to great straits, he told Cardinal *Ranutius*, brother to *Alexander Farnese*, that he was not conscious of any misdeed which could have drawn on him so heavy a chastisement, unless it was not having concurred to CARDINAL POLE's election, of whose eminent merit he was so well assured*.

The Conclave was now broken up, and the CARDINAL, who did not consider the conclusion of it as any disappointment to himself, returned home with his usual tranquillity. He said to his Friends, that he should, perhaps, have been an unfit instrument for the designs of Providence: that he rejoiced there was an end put to a strife, which was both dangerous and dishonourable; and a Chief Pastor given to the Christian world, in the choice of whom, any longer delay might have been attended with pernicious consequences: and when some of the Cardinals, who, from selfish views, had opposed his election, signified their disapprobation of the choice they had made, and repentance for their conduct in his regard, he was the first to comfort them. In fine, his whole behaviour, with respect to the election, gave a greatness to his private character, which no elevation could have equalled †.

I have related, that whilst he was in the Conclave, he wrote a work *on the Duties of the Papacy*;

* *Vita Poli*, fol. 21.

† *Ibid.*

and we learn from his letter to the person, to whom it is inscribed, that the following incident gave occasion to it. Among the Cardinals then assembled, *Julius Ruvere* was distinguished by his youth, and a sprightly and promising genius; and there being a particular intimacy between his Uncle, *Hercules Gonzaga*, and the *English* CARDINAL, he was desirous to be useful to this young Nobleman, by directing his choice of a future Pontiff, and laying before him the obligations which that dignity imposed on those who were advanced to it. From a conversation held with him, in the first days of the Conclave, he perceived his sentiments on that subject were very just, and much above his age. This gave him the thought of throwing together on paper, in form of a Dialogue, what they had lately discoursed on, and introducing himself and the young man as Speakers. The letter by which he addresses the performance to him is very fine*; and he, afterwards, enlarged the Work to a treatise in five Books.

It was nine years since he had been appointed 1541
Governor of *the Province of the Patrimony*, and he continued in it three more, after the election of 1553
Julius III. The consideration he was held in by this Pontiff, obliged him to make frequent journeys from *Viterbo*, where he resided, to *Rome*, as he had done under the late Pope. Being now in the fifty-third year of his age, he was desirous to pass the evening of his life in a privacy, to which his inclinations had ever led him; and which he had hitherto foregone from a principle of duty, and in a view of being useful to mankind. He had, moreover, an additional inducement to retire from business, in the loss of those who were accustomed to share the weight of it with him. The Cardi-

* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 47.

SECT.
VII.

nals *Contareni*, *Bembo*, *Sadolet*, *Cortefius*, and *Badia*, and *Giberti*, Bishop of *Verona*, were dead: and two of his most valuable and endearing connections were ended by the death of *Flaminius*, and *Victoria Colonna*, Marchionefs of *Pescara*. *Rome*, likewise, where every thing had the face of war, on account of the disagreement between *Julius* and *Henry II.* of *France*, was become a scene little suited to his temper. He obtained, therefore, the Pope's consent to resign his government, and retire to *Maguzano*, a monastery of Benedictine Monks, of which Order he was the Patron. This retreat is in the territory of *Verona*, and very agreeably situated near the Lake *Benacus*, which has been celebrated by *Virgil*, in the following lines:

*Adde lacus tantos; te, Lari maxime, teque
Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino.*

GEORG. II.

Our spacious Lakes; thee, *Larius*, first; and next
Benacus, with tempestuous billows vext.

DRYDEN.

SECT.

S E C T. VIII.

CARDINAL POLE, on Edward VIth's Death, is appointed Legate to Queen Mary. The Purpose of this Commission. Various Obstacles and Delays obstruct his Journey to England; which, at length, takes place.

CARDINAL POLE had not been a year in his retirement at *Maguza*, when he was again called forth to action, and engaged in that lucid path, which did not end till it brought him to the meridian of the career, which Providence appointed him to accomplish*. Edward VI. died on the sixth of July, 1553, which was observed to be the same day of the same month on which his father had put Sir *Thomas More* to death. As soon as the news of this event reached *Rome*, one of the Secretaries, by the Pope's orders, wrote to the CARDINAL the following Letter. "Having heard, a few days ago, of the death of the King of *England*, his Holiness has thought proper to use all convenient diligence to bring back that People to the ancient worship, from which they are lately fallen: and, in order to effect this, he is minded to make use of your Lordship's counsel; which was likewise the sentiment of the whole Congregation of Cardinals. Whilst the Patent was yesterday making out, a courier arrived from *France*, with the news

S E C T.
VII.
1553.

* *Iustorum semita quasi lux splendens procedit et crescit usque ad perfectum diem. Prov. iv. 18. Edit. Vulg.*

SECT.
VIII.

of a revolution of affairs in that Kingdom, where the Princess *Mary* has been proclaimed Queen, with the universal consent of the nation. The information gave his Holiness the greatest joy, and, having called the Sacred College, he let them know, that no method occurred to him more suited to the present exigency, or which had greater appearance of success, than to appoint your Lordship Legate to the Queen, to the Emperor, to the King of *France*, and, in fine, to all places, thro' which you should take your journey. The proposal was universally approved, and each one testified his satisfaction at the event which gave occasion to it. We are now employed in getting ready the Letters Patent, which will be in the most ample form, and your Lordship will judge whether any thing further should be added. Your Lordship's Credentials, also, for each of the above mentioned Powers, are preparing, and will be sent, by an express, to *Germany*, as we make no doubt of your taking that road, in order to confer with his Imperial Majesty, before you proceed on your journey. His Holiness, therefore, intreats you to take on yourself this commission, for the service of Almighty God, the welfare of your Country, his own satisfaction, and that of the Sacred College and the whole Court of *Rome*. It was, likewise, proposed in the Council, if it would not be adviseable to appoint the Bishop of *Worcester* Nuncio, that, in case your Lordship thought fit to send him before you, and employ him any other ways, he may do it with greater dignity*;

His

* This Prelate was *Richard Pates*, who was sent to the Emperor's Court in 1540; but refusing to return to *England*, on a dislike of *Henry's* proceedings, he was deprived of his Bishopric in 1547; and, soon after, attainted of High Treason. He continued in banishment all *Edward's* reign; during which he

His Patents, therefore, shall be made out at the same time, and may be used or laid aside, as your Lordship sees fitting. You can stand in need, my Lord, of no directions or advice from us, as no one is so well informed of the measures it will be convenient to take, as yourself: the whole affair, therefore, is intrusted to your discretion, knowledge, charity and zeal; and you have every one's good wishes, that the undertaking may be crowned with success*." S E C T.
VIII.

Rome, 6th
Aug. 1553

The Credentials here mentioned are to the following purport: The Pontiff informs him, "that the slender prospect he had of concluding a peace between the Emperor and the most Christian King, had caused him to recall his Legates from those Courts: but, that he might not seem to give up all hopes of so desirable an event, he had charged him with the same negotiation; as, in his way to *England*, he would have an interview with one, or both of these Monarchs. My motive for so doing, says the Pope, is not grounded on any dispositions on their part to give ear to a salutary remonstrance on this head; but, because much depends on circumstances of time and place, and no one is better qualified than yourself to take the advantage of such opportunities. Your prudence and sagacity, and that art of persuasion which recommends all you say, may prevail, though the means hitherto tried have been ineffectual. I shall, therefore, prescribe nothing to you, in particular, but leave the whole

sat in the Council of *Trent*: and on *Queen Mary's* accession, was recalled home, and restored to his See, in 1554. In the 11th of *Eliz.* for refusing to take the oath of Supremacy, he was, a second time, deprived of his Bishopric; and, going abroad, assisted at the close of the Council of *Trent*; and was alive in 1563. *Godw. de Præf. Angl. Fœx*, at the year 1559. *Laur. Hump.* in *Vitâ Juelli*, pag. 179. *Ath. Oxon.* 694.

* *R. Poli Epist.* pars 4^{ta}, pag. 109.

SECT.
VIII.

22^d Sept.
1553.

affair to be managed as you judge most conducive to the dignity of the holy See, and the emolument of the Christian Commonwealth. You are already informed of my intentions, and of the sincere desire I have to see peace and tranquillity restored; and this long sought remedy applied to the distempered state of public affairs. Whatever measures, therefore, you think fit to pursue, I shall look on them as worthy your abilities, and deserving my approbation *."

As the management of the whole business was left to the CARDINAL, he was of opinion, he ought to be informed of the Queen's disposition, and the state of the Nation, before he set out on so hazardous an undertaking: he wrote, therefore, the following letter to her.

He begins, " by setting forth the great and unexpected turn in the Queen's fortune, which could be ascribed to nothing but a declaration of Heaven in her favour. A powerful faction had set up a rival; those at the head of it had leisure and opportunity to strengthen themselves; she herself had, for several years, been reduced almost to the condition of a private person. All these were incidents which seemed to forebode her overthrow. Yet, when the affair came to be decided, a few of her faithful subjects, who had dared to declare in her right, had overbalanced all these unfavourable circumstances; and, in an instant, brought the threats, the designs, the insolence, the attempts of her enemies; to nothing. This, says he, can be attributed only to Him who disposes of Kingdoms to whom he thinks proper, and changes the heart of man according to his good pleasure; whose counsels are not to be controlled by human strength or prudence. He observes,

* *Epist. R. Poli* pars 4^{ta}, pag. 431.

that this Event was too memorable a proof of a divine Providence, not to awaken in the *English* a belief of it; which, though it was the base of all Religion; yet, on account of the long sway which the wicked had exercised, was so little regarded, especially by those who were reputed more wise and prudent than the rest, that it seemed almost entirely forgotten. Wherefore, if any woman might presume to praise Almighty God in the words of the blessed mother of his Son, it was herself. She might truly say, *He had regarded the lowliness of his Handmaid—His arm had done mighty things—He had put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted the lowly.* Luke, chap. i.

“ He then goes on by telling her, that a deep sense of religion, and zeal for her Majesty’s person, obliged him to desire her to call to mind, at the beginning of her reign, by what steps such a confusion of human and divine right, as was but too visible in all private and public concerns, had been introduced: that she would perceive the first cause of it to have been the ill fated and unlawful divorce of the King her Father from the best of women, her Mother; which crime had been followed by his separation from the common parent of all Christians, the Catholic Church: that, from this poisonous root all those misfortunes had sprung, which had corrupted the body of the People, and left few remains either of integrity or religion; both which had been banished when the obedience due to the authority established by JESUS CHRIST was laid aside; nor would be restored, but with it. She might credit him, he says, who had suffered so much both in that, and her Majesty’s cause; and who had left nothing untried to serve her; that, if his endeavours had hitherto proved unsuccessful, the very disappointment now afforded him a singular satisfaction, as he visibly

SECT.
VIII.

saw the hand of Providence declare itself in her favour. He observes, that God had not permitted her to be assisted by any earthly Potentate, but had deferred her deliverance to that time, in which he had decreed to raise her by his own almighty arm; and, in the mean while, had dealt with her as he is used to do with his chosen servants, whom he leads to the prosperity for which he designs them, by adverse fortune, and the trials of patient hope. He says, the eyes of all good men were intent on this great event; and himself, in particular, having had more frequent opportunity of being acquainted with those excellent endowments, which had distinguished her from her infancy; that this knowledge made him more desirous to be informed of her present dispositions with respect to religion, and those means which were necessary to restore it: and, therefore, though he was appointed Legate of the Holy See to her Majesty, the Emperor, and the King of *France*; yet the Commission was of so delicate and important a nature, that he would not enter on it, till he knew her intentions, which he desires may be communicated to him by the person who was to deliver his letter. He adds, that this caution did not proceed from any distrust in her goodness, whom he had ever known most grateful to God for his mercies, and most observant of his laws, at the head of which was the acknowledgment of the Church's authority. This authority, he observes, ought to have a personal weight with her, whose Father had disowned it on no other account, but because it had been exerted in her cause, and against his lawless desires. But as such a licentiousness had prevailed since this rupture, as must make a return to the ancient observance very difficult, he would have her Majesty's advice as to the manner and time in which he might appear in the character

ter of Legate, so as to answer, with greater advantage, the purposes for which he had been invested with it. He ends, with beseeching Almighty God, that her orders on this head may be suited to the expectation which all well-disposed persons entertained of her: and doubts not to make it appear, if she is pleased to grant him a favourable audience, that the foundation and security of every good, which could be derived on her people, was to be built on the foundations which her subjects had forsaken *."

He sent this Letter, which was written in *Latin*, by a special Messenger, who had orders to call on Cardinal *Dandolo*, the Papal Ambassador at the Emperor's Court, which was then kept at *Brussels*; and who, being in the neighbourhood of *England*, might send him more certain intelligence than he could have at so great a distance. *Dandolo* on this dispatched his Secretary into *England*, who having had frequent conferences with the Queen, and informed himself of the present temper of the People, went back towards the end of *August*, and, by an almost incredible expedition, performed the journey from *Brussels* to *Rome* within nine days. He called on CARDINAL POLE, who was still in the Monastery near *Benacus*; and the messenger he had sent to the Queen, delivered him her Majesty's answer to his letter, which was to the following purpose.

" She begins by thanking him for the part he took in her being placed on the throne of her ancestors; and the singular providence of Almighty God in defeating the opposition which had been made to the justice of her title: and that she was no less obliged to him for the good will he signi-

è *Cænobia*
Megazeni
Bonaci,
Ibid. Scx.
1553.

* *Odoricus Raynaldus*, tom. xxi. *Annal. Eccles. Epist. R. Fol.* pars 4^{ta}, p. 116. et 428.

SECT.
VIII.

fied for her Kingdom, which was, likewise, his own Country, and for the wholsom advice he had added to the above-mentioned articles. Tho' she had not been united to him by the ties of consanguinity, yet such an unfeigned declaration of friendship would have the best claim to all the return she could make. That she would endeavour to profit from his instructions, as much as her circumstances would allow, having ever been in those dispositions in which he wished her to persevere. As to what regarded the submission and respect due to the Catholic Church, the bearer would fully inform him of her mind, and the anxiety she laboured under not to be able to declare herself without any reserve on this head; but as soon as such a measure was adviseable, she would inform him, her very good kinsman, of it. The same messenger was to give him an account of her Coronation, and of several other transactions, at which she would have him be present: and of the hopes she entertained that the present meeting of the Parliament would repeal those Statutes which had occasioned the late evils. She had a confidence, also, of obtaining pardon from the Pope of whatever had been blameable in her own behaviour; and had a grateful remembrance of the many instances of good will she had received from him; and intreated the LEGATE to be the Mediator of a perfect reconciliation. She concludes, by acknowledging the pledges of a brother's love he had so often given her; and by recommending herself again to the Pontiff and himself*."

Westminster, 6th

Oct. 1553.

The chief Articles which the Messenger was to communicate to the LEGATE, and which were to be secret to all but the Pope and himself, were, that the Queen, with the consent of her Parlia-

* *R. Poli Epist. pars 4^{ta}, p. 429.*

ment,

ment, would abolish the Laws which her Father and Brother had passed against the ancient Worship; and send an Embassy of reverence and obedience to the holy See. In the mean time, she requested the Pope to pardon the *English*, in a public manner, that none might suffer for having come into the measures of the late Kings, and left the Communion of the See of *Rome*: that REGINALD POLE might be sent Legate into *England*, with full power to transact all this; and reinstate the former faith and discipline. Besides these orders from the Queen, the Secretary had informed the CARDINAL, from *Dandalo*, that it was advisable to defer, for some time, his journey to *England*.

The same messenger being arrived at *Rome*, delivered to the Pope a Letter from the Queen, in which she professed on her own part, and that of the Nation, the obedience and respect which all Princes, in communion with the Bishop of *Rome*, have ever acknowledged to be due to his See, without any diminution of their own prerogative, or prejudice to the rights of their People*. The young Gentleman, *John Commendon*, who brought this news, was afterwards raised to the Purple, and esteemed one of the most able Negotiators of his age; and having passed through all those honours, by which the Courts, which employed him, could testify their sense of his merit, he at length survived his understanding, and died in obscurity. His reputation, however, has been transmitted to the latest posterity by *Gratiani*, Bishop of *Amelia*, who had been his Secretary, and has rendered his Patron that tribute of gratitude, which *Becatelli* paid to the memory of CARDINAL POLE, by writing his life in a greater detail, and with equal sense and elegance.

* *Gratiani in Vita Commendon*, pag. 33, et seq.

S E C T.
VIII.20th Sept.
1553.

This intelligence caused the Pope to write to the CARDINAL, “that though much caution was requisite in the present affair, yet he would have him set out on his journey; but perform it in such a manner, as neither to prejudice the Queen’s safety, nor the common cause. That this was his opinion, and that of the sacred College; yet it was left to his own piety and prudence, to his knowledge and experience; and to the advices, which he would receive with greater certainty and expedition than they could, to resolve on what was best, and take his measures accordingly*.”

Soon after this Letter the Legate set out with a design of taking the road of *Germany*, and conferring with the Emperor at *Brussels*, before he proceeded any further. In the mean time every thing in *England* seemed to favour the Religious Revolution, which was soon after effected.

The *French* Ambassador at the Court of *England*, the Lord of *Noailles*, had already been informed of all the steps which were taken at *Rome*; and had acquainted his King, “that CARDINAL POLE was appointed Legate of the holy See to the Queen and the *English* Nation; that his Patents were already made out, and sent to *Verona* by the Bishop of *Burgos*, who formerly had been *Catharine* of *Aragon*’s ghostly Father: that he was to take his road through *Germany*, and come directly to the Emperor at *Brussels*; where, as he understood, he was to stay some days, and consider on what would be the most likely means to make his presence most agreeable to the People of *England*. I thought proper, says the Ambassador, to give your Majesty this information, because I did not know but you would give orders to your Residents in *Germany* and *Switzerland* to receive the LEGATE, in

* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4^{ta}, pag. III.

his passage, with distinction, as he comes on so good and laudable a commission, before he reaches the Emperor: for your Majesty may be well assured, that if once he comes hither, he will have the first place in the Queen's confidence, to the no small displeasure of the Chancellor, and of several of the Nobility, who, on account of their religious principles, will see with regret a Churchman at the head of the Ministry *." He wrote to the King, ^{4th Sept.} some time after, that the CARDINAL's presence was ¹⁵⁵³⁻ very necessary for the Queen's affairs, and the mutual advantage which both nations might derive from it. I assure your Majesty, says this Nobleman, that besides the real need there is of his advice, he is, likewise, more universally wished for than I could have imagined, both by Protestants and Catholics †."

24th Nov.

But before I enter on Queen *Mary's* reign, which was the last and great theatre on which he appeared, who is the subject of this History, it may not be improper to give some account of the character under which this Princess had hitherto been considered, and which may contribute to make what is hereafter to be said of her more satisfactory. The education she received from her Mother formed her to that steadiness and zeal for the Religion of her Ancestors, which seems to have been the ruling principle of her whole conduct. This reverence, which we owe to the veracity and sanctity of the Supreme Being, either when he reveals his truths to our belief, or prescribes his laws to our practice, caused her to make that memorable reply, when *Charles V.* cautioned her to proceed slowly, and not declare herself whilst the issue of affairs was yet uncertain; "That her trust in

* *Ambassades de Noailles*, tom. 2. pag. 135.
pag. 271.

† *Ibid.*

God alone had first supported her in the greatest straits of adverse fortune, and then raised her to a Crown: wherefore she was resolved to use no delay in testifying her gratitude to Him, to whom she owed her safety and dignity; but to do it immediately, and in the most conspicuous manner*." It being, in that age; fashionable to give young Ladies of high birth a tincture of literature, *Lewis Vives*, the *Quintilian* of those times, instructed her in the *Latin* language, under whom she made so considerable a progress, as to write tolerably well in that tongue. The inaccuracies of a Letter of hers to *CARDINAL POLE*, which is preserved in the *Bodleian* Library, are a strong presumption, besides the subject, that the whole, as it now stands, is the composition of the Princess †. Her Father, on divorcing the Queen, had obliged her to subscribe to her own illegitimacy; but being afterwards reconciled to her, and the Parliament having settled the order of succession as he thought fit, she was substituted to her Brother *Edward*, and her title to the Crown became as legal and parliamentary, as it had always been just and natural. He, moreover, allotted her 10,000 *l.* as a dower, and settled on her 3000 *l.* a year: a large maintenance in those days, and equal to five times as much in ours. She suffered much during her Brother's reign, from the importunities made use

* — Ut momenti *Carolo Casari* consilium ne appropinquaret, neve tam immaturis rebus sese indicaret, responsum sane memorabile reddiderit: Se, dum deserta destitutaque in sua calamitate jaceret, non alterius spe atque ope, quam Dei sustentatam; ad regnum inde provectam fuisse: Itaque statutum sibi, cui salutem et dignitatem deberet, ei non cunctanter aut obscure, sed statim ac propalam gratiam profiteri. *Gratiani* in *vita Commendoni*, pag. 36.

† It is passed on the blank leaves of King *James* the first's Works, published by Bishop *Montagu*, and presented to the University by that Monarch.

of to compel her to renounce the Catholic Religion, and the indignities offered to her chaplains, to all who belonged to her, and to her own person: and the answers she returned to the young King's letters, her expostulations with him and the Lords of the Council, by whose orders she was disquieted, are made with a dignity becoming the uprightness and integrity of her own proceedings; the near relation she bore to the Crown; and her knowledge of their evil purposes, to whom the King, her brother, was intirely given up; and shew a resolution which was not to be shaken, and which she exerted, to the full, on *Edward's* death, and in the following manner*.

Dudley, who was created Duke of *Northumberland*, had caused the late King, when he was leaving the world, and his mind reduced as low as his body, to exclude the Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* from the succession, and substitute in their place the Lady *Jane Gray*, whom he had married to *Robert Lord Guildford Dudley*, his fourth Son. She was the Daughter of *Frances*, Duchess of *Suffolk*, and descended by *Charles Brandon* from *Mary Dowager Queen of France*, and sister to *Henry VIII.* After *Edward's* sisters, therefore, the Duchess stood next in relation to the Crown, as the *Scottish* line, by *Henry's* disposition, was supposed to be set aside: But the mother had relinquished all claim to royalty, that she might see it settled on her offspring; and *Northumberland*, in order to strengthen his interest with the Nobility, had, at the same time, intermarried his sons and daughters into the principal families.—The whole Privy Council (Lord Chief Justice *Hales* excepted)

* *John Fox*, vol. 2. page 1337, &c. where the original documents concerning the Princess *Mary* are put down at length.

and *Cramer* the Primate at the head, had subscribed to these unwarrantable measures. The Lady *Jane* alone, who had every claim to royalty, which beauty, knowledge, and moderation can confer, and who was the most interested in this new settlement, was the only person who opposed it, and did all that depended on her, to refuse a Crown, which she was obliged to lay down within a few days after she had, with so much reluctance, accepted of it. Her father-in-law, on *Edward's* death, had caused her to be proclaimed Queen, and it having been formerly a custom for our Sovereigns to spend the first days of their accession in the Tower, he conveyed her thither; and the Privy Council being obliged to attend, were, by that means, his prisoners. The universal hatred which his violence and ambition had raised, made the proclamation of the new Queen be heard with fullness and dissatisfaction; and when *Ridley*, Bishop of *London*, employed his rhetoric against the Princess *Mary*, at *St. Paul's* Cross, he had been heard with as little favour, as the Heralds who proclaimed her rival.

The Princess had not been wanting to herself in these straits, who, by the intelligence she received from the Earl of *Arundel*, had narrowly escaped the snare laid by *Northumberland* to get her and her Sister in his power, by concealing the King's death, and counterfeiting his orders to them both, to repair to him, as he stood in need of their comfort and advice. Being apprized of this conspiracy, when she was within half a day's journey of *Greenwich*, where *Edward* died, she retired first into *Norfolk*, and then to *Suffolk*, and summoned the Nobility and Gentry to support her claim, and offered a general pardon to all who had been wanting to the allegiance due to her. Besides these circular Letters, she notified to the Lords of
the

the Council, “ the settlement of the Crown, by Act of Parliament and her Father’s will; which disposition, she says, was corroborated by other circumstances, of which they, the Realm, and all *Europe* were informed: that the public Records made it appear with such evidence, that no true and faithful subject could be ignorant of it; and that she had caused it to be published and proclaimed accordingly. She lets them know, that though she was, by no means, ignorant of their designs and contrivances against her lawful claim, she was, however, willing to put the most favourable construction on their meetings and proceedings; and to avoid coming to force and bloodshed: and required them to cause her title to be proclaimed in *London* and elsewhere, as was customary.” The Lords, on receiving these orders, returned an answer suited to the measure they had already taken; and let the Princess know, “ the whole right to the crown of *England* to be invested in the Lady *Jane*, by the good order of the ancient Laws of the Realm, and by the disposition of the late King: and they require the Princess to reduce herself to a private condition, in which case they offer her their good offices: otherwise, say they, she will be grievous to them, to herself, and the whole state;” and they are not afraid to allege, as the motive of their proceedings, “ the heinous and unspeakable enormities they should incur, were they not to behave in this manner *.”

*Kenning-
Hall, July
9th, 1553.*

This declaration neither intimidated the Princess, nor checked the zeal of the abettors of her cause. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suffex*, the heirs apparent of the Lords *Wharton* and *Mordaunt*, Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Henry Beddingfield*, and Sir

* *Fox*, Acts and Monuments.

Henry Fernegan, appeared the first in support of it; and, having great influence in their respective Counties, brought in their retainers and dependents. Sir *Edward Hastings*, brother to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, and nephew to CARDINAL POLE, though he had a commission from the Council to raise levies for the Lady *Jane*, joined the Princess *Mary*, at the head of 4000 men; and the fleet, which lay off the coast of *Suffolk*, declared for her. This opposition made the Duke of *Northumberland* think it necessary to take the field, and assert by arms a claim which was alike destitute of justice and popularity. His troops did not exceed 6000 men; and when he came to *St. Edmondsbury*, he found himself too weak to risk a battle with the Princess's army, which was twice that number. He wrote, therefore, to the Council to send him a reinforcement; but the Lords were so far from obeying the orders, that they made use of this commission to free themselves from their confinement; and being now out of his reach, and his power on the decline, they only assembled to deliberate in what manner to rid themselves of his tyranny. The Earl of *Arundel* opened the conference, by laying before them the violence, ambition, and cruelty of the Duke, and the guilt wherein he had involved the Council, which, he said, could not be expiated but by acknowledging and aiding their rightful Sovereign. The motion was seconded by the Earl of *Pembroke*; and the Mayor and Aldermen being sent for, they received the orders to proclaim the Princess with great alacrity; and the same sentiments became universal. Even the Duke of *Suffolk*, Father to the unhappy victim of *Northumberland's* ambition, finding resistance to no purpose, opened the Tower gates; from whence his Daughter returned to a private state, with more satisfaction than she had assumed

assumed royalty. The Princess *Elizabeth* met her Sister at the head of 1000 horse she had raised to maintain their joint title; and the people thronged to meet the Princess as she drew near to *London*, and every where gave demonstrations of joy for her success. Orders being given to take the Duke of *Northumberland* into custody, he fell on his knees to the Earl of *Arundel*, who arrested him, and his whole behaviour was as abject as, till then, it had been haughty and contemptuous. His guilt was of too deep a die to be effaced by any submissions; and his character made it unsafe for any government to pardon such an offender.

Being come to the place of execution, he made a very remarkable declaration of the sentiments in which he left the world; which has been transmitted to us, at length, in his own words, and is to the following purpose. “ He begins by acknowledging his guilt against Almighty God, his Sovereign, and the whole Realm; and that he had been in open rebellion against the Queen, for which, though of her own authority she might have sentenced him to death, yet she had been pleased to have him tried and condemned by law. That he trusted this had happened for the salvation of his soul, and to awaken in him a deeper sense of his offences. That, being allowed an entire freedom of speech, he called God, and all who were present, to witness he suffered for a cause, in which he had been engaged by other persons, whom he asked God to pardon. He took this opportunity of declaring to them, that, some time before the death of King *Henry*, and ever since, he had been led astray by the reforming Preachers, which had been the principal cause of his misfortunes. He therefore cautioned them to beware of these profligate and seditious persons, who had opened the book of error, but knew not how

Aug. 22^o,
1553.

S E C T.
VIII.

to shut it. That ever since these new doctrines had been set on foot, God had given them up to themselves, and inflicted on them the severest of his punishments, war, sedition, riots, rebellion, plague, and famine. He, therefore, exhorts them to obedience to the Queen; and to return to the true Catholic faith, from which they had, for so long a time, fallen. They had examples of the like errors and the like ruin in *Germany*, which were well known to every one. That, to go no further, the Creed taught us to believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints; and this was his very faith, as the Lord Bishop of *Worcester* could certify; and all he had said was not from any command he had received to speak in this manner, but his own free choice*.”

Dr. Heatb.

Two other persons were put to death with him, and eight more tried and condemned of high treason; whose attainder the Parliament, which was called soon after, approved and confirmed by their authority †.” Amongst these were Lady *Jane*, and Lord *Guildford Dudley*; whose execution was put off, and, probably, never would have ensued, had not a subsequent rebellion made it seem necessary to the Queen’s safety and the tranquillity of the State. This was all the blood that was spilt in punishment of a rebellion of the deepest guilt, and in which so many of the Nobility and others were engaged. A general pardon, with few exceptions, followed these acts of justice: the Queen remitted the subsidy which had been granted to her Brother; and no Sovereign seems to have ascended the throne of their ancestors with more universal satisfaction of all orders of the Na-

* *Titus*, b. 2. *Collier’s Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 2. b. 5.

† Anno I. *Mariæ*, Sess. 2. c. 16.

tion. One of the first Acts of the prerogative was to erect anew the Bishopric of *Durham*, which had been dissolved in the late reign, and annex to it the ancient Regalities. She reinstated *Tonstal* in this See; and having appointed Commissioners to revise the causes of *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Day*, *Heath*, and *Vesey*, who were deprived in the last reigns for refusing to assent to changes then introduced, she restored them to the Bishoprics of *Winchester*, *London*, *Chichester*, *Worcester*, and *Exeter*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been a prisoner all *Edward's* time; and *Courtney*, son to the Marquis of *Exeter*, were set at liberty. During these transactions the Queen had been crowned; and the circumstances which attended this ceremony were a presage of the change which immediately ensued. She was met at the Abbey Church, to which she came with great magnificence, by three silver Crosses, and eighty singing men in rich Copes; so sudden a recruit had been made of these sacred Vestments. The new Dean, and several of her own Chaplains walked in this procession, which was closed by ten Bishops, who remained of the Catholic Communion, in their costly Mitres and Copes, and silver Crosier-Staves. A few days after the Coronation, a Parliament was summoned; at the opening of which the title of Supreme head on earth of the Church of *England* was given to the Queen. A high Mass of the Holy Ghost was performed on this occasion, at which both Houses assisted; and, as an indication of the Queen's gracious purposes towards her people, the Session began by limiting all treasons to the statute of the 25th of *Edward III.* and reducing felonies to such offences only as were deemed so before *Henry the VIIth's* reign*. The extensions of misdemean-

* Anno I. *Mariæ*, Sess. 1. c. 1.

S E C T.
VIII.24th Oct.

ours, to which this guilt was annexed, having given scope to the cruelty and avarice of that Prince, nothing could be more popular, or speak a mind more desirous to favour the subject, than to restrain them within their ancient channels. The Houses likewise declare, at the opening of the second Session, the validity of the marriage between King *Henry* and *Catharine* of *Aragon*, and repeal whatever had been enacted on a contrary supposition; they express their highest disapprobation of *Cranmer's* behaviour in that proceeding, of which, indeed, they give many shameful instances *. In the next place, all statutes made in the last reign, against the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, are repealed; and the divine worship, in all its branches, of which the statute enters on a large detail, is called back to the form it had at the death of *Henry VIII.* †

The prospect of every thing which concerned the re-establishment of the ancient worship was too promising not to be communicated to the CARDINAL, who had it no less at heart than the Queen. Accordingly she dispatched to him *Thomas Goldwell*, who was afterwards Bishop of *St. Asaph*, with an account of these particulars; but which did not disguise the doubts and perplexities she laboured under, and tempered the joy which so unexpected a turn in affairs would otherwise have produced. I have not seen this Letter; but the contents of it may be collected from a second, and a third, which she sent soon after; and by the answers which the CARDINAL returned to them all. She begins the second by referring him to what she had written by *Goldwell*. “ My Lord, says she, you understand, by my last Letter, in what situation my concerns were, when I wrote to

* Anno I. *Mariae*, Sess. 2. c. 1.† Ibid. Sess. 2. c. 2.
you,

you, and for what reasons I desired you to delay, for a while, your journey to *London*. The purpose of your embassy is so suspected by my subjects, and so odious to them, that an immediate arrival in these parts, though I wish it extremely, would be rather prejudicial, than any ways avail me. The proceedings of the Parliament put this beyond a doubt: and so strangely are the minds of the people prepossessed against the *Roman Pontiff*, that they find less difficulty in admitting all the other tenets of the Catholic Religion, than in the single article which regards the subordination due to him. The upper House was of opinion, that all the statutes which had passed since my Father's divorce from the Queen, and a little before that time, should be repealed; as, by this means, every thing would be cancelled which had been voted either against religion, or the validity of my Mother's marriage. But when the question came to be debated by the Commons, they presently suspected it to be proposed in favour of the Bishop of *Rome*, that the title of Supreme head of the Church, which is annexed to the crown of *Great Britain*, might be given up, the Papal power revived, and a facility procured of receiving you in quality of Legate. Were these apprehensions to cease, I understand there would be no difficulty either in repealing the statutes made against the ancient worship, or in ratifying my Mother's marriage. My fears are, that they will obstinately insist on my continuing to assume the Headship of the Church; and, if they do, I am not at a loss in what manner to reply. I will remind them of my constant attachment to the faith I profess, in which I have been educated, and will persevere to the last—that I can consent to nothing which my conscience condemns—that the title in debate does not agree with Kings; as the Royal state, in spiritual concerns,

is

SECT.
VIII.



is subordinate to the Sacerdotal: and the jurisdiction of the body politic being of a different order from that of the priesthood, their power, dignity, and functions were distinct—that there was a peculiar difficulty arising from my very sex, to which nothing could be less suited than such a title, and the extent of power annexed to it. If I can obtain nothing more, I will intreat them to suspend for a time, at least, whatever regards a claim, to which I can never consent, till some other expedient be found out. If my Parliament neglects the equity of this demand, I am at a loss how to behave, and what measures to take. You, my Lord, are the only person on whose prudence I rely, and whose advice I ask, that I may act nothing contrary to duty, and extricate myself from this labyrinth *.”

28th Oct.
1553.

This Letter is written in *Latin*, as likewise the following, which was sent when she had heard from the CARDINAL, and after the Parliament had declared her Mother's marriage valid, and repealed every thing enacted, in the last reign, against the ancient faith; though no mention had been made of the supremacy.

“ She assures the CARDINAL, how much she honoured his dispositions, with respect to the great affair then under consideration, to his country, and to herself. I see, my Lord, says she, how useful and desirable the purpose of your Embassy into these parts would be, did the situation of my affairs, and the inconstancy of my people, who have been estranged from truth, make such a step either safe or practicable. But this is so far from being the case, that your arrival in these circumstances would be attended with great hazard; and instead of being received with the respect due to a Legate of the holy See, your life would be in danger. I

* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 119.

think it, therefore, more advisable that you put off your journey, and the execution of your commission, rather than throw every thing here into confusion, and retard, instead of promoting the business you come on. As to myself, my Lord, you can have no doubt but your presence would be extremely welcome to me. You are acquainted with the sincerity of my affections, to which your constant good offices add a daily increase, and which receive a fresh sensibility from the remembrance of those adversities we have shared in common; nor is there any thing I so ardently wish, as to see my kingdom exempt from errors, reconciled to the common Parent of all Christians, and in a state of tranquillity. I perceive, however, that it will be impossible to obtain fully these desirable ends during the course of this Parliament; but that another must be called in three or four months, which is also the advice of my Council. The messenger who brings this, and is a person of confidence, will inform you, my Lord, that all the statutes concerning religion, which were passed in my Brother's reign, are repealed; and the divine worship reinstated in the form it was at my Father's death. This point was not carried but after a sharp contestation, and the strenuous endeavours of those who are well affected to the cause of truth: and all who wish well to me, and are of my Council, look on this event as a fortunate omen, and an earnest of the ancient rites universally taking place. You will likewise understand, that the Houses made no difficulty to declare my Mother's marriage lawful, which is a tacit acknowledgment of that authority, in virtue of which it was contracted. The bearer will acquaint you with the machinations of the *Scotch* to disquiet our frontier, and keep up the troubles in *Ireland*. The *French* are not ignorant of this rebellious disposition,

SECT.
VIII.

position, and they encourage it; and, for that purpose, as I am assured by my spies, hold a correspondence with those who are enemies to the measures I am pursuing. I apply to you, my Lord, for counsel, and intreat you to take into consideration the state of my affairs, the plan I propose to proceed on, the obstinacy of my subjects, and the difficulties I labour under. Let me know what conduct you would have me observe, and where you think me deficient. I am ready to execute, with great alacrity, whatever you, my Lord, and the Council, shall judge to be safe and advantageous to myself and my people: and as so much is already advanced, I hope you will shortly come to *Brussels*, in the character of Legate to the Emperor, from whence we may correspond more frequently, and with greater ease. I desire nothing more than to be assisted, admonished, and comforted by so able, so knowing, and so religious a person. In the mean time I will see what can be done to serve you, and I will undertake it with the best of wills. Farewell, my Lord, and may God keep you in his holy guard *.”

London,

15th Nov.

1553.

I should be wanting to the regard which is due to the Reader, did I imagine he could take offence at the air of religion which appears through all the CARDINAL'S answers to the Queen, however unlike it may be to what we meet with in state papers. The truth is, he considered himself as a Prince of the Christian Church, no less than a Minister of State; and that he wrote not only to a Queen of a great kingdom, but to a woman, in whose estimate duty held a higher place than a crown; and, accordingly, the measures he pro-

* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 121.

poses to her are equally drawn from the morality of the Gospel and human prudence.

SECT.
VIII.

“ In the first place he desires her Majesty to ask, for her direction, that *spirit of counsel and fortitude*, which he had implored in giving her his advice; that as this double gift had manifested itself in her accession to the throne, it might still continue to govern her. He reminds her, that had she wanted resolution, when all human succour failed her, all had been lost; and if she does not continue to behave with the same courage in renouncing a title, which her Father had usurped in order to divorce the Queen her Mother, and deprive herself of her birth-right, she will render the present possession of it more precarious and difficult; and that she could never want motives to be as zealous in giving up a destructive claim, as others had been in asserting it to the worst of purposes. Her steadiness, he says, ought on this occasion to be the greater, as what was required was only a compliance with an article established by all laws, human and divine; whereas, in her Father's case, there had been a violation of both. He observes, that she had reasoned very well, in her second letter to him, on the distinct jurisdictions of the kingly office and the priesthood, and had rightly concluded the incongruity of her own sex for the latter: he should, therefore, only add to what she had remarked, that if the great Apostle forbids a woman to teach in the church; how absurd and iniquitous must it be to attribute to any one of that sex the quality of supreme head of it? If a woman, according to the same great instructor of the Christian world, cannot be said to be the head of one man, to whom she is joined in marriage, because the Law of Nature has instituted society on a different plan; both human and divine institutions forbid she should be head of that numerous multitude

SECT.
VIII.



multitude which compose a national church. She was, therefore, to consider this tenet as a matter of the highest importance, and, for which, was it necessary, she should be ready to lay down her crown and life, as the best men in her kingdom, *More* and *Fisher*, had done: but that any such sacrifice was so far from being required at her hands, that, on the contrary, her welfare here and hereafter was interested in resigning a supremacy to that power in which God had invested it: and as she now had an authority which enabled her to act in so justifiable a cause, she could not escape the censure either of God or man, if she did not exert it.

“ He comes then to the necessary means of accomplishing this affair, by having it ratified in Parliament; and this, he thinks, will intirely depend on the fitness of the person who brings it into the House: that having long considered on this particular, he saw none either of the Spiritual or Temporal Lords, or any of the Commons, who could undertake it with propriety: The Prelates having abetted the contrary opinion by vote and writing, which must greatly lessen their authority, when men heard them now maintain what they had formerly opposed: and as to the Lay Peers and the Commons, they were so biaffed by lucrative considerations, and, by casting off the Church’s authority, had got possession of her revenues, that they could not bring to the debate that impartiality which the matter required. He saw, therefore, but one person in the whole nation who could make the motion with proper dignity, and would be favourably heard: that this person was herself, who in this, as well as in all other points, had been blameless, and was appointed by Almighty God to defend both his cause and her own; and that if her appearance in the lower House was needful, he

he made no difficulty in advising her to take that measure. He adds, she might communicate this resolution to a few of the members who had her confidence, and who might second the motion, and represent to both Houses, that, under the name of obedience to the See of *Rome*, no foreign yoke was meant to be imposed on them, or any kind of servitude, under pretence of any utility: that the Bishop of that See had no such view; and, if he had, she the Queen would never suffer it. They may likewise add, says the CARDINAL, that as this authority is to be acknowledged through my means, I will never agree to any deed by which thralldom is brought on my country, and they shall never be deceived by me. I would never have taken on me this negotiation but for the emolument of my fellow-citizens; and that the papal Supremacy being admitted, may become salutary not only to this nation, but, by their example, to others also, who have renounced it, and, by that defection, were fallen into great misfortunes.

“ Your Majesty, continues he, should, at the same time, signify my having been appointed Legate from the holy See to yourself and the kingdom; and that, in order to appear in this character, my attainder must be reversed, and myself restored to blood, to my honours, and to my country. She well knew, he says, the injustice done to him and his family, which was dearer to him than himself: that nothing could be laid to his charge which deserved such a treatment, and all his crime consisted in refusing to consent to innovations, which were prejudicial to the Realm, and detrimental to the Prince who introduced them: that as these penalties had been inflicted on him by the authority of Parliament, however contrary to their better judgment and inclination, they were obliged,

SECT.
VIII.

obliged, in conscience and honour, to repeal them, especially as he came a Messenger of reconciliation and peace. As a proof of the integrity of his intentions, he tells her, that though more wealth and honours had been conferred on him, during his banishment, than he desired, or, had it been left to his own choice, would have accepted; yet, if he was ever found to have swerved from what he owed to God or his country, he was content to be banished for ever: but that, if the whole tenour of his conduct had hitherto proved the contrary, and that he had served the King, her father, not only with the loyalty of a subject, but with the obsequiousness of a servant, and the affection of a son, and had always endeavoured the real good of his country, all this must form a strong presumption, that his dispositions were still the same.

“ He desires her to weigh the displeasure which any further delay in accepting these gracious overtures would give the Pope; and that the sacred College could not but feel the indignity offered to themselves, if one of their body was hindered from proceeding on his embassy for such unsatisfactory reasons as had been hitherto alleged: that, in order to soften the offence, he had signified to his Holiness, that his journey was suspended but for a short time, and till matters could be disposed to a more easy and happy conclusion: and, to confirm this report, he had already sent before him part of his baggage to *Flanders*, and ordered some of his retinue to take the same rout, and wait for him.

“ He adds, that as the Emperor had from the beginning been of opinion, that in what concerned religion, and, namely, in renouncing the title of Supremacy, she should proceed with great caution, and not stir in the business, till her temporal affairs

fairs were more settled; he had endeavoured to let his Majesty see, that all procrastination in this point was prejudicial to herself and the nation; and he refers her to his letters to that Prince, by his Secretary *Pening*, of which he sent her copies. He lets her know, he had prevailed on the Emperor's Confessor, who was then with him, and whom he had found to be a person of great sanctity and knowledge, to repair to him, and intreat him, by the regard he had to his last and important stake, to his reputation, and the affection he bore her Majesty, to place himself above such worldly and unbecoming fears: of which instructions he had likewise sent her a copy.

Though he testifies great satisfaction at the Acts of Parliament, by which *Catharine of Aragon's* marriage was declared lawful, and the Statutes made in *Edward's* reign, to the prejudice of the Catholic Religion, were repealed; yet he observes they were deficient in very material articles, which he specifies at large. And because great knowledge and accuracy were requisite in what related to divine faith and worship; and few, in so general a defection, were qualified to indicate the whole extent of the evil, or to apply a remedy; and it not being in his power to come in person, and give such information as was necessary, he had sent before him into *Flanders*, among other persons of rank, two very well qualified for this charge; with one of whom he had a long and intimate acquaintance, and thought himself possessed of a treasure which few Princes were masters of; and that the other had given him the highest satisfaction, ever since he had engaged in his service. That it depended on her Majesty either to take their advice, or not; but, if she did, it was proper it should be known they came on his part.

S E C T.
VIII.

SECT.
VIII.

“ He concludes by observing the wonderful providence of God over her innocence, her safety, and her dignity; and exhorts her, in a very pathetic manner, to establish the ancient doctrine, and abolish that Statute which had caused many spiritual and temporal evils to the kingdom, and had embroiled herself in much trouble, and endangered her crown*.”

Delingæ,
1st Dec.
1553.

This is the sum of what the CARDINAL wrote to the Queen, both in the instructions sent by *Goldwell*, and in a letter, in which he recapitulates and inforces what he had largely dwelt on in the former. He sent these dispatches from *Dilingen*, where the Emperor, for reasons I am about to relate, had detained him.

England, since *Mary's* accession, was, on many accounts, become a desirable prize; and the several competitors had considered it in that light which suited the quality of their different pretensions. The *Northumberland* and *Suffolk* families had contested the crown with the Princess, who was heir to it: The swarms of foreign and domestic sectaries, which, like locusts, covered this land of promise, endeavoured to withstand the ascendant which the ancient faith every day gained; and now the Emperor looked on the Queen as the most desirable match he could procure for his son *Philip of Spain*. This Prince, hackneyed in the ways of ambition, and the lust of extent of sway, had not been inattentive to the incident of *Edward's* death, and the accession of a Sovereign no less connected to his family by affection than blood.

1552. His power, which had received great checks from *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, and very lately from the Duke of *Guise*, who obliged him to raise the siege of *Metz*, and retire with the remains of an

* *Cet. Libr. Titus, b. 2. Epist. R. Poli, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 123.*
army

army of above 100,000 men, had shewn him the vanity of that destructive glory which is purchased by the sword, and been an useful lesson to those disturbers of mankind, whom we absurdly dignify with the appellation of Heroes. He was desirous to compensate this reverse of fortune in the decline of life, by an acquisition which the present state of *England* seemed to assure to him.

On this account, he was no sooner informed of the late King's death, but he put every courtly art in practice to avail himself of it. He conjectured, that the *Spanish* alliance would be ungrateful to the *English* nation; and that, if a reconciliation with the See of *Rome* was attempted at the same time, they would be still more averse to it; and, therefore, he either brought over the Queen to think that the CARDINAL's appearance, at that juncture, was unseasonable, and would prove prejudicial to her affairs; or he confirmed her in this opinion. With the same view, when *Commendon* set out for *England*, he was instructed to propose his son's match to the Queen, in a private audience: to observe how the people were affected to her and the Catholic Religion, and to magnify, on his return to *Rome*, the danger of sending as yet a Legate. He was not without some uneasiness, lest the singular affection the Queen bore the CARDINAL, and the general esteem he was held in by the nation, might determine the choice she was to make of a husband in his favour: and she had been known to ask, if he might not be dispensed with the deaconship, as he was not in priest's orders. He apprehended him to coincide with the nation's sentiment in a dislike of a foreign alliance, and he had gained over *Gardiner* to his interest. This Statesman was too well acquainted with the Queen's dispositions not to know, that, on the CARDINAL's arrival, he must resign the first

S E C T.

VIII.

S E C T.
VIII.

place at the Council board, which he then held. Perhaps, likewise, he might persuade himself, (as nothing obliges us to refer every thing to selfish considerations) that, if his journey was put off, the Queen's popularity, which was visible from the success she had hitherto met with in whatever she had undertaken, would in time wear away the prejudices with which a causeless hatred of the See of *Rome* had prepossessed the minds of the *English*; and if the *Spanish* marriage was concluded before any further steps were taken towards a reconciliation with the Pontiff, the weight of such a connection would enable her to effect it with greater ease.

These reasons determined the Emperor, at all events, to hinder the CARDINAL from proceeding on his journey to *England*: and, in order to remove from himself the suspicion of being a party in any design which concerned religion, though in his way to *England* he was charged to negotiate a peace between the courts of *Madrid* and *Paris*, he refused to admit him to his presence.

In the mean time the LEGATE had entered the *Tyrol*, without any mistrust of the obstacles which were prepared to every purpose of his journey. At *Trent* he was received with great magnificence, and every demonstration of esteem and good will, by Cardinal *Madruccio*, Bishop and Prince of that city, who, in the late Conclave, had promoted his election to the Papacy, with a steadiness that nothing could shake. From hence he dispatched *Parapalia* and *Floribello* to the *French* King and the Emperor, to give them notice of his speedy arrival at their respective courts, in order to effectuate, on the part of the Pope, a peace, which had been attempted so often, and to so little effect. *Parapalia* was a person of great skill and experience, and whom the LEGATE had made use of
in

in former negotiations: and *Floribello*, who was one of his Secretaries, had a distinguished rank among the polite writers of that Classic age; and how well he deserved it, his history of *Sadolet's* life, and some other works, are still a proof*.

From *Trent* the LEGATE set out for *Ausburg*, and being within two days journey of that city, was met on the part of the Cardinal Bishop, who invited him to *Dillingen*, a town in the Circle of *Suabia*, and situated on the *Danube*, and where he had, a few years before, founded an University, and then kept his residence. He was received, in all the places through which he passed, with the same honours he had met with at *Trent* †; and having made some stay with his munificent friend he set out again for *Flanders*, though in the depth of winter, and a very severe season. As he was making all the expedition which the circumstances would admit, he was met on the road by *Mendoza*, one of the Emperor's Ministers, and who had formerly been his Ambassador at *Venice*, who delivered to him the following message: "That it would be highly agreeable to his Imperial Majesty, if he would not proceed any further on his journey, as this delay was conducive to the happy issue of the affair on which he came: That notice should be given him when a more favourable opportunity presented itself; and in the mean time, if he did not choose to return to *Italy*, he might go to *Liege*;

* *Hic Floribellus tum Polo ab epistolis erat; nunc est Lavelinus Episcopus, et à brevibus, ut vocant, Pontificis Maximi; Vir cum omni elegantiore doctrinâ perpolitus, tum verò summâ latinè scribendi facultate et eloquentiâ præditus. Vita Poli, fol. 23.*

† *Cum audisses me Augustâ bidui iter abesse, tuos mihi obviam misisti, qui me, per castella et vicus tuos, omni officii genere persequentes, Dilingam ad te deducerent. R. Poli Epistolæ, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 150.*

SECT.
VIII.

but was to remain there, and wait the Emperor's pleasure, as to the pursuit of his journey."

A less delicate sense of honour than the LEGATE'S would have been more than sufficient to make him feel the indignity of this proceeding; but, as it was in vain to contend, he judged it most advisable to go back to *Dillingen*, and from thence inform the Pope of what had happened. At the same time he expostulated with the Emperor, by letter, "how unbecoming it was, that a LEGATE of the holy See, who was sent on a negotiation of peace, and on other concerns of the most interesting nature, should be forbidden access to his person, and be stopped in the very heart of *Germany*: that such a scene could not but be very pleasing to the abettors of the new opinions, under whose eyes it passed; nor fail, in *England*, where it would be soon reported, to spirit up the adversaries of the ancient religion: he, therefore, intreated his Majesty to permit him to come immediately, and remove an obstacle no less disrespectful to the holy See, than prejudicial to the purposes of his embassy. But *Charles* was deaf to any remonstrances besides those of interest and ambition, and refused to see the LEGATE, or even to give him leave to come nearer to *Brussels*, where he then kept his court, till his son's marriage with the Queen was concluded. So great was his jealousy of the LEGATE'S disapprobation of the *Spanish* match, and his design to divert the Queen from any thoughts of it, that he prevailed on Lord *Paget* and *Mason*, the *English* Ambassadors at his court, to cause one of his domestics, who had been waiting for his Lord a month at *Louvain*, to leave the place*.

The Pope having received intelligence of the Emperor's proceeding towards the LEGATE, sig-

* Negotiations des *Noailles*, tom. 2. pag. 244.

nified to him “ the concern he was under at the difficulties which were raised against the discharge of his embassy, and the obstacles put to his journey, to the designs of the holy See, and to the public good. That, on this account, he allowed him to lay aside, for a time, as he should judge proper, his public character, and go over to *England* as a private person: and, when the situation of affairs permitted it, to resume again his quality of Legate, and exercise all the functions annexed to it, so as neither to bring any detriment to his own person, nor yet to want authority when he acted for the public *.

S E C T.
VIII.8th Dec.

During this debate, the point which was to resolve it had been decided in *England*. The Queen's marriage was looked on as necessary to the public welfare and tranquillity; and, in a public speech, which I shall have occasion to cite, and in which she seems to deliver her sentiments very ingenuously, she says, she had taken the resolution of marrying, in deference to the advice of the Council. The only thing, therefore, under deliberation, was the person on whom the choice was to fall. There were three, between whom the general voice seemed divided, *Courtney*, Earl of *Devonshire*, CARDINAL POLE, and *Philip*, heir to *Charles V.* Prince of *Spain*: but *Courtney's* good mien seems to have been his principal recommendation; and CARDINAL POLE, with an infirm state of health, was in the decline of life. The Emperor, as has been said, had engaged *Gardiner*, who was chief of the Council, in *Philip's* favour, and had lately remitted a vast sum to purchase the concurrence of others, who might promote the same measure. The Queen's affection for her mother's family, which she inherited from that Princess, who had

1553.

He was
53 years
old.400,000
crowns.* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 432.

SECT.
VIII.

always borne a singular love to her nephew *Charles*, *Philip's* father, influenced the daughter's choice, and gave *Gardiner* an opportunity of paying his court to her, at the same time that he seconded the Emperor's designs. *Philip* was a widower, had one son by a former wife, and was eleven years younger than the Queen, who was eight and thirty. She may, likewise, be supposed to have considered the great foreign strength which this alliance brought with it, as an earnest of her future tranquillity, and what would either prevent or suppress those domestic disturbances to which she had hitherto been so much exposed.

These reasons had not the same weight with the nation as with the Sovereign, and the general sense of the people was against the match. The
14th Jan. Commons, as soon as it was known that *Gardiner*
1554. had proposed it in council, had deputed a solemn committee to the Queen, to remonstrate against a measure which they looked on as dangerous to the State: and the apprehension of being embroiled in all the quarrels of *Spain*, and becoming, at length, a province to that kingdom, might give very well grounded alarms. *Gardiner*, therefore, gave the Emperor to understand, that besides the influence of *Spanish* gold, every other means must be employed to remove the odium under which the marriage-treaty lay; and, accordingly, such articles were agreed on as might calm all fears of its consequences, and seemed calculated for the security, the interest, and even the grandeur of *England**: they were signed and ratified by Count *Egmont*; and four other ambassadors, whom the Emperor had sent over for that purpose. Both Houses of Parliament approved of them by every

* They may be seen in *Rymer*, vol. xv. pag. 377; and in the Statutes, I. *Mariae*, Parl. 2. cap. 2.

expression which could denote a sense of the advantages which accrued to the Queen and the realm †.

S E C T.
VIII.
5th April.

The satisfaction the Queen had felt on carrying a point of such consequence with the consent of the legislature, was heightened by the facility with which the statute, which repealed whatever had been enacted in *Edward's* reign against the Catholic Religion, was brought into practice, as this seemed to indicate the general disposition of the people. Bishop *Bonner* being reinstated in the See of *London*, had celebrated mass, a few days after, ^{Aug. 5th;} 1553. and continued to perform the whole divine office, according to the use of the church of *Rome*; and *Thorndon*, Subdean of *Canterbury*, had caused the same to be performed there. Soon after, orders ^{Aug. 27th;} were given to use the *Roman* Ritual throughout ^{Dec. 20th.} the whole kingdom. This was a consequence of the statute I have mentioned, which ordered religious worship to be recalled to the form it had at *Henry* the VIIIth's death ‡, at which time the Liturgy was the same as before his breach with the church of *Rome*; the innovations which the Parliament now abolished having been introduced under *Edward*.

This re establishment of the ancient worship, though enacted by the whole legislative authority, gave occasion to a rebellion, which, as it always happens when such attempts fail of success, only strengthened that government it was designed to overthrow. Sir *Thomas Wyat*, son to him, who, when he was *Henry's* Ambassador in *Spain*, would have murdered CARDINAL POLE, was at the head of the rebels, and proposed to raise the *Kentish* men, while Sir *Peter Carew*, his principal associate, did the like in *Devonshire*. The Duke of

† Anno I. *Mariæ*, Parl. 2. cap. 2. ‡ *Ibid.* Sess. 2. cap. 2.

SECT.
VIII.

Suffolk was prevailed on to join them, from a prospect of reviving his daughter Lady *Jane Grey's* claim to the crown. The Queen, on the first notice of the rising, shewed the same presence of mind she had made appear at her accession; and delivered herself to the citizens of *London*, in a speech. which I presume must please the Reader, as it is equal to any recorded by the *Greek* or *Roman* historians, to have been spoken on the like occasions. She begins " by informing them of the rebellion; the pretence of which, she says, was a dislike of her intended marriage with *Philip* of *Spain*: that the rebels had the insolence to demand the government of her royal person, the custody of the Tower, and the appointing her Council. She reminds her loving subjects, that she was their Sovereign, to whom they had lately sworn allegiance at her coronation: on which day she was wedded to the realm; and the ring which she then wore, and would ever wear, was the solemn pledge of this mutual covenant between her and her people. That her right by inheritance was known and acknowledged by all Christendom. That, though not having been a mother, she had not felt the tenderness which that relation brings with it; yet, if a like affection was ever found in a Prince towards his people, she gave them her royal word they should experience it from her. She informs them her intended marriage was resolved on by the advice of the Council, who had judged it honourable and expedient, both to the dignity of the crown, and the emolument of the kingdom. That, as to herself, neither an inclination to wedlock in general, nor a fondness for any particular person, had influenced her in this determination. That she had hitherto continued a maid; and doubted not, through God's grace, to have remained so; but had been determined in
this

this affair by the desire of leaving an heir to the crown, as her forefathers had done: and could she foresee this engagement would not redound to the honour and advantage of the realm, she would never consent to it: and, as a proof of her sincerity, she gave them the word of a Queen, that if her Commons and the Nobility were of a different opinion, she would abstain from marriage as long as she lived. She concludes with encouraging them to be as fearless on the occasion of this rebellion as she was; and tells them, the Lord *Howard* and the Lord Treasurer would assist the Mayor in the defence of the city *.”

S E C T.

VII.

Sir *Peter Carew* was the first of the accomplices who appeared in arms, and being soon suppressed by the Earl of *Bedford*, fled to *France*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sir *Henry Fernegan*, were sent against *Wyat*; but 500 *Londoners* having deserted from the latter, and joined the rebels, the Duke retired, and took shelter in *London*. This success encouraged *Wyat* to march to *Southwark*; but finding the bridge secured, and the city not disposed to declare for him, he led his forces, which consisted of 4000 men, to *Kingston*; and returning back towards *London*, though he entered *Westminster* without opposition, his followers perceiving they were not joined by any persons of note, left their leader to his ill-fated destiny, and Sir *Maurice Berkeley* seized him near *Temple bar*. The Duke Feb. 6th,
of *Suffolk*, who with his brothers, the Lords *Tho-* 1554
mas and *Leonard Gray*, had endeavoured to raise the counties of *Warwick* and *Leicester*, where their interest lay, were taken by the Earl of *Huntingdon*, at the head of 300 horse, and led prisoners to *London*; where, with *Wyat* and some of the chief

* *Fox*, Acts and Monuments, vol. 2. page 1418.

SECT. authors of the rebellion, they were condemned
VIII. and executed.

The guilt of the Duke brought on the punishment of his daughter the Lady *Jane*, which his ambition had first caused her to incur. The sentence had been put off above half a year, and, probably, would never have been executed, had not these last treasonable practices made the government apprehend she would always be a pretext for turbulent spirits to rise against their lawful Sovereign, and disturb the peace of the community. These circumstances, which were to be imputed to the crimes and temerity of others, not to her own blameless character, caused her to experience a severity; which all the personal merit that pleaded in her favour could not avert. No part of the late conspiracy was imputed to her, but she stood legally convicted, and was under sentence of death, for assuming royalty at *Edward's* death.

The sentence being intimated to her, she said, “ she had deserved it, for usurping a crown which belonged to another; but, at the same time, she related the little share she had in that transaction, and the constraint put on her by her family: that it was no easy matter for a person so young as she was, to withstand the authority of a father, and a husband, and of so many of the nobility; and it would be her peculiar fate to be justly condemned, and yet die innocent.” Her husband, who lay under the same sentence, sent to desire he might give her the last assurances of his tenderness; to which she answered, “ that such endearments did not suit their present situation, and would but increase their affliction; and wished him to call off his affections from this world, and fix them on a better, where they should shortly meet to be separated no more.” To great beauty, and all the softer accomplishments of female education, she had

had joined the knowledge of the learned languages, and had given much time and application to the Scriptures: a study which, however undertaken by the sex on a specious principle of seeking truth, but too often betrays them into errors, or confirms them in those they have already imbibed. The Queen having appointed a very able and religious clergyman to attend her in her confinement, and use all endeavours to convince her of the truth of the Catholic doctrine; the kindness, she said, came too late, and that she had not leisure to enquire after that truth which she should soon behold in its source: and though her execution was put off some days on that prospect, she persisted in the same sentiments. The constable of the Tower, who led her to the scaffold, asking of her the book of devotions she held in her hand, she readily gave it him, after having first transcribed out of it, in *Greek, Latin, and English*, a sentence which imported that she died innocent, and hoped to find that justice from God, which had been denied her by men. Being come to the place of execution, she looked with a placid countenance on the crowd that stood round, and spoke no more than to bid them farewell, and be mindful of her innocence: and taking the priest, who still continued his exhortations, by the hand, she thanked him for the many good offices she had received from him, and the concern he had expressed to bring her over to his opinion, as she very well knew he had proceeded on the best of motives: but told him withal, that his discourses had given her greater uneasiness than the apprehension of what she was about to suffer. Then kneeling down before the axe, and covering her face with her hair, she received the stroke which severed her head from her body. The sighs, the tears, and mournful silence of the beholders, sufficiently witnessed what their

Sir John
Gage.

S E C T.
VIII.



their sentiments were of the circumstances of her death, and of the decent and steady manner with which she submitted to it.

CARDINAL POLE was still at *Delingen* when the articles of the Queen's marriage were agreed to, and the rebellion I have spoken of suppressed: and he availed himself of these incidents to prevail on the Emperor to permit him to have access to his person, and to put no further obstacle to his proceeding on his journey to *England*: for since *Mary* had entertained thoughts of marrying *Philip, Charles* had made her enter into his own jealousies and suspicions of the LEGATE's speedy arrival, and she begun to press it with less earnestness. With this view the LEGATE sent *Peter Soto*, who had formerly been *Charles's* confessor, and was now at the head of a seminary at *Delingen*, "to intreat him not to put any further delay to an embassy which was undertaken on no other motives but those of religion and peace; and to which the obstacles put on the Emperor's part must redound greatly to his dishonour, to the detriment of the common cause, and of *England* in particular:" And the Emperor, who had now no longer any reason to caution himself against the offence the *English* might take at his receiving the LEGATE, consented to his coming to *Brussels*, and received him, on his arrival, with great shew of esteem and affection.

18th Jan. The Queen, some time before, had consulted the LEGATE how she was to act with respect to the vacant Bishoprics; as she foresaw she should be obliged to deprive several who then held them of their Sees; and she did not intend, in the choice she was to make, either to give up any rights of the crown, or extend the prerogative, and derogate from the authority which the holy See had enjoyed in those collations, before the nation's breach
with

with the church of *Rome*. The CARDINAL had replied, " that the bearer of his letter, from the long and frequent conferences he had with him on this head, knew his mind so thoroughly, that there was no need of any written instructions, but he would inform her by word of mouth. About this time, therefore, the Queen issued out a commission †, by which all the married clergy were deprived of their benefices, as being disqualified to possess them. This inability, as extraordinary as it may now appear, was founded on the constant practice of the western church, ever since the establishment of Christianity; on the unanimous authority of the Canons, and the solemn engagement to celibacy the Clergy take at their ordination: on the fourth of *Henry VIII*th's six articles, which the Parliament had passed into a law, and which the late statute, which recalled all religious matters to their condition at that Prince's death, had ratified; which made this injunction as legal and parliamentary, as it was just and canonical. In consequence of these orders, *Holgate*, Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishops of *St. David's*, *Chester*, and *Bristol*, who had been regulars; and, besides the promise made at their ordination, had broken the solemn vows made on entering on a religious state; and those of *Gloucester* and *Hereford*, who were of the secular Clergy, were deprived; *Scory* and *Barlow*, Bishops of *Chichester* and *Bath*, who were in the same case, left the kingdom*.

S E C T.
VIII.15th and
16th Mar.

The

† Rot. par. 1^o, Mar. pars 7^{ma}, and another translated by Bp. *Burnet*; part 2. b. 2. page 257 of his History of the Reformation.

* It may not be disagreeable to the Reader to have some account of the chief of these deposed Bishops, as it is given by Protestant historians.

Holgate, Archbishop of *York*. not only made use of the indulgent doctrine, which, in *Edward's* reign, allowed the Clergy

SECT. VIII. The Queen soon after signified to the Pope the concurrence of the legislature, in what she had done towards the re-establishment of the ancient worship; and the qualities of the persons she had made choice of for the vacated See; and the 16th April, 1554. Pontiff, in his answer, congratulates her on the 10th July. first part of the intelligence; and, in the accustomed stile of the court of *Rome*, lets her know, he should shortly send the letters patent, in virtue of which the Bishops were to be consecrated, and

gy to marry, but extended the licence to take another man's wife. *Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. 2. b. 5. p. 349.*

Robert Farrar was, first, chaplain to *Cranmer*; and then, by the Protector *Seymour's* favour, promoted to the Bishopric of *St. David's*; but, on that nobleman's fall, fifty-six articles were exhibited against him, for which he was confined during the remainder of *Edward's* reign, and now degraded. *Ath. Oxon. p. 679.*

John Bird, Bishop of *Chester*, was a *Carmelite* frier, and for his obsequiousness to the court measures at the dissolution of the monasteries, and a remarkable sermon in support of the lay supremacy, was promoted to a See in *Ireland*; from whence he was translated to *Bangor*, and in 1541 to *Chester*. He went all the lengths of *Henry's* and *Edward's* reigns, and made use of the indulgence which the latter allowed of taking a wife. Being deprived of his Bishopric, he lived privately at *Chester* till his death, in 1556. *Bale, cent. 11. N^o. 41. Pitts, de Illust. Ang. Script. Godwin, de Præful. Ang.*

Paul Busb, Bishop of *Bristol*, was an *Augustine* frier, and had been chaplain to *Henry VIII.* who promoted him to that See, for his compliance with the court measures. But though he betrayed the same passive disposition during *Edward's* reign, and took a wife, he was never known either to preach or write against the ancient religion. He readily gave up his Bishopric at the Queen's command, and parted from his wife, and lived privately in *Bristol* till his death, in 1558. *Godwin de Præful. Ang. Ath. Oxon.*

William Barlow, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was a Canon Regular, and very active both in promoting the dissolution of religious houses in *Henry's* reign, and forwarding the various innovations of *Edward's*. Being deprived of his Bishopric on account of marriage, he fled to *Germany*. *Godwin de Præful. Angl. Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. pag. 156.*

put in possession of their respective Bishoprics *. With what discernment the choice of those who were nominated to the vacant Sees was made, and how deservedly those who had been deprived in the late reigns, for non-compliance, were now reinstated, the event verified: for, on the Queen's death, when the Catholic religion was again proscribed; *Kitchin*, Bishop of *Landaff*, who, *Proteus* like, had put on all the forms of religion of the three last reigns, was the only one of that venerable bench who submitted to this change. Neither loss of wealth and dignity, nor the hardships of prison and banishment, shook their firmness: and *Dr. Heath*, Archbishop of *York*, and Chancellor, at the opening of the first Parliament under *Elizabeth*, made a discourse on that Princess's supremacy; which, for clearness and solidity, may vie with any of the pleadings of *Tully* or *Demosthenes* †.

On a supposition that *Holgate's* errors and scandalous life had vacated his See; and, in this case, that the right of appointing a successor was devolved to the Pope, the Pontiff had been applied to. On this the LEGATE, who had intelligence of it, wrote to him in the following manner. I shall content myself with giving the Reader the substance of his letter; as I have met with nothing else that throws any light on this dark transaction. He begins "by thanking his Holiness for the hopes he had given him of seeing an offence cease; which had been caused by the ambition of one who gave himself out for an *Englishman*. There are many reasons; says he; which make me desire that a design, which has its origin in craft and

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 4^{ta}, pag. 435.

† *Hist. Col.* pag. 225. In the original this speech is styled; *A tale told in Parliament.*

SECT.
VIII.

ambition, should meet with disappointment; but none more prevalent than a persuasion, that if this insidious manner of proceeding has success, there is hardly any thing can more alienate the minds of the *English*, who yet retain a respect for your Holiness; of whom, I make no doubt, there are great numbers, though they want resolution to declare themselves. They will be cast into utter despair of ever receiving any comfort from the apostolic See, if their chief Bishoprics, and particularly that which borders on *Scotland*, with which kingdom we are almost perpetually at war, are given away at the recommendation of the *Scotch*. I am particularly offended that this candidate should overlook all considerations of the public good, and address himself, in a petition fraught with falsehood, first to your Holiness, and then to the sacred College, and endeavour, by so much subterfuge, to avoid the certificates of his own countrymen, if, as he says, he is a native of *England*; which I must doubt, and imagine all this to be no more than a contrivance to thrust himself into a dignity, to which the natural-born subjects of the realm have a much better claim*." There is no further mention of this affair, which must be looked on as personal to his character, to whom it is imputed; but cannot, without great malignity, be perverted into a national reflection.

He had not been long at *Brussels* before the Emperor gave him to understand, he could not consent to his going to *England* till his son's marriage with the Queen was over; and desired him to suspend his journey. The Reader has already been informed, that besides the LEGATE'S primary embassy to the Queen and the *English* nation, he was charged with another to the Em-

* Epist. R. Poli pars 4^a, pag. 41.

peror and the *French* King, in order to put an end to a long and destructive war between those two powers, and bring about a reconciliation, which the Cardinals of *Imola* and *St. George* had in vain endeavoured, and had been recalled. He made use, therefore, of the leisure he now had, to discharge the second part of his commission; and began the overtures of what might advance so salutary a design, at the court where he yet was. The Emperor seemed to hear with approbation what the LEGATE's prudence suggested on that head; and answered, he was not averse to peace, if honourable conditions were proposed, and such as would procure a lasting concord: but that no negotiation could be set on foot till the intentions of the *French* King were known*; on which the LEGATE set out for that court.

Whilst he was on the road, he drew up the chief reasons which should prevail on the two Potentates to conclude a peace. This discourse, which is long, and written in *Italian*, he proposed to leave with each of them. I shall give the Reader a summary of the most material articles, as they discover the profound reflections the author made on human events, and the distinct and comprehensive view in which he considered what he took in hand.

“ He desires these Princes, in the first place, to rank themselves in the number of those who look on war as a calamity; and a return of peace as the greatest blessing which could befall the afflicted state of Christendom; and, therefore, to ask it of that Being who alone could dispense it, so as to be salutary to themselves and their kingdoms. He then desires them to consider the causes which had hindered their former treaties from being of

* *Poli vita*, fol. 24. à tergo.

S E C T.
VIII.

longer duration; and to avoid hereafter the same obstacles: and, in order to attain this knowledge, they were to weigh the condition and form of these treaties, the manner of making them, their beginning and conclusion. That they could perceive nothing which moves Princes to make peace, and which human sagacity and industry could foresee and lay hold of, had been omitted on either side to bring them to a reconciliation. The first of these motives, which is generally drawn from the exhausted state of the hostile powers, had often been their case. A second inducement to peace, when one of the powers at war was so much superior, as to have his adversary at his mercy, had not been wanting to the Emperor's good fortune with respect to *Francis I.* and seemed to promise an end to all future contention. A third surety of concord had likewise been pledged by each of them, when, forgetting their past animosities, they voluntarily united in mutual peace, at the treaty of *Aigues Mortes*. Yet all these assurances were so far from being succeeded by a firm and lasting concord, that they only seemed calculated to make the flame of war break out again with greater rage: and this had happened not from any inability in the Negotiators, but from want of good faith, and those dispositions without which peace is not brought about. These treaties, therefore, like the buildings mentioned by the Prophet, which are not compacted with proper cement, but only plastered over to the eye, had fallen to pieces almost as soon as they were raised; and the contracting parties had not only received no advantage from them, but great detriment, and, during these intervals, had been set on contriving mischief to one another, more than in time of war.

“ He then comes to the constant disappointment which their mutual ambition had met with; since
neither

neither of them had obtained, through such a length of contention, either the honours or the increase of dominion which had been the object of such lasting strife. Every thing, on the contrary, had fallen out against their expectation; and when contention ceased, the emoluments which were proposed from amity had not followed, and contention and agreement had been equally unavailing to the desired end. That the Emperor might be satisfied of this, if he reflected, not only on the situation of his affairs within these three or four last years he had been at war with the present King; but called to remembrance the events of *Henry II.* thirty years past or more, since these calamities began, and the almost perpetual state of hostility he had been in with *Francis* his father. During which time, though there had been several conventions of peace; yet as they had not been attended, on either side, with sincerity, all that space was to be accounted a time of open or hidden war, rather than of peace.

“ Now if they would consider what acquisition they had made by such an expence of men and money, they would find themselves not only to have failed of what they aimed at, but to have exposed the Christian cause to great peril: *Solyman*, by these proceedings, was become master of two of the bulwarks of Christendom, *Belgrade* and the Island of *Rhodes*: he had lain *Hungary* waste, as far as *Buda*, and conquered that long tract of provinces which is watered by the *Danube*: *Italy*, on both sides, was exposed to the insults of his fleets; the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatic* Seas infested by them; and, had it not pleased the divine Providence to check his progress by the Emperor of *Persia*, there was nothing he might not have promised himself from our disagreements; and

SECT.
VIII.

had, as things then were, compensated his losses in the East, by what he had gained on us.



“ If it be replied, that, notwithstanding these losses, you have made yourselves amends by adding several cities and provinces to your former dominions; the answer is ready, that, if the sums employed in making and securing these acquisitions be taken into the account, together with the wretched condition of these conquered states, you will be found to have purchased no more than a slender appearance of utility, at the hazard of general destruction.

“ That the Emperor could not imagine the signal favours, by which Providence had distinguished him, were designed for such purposes. That, when he was born, *Philip* his father was not King of *Spain*; nor would, afterwards, have been so, had not the death of the next in blood made room for him: nor was the *French* King the next heir to the crown; much less his father *Francis*. That they might both learn, from the fortune which attended their respective families, they held their kingdoms of Almighty God, by a peculiar tenure: and, if they stood in need of any other instructor concerning Providence, their own experience might inform them. That though the Emperor's dominions were larger than those of the *French* King; yet *France* was a more compact state, and the ready obedience of the inhabitants gave the Sovereign an advantage which the other wanted. Notwithstanding which, *Francis* I. a youthful Monarch, who had a powerful army of veteran troops, and the means to support them, and had availed himself of this circumstance, and invaded the Emperor's hereditary provinces with a formidable force, was so far from obtaining the victory he had promised himself, that he lost *Sa-*
voy,

voy, which he had lately with so much glory overcome.

“ On the other hand, the Emperor’s disappointment had been so much the more sensible, as the greater number of his troops, and the abundance of all those aids by which war is carried on, seemed to give him a more assured confidence of success. After the taking of *Tunis*, he sailed from *Africa* to the coast of *Provence*, with a numerous host, and at a time when the *French* King was, on all accounts, unprepared to make head against him; yet there he met with a defeat; as he did again, when having conquered the Duke of *Cleves*, who had joined the *French*, and was esteemed the great support of that nation, every thing else seemed easy: yet here a town, on the frontiers of *France*, of small strength, and whose name is hardly known, checked this progress, and put an end to the war. And afterwards, when the Emperor, in league with the King of *England*, made another attack on the *French* territories, it had not the event which was expected. The lessons, he says, were sufficient to inform them, they had not received such extent of dominion to annoy and harass one another, but to look on themselves as Patrons of justice, and ministers of clemency. He concludes, by placing before their eyes the evils, for which they are accountable to an all-knowing and inexorable Judge; and shewing, that their examination will be so much the more rigorous than that of private persons, as they will not be charged with their own personal failings alone, but with the misdemeanours of those who have governed ill under their authority. That if ambition had been the real motive of their wars, whatever others were pretended, it would be so far from alleviating their guilt, that they would undergo the punishment due to that variety of mis-

SECT.
VIII.

chiefs, of which war was the cause; and if the least of these, when perpetrated by private persons, and tried at a human bar, were deemed unworthy of mercy, how would their case be at a higher and more awful tribunal? That, to sum up all he would say; the whole affair of peace, now in debate, did not so much depend on the conditions to be agreed on, which might be as easily broken as they were made, as on the dispositions the contracting parties bore to each other, when they made the treaty. If they really intended the public utility, an equitable accommodation might soon be found; but if selfishness and private ends were the standard of the negotiation, though contention ceased, and an end was put to the war, the peace, nevertheless, would not be to their advantage, nor to that of the public, but a beginning to more mischievous quarrels than those it seemed to conclude*.”

There are several pathetic addresses to both the Princes, through the whole discourse; and he represents the obligation they lay under of causing the evils to cease, which afflicted *Europe*, and particularly their own subjects, in every light it can be considered.

The LEGATE arrived at the *French* court in the last week of *Levi*; and the King having signified to him, that he could not have audience till the solemnity of those days was over, he took that opportunity of sending his Majesty the discourse on peace, which he had just finished; and, by a letter written on that purpose, intreated him to weigh the arguments it contained. Being afterwards admitted to audience, he urged the reconciliation he came to negotiate, from such principles as were drawn from his skill in public affairs, and the

* *R. Foli Epist. pars 4^{ta}, p. 402.*

goodness

goodness of his own heart; and such as became his high birth, and the dignity of his character. He repeated them to the Cardinal of *Lorraine* and the Lord High Constable, who were the favourites, and the chief ministers; but all to as little purpose as the former attempts, which had been made to gain the same end. On his leaving the court, the King signified in public his great regard for him, and the regret he had of being so late acquainted with his merit; adding that had he known him when *Paul III.* died, no one else should have had his interest and recommendation for the Papacy*.

S E C T.
VIII.

In his return to *Brussels*, as he approached the confines of the *French* and *Austrian* territories, he was witness of the sad effects of war, which had been chiefly felt in those places, where the very earth seemed to smoke, and every thing wore the face of misery and devastation. Though his embassy had not mitigated the hostile dispositions of the King of *France* towards the Emperor, yet he had not left his court without some slender hopes of an ensuing accommodation; and these were greedily received and magnified by a ruined people, and ascribed to his abilities and good offices. The inhabitants, therefore, of the frontier places, especially the women, the children, and the aged people, came out in crowds to meet him; they strewed the roads where he passed with flowers and odoriferous herbs, and hailed him as an angel of peace; by whose mediation the destroyer's sword was at length to be sheathed †.

When he came back to the Emperor, that Prince seemed displeas'd at his negotiation with the *French* King; and complain'd, that in the written discourse, which was alike address'd to them both, he had shew'd a partiality to his rival. This was

* *Poli vita*, fol. 25.

† *Ibid.*

one of those artifices, in which *Charles's* temper was very fruitful, and contrived to hinder the Legate's departure for *England*, which he was resolved should not take place till after his son's arrival in that kingdom, and his marriage with the Queen. His friend, Cardinal *Morone*, informed him, that this intelligence had been sent to *Rome*; and it was added, that the LEGATE, wearied out with disappointments and contradictions, was desirous to be recalled. To which he made the following answer.

“ He begins by testifying his concern at the displeasure which his Holiness had conceived, from an information that his return to the court of *Brussels* had not been agreeable to the Emperor; and that this news was the more unwelcome, as the Pope had entertained great hopes not only of recalling *England* to the unity of the Catholic Church, but also of treating of a peace between the Emperor and the *French King*. But that, supposing his arrival was as little pleasing to the former of these Princes, as it had been reported, he did not see what change this could cause in the affairs of *England*, as these had been carried on in consequence of the letter which the Queen wrote to the Pope, of the grants of the vacant Bishoprics, and other articles, which were placed out of all uncertainty: insomuch, that nothing seemed wanting to the desired success of this business, but the discussion of the church revenues, concerning which his Holiness's pleasure had been consulted. That, as to the final reconciliation of the nation, as the Bishop of *Winchester* had lately assured him, there had been no appearance of effecting it during the last Parliament. Now, as to the conclusion of a peace, it had nothing in common with the Emperor's supposed dissatisfaction; and could only affect his, the LEGATE's person, not the cause:
but

but if he was, in any sense, connected with the general interest, there was nothing he was not disposed to do in order to promote it. He well perceived, he says, that he had been represented as a person who did not approve of the Queen's marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, and that his taciturnity on that article had passed for dislike: but that to every equitable person he must appear to have acted the only part which became him. He did not deny, but whilst he was at *Dillingen*, tho' the marriage was the subject of all conversations, he had neither mentioned it in his letters to the Queen, nor ordered the messengers he dispatched to her from time to time to take any notice of it; because he thought it would be a trespass on the respect he owed her Majesty, and detrimental to the principal business he had in hand, if he made any mention of such like affairs, before they were notified to him by the party whom they concerned.

“ That as soon as her Majesty's Ambassadors, by her orders, had informed him of this piece of news, at his coming to *Brussels*; and that her motives for contracting this alliance were the desire of establishing the State on a solid and lasting foundation, and of leaving posterity to her people; he had then congratulated her on a choice which had been directed by such integrity and uprightness, and offered himself to serve both her and her Royal Consort to the utmost of his abilities; and that this had been the constant tenor of his conversations, both in public and private, ever since. As a further argument of the sincerity of his proceedings in this regard, he alleges his behaviour to his nephew, whom, when he was in *France*, he forbid his house, and not only refused to receive several letters of disaffected and passionate persons like himself; but earnestly intreated the *French* King not to give ear to such persons and such matters.

SECT.
VIII.

ters. That, whoever considered the time and place in which he had behaved in this manner, with what a Prince he had to deal, who was very desirous to detain him in his kingdom, and engage him in his views, and then reflects how suddenly he left that court, must necessarily conclude, that the Emperor could no longer mistrust his zeal for his service, or be displeas'd with his departure from *France*. Had I continued there, says he, several discontented *English*, not being inform'd of my dispositions, would have flock'd to me, as I easily foresaw, from the great number who resorted to that kingdom during the short stay I made there. In order, therefore, to take away all hope of my being a support to faction, which the bare report of being in *France* would have kept up, I came away; and this, methinks, was doing the Queen and his Imperial Majesty some service; and shew'd, at the same time, how sincerely I desir'd the tranquillity of my country; and, were other reasons wanting, must justify the step I took.

“ He had, moreover, he says, signify'd the same sentiments to her Majesty; for writing to her, very lately, on the Parliament not having concluded a reconciliation with the Catholic Church, and being desirous to mitigate the grief she suffer'd on that delay, he had consider'd it as a disposition of the divine Providence, and was willing to hope, that as a nuptial disagreement between an *English* King and a *Spanish* Queen had caus'd the breach which was so much lamented, the connubial concord of a *Spanish* King and an *English* Queen would be the means of restoring the ancient union. That, on this account, he offer'd up his supplications for the speedy and happy arrival of the Prince; as he made no doubt, but the very first act of the Parliament, which would then be summon'd, would be to enact

enact what was to be the foundation of every good which was to be derived on their reign; and might well be expected from Princes, who held the concerns of religion in that high esteem, in which the supreme Being, and the very nature of things had placed them, that is, above all other considerations.

“ He adds, that he not only wrote to the Queen in this style, but to those who seemed dissatisfied with the King for being a foreigner; and doubted not, but the *English* would be as much undeceived in the good qualities of a foreign Prince, and the advantages they would reap from them, as they had been deceived, to the offence of the divine Majesty, and their own private and public ruin, in that Prince who had chastised them with as heavy a rod as was ever felt, not only from an alien but an enemy. In this strain, says he, I reason with all who discourse with me on the subject, whether they are pleased or not; and put on a sort of prophetic air, that I may pacify the malcontents; and, as far as words can go, confirm the well-meaning: and, if this behaviour is not sufficient to clear me of all suspicion, I know not what is; since any thing beyond it must appear affectation, to which my temper is very averse; and which, instead of persuading, creates distrust. And though, at first, the expediency of this marriage might seem problematical, yet, since it is concluded, I shall look on it as a presage of my country's future felicity.

“ As for what he had done in *France* towards a peace, the Cardinal, to whom he writes, was informed, he says, of the whole, and had seen the *French* King's answer, which was drawn up in such a manner, that the Emperor might take occasion from it either to continue the war, or make an overture of reconciliation; as the exorbitant demands

mands which the first part of the Memorial contained, furnished a reason for continuing hostilities, and the other part gave an opening to the latter; especially as he had acquainted the Emperor of what the *French* Ministers had informed him by word of mouth. Insomuch, that had he been the most artful of men, and had no other design than of serving his Imperial Majesty, he could not have brought to a more desirable issue an affair which he had managed with simplicity. If therefore, as his friend assured him, the holy Father thought he had given no just occasion of offence, particularly as things had turned out, he might confirm him in this opinion.

“ He concludes with assuring the Cardinal, that though he might seem to have signified a desire of being recalled, yet this was only on a supposition that the Emperor’s displeasure allowed him to be no longer serviceable to his Holiness and the common cause; and did not proceed from shunning labour, and a desire of rest. That he had, indeed, informed the Pope of what had been said to him at his return; first by the Emperor, then by the Bishop of *Arras*, and still more openly by the Nuncio; that violence of words could go no greater lengths; and had he not taken them in the sense they were meant, he must have been more insensible than an inanimate being: but as to his being recalled or not, he left it intirely to the Pope’s determination, and should look on that as most salutary, which, in his great wisdom, he

25th May, judged best *.” This letter was dictated to a Secretary, and is, on that account, more prolix than if it had been of the LEGATE’S writing. I have only set down the heads, which are there treated very diffusely.

8554.

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 4^{ta}, pag. 138.

Some short time before he wrote another letter to the same person, much in the same style as this; which I shall here lay before the Reader, because it throws a great light on the constitutional cast of the LEGATE's mind, no less than on his virtue, and the command he had of himself. It is somewhat long, as those narratives are apt to be, in which we enter on a detail of ourselves with persons who have our whole confidence.

“ I will, my Lord, no longer conceal from you the cause I imagined I had to expostulate with your Lordship, in such a strain as is very consistent with friendship; or, to speak more properly, is owing to it. Your Lordship, in the latter part of your letter, informs me, that though the Pope, and others whom it may concern, were satisfied with the sincerity of my dispositions; yet you had some misgivings, lest a satiety of the world, and want of ambition, should cause me to withdraw from business, and betake myself to a private life. You remind me, therefore, that though the supreme Being be all-sufficient of himself to conduct human affairs as he pleases, and to make every thing subservient to his glory; yet it is his will that we, in our turn, should second the views of his providence, and not be wanting to the posts he has assigned us. Had this method of reasoning been employed by one who was not intimately acquainted with me, I should not have wondered; as I frequently make use of it myself, and am accustomed to refer the whole glory of each good work to the Almighty; and to acknowledge, with all gratitude and humility, whatever is laudable to proceed from him. My manner of living, which, for the most part, has been to retire often to my studies, and not thrust myself into action, or to shew any desire of those employments which lead to the busy scenes of life, might easily induce
a person

SECT.
VIII.

a person who was a stranger to me, to imagine; either that I am very lazy, or that I make more account of myself than of the public; or that I am of their opinion, who persuade themselves, that God being sufficient to compass every thing by his power and providence, all they have to do is to wait till he puts them in action. But that your Lordship, to whom, as I said, I ought to be thoroughly known, should entertain any such judgment of me, I cannot sufficiently wonder, especially as the intercourse we have long had with each other, has not only led you into the knowledge of that kind of studies, to which some persons will needs have it that I give up too much of my time; but also into my motive for so doing.

“ And now, as an opportunity offers, I will enlarge myself somewhat on the end I propose in what I do, and how far my ambition reaches. I have formerly told you, my Lord, what I here repeat, that, whether through pusillanimity, or whatever other cause, I was never desirous to be the head or chief magistrate, who bears universal sway, and assigns to each one his post; yet I was ever ready to assist any one who was willing to govern well and knew how to do so; that is, who referred the sway he bore to his service, from whom all power is derived, and to the advantage of those he governed. These have always been my dispositions; nor do I remember to have ever withdrawn myself from the service of my Prince, or of any private friend, unless when my assistance was not asked; or, if it was, I was not left at large to consult the real honour and advantage of the parties concerned: and to this, not one part, but the whole course of my life bears evidence.

“ I will, in the first place, produce an instance in that Prince, to whom I had more ties than to all others, and was so desirous to comply with them,

them, that I had rather have served him, though with the utmost difficulty and hazard of life itself, than have enjoyed a long and uninterrupted prosperity under any other. I quitted his service on no other account, but because he exacted of me what was contrary to his own true glory, and the interest of my country; though, by so doing, I left the high road to wealth and preferment. I proceeded on the same principle; when being afterwards called to the service of that Prince, to whom the supreme Ruler has commanded an universal deference; and being charged with several laborious and hazardous employments, I never refused to acquit myself of any, and never put my private studies or occupations in competition with the most slender advantage I could procure to the meanest person in the universe.

“ I readily grant, indeed, that I am not accustomed to obtrude myself, and go about in quest of business; and this has given some, who are not acquainted with me, occasion to ascribe my solitude to other motives than the true: for when I shall be called forth to action by those who have a right to command my service, or stand in need of it, I am not afraid to say, there is no labour or danger which I shall not be ready to face.

“ But, to come to a greater detail with respect to the affair I have now in hand, your Lordship may say, that since I am employed in what has ever been the object of my wishes, why do I seem to decline it? To which I answer, that nothing in this world could afford me greater satisfaction, and that I esteem it a greater emolument than if his Holiness had conferred on me all the lucrative benefices with which he has gratified the sacred College since he sat in the pontifical throne: and my reason for being thus affected is, as I have declared above, that the utmost of my ambition and desire

S E C T.
VIII.

is, to serve such a Patron, and in such a cause. This satisfaction daily increases, as his Holiness is pleased to press this affair on me, from motives truly worthy himself, the honour of the Almighty, and the good of a great people.

“ I would not, however, have your Lordship imagine, that, having some experience of these affairs, I am ignorant on what a tempestuous sea I embark, when I undertake the embassy to *England*; and that the risks I am to run, and the hardships I must undergo to guide the vessel into the haven, are much greater than those I have hitherto encountered with. But these neither terrify, or give me a single wish of the quiet and safe station I have left; and the whole purport of what I wrote to my agent at *Rome*, was, to give his Holiness to understand, that if, on account of the exigences of the times, any other Minister should be esteemed better qualified to treat with the interested parties, he would not pay the least regard to my person, but employ one who would give him greater satisfaction, and more advance the common cause. This was the sum of my letters, and of what I signified to his Holiness by my Auditor *Ormanet* *.” This letter, as well as the former, being written in *Italian*, they both partake of the exuberance of style of that language, which is very different from the conciseness of our own.

8th May,
1554.

The Emperor, in the mean time, in order to make his pretexts for delaying the LEGATE'S departure more plausible, would see the powers he was invested with, in regard to the affairs of *England*, and send them over to be examined by that court. This, he knew, would take up a considerable time; and the Queen, who had been prevailed on to look on the delays which were hither-

* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 133.

to put to the LEGATE's arrival, as a measure which the situation of her affairs required, was now, likewise, instructed to object to the powers conferred on him, as insufficient to bring about the wished-for reconciliation.

SECT.

VIII.

The Pope, immediately on *Edward's* death, on a supposition that *Mary* would desire CARDINAL POLE's presence to rectify the disorders which were introduced in her father's and brother's reigns, had, as has been related, appointed him LEGATE to the Queen and the *English* nation, and had given him instructions, and very ample powers, with which it is necessary the Reader should be informed, as they are intimately connected with the following part of this History, and are contained under these heads.

“ The Pope begins by expressing his joy on the happy turn which affairs had taken in *England*, which might give a well-grounded hope of that flourishing kingdom returning to its former state, and becoming, once more, a part of CHRIST's fold, after having been separated from it in the two last reigns. This, he says, is, by way of excellence, the work of God's right hand, and to be celebrated by the joy and acclamation of every well-disposed person. That he offers up his thanksgiving to the Almighty for having restored a paternal crown to a Princess, as a reward of her steady adherence to religion, and her constancy under the sharpest trials: and whereas this event had been accomplished when human means seemed least to promise it, his confidence was raised, that the mercy would be extended to the whole body of the people. He congratulates, likewise, the *English* Catholics, who had continued stedfast to the ancient worship, on their own perseverance, and the satisfaction they must feel on the prospect of seeing their countrymen return to it. He ob-



erves, that *England* had a peculiar right to his care and attention, having formerly received the faith by the ministry of persons sent thither from the See he governed; which made him desirous to comfort those also who had departed from those principles, and to restore them to the rectitude from which they were fallen."

As the exigences of the nation were various, the commission was very ample, and such as became his Vicegerent, whose proper character is, *to seek what was lost, to bind up what was broken, and to gather together what had been dispersed in the dark and stormy day*, the LEGATE was impowered to extend this indulgence to almost every weakness and depravity of human nature, of which the misery of those times afforded but too many instances; and which stood in need of a great deal of knowledge in prescribing the remedies, and of a charity and zeal equal to his in applying them. The same latitude was extended to persons of what degree and profession soever, with respect to censures and penalties incurred by heresy, and those crimes with which it is usually attended, as sacrilege, perjury, forbidden marriages, simony, and the like.

Nor was this lenity only used as to the conscientious part, but also as to all civil pursuits on account of the said misdemeanors; and the delinquents, at the LEGATE'S pleasure, were to be restored to all the spiritual and temporal advantages they enjoyed before their transgressions. He might, likewise, exempt them from any public abjuration of their errors, and from all other penalties which the church discipline exacts in such cases: the only condition required, was a sincere return to the true faith, an unfeigned sorrow and confession of their sins, accompanied with absolution, and the performance of such penance as a discreet

discreet and ghostly Father should enjoyn. The ecclesiastical precepts of fasts and abstinence were left to the LEGATE'S regulation, who might dispense with them as to persons and places, as he judged expedient. S E C T.
VIII.

Several, both of the secular and regular clergy, had entered on a marriage state, which, as has been said above, the example of the Apostles, the ancient use of the whole western church, the councils and canons, had made unlawful to the former; and, besides the obligation arising from these heads, the most solemn engagements had rendered utterly inconsistent with the profession of the latter. The following expedient, therefore, was prescribed to redress a disorder, which the licentiousness of the last reign had added to those of the preceding. They were commanded to renounce these contracts, which were no better than a licensed concubinage; and, on that single condition, were permitted to enjoy, at the LEGATE'S discretion, all the rights they had forfeited by their incontinence.

This condescension was still more extensive in behalf of such of the secular clergy as stood in need of it. The Pope supposes the case of some of these unfortunate offenders might be so peculiar, as to make it advisable to allow them to continue as they were; and the LEGATE is authorized to grant them a dispensation to make good their engagements, provided the survivor of the contracting parties be rendered incapable ever to marry again. But as it would have been the highest indecency, and given the most just offence, if such persons had enjoyed the revenues of the church, or were promoted to her dignities; and much more, were they to perform any priestly function, and minister at the altar, they are deprived of the former, and utterly secluded from the latter. The

SECT.
VIII.

disposition of all ecclesiastical and pious foundations, under whatever title, and to whomsoever belonging, was left to the LEGATE to regulate, as he should judge most conducive to the honour of God, and the spiritual welfare of the kingdom. He was impowered to agree and transact, as he should judge convenient, with the possessors of church goods: to discharge them for the profits they had unjustly received, and for the moveable goods they had consumed. Whether restitution of the immoveable was to be made or not, was also left to his determination; and he was authorized to make the owners easy as to all such matters. Whatever profit arose from these transactions was to be applied to the churches, which had suffered; to hospitals and schools, and such like purposes.

As so great a multiplicity of business could not be dispatched by one person, the LEGATE was enabled to commit any part of it, some few clauses excepted, to such judicious and pious persons as he should choose for that purpose; nor was an appeal of any kind to take place or hinder the execution of what he had decreed. Lastly, the Pope confirms the jurisdiction he conferred on him; and moreover adds, that it is his intention he should act, on all occasions, with the same plenitude of power which himself held from JESUS CHRIST, and promises to ratify whatever shall be so enacted*.

The LEGATE was afterwards, by an extension of these privileges, commissioned to exert these powers whilst he was out of the kingdom; to confirm Bishops who had been nominated by the secular authority, and were fallen into heresy during the schism of the two last reigns, on renouncing

* Printed at London, 1685, and may be seen at length in *Wilkins's Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4th, page 91.

their errors: and to provide, on any vacancy, the metropolitan and cathedral churches of the realm, with such persons as should be recommended to him by the Queen, according to the customs of the realm*.

SECT.
VIII.

This salutary and benevolent commission was set forth in four different patents, which bear the same date; the last of them is signed by the nephew of the celebrated *Sadolet*, who had succeeded his uncle in the Bishopric of *Carpentras*†. In the three others, which are in form of credentials, the Pope informs the LEGATE, “that having deliberated with the Cardinals on the arduous and delicate negotiation of recalling his country to the faith of its forefathers, it had been unanimously agreed to appoint him Legate to the Queen and kingdom; and that the preference given to him, on this occasion, was owing to the natural love he must be supposed to bear his own country, to his knowledge of the language, manners, and temper of the people; to his royal extraction, his authority and influence; to his singular skill in the management of business; to his

* Original book of dispatches, M. S. in the *English* college of *Dorway*, produced by Mr. *Dod*, Church Hist. vol. 1. page 545, et seq. in which work there are many valuable documents relating to the ecclesiastical affairs of this nation.

† Bishop *Burnet* has likewise given at length the bull, in which the above-mentioned articles are contained; Hist. of the Reform. part 3d, page 215 of the collection of records. He has likewise exhibited, with candour, the Papal decrees by which the LEGATE's powers are extended, and the church possessions secured, in the most ample and unexceptionable form, to those who then enjoyed them, *ibid.* p. 221, 222. And he has published, with the same good faith, *Ormanet's* and *Granvelle's* letters; and one of CARDINAL POLE to the Pope; and some others, *ibid.* p. 226, et seq. which, though very necessary for that part of the CARDINAL's history, are omitted in *Quirini's* collection; and he has informed his Readers by what means they came into his hands. Hist. of the Reform. part 3, b. 5, p. 230.

eloquence, and, above all other considerations, to his love of our God, and Lord JESUS CHRIST, and of his holy Catholic church. That as the LEGATE had already given proof of these, and all other virtues wherewith the bountiful hand of Providence had adorned his person, his Holiness had appointed him to employ them all in bringing back to the paths of righteousness those who had strayed from them, in a manner worthy his piety towards God, his respect to the holy See, his affection for the common cause of Christianity, and his great parts and integrity: and that this wished-for success was first to be expected from a propitious God; and, in the next place, from the labours, the prudence, and virtues of the LEGATE, and the piety and wisdom of the Queen. It may be truly asserted, if ever patents were a faithful representation of the bearer, these were of CARDINAL POLE; and not more the credentials of an ambassador, than the certificate of a private character †.

These powers, ample as they were, for the reasons I have mentioned, were objected to by the Emperor; and *Ormanet*, the LEGATE's auditor, was sent to *Rome*, in order to have them enlarged, whilst the LEGATE, in the mean time, took up his residence at *Delingen-Abbey*, near *Brussels*. Here he had the news of *Philip's* arrival in *England*, and his marriage with the Queen. The Prince came to *Southampton* on the 20th of *July*, and was met by her Majesty at *Winchester*, where the nuptials were celebrated, in the cathedral, with great pomp, and the ceremony performed by *Gardiner*, Bishop of the diocese, on the 25th. *Philip* was in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and the Queen in the thirty-eighth.

† Ex *R. Poli*, fol. 4, b; transcribed by *Wilkins*, *Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 87.

The qualities of this Prince formed a character, to which it was impossible the temper of the *English* should ever be reconciled: and, that this may not appear a random assertion, I shall draw the out-lines, from which the whole portrait may be collected. The Reader, at the same time, may not be displeas'd to reflect on the strange and unaccountable steps by which this Prince has attain'd to the reputation of wisdom, and great skill in that science which becomes a throne. Besides other arguments of this superiority, two volumes have been published of his Aphorisms; and there is scarce any epithet to denote uncommon sagacity which has not been affixed to his name: even appearances have not been wanting to make him pass for a good man, no less than a great Prince.

Philip had a distant and reserved carriage, which was the effect of constitution and pride, and rendered him very unfit to govern a brave and generous people. Though the marriage treaty between him and the Queen had been carrying on almost a year, and was concluded some months before he came to *England*, he never once wrote to her. He knew nothing of our language, and gave himself little trouble to be acquainted with our manners. When amongst us he retained the *Spanish* dress, which gave his person, which though low was stiff and stately, a still more foreign air, and made him appear to greater disadvantage. This occasioned the mob sometimes to follow him in the streets, and give their opinion of him with a freedom which is peculiar to themselves. The *Flemings* had observed and blamed this inbred arrogance, when he was only Prince of *Spain*; and nothing contributed more to alienate the affections of a people, whose dispositions bear a great resemblance to our own. His wretched policy lost *Holland*, and drove the other provinces of the *Netherlands*

SECT. VIII. *Netherlands* into the worst extremities; and a jealous and suspicious temper caused him to discard those whom his father had employed, and remove the mild and wise governors, who had the love and confidence of the people, and appoint others in their stead, whose harsh and cruel proceedings might be more suited to his own. His son had been tried and put to death in the dark recesses of a prison; and it is a problem if his natural brother, the most gallant and amiable Prince of the age, did not die by poison administered by his orders: to say nothing of the equivocal manner in which his third wife, *Elizabeth of France*, left the world; and his delay in the very first remittance of a small pension, which his father *Charles V.* had reserved out of the vast dominions he resigned to him. A black melancholy, to which he was subject, was increased by a ravenous appetite, and gross meats. Though the conquest of *New Spain* had caused a tide of wealth to flow into the old, from a want of knowledge to put it to useful purposes, it only furnished him with means to trouble his neighbours, and grasp at foreign conquests, when he had already so much more than he knew how to govern. With all the force of profound penetration, and what the fools of the world call deep policy, he ever wanted the plain and simple, and therefore the true principles of government. He introduced into the *Spanish* councils that trifling ceremonial, and those forms in which every department is so intrenched as to be inaccessible to dispatch; and these gloomy and pedantic arts, by which shew and appearances are kept up, whilst real strength is destroyed, have ever since continued to damp the spirit of a nation naturally brave, and to thin it of inhabitants. The same management became hereditary in his family, and his successor, by one senseless and inhuman edict, drove

Philip III.

drove out of *Spain* a million of people: and, to come to proofs which our own times afford, whilst the formalities of the last war were adjusting at *Madrid*, our countrymen failed, fought, and overcame.

The LEGATE had no sooner heard the news of the Queen's marriage, but he congratulated the new King by a long letter, which was no less a piece of seasonable advice, than a compliment on his nuptials, and the acquisition of a new kingdom to his hereditary dominions. He observes the personal interest he had in this great event, as he was sent Legate to her Majesty and the realm; and likewise to *Philip's* father, and to the King of *France*: that this consideration makes his wishes the more ardent, that this alliance may be a means of restoring to his country the blessings of tranquillity, to which it had been so long a stranger, and bringing about a general peace, to the emolument of all *Europe* *. The LEGATE wrote likewise a letter of felicitation to the Emperor on his son's marriage, which he inclosed in one to the Bishop of *Arras*, and desired him to forward it to his Majesty, who was then at *Valenciennes*. He lets the Bishop know that his auditor was not returned from *Rome*; but that he expected him soon. He sent the same intelligence, on the same day, to the Cardinal *de Monte*; and, before he had finished the letter, *Ormanet* arrived with the enlargement of the Legantine Powers; "which, he says, was such as he could have desired from the Pope's goodness, in an affair of the highest concernment: that, therefore, he intreated the Cardinal to make his most dutiful acknowledgments to his Holiness, and should, on the first opportunity, send him all the information he could desire: that *Ormanet's* arrival could never have been more seasonable; and

* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 158.

SECT. he had great hopes in an all-good and powerful
 VIII. Providence, that every thing would end to the
 Pope's satisfaction."

à latere. The Pope, in this enlargement of the LEGATE'S
 commission, enumerates the powers he had already
 conferred on him, in his embassy to *England*,
 and appointing him Legate by commission, to the
 Emperor and the *French* King. Though the com-
 mission, he says, was very extensive, and he had
 authority to exert it in every thing which concern-
 ed the persons and affairs of his country, whilst he
 resided in *Flanders*, yet the fallen state of the nation
 occasioned infinite and unthought of cases to oc-
 cur, which required the assistance of the holy See,
 to which no detail was sufficient; and a further
 doubt had been raised, whether this authority could
 be exercised in the Islands, and other dominions
 subject to her Majesty. To remove therefore all
 ambiguity, the Pope conferred on him full power
 to execute whatever he judged necessary to bring
 about the salutary end of the embassy to *England*,
 though it was not comprehended in his former pa-
 tents: and as to the embassy to the two courts
 above mentioned, he had the full powers of Le-
 gate by commission, in as ample form as they had
 been conferred on the two Cardinals, who were
 lately employed at the said courts.

26th June,
 1554.

- As what concerned the church revenues was a
 matter of the greatest difficulty to be adjusted to
 the rules of justice and religion, and seemed the
 main obstacle to the nation's return to the ancient
 worship, the Pope had ordered a separate decree
 relative to this affair, as follows. "He mentions
 to the LEGATE, that he had already authorized
 him to treat with the possessors of ecclesiastical
 revenues, as to the fruits they unjustly had received
 and consumed, and to discharge them from any
 obligation

obligation of restitution arising from these heads. But as there was every day a greater prospect of the blessing he so much wished the nation, taking place, and nothing seemed more likely to remove the hindrance which yet obstructed it, than the indulgence of the holy See towards those who, in the confusion of the late times, had taken possession of church lands; he, on his part, should be very unwilling that a ransom, so dearly purchased as the salvation of the interested parties, should be frustrated by any temporal considerations. He committed, therefore, the whole affair to the LEGATE, and invested him with the most ample power to agree and compound with the present owners; and to assure to them their possessions, on whatever title they held them; to exempt them from any duty of restitution; and to do every thing which was necessary to remove all scruples and make them easy. This only clause was added, that if any affair occurred so momentous as to make the decision of the holy See seem necessary, she was to be consulted, and her judgment waited for: but even whether this was to be done or not, was left to the LEGATE, and his sentence was to determine all things*.”

28th June,

1554.

Cardinal *de Monte* accompanied these decrees with a letter of great civilities, which *Ormanet* the auditor was to deliver to his Lord, with another from Cardinal *Moron*, in answer to those of the LEGATE, of which large extracts have been already given. *Moron* lets him know, “ that having informed the Pope of what he wrote, he had testified the highest approbation of the LEGATE’s conduct, and cleared him of giving cause to the Emperor; or any one else, of the extravagant behaviour he

* Printed at London, 1554; and transcribed by *Wilkins*, *Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, p. 102.

complained

SECT.
VIII.



complained of. As to recalling him, he persisted that it could not be done without great indignity to himself, dishonour to the holy See, reproach to the Emperor, injury to the LEGATE, and prejudice to the affairs of *England*. That his Holiness had often declared himself variously on the subject of church lands, before he came to a final resolution; but that, at length, the bearer, *Ormanet*, was dispatched with every concession conformable to the exigences of affairs, and the LEGATE'S
13th July, desires."

1554.

The LEGATE had no sooner received these dispatches but he sent the bearer to inform the Emperor, who was still at *Valenciennes*, of their contents, and to urge his Majesty's consent to his setting out for *England*. *Ormanet*, immediately on his arrival, had audience of the Bishop of *Arras*, of which he gives *Priuli* the following account: "That the Minister's answer to the commission with which the LEGATE had charged him was, that no one could doubt of the Emperor having the affairs of religion at heart, as he had always promoted its interest, and often exposed his life in its cause. That as to the seasonableness of exerting his zeal in the present juncture, on which I had chiefly insisted, his Majesty was of opinion it was proper to wait the turn which affairs took in *England*, from whence they had no news since the Prince's landing, but of the marriage. That it would be necessary to come to an explicit declaration on two heads; whether the disposition of the church revenues was left to the LEGATE or to their Majesties, and the method which his Lordship proposed to observe in this disposition. The Bishop added, that he desired to see a copy of the patents. My answer, says *Ormanet*, was, that as to the particulars of the commission he thought he had said enough in declaring to his Lordship,
that

that the LEGATE was intrusted with the whole; but as to the manner of proceeding in it, he could come to no resolution till he was on the spot, as there were many things of which, as yet, it was impossible to frame a right notion. I insisted on the importance of the business, which required all the dispatch the nature of things admitted; and that no opportunity could be fairer than the present, as the good humour, which the late coronation had occasioned, would reconcile the minds of the people to what the LEGATE was to execute, and his Majesty's son have the honour of being, in great measure, the instrument of such a national blessing. On this head, the auditor says, he enlarged himself, as he should inform the LEGATE on his return. The conclusion was, that *Granvelle* would inform his Imperial Majesty of all that had passed between them; and that his own good offices should not be wanting, which he owed both to the cause, and to his deference and esteem for the LEGATE: that as they were to change quarters very suddenly, he could not then let me have his Majesty's resolution, but would send it to me at *Valenciennes*, and I need give myself no further trouble. I shall allow him a whole day to acquit himself of his promise; and on the following, if he fails to do it, shall return to solicit my dismissal. I was willing, says he, to send this detail, that I might cause no uneasiness by staying beyond the time appointed. He informs *Priuli*, that the Emperor was in so good a state of health and spirits, as to review his troops every day on horseback."

31st July,

Three days after the Bishop of *Arras* dismissed *Ormanet* with the following letter to the LEGATE. 1554.

"I have received two letters from your Lordship, by the first of which you assure me of your satisfaction on the Prince's arrival in *England*, and his

SECT.
VIII.



Bouchain,
3^d Aug.
1554.

his marriage. The other, which was directed to his Imperial Majesty, I delivered myself; and he signified how much he was pleased at this pledge of your Lordship's regard and affection. Your auditor, who is to be the bearer of this, is since arrived here, and has made a report to me of whatever you was pleased to communicate concerning your patents; of all which I have informed his Majesty. His answer is, as your Lordship may understand more at large from the bearer, that he does not think it proper you should set out for *England*, till he has consulted their *Britannic* Majesties on this head; and that, on the return of a courier who was dispatched to day, he shall be able to take a final resolution. That the Emperor, the King and Queen had but one common interest in view; and it could not be doubted but they would promote it, not only with a zeal which became them, but also with such temper, as to be of service to the cause, and not ruin it for ever."

The LEGATE, in his answer, lets *Granvelle* know how sensible he was of his Imperial Majesty's goodness, who, in the midst of the din of war, gave so serious an attention to the affairs of *Britain*. That, as to his setting out on his journey thither, he should wait his pleasure, and had never entertained a thought of taking any step in the whole affair, but with his approbation. In the mean time, he should beg of the divine goodness to give to the whole body of the people a sense of this favourable incident, lest the reproach of the Prophet, *the kite has known its season, but my people hath not known the time of their visitation*, should be verified in them. That the piety of their Sovereigns gave him great hopes they would act in a manner worthy the expectation they had raised, especially as they could not fail to be prompted and assisted by the authority and prudence of his Imperial

Imperial Majesty. He ends by telling the Bishop, that having been informed from his auditor, that it would be a satisfaction to him to see a copy of his commission to dispose of the church lands, he had sent it; and desired to be informed when it was come to hand. That he was much obliged to him for the offers of his friendship, and the civilities he had shewn his auditor." Some time after, this Minister informed the LEGATE, "he had seen his patents, and joins in wishes for the success of an affair, which, as it regarded a common good, every one must have at heart." This detail perhaps appear too minute; but the importance of the affair, in which the negotiation ended, caused me to be as circumstantial concerning every thing which related to it (if I may be allowed the comparison) as the poet in producing the bow, by which his hero was to be discovered; and the fate of the suitors decided.

S E C T.
VIII.*Delingen,*
5th Aug.
1554.11th Aug.*Odysf. b.*

21.

The
Count of
Horne.

During this intercourse, *Philip*, who was now King of *England*, had sent over a person of the first quality of the Low Countries, to the Emperor his father. This nobleman was likewise charged with a letter of great respect, on the part of the King, to the LEGATE, to whom he was to notify his Majesty's marriage; and the letter was to be the bearer's credentials. The LEGATE acknowledged his sense of this mark of royal favour, by making an offer of the allegiance he now owed *Philip* as his Sovereign; and by the like expressions of respect, which are bestowed on Princes on such occasions. The letter is in *Latin*, and dated from *Delingen-Abbey*, near *Brussels*, where his residence was. *Soto*, *Philip's* confessor, wrote likewise to him, in a manner agreeable to the post he was in, and to his own personal character; and the LEGATE in his reply tells him, he had sufficiently indicated

7th Aug.

SECT.
VIII.



his own way of thinking, in personating that of his Prince; and takes notice, that unless *Philip* really gave the preference to what concerned the worship of the Supreme Being, he would pervert the order of things; for unless this great affair held the first place, no other could be assigned to it*.

10th OA.

Soon after the time I am speaking of, the Emperor came to *Brussels*, and had frequent conferences with the LEGATE and the Bishop of *Arras*, on the situation of affairs in *England*, of which he gives the Pope the following particulars. That the Emperor and his Minister had often resumed the argument which had been discussed in the letters that had passed between the latter, himself, and *Ormanet*; which the Reader has already seen, and of which the LEGATE gives his Holiness the chief heads. These, he says, though represented with great candour on his part, appeared not sufficiently cleared up to his Majesty and *Granvelle*; and in order to protract the affair, they insisted on further eclaircissements. I replied, says the LEGATE, that, in an affair of this nature, the negotiation was not to be carried on as in the late treaty of peace, where neither party discovered their real intentions, but endeavoured to avail themselves of the discovery they could make of those of their adversary; whereas in this treaty there was but one common cause, in which your Holiness, the Emperor, and their *Britannic* Majesties were equally interested: and, if I was allowed to have access to my country, I should satisfy the latter as to the

* Et fanè ita eum prorsus facere oportet, qui collapsam religionem erigere atque instaurare cogitet; cui si primum locum non dederis, nullum dederis; sed quam instaurare profitearis, dum ordinem pervertis, labefactes magis ac diruas. *R. Poli* Epist. pars 4^{ta}, p. 166.

extent of the commission I had from your Holiness to remove all obstacles to a reconciliation; but if any difficulty remained, their Majesties were free to propose it. That the impediments in general were of two kinds; the first regarded the *Doctrine*, in which no abatement could be made, since the only remedy to evils introduced by error, was the acknowledgment of the contrary truths. The other related to church revenues, the possessors of which, from an apprehension of the severity of her laws, were afraid to return to her obedience; and to this, I said, your Holiness was willing to extend indulgence as far as the case required. The LEGATE then gives a summary relation of these concessions, with which, says he, the Emperor was highly satisfied; but added, that this article should be well considered, as he knew, from the experience he had in *Germany*, that this would be the capital objection of many: for, as to tenets, they gave themselves little trouble about them, being equally indifferent to all. The Emperor made other objections, which, the LEGATE says, seemed only started to put off his journey; to which he answered; that the Parliament being shortly to be summoned, it was of the utmost importance it should not break up without completing the great work now in hand. That otherwise it would give general offence, and be a notable detriment to the cause. That the Queen having entered on the marriage state, with a view to facilitate this undertaking, and Providence having allotted her a husband who might second her good intentions, if an affair, which ought to be the principle on which their royal conduct should turn, was put off any longer, they would be inexcusable both before God and man. The Emperor replied, that great allowances were to be made to the unfavourable dispositions of those

SECT.
VIII.

whom this affair concerned, to their aversion to the very name of obedience to the church, to a scarlet hat, and a religious habit: that his son had been advised to cause the religious men he brought with him from *Spain* to change their dress; tho' he had not done it, nor did it become him to do so. To this he added the dangerous consequences of popular tumults, and the bad offices which their foreign enemies, meaning the *French*, would not fail to do them. I replied, says the LEGATE, that if their Majesties were to wait till every imaginary difficulty was removed, there would never be an end of delays, since the interested parties desired nothing more than that things should go on in the present track, and they allowed to possess and enjoy what they held. The conclusion, says he, was to expect the return of a Secretary, who was to come in a few days from *England*; and the LEGATE confer in the mean time, with the Bishop of *Arras* on what had been the subject of this letter *."

13th Oct.

1554. - Whilst this negotiation was going forward, envy, which, as the shadow follows the substance, attends eminent merit, endeavoured, by every low and ungenerous method, to hinder the effects of the LEGATE'S zeal, and keep him at a distance. All the ill services, which malice and jealousy could suggest, were employed at the courts of *Rome*, *Brussels* and *England*, to set him aside, and represent him as unfit for the commission he was charged with. Nor was he either ignorant or unattentive to what passed, but said to his friends, he was much in the same case with a person, who, by the waving of the grass, perceives that a snake is lurking under it, though he cannot exactly de-

* *Burnet*, part 3, b. 5. Col. of Records, page 230.

termine

termine the spot†. But a confidence in Almighty God, and a resolution not to be wanting to himself, and to make use of such measures as prudence suggests, and Providence furnishes, supported him in these straits: at the same time he wrote to *Philip* the obligation he lay under of no longer refusing him the entrance of his kingdom, and putting an obstacle to the commission he came to execute. “It is now, Sir, says he, a year since I presented myself at your palace gates, without having obtained admittance. If your Majesty asks, as it is usual of those who present themselves in this manner, who it is? I shall content myself with making this answer; that it is he, who, that he might prevent the same palace from being shut to her, with whom you now enjoy it in common, has suffered himself to be deprived of his home and country, and undergone a banishment of twenty years. Was I to allege no other reason for being recalled and admitted to your presence, this alone must appear sufficient: but I overlook whatever I may claim in my own name, whatever I have a right to as a private person, and only desire that a due regard may be had to my public character *.”^{2, 1st Sept.} He adds many reasons, which the goodness of his^{1554.} heart and his zeal for the public good suggested, for not putting off to a more distant time a work, which he thought should have been already entered on; and if it were neglected, would involve the King and Queen in much guilt, and the consequences of it. This letter is long, and consists chiefly of allegory, and moral allusions to some historical passages of Scripture, which gave a

† *Vita Poli*, fol. 25, à tergo.

* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 162.

SECT. VIII. handle to a writer, who, on the whole, is very fair to CARDINAL POLE's character, to say it is more like the flourish of a rhetorician, than the solemn expostulation of a great man on such an occasion. At the same time he acknowledges, that this manner of writing had been practised early, and long used by eminent men, and that such precedents might have warranted him to copy it. He might have carried up the list very high, and cited one whom *Longinus* quotes as a pattern of eloquence.

Burnet's History of the Reformation, part 3, p. 236.

St. Paul.

Philip, on the receipt of this letter, sent *Renardi*, who was the Emperor's Ambassador at the *English* court, to *Brussels*, to inform the LEGATE of what had been already done in the affair of religion, what omitted, and for what reasons, and of every particular which had any connection with it; to lay before him the present situation of things, and advise with him of the means which seemed most expedient to bring them to a happy conclusion. The LEGATE, in his answer, of which the same Ambassador was to be the bearer, says, he had informed his Majesty of every article on which he desired his opinion, and therefore should not trouble him any further, but referred him to his Excellence for all particulars*.

27th OE.

Mason.

Almost at the same time the Queen's Ambassador at the court of *Brussels* wrote to her the following letter. "That CARDINAL POLE was come into those parts on two errands; one to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the *French King*; the other, to bring about a reconciliation of his country with the Catholic church: but perceiving neither of them to take effect, he began to lose all comfort. That, as to the first, he quite gave it

* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 168.

up; and if he did not speedily perceive some likelihood of succeeding in the other, he should be weary of spending his time to no purpose, and talked of returning to *Italy*. That, should this happen, he indeed would have the displeasure of being deprived of his country; but the realm, in its turn, would lose a person who, for his wisdom, learning, and eminent virtue, was sought and honoured by every one who had the happiness of his acquaintance. That his conversation was much above that of ordinary men, and adorned with such qualities, that he wished the man, who liked him the least in the kingdom, was to converse with him but one half hour; that it must be a stony heart which he did not soften. And, to conclude, should he leave those parts without an opportunity of letting her Majesty's subjects make any essay of his good qualities, he, the Ambassador, must think the story of the Gospel in some sense verified in the LEGATE's person, where the inhabitants of *Geraza*, on a fond and groundless fear, are related to have desired our Redeemer, who offered his presence to them, to depart from their country."

Brussels,
17th Oct.

So many cogent motives, founded on religion and reason, at length took place of what is called politics, and the CARDINAL's return was resolved: and that it might be attended with every circumstance which could do honour to this illustrious exile; and, in the first place, that his repeal might be an act of justice, not of grace, the cause of the attainder was rejudged, and the disgrace dignified. The Parliament, as has been said, was summoned on the 12th of *November*, and the first bill brought before the Lords was the reversion of the attainder, which went through the House in two days. 17th Nov. It was then sent down to the Commons, who 19th.

SECT.
VIII.

22^d Nov.

read it thrice in one day, and sent it up. The bill being to pass before the CARDINAL could come to *England*, a motion was made in the lower House, whether this could be done without making a Session, which must cause a prorogation? and it being resolved in the affirmative, the King and Queen came to the House and passed it. The bill set forth, that the only reason of the attainder was the CARDINAL'S refusal to consent to the unlawful divorce of the Queen's father and mother, and that their Majesties, and both Houses of Parliament, in consideration of his conscientious behaviour in this affair, and his many excellent qualities, repealed the attainder, and restored him to all the rights which his uprightness alone had caused him to forfeit. The impression of the Great Seal which was put to this Act was, for greater distinction, taken off in gold.

Every thing being now agreed on for the LEGATE'S reception in *England*, the Lords *Paget* and *Hastings*, and a train of forty gentlemen, were appointed to go to *Brussels*, to invite him to his native country. They were both of the Privy Council, and the latter master of the horse, and married to *Catharine*, daughter of Lord *Montague*, the CARDINAL'S eldest brother, who was put to death by *Henry VIII.* On their arrival, they acquainted the Queen of the satisfaction the Emperor had signified at the information they had given him of the state of the nation, and of what concerned herself, at which he roused himself with a merry chere, and discoursed to them at large on the manifold advantages which were likely to attend this turn of affairs. After this account of the audience of the Emperor, they inform the Queen of their waiting on the CARDINAL, of the joy with which he received them, and the gratitude and respect he

he expressed for the Queen. "His virtues, say they, cannot be sufficiently admired; and, in particular, his moderation, and the command he has of himself, which make him ready not only to lay aside the character of LEGATE, and come to *England* as a private Cardinal and Ambassador to her Majesty, but agree to any other measures, which may be for the public emolument; and, as to what concerned the abbey lands, all things should be adjusted so as to give general contentment." They conclude, by informing her Majesty, that the CARDINAL'S weak state of health did not permit him to take long journeys; and, moreover, that regard was to be had to the dignity of his person: that on the morrow they should lie at *Dendermond*; *Thursday*, at *Ghent*; *Friday*, at *Bruges*; *Saturday*, at *Nieuport*; *Sunday*, at *Dunkirk*; *Monday*, at *Calais*; that no respect and attendance should be wanting on their part, as it was their duty to behave in this manner, and because the CARDINAL'S merit made it their inclination*.

Several foreigners, who were distinguished for their abilities in public affairs or literature, attended the LEGATE to his country; among whom, besides his chief intimate *Priuli*, were his Secretary *Floribellus*, who had been so justly celebrated for the ease and elegance of his *Latin* style; *Stella*, and *Rollus*: and though the former was much advanced in years, and the other's health very infirm, and the LEGATE had used every endeavour to prevail on them not to hazard so long and difficult a journey, especially in the winter, the respect and affection they bore him, on account of a long

Brussels,
13th Nov.
1554.

* Paper Office; copied by Bishop *Burnet*, Hist. of the Reformat. part 3, b. 5. Collect. of Rec. p. 237.

acquaintance,

S E C T.
VIII.

acquaintance, and several friendly offices which had passed between them, made them both overlook whatever inconveniencies they might apprehend, either from their years or infirmities. And though *Stella* died on the road, his brother's son, a youth of exquisite judgment and learning, succeeded to the place his uncle held in his patron's esteem, and was very serviceable to him. It may be observed as a singular felicity which attended this great man, that of all those who followed him out of *Italy*, and were in any degree of his esteem, *Stella* was the only one he lost in the future part of his life*.

The LEGATE had taken leave of the Emperor the night before the date of the letter I have last mentioned, and sat out the following day, accompanied by a hundred and twenty horse. From *Ghent* he wrote to the King, “to testify his sense of the honour their Majesties had done him, in writing to him in the most obliging manner, by two of their Privy Council, Lord *Paget*, knight of the garter, and Lord *Hastings*, master of the horse; who were moreover charged with verbal messages of the same gracious import, and appointed to conduct him in his journey to *England*: for which instances of goodness, he hoped, in a few days, to signify to them, in person, all the gratitude he then felt †.”

Ghent,
16th Nov.
1554.

Being arrived at *Calais*, he was received, agreeably to the orders the Queen had given, with great magnificence, and found a royal yacht and six men of war in readiness to wait on him to his country. Here an incident happened, which was remarked by every one there present, and in-

* *Vita Poli*, fol. 23.

† *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}; pag. 173.

terpreted as a declaration of heaven in his favour; and which, in whatever light it may now be looked on by the Reader, I must not omit. The wind, which for several days had been so contrary, as to make the passage to *England* impracticable, and seemed as if it would continue so, on the very night of the LEGATE'S arrival, became on a sudden fair, and, in a few hours, conveyed him and his retinue to *Dover* †.

SECT.
VIII.

20th Nov.

† *Vita Poli*, fol. 26.

SECT.

S E C T. IX.

The CARDINAL reconciles the English Nation to the Church of Rome: Assures the Abbey Lands to the Lay Owners. Abstract of an accurate Statute made by the Parliament on that Occasion. On the Vacancy of the See of Rome; he is designed for the Papacy, by the Queen of England and the French Court: And is chosen Mediator between the Emperor and the French King, at the Congress of Calais. He calls a National Council, and publishes Constitutions for the Reformation of the English Church.

S E C T.
IX.

ARDINAL POLE was received at landing by the Lord *Montague*, his nephew by his eldest brother, whom *Henry VIII.* had put to death; by the Bishop of *Ely*, and several of the nobility, among whom were some of his acquaintance and relations. In this company he sat out for *London*, and was met on the road by a great concourse of people, and had the same honours every where paid him as at his landing, where he had been treated as a person of the royal family, and one who came to restore the nation to a blessing, of which it had been so many years deprived. Being come to *Gravesend*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and the Earl of *Sbrewsbury*, who was one of the most considerable noblemen of the kingdom, complimented him on behalf

behalf of their Majesties, and presented him with the Act, by which, on the foregoing day, he was restored to blood, the attainder reversed, by which he had been banished, and declared a rebel and an enemy to his country, and he re-instated in all his honours and rights. That this proceeding might be attended with greater solemnity, and be more honourable to the person it concerned, the King and Queen, as has been said, would, though contrary to custom, be present when the Act passed, and the impression of the great seal was taken off in gold. At *Gravesend* a royal barge was in readiness to carry him to *London* by water; and it being notified to him on the part of their Majesties, that it was their pleasure he should now appear in the public character of LEGATE, the barge carried at her head the silver cross, which was raised in so conspicuous a manner, as to be beheld by an infinite multitude of spectators, who covered both sides of the *Thames*, while a great number of smaller barges accompanied him up the river, till he arrived at *Whitehall*, where the court then was.

The letters patent by which the CARDINAL is authorized to exercise his legantine jurisdiction, and which were presented to him by the Bishop of *Durham*, are to the following purpose: " Their Majesties declare, that whereas it has pleased the Pontiff *Julius III.* to send their dear cousin REGINALD POLE with certain authorities, graces and jurisdictions, to be exercised in behalf of the subjects of *England*; the said LEGATE had accepted the commission on the best of purposes; and the exercise of it was highly beneficial to the realm: that, on this account, his arrival in that character was most acceptable to them, and it was their pleasure he should exercise the said jurisdiction in its full extent; and they were well pleased their

loving

S E C T.

IX.

22^d Nov.

1554

S E C T. IX. loving subjects should have recourse to him according to the nature and quality of the grace they stood in need of, and as they might have done in the twentieth year of the late King *Henry* *.”

10th Nov.
1554.

The King and Queen, who did not expect him so early, were at table when he came to land; but, as soon as his arrival was known, the Chancellor, and several of the Lords, went down to the water side to receive him: the King likewise came out to meet him before he reached the palace, and embraced him with great marks of affection. The Queen, with the Ladies of the court, received him at the head of the great stair-case, and publicly declared her joy on that occasion to be equal to what she had felt on ascending the throne of her ancestors. Having staid some time in conference with their Majesties, and presented them his credentials, he was conducted to *Lambeth* by the Chancellor, the prime of the nobility, and the multitude which had met him on the road. The Queen had given orders that the palace, which was now vacated by Archbishop *Cranmer* lying under sentence of death for treason, should be richly furnished, and had appointed the LEGATE a household, and an income suited to such an expence. The third day after he went to court, and the King, who came out of the anti-chamber to meet him, delivered into his hand a packet of letters he had just then received. It was a dispatch from *Rome*, and brought the LEGATE the most ample powers, in order to accomplish the great work of the nation's reconciliation with the Catholic church; and the incident of its arriving at that critical juncture was interpreted as a declaration of heaven in favour of a cause which then engaged

* *Ex Reg. Poli*, fol. 66, and *Conc. Mag. Brit.* Vol. 4. pag. 109.

the attention of all *Europe*. The next day the King paid the LEGATE a visit, and regulated every thing with him concerning this great work, which was opened in the following manner.

S E C T.

IX.

On the morrow, the 28th of *November*, the LEGATE, as had been agreed on, came to the House of Peers before the King and Queen, and the Chancellor informed the Lords and Commons, who were summoned to attend, that the CARDINAL was come a LEGATE from the holy See to their Majesties and to the whole realm; and having already declared to the former the purpose of his embassy, he was about to make the same declaration to them as representatives of the whole nation.

The LEGATE then rose up and spoke to this purpose: Before he entered on the matter, he said; "He had, for many years, been excluded not only from that assembly, but also from his country, by laws enacted personally against himself: that he returned their Majesties and the Parliament his best acknowledgments for repealing those laws, and should ever be grateful for the good will they had shewn him on this occasion; that this favour of theirs was the more welcome, as it now furnished him with an opportunity of repaying it in a matter of still greater importance to his benefactors; that he had been restored by them to the place of his birth, and to a nobility which could boast no higher origin than the earth; but he was come to inscribe them denizens of a heavenly country, and reinstate them in that true and Christian greatness which they had forfeited by renouncing a fealty, to which it had pleased Almighty God it should be annexed. He then enumerated the evils they had been liable to since this defection; he insisted on the greatness of the benefit which was offered them, and on the peculiar at-

SECTION IX. { tention the See of *Rome* had always shewn the *Eng-lish* nation. He reminded them of their past errors, exhorted them to sincere repentance, and to receive with a sensible and holy joy the reconciliation which he, as LEGATE to God's Vicegerent, was about to impart to them; and to that effect was invested with full power to receive them into the church, as they, by repealing the acts passed against himself, had opened his country to him. That to reap so great a blessing, it only remained that they should repeal whatever they had enacted against the holy See, and those laws by which they had cut themselves off from the body of the faithful."

The discourse, which was long, was heard very favourably, and with great silence and attention; several who were present, lifting up their eyes and hands, and signifying how deeply they were affected with it. When the LEGATE had ended; the Chancellor thanked him, in the name of their Majesties and the Parliament, for the good offices he had done the nation; and said, the Houses would deliberate on what he had proposed: and the LEGATE being withdrawn into an adjoining chamber, the Chancellor began a second speech from these words of *Moses*, *The Lord shall raise up a Prophet to thee from amongst thine own brethren*; and having repeated and confirmed the chief points on which the LEGATE had spoken, he acknowledged himself of the number of the delinquents; he set before them the greatness of the offered blessing; he exhorted them to rise from their fallen state, and dispose themselves to a reconciliation with the common Parent of All who are intitled to the promises of the Gospel: and thus the business of the day concluded.

On the morrow the Parliament met again, and a return to the communion of the Catholic church

church being proposed, it was agreed to with a general approbation. The following day, which was the festival of St. *Andrew* the Apostle, both Houses being assembled, the King sent the High Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundel*, attended by six knights of the garter, and the same number of prelates, to accompany the LEGATE to the House of Lords. He came attired in his robes, and with all the types of his legantine jurisdiction, and was received by their Majesties with every demonstration of respect; and the King being at the Queen's left hand, and the LEGATE at her right, though at a somewhat greater distance than the King; they were all three placed on seats raised on rich tapestry and under a very costly canopy. The Commons being ordered to attend, the Chancellor briefly recapitulated what had been said and agreed on the day before, and asked them if they then ratified it, and desired to return to the unity of the church, and the obedience which was due to her chief pastor? this proposal being assented to by the acclamation of the whole assembly, he presented to their Majesties a petition on behalf of the members of both Houses, as representatives of the whole nation, setting forth their sorrow for the former schism, and for whatever they had enacted against the See of *Rome*, and the Catholic religion; all which they now annulled, and beseeched them, whom God had preserved from any share in the guilt, to obtain of the Lord LEGATE to pardon and restore them again, as true and living members, to that body from which they had separated themselves by their misdeeds.

The King and Queen having read the petition, returned it to the Chancellor, who read it audibly, so as to be heard by all. The whole assembly then rose and went towards the LEGATE, who was got up to meet them; and the Queen, in her own and

SECT.
IX.

the King's name, petitioned him to grant the pardon and reconciliation sued for. On this the LEGATE, when they had taken again their seats, caused whatever related to the powers with which he was invested to be read, and then set forth, in a pathetic discourse, the thanks which were due to the divine goodness, for granting them the present opportunity of cancelling their past offences: " Providence, he said, seemed to look on this island with a particular complacency, having first called us, at a very early period, from Paganism to the worship of the true God; and now, when we had separated ourselves from his sheepfold, had been pleased to give us a sense and sorrow of our transgressions, preferably to any other people who had been engaged in the same unhappiness. If their repentance, he added, was answerable to the importance of the occasion, and the hainousness of the fault, what joy must it cause to the Angels of heaven to be spectators of the conversion of so populous a kingdom, they who rejoice at the return to duty of a single sinner?"

He then rose from his seat, and every one being on their knees except the King and Queen, who were standing, he pronounced the general absolution with a clear and distinct voice, and had scarcely repeated the names of the three divine persons, with which it ends, but they cried out, Amen, Amen. During the absolution, the Queen, and many others, shed tears of joy and piety; and it being now over, they all rose up, and embraced one another, often repeating, *to day we are born again.* They then went to the royal chapel, and returned thanks to Almighty God, by the hymn which is sung on all solemn occasions; and this great work having been completed on St. *Andrew's* day, the LEGATE afterwards procured a canon to be made, in the convocation of the Bishops and

and Clergy, appointing this festival to be kept thenceforward with peculiar solemnity *.

SECT.
IX.

I cannot pass over this memorable event without taking a review of some of those causes which seem to have prepared so speedy and universal a revolution; one of the chief of which appears to have been the short distance of time, which was not much more than twenty years, since *England* had renounced the religion to which she now returned, and which had been the national worship for above nine centuries. The Reader has seen, in the former part of this work, the motives which induced *Henry VIII.* to begin this change, and by what methods he enforced it on his subjects, and the fluctuating state, both of principle and practice, during all *Edward's* reign. To the facts which have been already advanced, I shall only add the authority of two witnesses, who in this case are above all exception; one of whom assigns very natural reasons for the little satisfaction which sensible and well disposed minds could find in such novelties; and the other sets forth, in a very impartial light, some arguments, *which*, as he expresses himself, *may prevail on men of much reason and more piety*, to entertain a favourable opinion of the religion which the nation now embraced. The first acknowledges, "that the licentious and dissolute life of many of the professors of the Gospel, and which was but too visible in some of the more eminent among them; the open blemishes of some of the clergy, who promoted the reformation, contributed to alienate the people, to raise a general aversion, and to make the nation entertain as advantageous a notion of the religion they had quitted, as their prejudices had been strong against it:

* Il. ritorno del Regno d' Inghilterra, &c. *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^a, p. 303. et seq. *Poli* vita, fol. 26. et seq.

and to look upon all the innovations that had been made as so many inlets into all manner of vice and wickedness*.”

“ The members of the *Roman* Catholic communion, says the other author, whose authority I have pleaded, may say, that their religion was that of their forefathers, and had the actual possession of mens minds before the opposite opinions had even a name; and having continued in it thro’ such a length of time, it would be objected to them with an ill grace, that this was the effect of invention or design; because it was not likely that all ages should have the same purposes, or that the same doctrine should serve the different ends of several ages. This prescription, moreover, rests on these grounds; that truth is more ancient than falsehood; and that God would not, for so many ages, have forsaken his church and left her in error. To this antiquity of doctrine is annexed an uninterrupted succession of their Bishops from the Apostles, and particularly of their supreme Bishop from St. *Peter*, whose personal prerogatives were so great, and the advantageous manner in which many eminent Prelates of other Sees have expressed themselves with regard to the church of *Rome*. This prerogative includes the advantages of monarchy, and the constant benefits which are derived from that form of government. Nor does the multitude and variety of people, who are of that persuasion, their apparent consent with elder ages, and their agreement with one another, form a less presumption in their favour. The same conclusion, he says, must be inferred from the differences which have risen amongst their adversaries, and from the casualties which have happened to many of them: from the oblique and sinister proceedings

* Bishop *Burnet*’s History of the Reformat. vol. 3. p. 217.

of some who have left their communion; from the appellation of heretic and schismatic, which they fix on all who dissent from them. To these negative arguments he adds those of a more positive kind; the beauty and splendor of the church of *Rome*, her solemn service, the stateliness and magnificence of her hierarchy, and the name of *Catholic*, which she claims as her own due, and to concern no other sect of Christianity. It has been their happiness to be instrumental to the conversion of many nations. The world is witness to the piety and austerity of their religious orders; to the single life of their Priests and Bishops; the severity of their fasts and observances; to the great reputation of many of their Bishops for faith and sanctity, and the known holiness of some of those persons, whose institutes the religious orders follow*.”

As the breach of the nation with the Catholic church was begun and carried on in the two latter reigns, by renouncing the supremacy of the See of *Rome*, the acknowledgment of this article seems to have been the characteristic which distinguished the return to the ancient faith in this. And tho' I am aware with what difficulty the proofs of the expediency, and much more of the necessity of such a means will be admitted, yet a knowing and judicious reader might take just offence, should I question his deference for that which follows, or to the authority which inforces it. “ It is well known, says the learned *Grotius*, speaking of himself, that I have always wished to see Christians re-united in the same body; and I once thought this conjunction might be begun by an union of Protestants among themselves. I have since perceived that this is impossible, not only

* *Dr. Jeremy Taylor* on the liberty of prophesying.

because the *Calvinists* are averse to all such agreements; but because Protestants are not associated under any one form of government, and therefore cannot be united in one body, but must necessarily be separated into other new sects and divisions. I therefore, and many others with me, plainly see that this concord of Protestants can never be effected, unless they are united to the *Roman See*, without which no common church government can take place: for which reason I wish that the separation, which has been made, and the causes of it, may cease. Now, amongst these, the canonical Primacy of the Bishop of *Rome* cannot, as *Melancthon* himself confesses, be placed; for he judges that very Primacy necessary, in order to maintain and preserve unity †.”

The day after the reconciliation, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited on the LEGATE, and desired him to honour the city with his presence, in that character; and the first *Sunday of Advent* falling two days after, he went from *Lambeth* by water, and landed at *St. Paul's* wharf, and being now entered the city, he was met by all orders of it; and from thence proceeded, in great state, to the Cathedral, the cross, the pillars and silver pole-axes being borne before him. High Mass was celebrated, at which the King and Queen and

† *Grotius*' last reply to *Rivet*, written a short time before his death.

If the Reader would see the judgment of other Protestant divines of our own country on this point, he may consult *Dr. Field's* preface to his book on the church. *Dr. Hammond*, in his treatise on heresy, § 13. No. 2, 3. and his Comment. on *1 Tim.* iii. 15. *Dr. Jackson* on the Creed, b 2. chap. 4. page 165, and *Dr. Ferne*; who all seem to extort from their readers the same concession on this article of the Catholic faith, which *St. Paul* drew from *Agrippa* with respect to the Christian religion in general, *Thou persuadest me almost to be a Christian.* Acts xxvi. 28.

the court were present. The Bishop of *Winchester* preached on these words of *St. Paul*, which are read in the lesson of that day, *Brethren, it is now time for us to awake from sleep*, Rom. xiii. He compared the state they had been in, during the two last reigns, to that of men labouring under the illusion of a dream, when reason is suspended, and appetite takes its full range; in which circumstances the indigent imagine they are wealthy, the wretched have an apprehension of pleasure, and the infamous of honour: but when the trance is over, as the royal Prophet with great elegance represents their case, they find the whole to have been deception. He enumerated the errors into which they were fallen, the public and private calamities to which they had been subject, and the enormities they had committed. He insisted particularly on the injustice and cruelty which the LEGATE had suffered in his person, in the death of his nearest relations, and the confiscation of his fortunes. He informed them of what had passed a few days ago in parliament, and exhorted them to approve of it. He fancied he saw a great congruity in several incidents which marked out the particular time in which they were awakened to a sense of their duty; the least equivocal of which is, that it was brought about by the means of the LEGATE. He confessed the share himself had in the national guilt, and requested of his bearers, that as they had been influenced by him, when he went astray, they would now follow him in his return to duty †."

The censures incurred by the clergy, in the late disorders, were of a peculiar kind from those of the rest of the realm; wherefore, on the *Thursday*

† Excerpta per Archid. *Cantuar.* ex concione Episc. *Vinto.* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^{ta}, pag. 293.

SECT.
IX.

following, the Bishops, and others of that body, met in convocation, and, being on their knees, received pardon of all irregularities they had been liable to during these innovations.

In this manner the substance of this great revolution, with regard to all orders of the kingdom, was completed: but though the church possessions had been made over and secured by the papal authority, in very plain and ample terms, to the lay owners, as has been seen in the decrees already cited on that head, and there could be no grounds to suspect the validity of the conveyance; yet the object was too great not to engage all the caution of the interested parties. Accordingly, in a session of parliament which was held soon after, this whole affair was recapitulated with an accuracy, of which we have few examples; and so large a share of the lands of *England* was adjudged to those whose title as to right was very doubtful; and not only at their request who were deprived of them, but with a disinterestedness which will ever do honour to their memory. The Reader may see the detail of it in our statutes, where it is recorded in each particular*; but the subject of this history requires that I should here give the chief heads of it.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, begin the act “by acknowledging that many false and erroneous doctrines had been introduced since the 20th year of her Majesty’s father’s reign, as well by the natural subjects of the realm as by foreigners, which had caused both the clergy and laity to swerve from the obedience of the Apostolic See, and leave the unity of Christ’s church; and that this defection had continued till her Majesty being raised by God, and placed on the throne

* Anno I. et II. *Phil. et Mar.* c. 3.

of her ancestors, the Pope had sent hither the most reverend father in God, CARDINAL POLE, his LEGATE, to recall the nation to that right way, from which they had so long strayed. That, during this interval, they had been afflicted with many grievous calamities; but being at length, through God's goodness, sensible of their past errors, they had acknowledged them to the said LEGATE, and been received by him into the unity and bosom of Christ's church. They had experienced this indulgence, they say, by virtue of their Majesties suing in their behalf, and upon their own humble submission and promise to repeal such statutes as had been made against the See of *Rome* since the above-mentioned year." Here they insert the several acts and clauses made against the Pope's supremacy, and some articles relating to discipline, which are repealed and annulled.

They then go on to declare, "that being thus admitted into the unity of the Catholic church, the obedience of the holy See, and the Pope governing the same, they were likewise desirous that all occasions of strife, suspicion, and trouble should be removed. The Bishoprics therefore, and other religious foundations, which they enumerate, and which had been erected since the schism, according to the laws of the realm, were in this view confirmed, marriages contracted within the degrees forbidden by the canons were ratified, and the offspring declared legitimate; and judicial processes made before the ordinaries, or on appeal before delegates, were declared to stand good in law.

The property of church lands and revenues is the next article on which the Lords and Commons enter; and they set forth, "that to avoid any further scruple which might arise on account of such possessions, or of the suppression of monasteries,

SECT.
IX.

ries, and other religious foundations, which were come into the hands of divers persons, either by gift, purchase or exchange, it had pleased their Majesties to intercede with the LEGATE in favour of the actual possessors, and that the same most reverend father in God had declared, that all persons, to whom a sufficient conveyance, according to the common laws of the land, had been made of the said lands and possessions, might, without any scruple of conscience, enjoy them; and that they should suffer no molestation on pretence of decrees of general councils, or of the canon law; and that they should be clear from any danger of the church's censures."

Here they insert the petition presented to the King and Queen on this subject, by the Bishops and Clergy of the province of *Canterbury*, which is to the following purpose: "that, although in virtue of their character, and the respective offices they filled, they were the natural guardians of the rights and possessions of the church, and therefore it might seem incumbent on them to endeavour to recover whatever had been lost or scattered in the late schism; yet, after a mature deliberation on the whole affair, they ingenuously confess how difficult, and even impracticable such a recovery would be, on account of the many intricacies in which these dealings have been involved; and should such an attempt be made, the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom would be disturbed, and that unity with the Catholic church, which the piety and authority of their Majesties had now established, could hardly be advanced so as to gain its desired end. Wherefore, as they preferred the public quiet to all private considerations, and the salvation of souls ransomed by the blood of Christ, to all earthly goods, and did not seek their own profit, but the glory of their Redeemer, they gave

gave their assent to whatever should be enacted in this affair, and besought the Lord LEGATE not to be reserved or difficult in such dispensations." At the same time, not to be wanting to what they owed to their respective stations, "they humbly intreat their Majesties, that they would cause that liberty and jurisdiction, without which they could not exercise their several functions, to be restored to them; and to provide for the necessities of the churches of their kingdom, particularly of the parochial, and others, to which the care of souls is annexed."

SECT.
IX.

At this place both Houses turn again their discourse to the King and Queen, to whom they address themselves through this long and accurate statute, and rehearse, at full length, the decree by which the LEGATE had granted these dispensations, and wherein is confirmed whatever had hitherto been declared by the act. The LEGATE particularly declares, that neither the possessors of the moveable or immoveable goods of the church should ever be liable to any censure or ecclesiastical punishment for detaining and not restoring them: that by this decree all power was taken away of ever giving a different judgment in these affairs; and if any thing of this kind should be attempted, it was, by the present act, declared to be of no effect." Notwithstanding this sentence, which was penned with the same latitude of indulgence as if it had been dictated by the interested parties, the LEGATE had observed; "that whereas the division of Bishoprics, and the foundation of cathedral churches, were of the number of those greater causes which are reserved to the Pope, recourse was to be had to him, and a petition presented, that he would be pleased to confirm or renew the dispositions already made on these heads."

He

SECT.
IX.

He had moreover declared, “ that though the dispensation extended indiscriminately to the actual possessors of all moveable church goods, yet he had admonished them to place before their eyes the severity of God’s judgments on *Belshazzar* King of *Babylon*, for appropriating the sacred vessels to a profane use, though not he, but his father had taken them out of the temple of *Jerusalem*; and that this example should prevail on them to restore all such vessels to the churches to which they had formerly belonged, or to others. He had likewise exhorted all those whom it might concern, and intreated them, through the bowels of mercy of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, that, from a regard to their own eternal lot, they would provide out of the church lands, such especially as had been set aside for the maintenance of the parochial clergy, a competent subsistence for those who exercised that charge, which might enable them to live creditably, according to their state, and perform their functions, and support the burden of their calling.”

Having related this decree at full length, and in *Latin*, their Lordships and the Commons return their most dutiful thanks to their Majesties, by whose means it was obtained; and then go on to enact, that all these dispensations shall be received into the body of the *English* laws, to be alleged and pleaded, either by the plaintiff or defendant, in all courts ecclesiastical and temporal: and whoever, by any process obtained out of any ecclesiastical court, whether within or without the realm, should molest any one on account of abbey or other church lands, is declared to incur the forfeitures contained in the act of *Præmunire*. But they make a provision, that it shall be lawful to sue, at any competent court within the realm, for tithes, rights and duties that were to be raised on the

the

the said possessions, in as ample a manner as before this statute was made.

SECT.
IX.

“ They further declare, that though the title of Supreme Head of the Church of *England* never was, nor could be lawfully attributed to any sovereign governor of this realm, nor in any wise be lawfully claimed by them; yet that all letters patent, and other writings which had been issued out in that style, might be kept and pleaded. The papal dispensations also, and other decrees of the court of *Rome*, which had been made void in *Henry's* reign, were to have their former force; and if it could be made to appear that they had been cancelled, they might be pleaded in as available a manner as if they were intire.”

At the dissolution of the monasteries, several parish churches and chapels, which till then had been exempted from episcopal jurisdiction, and subjected to the Abbots of these houses, were now, under colour of these exemptions, and by grants from the two last Kings, transferred to the government of laymen. “ The Parliament, therefore, declares that all such jurisdiction shall hereafter be exercised by spiritual persons: for which provision this high court of judicature assigns the following reason, that lay patrons can no more enjoy a supremacy over particular churches, than the King may over the whole realm. A clause is added in favour of the two universities, and some other privileged places, and of such temporal Lords and possessors as by ancient custom had enjoyed the probat of their tenants or others wills.”

The last articles of this celebrated statute are truly becoming the religion and dignity of the *British* legislature; for having acknowledged, in a foregoing part of the act, the supremacy of the See of *Rome*, and that no such claim could have been used by the Sovereigns of this realm; “ they here

S E C T.
IX.

here assert the independence and high prerogative of the imperial crown of *England*, against whatever may seem to derogate from it; and first they observe, that after the union of this noble realm to the body of Christ's church, it is to be trusted; that, by the abundance of God's grace and mercy, devotion will increase in the hearts of many of the *British* subjects, with a desire to bestow their worldly possessions for the resuscitating of alms, prayer, and the example of a good life in this realm; and to the intent that such godly motions and purposes should be advanced. They declare, therefore, that it shall be lawful to give, or bequeath by will, manors, lands, and other kinds of possessions, to any spiritual body politic or corporate within the kingdom, notwithstanding the *Mortmain* acts; but this clause for giving liberty to amortize lands and tenements, was only to continue in force during the space of twenty years."

Having in this manner made the necessary provision for what concerned religion, and the revival of piety, they conclude, as has been said, by declaring that nothing in the present statute, nor in the preambles to the several articles of it, shall be construed to derogate from the preeminence of the *British* crown, which was to remain as in the twentieth year of her Majesty's father's reign; and the Bishop of *Rome* was restored to the authority and jurisdiction, which by reason of his supremacy he might at that time have exercised, without diminution or enlargement. The Bishops, and other Ordinaries, are likewise reinstated in the jurisdiction they had, in the same year, as to process of suits, punishment of crimes, execution of the church's censures, and knowledge of causes belonging to any of these heads.

There is a remarkable order and propriety in the division of the articles of this statute, which leads

leads the Reader from one to another, with no less distinction than if he was to be brought acquainted with only a single one of them, and each is enounced with an energy suitable to the subject matter. The ancient phrase in which they are penned gives a gravity to the composition, beyond all the graces which our present language can boast; and our best writers will admire, in what was written above 200 years ago, those manly beauties, which are so much superior to all the polish of modern art.

These transactions are so honourable to the church of *Rome*, that no one will wonder the adversaries of that communion, because they could not deny the facts, should either misrepresent them, or, like the poet, call off the reader's attention from the principal action to incidents which fancy forms round it. It has been objected from *Fra-Paulo*, that when the *English* Ambassadors came to *Rome*, some short time after the act I have cited was passed, *Paul IV.* successor to *Marcellus*, who only filled the pontifical throne a few days after *Julius III.* signified to them his displeasure that the church lands were not given back; and insisted on the necessity of a restitution, as such dispensations were beyond the extent of his power. But, to say nothing of this author's want of good faith on so many other occasions, the account he here gives is sufficiently refuted by the Journal of the House of Commons, which informs us, that, after other proceedings, a Bull of the Pope was read, which confirmed what the Lord CARDINAL had done concerning the assurance of abbey lands *:" and this final decree, by which these possessions are excepted from all future revocation, seems to have been granted by *Paul IV.* at

* Journal of the House of Commons, October 21st, 1555.

SECT. IX. the requisition of CARDINAL POLE; for he lets *Philip* know, he had written to have it sent immediately, and expected the return of the messenger who was to bring it*. *Dugdale* is no less clear on this point, and produces a special decree of the same Pope, which confirms the lands held by Sir *William Petre* †: nor is there the least trace of what *Fra-Paulo* asserts, either in the Journal of the Consistories, which the Pope held on this occasion ‡; or in his letter to the King and Queen, of which I shall speak hereafter, and where every thing material to the business is set forth at length.

But though the Pontiff never annulled any of these grants, yet his austere temper, and the animosity he had formerly conceived against the *English* CARDINAL, of which there will be occasion to enter into a detail elsewhere, might have caused him to tell the Ambassadors he had behaved with too great facility, and given up too much, and without a suitable consideration.

A further cavil has been frequently urged, alike destitute of truth and candour, that there was no real design of making over the church lands to the lay owners, but that the whole affair was a fraud, which still left room for resumption ||. But the malignity

* De Bullâ autem, quâ hujus Regni bona ecclesiastica ab ejus sanctitatis revocatione nominatim excipiantur, scripsimus, ut primo quoque tempore mittatur. Nunc mei Nuncii reditus expectatur, cui eam perferendam dare cogitabant. 16 Septemb. 1555. *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^{ta}, pag. 42.

† *Monaf.* vol. 3, fol. 207.

‡ See *Reg. Pole's* letters, part 5th, and the following.

|| A letter from Sir *William Coventry* to Dr. *Burnet*, printed with some other papers in 1685. This piece was answered with great judgment and solidity by *Nath. Johnston*, M. D. a gentleman of the church of *England*, in a treatise intitled, *The assurance of abbey and other church lands to the possessors*. Dr. *Burnet* abets likewise the above-mentioned insinuation, by a papal

malignity of such an abuse can only reflect dishonour on the authors of it, and has been sufficiently refuted through the whole series of this narrative. The plainness, likewise, and simplicity of *Becatelli's* account, who was the LEGATE'S Secretary, is a no less advantageous argument in its favour. Having first commended his Lord's zeal in persuading the Queen to give up the church lands which were invested in the Sovereign, and which, as by the express declaration of the statute I have quoted, she was at full liberty to do, during twenty years, he adds; "it was judged advisable, with the Pope's consent, in order to avoid further disturbances, that no inquiry should be made concerning such possessions, which were promiscuously occupied over the nation, but to leave to each one's determination to act in this case as he thought fit*." This relation of the historian is greatly corroborated by the tenth article of the assembly of the clergy, which CARDINAL POLE convened the next year; whereby, tho' future alienations were prohibited, the grants already made by the authority of the holy See, are declared to be no longer subject to resumption †.

papal decree concerning church lands in the kingdom of *Naples*; in which the affairs of *England* are no more concerned than the settlement of the *British* crown in the Pragmatic Sanction. *Append. to the Hist. of the Ref.* page 367. But every thing was an offensive weapon in the Bishop's hands, when the Catholic cause was to be annoyed, and he might have taken for his motto,

Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?

* *Ac, ne qua turba excitaretur, placuit, consentiente Pontifice, nil de reliquis bonis quæri, quæ passim multi possidebant; sed liberum omnibus relinqui id agere quod quisque vellet. Poli vita, fol. 32. à tergo.*

† *Exceptis tamen semper iis, quæ circa bona ecclesiastica, antè ab ecclesiâ ablata, jam autoritate Apostolicâ constituta sunt. Conc. Mag. Brit. t. 4, p. 125.*

S E C T. IX. The same is attested by *Camden* and *Heylin*, both very candid historians, and the former a very knowing antiquary †.

The possessors, therefore, of church lands have all the security which the nature of the case admits, and no private property seems to be held by so firm a tenure. The public good and tranquillity, both of the church and state, was the inducement to this conveyance, in which the authority of the See of *Rome* confirmed the petition of a national clergy, which was the injured party, and the unanimous consent of the whole legislature of a great people: all which was ratified by the LEGATE'S full power and actual dispensation. Could a transaction, which carries with it every condition by which human compacts are rendered stable, stand in need of any weight which the writer can give it? I think it may be affirmed, that nothing less than the joint concurrence of all the parties, who assented to this agreement, can either annul or invalidate it: and I have entered on this detail, because, from views which need not be indicated, no part of our history has been related with more want of good faith, and left the Reader open to greater prejudices.

The Houses did not break up on the memorable day on which the nation's reconciliation with the Catholic church was completed, till four of the clock; yet the LEGATE, the same evening, dispatched an express to the Pope with the news of this great event. The congratulation is drawn from every topic which so copious a theme afforded;

† The revenues taken from the church by *Henry* and *Edward*, were confirmed to the Queen and the present possessors. *Camd. Introd. to the Annals of Eliz.* p. 8.

• Pope *Julius* issued out a decree, with some reasons which might seem to induce him to confirm all such lands on the present occupants. *Dr. Heylin; Pref. to the Hist. of the Reform.*

and “ he particularly felicitates himself, that notwithstanding his fears lest the long aversion which the nation had entertained to the holy See might cause him to descend to some unbecoming conditions; he had experienced the effect of his earnest intreaty to their Majesties, that no such disagreeable incident might happen. The whole affair, he says, had been transacted in the general council of the nation, and in the presence of the Sovereigns, with an universal satisfaction; and the discourse, by which he delivered himself, and the benediction, with which the general absolution is closed, was received with the unanimous approbation of all present. This, says he, is a strong indication, that the original principle of right belief in this people, though long suppressed, still retains its primitive vigour †.” My joy, he adds, is equal to the importance of so desirable an event, of such advantage to the holy church, so honourable to the Princes who were instrumental to it, and so salutary to a country which first gave me birth, and now receives me from banishment. 30th Novem
1554.

The King likewise, on the same day, wrote to the Pope a letter of great respect, and informed him “ that the kingdom, by the unanimous consent of their representatives, had testified an unfeigned

† Non poteram non in aliquo timore versari ob eam difficultatem quam assererat nostrorum hominum abalienata à Sede Apostolicâ voluntas: sed multo magis verebar ne ingressus in causam aliquâ interpositâ minùs honestâ pactione inquinaretur. Quod quidem ne accideret vehementer egeram cum Regibus. Acta est res in concilio totius regni, præsentibus Regibus, tantâ omnium consensione et plausu, ut cum ego verba fecissem, ad extremum benedictione absolvendâ, ab universis certatim mirificâ voluntatum ac studiorum significatione acclamatum sæpius sit. Ex quo planè perspectum est in his populis sanctum illud semen, etli diu oppressum, non tamen extinctum fuisse. *R. Poli Epist. pars 5^{ta}, p. 1.*

SECT.
IX.

repentance of their past misdemeanours, and no less satisfaction for having yielded their obedience to the holy See, and being absolved by the LEGATE, at the Queen's, and his, the King's, intercession. The joy which these relations occasioned at *Rome* was signified to the LEGATE by Cardinal *Moron*, who takes notice particularly, that *Philip's* letter had even made an impresson on the *French* who were there*.

But this revolution was too interesting to be communicated only to the court of *Rome*: and the *French* King having treated the LEGATE, when he was at his court, with a distinguished good will, the latter judged it a decency he owed that Monarch, to inform him of the late event. As the commission with which the Pope had charged him to endeavour a reconciliation between the houses of *Austria* and *Valois* still subsisted, he made both these articles the subject of his letter. "I could do no less, says he, than write to your Majesty on the happy change which *England* has lately seen, especially as it was brought about by the same upright measures which I always judged most suitable to the accomplishment of a peace between your Majesty and the Emperor. This sentiment has induced me to congratulate your Majesty on such an instance of the divine mercy, as I well know, from what you have been pleased to say to me on that subject, how agreeable it will be to you; and to signify how rejoiced I should be to contribute to the other reconciliation with which I am charged. He wrote to the same purpose to the Lord High Constable of *France*, who held a distinguished place in his Prince's favour; and requests of him to use his prudence and authority to

30th Dec.
1554.

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^{ta}, pag. 92.

cause the King to enter into the pacific dispositions he had recommended to him.

SECT.
IX.

The *French* King, by a very obliging letter, assured the LEGATE of the share he took in the news he had communicated to him, and in the circumstance of his being chosen by Providence to be the instrument of so great a blessing. Your zeal, my Lord, says he, your sincerity, and your skill in the management of affairs, has chiefly contributed to so salutary a work; and the title I enjoy of most Christian King, which should remind me to place what concerns the worship of the supreme Being above all other considerations, has caused me to praise Almighty God, and order my whole kingdom to praise him, for the most welcome intelligence I could ever have heard. As for yourself, my Lord, my congratulations with you are personal; and I shall hereafter love and esteem you in a higher degree than I have yet done, for having brought this great affair to a happy issue; and likewise for the inclination, which, from a regard to the public good, you shew for peace between the Emperor and myself*.”

Dec. 1554.

Such letters, I know, are generally supposed to mean much less than the words imply; but tho' they may not always indicate the writer's real sentiments, they are an acknowledgment of those dispositions which he is conscious would become him on the like occasions.

Soon after the Queen sent a solemn embassy to *Rome*, to acknowledge the supremacy in her own and the King's name, and that of the whole nation. The Bishop of *Ely* was to perform this on the part of the Clergy; Lord *Montague*, the LEGATE's nephew, on that of the Nobility; and Sir *Edward Carne*, who remained the Queen's Am-

* *Ambassades de Noailles*, tom. 3. pag. 324, et seq.

SECT.
IX.

ambassador in ordinary, for the Commons. They set out towards the end of *February*; and the *French King*, notwithstanding the Queen's partiality to the Emperor, had given orders to have them received in all places of his dominions, thro' which they passed, with great honour, and have every convenience furnished them at his expence*." Some time before they began their journey, the LEGATE had sent a very honourable testimony of them to the Pope, and had entered on a particular detail of the merits of each. He had likewise signified to him, "that as *Ireland* had been erected into a kingdom during the schism, and other public concerns which were transacted in that interval having been confirmed by the authority of the holy See, their Majesties were desirous that this also might receive the same stability, before the arrival of their Ambassadors at *Rome*. On this account they ordered him, whom they had appointed protector of their realms at his Holiness's court, to ask this in their names, as he then did. That as to the protectorship, since his absence did not allow him to perform the duties which it brought with it, he had already requested Cardinal *Moron* to take on himself what concerned *England*; and he now made the same petition to Cardinal *Carpo* in favour of *Ireland*; that as he had formerly exerted his good offices towards that island, he would still continue them in his, the LEGATE's stead. He moreover intreats the Pope to remit to the new Bishops the usual fees for their patents, on account of the dilapidation to which all their Sees had been exposed through the calamities of the late years; and he shews how deserving they were of this indulgence:

* *Ambassades des Noailles, tom. 4. pag. 189.*

but

but he adds, that the Bishop of *Worcester* †, who, many years during the two last reigns, had subsisted on the liberality of the court of *Rome*, had, from a sense of his obligations, desired this favour might not be extended to him *.”

S E C T.
IX.

Dr. Rich.
Pates.

London, 10

March,

1555.

23^d Mar.

9th April.

This letter was scarcely sent when advice came of the death of the Pope *Julius III.* and of *Marcellus Cervini* having been chosen to succeed him. His eminent virtue had connected him very intimately, when he was a private Cardinal, with our countryman, as appears from the many letters which passed between them, which are still extant, and the tears which he shed at the news of his death. On the first information of this election, he immediately signified to the Pontiff the joy he had received from it, and the expectation it had raised in the whole Christian world, of seeing the church reformed no less by his example than his ordinances. He lets him know, at the same time, that he had been chosen to negotiate a peace

† This prelate was born in *Oxfordshire*, and having received the first part of his education at *Corpus Christi* college, finished it at the university of *Paris*. On his return home he was advanced to several church preferments, and employed in a public character at the Emperor's court. In 1539 he was consecrated Bishop of *Worcester*, and sent again to the same court, but refusing to come back to *England*, on a dislike to *Henry VIII's* proceedings, in 1547 he was deprived of his spiritualities, and attainted of high treason. He remained in banishment during *Edward's* reign, and sat in the council of *Trent*. Queen *Mary* recalled him to his country in 1554, and restored him to the See of *Worcester*. On the succeeding revolution under *Elizabeth*, he was a second time deprived of his bishopric, for refusing the oath of supremacy; and, going abroad, assisted at the close of the council of *Trent*, and therefore must have been alive in 1563. Bishop *Pates* was learned, and of a peaceable disposition; and, though zealous for the faith of his ancestors, was averse to all violent proceedings on account of religion. *Godw. de Præf. Ang. Fox*, year 1559. *Hump. in vitâ Juelli*, 1573, p. 179. *Ath. Oxon.* p. 624.

* *Epist. R. Poli* pars 5^{ta}, pag. 4.

SECT.
IX.

between the Emperor and the *French* King, at a congress where the respective Ambassadors of these Princes were to give him a meeting: and being to execute this commission on the part of the holy See, he desires the Pope's orders with respect to the conduct he was to observe in the whole affair †.

Richmond,
1st May. These expectations vanished by the sudden death of *Marcellus*, which happened on the twentieth day after his election, and whilst the *English* Ambassadors were on their road to *Rome*, and his successor was chosen a few days after.

In the mean time, the incident of the death of two Popes gave the courts of *England* and *France* an opportunity of shewing what their concurrent sentiments were of CARDINAL POLE; and though the shortness of time which intervened between each election, did not allow them to procure the supreme post of honour to his merit, they had not failed to signify their own sense of it. The Queen's orders on this occasion, to *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and High Chancellor, to the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget*, who were then at *Calais* on a project of peace between *France* and the Emperor, are to the following purpose. "She begins by telling them, that, in order to redress the various evils which afflicted the whole state of Christendom, much would depend on raising a fit person to the Papacy; and she was aware of the great inconveniences which must befall the common cause, if worldly considerations alone were consulted: she would therefore, for the discharge of what she owed, both to God and the world, use her best endeavours that a person might be chosen, without further delay, who was qualified to fill up the measure of this character; and she knew no one so likely to do it as her dearest kinsman, the

† *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 5^{ta}, pag. 7.

Lord CARDINAL POLE. That as he had many years been univerſally acknowledged deſerving of that high ſtation, on account of his great learning, his experience, and the integrity of his life, ſhe wills them to take a favourable opportunity of treating, in her name, with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Lord Conſtable, and the other *French* commiſſioners, that this election may be promoted by the *French* King, and the Cardinals who were in his intereſt; and, if it took place, ſhe makes no doubt but his Majeſty, and every one elſe, would have cauſe to rejoice, and give thanks to God. She aſſures *Henry*, that had ſhe known any one more worthy of that eminent ſtation, no perſonal attachment ſhould have prevailed on her to give her kinsman the preference; ſhe calls on the ſearcher of hearts to witneſs the truth of this declaration. They might alſo certify him, on her word and honour, that ſhe made this overture to him without the conſent or knowledge of the CARDINAL; and that any other mention of his wiſdom, ſincerity, and other excellent qualities, was needleſs, as theſe were known to her good brother the *French* King, and to the reſt of *Europe* *.”

Hampton-
Court,
10th May,
1555.

The letter here cited enters on a much larger detail of what I have only ſet down the ſubſtance: but the *French* King wanted no inducement, beſides his own inclination and eſteem, to advance CARDINAL POLE to the Popedom. As ſoon, therefore, as he had advice of it being vacated, he ordered the High Conſtable of *France* to write to the Lord of *Noailles*, his Ambaſſador at the *Engliſh* court, “ that, from an uncommon opinion of the

* An original in the *Cotton Lib. Titus b. 2.* produced at length by *Biſhop Burnet*, *Hiſt. of the Reform.* part 2, p. 282. of the *Collect. of Records*, N^o. 18.

SECT.
IX.

LEGATE's goodness, and the singular affection he bore him, he was desirous of seeing him in a post equal to his merit, and had omitted nothing, at this juncture, to advance him to the Papacy; and if he knew any good office which might contribute to it, the King desired to be informed, as he had nothing more at heart than that this opportunity might not escape them*." This letter was accompanied with another to the LEGATE, which was to be delivered by the Ambassador; who informs the High Constable, "that he read it with great attention, and testified his obligations to the King for his gracious purposes in his regard; and truly, says the Ambassador, his good qualities are so estimable, and his whole character so much above all blame, that I do not think there is any one living who can have any objection to it †." The suddenness of the election, as has been said, first of *Marcellus* after *Julius*, and then of *Paul* after *Marcellus*, stopped any further proceedings in this affair, and we only learn from it, that two rival courts, who had opposite views in all other concerns, seemed to vie with each other, and to have but one common interest when the commendation of CARDINAL POLE was the theme, or his advancement the prize.

Whilst these measures were concerting at the courts of *England* and *France*, the Ambassadors of the former arrived at *Rome*, and made their entry into the capital of the Christian world the day on which *Paul* IV. was crowned; which was a circumstance he looked on as honourable, and which carried with it a presage in favour of his election. They entered *Rome* with a numerous and splendid retinue, and suited to the solemnity of the occasion

* *Ambassades de Noailles*, tom. 4. pag. 301.

† *Ibid.* pag. 305.

on which they came; and five days after, in the first consistory which was held after the Pope's coronation, he admitted them to his presence. They prostrated themselves at his feet, and, in that posture, acknowledged the errors of the schism, and other misdeeds of the nation, which they enumerated in some detail. They confessed, in particular, the ill return they had made for the many instances of love and regard by which the holy See had distinguished them; and humbly crave pardon for all. After which the Pope raised them from the ground, embraced them, and, in their persons, received the whole nation into his favour*. So great was his satisfaction at an embassy of such importance, that he wrote to the King and Queen an account of the audience he had given to their Ambassadors; out of which, as it is greatly recommended by the dignity of the relator, I shall give the Reader the following extracts.

“ He informs their Majesties, that Lord *Montague*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and Sir *Edward Carne*, being arrived at *Rome* on the 5th of *June*, had audience of him in the Prince's hall, five days after; at which the Cardinals, the foreign Ambassadors, a great number of Bishops and Prelates, all his own court, and the whole body of the *Roman* nobility were present. That they had made, in the nation's name, a proper submission for past errors and failings, and had been received into his fatherly bosom and embrace. That he had ratified whatever the *English* LEGATE had done; and, as far as might any ways be necessary, had enacted it anew. That, when the whole was over, the Bishop of *Ely* had pronounced so pathetic and per-

* Ex Actis Consistorialibus, part of which are cited *R. Polz Epist.* pars 5^{ta}, pag. 132.

SECT.
IX.

continent a discourse, as to move the hearers to tears: As to what concerns the LEGATE, says the holy Father, there is nothing which either their Majesties or himself could do for his honour and emolument, but what was inferior to his probity and other virtues, and to what he deserved of him, the Pope, of the holy See, of their Majesties, and 30th June. the whole realm †.”

The Ambassadors delivered likewise a letter from the LEGATE to the Pope, in which, after the usual compliments, “ he mentions with great complacence the hopes he entertained of seeing a reformation, which was so much desired, and so much wanted, effected by a Pontiff, whose former life had been remarkable for regularity, and those virtues, the practice of which he was to revive in others. The undertaking, he owned, was attended with great difficulties, yet was of such a nature, that whoever engaged in it seriously would meet with great comfort; and that the whole Christian world would rejoice in proportion as they perceived his Holiness took this work to heart; and if Christians in general, and the persons of his, the LEGATE’S profession, more than others, were bound to aid him in this laudable attempt, he thought it needless to produce vouchers for the promptitude of his own obedience in this particular. He should therefore wait the orders his Holiness should be pleased to give him, as soon as he was informed in what situation the affairs were, with which the two late Popes *Julius* and *Marcellus* had intrusted him *.”

The Pope, at the same time, and at the request of their *Britannic* Majesties, erected *Ireland* into a kingdom; and as the petition, in consequence of

† Ex Actis Consistorialibus, pag. 136.

* *R. Peli* Epist. pars 5^{ta}, pag. 11.

which

which this concession was made, may now seem very extraordinary to an *English* reader, he may not be displeas'd with a brief narrative of the reasons of it. The petty Princes of that island having been assist'd, in the 12th century, by *Henry II.* against the invasions of the *Danes* and *Swedes*; they, in their turn, acknowledged him for their Sovereign, and paid him tribute. The King desired *Adrian IV.* to ratify this cession, and confirm his claim to the country; which that Pope granted, on condition he would endeavour to establish Christianity in its purity, and pay a certain annual acknowledgment to the holy See: and the succeeding Kings of *England*, for near 400 years, considered *Ireland* as part of their domain, though it still continued to pay obedience to particular governors, who were native *Irish*. *Henry VIII.* in 1541, took the title of King of *Ireland*, which, in the following year, was confirm'd to him by Parliament: but as this was done during the nation's separation from the church of *Rome*, *Philip* and *Mary* were desirous that, when the schism was ended, it might be ratify'd by the Pope*.

The LEGATE had accomplish'd a work which required a zeal and abilities as enlighten'd and extensive as his: and now a foreign great exigence call'd him forth, in which, if he had not the success he met with in his own country, his integrity and talents for negotiation appear'd to no less advantage, and were acknowledg'd with equal applause. A long and destructive war had depopulated the Empire and *France*, and CARDINAL POLE, as we have seen, had been employ'd at both these courts, to negotiate a reconciliation, and had address'd a fine discourse, of which the

* The Bull of this concession bears date 7th of *June* 1555. Ex Actis Consistorialibus, Epist. R. Poli, pars 5^{ta}, pag. 136.

SECT.
IX.

Reader has seen the contents, to the interested Princes. These endeavours, though they had caused the *French* to admire his parts and uprightness, had no other effect on the Emperor than to give him a pretext of taxing the LEGATE with partiality, and the treaty was dropped. But the happy termination of his late transactions in *England*, had given him such a figure in *Europe*, as made it difficult to determine which of those qualities which constitute a great and good man appeared with more superiority, and there was no undertaking to which he was not judged equal. Though the war between *Charles V.* and *Henry of France* still continued, they both seemed willing that a treaty of peace might again be attempted, and the *French* Ambassador had signified to the Count of *Montmorency*, that it would be very desirable that he should be appointed to preside, on the part of the most Christian King, and the Duke of *Alva*, on that of the Emperor, at the congress which was to be held for that purpose †.

The LEGATE, likewise, who, as the Ambassador expresses himself, had undertaken this affair, wrote to the *French* King, to the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and to the Count of *Montmorency*, in order to give an opening to the negotiation; and, that none of the formalities might be wanting, he let them know he was appointed by the Pope to assist at it*. Soon after, the Prothonotary *Noailles*, brother to the Ambassador, came over to compliment the Queen on the happy change of the realm, and brought with him letters to the LEGATE from the *French* King and his ministers, in answer to the overtures he made of peace, and the conferences were accordingly renewed. The Chancellor *Gardiner*, who was the next person to the LEGATE

† *Negotiations de Noailles*, tom. 4. pag. 63.

* *Ibid.*
both

both in office and authority, of those who assisted at them, had ever been in the interests of the Emperor and his son *Philip*; and therefore the *French* suspected all his declarations, and the measures he proposed; and whenever any thing concerning the peace did not go on with such expedition, or in the channel they desired, they never failed to impute it to the influence which he had with the Queen and the LEGATE, and the perverse use they imagined he made of it; on which the two brothers express themselves with remarkable bitterness*. He was not ashamed to tell me, says the Prothonotary, in the account he gives of this conference to the Count of *Montmorency*, that he was doubtful if the LEGATE's abilities were answerable to such an undertaking, unless he was assisted by persons more expert than himself: on which he entered into such a fit of jealousy, that I was obliged to sooth him, by answering, that you, my Lord, had so high an opinion of him, as to desire that the Queen and himself, if they thought proper, would take part in the negotiation, on account of the sincerity of the one, and the authority of the other, and the justice of the cause, and the uprightness of the intentions of the King my master: and that his Majesty would have made no difficulty to have left the management of the whole affair to them, as far as was consistent with honour and reason: to which the Chancellor abruptly replied; that though the Queen and himself had a very sincere desire of seeing peace established between the contending powers, yet as they were looked on to be biassed towards one of them, they could not decently interfere in it: that the LEGATE, who was soon to pass the sea, was the only person from whom this salutary office

* *Negociations de Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 119.

could

SECT.
IX.

could be expected; but yet he should think himself very happy to contribute all within his power, if you, my Lord, judged he could be serviceable to it †. This was the after-game which *Gardiner's* disappointed ambition played; and the *French King* let the Prothonotary and his brother know, that he had always had a confidence in the LEGATE's good faith and sincerity, answerable to the distrust he lay under of the contrary qualities in the Emperor and those of his faction, to whose interests the circumstances he was in must in some sort have made him hitherto favourable*.

Both these Ministers seem to have entertained a very disadvantageous opinion of our countrymen, and the younger of the brothers writing to the Lord High Constable, on a conference he had with the Chancellor, “ your Lordship, says he, may judge from hence, what small dependence can be lain on the greatest personages of this nation, since they are so addicted to change even in affairs of the highest concern ‡:” and the elder brother, in a letter to the King, “ though the *English* in general, says he, seem thoroughly bent on entering on measures prejudicial to *France*, they were so variable, that he did not think they were yet come to any fixed resolution; nor did the wind veer to every point of the compass with more unexpected changes, than their minds to the most opposite ways of thinking: thus, though *Philip* and *Mary* desired to bring about a peace, as *Noailles* assures the Count of *Montmorency*, more earnestly than any of the King's subjects in *Picardy*, which was lain waste by fire and sword, nothing was obtained ||.”

† Negotiations de *Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 120.

* Ibid. pag. 179.

‡ Ibid. pag. 123.

|| Ibid.

The LEGATE, at first, insinuated that the Queen and himself were desirous this treaty might be carried on in *England*; but on *Noailles'* remonstrating, that a neutral place on the Continent, where the deputies of each party might meet, and the LEGATE assist as not engaged on either side, would be more suitable; he very ingenuously acknowledged this to be the most expedient means, but doubted if the Emperor and his son would be easily brought to assent to it. At length the preliminaries to the congress, which are as circumstantial as the prelude to a feat of chivalry, were adjusted; and it was agreed, that the Emperor should send the Duke of *Alva* to *Gravelines*, as a person of suitable rank to the High Constable of *France**, who was to come to *Ardres* on the part of that nation. The *English* LEGATE had likewise signified his desire that the Cardinal of *Lorraine* might assist at the conferences; and the Emperor having no person of equal dignity with this prelate, that part of the ceremonial was superseded. The Lords *Paget* and *Arundel* were to arrive with the LEGATE at *Calais*. The place fixed for the meeting was *Marc*, a village situated near *Ardres*, *Guignes*, and *Calais*; not far from which the Queen had caused an extemporary building, in form of a square tent, consisting of four pavilions, to be raised in a large plain, which was at an equal distance from *Calais* and the frontiers of the empire and *France*. The space between the pavilions was inclosed with curtains, and surrounded with a ditch and palisades. The LEGATE occupied the lodgment to the east, and the *English* noblemen, and others who came with

* The first officer of the crown of *France*; he commanded the army after the King, and before the Marshals, and took place next to the Princes of the blood. This office was suppressed by *Lewis XIII.* in 1627.

SECT.
IX.

1555.

him, that to the west: the quarter of the *Germans* was to the south; that of the *French* to the north. In the centre of the pavilions was a spacious room covered with linen, and hung with rich tapestry, where the conferences were to be held. They began towards the middle of *May*, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the Lord High Constable, had some private meetings with the LEGATE, in order to facilitate what was to be afterwards debated with the Emperor's agents. But as this method was perceived to be but slow, all the Ministers met, and though the points in question were debated with great temper, yet each of the contending parties insisted, with such obstinacy, on their several pretensions, that from the first general conference it was seen they would come to no agreement. The LEGATE, on this, proposed another expedient, which was to choose arbitrators, who might adjudge, in an amicable manner, whatever was the subject of contention, and to cement, by intermarriages, an union thus concluded*. But though the *French* shewed no dislike to these alliances, and the Imperial Ministers seemed to approve of them, it was on condition that the former should give back whatever they had conquered in the late wars†. This, the *French* said, would be giving up the cause to their adversaries, and they desired the LEGATE, and the *English* agents, to find out some more friendly and practicable expedient. This was the result of the conference held on the last of *May*; and as neither party would make an

* *Elizabeth* of *France* was proposed for *Don Carlos*, only son of *Philip* of *Spain*; and *Margaret*, sister of the *French King*, for the Prince of *Piedmont*.

† The *French* insisted on the restitution of the duchy of *Milan*, and the county of *Asti*: and the Emperor on that of the *States*, which go by the name of the *Three Bishoprics*, to himself; and of *Sarvey* to the Duke of that title.

abatement in what they demanded, nor resign any thing to their adversary, on the 8th of *June* the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Count of *Montmorency*, informed the *French* Ambassador at the *English* court, that the conferences were broken up*. S E C T.
IX.
8th June,
1555.

The LEGATE'S integrity in this nice conjuncture had been so acceptable to both parties, that, as the prospect of peace was not quite lost, the Emperor, during the remaining part of the year, frequently proposed it might be again renewed under his mediation: and, when a truce was agreed on, at the beginning of the following year, the *French* Ambassador, writing to his court, expresses himself in these terms; "I have met with more equity from the *English* government since the LEGATE is in the ministry, than ever before." and elsewhere he speaks in the most honourable manner of his abilities, his pacific disposition, and impartial proceedings towards the *French* nation †. April,
1556.

The first thing the LEGATE did on his return to *England*, was to send the Bishop of *St. Asaph* to *Rome*, to give the Pope an account, by word of mouth, of the state of religion, and of the manner in which he had acquitted himself of the negotiation between *France* and the Emperor, with which the two last Popes had charged him ||.

About the same time the governor of *Don Carlos*, *Philip's* son, having prevented the LEGATE by a very obliging letter, he thought it becoming his own high station, and the good opinion he had of the person to whom this charge was committed, to set before him, with freedom, the principal instructions he judged should be instilled into the

* *Ambassades de Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 343, &c.

† *Ibid.* tom. 5, pag. 335.

|| *Epist. R. Peli*, pars 5^{ta}, pag. 14.

mind of a young Prince; which, as they come so well recommended, must, I make no question, be acceptable to the Reader. “ The chief lesson, says he, which those who would rightly command others, should learn, is to obey; for though this be necessary to every age and condition, it is more so to the offspring of Princes than to any other persons, as Kings themselves are wont to be led astray by nothing more frequently than an imagination, that the great privilege of royalty consisted in being above control. This mistake, therefore, which they imbibe in early youth, was to be avoided, and they were to be made sensible, that no excellence could be expected from them, unless they shewed a greater docility and obedience than their subjects, first to the *Supreme Being*; in the next place to the *Laws*, and to their parents and preceptors. That they were to perform this on a very different principle from that on which persons of a servile disposition submit to the will of others; and what those do through fear, Princes are to perform from a love of rectitude, and of their own accord. Next to these virtues, generosity and fortitude are what chiefly become a Sovereign, and if you illustrate the precepts by which your royal pupil may be instructed in the true knowledge of them, I had almost said you had done your task. What induced me, he adds, to write in this manner, is, that there is nothing in which mankind is more universally deceived, than in their notions of these virtues. But if the young Prince, who was committed to Don *Honorato's* care, was trained up to the obedience he had mentioned, and to distinguish counterfeit fortitude and prudence from that which is true, he knew whatever was requisite for the due discharge of the duties of royalty; whereas, without this, though he

he possessed all the knowledge books could convey, he would be unfit to govern others †." S E C T.
IX.

Philip had now been about a twelvemonth in *England*; the little progress he made in the goodwill of his new subjects, and, which was a consequence of their dislike, the slender influence he had in the councils of the nation, made the following occasion of his departure not only welcome, on account of what he was called to, but of what he left. The Emperor *Charles V.* had, many years before, caused his brother *Ferdinand* to be chosen King of the *Romans*, and he was now about to make over the Empire to him, and to relinquish his *Spanish* dominions to his son; and *Philip* set sail for *Calais*, in order to meet his father at *Brussels*, where the abdication was made with great solemnity. Before the Emperor put his son in possession of so wide a domain, he discoursed him a considerable time, several hours of the day, on the art of government*; in which, as appears by his speech to the assembled States, before he resigned his kingdoms, he thought himself a great master ‡. Such lessons are generally received with an indifference equal to the self-complacency with which they are given; but here the schooling was so intirely thrown away on the pupil, that it operated the very reverse of what was intended; for whereas most of the Emperor's advice was directed to persuade moderation to his son, to correct his own pride, and the haughty behaviour of the *Spaniards* towards the *Flemings*, *Philip* seemed to pique himself on the opposite behaviour.

The King, before he left *England*, desired the LEGATE to be absent as seldom as possible from the Queen, who had signified likewise the same 16th Sept.
1555.

† *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 5^{ta}, pag. 78. * *Materien*, fol. 15.

‡ *Strada de Bello Belgico*, decas 1. l. 1. p. 7.

SECT.
IX.

desire. He had appointed him chief of the Privy Council, and signified to the Queen, who had an implicit deference to all his inclinations, and in this was not led more by her husband's choice than her own, that nothing which concerned the government should be concluded without his knowledge and approbation. The LEGATE objected to this commission, as little suited to the spiritual character with which he was invested; and the Lord of *Noailles*, in a letter to his court, written immediately on *Philip's* departure, says, "he modestly declined a post which would have engaged him too much in the concerns of the world*." But their Majesties having signified their pleasure in terms which admitted of no reply, he submitted, on condition he might be at liberty to give the greater part of his time and attention to such functions as were proper to his state of life; and, as a present instance of his deference to their will, he took up his apartment in the palace at *Greenwich*, where the King had taken leave of the Queen, to whom, says the same Ambassador, his conversation was a very seasonable relief in the affliction she lay under for her husband's absence †.

About this time the Pope began to manifest a malevolence to the LEGATE, which had long cankered in his breast; and he let him know his design of recalling him to *Rome*; but added, that he would not resolve on this measure till the affair of the See of *Canterbury* was determined, and he was informed more thoroughly of the likelihood of bringing about a peace between *France* and the Emperor, of which he seemed very desirous ‡. On the LEGATE's signifying to the King the Pope's intentions, that Prince had replied, that

* *Negotiations de Noailles*, tom. 5. pag. 125. † *Ibid.*

‡ *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 5^{ta}, pag. 42.

he should with great regret be deprived of so able a minister, and so worthy a man; and that both he and the Queen would use all their interest with his Holiness to prevail on him to lay aside any such thought: to which he returned this memorable answer, that though the love of our country was common to him and all mankind, and his personal attachment to *England* was attended with that peculiar endearment which a return from banishment to what we love brings along with it, yet what retained him with such satisfaction, was not so much an affection to his native soil, as the tie of piety, justice, and clemency, by which their Majesties connected him to it, and without which he could neither be useful to his country, nor his country agreeable to him *.”

SECT.
IX.

Peter Soto, soon after *Philip's* departure, visited the university of *Oxford*, and informed the LEGATE he found scholastic divinity much neglected; that no public lectures were read in that science; and he was of opinion it would be proper to explain *the Master of the Sentences* †, and was willing to take this lesson on himself. The LEGATE informed

* *Etsi unicuique jucunda sit patria, quæ mihi post longum exilium jucundissima, ut est, sic esse debet; tamen quod in eâ me libenti animo retinet, non tam est ejusdem patriæ amor, quàm pietatis, justitiæ et clementiæ Majestatum vestrarum vinculum, quod me cum patria conjunxit; sine quo nec ego patriæ utilis essem, nec illa mihi. R. Poli Epist. pars 5^{ta}, pag. 44.*

† *Peter*, a native of *Lombardy*, from whence he had his surname, was first divinity professor in the university of *Paris*, and in the year 1150 named to the Bishopric of that city. He was remarkable for the acuteness of his parts, and great reading. A theological treatise, in which, as in a common place book, the chief questions in that science are ranged under their separate heads, gave him the title of *the Master of the Sentences*. This work, in its kind, and for an age that knew nothing more useful and accurate, is very estimable, and the reputation it

SECT.
IX.

formed the King he had communicated this proposal to the Chancellor, and they were both of opinion, it would be advisable to appoint the lesson here mentioned to be read instead of the *Hebrew*, which for many years had been little frequented*. But then it must be observed, that these two able men, and great scholars, would have only one lesson of school divinity be read, and not, as has been too universally the practice since, the greatest part of the time and application be given to it: which is much the same as if an artist was to lay himself out in forming a mould, without one thought of casting the statue. For tho' school divinity is by no means the whole of ecclesiastical learning, nor even the chief part of it, yet, studied with discretion, it has great advantages, and the most eminent writers of the church, a *Bossuet*, a *Bellarmino*, a *Peteau*, made great account of, and excelled in it; and *Soto*, who here offered himself to be professor, possessed in a great degree most branches of learning. Whether *Peter of Lombardy* be a proper standard of this branch of the science in question, is a disquisition foreign to this history: so far I think may be advanced, that whatever he might have been in that age, he would not be so in the present.

Human literature, at the time I am speaking of, was not less neglected than divine, and seems to have been falling off soon after it had been revived by *Latimer*, *Linacre*, and others, when young

gained has caused several eminent personages to employ their parts in writing commentaries on it, instead of exerting themselves in original productions, which might have been more instructive to students in theology, and more agreeable to those who were advanced: to say nothing of the swarms of writers of another class, who have brooded over this work with the same fecundity as insects on the banks of the *Nile*.

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^{ta}, pag. 47.

POLE was at the university. The speech, made a few years after to Queen *Elizabeth*, on her visiting *Oxford*, is a boyish declamation, and the letter written to her on her safe arrival at her palace, ridiculous bombast*, and is moreover vilified by a pun †. This degeneracy was owing to the national convulsions, under which our country laboured through almost all that space, and with which the attainments of erudition have ever been incompatible. The great names which have since graced this celebrated seat of learning, and still continue to do honour to it, have caused this chasm to be forgotten, and inrolled the sons of *Isis* in the fairest records of literary fame.

SECT.
IX.

11th Aug.

1566.

This regulation concerning studies was one of the last actions of Bishop *Gardiner's* life. His health, for some time, had been on the decline; notwithstanding which he was present in Parliament a few days before he died, and spoke with such strength and presence of mind, that, as the LEGATE informs the King, “ he seemed, on that occasion, not only to surpass himself in eloquence and prudence, and those other qualifications which constitute a statesman, but to be so superior to his own bodily infirmities, as not to give any indication of them whilst he was supporting the cause of his Sovereign and his country.” In the same letter in which he gave *Philip* advice of this Minister's death, he signifies the loss which the public sustained by this incident, and the great detriment which both religion and justice would suffer, was the place to be long vacated; and that a few days experience had let them into this knowledge. That he wished it was not more difficult to indi-

* They may be seen among other papers published with Sir *Thomas More's* life, by *T. Hearne*, 1716.

† Ergo tuam celsitudinem, non dicam, ut numen; dicam certe, ut numam veneramur.

SECT.
IX.

cate a proper person to succeed to the office, as the King required him to do, than it was easy to see what sort of magistrate the present circumstances stood in need of; for though there were several, of whom he thought well; yet the post was so important, and the conjuncture so delicate, that he did not dare to recommend any one*." He takes up the same subject in several other letters to the King, though he could not but be conscious of the jealousy which *Gardiner* had borne him, and, perhaps, of his machinations to obstruct his return from banishment; yet his mind was such a stranger to revenge, and the welfare of his country so much above all private resentments, that he only considered him as a great minister, whose loss was irreparable †. The dignity having been vacated some weeks, *Nicholas Heath*, Archbishop of *York*, at the LEGATE's recommendation succeeded to it ‡.

1st Jan.
1556.

It will be expected I should not leave so celebrated a name as Bishop *Gardiner's*, without saying something

* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars. 5^{ta}, pag. 48. † *Ibid.* pag. 52, et 54.

‡ This great prelate and magistrate was educated at *Corpus Christi* college in *Oxford*, and thence removed to *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*. He took his degree of doctor in divinity in 1535. was almoner to *Henry VIII.* and consecrated Bishop of *Rochester* four years after. He was translated to the see of *Worcester* in 1543; but at *Edward's* accession, on refusing to concur with the court measures concerning religion, was committed to the *Fleet Prison*, where he remained during that Prince's reign. His temper and principles inclined him to moderation, and made him an advocate for those who were persecuted for heresy, and against the revival of penal laws which concern it. On *Mary's* accession he was appointed Lord President of *Wales*, and Archbishop of *York*, and on *Gardiner's* death, High Chancellor. He acknowledged the Princess *Elizabeth's* title to the crown, at her sister's death, and met her at *Barnet*; and, with the other Bishops, made her an offer of his allegiance on his knees. The See of *Canterbury* being vacant, it was Dr. *Heath's* place

something of those many articles which make up his character; on some of which he stands arraigned in the minds of the generality of the *English* of these days; and which, though a panegyrist might gloss over, an historian ought to relate. It must be confessed, on the whole, that he had many failings, and some faults which cannot be excused: that he had great eloquence, and universal knowledge; abilities equal to each station, to which he gradually rose, and always filled, so as to attract the public observation. This will appear, if we neither form our opinion of him from elogy or invective, but from facts; and take into the estimate the various temper of the reigns he lived in, the nature and circumstances of the affairs he managed, and the means by which he acquired *Henry's* esteem; the cause of his disgrace under his successor; and his behaviour when he was restored to favour and authority under *Mary**.

Some

place to officiate in chief at the ceremony of the coronation, which he would not do, as the Princess refused to maintain the Catholic religion, of which she made profession during her sister's life. All the other Bishops followed his example, till *Oglethorp* of *Carlisle* was, with much intreaty, prevailed on to put the crown on her head. On the first meeting of the Parliament he opened it by that memorable speech, of which mention has been made elsewhere; and being summoned to take the oath of supremacy, on his refusal, was deprived of all his dignities, and committed. He spent the remainder of his life at *Cobham* in *Surrey*, where he was a prisoner at large, and had a small estate, which he was allowed to enjoy. The Queen retained that regard for him, which superior merit seldom fails of extorting from an adversary, and sometimes visited him. He died in 1579, and is buried in the chancel of the parish church of that place.

An original picture of this excellent personage is preserved at *Weston* in *Warwickshire*, the seat of *William Sheldon*, Esq; to which family he was allied.

* *Stephen Gardiner* was born in 1483, as appears from an original picture of him by *Hans Holbein*, and was educated at

Trinity

SECT.
IX.

Some exigencies of these times, of which I am about to speak, gave the LEGATE occasion to convene a national synod, which he notified to *Philip* in the following manner: " I have found it, Sir, very necessary, in quality of the character with which I am invested, to call a synod, not only on account of the reformation of the *English* church, which is ardently desired by all good men, and can never be undertaken more seasonably than in the present juncture; but also that I may

Trinity Hall in Cambridge, where he distinguished himself by his diligence, ready parts, knowledge of the *Greek* tongue, and great elegance in speaking and writing *Latin*. These qualifications recommended him first to Cardinal *Wolsey*, to whom he was secretary, and afterwards, in 1528, when he was esteemed the ablest civilian in *England*, to the King, who employed him at *Rome* to solicit the cause of the divorce. A long letter, still extant, (*Cartophylac. Reg. Biog. Brit. p. 2093. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. among the Records joined to vol. 2, p. 297.*) shews the strength and politeness of his genius, and the purity of his language, which is but little antiquated at so great a distance of time. He was afterwards appointed Secretary of State, (*Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.*) and in 1531, consecrated Bishop of *Winchester*, and sat with *Cranmer*, when the latter pronounced the sentence of divorce between the King and *Catharine of Arragon*. He took another courtly step in 1534, and maintained the King's supremacy, by a discourse *on true Obedience*; and, during this reign, his pen had no other direction than *Henry's* caprice thought fit to give it. He appeared in a different character on *Edward's* accession, and was committed to prison for not complying with the innovations which then took place, but was set at liberty in 1547. He was again committed to the Tower in the following year, and deprived of his Bishopric, as the Protestant historians grant, without sufficient cause; (*Biog. Brit. as above, p. 2117.* [FF] and continued prisoner till that Prince's death. Queen *Mary* restored him to the See of *Winchester*, declared him Chancellor, and was crowned by him. As to the chief objection under which his character generally labours, of having been the instigator of the cruelties which were inflicted on account of religion, both in *Henry's* and *Mary's* reigns, the case has been fairly stated by a very curious and impartial writer of the church of *England*, who seems to clear him, in great measure, of the imputation. (*Biog. Brit. p.*

may ratify what the Bishops and inferior Clergy have done in the convocation they are accustomed to hold, as often as the Parliament meets*. As this could not be duly summoned, either by the Primate, who is in prison; or by the chapter, whilst their Archbishop is neither condemned nor deposed; it was necessary this summons should be made by me, the LEGATE, in order to have the decrees, one of which concerns the free gift, come out under proper authority. I have been very particular with them concerning your Majesty's and the Queen's intention in giving up the church lands which were invested in the crown, and of the disposition you would have made of them. It was likewise agreed to draw up an Act of the surrender of the said lands, first fruits, and perpetual tithes, and release your Majesties from all pensions which were paid out of the profits issuing from

2099, 2021.) He advised the Queen, on her entrance into government, to acts of lenity; to give back to several noble families, as the *Norfolk*, *Arundel*, *Stanhope*, and *Hungerford*, what the crown had dispossessed them of; and to restore to blood the Earl of *Devonshire*, and the son of the Duke of *Somerset*. His attention to the spirit of the constitution, in preference to every thing else, and particularly to royal and ministerial power, and his care to exclude foreign influence from *British* councils, except in the instance of the Queen's marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, can never be too much commended: what share he had in that match, and his jealousy of CARDINAL POLE, has been already related. His abilities as Chancellor are attested, as we have seen, by a voucher above all exception, the person whom he rivaled: and the journals both of the Convocation and Parliament, which are still preserved, are abundant proofs of his weight in these assemblies, no less than *Noailles'* negotiations of that which he had in the ministry. To these monuments of the magistrate and the statesman we are to add those of the scholar and the writer, which, though neither many nor voluminous, sufficiently shew the author's abilities.

* The whole transaction may be seen in *Reg. Convoc. et Excerpt. Heylinianis*; from whence it has been transcribed into *Conc. Mag. Brit. t. 4, p. 120.*

them.

SECT.
IX.

them. This bill was read to the Queen, and, by her order, communicated to some of the Council. They have since been with me, and assured me of their concurrence; and that it was their opinion the Bill should be first brought into the upper House *.”

11th Nov.

1555.

In the following letter he says, “ it was apprehended a difficulty would attend the proposal in question, as it could not pass without their vote who were in possession of church lands, whose number was very great; and therefore the Queen had discoursed several of both Houses on the subject, with so much religion and prudence, that the Bill having been read three days together in the upper House, had been universally agreed to on the third reading †: and though it was several days warmly debated in the lower, was at length carried by a much greater majority than was expected ‡.”

At the same time he wrote to the Pope of what had been done in the Convocation, and a summary of the decrees which were to be enacted in the approaching synod. He informs him also of his design to send proper persons to *Ireland*, which stood in no less need of a reformation than *England*, and both expected and desired it ||.

Hitherto the LEGATE had only removed the obstacles to the great work he meditated; and had prepared the surface for a foundation on which he proposed to rear the structure of his country's future happiness. The representatives of the nation had abjured those tenets, into which they had either been seduced or compelled during the two last reigns, and had been received into the communion of the See of *Rome*. The abbey lands,

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^a, p. 51.

† *Ibid.* pag. 53.

‡ *Ibid.* pag. 56.

|| *Ibid.* pag. 19.

which

which was a capital obstacle to this reconciliation, being now secured to their possessors, had quieted all fears of any future claim arising from this head. The LEGATE had also procured his commission should be enlarged; and had signified to all the lenity they should be treated with on having recourse to him for absolution from those censures to which their transgressions had rendered them liable.

This measure, above all others, reconciled the minds of the people to a return to the ancient worship, when they beheld the instrument not armed with terror, but inviting with the indulgence of a parent, and the benevolence of a friend. He had the favour and confidence of his Sovereign, and the esteem of the whole *English* nation, founded on his universal knowledge, the various trials by which his virtue had been exercised, and the approved merit of his past life: and it must be confessed, that the undertaking he was about to attempt, required all these advantages, and a mind as patient and inured to application as his was.

These dispositions, therefore, were the prelude to the reformation he had projected, and which he began in the following manner. He obtained of the Queen a warrant under the Great Seal, to hold a synod; and, to avoid the after game and chicanery to which the ambiguities of the laws, or prerogative of the crown might give occasion, he was authorized to hold, not only the present synod, but any other hereafter, and to make what decrees he should think fit; and the Clergy have full power to meet, and confirm and obey such decrees, without any danger from any statute whatsoever*. There is likewise mention of a similar licence granted to the LEGATE, on his arrival in

* *Reginaldi Poli*, fol. 6, a. *Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 130.

SECT. IX. *England*, of which notice has been taken in its proper place. The inconveniences into which the Clergy had been betrayed, by acknowledging *Wolfey's* Legantine power, made these precautions advisable; which, as they guarded the rights of the crown inviolate, so they secured the subject from the capriciousness or sinister views of the Sovereign.

From Nov. 1554 to Nov. 1555. The LEGATE had now been about a twelve-month in *England*, and had considered the prevailing disorders which chiefly called for redress, and the remedies which were most likely to effect it, and recal, as far as human foresight could provide, and the temper of the times permitted, the discipline of the church of *England* to the canons and rule of the primitive fathers. This is the plan which is set forth in the preface to the Acts of the Synod; and the writers of our country and foreigners have spoken of it in this light. The general council of *Trent*, at the first sessions of which he presided, contributed greatly to qualify him for all such concerns; and the love he bore his country, whose present situation was, in great measure, his own work, engaged him to exert all his talents towards perfecting those beginnings, which, however promising, stood in need of every assistance to bring them to their due state.

The Convocation was yet sitting, and had been prorogued, when the LEGATE called the Synod I am about to speak of. The orders for calling it are directed to the Bishop of *London*, as Dean of the metropolitan church, who was to communicate them to the Bishops of the provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, and to others of the Clergy, who were accustomed to assist at such meetings, and were required to be present at this, which was

was to be held in the King's chapel, *Westminster* *.

SECT.
IX.

The Bishops assembled premise, That the evils with which the nation had been lately afflicted, were owing to their defection from the Catholic church; and therefore it was but fitting the council should begin by acknowledging the greatness of the divine mercy in recalling them to the ancient faith and worship; and that a grateful remembrance of this benefit may be perpetuated to the latest posterity, they appoint a collect of thanksgiving to be said, every day, in the public service of the church; and the day, on which the nation was reunited to the Catholic communion, which was the festival of *St. Andrew*, to be kept yearly with particular solemnity.

The second decree observes, that the obedience due to the *Roman* Pontiff was no sooner laid aside, but the authority of ecclesiastical laws was abolished; false teachers began to be countenanced, and books containing erroneous doctrine to be every where read: that, by these means, the people were corrupted in their faith, particularly as to what regarded the sacraments; the regularity which became the Clergy, and whatever concerned church discipline, was neglected. It was therefore the intention of the present assembly to recall into use the former decrees of general and provincial councils, and other constitutions which have been canonically published in the kingdom on these heads, and they were to have the same weight as before the schism. And whereas *Otho* and *Ottobonus*, formerly Legates to the kingdom of *England*, had drawn up what seemed chiefly necessary to preserve the faith and morals of the *English* Clergy and

* Ex Reg. *Bonner*, fol. 394. Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4. pag. 131.

SECT.
IX.

Laity ; all who have care of souls, besides the holy Scripture, and other books belonging to their charge, are commanded to have these constitutions, to be conversant in them, and see that those committed to their care be taught what they ought to know of them.

The reading, or importing heretical books, is condemned ; and those who do either, or print, or retain such writings, are declared liable to the censures provided in such cases. But as these regulations were in such negative or general terms, as not to descend to any detail of what doctrines the people were to receive, what to shun ; and as the late errors chiefly regarded the supreme Pastor of the church, and the Sacraments, the LEGATE proposes, as a complete rule of belief on these articles, what had been defined in the council of *Florence*, under *Eugenius IV.* The decrees of this council are here set down, with the moral inferences which Christians should draw from the doctrinal parts ; the dispositions with which the Sacraments are to be received, and the proper and peculiar effects of each of them, in what manner they are to be administered, and who is the minister. To which the LEGATE adds some regulations concerning the decent keeping of the holy Eucharist in churches ; which custom, he says, had been totally banished through the injury of the late times ; and also of celebrating the feast of the dedication of churches, which was observed throughout *England*, on the first *Sunday* of *October*.

The LEGATE then remarks, that the intended reformation ought to take its beginning from those who have the care of others ; among whom this great abuse too generally prevailed, that instead of residing in the churches, whose care they had undertaken, they delivered them over to hirelings.

That

That this disorder may no longer take place, he SECT. IX. exhorts all such persons, that “attending to themselves, and to all the flock over which the holy Ghost had placed them, to feed the church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood,” and for which they were to be accountable, they would disengage themselves from Acts, ch. xx. 28. worldly concerns; and, as the same Apostle admonishes, extend their watchfulness to every branch of their duty, so as to fill up the measure of the whole. He then goes on to represent the almost universal disorder of dignified clergymen, who seemed only to regard the temporal emoluments of their benefices, without answering any of the purposes for which they were instituted; and the abuse of pluralities, which make personal residence impracticable; and having mentioned the duty of residence, he appoints the penalties to which those who do not comply with it are to be subject.

But as a mere bodily residence, either of Bishops, or of the inferior Clergy, who had care of souls, unless they complied with the pastoral functions, the chief which consisted in preaching the word of God, was of little effect; the LEGATE observes how much this duty was neglected, whilst those who were charged with it gave themselves up to other concerns. He reminds them of the maxim and example of the Apostles, who said, “It was not fitting they should leave the preaching of the gospel, and serve tables,” although that office, Acts, ch. vi. 2. as it was in the relief of the poor, was highly agreeable to piety. All prelates, therefore, are enjoined to perform this duty; and, when they are lawfully hindered, to appoint proper persons to do it in their stead. The same conduct is required of Rectors, Vicars, and whoever has the

SECT.
IX.

care of souls; and the duty was to be performed at least on *Sundays*, and other festivals.

He admonishes them, that, in order to acquit themselves of this obligation, it was not enough to preach in public, unless the pastor exhorts and instructs in private those who err in faith, or transgress against morality, and encourage such as are faultless in both. He forbids all persons to preach, but such as are duly qualified and approved of by the Bishop: and as the undue exercise of this function had given occasion to many disorders, the Bishops are commanded to instruct carefully those whom they intrust with this weighty ministry, both as to the subjects they are to treat, and the method of treating them. That the people were, in the first place, to be exhorted to repentance, which was so much more necessary, as we have more grievously offended, and received, in our late deliverance from a pernicious schism, so signal an instance of divine mercy. In the next place, they are to warn their audience against those errors and disorders which chiefly prevailed in the doctrine and manners of the people during this time of calamity, and with which the greater part of the nation was still infected. There being a great scarcity of preachers, lest the people should be totally deprived of so needful a support as the word of God, homilies were to be set forth, which those, who were not otherwise qualified, were to read in a clear and audible manner to their several congregations.

These homilies, as we learn from a scheme of them found among Archbishop *Parker's* papers, were to have been divided into four books: the first was to treat of the controverted points in religion, and whatever could preserve the people from error; the second to contain the exposition of the Creed and Commandments, the Lord's Prayer,

Prayer, the Salutation of the blessed Virgin, and the Sacraments; the third was adapted to the Sundays, the festival, and saints days throughout the year, and was to explain the epistles and gospels read on those occasions; the fourth treated of virtues and vices, and of the rites and ceremonies of the church *. A little reflection is sufficient to shew the fulness of this plan, and the propriety of its distribution.

SECT.
IX.

The LEGATE here applies to the present state of his country, what our Redeemer said of *Judea* and the whole world, “ that the harvest was great, but the workmen few, and therefore the Lord of the harvest was to be intreated to send workmen into his harvest :” and in the mean time the Bishops were to appoint persons to visit all parts of their dioceses, that none might be deprived of the assistance they stood in need of. All parish priests are likewise required, on *Sundays* at least, and festivals, and at a time when they are not taken up with the divine service, to cause the children of their respective parishes to meet in the church, and to instruct them in the first rudiments of the Christian religion, in piety and obedience to the laws of God, and to their parents.

Example, continues the LEGATE, adds great weight to what we say, and is in itself the most persuasive of all sermons: those, therefore, who are placed over others, are to be careful to excel them in every laudable commendation, particularly in that which *St. Paul* requires in Bishops, the regularity of their own household: wherefore, those who are placed in this sacred station are most earnestly requested to live, as the same Apostle expresses himself, soberly, chastly, and piously, that their example may be to others a lesson of

* Ex M. S. Col. C. C. Cantab.

SECT. IX. religion and good discipline. They are to avoid all pomp and superfluity in their dress, equipage and furniture; their table is to be frugal, and recommended by hospitality, charity, and Christian discourse: and the mean to be observed in each of these articles is prescribed. That this frugality may have no appearance of avarice, whatever is spared by it, as *St. Gregory*, Pope, wrote to our Apostle, *St. Austin*, is to be lain out in the relief of the necessitous, the education of youth, and other works of piety, to the glory of God, the advantage of our neighbour, and the edification of all. They were to be fathers of the indigent, of orphans and widows, and the protectors of the oppressed; to be assiduous in the study of the holy Scriptures, and the discharge of all episcopal duties; to refrain from worldly concerns, and whatever the wisdom of the canons has interdicted the clergy, and in every thing become blameless patterns to their flock. The same in proportion is required of the inferior clergy, it being but reasonable that the members should conform to their head; and that none might be ignorant of what it so much imported every one to know, these injunctions were to be abridged, and published so as to come to every one's knowledge.

The synod then descends to a disorder, which they represent as almost universal; the marriage of religious persons, of priests, and of the other orders of the clergy, and they condemn such contracts as unlawful and sacrilegious, and command a separation to persons thus engaged. Great numbers likewise of the clergy were so forgetful of decency, no less than of the other obligations of their profession, as not to wear the clerical tonsure and habit, nor to perform the divine office, or apply themselves to learning, or to any thing else that became them; but were taken up in world-
ly

ly business, and in vile and disreputable employ-
ments. These, therefore, were to be reduced to
order, as to the above-mentioned articles; and
the refractory were to be compelled to amend-
ment by any remedy which the law admits, as far
as to deprive them of their benefices.

S E C T.
IX.

Next to preaching the divine word, no duty
was more important than a careful and accurate
attention in conferring holy orders; the Apostle
having given Bishops this charge, *Lay thy hands
hastily on nobody*: and the LEGATE observes, that
from want of due regard to a concern of such mo-
ment, the clergy lay under great contempt, and
the divine worship was much disregarded. He
injoins Bishops, therefore, with the approbation
of the synod, to take all proper pains in acquit-
ting themselves of so essential a part of their
charge; that they ordain those of their own dio-
cese; but if it was necessary to send them to be
ordained elsewhere, they were to examine the per-
sons, and be assured of their fitness for the sacred
ministry: that they were not to imagine they had
satisfied their obligation, if they committed this
examination to others, who would perform the
task in a careless manner, and be little solicitous
concerning the character of the candidate. If the
number of those who are to receive holy orders be
so great as to make the assistance of others neces-
sary, they are to call in pious and learned person-
ages, on whose diligence they can rely.

In these exams, the following articles were to
be particularly attended to: that those, who pre-
sented themselves, were clear of all errors in faith;
that they were born in lawful wedlock, and had
attained the age required by the canons; that they
were free from any of those blemishes which give
an exclusion from the ministry; that their life
and conversation was laudable, and their learning

SECT.
IX.

suitied to the degree into which they were to be initiated. Great notice was to be taken if they were provided of a maintenance sufficient to exempt them from want, which brought a disgrace on the priesthood, and exposed them to the impious and detestable practice of making the holy sacrifice of the mass venal: and all were to be exhorted not to enter into holy orders on selfish and mercenary views, but from a desire of honouring JESUS CHRIST. The LEGATE here enumerates several cautions which would greatly contribute to the observance of what he had enjoined in the foregoing article; and concludes, that although the same scrutiny was not required in the collation of the inferior orders, yet a proportionable regard was to be had to every caution already mentioned.

Act., ch.
vi.

The LEGATE having regulated, in this manner, what concerns the manners of the clergy, comes to the collation of ecclesiastical benefices, which he restrains to such persons as are both willing and able to perform the office on account of which the benefice is conferred. He cites the example of the Apostles, who being to choose seven deacons, and having assembled the Disciples, spake to them in the following manner; "Brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business;" and he intreats all Bishops, whose peculiar department this was, to lay aside human respects and affection, and confer the benefices of the church, those especially to which the pastoral care was annexed, to the best qualified and most deserving, and have before their eyes his service only whose delegates they were.

I must here ask the Reader's leave to interrupt the account of the council, by an instance which the

the LEGATE gave of the exactness with which he practised what he prescribed to others : for having a natural brother, who, during *Henry's* reign, had been Archdeacon of *Derby*, he conferred no higher dignity on him, till two years after his return to *England*, and then only procured for him the See of *Peterborough*, which was one of the least provided for of the Bishoprics, and looked on as a very inconsiderable preferment, in comparison of what the public voice had called him to, on whom it was collated.

SECRET.
IX.

The seventh decree of the Council is very particular as to the qualifications which had only been mentioned in general terms in the foregoing article ; and observes, that the Apostle's precept to Bishops, of *not laying on their hands rashly*, regarded no less the institution of ministers, than their ordination ; and, therefore, that benefices, particularly those which have the care of others annexed to them, are not to be conferred but after a very exact scrutiny. That the same conditions as to sound doctrine, full age, gravity of manners, and learning, were to take place here, as in the other case. It was likewise to be seen, if the candidate had received the order necessary for the discharge of the duties of the benefice, if he seemed to be led by avarice, ambition, or other carnal views : he was likewise to have the testimony of a good life from creditable witnesses ; and to be admonished by the collator of the office and burden he had taken on himself.

The LEGATE then proceeds to benefices, which require personal residence ; and at length concludes, that Bishops were to receive from the heads of colleges and universities the names of such, as on account of their learning and manners were qualified for benefices ; that, on the first vacancy, they might not be at a loss on whom

S E C T.
IX.

to confer them; and to inquire after such learned and pious personages, as might be assistant to themselves in the government of their dioceses. As it was very prejudicial to churches to be long without a pastor, the synod exhorts all Bishops to supply immediately such benefices as belong to their collation, without waiting the term within which it is fixed by the canons; and, in the mean time, to provide for the exigencies of the people: and the orders here made are addressed to all persons who have a right of conferring ecclesiastical benefices, by what title soever this privilege is enjoyed.

The LEGATE then provides against the promise of benefices before they are vacant; and the council of *Lateran* having taken all necessary caution to prevent this abuse, which was very common in *England*, and the cause of much evil, the parties concerned are referred to the canons there enacted for the extirpation of this disorder. This decree is followed by another, which relates to Simony, which the LEGATE observes to have taken deep root in the late reigns. He sets forth the hainousness of this crime in general; enters on a detail of the various ways by which it may be committed; appoints penalties for the several divisions of it; and, lastly, prescribes the form of an oath, which every one who was presented to a benefice was to take.

The churches throughout the kingdom had suffered so much in the dilapidations of *Henry* and *Edward*, that it was but reasonable to consult the security of what had escaped such a general plunder, or had been restored by the Queen's piety and munificence. In order to effect this, the LEGATE renews the constitution of *Paul II.* against alienating church lands, and whatever had been decreed on that head by general or particular syn-

ods of this realm; and, as a further means to obtain this end, all governors, or administrators of religious places, and clergymen, by whatever title they possess church benefices, are commanded, within six months after the publication of these constitutions, to make an inventory of all the moveable and immoveable goods, rights, claims, actions, or debts appertaining to the churches, or other places they held; which inventory is to be attested by creditable witnesses, and renewed every third year, and as often as they devolve to a new possessor. One of the two copies, which were to be made of this, was to be deposited in the church, or place to which the benefice belonged; the other, if the church was metropolitan, was to be deposited with the chapter; if a cathedral, with the metropolitan; if a private church, or pious foundation, with the Bishop. The metropolitans and other ordinaries are, moreover, in their visitations, required to have these inventories with them, and to see if any thing was wanting; in which case they were to endeavour to recover it, and punish those by whose neglect the damage had happened. "But as to those ecclesiastical possessions, which were formerly taken from the church, and confirmed by the holy See, to the present owners, they are excepted from this decree, and it is our will, says the LEGATE, that they should in no ways be affected by it."

As the good order and discipline of a national church seems, in great measure, to depend on the observance of the following constitution, I shall give it the Reader in a greater detail than the former. The LEGATE begins it by observing, that the present scarcity of clergymen, such especially to whom the care of churches could be committed, or who were qualified to perform the sacred functions, made it necessary to provide
against

SECT.
IX.

against so great an inconvenience: and no means seemed more suited to this end, than that there should be, in each cathedral, a nursery for the raising future ministers. The synod, therefore, orders that each of these churches should, in proportion to its income and extent of jurisdiction, maintain a certain number of youth; on which head they make the following regulations: That those who are admitted into these seminaries should be eleven or twelve years old, have learnt to read and write, and given some indication of a disposition to betake themselves to the church, and of an aptitude to the sacred ministry. The LEGATE would have this choice made chiefly out of the poor, though not so as to have others excluded, provided they give hopes of answering the end of the institution. They were first to be instructed in the grammar; and then, being adopted into the metropolitan or cathedral church, were to be under the care of the chancellor of the church, or some grave and learned person, and be brought up in that learning and discipline which became the state they were designed for. Of these there were to be two classes; one of the more advanced in age and literature, who were to be *Acolyths**, and besides their table and a gown, were to have a certain yearly stipend; the other class of the less advanced, who were only to have their table and a gown. Each class was to wear the clerical tonsure and dress, and, at seasonable times, assist at the church office. The *Acolyths*, when they were of a proper age, and had made a sufficient progress in virtue and learning, were to receive holy orders, and serve the church in whatever capacity the Bishop and Chapter should think fit; who were likewise to take care that each one was pro-

* One of the lowest orders in the church.

vided

vided for according to his merit: and those of the second class, who in age, learning and virtue, followed the *Acolyths* thus promoted, were to succeed to their place. Besides the youth of the seminary, other children of the city and diocese were to be admitted to the grammar school, and the other opportunities of improvement, provided they had been liberally educated, and behaved becomingly; and as to dress, and their manner of living, they were to be on the same footing as those who were supported by the church; and the same method of supplying the clergy out of them to be observed as with the others.

S E C T.
IX.

It was necessary that a certain temporary provision should be made for the maintenance of the youth, and the salary of the masters, till such time as a fixed allowance could be appropriated from benefices assigned for these purposes: wherefore the synod orders all Bishops, and others who have a benefice amounting to the yearly value of twenty pounds, to set aside a fortieth part of the clear profit of the produce to this use; and tho', as the synod remarks, they were already very heavily taxed, yet there could be no doubt but their zeal for religion, and the regard they had for the church, which was much deformed through want of proper ministers, would cause them chearfully to submit to this additional burden.

The Bishop, the Dean and Chapter were to superintend this school, and to take care that the appointments for its subsistence were duly paid; and as many other regulations were necessary, they would be made in the next convocation. But as nothing could contribute more to the sound doctrine and good manners of the youth, than that their instructors should be no less recommendable for these qualifications than for learning, the LEGATE wills that no schoolmaster be appointed, or
any

SECT.
IX.

any one allowed to teach any where, or on any pretence, unless he be first examined and approved of by the ordinary, and by him informed of those books he is to read in the school, to train up the youth both in learning and virtue; and whoever had accepted the charge, and did not comply with this statute, was liable to excommunication, and be excluded three years from teaching. The doctrine, manners, and learning of those who were already put over schools, was carefully to be looked into, and if they were such as are here required, they were to be continued, and to be informed of the present regulations: if not, to be removed, and proper persons substituted in their place.

The visitation of churches being of great use to correct vice and abuses, to establish good manners, and enforce the practice of ecclesiastical laws, Bishops, and other ordinaries, are commanded to visit their dioceses, and places committed to their charge, every three years, according to the ancient custom of this kingdom; and, if they are lawfully hindered, to appoint proper persons to do it. This visitation is to be performed with all the zeal that goodness and charity can inspire. The visitors are admonished, in the first place, to take only those persons with them, of whose assistance they stand in absolute need, and whose example may be profitable to others. They are to be satisfied with frugal entertainment, and to make no longer stay than was necessary, not to waste their time to no purpose, and be a charge to those with whom they were. The visitation was to be made in the following manner: the city was first to be visited, then the diocese, unless some peculiar case required the order to be changed. In the city, the visitation was to begin from the cathedral, and be continued through all the collegiate and parish churches;

churches; at which not only the parish priests, but whatever clergymen inhabited the parish, were to be present. The schools likewise, and book-fellers shops, and lastly the hospitals were to be carefully inspected.

In the visitation the Bishops were to preach and confirm: if any of the diocese had incurred criminal cases, which are reserved to their cognifance, they were to absolve them on sufficient signs of repentance, and to invite all, who were thus unhappily engaged, with a paternal affection. Some persons of known integrity, and who were well informed of the manners both of the ecclesiastics and laity, were required to make their deposition on this article.

With respect to parish churches, the following particulars were to be observed: whether the baptismal water, the holy oils, and the Eucharist, were kept in a decent and safe place, renewed at proper times, and rightly administered: if the blessed Sacrament of our Lord's body was carried to the sick with the customary marks of respect: if marriages were contracted lawfully in the church, and after the bans had been published, and at permitted seasons: if the parish priest had a register with the names of those who were baptized, of the sponsors, of the married, and the dead. The unconsecrated altars were to receive that holy rite; and if any had been profaned, they were to be purified: every thing in the church was to be clean, decent, and safe: the church-yard was to be so inclosed, that cattle could not enter it, nor be exposed to any other filth: if the church, the quire, the belfry, the sacristy or parsonage-house stood in need of repair, those to whom it belonged were to do it, according to the income of the church or parish: inquiry was to be made if nothing was wanting for the ministry of the altar and the church

SECT. church service, as chalices, pattens, corporal linens, vestments, books, and the like: if mass, and other divine offices were celebrated, not only at proper times, and according to the approved rites of the church, but also with reverence and devotion; if there was one clerk, at least, to assist at the holy sacrifice, in a decent surplice: if the books, the records, and other writings belonging to the church, were carefully kept.

IX. The above-mentioned articles having been looked into, the next inquiry was to be made concerning the ministers of the church, and the rest of the clergy; whether they had been duly ordained, and were appointed for such functions as suited their degree: on what title they held their livings or benefices; if they had intruded themselves, or held such as were incompatible; if they resided, and satisfied their duty in the administration of the sacraments, and each part of the divine service; if they left their own, to serve other churches, particularly on holidays; if they were diligent in instructing the people, and teaching the children the first rudiments of the Christian doctrine; and had such books as were proper for these, and the other obligations of a parish priest. The examination was to extend to their life, manners, dress, conversation and family; if they frequented houses of public entertainment, or evil fame, or followed any unbecoming employment; if they took care of the goods and rights of the church, and succoured the necessitous; whether they were peaceable, and careful to reconcile such as were at variance.

The visitation was, at length, to come down to the people, and information to be taken, whether there were any who held erroneous opinions, who did not confess themselves, who were usurers, concubinarians, or who lived in enmity, or any
notorious

notorious and habitual disorder: if Lent, with the other fasts and festivals, and the like laudable institutions of the church, were observed; and in case of licence obtained to use flesh meat, and other dispensations, if a true and sufficient cause had been alleged; and whether pious legacies had been complied with. Cognisance was to be taken of the behaviour of the people at divine service, particularly in time of mass, at which they were to assist reverently from the beginning to the end; and nothing disrespectful, or that could disturb the attention of the congregation, was to be allowed during that sacred action. A like information was to be had of the instruction which masters of families gave their children, and the care they took of their household.

The government of hospitals was to be inspected; and care taken that good order was observed in such places, and the revenues belonging to them employed to the relief of the poor. The same care was to be taken of schools, as to the behaviour of the masters, and the books they explained: and no one, as the synod had decreed by a statute already mentioned, was to be admitted to teach, unless he was approved of by the Bishop. If any master was found to be unfit, he was to be removed. It was likewise to be observed, if book-sellers kept or sold heretical, or other forbidden books.

Where there were collegiate churches and chapters, information was to be taken if the prebendaries, and those in dignity, satisfied their obligation, as well in a due and devout performance of the divine service, as in every other branch of duty.

When these things are done, the visitor is to commend or reprove, as he sees occasion; and to employ for correction, if it be necessary, the censures of the church, and other means of re-

dress which the law furnishes ; and to conclude the whole with a general exhortation to every one to comply with what their respective stations require of them.

There are some directions in the synod, which regard the visitation made by the Metropolitans, of the provinces under their jurisdiction ; and the LEGATE refers them, in general, to the constitution of *Innocent III.* on that head ; but, amongst other articles, he specifies the following : to take information whether the Bishops reside in their dioceses, and preach and live as becomes them : how they behave in conferring holy orders, and benefices ; in appointing ghostly fathers, and correcting disorders ; in the visitation of their diocese, and whatever regards the episcopal charge and jurisdiction, and the administration both of spiritual and temporal concerns : whether they observe the canons of the universal church, and the ecclesiastical institutions of this realm : and if any thing be so remarkably faulty in any of these particulars, as to require a reformation, they are to effect it ; if that cannot be done, they are to refer the case to a provincial synod ; but if a still higher authority be necessary, they are to have recourse to the holy See.

Archdeacons are, in like manner, to visit the districts committed to their care, according to the form prescribed above, and to refer to the Bishops matters of greater moment, to which they find their own authority unequal : they were to bring into practice what had been enacted in the episcopal visitation, and take information of the causes which were a hindrance to it ; and because much depended on them, as they were the Bishops representatives, they are referred to what two former Legates, *Otho* and *Othobonus*, had prescribed on this matter.

Lastly,

Lastly, in order that Prelates may be at liberty to execute, notwithstanding any appeal or contrary custom, whatever was needful for the reformation of the people, the LEGATE renews what *Innocent III.* had ordered, in a general council, on this head, and commands it to be observed by all*.

SECT.
IX.

I have only given the heads of the decrees of this synod, as the Reader, who desires a greater detail than the plan of this work would admit, may have recourse to the original. A slender acquaintance with the spirit and discipline of Christianity, in those times when it most flourished, will shew the justness of the observation, which I have quoted at the beginning of this article, that the LEGATE'S design was to bring the frame of the *English* church as near, as the times could bear, to primitive practice. The resemblance, likewise, of the decrees here made, to those which the general council of *Trent* made on the same matters, is very remarkable. Nor can it be replied, that the LEGATE adopted what had been already ordained in that celebrated assembly; because whatever has any affinity to the statutes of the synod, was not regulated till the last sessions of the council, which were held some years after the CARDI-

* There are two different editions of the Statutes of this national synod: one of which is preserved in the *Cotton* and *Cambridge* libraries, and contains them as they were originally proposed to the *English* clergy, under the title of *Legantine Constitutions of CARDINAL POLE*. Ex M. S. Cott. Cleop F. 2. fol. 72. collat. cum M. S. Synodal. in Coll. *Corpus Christi, Cantab.*

The other edition, which is fuller and more accurate, was published at *Rome*, four years after the CARDINAL'S death, under the title of *The Reformation of England*. The edition which the author made use of, was printed from the *Roman* copy, and published at *Venice* by *Zileti*, in 1562. The acts of this synod have since been inserted into the Collection of the Councils.

SECT.
IX.

NAL'S death. But it is not improbable, that several of the Fathers, who assisted at them, were acquainted with what he had ordered on matters which they were to regulate; and that they prescribed to the whole Christian world what he had approved of for one national church. This observation has no where greater force, than in what regards the establishment of seminaries for the education of the clergy: an institution which the Fathers judged of such importance, that several of them, as has been related, at the close of the council, said, that all their pains would have been well employed, had this purpose alone been gained.

The small number of articles, to which the LEGATE reduced a national reformation, and the plainness and simplicity with which they are laid down, shew the skilfulness of the hand that planned the design, no less than the propriety with which the choice is made. The whole is comprised in twelve decrees, which are addressed to the clergy, and designed to form them to a regularity becoming the ministry they were intrusted with. He very well knew, was this point carried, the reformation of the whole nation would soon be the fruit of it: for the generality of mankind having neither opportunity nor disposition to enter very far into the merits of the cause of religion, take their impression, both as to belief and practice, from the character of those who are appointed to be their guides. The Christian moderation which appears through these statutes, is a further recommendation of him who penned them. There is no order, nor the least intimation given to the Bishops or parochial clergy, to persecute others, but to amend themselves; and I should do

Hist. Ref. Dr. Burnet an injury not to acknowledge this remark to be his.

part 2,
p. 526.

Several

Several other of the LEGATE's synodical decrees, and such like regulations, are come down to us; but as they throw no further light on his character, or on the state of the nation as it stood related to him, it would be foreign to this work to swell it with them †.

The synod was summoned on the 2d of *December* 1555, and the matter having been thoroughly weighed before the meeting, the Bishops and Clergy, who were assembled, found little more to do than to subscribe to what had been regulated with so much wisdom. But though the LEGATE's hand had directed the planning of the whole, reduced it to one character and colouring, and went over the several parts, and gave to each its finishing, yet he was desirous the public should receive this pledge of his sollicitude for their wel-

† Articles to be proposed to married Priests. *Anth. Harmer*, specimen of errors, pag. 178.

Acts of a provincial synod of *Canterbury*.

Commission and instruction given to the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*, as to dispensations, absolutions, &c. *Ibid.* pag. 182. and *Strype's* life of *Cranmer*, App. pag. 187.

The like, granted to the parochial Clergy, and others. *Harmer*.

Injunctions sent in *English* to the Bishop of *Gloucester*, the LEGATE's delegate in that diocese: they contain seventeen articles which regard the Clergy, and as many the Laity, and are penned with the same goodness and discernment as the Legantine constitutions. Ex *Append. Hist. Rob. de Avesbury*, edit. *Tho. Hearne*, pag. 376.

A regulation sent to all the Bishops, concerning the due use of confession; choice of ghostly fathers, and other points of discipline; and regulations about money deposited with Bishops. Ex *Reg. Turberville*, *Exon.* fol. 18.

Concerning processions. Ex *R. Pole*, fol. 27. 2.

These documents are collected in the 4th vol. *Conc. Mag. Brit.* by *Wilkins*, from page 109, to page 178.

General notes that were written unto all Bishops, and from them to be certified to my Lord CARDINAL POLE's Grace: M. S. now in the possession of Mr. *Joseph Sandford*, of *Balial* College.

SECT. IX. fare, under the authority of a national synod, no less than his own.

A few days after the council ended, the LEGATE wrote to the King, that the Queen was desirous the people should be immediately informed of the decree made for an anniversary thanksgiving for the nation's late reconciliation. "I went, says he, on the first Sunday of Advent to St. Peter's, accompanied by the Bishops and the whole body of the nobility, who, on account of the Parliament, are now in town, and was received in quality of LEGATE, as the custom is, by the Archbishop of York, and a great number of ecclesiastics and of the people, with all the Clergy of that church. One of the Queen's chaplains, a man of learning and probity, set forth, in a very apposite discourse, the greatness of the benefit which a good God has been pleased, through your Majesties means, to confer on this kingdom: and several are of opinion, that the readiness which the nobility shewed to assist at the solemn mass and procession which were performed on this occasion, has contributed as much towards confirming the minds of the people in the ancient doctrine, as all the sermons of last year*." From this, and some other passages I have cited out of the Acts of the synod, it appears, that though the Roman Catholic was the religion established by law, and which the nation had received in the persons of its Sovereign and representatives, it was far from being the persuasion of all the people, whose tenets in general are represented by the LEGATE, as erroneous as their manners were corrupt: and when, in the synodical statutes, he speaks of the Clergy, it is every where with such disparagement, as plainly indicates the little as-

* R. Polit. Epist. pars 5^{ta}, pag. 55.

sistance which was to be expected, either from the doctrine or example of such ministers. This, in some measure, accounts for the quick defection from what was now professed, which happened two years after, under Queen *Elizabeth*, when, though all the Bishops, one excepted, chose to be deprived of their Sees, rather than conform to the changes which then took place; and Lord Viscount *Montague* in the upper House, and Mr. *Atkins* in the lower, and a few others, behaved with the like constancy: yet both Lords and Commons came unanimously into the measures of that Princess, in the very first Parliament of her reign.

Sir *Anth.
Browne.*

S E C T. X.

The LEGATE endeavours to reclaim Cranmer, under Sentence of Death, from his Errors. His Lenity towards those who had left the Communion of the See of Rome. He is consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury; and chosen Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Anecdotes of his private Life.

S E C T.
X.

THE following year was signalized by a punishment, in the particulars of which, and in the character of the person, on whom it was inflicted, this history, for reasons which the narrative will bring me to, is sufficiently interested to require I should be circumstantial on both these heads. *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had been one of the chief promoters of *Henry's* separation from *Catharine of Aragon*, mother to the Queen; and had, moreover, pronounced the sentence of divorce. He had subscribed, in the latter part of *Edward's* reign, to the change of the settlement made by parliament, and set aside the Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* in favour of the house of *Suffolk*; and, on that young Prince's decease, was one of those who put up *Lady Jane's* title, and his name was at the head of that treasonable and reproachful declaration, in which the legitimacy of his Sovereign's birth was denied, and she commanded to desist

desist from any pretensions to the crown, and retire to a private life; and he had aggravated these misdemeanors by spreading seditious libels, and raising tumults. "After a long and serious debate of the Privy Council, he was committed, in the beginning of *September 1553*, to the Tower, to remain there, or be referred to justice, according to the Queen's pleasure*." Being brought to his trial on the third of *November* following, he pleaded guilty to the indictment, and submitted himself to the Queen's mercy; on which he was attainted of high treason, and the sentence confirmed by Act of Parliament †. Though the See of *Canterbury*, by this Attainder, was become void in law, it was not yet declared vacated; and *Cranmer*, till he was degraded, was considered as Archbishop: the revenues only were sequestered, and the criminal sent back to the Tower.

The personal injury which each of these offences included was more than enough to stir up all the resentment of a woman, and a Queen; and yet it is probable the execution of this sentence would not have taken place, had not *Mary* been more disposed to avenge the wrongs done to the religion she professed, than the treason committed against herself: for of so many who had opposed her title, at the beginning of her reign, we have already seen how few were put to death.

A public disputation between the Catholic and Protestant divines being held, soon after, at *Oxford*, *Cranmer*, by the Queen's warrant, was removed from the Tower to that city, in order to be present at it. Here he denied the real and corporal presence of CHRIST's body in the holy Eucharist, and asserted several other tenets which he

* *Collier's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 2. b. 5. page 347.

† *Anno 1° Mar.* ch. 16.

SECT.
X.
20th April. had before maintained, and were contrary to the Catholic doctrine. Two days after the conferences were ended, he was required by Dr. *Weston*, and the other deputies of the convocation, who presided at them, to abjure his errors, and subscribe to the Catholic faith; and on refusal was unanimously declared to be a heretic, and sent back to prison, where he remained till his execution, which was put off for two years.

During his confinement the LEGATE made repeated essays to recall him to the paths of truth; and, on the promises and hopes he gave, had obtained frequent respites of his execution, which was resolved, it seems, though the time not determined*. Among other instances of his solicitude to reclaim him from his errors, particularly as to what regarded the Eucharist, is a long and excellent letter, which is one of the most complete pieces of controversy that ever was penned on this characteristic article of the Catholic religion; and being dictated from the heart, no less than the head, is equally addressed to both. At the same time, he tells *Cranmer*, he entertained but slender hopes that what he alleged would have its due weight with him, since what the learned Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *Fisber*, had wrote on that subject, and the late conferences at *Oxford*, had only contributed to harden and make him more obstinate; and that this had happened; not thro' any want of ability on the part of those who would have withdrawn him from darkness, but because his weak and sickly optics could not support the lively ray of truth, whose light only blinded him more. He proves to him, that his mind, in its present situation, was incapable of understanding these doctrines; since he was neither enlightened

* *Vita Poli*, fol. 34, à tergo.

as a teacher, nor endowed with the teachableness of a scholar. That the errors he was fallen into, were the effect and punishment of the disorders of his past life; having been raised to prelacy, in order to gratify the passions of his Prince, and having, on all occasions, answered this shameful purpose. He takes notice of the endless evils he had brought on the nation, of his prevarications in religion, his perjuries and sensuality: by all which crimes he had drawn on himself the severest chastisement of an angry Deity, and been delivered up to a reprobate sense †.

SECT.

X.

Though the LEGATE takes frequent opportunities in the letter I have cited, to give *Crammer* every signification of good will, and the sense he had of his misfortunes, he resumes the subject in a second letter, in which he expresses himself in this remarkable manner: "that his concern for him, and the desire of his welfare was such (he called God to witness) that was there any means of rescuing him from that terrible sentence of death, which, unless he returned to his duty and a right mind, hung over both body and soul, he would most willingly prefer it to all the honours and emoluments which can befall any one in this life*.

The

† The original of this letter, which was written in *Latin*, is preserved in the *French King's* library, M. S. v. 10213, page 43, and has been translated into *French* by *Monf. le Grand*, and added to the first tome of his *History of the Divorce*; from whence it was inserted into *Cardinal Quirini's* collection of the author's letters, part 5th, page 238.

* *Ea est mea salutis tuæ cura et studium, ut si te ab horribili illâ, quæ tibi, nisi respicias, impendet non solum corporis, sed etiam animæ mortis sententiâ, ullo modo liberare possem, id profectò omnibus divitiis atque honoribus, qui cuiquam in hac vitâ obtingere possint (Deum testor, libentissimè antepone-rem.*

Notwithstanding

S E C T.
X.

The time when the sentence was to be executed was now at hand. He had been condemned, as has been said, two years before, for treasonable practices against his Sovereign's title and person, and had received sentence of death, which was confirmed by the legislature. His misdeeds in a case of a higher and more divine order had been lately examined at that tribunal, to which, by way of excellence, such inquests belong, and to which all ages have ever referred them. Here his offences had been found of such a nature as to injure religion in her vital part, and to draw on the offender all the censures and punishments she can inflict.

The Pope, at the King's and Queen's request, had appointed the Cardinal of St. *Simeon* to examine *Cranmer's* cause; and he had nominated the *Dr. Brooks*. Bishop of *Gloucester*, and whoever he should think

Notwithstanding this solemn declaration, and the LEGATE's precedent behaviour, which was consonant to it, Doctor *Burnet*, without the least grounds, or even pretending to allege any authority, is not ashamed to advance (*Hist. Reform.* part 2, p. 327.) that CARDINAL POLE's impatience to get into the See of *Canterbury*, caused him to hasten *Cranmer's* death; and that this and his passive behaviour in the persecution carried on against heretics, were the only stains in his life.

But surely the Bishop of *Salisbury* could not but imagine the reader would expect something more than his bare assertion to give credit to so foul an aspersion on such a character. And had this excellent person been capable of the act of blood and ambition he is here charged with, and hastened the death of *Cranmer*, however guilty both in his public and private life, in order to make room for himself, far from being the person the Bishop every where else represents him, he would have been more exceptionable than the criminal, whose punishment he procured.

Besides, *Cranmer* was found guilty of treason long before the CARDINAL came to *England*; and was therefore dead in law, and incapable of holding the least church benefice; and on the CARDINAL's return to his country, he had been put in possession of the revenues of the Archbishopric, which, on *Cranmer's* condemnation, were sequestered.

fit

fit to join in the commission, to try the criminal. ^{SECT.}
 The court of delegates was opened in St. *Mary's* ^{X.}
 church, in *Oxford*; and the Bishop set forth, in a ^{12th Sept.}
 long discourse, the crimes of which *Cranmer* was ^{1555.}
 accused; and namely his apostasy, heresy and
 incontinence; he made mention also of his treason.
 To which *Cranmer* replied, by disowning any sub-
 mission to the Pope, and charging the See of
Rome with doctrines and practices contrary to the
 Gospel. As the examination became more parti-
 cular, the criminal was accused of keeping a wife
 secretly in *Henry's* reign, and openly in *Edward's*;
 of publishing heretical books, and constraining
 others to subscribe to them; of forsaking the Ca-
 tholic church, and denying CHRIST'S presence in
 the sacrament of the altar; and lately of disputing
 publicly against it at *Oxford*. All these articles
 he confessed, and excepted only against having
 forced others to subscribe, which he said he had
 never done*. This information being taken, he
 was sent back to prison.

The report was made to *Rome*, and having been
 revised by a committee of the sacred college, the
 Pope pronounced the following sentence: "That
 he had found *Thomas Cranmer*, formerly Archbi-
 shop of *Canterbury*, guilty of several offences
 against the ecclesiastical decrees and rules of the
 holy Fathers, the traditions of the church of *Rome*,
 the councils, and the rites which had hitherto been
 received by the universal church; and particular-
 ly that he had held and taught a doctrine concern-
 ing the Sacraments of the body and blood of JE-
 SUS CHRIST, and holy orders, contrary to what
 had been always taught and believed; and had
 disowned the primacy of the holy See, and the
 papal authority: that he had asserted the proceed-

* *Burnet*, Hist. Reformat. part 2, page 331.

S E C T.
X.

ings of the church of *Rome*, in the solemn condemnation of heretics, and their respective errors, to be unlawful; and had himself revived those of *Be-rengarius* and *Wickliffe*, and abetted those of *Luther*: The Pope in particular declares, he had maintained these doctrines in his answers to the interrogatories made by his Holiness's subdelegate, the Bishop of *Gloucester*, and obstinately persisted in them. For these reasons he excommunicates and anathematizes him, deprives him of the Archbishopric of *Canterbury*, and all ecclesiastical privileges, commands his effects to be confiscated, and himself to be degraded and delivered up to the secular power. When this is done, their Majesties are required to proceed as the law directs †."

19th Jan.
1555-6.
Bonner and
Thirlby.

The decree is directed to *Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, and to the Bishops of *London* and *Ely*, as to the persons who were to execute it*.

14th Feb.

In consequence of this sentence, the Bishops came down to *Oxford*, accompanied by the Doctors *Martin* and *Story*, as the King and Queen's proctors; and *Cranmer* being brought before them, their commission was read, which declared him guilty of the crimes he had been charged with, and required them to degrade him. During this awful ceremony he persisted in denying the papal jurisdiction, and appealed to a future council: After the degradation and sentence of death, he was removed to the Dean's lodgings at *Christ Church*, and no kind of exhortation omitted to prevail on him to secure his last stake by a sincere repentance, and to retract his errors; which per-

† Postquam curiæ seculari traditus fuerit, id, quod juris fecerit, fieri mandetis.

* The decree, in which this sentence is contained, may be seen, at full length, in *Wilkins's Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 132. who transcribed it from *Fox*, vol. 3, pag. 997, edit. 1641.

haps might also move their Majesties to reverse his doom, and pardon him. The prospect of this grace, and the dread of death, against which, it seems, neither the consciousness of a well-spent life, nor the goodness of the cause in which he was to die, had armed him, caused him to sign a memorial, in which he abjured the errors of *Luther* and *Zuingle*, acknowledged the Pope's supremacy, the seven Sacraments, CHRIST's corporal presence in the Eucharist, Purgatory, and prayer for departed souls, and the invocation of saints. He likewise desired those who had been led astray by his doctrine and example, to return to the unity of the Catholic church, and protested he did this of his own free motion, and for the discharge of his conscience*.

Soon after their Majesties ordered the Lord ^{24th Feb.} High Chancellor to make out a writ for his execution, which is directed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Oxford*; and *Cranmer* had again renewed his subscription, and transcribed a fair copy of the whole: but having some misgivings of his approaching punishment, he secretly wrote another declaration of what his real tenets were, which contradicted, in every point, the doctrine he had before signed, and carried it about with him. Being brought out to execution, Dr. *Cole*, Provost of *Eton*, was appointed to preach on this occasion, and he summed up, in a very pathetic discourse, the chief disorders of the unhappy offender's life, and particularly insisted on the miseries, in which his contrivance and persuasion had involved his country. The divorce he had made between the King and *Catharine* of *Aragon*, and the blemish which he had cast on the issue of the latter. That he had not only signed away the crown from her

* The recantation is cited at full length by *Collier*.

SECT.
X.



present Majesty, but done it in very abusive and insulting terms. That he had enslaved the church and sacerdotal dignity to the secular power, and had frequently been guilty of the most flagitious hypocrisy in the great concern of religion, and had never ceased to stir up schismatics, heretics, and rebels, and had violated all laws human and divine. He concluded, by addressing his discourse to *Cranmer*, and extolled that mercy which had lately brought him to a sense and acknowledgment of his faults, and encouraged him to receive the punishment due to them with a Christian resignation, as the means to atone for them, and obtain a happy eternity *.”

When *Cranmer* saw there was no further hopes of pardon, he retracted whatever he had subscribed to, declared it was contrary to truth, and that the fear of death, and desire of living, had prevailed on him to act in this manner. Being brought to the stake, he expressed great resentment against his right hand, for having signed the Catholic doctrine, and thrust it into the flames, in which his body was soon consumed †.

However rigorous this proceeding may appear, the criminal, on whom the punishment was inflicted, would have objected to it with an ill grace. He had consented to *Lambert's* and *Anne Askew's* death, who suffered, under *Henry*, for those very opinions which himself held concerning the Eucharist: and he had set the example, in *Edward's* reign, of that very proceeding which was now retaliated upon himself: he sat on *Joan Bocher*, condemned her as an obstinate heretic;

* Sermon at the execution of *Cranmer*, *Hen. Cole's* works, 8vo.

† *Fox*, Acts and Monum. edit. 1583, p. 1816. *Strype*, vita *Cranmeri*. *Burnet*, Hist. of the Reformat. part 2, page 331. *Thuanus*, lib. 17, p. 511. F. edit. *Aurelianæ*, 1620.

and

and delivered her up to the secular power, to be punished *according to her deserts*. He behaved in the same manner to *George van Par*, a German surgeon, and they were both burnt at the stake in *Smithfield* *. The Archbishop's behaviour on this occasion was attended with an aggravation which creates horror: for, whereas the young King shewed a reluctance to sign the warrant for the execution of these wretches, one of whom was more a Bedlamite than a Heretic, he solved his scruples, and prevailed on him to put his hand to it †. It is also to be observed, that these proceedings were carried on three years after the statutes against heretics were repealed; and the sentence is pronounced with all the pomp in which severity and ostentation can dress it up.

SECT.
X.



2^d May,

1550.

24th April,

1551.

I have only given an account of the particulars of *Cranmer's* punishment, and of the crimes which occasioned it: but the cause, which is termed the Reformation, of which he is considered as the principal author, may, perhaps, make a still further account of him not unacceptable to the Reader's curiosity; and I could not interrupt the narrative of the last scene of his life; to exemplify in particular instances, what is related of him by Protestant historians, and will greatly elucidate what has been already said ‡.

He was born of a reputable family in *Nottinghamshire*; and being admitted into *Jesus' college*,

* *Stow's Chron.* page 604, 605. *Reg. Cran.* fol. 75, b. *Ibid.* fol. 78, a, and 79, a. These proceedings may likewise be seen, at full length, *Wilkins's Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, page 43, *et seq.*

† *Dr. Burnet* excuses these actions in *Cranmer*, by saying, they did not proceed from cruelty of temper, but were truly the effect of those principles by which he governed himself. *Hist. Ref.* part 2, page 111, 112.

‡ *Fox, Godwin, de Praef. Angl. Strype, Vita Cran. Burnet, Hist. Reformat.*

SECT.
X.

in *Cambridge*, was deprived of his fellowship for marrying; but, on his wife's death, he betook himself again to an academical life, and entered into holy orders, and was observed by Dr. *Fox* as a fit person to promote the divorce. He was afterwards chaplain to the Earl of *Wiltshire*, father to *Anne Bullen*; and being recommended to the King as one zealous for his service, was employed by him in foreign courts and universities. In *Germany* he became acquainted with *Osiander*, one of the most profane and dissolute wretches of the age, as both *Calvin* and *Melancthon*, though engaged in the same party, represent him: and notwithstanding the most solemn engagements to celibacy, which he had taken at his ordination, he married this reformer's neice. Here, likewise, he became acquainted with *Luther's* tenets, "adopted his sentiments, and was the most esteemed of those who embraced them*." On Archbishop *Warham's* death, which happened whilst *Cranmer* was abroad, the King named him to the See of *Canterbury*; and, on his return to *England*, whether his wife; though in secret, accompanied him; he was consecrated according to the *Roman* ritual. The oath of obedience to the See of *Rome* is a rite observed on that occasion, and *Cranmer* retired into a private place, and entered a protest against the oath he was going to take, and then took it. In whatsoever light common sense and common honesty must consider this behaviour, two historians of note have represented it as an instance of fair dealing and sincerity; and a third, who gives up the merit of the management, can only discover in it *something of human*

March,
1533.

* *Burnet*, Hist. Reformat. part 1, p. 135.

infirmity.

infirmity †." There was no abject compliance, as shall be exemplified a little lower, to which he did not let himself down, to flatter the passions of *Henry VIII.* and secure his own credit. After his return from *Germany*, he continued during the remaining part of that Prince's reign, which was thirteen years, in a constant dissimulation of his religion, and a daily profession and practice of what he disbelieved; as the denial of the Pope's supremacy was yet the only article which divided *England* from the See of *Rome*: and *Henry* exacted a rigorous compliance with all the other terms of communion, which *Cranmer*, though a Lutheran, observed. In consequence of this abandoned turn of mind, he subscribed to the six famous articles, which contain so many points in which the reformers disagree with the ancient doctrine, though he disbelieved them all. But because the celibacy of the priesthood is enforced by one of them, under the penalty of death by fire, he sent his wife back into *Germany*, where she remained to the end of that reign.

At *Edward's* accession he threw off the mask, and declared in favour of the Zuinglian and Calvinistical principles, as they removed him at a still greater distance from the Catholic belief, and were countenanced by the Protector. This he did of his own authority, before the Parliament, had abolished the ancient worship, and an uninformed *embryo* had been substituted in its stead. And here again he acted in direct opposition to the Lutheran tenets, which before he had imbibed and followed. In a great number of writings he left behind him, there is scarce one article of the Catholic church which he does not oppugn: he was

† *Echard*, Hist. of *England*, vol. 1, page 281. *Burnet*, Hist. Reformat. part 1, page 139. *Collier*, Church Hist. vol. 2, b. 1. page 74.

SECT.

X.

so bent on extirpating every thing which could give the people a veneration for her authority, that he wrote a treatise against all traditions*: and though *Edward's* reign had gone the lengths we have seen, in what was called *Reformation*, he never ceased to urge that young Prince to further changes, and to weary the public with schemes on that subject. In the same view he invited over foreign sectaries, and however antichristian their tenets were, obtained for them churches, and recommended them to the favour of the crown, to professorships, and other emoluments, every path being right to him which led the nation, of which he was Primate, astray †.

Though Dr. *Burnet* grants these facts, and the others which follow, he accounts for *Cranmer's* conduct, with saying, "that in all this he did no more than his conscience allowed him." I shall therefore ask the Reader's leave to present him with the sketch of a conscience, which in a very

* Against unwritten verities.—An examination of most points of religion.—Concerning a further reformation.—Some considerations offered to *Edward VI.* to induce him to proceed to a further reformation.

† *Martin Bucer*, who was first a Lutheran, then a Zuinglian, was made divinity professor at *Cambridge*.

Paul Fagius, Hebrew professor at the same university.

P. Vermili, or *Martyr*, who was a professed Zuinglian, made divinity professor at *Oxford*.

J. à Lasco, minister of the first *Dutch* church in *London*, besides the errors of *Zuingle*, and other frenzies, found out twelve different meanings of the words of the institution of the Eucharist, and rejected baptism, which, he said, was become an idolatry.

B. Ochin, who was employed with *Martyr* to compile the Liturgy, wrote a treatise in defence of polygamy, became a Socinian, and died the outcast of mankind, and an Atheist.

Nigellinus, *Tremellius*, *Valerand*, *P. Alexander*, and several others, who were Zuinglians and Calvinists, and came to *England* in *Edward's* reign.

different

different sense from that of the Apostle, *became all to all*, and accommodated itself, without distinction, to every thing.

S E C T.
X.

This faculty, therefore, which was given to discern good from evil, and induce us to act by this estimate, was so ductile in *Cranmer*, as to allow him to enslave the church, of whose rights his station obliged him to be the guardian to the secular power; and to submit that authority, which her ministers derive from JESUS CHRIST, to earthly potentates. He acknowledged *Henry VIII.* to be the sole source of all spiritual jurisdiction, and that it was by his sufferance that he, the primate, could judge and determine a meer spiritual cause; and, at his most humble request, the king grants him this power in the commission to proceed on the divorce*. On *Edward's* accession, he took out fresh patents for his Archbishopric, and acknowledged he held it revocable at the King's pleasure; and a special licence was issued out from an infant to empower him, and the other Bishops, to confer orders, and exercise the other episcopal functions†. He suffered *Cromwel*, though a layman, and utterly void of all ecclesiastical knowledge, to preside at all the convocations of the clergy. The same latitude of principle permitted him to dissolve two of the King's marriages, on pretexts notoriously false, and which had no other foundation than a change in *Henry's* affections; and to sign the death of the Admiral, brother to the Duke of *Somerset*, without bringing him to trial. It permitted him, though a priest, and consequently obliged to celibacy by the most solemn ties, to take a wife; and,

Catharine of Aragon,
and *Anne of Cleves.*

* The commission is put down at length by *Collier*, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. 2, among the collections, p. 15; and is taken from the original preserved in the library of *Robert Harley*, Earl of *Oxford*.

† *Sanders*, *Heylin*, p. 82.

SECT.
X.

in that condition, to accept of one of the first Sees of the Christian world; and though a Lutheran, to take, at his consecration, the oath of obedience to the Pope; to subscribe to the six articles, which are so many condemnations of *Luther's* tenets, and by which the mass, the capital object of the Reformation's aversion, is approved. To offer up, during *Henry's* reign, this sacrifice, even for the repose of the dead; which, in his principles, he must have looked on as an abomination before God; and to ordain priests, on whom he conferred the same power. To exact, even from deacons, at their ordination, a solemn engagement to a single life, to which, though an Archbishop, he did not think himself obliged. To pray to saints, who are departed in God's favour, and reign with his blessed Son; and to pay a respect to their representations: though all these practices were abjured by the late doctrines, with which he had taken up. As yet I have only pointed out a part of the character of that conscience, which, leopard like, was spotted all over. To conclude, this ductile conscience allowed him, in hopes of saving his life, to abjure all the tenets he had hitherto professed; and, when that prospect failed, and he was brought to execution, to revoke that very abjuration, and to declare it was all a lie.

This person who, *Proteus* like, put on all appearances, and was then only taken when he returned to his own form, "had, if we credit Bishop *Burnet*, as few faults, and as many eminent virtues, as any prelate for many ages*;" and "was put on a level, by those who compared modern and ancient times, with the greatest of the primitive fathers, not only a *Chrysostome*, an *Ambrose*, and an

* Preface to the first part of the Hist. of the Reformat. last paragraph but one.

Austin, but with those of the first class, who immediately followed the apostles, an *Ignatius*, a *Polycarp*, and a *Cyprian* †." If there really were any such persons who made this comparison, the Bishop has spared their memory, by suppressing their names: but it was the highest insult on the sense and morals of his readers, to suppose them susceptible of so gross an imposition; unless he imagined that what is called *Popery* has the same power over the minds of men, as *Circe's* wand had on the companions of *Ulysses*, to deprive them of their reason. As for the Bishop himself, he

S E C T.
X.

† Hist. Reformat. part 2, page 336.

Our other writers, who agree in the facts I have related, have yet bestowed every commendation on a person whom they have singled out as the main pillar of the reformation, of which Mr. *Gutbrie* styles *Cranmer* the father.

Mr. *Hume* says, he was undoubtedly a man of merit—adorned with candor and sincerity, and all those virtues which were fitted to make him useful and amiable in society—that his moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom made him the hero of the protestant party.

The *Biogr. Brit.* says, “ He must be allowed to be the glory of *England*, and one of the chief founders of the reformation.”

I might quote a volume of the like eulogies heaped on him by *Fox*, *Strype*, &c.

The sounder few, however, have had too just a regard to that decency which every one owes himself, to fall into such extravagancies. The celebrated Mr. *Prinne*, keeper of the records in the Tower, under *Charles II.* accuses him of perjury; of cruelty in burning the professors of the gospel; of being the chief author of all the calamities of *Henry the Eighth's* reign, and of subverting the church, and represents him as an hypocrite, an apostate, and rebel*.

Dr. *Fuller*, who has undertaken *Cranmer's* defence, is at a loss how to reply to any of the nine articles which Mr. *Prinne* lays to his charge, most of which he gives up, and says, in a homely phrase, he will leave him, where he is guilty, to sink or swim by himself. *Church Hist.* b. 5, page 186.

* *Prinne*, Antipathy of prelacy and monarchy.

SECT.
X.

must have drank to the dregs of that intoxicating cup, with which the lying prophets are drenched, to give out such absurdities; and expect they should be credited.

The severity I have related was not exercised on *Cranmer* alone. Two hundred and seventy persons, during this reign, underwent the like punishment, at different times, and in different parts of the kingdom; of whom an hundred and fifty were put to death, or died in prison, after *Cranmer's* execution*. A great number of these unhappy persons suffered in the diocese of *London*, of which *Bonner* was bishop, who is represented as the chief incendiary of that flame; and *London* being the capital, was likewise the theatre where the delinquents were chiefly to make their appearance. Great moderation was used in other parts of the kingdom: not one was put to death in the diocese of *Canterbury*, after *CARDINAL POLE* was promoted to that See: one only in that of *York*, of which *Dr. Heath* was Archbishop, and very few in the four *Welch* dioceses: one in each of those of *Wells*, *Exeter*, *Peterborough*, and *Lincoln*, tho' this be the most extensive in *England*: two in that

* *John Fox* is the original author, from whom this account is taken, which has been very accurately examined by the learned father *Parsons*, who lived very near those times, and has shewn that great abatements are to be made in what the compiler of the acts and monuments says. as to the number, behaviour, and cause of the sufferers—that he has advanced many and manifest falsehoods, and made himself suspected of still more: which caused an ingenious and eminent divine of the church of *England* to pass this censure on him, “that where he produces records, he may be credited; but as to other relations he was of very slender authority.”

Post *Thome Cranmeri* mortem usque ad *Mariæ* obitum, ob religionem qui supplicio affecti sunt, aut damnati in carcere perirent, per varias regni civitates, oppida, castella numerati sunt à curiosis usque ad *CLXXVI*. *Tbuanus* hist. lib. xvii. p. 512, C. edit. *Aurelian.* anni 1620.

of *Ely*, and three in each of those of *Bristol* and *Salisbury*; and none in those of *Oxford*, *Gloucester*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford* †.

S E C T.
X.

The statutes, on which those who suffered were tried and condemned, were those of *Richard II.* and *Henry IV.* and *V.* and they set forth, that the occasion on which they were made, “ was the errors which sprang up against the ancient faith of the church, to which both Houses of Parliament observe the distinguished attachment of the *English* above all other nations. The liberty which itinerant preachers gave themselves of travelling from place to place and broaching false doctrine. That they, likewise, raised commotions against the King, the safety of the realm, and all order in society, insomuch, that their tenets were not only heretical, but seditious. The statutes, therefore, or the sheriffs, and other civil magistrates, to seize on all such offenders, and bring them before their ordinary; and on being found guilty, they are to be put to death, or punished according to the nature and degree of the offence.”

These statutes had been repealed in the late reign, and the reasons for reviving them in this seem, in great measure, to have been the same which caused them to be first enacted, the preservation and peace of the state against their attempts, who, under the pretence of conscience, would have subverted it. The candour of protestant writers, in relating these provocations, makes it needless to search for any proof of them elsewhere than in their works. I have already spoken of the treasonable practices against the Queen's title, by the innovators, which were preceded by several hardships which she had endured all her brother's reign, from the same principles :

† *Heylin*, Hist. Reformat. page 226.

SECT. X. these were succeeded by *Wiat's* rebellion, who was a professed Calvinist. Notwithstanding this, two years of her reign had passed without any thing which had the air of persecution on account of religion. A proclamation indeed had been published, commanding all foreigners, who had fled their country for heresy, murder, treason, and other crimes, to leave the realm, where they had abetted the late rebellion, and were a public nuisance: but this proceeding cannot come under the name of persecution.

Anno 1.
Maria.

The provocations I am speaking of, and which followed very fast one on the other, were treasonable practices against the government, and indignities offered to the religion the Sovereign professed, and to the Queen's person, on no other account but because she professed it. An assassin attempted to take away her life, and, when he came to execution, justified the fact*. Another personated King *Edward*, that he might dispute her title †. Her preacher was shot at in the pulpit at *St. Paul's*, and her chaplains mobbed and pelted in the streets. When public prayers were ordered on a supposition of her pregnancy, a reformed clergyman made use of this form, "that it would please God either to turn her heart from idolatry, or to shorten her days;" and when several who met at this assembly were taken up, Bishop *Hooper* comforted them by letter, as suffering saints †. A dog's head was shaved, in contempt of the clerical tonsure; and, by an impiety which I have a difficulty to repeat, a wafer was put into a dead cat's paws, in derision of the holy sacrament, and hung up at *Cbeapside*.

* *Collier's Church Hist.* vol. 2. b. 5. page 380.

† *Fox, Coll.* vol. 2. b. 5. page 374.

‡ *Stow's Chron.* page 624.

Pretended revelations, and the forgery of the spirit in the wall, were employed to disturb the government, and discredit the mass and confession. These, and the like impieties, were followed by overt acts of rebellion, of which an attempt to rob the treasury, the insurrection in the north, and the seizure of *Scarborough* castle to favour a *French* invasion, are instances*.

Many *English* protestants, as they are now termed, though they were chiefly Zuinglians and Calvinists, at this time left their native country, and retired into different parts of *Germany* and *Switzerland*. Here they as little agreed among themselves in doctrine and discipline, as they formerly had with that church, whose communion they forsook; and set up the puritan faction, against rites and ceremonies; the presbyterian, against episcopacy; and the independent, against pastors in general. Those who retired to *Geneva*, published a new translation of the bible into the *English* tongue, in which, to say nothing of the errors in point of religion, there were several notes which the civil magistrate must have looked on as dangerous and seditious. These strange proceedings gave the *Germans* the like opinion of these suffering confessors, they had already had of those whom the reformed *English* styled martyrs; to whom, indeed, they gave the same appellation, but with an epithet too gross to find place here †.

How the LEGATE behaved in these transactions, we learn from one who was his secretary, and who published his life in a country where he could be under no influence to represent his

* *Heylin*, Hist. Restor. page 234.

† *Ambassades des Noailles*, tom. 4. pag. 343, &c. tom. 5. p. 335. *Heylin*, page 59, *Collier*, vol. 2, b. 5. page 401.

SECT.
X.

Lord's behaviour, as to the point in question, otherwise than it really was; and at a time when all such misrepresentation would have answered no purpose, but to expose the writer: and he informs us, the CARDINAL used his best endeavours, that the sectaries, who were still very numerous, notwithstanding many had left their country, might be treated with lenity, and no capital punishment be inflicted on them; and though he could not hinder the judicial proceedings against such as were convicted of heresy, and his station obliged him to discountenance doctrines, which were condemned by the laws of the state, no less than by the truth of the gospel: yet he often reminded the bishops, to whose cognisance these causes were brought in the first instance, that they were fathers as well as judges. When there was room for clemency towards any who were condemned to death, he interceded in their behalf. He discoursed with several who were engaged in error, and accommodated himself to their various circumstances, "and made himself a servant to all, that he might gain the more; to the weak he became as weak, that he might gain the weak: he made himself all things to all men, that he might save all." 1 Cor. chap. xi. By this Christian condescension he reclaimed, among others, Sir *John Cheek*, whose reputation and skill in the *Latin* and *Greek* languages, had recommended him to be preceptor to *Edward VI* *.

This behaviour has so prepossessed a writer of our own country, though utterly averse to the CARDINAL's religious tenets, in favour of his humane and benevolent disposition, as to give us a debate, in which Bishop *Gardiner* is introduced as speaking in support of persecution, and the LE-

* *Vita Poli*, fol. 33.

GATE against it †. But the author's ingenuity, which is very great, has supplied the whole argument, of which I have found no trace in history.

SECT.
X.

Another celebrated personage, whose name is very high in the catalogue of our present favourite historians, and his authority very great, and who lived near the times I am speaking of, being born only three years before the CARDINAL's death, describes him much in the same light in which the writer of his life represents him; and, in the interesting passage I am about to quote, he describes himself*.

“ I am obliged, says he, in a letter to his intimate friend, the Cardinal Bishop of *Augsbourg*, to publish, in my own defence, the work *on the church's unity*, which the most earnest solicitations of my friends have not yet prevailed on me to do. This is owing to my being attacked with great virulence by one I never saw, and have no other knowledge of, than from the slanders he has thought fit to publish concerning me †. To make me odious, he represents me of a cruel and unrelenting nature, and attributes whatever I have done to reconcile the Emperor and the King of *France*, to a view of uniting their joint forces against the Lutherans. I need only appeal to you, my Lord, and to all who are acquainted with me, how little I deserve, either from principle or temper, this imputation. At the same time, I

† *Hume*, Hist. of the *Tudors*, vol. 1. page 374.

* *Quamquam invitus faceret CARDINALIS POLUS, cui religionis negotium commissum erat, ut in eos, quorum salutem tanto studio quæreret, durius animadvertere cogeretur; quippe qui cogitabat, quod etiam sæpius dicere auditus est, se ac cæteros episcopos non solum judices adversus prævè de religione sentientes, sed patres esse constitutos.* *Tbuanus*, Hist. lib. 17. p. 512. C.

† This was *Verger*, of whom mention has been made, vol. I. page 149. in the note.

S. E. C. T.
X.

do not deny, but, the case supposed of any one's opinions being extremely pernicious, and he no less industrious to corrupt others than depraved himself, I might say, such a one should be capitally punished, and, as a rotten member, cut off from the body. But it was my constant declaration, that this remedy was not to be applied, till every gentler method had been made use of; and I was so far from thinking that cures should begin by amputation, or any other severity, that, on all occasions, both in public and private, when I was to give my opinion, it always was in the manner I have mentioned. This fact is so notorious, that, on account of my lenity in punishing erroneous doctrines, I have hardly escaped a suspicion of favouring their cause whose persons I screened. When I presided at the council of *Trent*, where sentence was to be pronounced on all who had renounced the doctrine of the church, and the obedience due to her, there was no point I more frequently inculcated, than that, although we were the judges of such causes and persons, we were likewise fathers; by which name alone those are called who assist at councils, whilst that of judge is suppressed: and this was to remind us to behave in such a manner, as in all our decrees, there might be still some mark of paternal affection: that those who left our communion, though they were avowed enemies, yet ought not to be considered by us in that light; that they were still our children, and as such to be treated with the tenderness which the name claimed. Nor was this my opinion alone, but that of my colleagues, and the judgment of the whole council, who readily came into the same sentiments*.”

* *R. Poli Epist. pars 4^{ta}, pag. 156.*

The only exception which has been made, with any foundation, to this general character of CARDINAL POLE, is a commission issued out on occasion of several pernicious doctrines that were taught and propagated in the diocese of *Canterbury*; and, lest the suppression of it may seem to proceed from any apprehension of prejudicing his memory, sincerity obliges me to take notice of it.

S. E. C. T.
X.

The persons to whom it is directed, are required to inform themselves of the fact, and have it certified by oath, in the manner the law directs in such cases; which is favourable to the criminal. They were to use their best endeavours to reclaim such persons; but if they remain obstinate, they are to be excommunicated; and, if the atrociousness of the crime requires it, delivered up to the civil magistrate *. In consequence of which commission, he informs their majesties of some who had been convicted, and leaves them to be punished as they deserve †.

It is difficult to determine who were the most active in carrying on prosecutions of this kind, and exerting the literal severity of laws, which seem chiefly designed to deter mankind from these criminal deviations from truth, by the severity of the punishment denounced against them. The greater number of the Bishops were men of great moderation, and averse to such measures, as appears by what has been said in this work of some of them, and from the testimony given by protestant historians of the rest, except *Bonner*, and a very few more. Some leading persons about the court seem to have countenanced these

* Si facti atrocitas ita exposceret. Ex *R. Pole*, fol. 29. b; and *Wilkins*, *Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4. p. 173.

† Condignâ animadversione plectendos relinquimus. Ex *Reg. Pole*, fol. 30. b; and *Wilkins*, as above, p. 174.

SECT. X. measures, as necessary to secure the government; and to have armed the laws with all their terror against those who had distinguished themselves by their insults on religion and the ministry. *Philip's* behaviour afterwards in the Low Countries, where the Duke of *Alva*, by his orders, put such numbers to death, makes it not improbable that he favoured proceedings, which, for political reasons, he would be thought to disapprove. As for the Queen, whose character I shall speak to elsewhere, no one will wonder that her fondness for a husband twelve years younger than herself, and her attachment not only to his person, but his family, from which she descended by her mother, should cause her to assent to what he was inclined to. Something, likewise, must be given to the temper of the times; which, however, neither began with this Princess, nor ended with her: and yet the bloody reign of Queen *Mary* alone is still the dismal ditty of every nursery, and we may say of it what the poet does of the threadbare ballads of his days;

Cui non dictus Hylas puer, et Latonia Delos?

But far from retaliating this objection on her successor, who made actions of mere religious import, treason and felony, and punished those who performed them accordingly, I would choose to treat this subject in such a manner as to cover heats, not spread and perpetuate them.

Having related the historical facts which concern these penalties, I must ask the Reader's leave to add a few reflections which elucidate the state of the question, and belong to this part of *CARDINAL POLE's* history, no less than the facts themselves. I have already shewn, that what gave occasion to enact penal laws against heretics in former reigns,

reigns, and to renew them in this, was the open rebellion against the government, to which this licentiousness of opinions gave birth, as well as to the manifest subversion of the catholic doctrine. This caused the legislature to consider heresy not only as a grievous sin against almighty God, but as a hainous crime against the state: and as the cognisance of it belonged to the church, Bishops were required to examine those who were accused of it; and, if they were found guilty, to deliver them over to the secular power. But it must be observed, that these statutes are laws of the *English* realm, not canons of the catholic church, and no more make part either of her faith or discipline, than the hardships debtors undergo in our common goals, or the same punishment being assigned to murder, and to the larceny of five shillings, can be imputed to the church of *England*. Nor can it be replied, that these severities have still place in several countries where the Catholic religion prevails; as it is no argument against the general humanity and equity of *English* protestants, that the usages I have mentioned are the statute law, where the reformed is the established religion. The Catholic Church is so far from adjudging heretics to corporal punishment, much less to death, that all her criminal proceedings against such as are accused of heresy, cease when the cause is cleared up, and her punishments extend no further than the spiritual state of the offender. I shall exemplify this in as solemn an instance of the church's jurisdiction as the case admits; and exerted by a pope as jealous of his prerogative as ever filled the pontifical throne: this was *Paul IV*, who, in his decree of *Cranmer's* condemnation, which is directed to *Philip* and *Mary*, "only requires them to deal with him, after he is delivered up to the secular court, as the law di-

S. E C T.
X.

rects*," without the least insinuation of any bodily punishment. The same sentence, in similar cases, is so universally understood not to extend to mutilation, or taking away the life of the delinquent, that the bishop, or whoever delivers him to the civil magistrate, always concludes the proceedings of the spiritual court in this manner; "We beseech you, with all earnestness, that, for the love of almighty God, and on the motive of compassion, and because we ask it of you, that you will not condemn this miserable person to death, or the loss of his limbs †." The laws of *England*, at the time I am speaking of, punished heresy with death, but the church is not accountable for laws which she did not establish, and leaves their execution to whom it belongs. The secular judge every where proceeds on the same supposition, and in the writ for *Cranmer's* execution, the King and Queen expressly take notice, "that the criminal being condemned for heresy, and degraded; as the church neither had, nor ought to proceed any further in the affair, he was delivered over to them, the King and Queen, according to the laws and customs of the realm, provided in such cases, and condemned to be burnt, in detestation of his guilt, and for a warning to other Christians †."

* Postquam curiæ seculari traditus fuerit. id quod juris est, fieri mandetis. Ex bulla *Pauli IV.* *Wilkins's Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4th, page 132.

† Ibid. pag. 136.

‡ Et cum etiam mater Ecclesia non habet quod ulterius in hac parte faciat, aut facere debeat. . . . Juxta leges et consuetudines Regni nostri *Angliæ* damnatum et degradatum comburi facietis, in hujusmodi criminis detestationem, et aliorum Christianorum exemplum manifestum. Ibid. pag. 140. Ex Rot. Pat. 2^o et 2^o *Phil.* et *Mar.* pars 2.

The LEGATE had already, on *Cranmer's* being condemned as a heretic, and his See declared to be vacated, been appointed administrator of the archbishopric, and the revenues were assigned to him. At the same time, he had received the rank of Cardinal Priest of the Church of St. *Mary in Cosmedin*, of which he was before only Cardinal Deacon, and was now both Priest and Prelate*. But on *Cranmer's* execution, the Queen nominated him to the See of *Canterbury*, as she had before signified her intentions; and on his shewing the difficulty he had to accept of the offer, the Princess, who had the affair much at heart, having represented to him the exigences of the times, and the aid which the Church of her realm expected from his zeal, he acquiesced in the choice her Majesty had made; and sending *Goldwell*, Bishop of St. *Asaph*, to *Rome*, on affairs of moment, and on this among the rest, he informed the Pope, that if such was his good pleasure, he consented to be consecrated; but on this condition, that he should be no more obliged to go to *Rome*, or be absent from a post which required residence. Cardinal *Moron*, in quality of protector of *England*, as the custom is, was to speak to the character of the other prelates, whom the Queen had named to the vacant bishoprics, and having performed this office for the rest, the Pope, who had reserved to himself the commendation of the Archbishop, began with a compliment to the Queen, and then discoursed on the CARDINAL in such a strain as nothing could be added to the panegyric; and concluded with saying, he owed this testimony to his learning, piety, and integrity, with which he had been long acquainted †.

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^{ta}, pag. 142. *Fe. ii. Feli.*

† *Vita Poli*, pag. 31.

S E C T.
X.

The CARDINAL, on the receiving the decree of his election to the See of *Canterbury*, wrote to the Pope in the following terms. “ I have received, says he, from your Holiness, the decree by which I am nominated to the See of *Canterbury*, and, at the first signification of it, I may truly say, that the greatness of the charge gave me a just distrust of my sufficiency to acquit myself of it, and would have deterred me from making such an undertaking my own choice. I reflected, afterwards, on the Princes at whose recommendation I was named to this post of honour; on the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, who had given an illustrious testimony in my favour; and on the assessors, by whose approbation I had been chosen, and on those whose welfare I was to superintend; and, lastly, that I was to perform this duty in my own country, which is, as it ought to be, most dear to me. On these considerations I did not dare to decline the burden, though but by a single word †.”

The LEGATE was ordained priest, and received the pall, and the other ornaments of primacy in the Church of the blessed Virgin *Mary* of Arches, which is a parish belonging to the diocese of *Canterbury*; and having performed the divine service with great solemnity, he preached to an incredible concourse of nobility and gentry; which manner of instruction he continued in different places of his diocese, and particularly in his cathedral ever after. The feeling of his conscience, as has been seen, was too delicate, and his knowledge of duty too correct, not to be informed, that residence is the obligation of all Bishops; and he intreated the Queen to consent to his complying with it; or, at least, to his spending the greater part of the year in the discharge of it. To which she prudently opposed the charity he

† *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 5^a, pag. 17.

owed to the whole national Church, of which he was Primate, and which ought to have greater weight with him than a consideration for any particular part: that this care could no where be exerted to so much advantage, as when he was near her person, and assisted at the Councils, in which the welfare of the whole realm was interested. The divines and other qualified persons, who were consulted, were of the same opinion, and it was the general voice, that the Primate could not, without being wanting to what he owed the public, refuse what the Queen, in these circumstances, required of him.

Nor did his care extend only to the great sources of good, which I have already mentioned in speaking of the national council; but likewise set on foot those establishments by which the divine founder of Christianity has recommended the perfection of his law, and which have been no less followed than taught by his disciples. By his and the Queen's piety and care some religious houses were founded in *London*. The Chapter of *Westminster* being dissolved, the Convent was restored to the monks, and Dr. *John Feckenham* appointed abbot. The Priory of the Hospital Knights of *St. John*, near *Smithfield*, was restored the following year, and Sir *Thomas Tresham* placed over them; and eight more abbeys were founded and endowed out of the lands of dissolved monasteries, which were still invested in the crown*.

The Chancellorship of the university of *Oxford* being vacated by the resignation of Sir *John Mason*, Knight, Fellow of *All-Souls*, and Privy Counsellor to *Edward VI.* the LEGATE was chosen to that high post of honour, as he had been, at *Gardiner's* death, to that of *Cambridge* †. The decree,

* Ambassades de *Noailles*. † Catalog. Cancel. *Cantab.*

SECT.

X.

by which the latter was conferred on him, was sent to *Greenwich*, where he then was, by some learned members of the university: and the motives they assign for making choice of him are, “that he had formerly been a credit to the university, and was now an honour to the whole kingdom, and an ornament to the *English* church; they take notice, in particular, of his indefatigable vigilance and paternal sollicitude in repressing vice and error, which were grown to an enormous size, and recalling ancient discipline, innocence of manners, and useful learning; and, lastly, they mention the singular good-will he bore the university, and the daily proofs he gave of it †.”

The CARDINAL returned his thanks to that illustrious body by a very elegant letter, in which, besides the expressions usual in such an intercourse of civility, he takes occasion to mention the great men who had graced the place to which they had elected him: and as the university, in its decree, had taken particular notice of *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rockester*, and *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, as persons, who, while they were at the head of the university, had greatly encouraged both virtue and letters, he observes, they had with peculiar discernment selected those two; on whom he passes this peculiar judgment, “that two persons could not be named in the whole kingdom, in whom the supreme Being had given a clearer evidence of his mercy towards this country; and that one of them perceiving the ruin which threatened religion, opposed himself to it by a memorable example of fortitude; and, being oppressed himself, was more useful to the public by such a death, than any of those who survived him: the other, having been

† Elect. CARD. POLI, in Cancell. *Oxon. Wilkins*, Conc. *Mag. Brit.* t. 4, p. 144.

a part of the common fall, was permitted to live, and, when the time of raising the ruins was come, had, more than any one else, contributed to so laudable an undertaking. He had signified to their deputies, he says, that although he was disposed to do every good office to the university, and to exert his authority in favour of its members, yet he had rather they would confer the Chancellorship on some other person, who had the confidence of their Majesties, and was endowed with the qualifications, for which they justly celebrated those who had formerly held that dignity. But as they earnestly insisted on his not refusing this mark of their esteem and good-will, he had accepted of it rather as their choice than his inclination *.”

1st April,
1556,
Green-
wick.

I have cited this more willingly, as it is a proof of the LEGATE being superior to all that resentment which the most generous minds often feel at the envy and jealousy with which others thwart their undertakings. Though he had a long time experienced much of all this from *Gardiner*, yet, because he judged him useful to the state, particularly at that juncture, he seconded his views, whilst he lived, on all occasions, in which he thought them justifiable; and, after his death, never failed to do honour to his memory, and not awaken the remembrance of any fact that might fully it.

How deserving CARDINAL POLE was of a place so suited to his high birth and genius, appears from his behaviour in it. Immediately on his election, the new Chancellor took care to have the statutes revised; and where he found any thing deficient, he applied a remedy, and added what he further judged necessary for the better regula-

* *R. Poli Epist. pars*, 1^a, pag. 88.

SECT.
X.

tion of the university. On this account several candid Protestant writers have acknowledged the seat of learning to have flourished more in his time, than either under *Edward* or *Elizabeth*. This appears from a passage in those statutes, revised and published by Archbishop *Laud*, one of his successors, who speaks in the following manner: "At *Edward's* accession, a fresh effort was made to revive the splendor of the university; and as the King favoured the undertaking, and the charm of novelty still continued, the work was begun. Soon after, when the crown devolved to *Mary*, the same work was again taken in hand, under **CARDINAL POLE's** protection. New statutes were made, but on as narrow a plan as the former. However, in this fluctuating state of laws, the university flourished, sciences were encouraged, discipline was kept up; and by a desirable happiness of the times, an ingenuous candour supplied the defect of statutes, and what was wanting in the laws was made up by the manners. In succeeding times there was an equal want of both †."

31st July,
1556.

Ignatius Loyola, founder of the order of *Jesuits*, died a few months after the time I am

† *Edoardo sexto ad clavum sedente, novo sudatum est molimine, praescribente Rege et lenocinante novitate, primò visum opus admitti. Paulò post potente rerum Mariâ, sub CARDINALIS POLI auspiciis, idem recruduit labor. Novæ exinde latae leges, sed pari cum prioribus angustiâ: interim tamen inter incerta vacillans statuta viguit academia, colebantur studia, enituit disciplina, et optandâ temporum felicitate tabularum defectum refarcivit innatus candor, et quidquid legibus deerat, moribus suppletum est. Decurrente temporum serie, et vitiiis et legibus pariter laboratum est.*

It has been remarked, that Archbishop *Laud* was charged, on his trial, with this passage, as reflecting on Queen *Elizabeth* and the Reformation; but he answered, the preface was not his; and that the words I have cited only related to the statutes and manners of the university of *Oxford*, in those times, not to the church or religion.

speaking

speaking of. Any mention of him would be foreign to the subject of this work, was it not for the intimacy between him and the LEGATE, which appears from their letters to each other. These minutes, I am inclined to think, will give a very different idea from what an *English* reader is generally taught to entertain of this celebrated personage; and the good faith of history requires that popular prejudices should not prevail over that impartiality which is due to all characters, and which they cannot but find from so discerning an age and country as has fallen to our share. The hardships under which that body of men now lies, can be no reason for not doing justice to their founder; and the good sense and equity of an *English* Reader must make him despise a writer, who then only was an index to merit, when popular favour shone on it. This shade is no discredit to the great services they have done to the Catholic Church, to which the encouragement they have met with, above two hundred years, in all countries of that communion, bears witness; and have no where been more cherished, or of greater emolument both to the Christian and literary state, than in those kingdoms, from whence they have been lately banished. This justice is the more becoming in the present state, as some of our writers have asserted the LEGATE's disapprobation of this order, and his opposing its establishment amongst us, in the reign of Queen *Mary* *. But let the documents speak for themselves, and the Reader be at large to make his own observations.

Several years before the time I am speaking of, and shortly after *Ignatius* began to form his order,

* There is a shuffling article on this head in *Burnet*, Hist. Ref. part 2, page 327, from whence it has been transcribed into the Biogr. Brit. under the article POLE [x].

S E C T.
X.

Bobadilla, one of his first associates, had passed some time in reading lectures of theology, preaching and administering the sacraments at *Viterbo*, which was the capital of *CARDINAL POLE*'S government, and had moreover greatly benefited that province by the example of a blameless and laudable life. But the Pope standing in need of his labours elsewhere, ordered *Ignatius* to signify it to the governor, and recall *Bobadilla*. On this the governor let *Ignatius* know the unwillingness with which he should part with so deserving a person, and offers himself with the utmost readiness to serve him and his society*.

Before the *LEGATE* sat out from *Brussels* on his way to *England*, *Ignatius* had signified to him the hopes he had of the success of his embassy, and, soon after, he let him know the news had reached *Rome* of the desired event being come to pass in so short a time, that it was manifestly the work of that Being, who has no occasion for the opportunity of circumstances and seasons to bring about whatever is pleasing to his divine and perfect will. He informs him of the universal joy this intelligence of a flourishing kingdom being brought back from error to the paths of truth had caused, and of the particular satisfaction his society had received from it; that as no persons were more attached to his Excellence than themselves, on whom he had conferred the highest obligations, so it afforded them a singular pleasure that the Divine Wisdom had thought fit to commit so great a work to his care. He informs him also of the prosperous state of the new institution; that in the *Roman* College, where all sciences, physic and the law excepted, were taught, there were above seventy students of their own body, and above five

* *R. Poli. Epist. pars 5^{ta}, pag. 115.*

hundred who frequented these schools from the city. That the students in the *German* College answered their warmest wishes, among whom was an *English* youth of quick parts and good dispositions; and if the LEGATE thought fit to send any others who had an aptitude for letters, he had great hopes they would soon be in a condition to return to their country every way qualified to be of service to her, and a credit to the place from whence they came; as great care was taken to bring them acquainted with what was laudable in that capital, and to preserve them from the contagion of the contrary*.

The LEGATE in his answer thanks him for his congratulation on the success of the *English* affairs, and tells him he had read with a particular complacency the progress of his society, which he hoped would still increase, and that the character of the Pope, who was lately chosen, was such as could leave no doubt of his shewing special favour and protection to so deserving a body of men †. There is another letter to *Ignatius* to the same purpose. As to the proposal of sending *English* youths to the *Roman* College, I have met with nothing which throws any further light on it. The urgent and manifold concerns which divided the LEGATE'S time and thoughts, might, perhaps, only allow him leisure to enter on that universal plan of ecclesiastical discipline, of which I have given a detail; and he might have wanted an opportunity to descend to several particulars, which a longer life, and fewer exigencies of the times he lived in, would have afforded.

Ignatius died some months after the date of this last letter, and *Laines*, who succeeded him in the government of the society, having informed the

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 3^{ta}, pag. 117. † *Ibid.* pag. 119.

S E C T.
X.

LEGATE of it, he assures him of the part he took in a loss which was common to all; and observes, as *Laines* had done, that he made no doubt, but being now more nearly united to the source of all good, he was more in a condition to assist them, than when on earth; and he adds several obliging expressions both to the Superior General and his body *. *Ignatius* had often said, he desired to see three things before he left the world; his treatise of Spiritual Exercises approved by the holy See; his order confirmed by the same authority, and the institutes of it become public. He died with this satisfaction; the order of Jesuits was already spread almost over the whole world, and divided into twelve provinces, which contained, at least, a hundred colleges, besides the other houses destined for the use of the professed religious.

15th Nov.
1556.


A few years before his death, the most celebrated of his disciples, *Francis Xavier*, had finished a life, which has been the object of admiration, not to the Catholic Church only, but to those who are estranged from her tenets. After having enlightened the empire of *Japan* and several other kingdoms and provinces of the East with the Gospel, he died in the island of *Sanciano*, as he was preparing to transfer that blessing to *China*; and the authors I have cited have vied with each other in celebrating his zeal, the sanctity of his manners, the uncommon gifts he received to execute the office of ambassador of JESUS CHRIST, his heroic patience and courage; and, on a full conviction of his claim to the title, have styled him the Apostle of the *Indies*, and a second *St. Paul* †.

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^{ta}, pag. 120, 121.

† *Baldeus*, History of the *Indies*. *Hackluyt*, Discoveries of the *Englisb*, part 2, vol. 2. *Ta ernier*.

S E C T. XI.

The LEGATE's behaviour under the treatment he received from Paul IV. The manner of his death.

THE calamities of a long war between S E C T.
XI.

 France and Spain had now ceased, and all *Christendom*, which had felt, more or less, the effects of these two powers being at variance, seemed to conceive some hopes of a lasting peace*. This pleasing prospect had not been enjoyed above two years when the attention of *Europe* was called off to something less agreeable; a diffension between *Paul IV.* and *Philip of Spain*, King of *England*, which was either the cause or the pretext for a rupture between *France* and *Spain*. This gave *CARDINAL POLE* an opportunity of exerting that patience and moderation, which had so eminently distinguished the other parts of his life; but does not seem to have ever appeared to so great an advantage, as when he was not very far from being removed to that state which was to be its reward.

The severest crucible in which Heaven tries and refines the purest virtue is, when those, who by their station should encourage the cause of goodness, give up what this character requires of them to envy and jealousy, and, under some pretended colouring, gratify their own causeless resentment, and injure that cause they ought to support. Whoever has fortitude to bear up under such an oppression, and realize in practice that heroism,

* A truce of five years was concluded in 1555, and broke in 1557.

SECT.
XI.

of which such engaging ideas are formed, and so few examples set, that man is great indeed. The following opportunity was that which the CARDINAL had of shewing this greatness of soul, and the manner in which he shewed it.

Paul IV. had taken up an animosity, which was hereditary between the *Caraffa* family, of which he was descended, and the *Colonna*. Each of them had large possessions in the state of *Naples*; and in all contests about that kingdom, the former have favoured the interests of *France*, and the latter those of the House of *Austria*. The *Colonnas* are likewise vassals of the Pope, having large baronies and lands in the Papal dominions, which they hold of the See of *Rome*; and *Paul*, on some pretext, with which the wilfulness and acrimony of old age furnished him *, had caused *Mark Anthony Colonna* to be accused of high treason, and, on his not appearing at his trial, to be condemned, and had seized the duchy of *Paliano*, and other castles and estates belonging to that nobleman, and given them to his nephew *John Caraffa*. He had likewise treated the other branches of the *Colonna* family, and the *Sfortias*, with great severity, and thrown *Ascanio Sfortia*, the Cardinal Chamberlain, and a particular friend of the LEGATE, into prison.

On this the head of the *Colonna* family having recourse to the *Spanish* interest, the Viceroy of *Naples*, by *Philip's* orders, had entered the ecclesiastical state at the head of an army too powerful for the Pope to oppose. He had been included in the late truce between *France* and *Spain*, as an ally of the former, and this behaviour seem-

* Cæterùm, his tot virtutibus inerat ingenium ferox et per-
vicax, et elatus animus vastusque et adversanti nesciens cedere,
profususque imperii nimius. *Graviani* de casibus illustrium
virorum, pag. 316.

ed a violation of that treaty; he sent, therefore, another of his nephews, Cardinal *Charles Caraffa*, into *France*, in order to engage that court in his interests against *Philip*; and remind *Henry II.* of the ancient claim of his ancestors to the kingdom of *Naples*, and offer him all the weight of his uncle's power, which he took care to magnify, to make it good. He prevailed so far on the *French King*, that he sent him back with 2000 men; and a treaty of alliance was agreed on at *Rome* by the Cardinals of *Lorain* and *Tournon*, on the part of the court of *France*. The *French* army entered *Italy* soon after*; but the *Spaniards*, who had every where the superiority, defeated the Pope's troops and those of his ally, and took several of his towns.

S E C T.

XI.

This has no other connexion with the subject of this work, than as the good offices the LEGATE interposed in order to bring about an accommodation, awakened in the Pope's breast an ancient malevolence he had entertained against him, and gave occasion to the trial I have just hinted at. And as this is one of the most interesting scenes of the CARDINAL's life, it well deserves to be set forth in such a detail, and with all those circumstances, which may place it in its full light, and neither deprive the CARDINAL's memory of the honour, nor the Reader of the example of such an instance of fortitude.

Some years before the time I am speaking of, CARDINAL POLE, in a letter to *Hierom Muzza-relli*, one of the great officers of *Julius* the Third's household, had entered on a long and sensible discussion of the uneasiness he lay under at the want of good will he had experienced from the present Pope, who was then Archbishop of *Naples*; and

Magister
sacri Pa-
latii.* *Ribier*. ii. 645, 648-9, 658, 660.

S E C T.

XI.



known by the title of the *Theatine* Cardinal; tho', he says, he was not conscious to himself of having given any occasion to this behaviour, and had always greatly honoured that Prelate for the uncommon regularity of his manners, of which all were witnesses who were acquainted with him. *Muzzarelli* had informed the CARDINAL of several significations of the Archbishop's regard, and, as a common friend to both, had intreated him to acquiesce in the assurances he gave him of it; that, whereas the CARDINAL had thoughts of writing an apology for himself against some rumours which were spread to the disadvantage of his orthodoxy, the Archbishop had desired him, for the honour of the sacred College, not to descend to a cause so much beneath the dignity of such associates; and, in as much as it was personal to the CARDINAL, he took the justification on himself. The CARDINAL says, he hopes the Archbishop's whole behaviour will be uniform with this and the like declarations; but that there were several persons who cautioned him against laying much stress on them; and who, on the CARDINAL's repeating the instances of friendship he had lately received from him, had accused his simplicity for believing others as sincere as himself: they insisted particularly on the necessity of this diffidence with respect to the testimony he had given in the CARDINAL's favour to those who preside at the inquisition, and to the Pope himself; for why, say they, should he bring up your name in such a place, and before such judges, unless it was to shew you was not clear of suspicion in their estimate? He concludes in this remarkable manner; notwithstanding all this, I will give greater credit to what the Archbishop says of his own dispositions, and what *Muzzarelli* writes of them, than to any thing else; or even to any former sentiment

ment

ment in which that Prelate may have been. But though it belongs to us both not to injure this mutual friendship, yet this duty is chiefly incumbent on the person who was thought to have violated it: That no one could object to him any single instance, in which that Prelate could think himself injured; but that he, the CARDINAL, had been often blamed for taking his part with too much warmth, when others found fault with him: That his correspondent might assure the Archbishop of every good office which could be expected from one who had a habit of sincerity and good-will in his regard, and that he would take care this assurance should not deceive him, nor any of their friends*.

The war was scarcely broken out between the Pontiff and *Philip*, but the *English* LEGATE wrote to the former with the wisdom of a Counsellor and the sanctity of a Primate; and at the same time used all his endeavours with the King, who was in *Flanders*, and with her Majesty at home, that all farther hostilities might cease.

“No disagreement,” says he, writing to the Pope, could be more unseasonable to the whole Christian commonwealth, and to this kingdom in particular, than that which has now commenced between your Holiness and the King; and no news could be more unwelcome, than that hostilities had proceeded so far as to annoy the ecclesiastical state and *Rome* itself. This incident is so much the more affecting, as the motives of mutual love and agreement between your Holiness and his Majesty are greater and more numerous; the chief of which is the singular zeal which the King and his Royal Consort shewed, as soon as

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 4^{ta}, pag. 91.

they had taken possession of these realms, of recalling their people to the true religion, and the obedience of the holy See; on which account your Holiness declared the great and singular regard and love you bore him. There are, besides, several particular ties of mutual good-will and amity, which connect you and the King; one of which is, that you was born and educated in the hereditary states of his Majesty, where your noble family enjoys great wealth and honours; that you passed part of your youth in the court of his grandfather; was Counsellor to his father, and deputed by the holy See Legate to him. These circumstances you are wont to repeat with pleasure; and on being raised to the Popedom, you ordered me to mention them to his Majesty, when I complimented him in your name on the cession of the said kingdoms made to him. Wherefore, though I had not received your commands as to the manner in which I was to behave at this juncture, yet the interest I take in the cause of religion, the duty I owe you, most holy father, and the affection which, for very good reasons, I have long borne his Majesty, will not permit me to be either silent or unactive in an affair of this importance. I have already represented to the King, by letter, every argument which this subject suggested to me, but to no effect: the only thing I have left, is to send one of my household to *Rome*, to know your orders, and be informed of your welfare, concerning which I am, as I ought to be, very solicitous." He ends the letter by desiring the Pope to send the patents for four vacant Bishoprics, that they might be immediately supplied with the pastors who had been named to them, and whom he recommends to the Pope, and gives a very honourable testimony in their favour.

your. This dispatch was sent by *Henry Penning* the LEGATE'S *English* Secretary*.

SECT.
XI.

The Pope, at first, seemed pleased with this instance of duty, and thanked the LEGATE for it; yet, soon after, he looked on it as a troublesome censure of his past conduct, and a check to the hostile designs on which he was wholly bent. His late losses had only exasperated a haughty spirit; and he now proposed by an alliance with *France* to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*; and, perhaps, was not without hopes of getting possession of *Naples*, and realizing an ancient claim the Popes have to that kingdom. For when the *Neapolitans*, some years before the time I am speaking of, rose up in arms against the cruelties and contumelious usage of *Peter of Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, their Viceroy, this Pontiff, when he was Cardinal, had endeavoured to persuade *Paul III.* to make use of the present opportunity of ridding *Naples* of the *Spanish* yoke, and renewing his own pretensions to it; which are so far acknowledged by the sovereigns of that state, that, at their accession, they pay a tribute of 6000 ducats and a white hackney to the See of *Rome*. The LEGATE'S pacific dispositions, and the weight his integrity gave him in all deliberations, were an obstacle to the Pope's views. He chose, therefore, to consider his advice, though given with all possible respect, as a breach of duty rather than a proof of it, and to treat him in the manner I am going to relate.

Since the hostilities were begun in *Italy*, nothing was wanting to an open war between *France* and *Spain* but the declaration of it; which ceremony was now complied with †. On this, *Philip* 25th Jan. 1557.

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^{ta}; pag. 20, 22.

† *Negot. d'Amboise de Noialles.*

SECT. XI. came to *England*, after an absence of almost two years, in order to engage the nation in a war, which was purely *Spanish*, and equally contrary to the engagements we had with the *French* and to our own interests. Several reasons indeed were assigned, as is usual on such occasions; of which, invention always furnishes as many as truth, but quite destitute of foundation. The Queen, however, was prevailed on by her inclination to her husband, and against her own better judgment, to come into this measure; and though the wiser part of the council was of their Sovereign's mind, yet war was declared against a nation, whose name alone is deemed almost a sufficient title for it; and *Philip*, having gained his point, left *England*, never more to return to it.

7th July.

Whilst these actions of hostility were meditating for the field, the Pope was exerting at *Rome*, in a different cause, an equal enmity against CARDINAL POLE. He began by declaring his intention to recall his Legates and Nuncios from all the King of *Spain's* dominions, and he mentioned the CARDINAL among the rest. The Queen, on this intelligence, given her by Sir *Edward Carne**, her Ambassador at the court of *Rome*, ordered him to represent to the Pope the general alarm this news had caused in her people, and to intreat him to desist from a measure which would be so prejudicial to a cause, of which all motives concurred to make him the protector: the Bishops also made the same representations.

15th May,

1557.

14th June,

1557.

On this the Pope declared that, at the Queen's request and for the welfare of the nation, he would still continue, for some years, the Legan-

* Letter of Sir *Edward Carne* to *Q. Mary*, ex *Cartophylac. Regio*, quoted at length by *Dr. Burnet*, *Hist. Ref.* part 2. Col. of Records, pag. 315.

vine jurisdiction in *England*; but as it would be unbecoming the place he was in, and the dignity of the consistory, to name again the same person Legate, whom a little before they had divested of that character, with a design of calling him, with other absent Cardinals, to *Rome*, on matters of importance; he judged it more advisable to create another person, who resided in *England*, Cardinal, and add to this dignity the authority of Legate; that so he might at once satisfy the Queen and nation, and not seem to have lightly varied in his proceedings. He therefore nominated *William Peyto*, of the order of *St. Francis*, to the purple, and appointed him Legate in *England*, in the same manner as **CARDINAL POLE** had been, and transferred on him all the powers the latter had enjoyed*.

This declaration was followed by a decree, addressed to the *English* Bishops, to the following purpose: "That the Pope had understood, from some of them, how necessary the authority of a Legate of the holy See was still in that realm, in order to establish in it the Catholic faith; that he was desirous to convince them of his paternal affection to the Queen, and his care of the welfare and dignity of all the Churches of her kingdom; but as he had resolved, for weighty reasons, to recall his Legates, and among them **CARDINAL POLE**, he could not change his resolution concerning the latter, without departing from the gravity of the holy See, and altering the decree, which was already made, to order him and other absent Cardinals to repair to *Rome*, that they might assist him, the Pope, as their duty required, in the discharge of his office. For these rea-

* Ex Actis Consistorialibus, die lunæ, xiv Junii, cited in the fifth part of **CARDINAL POLE's** letters, page 444.

SECT.
XI.

sons he had created *William Peyto*, whom he had formerly known at *Rome*, Cardinal; that he had thoughts of conferring this honour on him at the beginning of his pontificate, on account of his probity and zeal for religion, of which he had given very signal proofs, both in his own country and elsewhere; but that his promotion had been very seasonably deferred till the present juncture, when, with the general approbation of the sacred college, he had substituted him to **CARDINAL POPE**. He, therefore, had appointed him Legate, by commission, of *England* and *Ireland*, and sent him the badges of this dignity, and required of them to receive him in that character, and shew him the respect and deference it intitled him to.”

20th June, 1557. He designed him, likewise, for the See of *Salisbury*, and, as some of our writers relate, at the death of *Dr. John Salcot*, named him to it.

Legatus à
laterc.Legatus
natus.

By the above-mentioned proceeding, the **CARDINAL** was not only deprived of the legantine office, which he held by commission, but of that also which had always been annexed to the See of *Canterbury*, and which, though inferior to the other, conferred great authority, and a very extensive jurisdiction; those who were invested with it being called *Legates by birth*, because they inherit, as it were, that dignity on being named to some of the great metropolitan Sees, among which that of *Canterbury* is very deservedly a distinguished one.

The Queen was informed by *Sir Edward Carne* of this step being taken, before any other news of it had reached *England*; even before he, who was so personally interested, had the least intimation of it; and she saw the impropriety of the whole affair, and the sad consequences which were likely to be the effects of it. *Peyto* was now far advanced in years, and had neither birth, nor abilities,

lities, nor a reputation equal to the post he was designed for, especially after such a predecessor; and was moreover a begging frier. Each of these circumstances made this measure as unseasonable as it could possibly be in that conjuncture. The Catholic religion was hardly recalled; there were many and various remains of the late schism and errors; the manners of the Clergy had not yet regained the respect which is due to their character, and the mendicant orders were still held, by the generality of the people, in contempt. All these disadvantages, which, in the nature of things, excluded *Peyto* from the first spiritual jurisdiction in this country *, were counter-worked in **CARDINAL POLE** by his royal extraction, excellent learning, and a singular probity and sanctity of manners. These qualities placed him above all objection, and caused even those, who perhaps disliked his attachment to the Church of *Rome*, to honour and admire his person.

Her Majesty, therefore, on intelligence of these proceedings, gave orders that no messenger from *Rome* should be permitted to land in *England*, and

* *William Peyto* was born of a gentleman's family of *Chesterton* in *Warwickshire*, and had been confessor to *Queen Catharine*, wife to *Henry VIII.* He opposed the divorce with an intrepidity, of which there is scarce any other example: for preaching before the King, when he eagerly pursued this affair, he took for his text the last part of the story of *Abab*, where the dogs licked the blood of *Naboth*, even there shall the dogs lick thy blood, O King: and speaking of the lying prophets who deceived him. "I, says he, addressing his discourse to *Henry*, am that *Michaiab* whom thou wilt hate, because I must tell thee truly, that this marriage is unlawful;" with more to the same purpose, which may be seen in *Stow's* annals, under the year 1533.

Several writers have given a very advantageous account of this zealous and religious personage. *Athen. Oxon.* V. 1 Col. 686. *historia minor Prov. Angl. fratrum minorum.* Mr. *Dod*, Church Hist. vol. 1, pag. 480.

SECT. XI. that all letters and dispatches from thence should be brought to her: she took care also, that the whole affair should remain a secret to the LEGATE and to *Peyto*. At the same time she sent a messenger to *Rome*, with orders to her Ambassador to inform the Pope, that his late proceedings were utterly destructive of whatever had been done towards recalling the ancient faith; and, if he persisted in them, nothing less than the total ruin of that cause was to be expected, and the former calamities, or even worse, to take place: that she could not persuade herself that his Holiness, if he was acquainted with the situation of the kingdom, would have taken so ill-timed a measure; and therefore intreated him, by all that was good and sacred, to proceed warily in an affair of such consequence; and called both God and men to witness, she was not accessary to the evils, which would not fail to ensue, if he persisted in his resolution.

The Pope*, whose prejudices against the Primate were as violent as unjust, and who seemed little solicitous about any thing but making him feel the effects of them, told Sir *Edward Carne*, that he had some things of importance to discuss with CARDINAL POLE, and therefore had sent for him; insinuating at the same time, what he had sufficiently intimated on other occasions, that he suspected his orthodoxy, and would know his sentiments on some points, in which faith was concerned, and confront him with Cardinal *Moron*. This suspicion had been formerly raised by the lenity of the CARDINAL'S behaviour towards those who were accused of error in his government of

* Cujus erat ingenium elatum, vehemens, acre, et cum proum ad suspicionem, tum ubi fides et religio ageretur, præceps ad vindicandum. *Gratiani*, pag. 226.

Viterbo; and because he observed the same conduct in *England*, those who were desirous he should, at all events be blameable, supposed he favoured the tenets of such who had left the Church, because he screened their persons.

To this the Queen replied, that if the Pope really had any mistrust of the LEGATE's faith, it must be of very late date, since himself had bestowed the most ample commendations on him, in full consistory, when he proposed him for the See of *Canterbury*; and if he had since given occasion to any sinister opinions, though she could by no means persuade herself that was the case, she begged of his Holiness to inform her of the whole affair; and she would not fail, agreeably to the ancient custom and laws of the realm, to have his cause brought before the Bishops, who, on proper information, should either acquit or condemn him; as it was her intention, that neither the interests of religion should suffer, nor the innocence of the PRIMATE be oppressed.

These negotiations were not carried on so secretly, but something of them came to the LEGATE's knowledge; and as he conjectured the real fact, that the Queen had intercepted the Pope's orders, by which he was divested of the character of LEGATE, he immediately forbade the silver cross to be borne before him, and quitted any further mark of the Legantine jurisdiction, and abstained from every other exercise of it. He sent, also, his Chancellor *Ormanet* to *Rome**, to be fully informed of the Pope's intentions, and to signify his own readiness to comply with them;

* *Nicholas Ormanet* had been recommended to the LEGATE by Pope *Julius III.* as a person of great judgment and singular skill in ecclesiastical affairs. After his patron's death, he appeared with great credit at the council of *Trent*, was made Bishop of *Padua* in 1570, and died seven years after.



and to lay before him the state of the *English* nation, and his own grief that the Pope should entertain any doubts of his doctrine: and how ill suited such suspicions were to all he had hitherto written and acted, and suffered in defence of the prerogative of the holy See, and of the Catholic Religion.

He was moreover to represent the sentiments and discourses of the most considerable persons, both of the clergy and laity, on this affair; who were unanimous, that no measure could be more unseasonable than the abrogation of the Legantine jurisdiction. After which, the CARDINAL concludes with a declaration suited to the modesty and disinterestedness, which had always distinguished his character; "that, provided this jurisdiction was still continued in the kingdom, he did not think it very material by whom it was exercised; and if the Pope thought proper to ease him of the burden, he would do every good office in his power, and shew all respect to the person who was sent in his place *."

The Pope received *Ormanet* with much seeming humanity, and heard him plead his Lord's cause very attentively; which was so clear, and urged in such submissive terms, as to mollify the obdurate heart of *Paul IV.* But while the Chancellor was at *Rome*, the news arrived of the defeat of the *French* army at *St. Quintin's*, in which the High Constable, and chief of their nobility, were either killed or taken prisoners. The honour of the day was chiefly owing to the valour of the *English* troops, commanded by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to the personal bravery of Lord *Montacute* the Lieutenant-General. This overthrow caused *Henry II.* to recall the troops he had sent

10th Aug.
1557.

Sir Anth.
Broune.

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^{ta}, pag. 27.

to the Pope's assistance, a few excepted, which were left for the guard of his person, and the same ill success attended the Pontiff's forces, which were routed, about this time, by the Spaniards, at *Signia* in *Campania*.

The Pope dissembled his resentment against *Philip*, which this defeat had increased, and against the CARDINAL, which was no less inveterate †. He went even so far, as *Ormanet* afterwards told his historian *Becatelli*, as to clear him from all suspicion of heterodox opinions, and to say, such rumours were spread by malice and envy, which, as they had not spared the most innocent Author of Christianity, it was no matter of surprise if they attacked his followers. He continued this ambiguous behaviour with *Ormanet* till he had concluded a peace with *Philip*, and then dismissed the LEGATE'S Chancellor, telling him, he would send Cardinal *Caraffa*, his brother's son, to *Flanders*, in order to conclude with the King and the Cardinal every thing that was yet in debate. Sept. 14th.

Resistance and disappointment had always the effect on *Paul IV.* which the banks have on the billows of the sea: it caused him to meet them with redoubled violence*. His late losses, therefore, only made him dissemble the real sentiments he had long cherished against the LEGATE, to whose ill counsels his ill humour made him impute the *English* succours which were sent to *Philip*, and the defeat of his ally ‡. Thus, whilst he made

† Hoc ipso tempore duplicem de re malè gestâ nuncium acceperat. . . iracundiam eum in *Philippum*, tum etiam in *Polum* multo antè conceptam dissimulavit. *Poli vita*, pag. 36.

* Immoderata animi indomiti ac imperiosi vis, et juris sui nimio plus retinentis. *Gratiani* de casibus illis. Vir.

‡ Id adeo odium intendebat ipse quoque *Paulus*, cujus vim animi atque insitam ingenio ferociam non tam sedaverat parta pax,

SECT. XI. made declarations to *Ormanet* in the LEGATE'S favour, he signified, as has been said, by equivocal discourses, a diffidence in the soundness of his doctrine, and suffered proceedings to be carried on against him, which necessarily inferred that supposition.

Not contented to shew his malevolence to the *English* CARDINAL, he wreaked it, in a very unbecoming manner, on the dearest of his friends, the Lord *Priuli*, who, as we have seen, had followed all his fortunes, ever since their acquaintance at the university of *Padua*: for this nobleman having been nominated at the request of the republic of *Venice*, to succeed to the Bishopric of *Brescia*, which is one of the most considerable in *Italy*, and it being at this time vacated, the Pope refused to ratify the grant which was made by his predecessor. The LEGATE took this occasion to write to his Holiness of this injustice done to his friend, and made use of it as an introduction to the subjects of complaint which regarded himself.

“ I had heard, some time ago, most holy Father, says he, writing to the Pope, that your Holiness had annulled the reversionary grant of the Bishopric of *Brescia*, which your predecessor, *Julius III.* at the intreaty of the state of *Venice*, conferred on *Lewis Priuli*, without one step taken on his part to obtain it. But as I am now informed of the death of Cardinal *Durante*, the late occupier of that See, I thought it my duty to present to your Holiness a petition in favour of such a friend, which I never did for myself to any of your predecessors, and to beg of you, that what is already fallen to him by right of reversion; may be confirmed in considera-

pax, quàm improspera belli asperaverant. *Gratiani*, ubi supra, pag. 333.

tion

tion of his merit, and because he has, many years, been looked on as the successor to that Bishopric, to the great and general satisfaction of the inhabitants. No one is better acquainted than myself, from a long and unreserved intimacy, with his learning, probity and religion, which are truly becoming the dignity he is called to. I have ever remarked in him, besides other virtues becoming this station, an uncommon love of God and mankind, and a contempt of whatever, in the false estimate of the world, is chiefly sought after and valued. Besides other instances of this generosity of mind, he has given this illustrious one, that whereas he was descended of one of the noblest families of his country, and saw the road to honours and preferments open to him, he made no account of these advantages, but accompanied me, above twenty years, in banishment and the greatest dangers, was partaker of all I suffered, and lived with me in such manner as not to give the least suspicion of ambition, or the love of lucre.

“ I plead his cause with your Holiness with so much less reserve, as I am conscious that I have no other view but the service of my Maker and the utility of a large province; for, as to myself, if you pay a regard to the desire of the people of *Brescia*, to the request of the *Venetians*, and to my petition, I foresee it must be attended with the loss of the society of a friend, on which, for many reasons, I set the highest value.

“ But, perhaps, you may ask who I am who presume to give such an evidence in favour of one who is impeached by the inquisitors? To which I answer, that I am the person who, from a long and intimate acquaintance with the party concerned, ought to be credited preferably to all others: I who, of all people, have cause to be at enmity with heretics, have never suffered
any

SECT.
XI.

any one calamity of the many which have fallen to my share, of which they were not the authors, and for the Catholic Religion only.

“ But it may be replied, in case I myself am impeached of the same crime, of what weight can my evidence be? And the answer is ready, that I ought to be so much more credited than my accusers, as the conspicuous actions I have performed in the cause of religion should outweigh their discourses, who dare not produce either words or facts against me, because they are at a loss for either.

“ If it be further urged, that I am not only impeached, but found guilty; I well understand what this means; and was informed of it, for the first time, when Cardinal *Moron*, whom every one knows to be my particular friend, on the like suspicions, was taken into custody; and afterwards, when I was given to conjecture my own case, by being deprived of the Legantine jurisdiction.

“ What therefore shall I say? In the first place, that I ought to lay a greater stress on your own declaration, than on any appearances, and the reports of others. By this you signified to the *English* ambassador, and to the messengers I sent to *Rome*, that whatever you had done in this affair had not proceeded from any offence taken at me; but, as your Holiness and the King of *England* were at war, and you had recalled your Legates from his other dominions, you did not think proper to exempt this realm from the general regulation; and as you was pleased to assign this reason for abrogating my authority, though the case of this nation be different from that of any other, I did not presume to interpret your orders in any other sense, than that in which yourself was pleased to explain them.

“ A short

“ A short time after, when on your reconciliation with the King, your Legates were sent to his other dominions, and Cardinal *Caraffa*, your brother’s son, to his Majesty; though the *English* ambassador intreated you to restore me to my Legantine functions, on the part of the Queen, the Bishops, and both Houses of Parliament, and delivered her Majesty’s letters on this subject; your Holiness would not come to any explicit declaration; and at length, as I am informed, have suffered a report to prevail, that I am found guilty, and condemned.

“ How am I here to interpret your Holiness’s mind? am I to conclude you signified it to the Ambassador, when, on his pressing the affair, you answered, it belonged to a higher court? For when you declared yourself in this manner, without granting what he asked, you seemed to say, that you acted in compliance with what piety and your duty to the supreme Being required of you.

“ Does Almighty God, therefore, require that a parent should slay his child? Once, indeed, he gave this precept, when he commanded *Abraham* to offer in sacrifice his son *Isaac*, whom he tenderly loved, and through whom all the promises made to the father were to be accomplished. And what are now the preparations your Holiness is making, but so many forerunners of the sacrifice of my better life; that is, of my reputation? for, in how wretched a sense must that pastor be said to live, who has lost with his flock the credit of an upright belief? And that this is the death you have reserved me, I see much more clearly than the son of the Patriarch seemed to understand his father’s design, when perceiving every thing prepared for the whole-burnt-offering but the victim, he asked where that was? But I, who see the fire and the sword

SECT.
XI.

sword in your hands, and all the other preparations made, instead of asking where the victim is, should put this question to you, why you permit yourself to be deceived by groundless suspicions, and are ready, on a false appearance of religion, to put to death a son, whom you once loved? I am not conscious of any thing that could have caused a change in your affection; but of many which should endear me more to you, having at length, through God's grace, accomplished the work, to the joy of the whole Church and the honour of the holy Sec, which you always seemed to hope from me.

“ Is this sword of anguish, with which you are about to pierce my soul, the return I am to receive for all these services? If you act, indeed, in this manner, that you may satisfy what you owe to duty, all I shall say is, may God accept the sacrifice. Yet still I trust he will no more permit you to proceed, than he did the Patriarch to kill his son.

“ This whole transaction recalls to my remembrance, that, in my younger years, when I received the Cardinalate, and, as the custom is, lay prostrate before the altar, I said to the Pope who conferred the dignity on me, that I delivered myself as a victim to him; but I little imagined I should be put to this trial a second time, especially as the Bishop of *Rochester* had been substituted in my place, as the ram, whose horns were intangled in the brambles, was in that of *Isaac*, and died without metaphor.

“ I cannot, however, but hope that the same power which, on this occasion, withheld the Patriarch's arm, will, when the seasonable time comes, exert itself also in my defence; nor in mine alone,

alone, but in that of Cardinal *Moron* † and *Pri-S E C T. uli*; for your Holiness's hand is lifted up against XI. us all.

“ You must allow me, holy Father, to pursue the allusion by which I have presumed to represent my own case; and to say, I now see not one messenger, as in the case of *Isaac*, but many, who withhold your hand, armed with depositions, as with a destroying weapon, against me. *Philip* and *Mary*, catholic Princes and defenders of the faith: several persons of eminent worth interpose themselves in my favour. But in this cause, neither I, nor my friends who lie under the same accusations, seek the aid, even of such protectors, to approve and defend our innocence; and we hold the same language to your Holiness which *Moses* did to the Almighty, who promised him the guidance of a celestial spirit to protect him and his people against their enemies, and lead them into the promised land, *Unless you yourself go before us, do not bring us out of this place*; Unless your Holiness be our advocate against our slanderers, and extricate us from these difficulties, we ask no foreign assistance: for if you are not pleased to do us this justice, the adverse party is too powerful to be overcome by any other succour.

“ I am already informed by what steps the enemy begins to triumph in this realm, especially with respect to those proceedings which have been carried on against myself. For whereas I had ga-

† This excellent person was confined, by the Pope's orders, in the prison of the inquisition, on a groundless surmise of keeping a correspondence with the *German* Lutherans. He had no difficulty to clear himself, and the Pope let him know, he might go out of prison. This he refused, unless he had justice done in a public manner, which was the reason that this affair was not ended till the following pontificate.

S E C T.
XI.

thered together my scattered flock chiefly by my own invariable adherence to that faith which I exhorted them to embrace; as soon as it was rumoured that my rectitude in that belief was questioned, the enemies of that cause thought they had, by this means, an opportunity of calling off the sheep to a greater distance from the voice of the shepherd. Your Holiness alone can defeat this purpose. As to the assaults which are made on us, although the justice of our cause ought, at your tribunal, to be an over-match to all slander, and secure the people committed to our care from danger, we desire to refer the victory to the goodness of the supreme Being, and, under that, to yourself.

“ The sum therefore, holy Father, of my petition is, that you, who represent on earth the person of our Lord and Redeemer, would likewise imitate the manner in which he treats those whom he loves; and as he, sometimes, *leads them into the depth of distress*, that he may take trial of their fidelity, and, having found them worthy of himself, *brings them back to the day of peace and serenity*, you would do the same by us. No extremity can be greater than that in which we are already cast, when you suffer the belief of those, who are intrusted with the care of others, to be suspected. Whatever, therefore, may have been the causes of this proceeding, you cannot fail of acting a part becoming your high station, if, when the affair is cleared up, and our innocence proved, you *bring us back*, as the prophet expresses himself, *to the regions of light and comfort*; in which you will, at the same time, consult the honour of the holy See and your own, and maintain our reputation, and that of the sacred College. That your Holiness may act in this manner, we will not cease to pray

Green-
wich, 30th
March,
1558.

pray to the Almighty, and for your preservation and happiness*.”

S E C T.
XI.

I have

* Epist. R. Poli, pars 5^{ta}, pag. 31.

There is something too uncommon in this Pope's character not to give the Reader the entertainment, and, if he pleases, the instruction of it; as nothing can represent, in a more striking light, the waste which a ruling passion may make in the greatest minds, and not only blast all their good qualities, but render them destructive. It will, likewise, throw a great light on what has been said of this Pontiff's malevolence to the *English* CARDINAL, which seems, in great measure, to have been founded in this passion, and in the total opposition of dispositions which was caused by it.

Paul IV. was descended, as has been said, from the *Caraffa* family, in the kingdom of *Naples*, and was born in 1476. His education was suited to the nobility of his extraction, and he not only excelled in sacred literature, but ever preserved a reputation clear from the least suspicion of vice. He was initiated in ecclesiastical discipline under the care of Cardinal *Oliver Caraffa*, his uncle, a person of merit, with whom he passed some years of his youth at *Rome*. On the death of this nobleman, he went to *Spain*, where *Ferdinand*, on account of his uncommon probity, honoured him with his friendship, and made him one of the council of state. He continued in the same post under *Charles V.* though not in an equal degree of honour and confidence; for *Charles*, who was a young man, did not make the same account of that rigid virtue which had been so highly valued by his grandfather; for this reason, he immediately obeyed *Adrian VI.* who invited him to *Rome*; but this Pope dying soon after, and *Caraffa* being displeas'd at the licentiousness of those times, he resign'd the Archbishopric of *Theatea* in the kingdom of *Naples*, which *Julius II.* *Adrian's* successor, on account of his rare merit, had conferr'd on him, and enter'd the order of regular clerks lately founded, who, from the city of which he had been Bishop, were call'd *Theatins*. He lived several years with his new associates at *Venice*, in such a manner as to rise in the reputation he had before attained; for which *Paul III.* in 1536, call'd him to *Rome*, and, against his will, created him Cardinal.

In this post he continued the same course of life he had hitherto held, and, during twenty years, was a pattern of a blameless prelate, and an upright counsellor. His vote was so little subservient to party, or the private inclinations of the Popes, that he resist'd *Paul III.* though he had made him Cardinal, with great constancy; and being requested by *Julius*

I have given the Reader this letter at length, as a proof of the LEGATE's friendship having been
proof

III. to consent to his brother's adopted son being honoured with the purple, he excused himself, by a note, from coming to the consistory where the affair was to be carried, or voting for it, or having any concern in it. The same liberty of speech and sentiment appeared on all other occasions: he maintained with vigour the authority of the holy See, the dignity of the priesthood, and the integrity of the Christian religion, and when incroachments were made on them, he placed himself in the breach. On *Julius'* death he gave a great specimen of generosity in promoting the election of *Marcellus II.* though four and twenty years younger than himself; which added such eminence to his former character, that, on this Pope's death, which happened a few days after, he was chosen to succeed him.

But these great qualities were vitiated by a fierce and obstinate temper, a haughty and aspiring disposition, and a mind incapable of yielding to opposition, and greedy, above measure, of command. “*Cæterùm his tot virtutibus inerat ingēnium ferox et pervicax, et elatus animus vastusque, et adversanti nesciens cedere, prorsusque imperii nimius.*” *Gratiani, de cas. vir. illustr.* pag. 316. This gave rise to the perpetual enmity between him and *Charles V.* and his son *Philip*, which was inflamed by the fraud and selfish views of those who had his confidence, and at length broke out into open war. Besides an inclination to the *French* faction at *Naples*, which the *Caraffa* family had always discovered, the Pope had contracted an aversion to *Charles*, whilst he was at the court of *Spain*. When the *French* army was cut off at the siege of *Naples*, his family had suffered every kind of hardship from the victorious *Spaniards*. The Pope himself, when he was Archbishop of *Theate*, had been excluded, without any sufficient cause, from the council of state; and afterwards, when *Paul III.* nominated him to the See of *Naples*, he was a long time kept out of possession. After the death of this Pontiff, the whole weight of *Spanish* influence was employed to hinder him of the Popedom, and the same practised again at the decease of *Julius*. At length, in opposition to all their efforts, he was raised to that supreme dignity in an extreme old age, being in his eightieth year, and for that reason alone less formidable to his adversaries.

The *Spaniards* could not but suspect a person, to whom they had done so many ill services, and who, before his elevation,

proof to all trials; and as it shews his concern for the public; and the decent freedom which he used with

S E C T.
XI.

vation, had given such signs of his dispositions towards them, as were by no means equivocal. He had accused the Emperor, in public consistory, of favouring the *Lutheran* heresy from political views; and though, when there was occasion, he had treated the *French* with the same freedom, yet the *Spaniards* highly resented this speech; and when *Charles's* Ambassador complained of the affront offered their master, he was so far from making an apology, that his answer was more exasperating than his first discourse. I have already spoken of his design to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Naples*. When *Charles V.* resigned the empire to his brother, he refused to ratify the cession, as being made without his consent, which those who were skilled in the pontifical and imperial laws asserted to have been necessary: and when *Ferdinand's* ambassadors came to pay him the accustomed homage. he obstinately refused to receive them, or to confirm his title.

He was no sooner made Pope, but the mutual animosities he and the court of *Madrid* had long entertained, began to declare themselves. The *Spanish* Ambassador, who had been often refused audience, presenting himself abruptly to the Pope whilst he was at table, he commanded him to depart his presence, and, if he did not, the title of *Philip's* Ambassador should avail him little. Being reduced to the greatest extremities after the battle of *St. Quintin's*, and almost a prisoner in *Rome* itself, he was obliged to make peace: yet even then, vanquished as he was, he exerted the same spirit he had always shewn, and seemed to give, rather than accept the conditions of agreement; one of which was, that the Duke of *Alva*, who commanded the *Spanish* army, and had plundered the Pope's territories, and lain siege to his capital, should present himself before him in the posture of a suppliant, and ask pardon on his knees.

His mind seemed rather exulcerated with the bad success of the war, than soothed with its conclusion. When he was yet Cardinal, as *Luther's* errors had not only overspread *Germany*, but threatened *Italy*, he had prevailed on *Paul III.* to set up the inquisition at *Rome*, and himself was placed at the head of it. He exercised this office with a severity which raised complaints, to which he paid little regard, and was never known to have shewn any favour, by whomsoever asked. A melancholy instance of the abuse to which this tribunal is liable, increased the public uneasiness, and aversion to it. One of those

with his superiors; and, above all the rest, that perpetual attention to the cause of virtue and religion,

who are employed to bring in informations, had endeavoured to asperse the greatest and best men in *Rome*, and had not spared the most eminent members of the sacred College. His villany, indeed, was at last detected, and ended in his own destruction, (*R. Poli Epist. pars 4^{ta}, pag. 101.*) And now, since *Paul's* Pontificate, the prisons were every day crowded with unhappy wretches of all sorts, and a general hatred of the present administration, and a fear of still greater evil took up every one's mind.

But nothing inflamed the public indignation so much as the arrogance and profligateness of his brother's sons; the eldest of whom, *Charles Caraffa*, when he was Cardinal, on account of his disorders, he forbid his sight. But being raised to the Papacy, the nephew, by an artful hypocrisy, had so insinuated himself into his uncle's good-graces, that he often said to his friends, he was thankful to heaven for this signal reformation in so near a relation. In consequence of this good opinion, he made him his chief minister and created him Cardinal, though he had always lived in the licentiousness of camps, and had not one quality either of a clergyman, a Christian, or a man of probity. He enriched also *John*, the second brother, with the duchy of *Paliano* and other estates, which were confiscated from the *Colonna* family, for having sided with the *Spaniards*; and gave *Anthony*, his third nephew, the territories which were taken from the Count of *Balneo*, on a like subject. These three brothers, though dissimilar in their vices, were equally the object of universal hatred; and though they disagreed in other respects, they observed an inviolable concord in keeping each other's disorders secret from their uncle, and not suffering any person to approach him, from whom they ran any risk of being discovered. Thus, while he was making laws and curbing public vice, he was a perfect stranger to what was going forward within his palace and in his own family, which caused his own virtues and their faults to be equally odious.

When the latter had exceeded all bounds, one, whose name has been concealed, had the courage to inform the Pope of them; and as the evidence was given so as to deserve credit, the Pope heard it with a suitable indignation; and it being late in the evening, he only then gave orders that none of his relations should be admitted into his presence, and that the sacred College should meet the next day. Here he reproached the Fathers with not informing him of what so nearly concerned

gion, by which he regulated, and to which he referred every thing else.

S E C T.
XI.

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cerned the public good and his own reputation; though having been so wickedly betrayed by his own family, he said, he ought to pardon the silence of strangers. He then inveighed with great bitterness against the guilty, and deprived Cardinal *Caraffa* of the government of *Bologna*, and all public charges; and *John*, the second brother, of the military command over the Papal forces throughout the whole ecclesiastical state; and *Anthony*, the third, of the guard of the palace; and commanded them and all his other relations, except Cardinal *Alfonfus*, son of *Anthony Caraffa*, a young man universally esteemed, to leave *Rome* before night, and assigned to his nephews the places of their banishment. The vehemence of his temper made him threaten with the severest treatment those who assisted them in any manner whatsoever; adding, they deserved a much more rigorous chastisement, which, by a denunciation that was fully verified, he said, he had reserved to his successor. He was endowed with great ease and gravity in speaking, and, when he was angry, his look alone was terrible. The two following instances are sufficient to shew the terror he struck in his hearers on this occasion, and in all who were informed on what had passed. A niece of the Pope came to *Rome* that very day, having heard nothing of the disgrace of her family, and being excluded the palace, nor received by the nobility, could not get admittance into any of the public inns, but was obliged to take up with the wretched entertainment of a lodging in the suburbs. And Cardinal *Caraffa*, who was grievously sick at *Marino*, the place of his banishment, having sent to *Rome* for the help of physicians, none durst attend him, or even mention his case to the Pope. After this signal act of justice, he took off the taxes and other burdens which, without his knowledge, the brothers had lain on the people, and deprived all who had been promoted by them of their posts. He survived these reformations only five months, and being near his end, he prepared himself for it with great attention, and received all the sacred rites with a singular sense of religion: after which, the Cardinals being admitted to give him the last marks of their duty, he exhorted them, as they stood round his bed, to choose a person to succeed him whom they judged worthy that supreme post, and who was best qualified to recall the decayed discipline of Christianity to its primitive vigour. The severity to which he had long inured his mind, did not leave him in his latest moments;

The end proposed by the foregoing letter was of too much importance not to deserve that every measure should be made use of, by which it

15th Sept. 1559. ments; and having collected all his strength to make a panegyric on the inquisition, which he judged necessary in those circumstances, he expired.

His death was no sooner conjectured rather than known, but the joy it caused was so universal, that the people of *Rome* left off all business and met in the Capitol. Here, their hatred being now no longer under any restraint, they immediately came to a resolution, that all statues and monuments of the late Pope and his family should be effaced: and being now in the first transports with which the novelty of freedom, and rage and revenge, intoxicate the multitude, they made an onset on that statue which themselves had erected at the beginning of the Pontificate, at their own expence, and having pulled it from the pedestal, and broken it to pieces, they rolled the head about the streets, and dragged it through the kennels, with every kind of insult and mockery, till some persons more considerate than the rest, being shocked with the indignity of such a sight, threw it into the *Tiber*. The next object of their fury were the prisons, which they broke open and released the criminals; and coming to that of the inquisition, where some heretics, or persons accused of being so, were detained, they set them at liberty. But in this latter proceeding, a regularity was observed, which is seldom the attendant of popular tumults; for the people, to shew they acted not on any disregard to religion, but from hatred to the late Pontiff, exacted of every one they set free an oath to adhere, for the future, to the Church of *Rome*, and submit to her authority. I shall finish what I had to say on this subject by an instance of the dread which the bare idea of *Paul IV.* had left on the minds of his subjects. In the height of these Bacchanalian riots a rumour was spread, that the Pope was yet alive, and in a fair way of recovery. On this, every thing was immediately quieted, and the only concern of each one was to screen and save himself.

If the Reader desires to be informed in a greater detail of this Pope's character, and the fate of his three nephews, he may find it in *Gratiani*, Bishop of *Amelia*, a cotemporary writer, in his treatise *de casibus illustrium virorum*, under the title, *de Carolo Caraffa Cardinale, et Joanne Paliani Duce, fratribus*, related with a freedom and eloquence equal to any part of the *Greek* or *Roman* History. *Folietta*, *Castaldi* and others, have also wrote this Pope's life.

might

might be gained. The LEGATE, therefore, wrote at the same time, and on the same subject, to the Cardinal of *Trani*, who, by the letter, seems to have had a great share in the Pope's confidence; and having lain before him the difficulties under which the public cause and his own reputation laboured, desires his interest in order to remove them. "I have written, says he, to the Pope on a subject, of which your Lordship may inform yourself by the copy of the letter I send you; but because I have always known you very zealous for his Holiness's honour, and very equitable to myself, it is proper I should give you a more direct information of it. The case, indeed, seems to require a mediator of this character, to bring it to such an issue as the public utility stands in need of; though, to be plain, nothing less than the hand of God can cause the scandals to cease, which are already caused in part, and others with which the nation is still threatened. I have informed his Holiness, that I am by no means at a loss to clear myself, could this justification suppress the offence which the *English* church has taken at the late proceedings: this, which I have more at heart than any other consideration, causes my solicitude; for having in great measure prevailed on my country to embrace the doctrine they had forsaken, by my own constancy in it, what must they think, if they continue to hear that I am suspected on this head by the chief Bishop himself? For though his Holiness, for any thing I know to the contrary, has not yet openly declared himself, yet, while he acts in this manner, and suffers legal procedures to be carried on, which easily persuade others that these are his sentiments, you cannot but see, my Lord, how fatal a stumbling-block this must be, and in whose power it is to remove it. But of this I shall say

SECT.
XI.

no more, but wait his Holiness's decision. In the mean time, as there are not wanting many persons of integrity, who blame me much for being silent, when the welfare of my country is at stake, I defend myself by the example of that holy man *Basil*, whose piety and learning have deservedly gained him the surname of *Great*, and in whose works your Lordship is remarkably conversant. When envious and ill-designing persons had spread slanders concerning his orthodoxy, and his friends were earnest with him to write something in his own defence, he made this reply, that if his past conduct did not satisfy his brethren of the rectitude of his sentiments, he had nothing further to alledge: for how can I expect, says he, that a short treatise will prevail on those, whom the evidence of so much experience has not persuaded? Whether I have a right to make use of the same form of speech, you, my Lord, who are acquainted with a great part of my life, may determine.

I have hitherto, by my own choice, imitated the forbearance of this holy man; but whether I am to imitate him in writing and defending myself, depends on his Holiness: for the same great Doctor, when he had been silent for a time, and at last thought himself obliged to shut the mouth of slander, writes in this manner: "As yet, I have held my peace; but shall I always do so, and give occasion to have my silence brought an evidence against me? Nor can I think any other behaviour will become me, especially as the inferences drawn from my not speaking in such a cause will be more to my disadvantage than any thing my accusers can object to me." But whether I am to pursue this method or not, depends, as I have said, wholly on the Pope, who, by his authority,

authority, may silence slander, and, to the great comfort of all good men, put an end to scandals. S E C T.
XI.

“ If I stand in particular need of comfort, and expect it from his Holiness, no less than St. *Austin*, the apostle of *England*, from St. *Gregory*; I am conscious to myself of a like diligence and good will in procuring the emolument of the Christian cause in this kingdom, which St. *Austin* exerted; and I exert it in more difficult circumstances, as I every day experience that it is a work less laborious to inform untaught minds, than to unteach those who have imbibed erroneous doctrines. But enough on this subject: all that remains is, that we join in our common petitions to the Almighty, that he would be pleased to dispose all things for the advantage of his Church, the reputation of the holy See, and the honour of the Sacred College, of which I am a member.” *Green-
wich,*
30th *March*
1558.

This is the last mention we find of this affair. Whether the Pope's anger was appeased at so reasonable a remonstrance, and innocence pleaded with so much temper; or whether the Queen's authority, the circumstances of the *English* nation, and the short time the LEGATE survived, hindered any further prosecution, is uncertain. The CARDINAL continued to exercise his Legantine jurisdiction, and one of his historians says, the Pope put off the final decision of the cause; another, that he dissembled his resentment*. But whatever were the Pontiff's views, the LEGATE's Christian simplicity and moderation, at such a crisis, have few examples. The establishment of

* Pontifex Reginae literis precibusque et POLI satisfactione acceptis, non quidem eum absolvit, sed Britannicarum rerum, ac Mariae gratiam, causae cognitionem distulit. *Gratiani*, pag. 227.

Iracundiam multo ante conceptam dissimulavit. *Poli Vita*, fol. 36. à tergo.

S E C T.
XI.

the Catholic Religion and his own reputation in so nice a point, were not able to make him swerve in any single instance from the deference he owed to a superior power, though it pursued his innocence, dignity, and merit, with repeated acts of enmity. He wrote a treatise in his own justification; but looking over the performance, says the writer of his life, and perceiving it would be unfavourable to the Pope's reputation, he threw it into the fire, and repeated those words of *Deuteronomy*, *Non revelabis verenda patris tui*.

It may seem something extraordinary that a person of the Bishop of *Amelia*'s discernment should pass the following judgment on the facts I have related; "that the CARDINAL'S impeachment, and the repeal of the Legantine jurisdiction, tho' it lessened nothing of his power and authority in *England*, yet it seems to have impaired something of his dignity and fame, and to have cast a certain shade round that glory he had before attained*." But, sure, whoever considers the injustice of his sufferings, and his behaviour under them, must confess they set his character in a more illustrious light than the most uninterrupted felicity could have done, and gave him an opportunity of exerting the rarest and most difficult virtues, those which are tried by adversity.

21st Sept.
1558.

The Emperor *Charles V.* died about the time I am speaking of, and the various connexions he had with CARDINAL POLE, ever since he was engaged in public life, which we have seen through this work, require that something should be said of him in this place. He had already left a world,

* Cæterom, hæc et nominis delatio, et ablatæ Legationis nota, ut potentiam POLO nihil imminuit, ita dignitatem famamque apud suos non nihil labefactâsse, et magnitudini et gloriæ ejus nescio quid nubis obduxisse visa est. *Gratiani*, de casibus virorum illustrium, pag. 227.

which

which he had never suffered to be at rest, nor enjoyed tranquillity in it, till he resigned his states to a son still more designing, though less active than himself. He was master of those qualities, on which the vanity of mankind has been pleased to raise greatness of character in Sovereigns; and may justly be placed amongst those, of whom one, who was qualified to make such an estimate, says, *the eyes of a fool are in the extremities of the earth* * : Prov. xvii. for he informed the states of *Burgundy* assembled²⁴ at the ceremony of his abdication, that since the seventeenth year of his age, he had made nine expeditions into *Germany*; six into *Spain*; seven into *Italy*; four into *France*; ten into the *Netherlands*; two into *England*; as many into *Africa*; and had crossed the sea eleven times †. After which restless agitation, in which he equally verified in his own person a comparison of another author, as little favourable to the senseless projects of ambition as him I have quoted, that *a fool's heart is Eccles. like the wheel of a wain, which is always in motion*; xxxiii. 5. he finished his days in a monastery situated in the delightful plains of *Esramadura*.

A writer of great repute supposes he was guided in this extraordinary step by the example of several great personages of royal rank, at the head of whom he places *Dioclesian*, “the best of Princes, says he, if we set aside the wrongs which the prejudices of Paganism caused him to do the Christians. This Prince having governed the empire twenty years with the most consummate virtue and prudence, resigned it, and led a private life at *Spalatro* in *Dalmatia*; in which retreat the culture of his gardens was his chief satisfaction ‡.”

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* *Oculi stulti in finibus terræ.* Edit. Vulg.

† *Strada, de bello belgico, Decadis imæ, lib. 1. pag. 7.*

‡ *Nec deerant exempla atque imprimis Diocletiani, longè optimi Imperatoris, si ea excipias, quæ ille Gentilium errore*

SECT.
XI.

The Reader may perceive the Author dwells with a particular complacence on the subject of this Emperor; for though he mentions other Princes, who had likewise retired from the administration of public affairs, he only gives the Reader a list of their names, except of one *French King*; and is so wild as to suppose that *Charles V.* in his retreat, was chiefly influenced by the example of *Dioclesian*. I don't choose to assign the cause of a turn of mind, which makes men, in all other respects capable of forming the most correct judgment of persons and actions, then only fall into perverseness and folly, when it depreciates the Christian cause, and sets off to advantage her most declared enemies. Of this, *Thuanus* has here given a memorable instance: for *this best of Emperors* is represented both by Christian and Pagan writers, some of whom were his cotemporaries, as having exhausted the *Roman* provinces by taxes, and being given to a destructive extravagance in building, and extreme vanity in his dress; of rapaciousness and the most fordid avarice; of cruelty and an impious arrogance, which went so far as to cause himself to be treated as a God: not to say any thing of the wrongs he did to the whole body of the Christians, and the numbers he put to death, and some, by the most exquisite torments.

These authors accuse him also of having multiplied the provinces of the empire, not by the conquest of new, but by a division of the ancient; and by this means to have burdened the

errore deceptus, in Christianos peccavit: qui post administratum virtute summâ ac prudentiâ totos xx annos imperium, eo se abdicavit, anno Christi 308, et *Salonæ* in *Dalmatiâ* vitam hortorum culturâ delectans, privatus transegit. . . . His et aliis exemplis confirmatus *Cæsar*, &c. *Thuanus*, lib. 16. pag. 506. D.

state

state with an incredible addition of civil and military employments, and to have weakened the strength of *Rome* by reducing the militia, and exposed the empire to danger*.

S E C T.
XI.

A very fine genius and judge of human nature seems to have looked on this retreat of *Charles V.* as the effect of a restless temper, rather than the result of a mind weaned from the world, and fixed on the love and attainment of a better; and introduces him as much taken up, in the solitude of *St. Just*, with his son's projects, as he had formerly been with his own †. Another writer, who is very partial to him, and to the House of *Austria*, describes his amusements in his retirement as fitter to divert a school-boy, than to dignify the retreat of a great Prince. It is true, he says, he left them off in great measure before he died ‡, and the general tenour of the last part of his life deserves our praise, and perhaps our admiration.

The death of the Queen of *England* happened soon after that of the Emperor. She was fallen into a declining state of health, which proceeded from uneasiness of mind, no less than a bad habit of body. Her physicians had mistaken a dropsy for the symptoms of pregnancy, and brought on the disorder instead of removing it. The victory we had gained at *St. Quintin's* did not hinder the *French*, a few months after, from taking *Calais*, the scanty remains of all our possessions on the continent. She was so sensible of this loss as to say, was her body to be opened after her death, that town would be found engraved on her heart. The death of the Emperor, who was her nearest

* *Laët. de mort. Perf. Euseb. Chron. Aurel. Vic. Eutro. Spart. Theop. la Marca.*

† *Fenelon, Dialogues des Morts, tom. 2. dial. xi.*

‡ *Strada de bello Belg. dec. 1^{ma}, lib. 1.*

SECT.
XI.

relation by the mother's side, and who had been her friend in her day of distress, though it made no change in the affairs of *Europe*, wrought on her; as every pressure is a casting weight when the scale is turned. Another subject of a more delicate nature, the absence of her husband, is said to have wasted her spirits and brought on a slow fever, of which she died on the 17th of *November*, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age.

As most of our modern historians have either not allowed or misrepresented the laudable qualities of this Princess; or passed them over in silence, and dwelt at large on the failings of her government, it is no more than common equity to say, on this subject, what cannot be questioned with truth, or be concealed without malignity. I shall not repeat the several particulars I have had occasion to relate in other parts of this work, and which the Reader has seen in their respective places. And because the candour of Protestant historians has fully justified the much injured character of this Princess, I shall content myself with copying it from these originals, and almost in their own words.

Her private life was always strict and unblemished, and the duties of religion were the great concern to which she referred every thing else; and a future life, in her estimate, overbalancing the present, she set conscience above a crown; and when the former was at stake, used no equivocation, but was what she appeared to be, without disguising her belief or practice, either through fear or flattery. On the same Christian principle, she allowed herself few of those diversions which abound in the palaces of the great, was regular in her devotions, and endeavoured to expiate and atone for the sacrileges of the two last reigns. The licence also of the court in the succeeding reign

reign was a memorable contrast of the regularity of hers; “and though that court has been generally supposed eminent above all others for strictness of manners, and a just regard for religion and piety,” it is represented, by a voucher above any exception, as *a scene of all enormities, and where wickedness reigned in the highest degree* *. Next to this pious and religious demeanour of the Queen to her Maker, her compassion for the poor, and liberality and munificence to the decayed nobility and churchmen, were most remarkable: of which these are a few instances, among many others: she restored the Duke of *Somerset’s* son to blood; gave back the estates seized by her father and brother, remitted the subsidies passed in the last reign, and erected anew the Bishopric of *Durham*. How far she was from a sanguinary disposition, appears from the almost universal pardon granted to those who were engaged in that dangerous and capital rebellion, in the beginning of her reign; in her restraining the *præmunire* act, which her father had extended both as to persons and cases; and repealing all offences which had been made felony since the first year of *Henry VIII*. Besides these salutary laws, she made others for the encouragement of husbandry and the woollen manufactory; and would have been, as one of the writers I have mentioned expresses himself, wor-

* This person is *Nicholas Faunt*, secretary to *Francis Walsingham*, and one of the conspicuous characters of that and the following reign. In his letter to *Anthony Bacon*, he testifies an extreme displeasure at the disorders of *Queen Elizabeth’s* court, of which, he says, he was constrained to be a witness; and where there was such a progressive depravity in whatever concerned morals and religion, that, for the tranquillity of his mind, he preferred a private station to a post and expectations which could not be held but on such hard terms to his conscience. *Memoirs of the reign of Q. Eliz.* by *T. Birch*, D. D. vol. 1. pages 26. and 39.

SECT. thy of our highest commendations, had as few
 XI. acts of cruelty been done under her reign as were
 done by her *.”

The Queen's death preceded that of CARDINAL POLE's but by a very short interval. He was taken with a quartan ague, which every day impaired his strength and reminded him of the end, to which he was hastening. He regulated what he would have done in case of death, with the same prudence and tranquillity, which had appeared in his other actions, and made a will, in which, besides other instances of his piety and religion, he declares his attachment and filial obedience to the Church of *Rome*, and to the supreme Bishop of it. He takes notice, that he had ever respected the then Pope, *Paul IV.* as a father, before he was raised to the Pontificate; and since had always promoted his honour; and in all the embassies which he had performed for the Apostolic See, and his other employments, he was not conscious to himself of having had any thing in view, but the dignity and advantage of

* *Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. 2. b. 6. pag. 406. Camden's Introduction to the Annals of Queen Elizabeth. Echard, pag. 327. Sir R. Baker, under the title of the Queen's personage and conditions. Fuller, Church Hist. book 8. pag. 42.*

Notwithstanding what I have here related from writers of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Burnet* affirms (*Hist. Ref. part 3. pag. 268.*) “that it does not appear that there was any one great or good design ever set on foot for the wealth or glory of the nation, during this Princess's reign.” But this writer could bestow praise and obloquy just as it suited his purpose; and, through the chaos of his *History of the Reformation*, the Reader may apply to him what *Virgil* says of *Dido* expiring in the agonies of suicide,

Oculis errantibus, alto
 Quæsitivæ cælo lucem, ingemuitque reptâ.

Thrice op'd her heavy eyes, and sought the light,
 But, having found it, sicken'd at the sight.

the

the Christian cause : that he now, with all reverence, asked his Holiness's blessing, and wished him peace and safety and every comfort. He mentions, with a peculiar signification of goodwill, *Henry Pening*, whom he styles his Chamberlain and Receiver-General, and says he was perfectly well acquainted with all his concerns, and would be of great use to his executor. He names likewise the following persons, *Nicholas Heath*, Archbishop of *York* and Chancellor of *England*; *Thomas*, Bishop of *Ely*; and his beloved kinsman, *Edward Hastings*, Chamberlain to her Majesty; *Mr. Boxal*, her Majesty's Secretary; *Mr. Edward Walgrave*, Chancellor of the duchy of *Lancaster*; *Mr. Cordel*, Master of the Rolls; and *Mr. Henry Cole*, his Vicar-General; and desires them to assist the Lord *Priuli* in the executorship, and bequeaths fifty pounds to each. He appoints this nobleman his sole heir and executor, desiring him to pay a few legacies, and to give to each of his household, who had followed him out of foreign countries, what he judged their merit and services intitled them to*.

This generous friend informed the CARDINAL, he would very willingly take on himself the executorship, and distribute his effects as he should be pleased to direct; but would take no part of the inheritance: and on the CARDINAL's insisting on his acceptance of something that might be a memorial of the lasting friendship they had borne each other, *Priuli* replied, that from the beginning of their acquaintance he had other advantages in view, and had already reaped them from his example and society: and all he accepted of so considerable an inheritance was two prayer-

* Testamentum CARD. POLI ex Cod. MS. Bibliothecæ *Ambrosianæ*.

books, which the frequent use his friend had made of them, had rendered valuable.

The honour due to a friendship, of which perhaps there is no other instance, and which equally redounds to the credit of both, well deserves, that, besides what has been occasionally said in different parts of this work, I should here give the Reader a further account of a person who was joined to our illustrious countryman by the strictest intimacy and benevolence.

LEWIS PRIULI was a *Venetian* nobleman; and having, as has been related, contracted a familiarity with young POLE when they were both students at the university of *Padua*, was so charmed with his uncommon merit, that, from that time, he never after left him. The rank which his family held in the republic, and his personal accomplishments, intitled him to the highest expectations both in his own country and at *Rome*; all which he undervalued, that he might be the constant attendant on a foreigner in his embassies, voyages and labours, and partake in all the good which his friend either designed or performed; and being a person of singular address, was every where very useful to him. The Senate of *Venice* having named him among the four, out of whom *Julius III.* was to choose a successor to the Bishop of *Brescia*, the Pope nominated *Priuli*, with the greatest commendation of his virtue and abilities. But it was with extreme difficulty that his friends and relations prevailed on him to accept of this reverfionary grant, lest the incumbent's death, who was very old, should oblige him to separate himself from the LEGATE *. *Tbuanus* reports, that he refused the purple for the same reason. He survived his illustrious friend only twenty

* *Poli Vita*, pag. 37.

months, which he employed in collecting his effects, which were dispersed in various places, and disposing of them with a fidelity equal to the confidence reposed in him.

The CARDINAL having made his will in this manner, and his disease still increasing, he wrote to the Queen some time before his death the following letter †: “ I desire your Grace should be informed, that though the length and vehemence of my distemper be such as might justify my casting aside all cares of this world, and transferring my thoughts on that, into which I am now going to enter, yet I think it a duty to leave all persons satisfied with my behaviour, and, above all others, your Grace, whom it has pleased Almighty God to place in so exalted a station. For which reason I send you the Dean of *Worcester*, my chaplain, whose fidelity I have long approved, and intreat your Grace to give credit to whatever he shall say on my behalf. I make no doubt but you will be satisfied with it, and I beg of Almighty God to prosper you to his honour, your own comfort, and the welfare of this realm.”

4th Oct.
1558.

When he had dictated this letter, he wholly called off his thoughts from all earthly concerns, and fixed them on that blessed region which was now opening to his view. He caused the holy Scriptures and other books of piety to be read frequently to him, and professed he found a sensible refreshment from the meditation of these divine lessons; and received the holy Eucharist with singular sentiments of devotion. Though the fever had reduced him to great weakness, he would every day assist at the holy sacrifice, which was offered up in his apartment, and at the elevation

† Published by *T. Hearne*, *Oxf.* 1716, pag. 157, from the MS. Col. of *T. Smith*.

of the Host would be raised on his knees, to adore in that humble posture his own and the common Saviour of mankind.

He had frequent intelligence during his illness of the Queen's declining state, and besides the letter I have cited, frequent messages passed between them; and as her death could not long be concealed from him, he received the news of it with great steadiness, and began to discourse with a strength of voice and presence of mind which surprised all who were present, on the wonderful providence of God in his dealings towards them both: he doubted not, he said, but that the same divine superintendence which had hitherto watched over them, and made their lives have a great resemblance to each other, would likewise be pleased to put an end to them within the same day; and that a confidence in the same mercy made him trust an all-good and all-powerful Being would not intirely forsake his country; and that he acquiesced, as he had always done, in his dispensations.

The day before he died, of his own accord and without being reminded by any one, he desired to receive the sacrament of the last anointing, by which we are strengthened to withstand the last assault of our spiritual enemies, to bear up against the weakness of nature, and die the death of the righteous. And the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, who performed these rites, related to the author of his life, that, drawing towards his end, he asked with his usual sedateness, if the ritual, which contains the recommendation of the departing soul, was at hand; and being answered it was, and the book shewn him, it is now, says he, time to make use of it; and retaining his usual tranquillity to the last breath, he continued to speak and act in these moments as in all the past, and paid the great debt
of

of nature in such a manner that his countenance S E C T. and the compofure of his whole person had rather XI. the appearance of a gentle fleep than of death. He died on the morning of the 18th of *November*, 1558, two and twenty hours after the *Queen*, having lived fifty-eight years and fix months*.

His body was put into a leaden coffin and placed in a chamber of *Lambeth* palace, where he died, which was hung with black during forty days. An altar was placed in the apartment, and feveral maffes faid every day for the refofe of his foul. After which his corps was conveyed to *Canterbury* with great funeral pomp, and met by all orders of the citizens and the whole body of the clergy; and at his obfequies a difcourfe in praife of the deceafed was made in *Latin* and *Englifh*. He was buried, as he had defired, in *St. Thomas's* chapel, with this fhort epitaph, *Depositum Cardinalis Poli*, the remains of CARDINAL POLE.

I have frequently had occafion to mention Cardinal *James Sadolet*, Bishop of *Carpentras*, and his connexions with CARDINAL POLE, and I fhall conclude the hiftory of the life of the latter, with a letter from *Paul Sadolet* to the Lord *Priuli*, in which he expreffes his own fentiments and thofe of the public on the CARDINAL'S death. It was written fix months after this incident, and is dated from *Carpentras*, in which Bifhopric he had fucceeded his uncle; who had been dead, as we have feen elfewhere, feveral years.

“ I have received your Lordfhip's letter, and with it the pledge of a friendship I fet above all value, the remembrance which that incomparable man defired, on his death-bed, I fhould be affured of. This has renewed all the forrows with which I heard the firft rumours of his death, and the

* *Vita Poli*, fol. 38. & feq.

S E C T.
XI.

bare mention of it so oppresses me, that your Lordship must excuse the disorder and confusion in which I now write. We were informed last winter of this loss of the best of men, from uncertain and different accounts, which were too soon confirmed with the circumstance of his dying on the same day with the Queen, and in such honour and tranquillity that Providence seems to have declared itself in his favour, by taking him out of this life before the changes which have since happened. We have heard of his sufferings, and of the manner in which he overcame the injuries the world did him; and of the invincible constancy, piety, and charity, with which he supported the weakneses of others: but these relations were very imperfect, on account of the distance of the places from whence they came, and because our friends at *Rome*, in the confusion of the late war, have been very sparing of their intelligence, though we often wrote to them, and pressed them on this head. On the whole, it appears with the greatest evidence, that he has confuted all those who would have depressed and slandered a character which was out of the reach of reproach, and has done it with such moderation as must change the hearts of his adversaries, if they are capable of relenting, and be to us the most salutary of all lessons. This is particularly remarkable in the declaration of faith, which he makes in his last will, which is no more than a confirmation of what he ever believed and professed.

“ But what shall I say, my Lord, of the opinion he had of your merit, and the distinction with which he signified it? I don't know which of the two is to be accounted more fortunate, your Lordship in such a testimony of your virtue and integrity, or the LEGATE in such a friend who deserved it. I have often read his will in
numerous

numerous companies of persons of quality, in order to spread his reputation as wide as depends on me, and I have never been able to do it with dry eyes. I could say much more to the same purpose; but the revolutions which have happened in *Italy*, in the country where he died, and elsewhere, are not suited to such a subject. I have nothing more to wish, than that when your Lordship has complied with the trust placed in you, we may meet and talk over these transactions without restraint, and share in each other's sorrows and comforts. In the mean time I shall ever cherish the memory of CARDINAL POLE, and pray to the Almighty, not so much for the repose of a soul, which I make no doubt of being already admitted into the joys of heaven; as that I may deserve the honourable mention by which he thought fit, both during life, and in his last moments, to rank me amongst his most valuable friends *.”

S E C T.
XI.

4th July,
1559.

* Ex Col. Epist. Ital. Ber. Pini, l. 3.

S E C T.

S E C T. XII.

The Character of CARDINAL POLE.S E C T.
XII.

THE life of CARDINAL POLE was a lesson of such universal instruction, that a review of it will be no less for the advantage of the Reader than for the honour of him, who is the subject of the work. I shall therefore draw, as it were, to one point, and represent in an uninterrupted view those particular virtues which distinguished the several parts of it, and which could not be related in the course of this history without too frequently interrupting the facts of which it is made up.

It may be proper to say something of his figure and habit of body, before we speak of the qualities of his mind*. He was of a middle stature, and of a healthy rather than robust constitution; though he was sometimes subject to a defluxion, which fell on his arm and caused an inflammation in his right eye. His complexion was fair, mixed with an agreeable vermilion, and his beard and hair, in his youth, of a light colour; his countenance was open and serene, enlivened with a chearful and pleasant eye, the index of his mind, which was unsuspecting, honest and benevolent. He was very abstemious in his diet, and though he made two meals a day, he supped very sparingly. The command over his appetite was such, that no variety of meats and sauces could prevail on him to use any food but what he found by experience to agree with him; and those who eyed

* See the Appendix, Number IV.

him narrowly, remarked that he eat less of dishes which were relishing and agreeable to his palate, than of others. His table was served with a plenty and elegance which became his royal extraction, and the high stations to which he gradually rose; and was open to the great number of noble and illustrious guests, who every where resorted to him; and his oeconomy had no other rule, than that his expences should not exceed his revenue. He slept but little, and generally rose before day-light, and required so little attendance about his person, that he often rose from bed, and dressed himself, without any one's help.

He was of a thoughtful cast of mind, and such as inclined him more to study and contemplation than to the employments of public life, and he conversed but little even with the persons of his household; yet in company, and at table particularly, he suited himself to the various tempers and callings of his guests, and made use of the great insight he had in all branches of literature, and all sorts of business, to make himself useful and agreeable to every one. This condescension was accompanied with such dignity as made him equally respected and beloved, and no one presumed to say or do any thing unbecoming, when he was present. Pope *Julius III.* was a remarkable instance of the strength of this impression, and used to say, that the bare presence of the Cardinals *Marcellus* and *POLE* was sufficient to cause him to behave and act as became his supreme station.

His conversation was sprightly and enlivened by frequent metaphors and allusions, which were always apposite to the subject from which they rose; and seemed to present themselves of their own accord; and they frequently occur in his writings. Several acute and facetious sayings were marked in his discourse, and, amongst others,

SECT.
XII.

others, the following, which shew the readiness with which he turned every thing to moral improvement; and though I am sensible of the disadvantage such relations lie under, and how much they lose of the life and agreeableness they receive from the speaker, I cannot but repeat them. I remember, says the author of his life, that mention being made of a certain prelate, who resided at *Rome*, and neglected his diocese, and yet spoke very freely of others for doing so, he turned the discourse by a pleasantry, and said, the Bishop did like those who eat garlic, not to be offended with its smell in others who did the same. Being told of a young man of parts and learning, who was too forward in giving his judgment; Learning, says he, in youth, has the same effect as new wine in the vat, which at first ferments, but being drawn off, and having collected its strength, it at length settles. An astrologer telling him, he had gathered his high destiny from the constellation under which he was born; he answered, it might very well be, but the star-gazer ought to have remembered the second birth, which is obtained by baptism, and annuls the prognostics of the first. A person saying, that the study of sacred literature should so take us up, as to leave no leisure for other studies; and another replying, that other sciences should be called in as handmaids, the Cardinal replied, I suppose, Sir, you have read, that *Agar* was cast out, because she was such. He had frequently advised a Bishop to leave *Rome*, and return to the care of his diocese; and on the Prelate's saying, he was setting out in order to stay there a month; he answered, I have at least this satisfaction, that your punishment will be so much the lighter, *vapulabis minus*. Being desired to read a letter written to a nobleman, on the death of a person who was very dear to him,

which

which had great ostentation of eloquence, and was in a very affected stile, he said, he had never seen a letter of greater consolation, since whoever read it could not refrain from laughter. Having heard a celebrated preacher, who had a high opinion of himself, and being asked what he thought of him; very well, says he, but I would have him first preach to himself. A person of quality of *Rome*, who was making great improvements at his villa, saying to him, I hope your Lordship will see this place, thirty years hence, in its full beauty; the CARDINAL replied, I don't know, Sir, by what I have deserved so ill of you, that you should wish my banishment from my true country should be prolonged to so distant a term; and therefore cannot accept your invitation. Having waited two days when he was in *Flanders*, for an audience of the Emperor; on the third, the Bishop of *Arras* came to signify to him, that the Emperor sent for him, and excused the delay, which had been caused by his Majesty's indisposition; truly, said the CARDINAL, I thought it something strange, that having every day access to almighty God in behalf of the Emperor, I should be refused access to the Emperor, when I came on the part of almighty God. Mention being made of a gentleman, who took great care of his beard, and said it cost him two crowns a month; the beard, therefore replied the CARDINAL, is of greater value than the head.

He had an utter aversion to flattery and falsehood; and delivered his opinion with so good a grace, as not to displease those from whom he dissented: and several of the sacred college acknowledged that no one had ever taken offence at the ingenuous freedom with which he spoke his sentiment in the consistory: which, perhaps, could be said of few or none but himself.

He

SECT.
XII.

He was wary and circumspect in his ordinary conversation, even with his intimate friends; and nothing imprudent, or what might appear less becoming his person, was ever remarked to have passed his lips; and this was one of the indications of consummate wisdom, which his acquaintance chiefly admired.

His temper was open and ingenuous, being unacquainted with the wiles of policy, and the corruption of the great world. When he was in *Flanders*, whither *Julius III.* had sent him to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the *French King*, and a rumour was spread, that a courier, who was charged with several dispatches, and, amongst others, with some to the *CARDINAL*, had been intercepted; a discourse arose concerning some persons, who had reason to be anxious on that occasion, lest their designs should come to light; for my own part, says *CARDINAL POLE*, I am perfectly easy on that subject, since I ought rather to wish that all mine were lain open. A sentence worthy him who was conscious of nothing but what was laudable.

His industry and application were equal to the extent and facility of his genius, and his leisure hours were always employed either in writing or thinking on something that might promote the service of his Maker and the welfare of mankind. This disposition seemed inbred in him, and made him observe with some uneasiness those loiterers, who attend no calling, and whose time is a perpetual vacation. He detested the foolish and perverse opinion of the vulgar, who look on a lazy and unprofitable life as the privilege of wealth and quality; whereas nothing, he said, could be more foreign to a noble extraction, whose duty it was to be taken up with what was useful and honourable.

His

His learning and eloquence in the *Latin* tongue have been acknowledged by all who are acquainted with his works, most of which he wrote in that language. He did not, however, always give that attention to correctness, in which the noted writers of his age, and particularly his intimate friends the Cardinals *Sadolet*, *Contareni*, and *Bembo* excelled; but where this is not overlooked, no writings of those times are more finished*. He had attained this skill in so eminent a degree at a very early period of life, that it does not appear capable of being carried to any higher perfection. In some of his works there is an exuberance of stile, which, if it had been reduced to the ancient *Roman* accuracy, would have added greatly to their merit. The same *Asiatic* diffuseness was observed in the *Roman* orator, and in both was owing to the wonderful fruitfulness of their genius, which furnished them on every subject with a variety of thoughts and expressions. In the latter years of his life, when he was taken up with the church affairs of a great people, his neglect of the graces of diction is very visible: but though it takes off from the praise of the writer, it adds to that of the man. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, the use he had acquired in writing made his stile still abound with beauties, which seemed to flow from him without his knowledge. His attention was great, and as he easily retained what he read, his knowledge of history was accurate and universal.

In his youth he was more delighted with *Plato* than *Aristotle*; but at length he applied himself wholly to sacred studies, and laid aside all others. At first, he read the *Greek* and *Latin* expositors of

* Witness his life of *Longolius*, several letters to *Sadolet*, &c. and, among others, that placed at the end of this work. Appendix, N^o II.

SECT. XII. the holy Scriptures; but afterwards, he studied these only. A constant meditation on the Old and New Testament had made the knowledge of them so familiar to him, that he seemed to have learnt nothing else; and the most expert divines of his time confessed his proficiency in this science to have been superior to any thing they had ever met with.

I have already related what the Lord *Priuli*, who was present at his lectures on the Scripture whilst he was at *Liege*, thought of them; and Vol. I. Cardinal *Seripandi*, writing to St. *Thomas* of *Villa* page 232. *Nova*, Archbishop of *Valentia* in *Spain*, says, he never heard him discourse on divine matters, but he seemed a being of a higher order, who brought from above the eternal truths of the gospel, rather than a man*.

His custom was, first, to write down what occurred to him on the subject of his reading, and then to compare his own observations with those of others on the same places. But as to the Epistles of St. *Paul*, in which there are many difficult and intricate passages, Cardinal *Hierom Seripandi*, a person of rare erudition and piety, informs us of the method by which he judged the knowledge of them was to be attained. His words are these. "I have been told, says he, that when CARDINAL POLE was consulted by what method the hidden and obscure passages of St. *Paul's* Epistles might be unfolded and brought to light, he used to make the following answer: that the most ready and expeditious way he could propose, was for the Reader to begin at the latter part of the Epistles, where the Apostle treats of morality, and to practise what was delivered there; and then go back to the beginning, where the

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 2^{da}, pag. 4. Præf.

doctrinal parts are reasoned on with great acuteness and subtlety. This speech, continues *Seripandi*, was truly becoming to great a man, whose probity, religion, and sanctity of manners, were no less admirable than his erudition. His discernment in divine matters gave him to understand that pure and upright minds attain with ease the knowledge of the most sublime and abstracted truths; whereas those who neglect the practical and more intelligible parts of holy writ, as profane persons, were forbid access to the Sanctuary." On other occasions he was accustomed to say, that whoever betook themselves to the study of the Scriptures were to behave like those who were admitted to the inner part of the Temple through a low and narrow entrance: and that none should aspire to this science on a presumption of their parts and learning; but bring to it an humble mind, and an understanding, as the Apostle speaks, under the subjection of faith. He used likewise to give this caution to all who studied the Scriptures, that the desire of worldly honour or wealth should have no influence in such an undertaking; since nothing could be more foreign to it: that the mind should be prepared by prayer, and, as has been said, free from ambition and every sinful and irregular attachment.

He left behind him many excellent works, several of which I have had occasion to speak of in the course of this History, and to give such extracts from each as may enable the Reader to have a sufficient insight into the subject, and bring him acquainted with the Author's manner of treating it. The chief of them are, *the life of his friend Longolius*, four books *on the unity of the Church*, addressed to *Henry VIII*; to which he added a *Preface to Edward VI.* his son *; *an Apology to*

* *Basilicæ*, anno 1570, præfigitur *Longolii* epistolis.

S E C T.
XII.

Charles V. in which there is an analysis of *Machiavel's* politics *. I have taken notice elsewhere, that he was the first who detected the pernicious tendency of this author's writings, almost as soon as they appeared, and a few years after the author's death. A treatise *on the nature of a General Council: a Dialogue on the duties of the Papacy*; which he wrote in the Conclave, and afterwards enlarged: *the Canons of the National Synod of the Church of England.* A dissertation *on the Baptism of Constantine, on the day of our Saviour's birth*; and a dialogue *on his Passion.* A discourse *on Peace,* to the Emperor and French King. *Several letters to Sadolet.* The *Commentaries* he wrote, in his youth, on all *Cicero's* works, were never printed and the manuscript is lost. His posthumous works were numerous, but more weighty concerns hindered him from putting the last hand to them; and they were consigned to Cardinal *Moron* his intimate friend: amongst these were a *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah and the Psalms,* and other books of the Scriptures; a large treatise *on the manner of Preaching,* and several others, some of which were in *English.* I have seen at *Oxford,* A book of the Statutes of that University, with the Manuscript Notes of **CARDINAL POLE.**

Though his dispositions, as has been said, inclined him rather to privacy and retirement than to the active scenes of public life, yet he was very dextrous in the management of business, and gained esteem in those very undertakings which were not attended with success. This appears in his embassies to courts which had the most opposite views and interests; in the government of *Viterbo*; in the council of *Trent*; in the arduous task of bringing over his country to its ancient

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 1^{ma}, pag. 136.

belief;

belief; and in the plan of discipline, of which I SECRET.
 have given an abstract, and which can never be XII.
 too much commended. His prudence and fore-
 sight enabled him to consider things in an univer-
 sal light, and were exempt from those perturba-
 tions which are the greatest obstacles to the desired
 event of what we undertake. He waited the op-
 portunity of business, which made him sometimes
 seem slow to those who were unacquainted with
 the suitableness of circumstances; and as such
 persons don't take their measures from the nature
 of affairs, but from humour, they cannot fail of
 taking those that are improper. When any of his
 friends seemed to desire a quicker dispatch, his
 answer was, that they must let him go on his usual
 pace, for if they hurried him, it would fare with
 them as with those who spur a pacing horse,
 which only makes his gait more uneasy.

The elevation of his mind and his excellent vir-
 tues placed him above those passions to which vul-
 gar souls are enslaved, lust, anger, envy, and
 avarice, and fixed him on pursuits of a nobler
 sort. His whole behaviour from early youth was
 so perfectly clear of any suspicion of incontinence,
 that he was esteemed by all who knew him to
 have lived exempt from any weakness of this
 kind*. When his domestics had done any thing
 which deserved reprehension, he always took care
 to give it without any indication of choler; and
 timed it so as it might be well received by the
 delinquent and produce an amendment. His tem-
 per was so remarkably even and free from resent-
 ment, that several who were but little acquainted
 with him, and guided themselves by very different
 maxims, thought that on some occasions he want-

* *Expers omnis libidinis totâ vitâ tum in Angliâ tam extra
 Angliam habitus est. Vita Poli, fol. 39, à tergo.*

SECT.
XII.

ed dignity and let himself down too much. Tho' *Gardiner* had endeavoured first to obstruct his return to his country, and then to obscure his reputation and lessen his authority with *Philip* and the *English* ministry; yet, on his return, when the Queen's confidence in him was such, as the Lord of *Noailles* writes to his court, "that it was plain she neither would nor could live without having him about her person;" on all occasions he shewed a singular esteem for that great minister; and, after his death, always mentioned him with honour.

He was too well versed in the moral of the gospel not to have learnt from the divine Author of it the difficult lesson of forgiving injuries: a proof of this are the several instances I have given of his dispositions toward *Henry VIII.* Three *Englishmen* came to *Capranica* with a design to murder him; and when they were taken up on suspicion, confessed their crime, and that the King had sent them on that shameful and wicked errand. Being convicted, he would have them only condemned to the galleys for a few days, alledging the offence regarded himself alone. He used the like clemency to some *Italians* who had contrived his death at *Viterbo*, and caused them to be set at liberty. I am informed, says the writer of his life, from one who was present, that having received advice of the injurious prosecution which *Paul IV.* carried on against him, he was sensibly touched at it, and justified himself by a short treatise addressed to the Pope. The subject led him to some things not very honourable to the Pontiff, and having finished the piece and caused a fair copy of it to be drawn off, he perused it by the fire-side, and threw both the transcript and the original into the flames, repeating this injunction of the

the old law, *Thou shalt not discover thy father's ignominy.* S E C T.
XII.

He had from temper and constitution, great generosity and a propension to acts of benevolence, and his charity was universal. He not only took care that no assistance was wanting to the meanest of his domestics, in time of sickness, but frequently visited them himself, and furnished poor students and persons of probity, who were reduced, with the means of subsistence. I remember, says the above-mentioned writer, that having received at *Trent*, when he was Legate, four thousand ducats of arrears due to him on a pension from the Bishopric of *Granada*, he said, he had no occasion for such an extraordinary supply, having hitherto lived clear of debt without it, and immediately divided it amongst his family, giving to each according to his rank and deserts. *Victoria Colonna*, Marchioness of *Pescara*, left him, by her will, 10,000 crowns: but he refused to accept of any part of so considerable a legacy, and ordered the whole to be paid to that lady's neice, when she married *Don Garcia* of *Toledo*, son to the Viceroy of *Naples*. Being returned to his country, he bestowed with the same munificence, almost three thousand pounds on those of his household who had followed him from *Italy*; and to such as were desirous to go back again, he ordered, moreover, horses and wherewith to defray the expence of the journey. On occasions which called for magnificence, he shewed his disposition to be as noble as his birth; yet, as I have said, he regulated his expence by the means he had to support it; when these increased, his bounty, like the sun, spread its ray, and shone away the superfluity. I have already spoke of the income he received from *England*, whilst the King continued the allowance he at first assigned him. As soon

SECT.
XII.

as he was honoured with the purple, that pension ceased, and whatever belonged to him was confiscated. *Paul III.* allotted him two hundred crowns a month, on which he subsisted some time at *Rome*; and *Giberti*, Bishop of *Verona*, who, as we have seen, had a singular esteem for his merit, and knew how much his fortune fell short of his rank and occasions, bequeathed to him a yearly pension of 2000 ducats on the Archbishopric of *Granada*, which he was impowered to transfer, and another benefice in the church of *Valentia* of the yearly value of 800 more. At the death of the Cardinal of *Ravenna*, which happened in 1549, the Pope conferred on him a post in the diocese of *Adria*, the annual profits of which amounted to 1000 crowns.

This was his revenue till he was recalled to *England*. *Paul III.* who bore him a singular affection, would have conferred on him the Bishopric of *Spoletto*, which being in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, is esteemed a very desirable preferment; but as he thought the character of Cardinal would oblige him to be much at *Rome*, which was incompatible with episcopal residence, he refused to accept of it with so much modesty and disinterestedness as neither to displease the Pope, nor offend those whose conduct such maxims might seem to censure.

On his return to his country, being named by the Queen to the Archbishopric of *Canterbury*, he could not be prevailed on to accept of that high dignity, till the Pope had assured him, he should not be recalled from *England*, and he sent *Goldwell*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, to *Rome*, that this affair being settled his conscience might be at ease. Besides the revenues of this See, the Queen allotted him a pension of 1500 pounds on the Bishopric of *Winchester*. She did this of her own motion; for

for in the high favour he enjoyed with her Majesty, he asked nothing for himself, nor entered any claim for what he had a right to, nor so much as mentioned it. The Earldom of *Warwick* was devolved to him by inheritance; yet all the instances of his family to make out his title, could never prevail on him to do so. He was invested with the most ample legantine powers, which, had he made the same use of as others had done, would have been very lucrative. But he was so far from enriching himself by this office, that the manner in which he exercised it put him to a considerable expence. Every department of it was served without fees; and where the laws prescribed a fine, it was employed for the relief of the needy, or put to such uses as piety countenanced.

His cathedral likewise experienced the effects of his liberality: he obtained of the Queen the patronage of nineteen parishes for the Archbishopric of *Canterbury*; and endowed it with some houses built by him, and a ground-rent on the east side of *Lambeth*. He gave the metropolitan church a pair of large gilt candlesticks, a censer in the shape of a ship, a mitre adorned with jewels, a silver crozier or pastoral staff, a cross, two pontifical rings of great value, a large silver cistern for holy water; and he makes mention in his will of above 1000 pounds laid out in repairs of houses belonging to his See. He founded, by his will, a mortuary service, for the repose of his soul and those of his parents and family, to be performed by two priests, whom the chapter was to appoint: but this disposition was set aside on the change of religion, which immediately followed his death. He designed, if he had lived, to have built a stately palace at *Canterbury*.

He was so little touched with that infirmity of noble minds, the love of fame, that, though no

SECT.
XII.

one of that golden age, in which learning was revived, had a greater disposition for eloquence, or fairer opportunities to improve it than himself, he laid aside all such views as soon as the exigencies of his country called for other succours. He refused, when very young, the Archbishopric of *York*, offered to him by *Henry VIII.* on terms inconsistent with his duty; and afterwards the Papacy, which the sacred College would have conferred on him. On his return from banishment, he declined, as much as in him lay, the See of *Canterbury* and the other honours by which his Sovereign and the two universities testified their sense of his merit.

This spirit, which was superior to ambition, was enobled by a fortitude and greatness of soul, of which all praise would be short in comparison of a plain narrative of the instances, in which it was exerted. Nor was this a philosophical firmness of mind, but grounded in an assured and steady confidence in God, whom he looked on as the best and wisest Disposer of all events, and therefore to be equally adored and blessed in whatever happens to us, that only excepted, of which he cannot be the author, moral evil. This principle, so becoming a Christian, supported him under the slanders which were raised against his reputation: in banishment, persecution, and the confiscation of his fortunes; in the violent death of his mother and eldest brother; in the various trials to which rage, envy, and mistaken zeal exposed him: it caused him to pardon the repeated attempts made on his life, and to wish all good to the Prince, who was the author of them. The same magnanimity shewed itself to no less advantage in the Christian moderation with which he bore his elevation, and when all eyes were open to admire, and all tongues to praise him.

His

His gratitude, and sense of good offices done him by others, appear in the return he would have made to the obligations he had to *Prinuli*, the dearest of his friends: in the application with which he promoted, at *Rome*, the interests of the Bishop and Prince of *Liege*, who had behaved to him with the greatest munificence and cordiality; and on all occasions in which those virtues could be exercised. The duty and love he bore the Countess of *Salisbury* his mother, and his affection for his brothers and family, though of a superior order to what is generally understood by social virtues, are to be ranked with them, and the love of his country crowned them all.

If we consider what he did and suffered on this principle, we shall confess no one had ever a better claim to the title of a *Patriot* than CARDINAL POLE. He opposed, at a very early period of life, the attempts of a wilful tyrant, who governed by no other rule than the capriciousness of his passions; and made or antiquated laws, and disposed of the lives and property of his people, just as the present caprice was to be gratified. He never ceased thinking and writing on what he judged would be to the advantage of his country; and chose banishment and dependence, rather than consent to measures which were destructive of its religion and laws.

When he was restored to it, he acted with no other view than its tranquillity and happiness. He prevailed on the Clergy to give up all their claim to the church lands; and on the Pope to confirm, in the most ample and irrevocable form, this cession to the lay owners. The Abbé of *San Salute*, who was one of his chief confidants, did an infinite number of good offices, as the Lord *Noailles* the *French* Ambassador informs us, in opposition to *Spanish* measures; and the CARDINAL, says the

SECT.
XII.

the same author, was an enemy to all violence, and particularly to any scheme of subduing the nation by force.

Amongst the many congratulations which came to him from all parts, on his being honoured with the purple, one was from the Doge and Senate of *Venice*; to whom, in his answer, he assigns this reason for being little affected with the honour conferred on him, *quia vox patriæ aberat*: for tho' his reputation began to expand itself on all parts, he refused to enjoy the gale of which his country did not partake.

See Vol. I.
page 185.

He had no sooner heard that *Henry* had resolved the death of Bishop *Fisber* and Sir *Thomas More*, but, foreseeing the scene of bloodshed, of which this was to be the prelude, he immediately sent a courier from *Padua* to *Charles V.* to inform the Emperor of the calamities with which the whole nation, and particularly that Prince's aunt, Queen *Catbarine*, were threatened, if that act of blood was not prevented. In fine, on *Mary's* accession, he overlooked all the sweets of a studious and contemplative life, which he had chosen at *Magura*, and embarked, as he says, with a full knowledge of the difficulties he was to encounter, on the stormy and turbulent ocean of a new and divided administration.

Vol. I.
page 344.

He had ever shown remarkable mildness to those who dissented from the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, as we have seen in his government of *Viterbo*, and particularly in the case of *Flaminius*. He pursued the same method in *England*, so as to extort this concession from *Dr. Burnet*, "that such qualities, and such a temper, could he have brought others into the same measures, would probably have gone far towards bringing back this nation to the church of *Rome*; as he was a man of as great probity and virtue as any of the

Hist. Ref.
Vol. 2d.

age

age he lived in." He gained Sir *John Cheek*, as I have already related, by this Christian and persuasive manner of proceeding; and, next to his own family, was observed to converse chiefly with Secretary *Cecil*. He extended the same lenient arts even to *Cranmer*, in order to bring him over to a better way of thinking.

Though he was at the head of the council, he used no violence nor intrigues to bring others into his measures, which were always moderate, and therefore frequently widely different from the generality of those who composed it. Having modestly declared his own sentiments, he referred every thing to the majority; and had learnt from a Pagan, of whose writings he was a professed admirer, to distinguish between bearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn*. In religious matters, which were more peculiarly his department, he observed the same conduct, and suffered rigours to be exercised, which were no less contrary to his judgment than inclination. Thus, what has been blamed in his behaviour as too passive, was the result of his deference to the laws and constitutions of his country, which did not allow him to strain the tender strings of government, nor exert an undue authority on any pretext whatever. When he was at full liberty to act on his own principles, as in the government of *Viterbo*, and the diocese of *Canterbury*, his behaviour was such as to give his enemies a pretext to misrepresent his lenity towards those who erred, as an indication of his favouring error. His behaviour when he presided at the Council of *Trent*, is a further proof of the good-will he bore to those who had left the church;

* Non enim est idem ferre, si quid ferendum est; et probare, si quid probandum non est. *Cic. Ep. Fam. 9. 6.*

S E C T. XII. and that he looked on all deviations from truth as a misfortune which called for our compassion to those who were fallen into them.

It has been hinted before, that his inclination led him to retirement, which caused him, in his youth, to shun courts and much company; and, when he was advanced to the purple, to withdraw, as often as he could, to religious houses, and other solitary places, and follow nature, when he could do it without a neglect of duty. His retirements were the most useful instruction of the use such leisure should be put to, as they did not shut out the real advantages of society, and become an abode of every meanness and abjection of the mind, and thus end in an exclusion of improvement, politeness, and freedom of thought. His retreat was of a very different kind, and withdrew him from the vices and follies of the world, and whatever was foreign to his profession, or might be a hindrance to study, piety, or the discharge of his duty. It consisted in the opportunities of laying a settled ground-work of that elevation of mind, which always represented to him the service of his Maker, and the good of mankind as the end of his actions; and enabled him to look down on the advantages of his birth, the honours he was raised to, and the reputation he had gained, with the same superiority and disengagement, as a great Princess did on the badges of royalty, in that memorable prayer she made to her Maker. Such a retreat admitted every intellectual and moral improvement, a correspondence with the wisest and best men of those times, and made his life like a gentle stream, which does not only glide through lonely vales, but visits; in its course, populous cities, and is, at once, their wealth and ornament.

Esther xiv.
16.

He

He was much addicted to communication with God by prayer, and contemplation of divine matters, as the proper object of the mind of man, and of which, when the organ is not vitiated, a due perception follows of course. Before he entered holy orders, he received the blessed eucharist on all Sundays; and the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, who was many years his chaplain, used to relate of him, that at *Capranica*, and elsewhere, he assisted the priest at the altar, and even put on and took off his vestments, and rendered him, both before and after the sacrifice, all the offices of a menial clerk. When he had received the priesthood, he never omitted to celebrate the holy mysteries at least once a week. His accuracy in all the ceremonies and rites of the Liturgy, was as observable as the recollected air with which he performed them: the very tone of his voice, his countenance, every gesture, spoke the awe with which he was penetrated, and the attention with which he offered to almighty God the great sacrifice of atonement, and praise, of impetration and thanksgiving.

There was no incident which did not suggest to his mind sentiments of the most tender and enlightened piety, and furnish him with an opportunity of stirring them up in others. *Philip* had sent the Queen a crucifix from *Spain**: and the Pope had presented the King with a rich cap of maintenance and a belt, and the Queen with a golden rose of exquisite workmanship, which curiosities were to be delivered by the CARDINAL, and his ingenious piety supplied him with various moral and religious reflexions on these subjects, which are come down to us in two very edifying letters †. A young monk, his friend *Contarini's*

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 3^a, pag. 38.

† *Ibid.* pag. 36.

nephew,

S E C T.
XII.

nephew, complained to him, that he found much dissipation in the office his superior had placed him in; and the CARDINAL's advice to him is written with a knowledge of the duties of a monastic profession, no less than if he had spent his life in the study and practice of them*.

Though he found great inconvenience from fasting and fish diet, he could never be prevailed on to interrupt the fast of Lent, till sickness, into which he fell almost every year, obliged him to it; and he chose rather to enjoy a less good state of health, than that his example should give offence.

These qualifications fitted REGINALD POLE for episcopacy, and the highest order of it, the primateship of a large and populous kingdom. I have already given the Reader several instances of the manner in which he acquitted himself of the duties of this station; and I shall here give him the sentiments he entertained of it, and the principles on which he filled up the measure of its obligations. These may be gathered from the following abstract of two of his letters.

“ I was yesterday informed, says he, writing to *Miranda*, a *Spanish* prelate, and his particular friend, that the King had conferred on you the Archbishopric of *Toledo*; and I thought it an event on which I ought not to be silent, as it is customary to congratulate our friends, when they obtain a post, either of honour or profit. But though you are now named to a dignity not inferior to any of the church, the papacy only excepted, yet the time of congratulation is not yet come. I may indeed felicitate his Majesty on the choice he has made, as having been solely guided by the learning and manners of a person, who is

* *Reg. Poli*, pars 4^{ta}, pag. 21.

equal to the charge. But, as for yourself, my dear *Miranda*, on what title can I wish you joy, till I hear how you behave in this exalted station? If neither ambition or solicitation had any part in this promotion; if you are not elated by the honours and wealth it brings with it; if your assent to the choice made of your person was a deference you owed to him by whom you was nominated, and proceeded from a desire of discharging the duties of your ministry (and the opinion I have of your virtue persuades me that this is really the case) you have given great subject of joy to your true friends, and particularly to the large province committed to your care; but you yourself stand in need of comfort, instead of expecting compliments *.”

S E C R.

XII.

26th Sept.
1557.

In the other letter, where the same great prelate had informed the CARDINAL that he was blamed for living at court, and not residing in his diocese, he answers the objections made to his conduct, and enters on a very particular discussion of the point in debate. “If, says he, I was absent from my diocese, and detained here by any thing but necessity, and such a necessity as regards the ecclesiastical more than the civil state of this kingdom, I should deem myself utterly inexcusable. But whether this be really the case, or whether I deceive myself, and impose on others, I can judge by no other criterion, than that I am not conscious of having in view either honours or riches, or any private emolument for myself, or any who belong to me; which, if I did, I should be the first to condemn myself. These are my real dispositions, and are visible to all who are acquainted with me, and on this account I am more at ease: yet I don't presume to justify myself, but

* *Reg. Poli*, pars 5^{ta}, pag. 36.

constantly

SECT. constantly pray to the searcher of hearts, that if I
 XII. swerve from what is right, he would lead me
 ~~~~~ back into his paths, which are the rule of righte-  
 ousness. However, I am so far from appealing  
 to this supreme judgment-seat, as if I was not ac-  
 countable to the tribunal of the public, that I am  
 desirous to hear even the unfavourable opinion  
 which any particular person may entertain of me,  
 those especially of whose friendship I am persua-  
 ded.

“ All I would insinuate is, that he who would  
 decide whether my presence be more useful here,  
 or elsewhere, ought to be thoroughly acquainted  
 with the civil and ecclesiastical state of this king-  
 dom, and with the revolutions of the late years,  
 during which the ancient form of religion, which  
 now begins again to take place, was entirely  
 changed. He must likewise be informed of the  
 dispositions of all orders of the realm, and of ma-  
 ny things which personally regard the Queen.

“ I don't presume to infer from hence that my  
 presence is more necessary here than it would be  
 elsewhere; but persons who understand the con-  
 dition of the church and state, on my earnest pe-  
 tition to the Queen, that I might give myself  
 wholly to my pastoral charge, represented to me  
 in the strongest terms, how ill-timed such a step  
 would be, and that every motive, both of reli-  
 gion and love of my country, obliged me to con-  
 tinue with her Majesty. Should they be mistak-  
 en, this I am sure of, that my inclination draws  
 me to my church, where I should find all the  
 great comforts of life much more at hand than  
 where I am, and where nothing detains me but  
 the intreaties and advice of persons of probity, and  
 her desire, to whom this national church is so  
 much indebted, and who is too conscientious to  
 insist on such a measure, unless she judged the  
 welfare

welfare of her people interested in it. I will only exemplify this in a single instance: It has pleased their Majesties to give back the church lands, which were invested in the crown, and to make use of me in the distribution of them: now, to do this so, that the parochial clergy may have a decent maintenance, on which church-discipline so much depends, is so perplexed an affair, and attended with so many difficulties, that I could never extricate myself without their assistance who cannot be absent from the court.”

*Miranda* had likewise testified some surprise at the CARDINAL'S not visiting several parishes in *London* which belonged to him: to which he answers, “ that although instruction from the pulpit was generally understood by these visitations, yet the daily experience he had of the infected and infirm state of the kingdom, had informed him, that the neglect and abuse of the word of God was proportioned to the opportunities men had of hearing it: and this was no where more visible than in *London*; that unless the discipline of the church was previously settled, sermons were rather hurtful than beneficial, because carnal men came to them as an amusement, and verified what was said to the Prophet, *they sit before thee, as if they were my people, and hear thy words, but will not do them; for with their mouth they shew much love, but their heart goes after covetousness: and lo thou art to them as a delightful song of one that has a pleasing voice, and can play well on an instrument; for they hear thy words, but do them not.* Ezek. This, continues he, is here the case; for when the sermon is over, the audience, were they not constrained by the laws, would not assist at the holy sacrifice, nor at the church offices, and would wholly neglect ecclesiastical discipline; wherefore, if more pains were taken in settling what con-

cerned this, than in preaching, it was no more than the present state of the nation seemed to require; that he did not deny the expediency of the latter, where there was any prospect of its being heard with profit; and, therefore, the Bishop of *London*, *Henry Cole*, who was his, the LEGATE'S Chancellor, and Dean of *London*, and other learned and pious persons were not wanting to this duty; that a sermon was preached every *Sunday* at *St. Paul's* cross; which was much frequented. That himself had frequently preached in his metropolitan and other churches, and twice at *London*, and should continue to do so, and to correct and regulate what he saw had need of it. He mentions the national synod he had lately held; the homilies in the *English* language, which were soon to be published, and *Miranda's* catechism, which was translating into the same tongue; and says, that though oppressed with business, he had never failed to publish, from time to time, such treatises as he judged salutary to his people; and never had, nor would be wanting to that duty of

*Richmond*, a pastor, which consists in instruction †."

22<sup>d</sup> June, 1558. These virtues of CARDINAL POLE were so known and celebrated through *Europe*, that those who had never seen, yet loved and honoured him. He was highly esteemed by *Charles V.* who was acquainted with him, and used to say, he did not know a better man than the *English* CARDINAL; though reasons of state, as they are termed, sometimes hindered that Prince from shewing him that regard which an honest man would have done. *Henry II.* King of *France*, having seen and conversed with him, regretted he was late acquainted with his merit, and said, if he had

† *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5<sup>a</sup>, pag. 69.



known it sooner, no other person should have had his interest for the papacy at the death of *Paul III.* The same King desired to advance him to that dignity, when it was vacated by the death of *Julius III.* and *Marcellus.* He was held in equal esteem by *Paul III.* of the *Farnesian* family, and by *Henry VIII.* of *England,* as long as his regard was any commendation; by *Victoria Colonna,* See Part I. page 349. Marchioness of *Pescara,* a character above all *Greek* and *Roman* fame; by the sacred college, who would have raised him to the popedom; by *Philip* and *Mary,* the latter of whom had a confidence in him without reserve; by both the universities, and the whole *English* nation. The same account was made of him by the great men of the age he lived in; by *Erasmus,* *Sir Thomas More,* and *Bishop Fisher,* and the restorers of learning of the university of *Padua;* by the Cardinals *Sadolet,* *Contareni,* and *Bembo,* who were some of the most polite writers of those times. The usual appellation by which he was distinguished, was that of *the modest and learned Cardinal.* *Madrutius,* Cardinal of *Trent,* a person of great endowments and experience, was accustomed to say, he valued himself chiefly on two accounts; for having been employed by *Charles V.* and having loved and honoured the CARDINAL of *England:* and *Cardinal Seripandi,* in the letter I have mentioned to *St. Thomas of Villa-nova,* says, he was a person of such singular virtue, piety and learning, and so much esteemed by good men, that those who refused him their approbation were not to be ranked in that number; that himself never expected any greater felicity than to have been admitted into his friendship and familiarity; and should never end was he to relate what he knew of his integrity, the sanctity of his life, and

S E C T.  
XII.

patience in adversity, a virtue which is the proper badge of Christianity\*.

His name, say the authors of his life, was, at the time they wrote, still fresh in the minds of all good men, and cherished by them, and was long the common topic of conversation. His memory was so acceptable to Princes and men in power, that whoever had been any time in his family was sure to meet with their favour and protection.

\* *Reg. Poli* pars 2<sup>da</sup>, pag. 4. Præf.



## N U M B E R II.

REGINALDUS POLUS JACO-  
PO SADOLETO, *Episc. Carpentoracēli*, S. P. D.

N U M B.

II.

GRATIAS tibi agam prius, (ita enim re-  
rum ordo, et mei officij ratio postulant)  
deinde ad mandata tua convertar. Neque verò  
illa solùm me ad agendum gratias impellunt, quæ  
tu in me præsentem officia contulisti: cùm me  
domo atque hospitio honorificè sanè lautèque ac-  
ciperes, cùm animum meum, tui congressus cu-  
pidissimum, erudito illo et pleno gravitatis sermone  
retineres, et planè pasceres: atque maximis de  
rebus quærentem et hæsitantem, omni prorsus  
scrupulo et dubitatione liberares. Quæ quidem  
quoties in mentem revoco (revoco autem sæpissi-  
mè) quod de *Platonis* cœna dixit *Timotheus*, cùm  
ab eo invitatus esset, et eundem postero die vidis-  
set, cœnas *Platonis* non modò in præsentia, sed in  
posterum quoque diem esse jucundas: idem ego  
multò prolixius de tuo hospitio dicere possum;  
non modò in præsentia fuisse jucundum, sed in  
aliquot menses jam fuisse, atqui idem, ut spero,  
in multos annos futurum.

At verò cùm à tua consuetudine, cujus ego  
suavitatem tum primùm quasi gustare cœperam,  
tam citò dirimi, ac tanto locorum intervallo dis-  
jungi, animo sanè molestè ferrem, cùm nec mihi  
tum integrum esset aliter facere, rationibus meis  
sic ferentibus, et in hæc loca penè trahentibus:  
ne huic quidem dolori meo defuisti. Inita enim

à te ratio est, quemadmodum eo quo tantopere<sup>N U M .</sup> delectabar, non usquequaque privarer, sed ut te<sup>II.</sup> etiam absens aliqua ex parte fruerer, adjuncto mihi ejusmodi itineris comite, qui te mihi quotidie reddebat, qui jucundissimos tuos, et gravissimos sermones sine intermissione referebat, nec fanè intermori eam, quam ex consuetudine tua voluptatem cepi, ullo pacto sinebat. Quis enim te ipsum meliùs exprimere potuit, quàm tu, quàm scripta tua, quàm liber ille tuus quem per me *Bembo* reddi voluisti? In quo prudentia tua, gravitas, doctrina, quibus maximè delectabar, elucent. Hunc certè mihi comitis loco accepi: qui non modò mihi in brevi illa et paucorum dierum via, quæ in *Italiam* properanti instabat, pro vehiculo fuit, quod de facundo comite dici solet: sed in longo totius vitæ cursu, in quò maximè, et periculosissime laboratur, et vehiculi, et ducis locum facilè obtineret. Ex quo quidem hanc primo aspectu voluptatem cepi, quòd mihi cogitationem omnem de eo, in quod ingressus eram, itinere, impedito fanè et molesto, abstulit, meque totum in contemplationem præclari illius itineris abduxit, quod te duce et monitatore, adolescenti ad laudem et decus tendenti, certum et gloriosum proponebatur. In quo quidem valde delectabar, cùm quasi oculis, sic animo cernerem, te gravissimum et prudentissimum senem, ut peritum gubernatorem, gnarum et locorum et maris, siderumque et tempestatum omnium, sic animo providum, sic omnia pericula longè lateque prospicientem, ut nihil non prædiceres et præcaveres, quod vel impedire tam præclarum cursum, vel in periculum ducere posset. Qui non cuivis adolescenti, in vulgi moribus educato, vulgaribus parentibus orto, et qui filiorum educationem in postremis haberent, te ducem profitearis: sed illi qui ab optimis parentibus penè antequam in lucem puer ederetur, huic tam

NUM. B.  
II.

præclaræ expeditioni fuerit destinatus: cujus educationi natura non obsistere, sed suas dotes benignè largiendo, se fautricem sponderet. Qui ab incunabulis sic educus, sic literis et moribus formatus fuerit, quemadmodum est à te sanctissimè et prudentissimè præscriptum.

Hunc verò talem cum tibi ipse oratione formassès, vel potius natura sic formatum, et parentum votis huic rei destinatum, cum *Paulum* tuum accepissès, quid non voluptatis mihi præbuit præclarus ille, quem recensès, in eo instituendo apparatus? Deinde cum ex puerili institutione, tanquam ex angustiis, eum abduxissès, et in latum illud, quod adolescentis institutioni quasi pelagus patebat, adduxissès, tum sanè maximè delectabar, cum te secundissimo illo orationis cursu, plenis eloquentiæ velis, ita omnes artes doctrinasque percurrentem viderem, ut cum nihil tibi tum aliud propositum essèt, nisi ut earum artium sedes et loca, ubi ad tempus insistendum, atque ad majora et ulteriora tendenti commorandum essèt, monstrares: ea tamen sic oratione illustras, sic artium singularum vires et virtutes explicas, ut propè monstrando in earum jam possessionem mittere adolescentem videaris, atque eas recensendo tradere. Hæc certè magna cum voluptate contemplantabar. Sed quò magis me delectabant, eo sanè avidius expectabam, quò tandem præclarum istum cursum, quem tanto apparatu instituisti, dirigeres: quem tibi portum proponeres. In qua expectatione statim se mihi in conspectum obtulit philosophiæ portus, quò te velis remisque propeare, atque illic paulò post alumnum tuum relinquere videbam. Præclarus ille quidem, et omnibus aliis portus præferendus, si antiquis illis *Aristotelis* et *Platonis* temporibus, vel etiam si recentioribus *M. T. Ciceronis*, hic cursus abs te institutus fuisset, aut si ii gubernatores adolescenti tuo

tuo contigissent: nec enim illi profectò alium ele- <sup>N U M B.</sup>  
 gissent, nec facile tum alius tutior vel commo- <sup>II.</sup>  
 dior reperiri potuit. Sed cùm his felicibus tem-  
 poribus cursum institueris tuum, quibus ut multi  
 terrarum novi tractus insulæque et portus antiqui-  
 tati incogniti, inventi sunt, pluribus eorum qui  
 antiquitus celebres erant, vel mari obrutis, vel  
 vetustate consumptis: sic etiam animorum portus  
 multo tutior et tranquillior, Deo ipso, et eodem  
 Dei filio duce et inventore nobis apertus sit, quem  
 antiqui ignorabant. Cumque *Sadoletus* ipse, qui  
 in hoc cursu gubernatoris locum obtinet, etsi ap-  
 pulsus quidem ad antiquorum portum, tamen  
 prætervectus sit, nec diutius ibi commoratus,  
 quàm ut necessaria sibi inde sumeret ad reliquum  
 cursum perficiendum, in hunc tandem, qui à Dei  
 filio monstratus sit se receperit, ubi nunc summa  
 cum animi tranquillitate et securitate vivit: quid  
 est cur non *Paulus* tuus merito tecum conquere-  
 ratur, si in alieno et infido jam portu eum relin-  
 quas, cùm te ipsum in optimo et tutissimo collo-  
 caris? Ego certè illius verbis tecum exoptulare  
 non dubitabo, si juvenem omnibus vel naturæ  
 dotibus vel doctrinæ præfidiis tua opera instruc-  
 tissimum, et plane talem qualem tu parentum  
 votis expetendum proponis, fluctuantem jam in  
 philosophiæ portu reliqueris: quæ ne portus qui-  
 dem jam nomine digna sit: sed ut de Tenedo dixit  
 poëta,

Nunc tantùm finus, et statio malefida carinis.

Atqui non nobis tantus iste in eo educando ap-  
 paratus, nec præclara ista tua institutio, talem  
 nobis promisit qui præcepta tandem vivendi à  
 philosophis peteret, aut qui animi securitatis causa  
 in illorum portum confugere necesse haberet: sed  
 qui vel principibus ipsis philosophorum, si jam  
 reviviscerent, novum et præstantius vivendi genus  
 ostenderet, quo illi nunquam aspirare potuerunt;  
 sapientiam

NUM. B.

II.

Sapientiam autem et animi tranquillitatem longè aliam, et aliunde quàm à philosophiæ præceptis petendam, tanto præstantiorem et diuturniorem ea quam philosophia promitteret, quantò humanis præstabiliora divina sunt.

Quare age, mi *Sadolete*, noli promisso tuo, in tali juvene instituendo satisfactum putare, si eum ad philosophiæ limites perduxeris, aut etiam si philosophiam ipsam integram tradideris. Solvas inde oportet, neque unquam defatigare, donec in sacrum eundem portum, in quo tu ipse summa cum animi tranquillitate vivis, illum perduxeris. Nec enim convenit tam præstanti educationi, et illi quem omnium opinione, hæredem virtutis et sapientiæ tuæ es relicturus, in alio quàm quo ipse tabernaculum vitæ posueris portu conquiescere.

Hæc ad te verbosius scripsi, vel tuo imperio obsequutus, qui me etiam de illo tuo libro, quem satis admirari non poteram, quid sentirem ad te scribere voluisti, vel meo in sacras illas Musas amori satisfaciens. Quas abs te illaudatas et tacitas præteriri, cum reliquas omnes artes et disciplinas dignis præconiis ornâris, vix æquo animo ipectabam, vel etiam quod Langæo nostro, cujus liberis instituendis iste abs te labor præcipuè sumptus sit, hoc imprimis gratum fore non dubitabam, si quod in philosophia et reliquis artibus facis, ut singularum laudes attingendo, ad earum studium adolescentum animos erigas, idem in theologia facere non neglexeris: in qua reliquæ omnes, ut in oceano flumina, se immergere solent, et debent. Et certè convenit, ut quæ te ipsum maximè ornat, et indies magis magisque ornatura est, cum de iis disciplinis fermo sit, quarum cognitio humanos animos colit et perficit: ejus laudem haud quaquam silentio involvas: præsertim cum ad Langæum scribas, quem scio, quoties è negotiorum fluctibus, quibus in aula versantem

jactari



jactari necesse est, emergere licet, in nullo libentius, quam in theologiae portu conquiescere. Sed tu meae loquacitati ignosces, qui cum sancte adjuvare possim, me his quatuor annis non tantum quidem Latinè legisse, quantum nunc ad te scripsi, theologorum libris avocatum, quos tamen in genere Latinorum scriptorum non pono, in hanc insolitam Latinè scribendi loquacitatem erupi. Sed ut loquendi tecum, sic etiam scribendi ad te, quo cum absente quasi loqui videor, dulcedo quaedam me longius ultra epistolæ fines provexit. Cui tu pro tua humanitate ignoscas oportet.

Nunc ad tua mandata venio. In quo eo brevior ero, quo pauciora mihi scribenda reliquerunt eorum literæ, ad quos mihi mandata et literas dedisti: quas jam spero ad tuas rescriptas te habere. Omnes enim receperunt, post paucos dies quibus id commodè facere possent, se tuæ voluntati esse satisfacturos. *Bembi* verò literas cum his ad te mitto: quem cum *Venetis* salutarem, eique tuas literas unà cum libro darem, quantopere delectaretur de te, et de tuis studiis audire, pro vestra conjunctissima necessitudine, facilius est tibi existimare, quam mihi scribere. *Veronensi* verò Pontifici, quem *Veronæ* salutavi, etiam tuas literas tradidi: qui me unum diem apud se detinuit, cum nullus penè nobis sermo esset, nisi de te, et de studiis tuis: cum sæpe se valde dolere ostenderet, suavissima consuetudine tua propter locorum intervallum, quo disjuncti estis, se privari. *Lazarum* tuum Patavii offendi, cui etiam tuas literas tradidi, cum ad me salutatum humanissimè venisset. Omnes verò tibi de ista animi tranquillitate et ocio gratulantur: ex quibus tam præclaros fœtus oriri, et prodire in utilitatem publicam vident. Quæ ut tibi perpetua sint optant. Egoque imprimis, qui non minus præclaros sciam te  
jam

NUM. II. jam parturire, quàm sunt hi qui jam sunt in lucem editi, hoc idem optare non desinam, partumque felicissimum precari. Vale.

*Venetis, IIII Calend. Novembr. M. D. XXXII.*

NUM.

## N U M B E R III.

**I**T is an inquiry of some curiosity and more im-<sup>N U M B.</sup> portance, in what sense the Council of *Trent* <sup>III.</sup> has defined the *Latin Vulgate* edition of the Scriptures to be authentic; nor can it any ways be so justly resolved as by the unanimous declaration of the cotemporary writers, who either had been assessors at the council, or were conversant with those who had assisted at it, in that quality. They were, moreover, some of the greatest and most learned personages of that or any other age, and have signalized their zeal in maintaining the authority of this venerable assembly, and giving its decrees their full latitude and due weight; and though of different nations and schools, and divided in opinion on many other heads, are yet agreed on this. I might produce a long catalogue of these unexceptionable vouchers, did the nature of this inquiry call for so circumstantial a proof; or did I not think my Readers in general will be more pleased to have the substance of the evidence collected from these different witnesses placed before them, than to hear each of them attest the same thing, with little more variety than a change of expression. I shall, however, for the further satisfaction of those, who are desirous of such a detail, refer them to the original works, from which this brief information has been extracted.

The writers I have mentioned every where teach the meaning of the council in this decree to be, that the edition we speak of is a complete body of the written word of God, as to all that concerns faith and morality; that it contains no error  
repugnant

NUM B. repugnant to either of these great articles, and as such is to be received and revered by the faithful; and that no other edition was, on any pretext, to be made use of either in the schools or the public worship.

III.

One of the grounds of this decision was, that the Catholic Church could not, for so many ages, have proposed to her members either a defective or erroneous guide of belief or practice; and having always considered the *Vulgate*, as the standard of each, it must necessarily come up to it: that notwithstanding the grammatical mistakes, the transpositions, and the passages less properly translated, which occur here and there, all antiquity had ever been persuaded that the truths of the Christian religion were fully set forth in it; that no heresy was countenanced, nor any thing contained which might give occasion to a pernicious error: and that it had been held in the highest veneration, and been appealed to by the earliest ages, as the unerring word of God, in whatever concerned belief and manners.

But then these judges, whose discernment in leaving to opinion tenets which belong to its resort, is not less conspicuous than their steadiness in asserting to divine faith the rights which belong to her department, never once entertained a thought that this edition of the Scriptures was not liable to many objections in other respects, in which these rights are not interested; or that it was exempt from mistakes, to which a less competent skill in languages, or want of accuracy and care, may expose a translator; so far were they from exacting this concession from those who acknowledged their authority. Were other proofs of what I have here asserted, wanting, the remark of *Andrew Vega*, one of the ablest divines, who assisted at the council, would be sufficient. "The synod,

synod, says he, did not approve of the faults, which those who are skilled in languages, and moderately knowing in the holy Scriptures, have discovered in the *Latin* translation of them. It did no more than approve of the Vulgate edition, cleared of such mistakes as the carelessness of the transcribers or printers had given occasion to; but would not have it adored, as if it had fallen from heaven. The Fathers very well knew that, whoever was the interpreter, he was not a prophet; and that hitherto we have not been so happy as to possess a translation which has given us the proper and original text of the sacred writings with the same uniformity of stile throughout the whole. On this account, they would not restrain the industry of those who are of opinion that some parts might have been more happily translated. Their intention was, that the *Vulgate* should be so far esteemed authentic as all persons might be satisfied it had not been corrupted by any mistake from which a pernicious tenet could be gathered; and therefore they add, that no one, on any pretext, should reject it. In the same place he alleges the testimony of the Cardinal of the holy cross, who then presided at the council; and at length concludes, addressing himself to his Reader, in these words: "Wherefore, neither you, nor any one else, is hindered by this approbation given to the Vulgate edition, to have recourse to the fountain head, when he meets with any difficulty, and to assist and enrich the *Latin* expositors, and thus enable them to rectify the faulty passages of the translation, and attain that meaning of the Scriptures which is most agreeable to the Spirit that dictated them, and to the language in which they were penned \*."

\* *Andreas Vega*, de Conc. *Trid.* l. 15. c. 9.

N U M B.

III.



The above-mentioned authority is much corroborated by another cotemporary, of no less weight, who enters into some particulars, which *Vega* has not touched on, and ingenuously owns that the Fathers, who composed the council, were not ignorant that several chapters of the Scripture were translated obscurely and intricately; that, in some places, the sense was deficient; in others, redundant; and some again were distorted from their genuine and plain meaning: all which had been observed by the ancient Doctors and most learned and judicious men of each age, who yet had tolerated these faults, without any prejudice to faith or morals: because, in order to ascertain these two great ends of revelation, it was enough that the Vulgate did not countenance any error contrary to sound doctrine, and therefore deserved the respect and authority it had ever met with. On the same principle, they believed there was no truth of the Christian dispensation, or doctrine necessary to human salvation contained in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* text, which had escaped the knowledge of the *Latin* Church, or been omitted or erroneously translated by her. Wherefore, to avoid all that disturbance, which such changes never fail to produce, they bore with mistakes which bring no detriment with them, and chose to consult the people's tranquillity rather than *to be wise out of season*.

But then, as we have seen, this forbearance was never designed by the council as a check on the industry of particular persons, and their throwing any further light on what may be dark or ambiguous, or otherwise faulty in the ancient version; on the contrary, some of the most able apologists of that venerable assembly assure us, that the Fathers who composed it, "did not forbid the ancient and Vulgate edition to be diligently

gently compared with the original text; and if<sup>N</sup> any difficulty of moment occurred, to translate and explain it with greater fitness and propriety, and even with a stricter regard to the true meaning. The cotemporary writers I have quoted, every where deliver this as the sentiment of the council, which one of them has expressed in the following manner: "That the decree passed in favour of the Vulgate extended no further than to support the authority and use of an edition which all antiquity had revered; and to suppress the arrogance of those, who, at that time especially, from a vain conceit of their own knowledge, and perhaps a moderate insight into the learned languages; and because they saw in that ancient and approved edition some passages, which might have been translated with more exactness; or some faults to which the carelessness of the transcribers had given occasion; or, lastly, that the expositors had not every where attained to the last precision, the meaning of Jesus Christ and the Apostles, reject the whole, and would obtrude in its stead either their own erroneous translations or those of others.

Another author, who enters on the subject by maintaining the integrity of the *Hebrew* edition, owns, that as to the authority of the *Latin* Vulgate, he is of the same way of thinking with the learned *Fleming* I have already cited; and towards the end of the treatise says, he would not be understood to defend the *Latin* interpreter as if he looked on him to be exempt from all blame, and those oversights to which all human productions are liable: nor did he dare to dissent from those, who, though they admired the good faith of the translator, yet acknowledged that he sometimes betrayed a want of care and perspicuity; and by too servile an adherence to the *Greek* idiom, and

U M B.  
III.

N<sup>U</sup>M<sup>B</sup>. III. little discernment in weighing the different energy of that and the *Latin* tongue, became obscure, and did not sufficiently express the sense of the original.

The writers I have already quoted have done no more than deliver down to us the meaning of this decision on the *authenticity* of the Vulgate, and the consequences which resulted from it. But there were others of the same time, and of equal authority, who have exemplified this meaning in their own works, some of which were inscribed to the council, and written in circumstances, in which the authors cannot be supposed not to have known its meaning, or to have disguised it.

Among these, *Forrerius*, in the Preface to his Commentaries on *Isaiab*, which he wrote at *Trent*, and addressed to the Fathers then sitting, and after the decree I have mentioned had passed, as himself informs us, declares that he had translated the *Hebrew* text of the prophet as literally as it could be done, for no other reason than to make it appear that the *Latin* translator has not given us a different sense from the original; but yet he did not deny that some passages might have been explained with more propriety.

*Oleaster* wrote his Commentaries on the Pentateuch in the pontificate of *Paul IV.* as we learn from the preface, and consequently after this decision; and yet he makes no difficulty of declaring, “that it was not his design to follow any particular interpreter, as if he was satisfied that the sense of the original was every where preserved; but to explain, to the best of his capacity, the *Hebrew* context: that the Vulgate edition, in many places, disagreed with the original *Hebrew*; and that, in such cases, the *Latin* was to be corrected by the *Hebrew*, not the *Hebrew* by the *Latin*;



*tin*; and the latter to be accounted faulty, not the former.”

N U M B.  
III.

The same concession is made by *Genebrardus*, Archbishop of *Aix*, one of the most learned personages of *France*, and whom *St. Francis of Salis* values himself for having had him for his professor. This prelate, in the preface to his interpretation of the *Psalms*, addresses himself to *Gregory XIII.* in the following manner. “As to the *Seventy*, whose translation we follow in the *Psalms*, though I might perhaps allow that they, or any other persons, might have translated some passages with greater clearness and accuracy, and with a stricter regard to the true meaning; as nothing is every way perfect, especially when we reflect on our inability to sound the depths or reach the heights of the divine Oracles: yet if these blemishes were compared with the great and frequent errors of other interpreters, particularly among the moderns, they are but few, and not of that consequence as to hinder the translation he was speaking of from having the preference to any other.”

I shall conclude this subject with what is said of it in the new edition of the *Greek Testament*, by the university of *Oxford*, in 1675, when great care was taken to collate the common *Greek* text with the most ancient manuscripts in *England*, *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain*; and to put down all the various readings. In the preface to this laborious and useful work the editors observe, that of all the versions of the Bible from the original languages, there is none to be compared with the *Vulgate*; which assertion they justify by confronting passages of the most esteemed *Greek* manuscripts with the same passages in this translation, when there is any disagreement between that and the common printed *Greek* copy.

NUM B.

III.

Thus, as has been seen, the authenticity of the Vulgate edition extends no further than to *tenets* in which *faith* and *morals* are concerned, and to the use of it in the *liturgy* and the *schools*. As to all other points, in which it differs from the *Hebrew* or *Greek*, the Reader is left to his own determination, to prefer which he pleases; and is even encouraged, where the Vulgate disagrees with either of them, to elucidate the translation from the original. This freedom is restrained by no exception but what regards belief and manners, in which the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* texts perfectly agree.

Besides the arguments already produced that this was the meaning of the council, the form in which the decree is drawn up sufficiently indicates it. "This sets forth the great emolument which would accrue to the church of God, if out of all the *Latin* editions of the holy Scriptures, which were handed about, it was known which was to be received as authentic\*." No mention is made of the *Hebrew* or *Greek*; nor is the Vulgate preferred to all the editions, but to the *Latin* only.

If it be replied, that the *Latin* is declared authentic, and the *Greek* and *Hebrew* are not; and, on that account, the preference is given to the former: the answer is ready, that the other two being the acknowledged original texts of the divine word, are of themselves authentic, and stood in no need of the council's approbation, which the *Latin*, because it was a translation, did. It was, moreover, expedient to give it this sanction, as a distinctive from innumerable other *Latin* versions; and whereas the *Hebrew* and *Greek* editions, being but one, had no occasion for it. These enjoy likewise a further privilege, which the former must

\* See 3d sess. of the Council.


always want, of being the fountain-head, where-<sup>N U M B.</sup>  
 as this is the stream; pure, indeed, and no less  
 copious of *those waters which flow to life eternal*,  
 yet still a stream. III.

The acts, therefore, of the council inform us, that the *Hebrew* and *Greek* editions of the Scriptures were left in possession of all the authority they enjoyed before the council: and this declaration is conformable to what *Vega* writes he heard from Cardinal *Marcellus*, who presided at it, and was afterwards Pope \*. It shews, at the same time, with how much reason the great *Bellarmino* found fault with those, who contended that the *Vulgate* should every where have the preference, and be acknowledged authentic, even when it differed from the original, and when no article of belief or morals was concerned. This indeed may be *zeal*, but not according to knowledge, and is of that kind which never thinks truth safe, unless she is in the confines of error †.

\* Lib. 15. de Conc. *Trid.* c. 9.

† The authenticity of the *Vulgate*, in the sense here understood, is delivered as the sentiment of the council of *Trent*, by *Joa. Driedo*, or *Dridoens*, lib. 2. de Eccles. Scrip. & Dog. c. 1. p. 1. *Lindanus*, lib. 3. c. 1. de optimo genere interpretandi. *Melchior Canus*, lib. 2. de locis Theologicis, cap. 12. *Sixtus Senensis*, lib. 8. Bibl. sanct. pag. ult. *Jud. Titelanus*, Apolog. pro Conc. *Trid.* pag. 99. ultimæ editionis *Lovaniensts*, anni 1568. *Melchior Zangerus*, in Colla. Cath. cap. 2. *Diegus Payra*, Apol. pro Conc. *Trid.* lib. 4. Besides those already named.

## N U M B E R IV.

NUMB. IV.  IT has been objected to the effigy of CARDINAL POLE, which is prefixed to the first part of this work, and represents him as advanced in years, that it is attributed to *Raphael*, who died in the year 1520, when the *Cardinal* was only in the twentieth year of his age. But the objectors did not reflect, that besides *Raphael* of *Urbino*, who died in the year they mention, there were several other great masters of that name. To go no further than *Raphael del Colle Borgnese*, who flourished chiefly whilst CARDINAL POLE was in *Italy*, and the prime of whose life coincides with the decline of the CARDINAL'S: he was one of the most celebrated artists under *Guilio Romano*, the favourite disciple of *Raphael* of *Urbino*, and so esteemed by his master, that he made him one of his heirs, on condition he would finish the pieces he left imperfect. *Guilio* died in 1546, and those who have seen the paintings of the hall of *Constantine* and other public places in *Rome*, and in the stately palace of *Mantua*, may remember the works of master and scholar. They may likewise recollect the likeness of the effigy in question to the busts and pictures of the CARDINAL, which are still preserved in the Papal and other collections. It has also a great resemblance to the print prefixed to the first part of *Quirin's* collection of his letters: and, to come to proofs nearer home, to that in *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* engraved by *White*; that in *Larrey's Hist. d'Ang.* by *P. à Gunst*, which, tho' small, is executed with great elegance: and, lastly, to a very large and beautiful print in the collection of *Andrew Stone*, Esq; which represents the CARDINAL in a sitting posture, and bears the name of *Raphael*.

H A V I N G

HAVING finished the subject of U M B. CARDINALN POLE's Life, I should ask the Reader's pardon for troubling him with any thing so much below it as myself. But the various and liberal abuse which has been bestowed on the Author and the performance makes it necessary that I should reply to an article, which has been chiefly insisted on, and in which I am not so much concerned as a writer, as a member of the community and a subject. Had the objections been made to the work as falling short of what should recommend a history, I should have been silent on that head, being sensible that no cause is more desperate than that of a work which stands in need of being defended by the Author. Neither am I so arrant an Author as to desire, if I have fallen into any mistakes, that others should not be rightly informed, because I have been in the wrong; and I have too real a respect for the public to trouble it with wrangles on facts, or dates, or authorities, of little or no consequence, and which may please a caviller or amuse a mere critic, but will hardly entertain a Reader, who is every thing but that. This I mean not only as to what concerns the truth of the facts that are alledged, but also as to the justness of the reasoning on them, which has been equally attacked. The accusation likewise of Plagiarism, which has been brought against me, is submitted to the decision of every equitable and intelligent Reader, when he has collated the passages; but not to the spleen of a determined adversary, who sets out with no other view than to find fault. However, if the language, the descriptions, the images, the drawing of the characters, and, what the *French* term *l'ordonnance du tableau*, the design and colouring of the whole

IV.

NUM B.  
IV.

piece, be the Author's genuine product, I don't see how he can be treated as a plagiarist. I give a history of facts, which happened 200 years ago, and consequently must have been related by many others, and sometimes very differently. I have not only consulted original documents, but also intermediate writers, whose authority appeared warrantable; and have not swelled the notes with endless and unnecessary references to books and authors sufficiently indicated throughout the whole work.

I shall therefore, as I said, be silent as to any of these and the like heads, and leave the history to be tried by its own merit, as it must stand or fall by that alone. The charge I mean to answer is that which is brought against my religious tenets, which are said to be inconsistent with the welfare of my country, and that every *Englishman*, who professes them, must be a secret enemy to the government under which he lives. The whole work is represented to proceed on principles, which cause the abettors of them to overlook all the duties they owe to society, the allegiance and submission due to the legislature, and, like *Aaron's serpent*, to swallow up every other consideration. On this supposition, one of my censurers, in the motto of his criticism, has ranked me *with the impious and declared enemies of the public welfare; impiis hominibus et hostibus*. A strange association for a person, who is not conscious of having entertained a thought or written a line, which could favour of disrespect or disaffection either to the excellent constitution of his country, or the royal family, under whose protection he has the happiness to live; or the ministry. But this writer and the others, who have taken up the same cause, every where proceed as if the imputation was made

made out, and they were appointed to inflict the N U M B. IV. punishment due to it.

I should be wanting to what each man of probity owes to himself, was I to sit down unconcerned at such a reproach; and be still more unjust to a cause, for which I have the highest reverence, if, after having furnished a pretext to misrepresent it in the grossest manner, I neglected to clear it from these aspersions, and shew that, in order to be approved, it needs only to be seen in a fair light. I shall therefore set before those, who have brought this charge against the work and the Author, the principles they have so much mistaken, and desire these may be tried by the good sense and equity of my Readers, when they are informed what it is they are to decide on. They indeed might justly be offended, did I entertain the least doubt of their receiving in good part what a writer has to say in his own defence to an accusation of such a nature, and being as impartial and dispassionate as my accusers have been otherwise. And though, as a private person, I cannot presume to answer either for the principles or dispositions of others, yet I am willing to think, that what I am about to advance, will be disowned by very few or none of those, who profess the same religion, and have stated the case to themselves, and drawn the consequences which necessarily result from it.

I shall begin by acknowledging, that submission to the government we live under is of such necessity, that without it no order can be kept up in a state, and consequently nothing concerted or carried on either for its safety or advantage. On this principle, the supreme Being, who best knew of what importance to the welfare of mankind this obedience was, condemns to death whoever disobey the public authority. “ The man who  
“ shall

N U M B. “ shall do presumptuously, and shall not hearken  
 IV. “ unto the judge, even that man shall die; and  
 ~~~~~  
 Deut. xvii. “ thou shalt put away the evil from *Israel*; and
 12. “ all the people shall hear and fear, and do no
 “ more presumptuously.”

To prevent this evil, the same beneficent Being delegated his authority to all magistrates; and one who was very well informed of the Lawgiver's meaning, explains it in the following precept, and gives the reason for it: “ Let every one be subject unto higher powers; for there is no power but from God: the powers that are, God has ordained; whosoever, therefore, resists the power, resists the ordinance of God.” “ Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates.” Thus, we see, rulers and magistrates are deputies of the supreme Ruler, and invested with authority by him; and, for that reason, are called by the same interpreter of the divine will, “ the ministers or officers of God;” and by the author of the book of *Wisdom*, “ the administrators of his kingdoms, that is, of this world.” Nor does the Apostle think it enough to have declared the order, but having expounded it on the principles we have seen, he goes on to the motives by which mankind should be wrought on to comply with it, and concludes in this manner: “ Wherefore, ye must needs be subject, not only for the fear of wrath; but for conscience sake.” St. *Peter* inculcates the same command with equal energy: “ Submit yourselves, says he, to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to a King, as the chief ruler; or unto governors, as to them who are sent by him—for such is the will of God.” These and many more passages to the same purpose prove what I laid down as the ground-work of all society; and there is no revealed

vealed truth which rests on greater evidence of the N U M B. word of God, than that obedience is due to every legal government on a principle of religion and morality. It is, moreover, to be particularly remarked, that when *Jesus Christ* says to the *Jews*, “render to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar*’s,” he enters into no discussion of the right or title on which the authority of the *Roman* Emperors was established: it was enough, that, having found them in possession, and the acknowledged masters of that country, in which he was pleased to be born and live, he would have the order appointed by God and the foundation of public tranquillity revered in their authority. IV.

He behaved in the same manner when he was accused before *Pilate*, who was appointed governor of *Judea*, on the part of the same people; and acknowledges, “that this magistrate’s jurisdiction had been conferred on him from above,” and John xix. consequently that it was legal. He is silent as to 11. any question that might be made on the *Roman* Emperor’s right to the sovereign authority; on the tribunitian power, and that of Emperor or Captain-general, and other branches of the government being united in the same person; on the freedom of the Senate and *Roman* people, when all these titles were accumulated, on the right the Emperors had to perpetuate them in their families, and even make them over to their adopted children: or, lastly, on the lawfulness of the title by which the *Romans* held *Judea*. The Son of God does not mention a word of all this. He would have the world submit to the established government, because he would have its inhabitants live in order and peace, and has left to different nations, and their lawgivers, the liberty of giving that form of government to their several states which


NUM B. which they like best. This is what we are chiefly concerned to know.

IV.



But, that no information on so important an article might be wanting, our great Instructor has taken care we should be acquainted with the different degrees of the submission I have been speaking of, that, when the powers we are to obey enact laws, or injoin instances of obedience contrary to each other, we might know how to behave; and this subordination of the different departments, of which government is made up, is no less essential to the welfare of mankind than government itself: "Submit yourselves to the King, as to the chief or supreme ruler; or to governors, as unto them who are sent by him." And the author of the book of *Ecclesiastes* observes, "that, in the plan on which government is formed, there are various gradations of authority; that one person is placed over another; that the powerful receive orders from others still more powerful than themselves; and that the whole body of the people obey that power in which the sovereign authority resides."

A suitable submission, therefore, is due to every one according to his rank; and we are not to obey any private magistrate to the prejudice of what we owe to a higher power. The supreme of all dominions is that of God; and, to speak with propriety, he is the only sovereign Ruler to whom all others are subordinate, on whom they depend, from whom they derive their authority. On the same principle, therefore, on which we obey a private magistrate, if he exacts nothing contrary to the orders of a higher power, we likewise comply with whatever the legislature requires of us, provided it enjoins nothing contrary to the divine law: and, by a necessary induction, as we are not to pay any regard to whatever a particular magistrate

strate requires of us, in opposition to the duty we owe to the legislature; much less are we to comply with any legislature in contradiction to the law of God. In this case, and in this only, the answer of the Apostles to the *Jewish* magistrates has place, "we ought to obey God before men." N U M B. IV. 

Acts v. 29.

But, this exception allowed, we are always to respect, always to submit to the government. The state must be in danger, and the public tranquillity could have no consistence, was it lawful for particular members of the community to dispute its authority, or rise up against its orders. The high office which it executes should place it out of the reach of insult, and make it appear no less venerable than essential to the well-being of each individual. The sacred writings are full of precepts and examples, which set forth this duty; and I look on it as a happiness to have no unchristian bashfulness, either in acknowledging their influence, or selfish view in endeavouring to extend it. They inform us, for our instruction, no doubt, that *David* not only refused to take away *Saul's* life, but trembled for having cut off the border of his garment, though with a design which seems to justify the action from any appearance of disrespect. The same book, from which this passage is taken, furnishes us with the following lesson on the respect due to government, in the behaviour of *Samuel* towards one who was at the head of it

The Prophet, though he had declared to *Saul* that God had cast him off, still gives him every outward mark of honour and respect. "I have done evil, says the King, now, therefore, I pray thee, supplicate for my sin, and go back with me, that I may worship the Lord. But *Samuel* refused to do it, and said, because he had

NUM B. " had set at nought the orders of God, that God
 IV. " also had set him aside, and he should no longer
 " be King of *Israel*; and turning away, the King
 " laid hold of his mantle, and rent it: on which
 " the Prophet said, even so has the Lord rent
 " the kingdom of *Israel*, on this day, from thee,
 " and given it to thy neighbour, a better man
 " than thyself. Moreover, the mighty one of
 " *Israel* will not unsay what he has pronoun-
 " ced; nor, like weak man, repent of his de-
 " signs. I have sinned, replied *Saul*, but honour
 " me in the presence of the elders of my people,
 " and in the sight of *Israel*, and return with
 " me to adore the Lord thy God; upon which
 " *Samuel* went back with *Saul*, and adored the
 " Lord."

I Sam.
 xxiv.

The reprobation of a Prince could not be denounced in plainer terms; yet the Prophet lets himself at length be prevailed on, and consents to honour *Saul* before the nobles and the commonalty; and teaches us, by this behaviour, that the public good requires that those in whom the legislature is invested should never be exposed to contempt.

Nor can it be objected, that these facts concern a particular people, whose policy had little relation with the government under which we live; because it is clear, from the general expressions in which the observations are made, and the precepts given, and from the whole air of the narration, that every mode of government is interested in the observance of them, and that they were designed by the divine Spirit, under whose guidance they were penned, to be transmitted down to us, and to take place wherever there were men.

The behaviour of the best and greatest men among the people of God, under the following
 Kings;

Kings, inforces the same duty with equal clearness N U M B. IV. and energy. The succession was frequently changed, and fell to the lot of Princes who seem to have had little claim to obedience, but that which is founded in public utility. The most illustrious of the Prophets lived under very unpopular and wicked Kings; and *Elijah*, and his disciple *Elisha*, in the reign of *Abab* and *Jezebel*; *Isaiab*, in that of *Abaz*; *Jeremiab*, in that of *Jeboiakim* and *Zedekiab*; and yet they distinguished themselves by a deference to the government they found established; and were so far from encouraging in the people a spirit of discontent, that their whole behaviour was a lesson of submission and respect. *Jeremiab*, when *Jerusalem* was a heap of ruins, and the throne of *Judab* entirely overthrown, still speaks of King *Zedekiab* with the greatest reverence. The thinking and deserving part of the nation gave every mark of attachment to a government, even after it was subverted; and the prison and chains of the Prince did not lessen, in the estimate of a Prophet, the majesty of the legislature, nor hinder him from reverencing the laws of his country in the person who, by his character, should have been the guardian of them.

On the same principle the great founder of the *Persian* monarchy, though an idolater, is stiled “the Anointed of the Lord;” and *Nebuchadnezzar*, who carried pride and impiety so far as to claim divine honours, is, nevertheless, addressed by a Prophet in this pompous speech, “You are the King of kings, and the God of heaven has conferred on you royalty, power, and empire and glory:” and the people of God are commanded to pray for the preservation of this prince and his son *Belshazzar*, and other Heathens under whom they lived; for which order the inspired writer assigns a reason, the weight of which is felt

NUM. B.
IV.
Baruch,
i. 11.

felt by every one, “ because their own tranquility depended on the flourishing state of the government under which they lived.” *Abab* and *Jezebel* had caused the prophets to be put to death; and though *Elijah* expostulates with almighty God on that subject, he did nothing that could favour sedition; and the Prophets themselves had wrought prodigies in favour of the King, and for the defence of the kingdom. *Elisba* behaved in the same manner in the reign of *Joram*, *Abab*’s son, and no less wicked than his father. Nothing could be more outrageous than the impiety of *Manasses*, who is said, by way of excellence, if I may speak in this manner, to have sinned, and to have made *Israel* sin against God, whose worship he would have abolished; and yet *Isaiab*, and the other Prophets, who reproach him with his crimes, never let fall a single word which could indispose the people to his government.

The same principle and practice has been perpetuated under the Christian dispensation, and those whom we glory to have been our ancestors, distinguish themselves by it. It was under the reign of *Tiberius*, not only an infidel, but one of the worst of men; that the Son of God said to the *Jews*, “ render to *Cæsar* the things that belong “ to *Cæsar* ;” to pay tribute to *Cæsar*, which was a public acknowledgment of his authority and their allegiance. *St. Paul* appeals to the Emperor, and acknowledges his jurisdiction; he orders public prayers to be offered up for all Kings and Princes; and this ordinance was made in the reign of *Nero*, the most detested monster that ever disgraced human nature; and the Apostle makes the public tranquillity the reason of these supplications. We have seen the terms with which both he and *St. Peter* injoin submission to the Princes of

of their respective states; and we all know what persons those were, in whom the holy Apostles would have their followers respect the order of God.

N U M B.
IV.

In consequence of these sentiments, the Christians, though persecuted during 300 years, never once entertained a thought of causing any disturbance in the empire; and their dispositions, on this head, are set forth in *Tertullian*, and thro' the whole course of the church-history. They prayed for the Emperors in the midst of those torments, to which they had unjustly condemned them. "You act a very becoming part, cries out *Tertullian*, equitable judges! in tearing from the Christians a soul; which pours itself out in prayers for the government." The son of the great *Constantine*, though a protector of the *Arians*, experienced an inviolable fidelity in the members of the Catholic Church, and the Apostate, his successor, who endeavoured to re-establish idolatry, found the Christians equally faithful and zealous in his service. The succeeding Princes, who left the communion of the church, *Valens*, *Justinian*, *Zenon*, *Basilicus*, *Anastasius*, *Heraclius*, *Constans*, who banished the Catholic Bishops, and even the Popes, and committed every kind of cruelty on those who refused to subscribe to their errors, never saw their authority disputed by the Catholics: and during 700 years, as the great *Bossuet* has observed, we do not read of a single instance of the government being disturbed on the pretence of religion. In the eighth century the whole empire continued faithful to *Leo*, a native of *Isauria*, the protector of the *Iconoclasts*, and a declared enemy of the Catholic Church: and under his son *Coproninious*, who inherited his errors and cruelty, as well as his crown, the eastern Christians only opposed patience to persecution.

Tertul.
Apol.

N. U. M. B.
 IV.

tion. But, at the fall of the empire, when those who governed it could scarcely defend the east, to which they had confined themselves; *Rome*, given up a prey for almost 200 years, to the people of *Lombardy*, was constrained to implore the succour of the *Franks*, and to withdraw herself from masters who took no further concern about her.

The state of oppression, of which I have given instances in the preceding article, and several others which might be produced, though, as has been said, they do not authorize the sufferers to overt acts of hostility; yet they shew, that those who are ill at ease, have always thought it lawful to endeavour at more desirable circumstances. That mankind, therefore, might be provided with every necessary instruction, on an affair of such moment, the inspired writings have informed us, what means of redress are to be made use of by those who think themselves injured or oppressed by the government they live under; and those who must be supposed to have best understood the spirit and meaning of these instructions, have given us, in their own behaviour, the clearest comment on them. When God was about to free his people from the bondage of *Egypt*, and the tyranny of *Pharaoh*, he did not allow them to proceed in a hostile manner, though against a King, who had treated them with the utmost inhumanity. They petitioned, in respectful terms, to go and sacrifice to God in the desert, three days journey from the capital; and if it is to be presumed that Princes will not refuse the equitable requests of particular persons, much less will they deny paying a regard to the remonstrance of a considerable body of their people. *Pharaoh*, hardened as he was, received, from *Moses* and *Aaron*, the complaints of the *Israelites*, and admitted to
his

his presence the representatives of the people, who N U M B. IV. complained of their grievances, and said, “ why “ dealest thou thus with thy servants?” The Exod. v. behaviour of the same people, when their ruin was resolved, at the instigation of *Aman*, was conducted with the like moderation. The Queen, who was of that nation, presents the petition in behalf of her countrymen, and the people offer up their prayers that it may be attended with success. I might produce several similar instances of the most eminent persons, whilst *Rome* was yet *Pagan*; and, afterwards, under Emperors, who attempted to establish *Arianism*, and other erroneous doctrines, with a zeal not less furious and cruel than that idolatry which would have abolished Christianity.

It can never, therefore, be deemed a breach of that respect which is due to the government from the whole community, if any part of it remonstrates on hardships they lie under, and petition for a redress. They who approach the throne on this errand, cannot fail of being graciously heard by a just and humane Prince, and by a mild and equitable legislature, when the grant of the favour is not made the condition of their submission who sue for it. This plea has still greater weight, when the hardships were imposed in times and circumstances, in which the present sufferers are no more concerned, than the Prince and legislature we have the happiness to live under, were in inflicting them.

If the critics of the history of the Life of CARDINAL POLE are pleased to represent such principles and dispositions, and a conduct guided by them, as inconsistent with the public welfare and tranquillity, such cavils can only injure their abettors, and those who have not temper to overlook them. Censure and obloquy, deserved or undeserved,

NUMB.
IV.

served; will have their day; with this difference, that time, which wears away the impressions of prejudice, confirms the judgment of reason. But this declaration seemed seasonable, and what the author owed to himself, to his religion, and to the public; in case the public thinks fit to interest itself in this discussion. This he knows, that he loves and reverences his country, that he means well, and wishes every good and happiness to it, and that nothing shall ever be able either to change or weaken this disposition.

The course of the work, indeed, necessarily led him to several facts, which are very blameable: but this is no more an argument of a writer's want of love and regard for his country, than taking notice of the barren and unpleasant spots would prove a surveyor's ill-will to it; because his plan had taken in blemishes, which accuracy did not allow him to overlook or conceal. Nor is he the first, or the only person that has mentioned these facts, and made such observations on them, as, without much seeking, come volunteers to the Reader's mind, and are of that sort, of which the poet says,

Quæ spectator tradit sibi.

And he has taken particular care, that the actions which chiefly sully the times and persons which are concerned in them, should have vouchers, who will never be suspected of having exaggerated their defects.

T H E E N D.







