



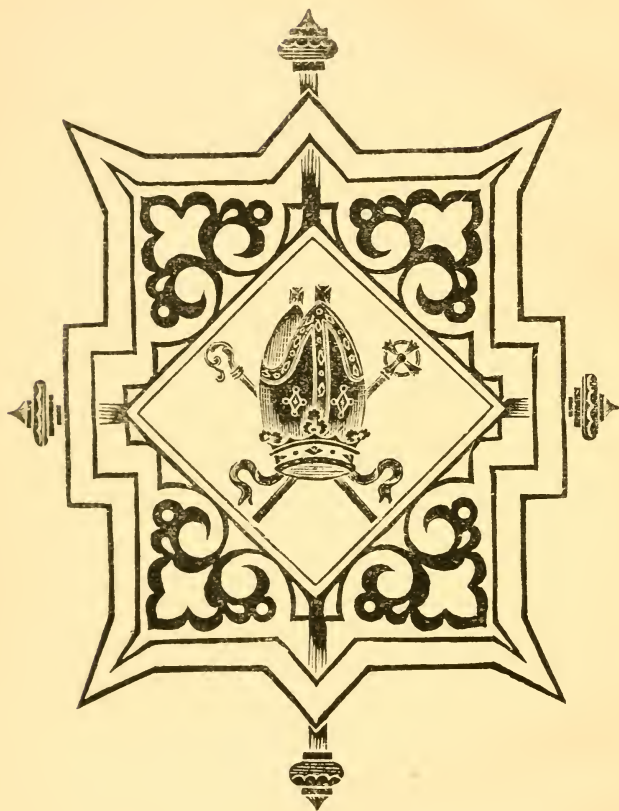
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
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STRYPE'S
MEMORIALS OF
ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

OXFORD:

PRINTED BY JAMES WRIGHT, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY,

FOR THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LIV.

✓
MEMORIALS

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

THOMAS CRANMER,

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

WHEREIN

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT, DURING THE PRIMACY OF THE SAID ARCH-
BISHOP, ARE GREATLY ILLUSTRATED; AND MANY SINGULAR
MATTERS RELATING THEREUNTO, NOW FIRST
PUBLISHED (1694.) IN THREE BOOKS.

COLLECTED CHIEFLY FROM RECORDS, REGISTERS, AUTHENTIC
LETTERS, AND OTHER ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

✓ BY

JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

VOL. III.

OXFORD:

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1854.



PREFACE TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

THE Editor of the third Volume of this Work must express his deep regret at the delay which has occurred in its publication, through the unforeseen and frequent interruptions occasioned by severe illness. Those who are practically aware of the continuous and minute attention necessary towards the due execution of a task of this kind, will understand the harassing nature of such impediments.

In editing and illustrating Strype's text, he has considered it a matter of obligation to conform to the general plan adopted in the preceding volumes. He has availed himself of the notes transferred to his care by the former Editor; but as he is of course wholly responsible for their correctness and due application, they have been revised and corrected throughout, his own judgment being exercised as to retrenchments and additions. The latter are not numerous. The only document of this part of the work which has not been collated with the original is Morice's declaration concerning Cranmer, pp. 357—374.

With respect, however, to the Appendix and the Addenda, his labours have been altogether independent. The originals or ancient copies of

each article have been verified by the Editor, or under his direction, the greater part of the collations and transcripts being made by his own hand. The spelling, punctuation, and paragraphs of the oldest accessible documents have been strictly preserved. This method, (which was but partially and inaccurately pursued by Strype) is one which many writers of high authority do not sanction. To the present Editor, however, it is a matter of conscience, as he conceives that a document stands in a very different light when transcribed as a record, from what it does when quoted as an historical illustration. In the former case, it is difficult to say how many various purposes (antiquarian and philological, for example) may be served, or how far the evidences of history may be strengthened, by a strict attention to details confessedly trivial in themselves.

And here it may be observed, that though the Errata at the end of the volume are more numerous than could be wished, they consist, in a very large proportion, of the correction of such minute errors, as the substitution of an *i* for a *y*, or the omission or insertion of the final *e*; in short, of those mistakes which are almost unavoidable during the collation of originals, when the same word perhaps varies in its spelling several times in the same sentence. But he thought it would not be honest to his readers, were these passed by unnoticed; as the real value of his own

system, whatever that may be, would thus be rendered almost nugatory. He has gone over the whole volume for this purpose, and has not knowingly left one error, however trivial, unrecorded.

The additions in the Appendix and Addenda consist of the following documents, hitherto unpublished:—No. 89*, Cardinal Pole's Letter to Abp. Cranmer about the Eucharist; No. 103*, Morice's Second Petition to Queen Elizabeth: Addenda, No. 1, Strype's MS. Notes preserved in Balliol Coll. Library; Addenda, No. 3, Abp. Cranmer's Collection from the Canon Law; (promised in pp. viii. and 476 of the first volume;) Addenda, No. 4, the Orders of Abp. Cranmer's Household; with the two following from the Letters of the Martyrs; No. 86*, Bradford's Letter to Hopkins; and No. 88**, the Abp.'s two Letters to Queen Mary. He has also reinserted No. 67, King Edward's Devise, literally copied from the original, and No. 71*, the Abp.'s celebrated Declaration, with the various readings: and he has compiled a chronological list of Cranmer's Works, (No. 110,) and supplied an Index. The *Processus contra Cranmerum* is thrown into the Appendix, of which it forms No. 88*.

The Editor begs to express his respectful acknowledgments to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, for permission to use the necessary documents in the Lambeth Library. His grateful

thanks are due to the societies of Corpus Christi and Emmanuel Colleges, Cambridge, and of Balliol College, Oxford; to the Hon. Daniel Finch, Canterbury; to the Rev. William K. Clay, Ely; to Felix Knyvett, Esq., Lambeth Palace; to the Rev. Henry O. Coxe, Bodleian Library; to Richard Jebb, Esq. and Archibald J. Stephens, Esq.; to the Rev. John J. S. Perowne, and the Rev. Edward H. Perowne, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; while he must not omit his special obligations to his nephew, Charles Spencer Perceval, Esq., for the zealous and valuable assistance rendered in accurate collations and transcripts.

J. J.

PETERSTOW RECTORY, ROSS,
30 August, 1854.

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OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK III.

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QUEEN MARY SOON RECOGNISED.—THE ARCHBISHOP
SLANDERED AND IMPRISONED.

I FIND the archbishop present among queen Jane's ^{Anno 1553.} counsellors^a: whose party seemed to be resolute for

^a [“When king Edward was dead, this Jane (Grey) was established in the kingdom by the nobles’ consent, and was forthwith published queen by proclamation at London, and in other cities, where was any great resort, and was there so taken and named. Between this young damsel and king Edward there was little difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues she was not only equal, but also superior unto him, being

instructed of a master right notably learned*. If her fortune had been as good as was her bringing up, joined with fineness of wit, undoubtedly she might have seemed comparable, not only to the house of the Vespasians, Sempronians, and mother of the Gracchies, yea, to any other women beside that deserved high praise for their singular learning; but also to the university men, which have taken many degrees of the schools. In the mean time

The archbishop’s and counsellors’ concern with lady Jane.

* John Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London.

her until the 19th of July. All these persons of

while these things were a working at London, Mary, which had knowledge of her brother's death, writeth to the lords of the council in form as followeth: 'A letter of the lady Mary, sent to the lords of the council, wherein she claimeth the crown after the decease of king Edward:

“ ‘ My lords, we greet you well, and have received sure advertisement that our dearest brother, the king, our late sovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy; which news how they be woful unto our heart, he only knoweth, to whose will, and pleasure we must, and do humbly submit us and our wills. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit, now after his majesty's departure and death, concerning the crown and governance of this realm of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the testament, and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know, the realm, and the whole world knoweth, the rolls and records appear by the authority of the king our said father, and the king our said brother, and the subjects of this realm; so that we verily trust that there is no good true subject, that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof, and of our part we have of ourselves caused, and as God shall aid and

strengthen us, shall cause our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that the dying of our said brother upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we consider your wisdoms and prudence to be such, that having eftsoons amongst you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case with our estate, with your own estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loyalty and service; and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst, and that ye yet will, like noblemen, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations, to undo the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and provisions forceable, wherewith ye be assembled and prepared, by whom and to what end, God and you know, and nature can but fear some evil. But be it that some consideration politic, or whatsoever thing else hath moved you thereto, yet doubt you not, my lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fully pardon the same, with that freely to eschew bloodshed and vengeance against all those that can

quality were with her in the Tower, consulting of affairs

or will intend the same; trusting also assuredly you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part, as appertaineth, and that we shall not be enforced to use the service of other our true subjects and friends, which in this our just and right cause, God, in whom our whole affiance is, shall send us. Wherefore, my lords, we require you, and charge you, and every of you, that every of you, of your allegiance, which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the surety of our person, only employ yourselves, and forthwith upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London, and other places, as to your wisdoms shall seem good, and as to this case appertaineth, not failing hereof as our very trust is in you. And thus our letter, signed with our hand, shall be sufficient warrant in this behalf. Given under our signet at our manor of Kenyngall, the ninth of July 1553.'

“ To this letter of the lady Mary, the lords of the council make answer again, as followeth:

“ Answer of the lords unto the lady Mary's letter:

“ ‘ Madam, we have received your letters the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you judge yourself to have to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions

thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that forasmuch as our sovereign lady, queen Jane, is, after the death of our sovereign lord, Edward the Sixth, a prince of most noble memory, invested and possessed with the just and right title in the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of old ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letters patents, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: We must, therefore, as of most bound * duty and allegiance [*sic] assent unto her said grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no less do, but for the quiet both of the realm and you also, to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce made between the king of famous memory, king Henry VIII, and the lady Katherine, your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of parliaments remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly

for her service: Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely^b, lord chancellor, the earl of Winchester, lord treasurer^c, the dukes of Suffolk^d and Northumberland^e; the earls of Bedford^f, Arundel^g,

made illegitimate and unhereditary to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rules and dominions, and possessions of the same: you will, upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line, and godly order taken by the late king, our sovereign lord, king Edward the Sixth, and agreed upon by the nobles and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady queen Jane her subjects from their true

faith and allegiance due unto her grace: assuring you, that if you will for respect shew yourself quiet and obedient, (as you ought,) you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and be glad with your quietness to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily well to fare. From the Tower of London, this 9. of July, 1553.

“Your ladyship’s friends, shewing yourself an obedient subject,

“THOMAS CANTERBURY.

THE MARQUES OF WINCHESTER.

JOHN BEDFORD.

WIL. NORTHHAMPTON.

THOM. ELY CHAUNCELLOUR.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

HENRY SUFFOLKE.

HENRY ARUNDELL.

SHREWESBURY.

PEMBROOKE.

COBHAM.

R. RICHE.

HUNTINGDON.

DARCY.

CHEYNEY.

R. COTTON.

JOHN GATES.

W. PETER.

W. CICELLE.

JOHN CHEEKE.

JOHN MASON.

EDWARD NORTH.

R. BOWES.’”

Foxe’s Acts and Monuments, pp. 1406, 7. ed. Lond. 1583.

^b [Thomas Goodrich.]

^c [See vol. ii. p. 11. n. x.]

^d [See vol. ii. p. 183, n. f.]

^e [See vol. ii. p. 206, n. o.]

^f [See vol. ii. p. 10, n. w.]

^g [Henry Fitzalan, earl of A-

rundel, lord chamberlain, one of the privy council at Edward VI’s accession, and one of the lords justices and lieutenants for Sussex, was appointed by the will of Henry VIII to assist his executors; he took part against the lord protector Somerset, and became one of

Shrewsbury^h, Pembrokeⁱ; the lords Darcy^k and

the governors of the king's person; "he had been one of the chief of those who had joined with the earl of Warwick (afterwards duke of Northumberland)" to pull down the protector; and being ill rewarded by him, as he thought, became his enemy; but was sent to the Tower as an adherent of the protector; having been fined he was set at liberty. Upon the death of Edward VI he became one of the counsellors for queen Jane, but acquainted the lady Mary of the king's death and of the plan respecting the succession; nevertheless he signed the council's letter to her announcing that the lady Jane Grey was queen. Out of hatred to the duke of Northumberland he induced the council to declare for queen Mary, and was sent with lord Paget by those counsellors who went over to her with a letter announcing their adherence to her cause. He became one of queen Mary's privy council and lord steward of her household; he was also sent to arrest the duke of Northumberland, and urged that he should be beheaded. He became one of the ambassadors to mediate a peace between France and Spain, and also one of the English plenipotentiaries for a peace between those countries and England, as well as one of the select committee appointed by king Philip for the regulation of affairs during his absence from England.

At the death of queen Mary he repaired to the lady Elizabeth at Hatfield, and though a strong papist, he remained one of her privy council from the commencement of her reign to his death, as well as lord steward, and commissioner for the care of the north; he died A. D. 1580.—See Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* Vol. ii. pp. 7, 36, 279, 286, 308, 369, 467, 471, 478, 479, 487, 503, 621, 735. pt. ii. pp. 12, 145. Vol. iii. pp. 490, 510. Ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 389, 497, 535; pt. ii. pp. 46, 47, 48, 159, 237, 291. Vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 21, 28, 346; ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's *Annals of the Reformat.* Vol. i. pt. i. p. 8; vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 305, 575, pt. ii. 316, 398, 707, 708. ed. Oxon. 1824.

^h [Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, was lord president of the north, and lieutenant of Derby, one of Edward VIth's privy council; he signed the limitation of the crown to the lady Jane Grey, and the council's letter to the lady Mary to acquaint her that the lady Jane Grey was queen, but speedily went over to queen Mary, and was present at her proclamation, and assisted at her coronation. He was one of her privy council, and, though a papist, was continued as such by queen Elizabeth, whom he attended upon her coming to London at her accession.—See Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii.

Paget^l; sir Thomas Cheiney^m, sir Richard Cottonⁿ, sir

pp. 471, 740, 752; pt. ii. p. 122, 487. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 361. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 32, 465. pt. ii. 160. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 21, 55, 57, 154, 215, 350; pt. ii. pp. 118, 160; ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 9, 41. pt. ii. p. 390. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

ⁱ [See vol. ii. p. 182. n. e.]

^k [See vol. ii. p. 420. n. r.]

^l [See vol. ii. p. 135. n. b.]

^m [Sir Thomas Cheiney, Cheney, or Cheyne, treasurer of the household, knight of the garter, and lord warden of the Cinque Ports, was one of the six gentlemen of Henry VIIIth's privy-chamber, an ambassador to France, and one of this king's privy council, by whose will he was appointed to assist his executors. He joined the council against the lord protector, and in the month of November, A. D. 1549, went as ambassador to the emperor Charles V, to acquaint him with the state of England, with particular respect to the late disorders about the duke of Somerset. In 1551 he was appointed lord lieutenant for Kent and Canterbury. He signed Edward VIth's limitation of the crown, and the council's letter to the lady Mary to acquaint her that the lady Jane Grey was queen; but speedily declared for queen Mary, and assisted at her proclamation and coronation. By

her he was sent as ambassador to the emperor, and became one of her privy counsellors. He was appointed to attend queen Elizabeth when coming to London, and was one of her privy council, and treasurer of her household. He died December 8, A. D. 1558, and in the following January was buried in great state in the Isle of Sheppy. — See Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. ii. p. 179. ed. Lond. 1840. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 94, 565. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 292, 449, 465. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 21, 28, 56. pt. ii. p. 160. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 46. pt. ii. p. 391. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 707, 708. ed. Oxon. 1824. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 7, 12, 35, 36, 122, 280, 288, 471, 478, 752. pt. ii. pp. 12, 145. vol. iii. p. 356. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

ⁿ [Sir Richard Cotton was one of Edward VIth's privy council, his treasurer at Boulogne, and comptroller of his household. Although he joined the party favouring the cause of the lady Jane Grey, and signed the letter to the lady Mary acquainting her that the former was queen, he yet appended his name to the letter directing the duke of Northumberland to lay down his arms. He died of fever in the month of October, A. D. 1556.—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 460, 587. pt. ii. pp. 161, 163; vol. iii. pt. i.

William Petre^o, sir John Cheke^p, sir John Baker^q, sir Robert Bowes^r, being all of her council. All which (excepting Northumberland) signed a letter, dated July 19, to the lord Rich^s, lord lieutenant of the county of Essex, who had signified to them that the earl of Oxford^t was fled to the lady Mary. In their letter they exhorted him to stand true and tight to queen Jane, as they said they did, and would do. It was penned by Cheke; for secretary Cecyl was absent, and Petre, the other secretary, though present, did it not, though he signed it. The letter is in the Appendix. The day before this letter was sent, viz. July 18, there being a rising in Buckinghamshire, and the parts thereabouts, queen Jane herself, thinking herself sure of sir John Bridges^u and sir Nicolas Poyntz, signed a letter

Number
LXIX.

p. 504. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 471. pt. ii. pp. 90, 123. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^o [See vol. ii. p. 123. n. a.]

^p [See vol. ii. p. 168. n. e.]

^q [See vol. ii. p. 111. n. a.]

^r [Sir Robert Bowes, warden of the marches in the north, was one of Edward VIth's privy council, and lord lieutenant of Middlesex, and master of the rolls.—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 360. pt. ii. pp. 161, 163. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 76, 122.]

^s [See vol. i. p. 202: vol. ii. pp. 92, 99, 139.]

^t [i. e. John Vere, sixteenth earl of Oxford, was one of the lords lieutenant of Essex, and attended queen Mary, as lord great chamberlain, upon her entry into London. He was also one of the

noblemen who attended queen Elizabeth upon her coming to London.—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i, p. 464; vol. iii. pt. i. p. 54. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. p. 391. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

^u [Sir John Bridges speedily deserted the cause of the lady Jane Grey. He escorted the lady Elizabeth on the occasion of her visit of congratulation to her sister queen Mary on her accession. He afterwards became lieutenant of the tower, and held the lady Elizabeth in his custody, from which she was removed on the ground of his shewing her too much respect. He was created baron Chandos, April 8, A.D. 1554; he died, A.D. 1557, and was buried May 2.—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 22, 186; pt. ii. p. 4. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Annals of

to them, therein ordering them to raise with speed all the power they could of their servants, tenants, officers, and friends, to allay that tumult: and so she had written to other gentlemen in those parts to do. This letter also I have put in the Appendix.

Number
LXX.
They de-
clare for
queen
Mary.

And yet, (to see the vicissitude of men's minds, and uncertainty of human affairs,) July 20, divers of those very counsellors, that but the day before set their hands resolvedly to stand by queen Jane, proclaimed queen Mary in the city of London, and immediately dispatched the
304 earl of Arundel and the lord Paget unto her with a letter, writ from Baynard's Castle, (where they now were removed from the Tower.) In which letter "they beg her pardon, and to remit their former infirmities, and assure her, calling God to witness to the same, that they were ever in their hearts her true subjects since the king's death: but could not utter their minds before that time without great destruction and bloodshed of themselves and others." The copy of this letter may be read in the Appendix.

Number
LXXI.
And write
to Nor-
thumber-
land to lay
down his
arms.

Stow.

The same day the council wrote to the duke of Northumberland their letters dated from Westminster, sent by an herald: wherein the duke was commanded and charged, in queen Mary's name, to disarm and discharge his soldiers, and to forbear his return to the city, until the queen's pleasure. And the same was to be declared to the marquis of Northampton, and all other gentlemen that were with him. The herald was also, by virtue of his letters from the council, to notify in all places where he came, "that if the duke did not submit himself to the queen's highness, he should be taken as a traitor, and

the Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. p. 25. vol. iii. p. 437. pt. ii. p. 333. ed.
ed. Oxon. 1824. Burnet's Hist. Oxon. 1829.]
of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 728, 9;

they of the late king's council would persecute him to his utter confusion." And thus far our archbishop went. For this was signed by him, and the bishop of Ely, lord chancellor; the marquis of Winchester, the duke of Suffolk, the earls of Bedford, Shrewsbury, Pembroke; the lord Darcy, sir Richard Cotton; Petre and Cecyl, secretaries; sir John Baker, sir John Mason^x, sir Robert Bowes. The duke saw it in vain to oppose, and so submitted to this order: and the plot that his ambition had been framing so long, and with so much art, fell on a sudden^y.

^x [Sir John Mason, who had been ambassador to France in the reign of Edward VI, a privy counsellor and secretary for the French tongue, speedily gave in his adherence to the cause of queen Mary with the other counsellors. He was sent by her as ambassador to the emperor, and became one of her privy counsellors, as well as chancellor of the University of Oxford, which he resigned in favour of cardinal Pole; upon the accession of queen Elizabeth, although he was a papist, he is found amongst the number of her first privy council.—See Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 359, 473; pt. ii. pp. 161, 164, 191; vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 7, 475; pt. ii. p. 160. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. pp. 304, 471, 478, 752. pt. ii. pp. 13, 16, 37, 122, 282; vol. iii. p. 454. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^y [“The 20th of July, John, duke of Northumberland, being then in Cambridge, and having sure knowledge that the lady Mary

was by the nobility and others of the council remaining at London proclaimed queen; about 5 of the clock the same night, he, with such other of the nobility as were in his company, came to the market cross of the town, and calling for an herald, himself proclaimed queen Mary, and among other he threw up his own cap, and within an hour after he had letters from the council, by the hands of Richard Rose, herald: dated at Westminster the 20th of June, in form following: ‘In the name of our sovereign lady Mary, the queen, to be declared to the duke of Northumberland, and all other of his band of what degree soever they be. Ye shall command and charge in the queen's highness' name, the said duke to disarm himself, and to cease all his men of war: and to suffer no part of his army to do any villany, or any thing contrary to the peace: and himself to forbear his coming to this city, until the queen's pleasure be expressly declared unto him. And if

The queen
owned by
the ambas-
sadors.

Very speedily queen Mary was owned abroad, as well as at home : Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury^z, sir William Pickering^a, sir Thomas Chaloner^b, ambassadors in France, with their letters to her and the council, acknowledging her, and ceasing any further to act as ambassadors. She continued Dr. Wotton, and sent for Pickering and Cha-

he will show himself like a good quiet subject, we will then continue as we have begun, as humble suitors to our sovereign lady the queen's highness for him and his, and for ourselves. And if he do not, we will not fail to spend our lives in subduing him and his.

“ Item, ye shall declare the like matter to the marquis of Northampton, and all other noblemen and gentlemen, and to all men of war being with any of them.

“ Item, ye shall in all places where ye come, notify it: if the duke of Northumberland do not submit himself to the queen's highness, queen Mary, he shall be accepted as a traitor. And all we of the nobility that were counsellors to the late king, will to the uttermost persecute him and his to their utter confusion. Thomas Cant. archbishop; Thomas Ely, chancellor; William Winchester, marquis; I. Bedford, earl; H. Suffolk, duke; F. Shrewsbury, earl; W. Pembrough, earl; Thomas Darcy, lord chamberlain; R. Cotton; W. Peter, secretary; W. Cecill, second secretary; I. C. I. Baker, chancellor of the tenths; I. Mason, master of requests; R. Bowes,

master of the rolls.’ The rumour of these letters was no sooner abroad, but every man departed. And shortly after, the duke was arrested in the king's college by one master Slegge, sergeant at arms.”—Stow's Annals, p. 612. ed. Lond. 1631.]

^z [See vol. i. p. 159. n. d.]

^a [Sir William Pickering “served four princes, viz. Henry VIII, Edward VI, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth. To the first he served in the wars; to the second he was ambassador to the court of France; to the third, viz. to queen Mary, he served in an embassy into Germany; and to queen Elizabeth ‘summis officiis devotissimus.’” He was also one of queen Elizabeth's suitors; he died ætat. 58. A. D. 1574.—See Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 529, 530. ed. Oxon. 1824. pt. ii. pp. 93, 103. Life of Abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 164. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

^b [Sir Thomas Chaloner was one of the clerks of the privy council in the reign of Edward VI, and was sent as ambassador to France in that reign. He was afterwards employed by queen Elizabeth in the same capacity in the Netherlands and in Spain.—

loner home ; and sent sir Anthony St. Leger^c, the beginning of August, ambassador thither, joined with Wotton, This determination the council, August 12, signified to the said three ambassadors.

But now to cast our eyes upon the state of religion at this time. Upon this access of queen Mary to the crown, whose interest as well as education made her a zealous Papist, the good progress of religion was quite overthrown ; and the pious archbishop's pains and long endeavours in a great measure frustrated ; and he himself soon after exercised with great afflictions. The first pretended occasion of which was this. It was reported abroad, soon after king Edward's death, that the archbishop had offered to sing the mass and *requiem* at the burial of that king, either before the queen, or at St. Paul's church, or any where else ; and that he had said or restored mass already in Canterbury. This indeed had the suffragan of Dover, Dr. Thornton, done^d ; but without the archbishop's consent or knowledge^e.

The archbishop misreported to have said mass.

See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 68, 78, 93, 103, 164 ; vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 143. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. p. 98. ed. Oxon. 1824. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 451 ; pt. ii. p. 45. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^c [Sir Anthony St. Leger was lord deputy of Ireland in the reign of Edward VI ; he assisted at the coronation of queen Mary, and was sent by her as ambassador to France. He was called to account by queen Elizabeth at the beginning of her reign for his maleadministration, whilst he was lord deputy of Ireland.—See Strype's Eccl. Mem.

vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 359, 470-472 ; vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 56, 105. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 21, 34. ed. Oxon. 1824. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 284, 420, 422, 425. pt. ii. pp. 7, 25, 26, 32, 64, 74, 82. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^d [See Wharton's Observations, vol. i. p. 513.]

^e [“ In this mean time it was noised abroad by running rumours falsely and craftily devised, either to stablish the credit of the mass, or else to bring Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, out of credit, that he, to curry favour with queen Mary, should promise

Mass at
Canter-
bury.

But however, such good impressions of religion had the archbishop left at Canterbury, that, though mass was set

to say Dirige mass, after the old custom, for king Edward, and that he had already said mass at Canterbury, &c. Wherefore to stop the noise and slander of those rumours, the said Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, the 7. day of September (A. D. 1554), set forth a letter, which was also printed, in purgation of himself." "While these things were in doing, a rumour was in all men's mouths, that the archbishop, to curry favour with the queen, had promised to say a 'Dirige' mass after the old custom, for the funeral of king Edward, her brother. Neither wanted there some, which reported that he had already said mass at Canterbury; which mass indeed was said by D. Thornton. This rumour Cranmer thinking speedily to stay, gave forth a writing in his purgation. . . . This bill being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, cometh in by chance M. Scory, bishop then of Rochester, who, after he had read and perused the same, required of the archbishop to have a copy of the bill. The archbishop, when he had granted and permitted the same to M. Scory, by the occasion thereof, M. Scory lending it to some friend of his, there were divers copies taken out thereof, and the thing published

abroad among the common people, insomuch that every scrivener's shop almost was occupied in writing and copying out the same, and so at length some of these copies coming to the bishop's hands, and so brought to the council, and they sending it to the commissioners, the matter was known, and so he commanded to appear. Whereupon D. Cranmer, at his day prefixed, appeared before the said commissioners, bringing a true inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a bishop* of the queen's privy council, being one of the said commissioners, after the inventory was received, bringing in mention of the bill; 'My lord,' said he, 'there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you seem to be agrieved with setting up the mass again; we doubt not but you are sorry that it is gone abroad.' To whom the archbishop answered again, saying, 'As I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill or letter, so much I confess here unto you concerning the same bill, that I am sorry that the said bill went from me in such sort as it did; for when I had written it, M. Scory got the copy of me, and is now come abroad, and, as I understand, the city is full of it; for which I am sorry that it so passed my hands:

[* "This bishop was D. Heathe, bishop of York."—*Fove.*]

up there, and priests were through fear forced to say it, yet it was utterly contrary to their wills. And, about new-year's-tide, there was a priest said mass there one day, and the next came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him. For he said, "he had be- 305 trayed Christ; but not as Judas did, but Peter." And then he made a long sermon against the mass^f.

But the aforesaid slanderous report so troubled the archbishop, that, to stay it, he wrote a letter to a friend of his, that he never made any promise of saying mass, nor that he did set up the mass in Canterbury: but that it was done by "a false, flattering, lying monk, Dr. Thorn- den," (such a character in his just anger he gave him,) who was suffragan of Dover, and vicedean of that church, in the absence of Dr. Wotton, who was then abroad in embassy. This Thornden, saith my manuscript, (writ but Foxii MSS. a few years after by Scory^g, or Becon^h, as I conjecture,) was "a man having neither wit, learning, nor honesty. And yet his wit is very ready. For he preacheth as well *extempore*, as at a year's warning: so learnedly, that no man can tell what he chiefly intendeth or goeth about to

Which he makes a public declaration against.

for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have set it on Paul's church door, or on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own seal joined thereto.' At which words, when they saw the constantness of the man, they dismissed him, affirming they had no more at that present to say unto him, but that shortly he should hear further."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1465, 1871. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^f ["About this time (i. e. new year's day, A. D. 1554) a priest at Canterbury said mass on the one day, and the next after he came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him, for he said, he had betrayed Christ, but not as Judas did, but as Peter did, and there made a long sermon against the mass."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1467. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^g [See vol. ii. p. 258. n. f. p. 349. n. l.]

^h [See vol. ii. p. 377. n. m.]

prove: so aptly, that a gross of points is not sufficient to tie his sermon together: not unlike to Jodocus a monk, of whom Erasmus maketh mention in his Colloquies, who, if he were not garnished with these glorious titles, monk, doctor, vicedean, and suffragan, were worthy to walk openly in the streets with a bell and cock's comb.ⁱ Besides this letter, the archbishop resolved to do something in a more public manner, in vindication of the reformation, as well as of himself. So he devised a declaration; wherein he both apologized for himself against this false report, and made a brave challenge, with the assistance of Peter Martyr, and a few more, to maintain, by disputation with any man, the reformation made under king Edward^k. This declaration, after a first draft of it, he intended to

ⁱ [MSS. Life of abp. Cranmer. Harl. MSS. 417. fol. 92. British Museum. Original.]

^k ["About the 5. day of September the same year, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had been commanded to keep his house, and found there the archbishop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the book of Common Prayer, both by the Scriptures and doctors, assisted by Peter Martyr and a few other But whilst they were in hope to come to disputations, the archbishop and other were imprisoned, but Peter Martyr was suffered to return whence he came."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1409. ed. Lond. 1583. "And as touching Cranmer, of whom mention was made before, forso-much as there was a rumour

spread of him the same time at London, that he had recanted, and caused mass to be said at Canterbury, for purging of himself he published abroad a declaration of his truth and constancy in that behalf, protesting that he neither had so done, nor minded so to do: adding moreover, that if it would so please the queen, he with Peter Martyr, and certain other, whom he would choose, would in open disputation sustain the cause of doctrine taught and set forth before in the time of king Edward, against all persons whomsoever. But while he was in expectation to have this disputation obtained, he with other bishops were laid fast in the Tower, and P. Martyr permitted to depart the realm, and so went he to Argentine."—Id. p. 1418.]

enlarge; and then, being sealed with his own seal, to set it upon the doors of St. Paul's church, and other churches in London. This writing, wherein the good religion and doctrine practised and taught in the former reign was so nobly owned, and offered to be defended in such a public manner, was not only read by somebody boldly in Cheapside, but many copies thereof were taken; and so became dispersed^k. It was also soon after printed in Latin^l, and, I suppose, in English too. Sure I am, in the year 1557, it was printed beyond sea by the exiles: from which print I shall here transcribe it, being sent from Grindal to John Foxe, for his use in the writing his history.

A declaration of the reverend father in God Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, condemning the untrue and slanderous report of some, which have reported, That he should set up the mass at Canterbury, at the first coming of the queen to her reign; 1553. [Appendix, Number LXXI*.]

“AS the devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar, and the father of lying; even so hath he stirred his servants and members to persecute Christ, and his true word and religion. Which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present. For whereas the most noble prince of famous memory, king Henry VIII, seeing the great abuses of the Latin masses, reformed something herein in his 306 time; and also our late sovereign lord king Edward VI

^l [See above, p. 11. n. e.]

^m [For the Latin version of this declaration, see Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 349. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

ⁿ [For much interesting information concerning this declaration, various accounts and printed copies of which are preserved in

Emmanuel and C. C. C. Cambridge, Harl. MSS. 417. British Museum, Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 14. ed. Lond. 1844, &c., see Jenkyns's Rem. of abp. Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 1. and abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. i. pp. 428-430. Park. Soc. Ed.]

took the same whole away, for the manifold errors and abuses thereof, and restored in the place thereof Christ's holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the apostles in the primitive church used the same in the beginning: the devil goeth about by lying to overthrow the Lord's holy supper, and to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device. And, to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass before the queen's highness, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies: and have not been much grieved thereat, and have borne all things quietly. Yet when untrue reports and lies turn to the hinderance of God's truth, they be in no wise to be tolerate and suffered. Wherefore these be to signify to the world, that it was not I that did set up the mass at Canterbury; but was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk, which caused the mass to be set up there, without my advice or counsel.

“And as for offering myself to say mass before the queen's highness, or in any other place, I never did, as her grace knoweth well. But if her grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove against all that will say the contrary; and that the Communion Book, set forth by the most innocent and godly prince, king Edward VI, in his high court of parliament, is conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and command to be observed, and which his apostles and primitive church used many years. Whereas the mass, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, his apostles, nor the primitive church, but also is manifest

contrary to the same: and containeth many horrible blasphemies in it. And although many, either unlearned, or maliciously, do report, that Mr. Peter Martyr is unlearned; yet if the queen's highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said Mr. Peter Martyr, and other four or five which I shall choose, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, that not only our Common Prayers of the churches, ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also that all the doctrine and religion, by our said sovereign lord king Edward VI. is more pure and according to God's word, than any that hath been used in England these thousand years: so that God's word may be the judge, and that the reason and proofs may be set out in writing. To the intent as well all the world may examine and judge them, as that no man shall start back from their writing: and what faith hath been in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will join with them in this point: and that the doctrine and usage is to be followed, which was in the church fifteen hundred years past. And we shall prove, that the order of the church, set out at this present in this church of England by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past. And so shall they **307** never be able to prove theirs."

Some copies of this declaration soon fell into the hands of certain bishops, who brought them to the council. The council sent a copy to the queen's commissioners: who soon after ordered him to appear before them, and to bring in an inventory of his goods. The reason, as is alleged, of his being ordered to bring in this inventory, was, because it was then intended that he should have a sufficient living assigned him, and to keep his house, and not meddle with religion. So on the day appointed, which was August 27, the archbishop, together with sir

[Appendix,
Number
LXXI.*]
Appears before the
commissioners at
Paul's.

Thomas Smith^b, secretary of state to king Edward, and May^c, dean of St. Paul's, came before the queen's commissioners in the consistory of Paul's: and the archbishop brought in his inventory. We are left to guess what he was now cited for. I suppose, it was to lay to his charge heresy, and his marriage; what more was done with him at this time I find not. He retired to his house at Lambeth, where he seemed to be confined^d.

And before
the council.

For about the beginning of August, as may be collected from a letter of the archbishop's to Cecyl, he was before the council, about the lady Jane's business, without all question^e: and then, with the severe reprimands he received, was charged to keep his house, and be forthcoming. At that time he espied Cecyl, who was in the same condemnation; and would fain have spoken with him, but durst not, as he told him in a letter dated August 14; as it seems, out of his love and care of him, lest his very

^b [See vol. ii. p. 123. n. a.]

^c [See vol. ii. p. 123. n. b.]

^d [See Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 359. Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 441, 2. Park. Soc. ed.]

^e ["At Westminster the 13th of September, 1553.—The archbishop of Canterbury, appearing this day before the lords, was commanded to appear the next day before them at afternoon at the Star Chamber."—MS. Council Book. A. D. 1553-1557. fol. 17, 18. Privy Council office. Original. "At the Star Chamber, the 14th of September, 1553.—This present day Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, appearing before the lords, (as he was the

day before appointed). After long and serious debating of his offence, by the whole board it was thought convenient, that, as well for the treason committed by him against the queen's highness, as for the aggravating of the same his offence, by spreading abroad seditious bills, moving tumults to the disquietness of the present estate, he should be committed to the Tower, there to remain, and be referred to justice, or further ordered as shall stand with the queen's pleasure."—Id. fol. 18, 19. See also Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1410. ed. Lond. 1583. Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 175.]

talking with Cecyl might have been prejudicial to that pardon which we now lay fair for. But by letter he desired him to come over to him to Lambeth, because he would gladly commune with him, to hear how matters went, and for some other private causes, Cecyl being now at liberty. September 13 following, the archbishop was again summoned to appear that day before the queen's council. Then he appeared, and was dismissed; but commanded to be the next day in the star-chamber. And so he was. The effect of which appearance was, that he was committed to the Tower, partly for setting his hand to the instrument of the lady Jane's succession, and partly for the public offer he made a little before of justifying openly the religious proceedings of the deceased king. But the chief reason was, the inveterate malice his enemies conceived against him for the divorce of king Henry from the queen's mother: the blame of which they laid wholly upon him, though bishop Gardiner and other bishops were concerned in it as deep as he. In the Tower we leave the good archbishop a while, after we have told you, that, soon after the queen coming^f to the Tower, some of the archbishop's friends made humble suit for his

^f [“Whither,” (i. e. to the Tower,) “queen Mary shortly after repaired, to whom the said archbishop by his friends made humble suit for his pardon; but she as well for his religion sake, as also because he had been a worker in the divorce of her father and mother, would neither hear him or see him.”—MS. Life of abp. Cranmer. Harl. MSS. 417. fol. 92. British Museum. Original. “The rest of the nobles, paying fines, were forgiven, the archbishop of Canter-

bury only excepted, who, though he desired pardon by means of friends, could obtain none: inso-much that the queen would not once vouchsafe to see him: for as yet the old grudges against the archbishop for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Besides this divorce, she remembered the state of religion changed: all which was reputed to the archbishop, as the chief cause thereof.”—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1871.]

pardon, and that he might have access to her: but she would neither hear him nor see him.

The arch-
bishop of
York com-
mitted to
the Tower;
and his
goods
seized;
C.C.C.C.
Librar.

Miscell. B.
308
At Batter-
sea.

Holgate^g also, the other archbishop, about the begin-
ning of October, was committed to the Tower^h, upon pre-
tence of treason, or great crimes: but chiefly, I suppose,
because he was rich. And, while he was there, they
rifled his houses at Battersea and Cawood. ⁱAt his former
house they seized in gold coined three hundred pounds;
in specialties and good debts, four hundred pounds more;
in plate gilt and parcel gilt, sixteen hundred ounces: a
mitre of fine gold with two pendants, set round about the
sides and midst with very fine pointed diamonds, sap-
phires, and balists, and all the plain with other good
stones and pearls, and the pendants in like manner,
weighing one hundred twenty five ounces. Six or seven
great rings of fine gold, with stones in them; whereof
were three fine blue sapphires of the best; an emerald,
very fine; a good turkois, and a diamond; a serpent's
tongue set in a standard of silver, gilt and graven; the
archbishop's seal in silver, his signet, an old antick in
gold: the counterpane of his lease of Wotton, betwixt the
late duke of Northumberland and him, with letters patents
of his purchase of Scrowby.

At Cawood. Taken from Cawood, and other places appertaining to
the archbishop, by one Ellis Markham; first, in ready
money, nine hundred pounds: two mitres; in plate, parcel

^g [See vol. i. p. 289. n. ^u.]

^h ["At Westminster, the 4th
of October, 1553.—The archbi-
shop of York was for divers his
offences this day committed to
the Tower."—MS. Council Book.
A. D. 1553-1557. fol. 25, 6. Privy
Council office. Original.]

ⁱ [No. cv. p. 335. intituled,

“Monye specyalties of dettes,
plate, jewels, and writings left at
Battersea by Robert [Holgate]
late archbishop of York, when he
was comnytted to the Tower, or
which has been since taken from
Cawood and other places by Ellys
Markham.”]

gilt, seven hundred and seventy ounces; and gilt plate, eleven hundred fifty seven ounces; one broken cross of silver gilt, with one image broken, weighing forty six ounces; three obligations, one 37*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; another for 15*l.*; another for 10*l.* Sold by the said Markham five score beasts, and four hundred muttons. Sold all the sheep belonging to the archbishop, supposed to be two thousand five hundred. Moreover, he took away two Turkey carpets of wool, as big and as good as any subject had: also a chest, full of copes and vestments of cloth of tissue: two very good beds of down, and six of the best young horses that were at Cawood. Proffered to make sale of all his household stuff in five houses; three very well furnished, and two metely well. Sold all his stores of household: wheat, two hundred quarters; malt, five hundred quarters; oats, sixty quarters; wine, five or six ton. Fish and ling, six or seven hundred, with very much household store; as fuel, hay, with many other things necessary for household. Horses at Cawood, young and old, four or five score: they received rent of his own land, five hundred pounds yearly at the least. This was done by this Markham, upon pretence that he was guilty of treason, or great crimes. He gave to many persons money to the value of an hundred pounds and above, that they should give information against him. Besides, they took away good harness and artillery sufficient for seven score men. All this spoil was committed when he was cast in the Tower. Of all this injury he made a schedule afterwards, and complained thereof to the lords. By this one instance, which I have set down at large, as I extracted it from a paper in the Benet college library, we may judge what havock was made of the professors of religion, in their estates as well as their persons; as this bishop was served, before any crime was proved against him.

Thus the other archbishop (of York) was not to go without animadversion, any more than he of Canterbury. The former lay eighteen months in the Tower, and was deposed at last for being married, as well as Cranmer.

Of this Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, (at which were present king Philip and cardinal Pole,) gave, as he thought, this nipping gird:

Gardiner's
passage of
the two
archbi-
shops.

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“Thus while we desired to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass, that we had no head at all; no, not so much as our two archbishops. For that on one side, the queen, being a woman, could not be head of the church; and on the other side, they were both convicted of one crime, and so deposed^k.” This archbishop of York continued in prison till 1554, when the queen granted the request of the new king for the liberty of a great many prisoners, whereof this prelate was one. He died the next year through grief (as it is probable) and suffering.

^k [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1479 et seqq.]

CHAPTER II.

PROTESTANT BISHOPS AND CLERGY CAST INTO PRISONS,
AND DEPRIVED.

INDEED in this first entrance of queen Mary's reign, it was a wonder to see that fierceness that it was ushered in with; the Papists thinking that this rigour at first would terrify all out of their former principles of true religion, and bring them to the devotion of the church of Rome again. And it was as marvellous to observe the steadfastness of the generality of the professors. "This queen began her reign after that manner, (I use the words of one that lived in that time,) that it might be conjectured, what she was like after to prove: sending up for abundance of people to appear before the council, either upon the lady Jane's business, or the business of religion; and committing great numbers into prisons. And indeed she boasted herself a virgin sent of God to ride and tame the people of England."

To explain somewhat these austerities. They thought fit to begin with the protestant clergy, bishops and others. For this purpose a commission was directed to the bishops of London^m, Winchesterⁿ, Chichester^o, and Durham^p, men sufficiently soured in their tempers by what befel them in the last reign. These were to discharge the protestant bishops and ministers of their offices and places, upon pretence either of treason, heresy, or marriage, or the like, to make way for their own men. "Thus John

This reign begins with rigour.

Hales' oration. [Harl. MS. 419. fol. 143. British Mus. Orig. Foxe, pp. 2116-2119.]

The protestant bishops deprived.

Registr. Eccl. Cant.

¹ [Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1408, 1418.]

^m [Edmund Boner.]

ⁿ [Stephen Gardiner.]

^o [George Day.]

^p [Cuthbert Tostal.]

Tayler^q, bishop of Lincoln, was deprived, because he had a bad title, there being this clause in the letters patents, whereby he was made bishop, *Quamdiu bene se gesserit*, and because he thought amiss concerning the Eucharist. John Hoper^r was deprived of the bishoprick of Worcester, by the restitution of Nicolas Hethe^s, formerly deprived: and removed from the see of Gloucester for his marriage, and other demerits. John Harley^t, bishop of Hereford, deprived for wedlock and heresy. Robert Farrar^u, bishop of St. David's, deprived for wedlock and heresy. William Barlow^x, bishop of Bath, made a voluntary resignation. The bishoprick of Rochester was void three years, since Scory^y was translated to Chichester. John Bird^z, an old man, married, was deprived of the bishoprick of Chester. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, (for I do but transcribe now out of the register of the church of Canterbury,) being called into question for high treason, by his own confession was
 310 judged guilty thereof: whence, in the month of December, the see of Canterbury became vacant. Robert Holgate^a, archbishop of York was deprived for wedlock, and was cast into the Tower, and led a private life. The like happened to Miles Coverdale^b of Exeter, by the restoring John Voysey, who, out of fear, had formerly resigned. Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, formerly deprived, was restored. Edmund Boner, bishop of London, restored: Nicolas Ridley being removed from the said see, and cast

^q [See vol. ii. p. 36. n. n. and p. 413.]

^r [See vol. ii. p. 123. n. d. and p. 205. n. n.]

^s [See vol. i. p. 205. n. t.]

^t [See vol. ii. p. 223. n. i. and p. 439.]

^u [See vol. ii. p. 107. n. p.]

^x [See vol. ii. p. 107. n. a. and p. 132. n. p.]

^y [See vol. ii. p. 258. n. f. and p. 349. n. l.]

^z [See vol. i. p. 136. n. p.]

^a [See above, p. 20. n. h.]

^b [See vol. ii. p. 347. n. i.]

into prison for making an ill sermon, and being noted for heretical pravity. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, restored: John Poinet^c being ejected and imprisoned, and deprived of episcopacy for being married." To which I must add, the see of Bristol, resigned by Paul Bush^d, the bishop thereof.

How they proceeded with the inferior clergy in general for being married, may be measured by their proceedings with the clergy of London and Canterbury, which we shall see by and by: so that king Edward's clergy were now in the very beginning of this queen very hardly used. "Some were deprived, never convict, no^e, never called;" (I use the words of an author that lived in that queen's reign, and felt her severity;) "some called that were fast locked in prison, and yet nevertheless deprived immediately. Some deprived without the case^f of marriage after their order^g. Some induced to resign upon promise of pension, and the promise, as yet, never performed. Some so deprived, that they were spoiled of their wages, for the which they served the half year before; and not ten days before the receipt sequestered from it. Some prevented from^h the half year's receipt, after charges of tenths and

The hard usage of the inferior clergy.

Mr. Rich. Wilks. Dr. Parker.

Mr. Bradford, Bullingham, and May. A great number.

Dr. Ponet, Tayler, Parker.

^c [See vol. ii. p. 131. n. 9. and p. 309.]

^d [See vol. i. p. 227.—"Paulus Bush (rector monasterii omnium sanctorum de Edyngton Com. Wilt. Rym. T. xiv. page 638.) e gymnasio Oxoniensi S. Theologiæ Baccalaureus, monachorum provincialis qui 'boni homines' appellati sunt, vir in studio tam medicinæ quam theologiæ probe versatus, cum scriptis editis non paucis eruditionis specimen edidisset, in episcopum Bristolien-

consecratus est secundo Junii, (Jun. 25, 1542. in Eccles. Paroch. de Hampton, registr. Cranm. f. 285.) 1542. Sub Maria regina præsulatu exactus quod uxorem duxisset, paucis ante ipsam diebus, ab hac luce infeliciter subtractus est."—Godwin de Præsul. pp. 563, 4. Ed. Cantab. 1743.—See also Le Neve's Fasti, p. 48.]

^e ["no nor never." Strype.]

^f ["cause." Strype.]

^g ["orders." Strype.]

^h ["his." Strype.]

Preface to
the *Defence*
of *Priests'*
Marriage^h.
[fol. 13. b.]

Mr. Ayl-
mer.

Harbour
for *faithful*
Subjects^l.
[sign. O.
1. verso.]

Professors
cast into the
Marshalsea.

Win-
chester's
alms.

subsidy paid, and yet not deprived six weeks after. Some deprived of their receipts somewhat afore the day, with the which their fruits to the queen's Majesty should be contented. And in general the deprivations were so speedily, so headilyⁱ, without warning, &c. The bishops (saith another writer and sufferer in these days) that were married were thrust out of the parliament house^j before any law, and all married deans and archdeacons out of the convocation: many put out of their livings, and others restored, without force^k of law. Yea, some noblemen and gentlemen were deprived of those lands which the king had given them, without tarrying for any law, lest my lord of Winchester should have lost his quarter's rent. Many churches were changed, many altars set up, many masses said, many dirges sung, before the law was repealed. All was done in post haste."

Nor was their deprivation all they endured; but they, together with many other professors of the religion, were taken up very fast: for Winchester did resolve to make quick work to reduce, if he could, the realm to the old religion. So that they came into the Marshalsea thick and threefold for religion, sent by him thither. And, that they might be sure to suffer hardship enough, when the bishop's almoner, Mr. Brooks^m, (he who was, I suppose, after bishop of Gloucester,) came to this prison with his master's alms-basket, he told the porter, named Britain,

^h [See Vol. i. p. 113. This work is anonymous. A copy exists in the Bodleian library, without date: the colophon states it to be printed at London by John Kingston, for Richard Jugge, printer to the queen's majesty.]

ⁱ ["hastily, so." Strype.]

^j ["house, and all." Strype.]

^k ["form." Strype.]

^l ["An Harborrowe for faithfull and trewe subjectes," &c. &c. "Anno 1559. At Strasborrowe the 26 of Aprill." A copy is in the Bodleian library.]

^m [See vol. ii. p. 319. n. y.]

that it was his lord's pleasure that none of the hereticks that lay there should have any part of his alms: and that, if he knew any of them had any part thereof, that house should never have it again so long as he lived. To which the porter replied, "That he would have a care of that, he would warrant him; and that, if they had no meat till they had some of his lordship's, they should be like to starve. And so he bade him tell his lord: and added, That they should get no favour at his hand." 311

These sufferings P. Martyr, now gotten out of England, took notice of in a letter to Calvin^m, dated November 3; where, having related to him how the two archbishops of

Peter Martyr writes of this to Calvin.

^m ["Joanni Calvino.—Qua ratione, vir clarissime, Deus eripuerit me ore leonis, ne ipse adhuc habeo compertum, nedum tibi queam significare: sed ut Petrus eductus è carcere per angelum, putavit se quæ fiebant per somnium videre, ita ego vix adhuc arbitror esse verum quod evaserim. Sum attamen hic Argentinæ salvus et incolumis; quod sane ideo tibi cum primis indicare volui, ut una mecum, cumque aliis bonis fratribus Deo gratias agas, tuamque sanctam ecclesiam horteris plurimum, ut a Deo contendantardentissimis precibus auxilium impetrare, quo gravia mala, quæ Anglicanam ecclesiam premunt, leniantur. Ibi archiepiscopi Cantuarensis, et Eboracensis, episcopi Vigornensis et Exoniensis, cum plerisque aliis doctis et piis concionatoribus propter Evangelium sunt in vinculis, et una cum multis aliis sanctis versantur in extremo discrimine. Scio hæc, quæ tua

pietas est, gravia tibi esse auditu: sed nunc duo referam, quæ molestiam nonnihil queant mitigare. Primum, licet aliquorum sese prodant infirmitas, attamen longe plurimum quam putassemus est magna constantia, ita ut non dubitem, complures nos habituros inclytos martyres, si Vintoniensis, qui jam omnia potest, pro libidine cœperit sævire. Alterum est, iudicium ferme omnium esse, calamitatem hanc non fore diuturnam: qui ut sunt prudentes, hujusmodi suæ sententiæ non leves habent conjecturas. Quare nos etiam Deum rogemus, ut cito Satanam sub pedibus illius ecclesiæ conterat. Quod vero ad me attinet, adhuc sum incertus, an hic Argentinæ sim commoraturus. Obstabit mihi forte nonnihil sacramentaria controversia: verum de hoc non multum laboro. Id non videtur parum, quod meliores et doctiores me retinere cupiunt. Eo autem libenter me conferam, quo Deus

Canterbury and York, the bishops of Worcester and Exon, and many other learned and pious preachers, were in bonds for the Gospel, and, together with them, many other godly persons were in extreme danger, he proceeded to mention two things to Calvin, to mitigate the trouble he knew he conceived for this ill news. The one was, "That although the infirmity of some betrayed them, yet great was the constancy of far more than he could have thought. So that he doubted not England would have many famous martyrs, if Winchester, who then did all, should begin to rage according to his will." The other was, "that it was the judgment of all, that this calamity would not be long: and therefore," said Martyr, "let us pray to God, that he would quickly tread down Satan under the feet of his church."

P. Martyr's
Epist.

The state

ⁿThe same learned man, speaking in another letter con-

vocabit. Attamen hoc non parum doluit, quod Jacobus Sturmius, cui et respublica, et schola nostra multum debet, illo eo die decessit, quo ego sum hanc urbem ingressus, 30. inquam die Octobris. Ejus autem frater, nimirum Petrus Sturmus existimatur illi sufficiens inter scholarchas. Johannes vero Sturmus, scholæ rector, studet omnibus modis ut hic retinear. Quid vero sit consecutus, nescio. Id nihilominus tacere nequeo, meum in itinere fuisse consilium Genevam accedere, atque istic aliquantisper tua consuetudine frui: sed hyems, quæ jam nos opprimit, a via longinquiori me deterruit. Verum quod nunc distuli, me spero proximo effecturum. Si quid vero jam hic me arbitraris in tuam gratiam posse

facere, tantum commonefacito, et erit satis. Te opto in Domino bene valere, ac diu incolumem Christi ecclesiæ asservari. Argentinae 3. Novemb. 1553."—P. Martyr. Loc. Comm. pp. 1091, 2. ed. Heidel. 1603.]

ⁿ ["Amico cuidam.—Est sane, ut scribis, vir clarissime ac mihi singulari charitate in Christo dilecte, atque indes magis ac magis experientia doceor ipsa, mortem per corpus Eduardi regis Angliæ sanctissimi adolescentis, ad complures ecclesiæ patres pertinere, ac tantum inferre damni, quantum nunc multi non vident. Sed faxit Deus Pater D. N. Jesu Christi ne magno cum dolore non multo postea sentiant. Ego vero lapis sim et plumbum, qui illarum rerum pars qualiscunque fuerim, si

cerning the good forwardness of religion at the first ^{of the} coming of queen Mary to the crown, said, "That he had ^{church} _{now.} many scholars in England, students in divinity, not to be repented of, whose harvest was almost ripe: whom he was forced to see, either wandering about in uncertain stations, or remaining at home unhappily subverted. And that there was in this kingdom many holy as well as learned bishops, that were then in hard confinement, and soon to

ob miserandum clarissimorum fratrum casum et præsentissima cum animi tunc corporis eorum pericula acerbe non ingemiscerem, imo justis quotidie lachrymis tanta illius populi mala non prosequerer. Dum jam vehementer affliguntur, offensionibus undique exponuntur; tentationum flammis omnibus horis incenduntur, dum summa hypocritarum impietate conculcatur illa ecclesia atque proteritur, qui fieri poterit ut ego et mei similes temperate ac mediocriter doleamus? Fuerunt dum ibi docerem permulti discipuli divinarum literarum atque theologiæ alumni non pœnitendi, quorum messis erant propemodum matura, quos nunc videre cogor aut incertis sedibus errantes misere, aut inmanentes infelicissime subversos. Fuerunt in eo regno permulti sanctissimi juxta ac doctissimi episcopi, qui durissimo carcere clausi detinentur, jamjam ad extrema supplicia quasi latrones rapiendi. Fuerunt in ea gente Evangelii fundamenta et nobilis ecclesiæ jacta, et aliquot annorum la-

boribus sanctum ædificium nonnihil processerat, ac indies meliora sperabantur. Nunc denique nisi Deus nisi ἀπὸ τῆς μηχανῆς succurrerit, futurum videtur, ut ne vestigium quidem pietatis quo ad externam professionem futurum sit reliquum. Hæc et alia, vir sapientissime, ut tranquilla mente ac animo sim quieto non patiuntur. Quare toto pectore Deum oro, ut et de pœnis aliquid remittat, et effusionem tantæ iræ per Jesum Christum non nihil sustineat, alioqui mole ingentium malorum facile opprimemur. Quodque tam enixe peto, quæso te ut identidem à Deo postules, ut tandem aliquando miseræ Angliæ misereatur, quam probe novi tui aliorumque piorum virorum ac bonarum literarum, ante calamitatem hanc, fuisse perstudiosam.—Vale, ac feliciter Christo et ejus ecclesiæ vivas, utinam te aliquando tandem, uti vehementer cupio, videam et coram alloquar. Argentina 26. Junii 1554."—P. Martyr. Loc. Com. p. 1093.]

be dragged to the extremest punishments, as if they were robbers. And that here was the foundation of the Gospel and of a noble church laid: and by the labours of some years the holy building had well gone forward, and daily better things were hoped for. But that unless Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς μηχανῆς, *God from above*, came to the succour of it, he thought there would not be a footstep of godliness left at last, as to the external profession."

P. Martyr
amico cui-
dam.

The queen
leaves all
matters to
Winchester.

All the matters of the church the queen left wholly to the management of the bishop of Winchester, whom she now advanced from a prisoner in the Tower, to be lord high chancellor of England°. And indeed the governance of the whole realm was committed to him, with a few other. He ruled matters as he would, and that all England knew and saw plainly. Nay, the consent of the whole parliament followed his head and his will. So that against their wills, and against the wills of many thousand true hearts in the realm, as they of the parliament well knew, they condescended unto him: and what he could not do in one parliament, that he did in another. So that in a year and an half he had three parliaments: during

° ["At Richmount, the 24th of August, 1553.—This day the queen's highness made the right reverend father in God, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England."—MS. Council Book, A.D. 1553—1557. fol. 2. Privy Council Office. Original. "The 23 August, (A.D. 1553,) the queen delivered the great seal to doctor Gardener, bishop of Winchester, and made him lord chancellor."—Stow's Annals, p. 616. ed. Lond. 1631. "In the mean time, queen Mary entering thus

her reign, besides hearing mass herself in the Tower, gave a heavy shew and signification hereby, but especially by the sudden delivering of Stephen Gardiner out of the Tower, that she was not minded to stand to that which she so deeply had promised to the Suffolk men before, concerning the not subverting or altering the state of religion: as in very deed the surmise of the people was therein nothing deceived."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1408. ed. Lond. 1583.]

which time, many things the parliament condescended unto against their wills. As, that the queen should marry with a foreign prince; that the service in the English tongue should be taken away; that the bishop of Rome ³¹² should have his old ejected authority here again: as one of the divines^p in those times had intended to have J. Rogers. told Winchester to his face, had he been permitted speech^q.

October 1, the queen was crowned at the abbey church at Westminster. And then was proclaimed a pardon; but not over gracious: for all the prisoners in the Tower and Fleet were excepted, and sixty two besides; whereof the printers of the Bible, Grafton and Whitchurch, were two^r. Most of these excepted were of the chief professors of the Gospel: no pardon for them. At the coronation, among other triumphal shows, Paul's steeple bare top and topgallant, like a ship with many flags and banners, and a man stood triumphing and dancing on the top. Whereat one Underhill, a gentleman that sat on horseback there to see the show, said to those about him, "At the coronation of king Edward I saw Paul's steeple lay at anchor, and now she wears top and topgallant: surely the next will be shipwreck or it be long." And indeed there followed a shipwreck of the church^s.

^p [For the story, life, and martyrdom of John Rogers, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1484 et seq. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^q [Id. pp. 1489, 1490.]

^r ["Also there was a general pardon proclaimed within the abbey at the said time of her coronation, out of which proclamation all the prisoners of the Tower and of the Fleet were excepted, and sixty-two more, whereof M. Whit-

church and M. Grafton were two." Id. p. 1466.]

^s ["The 19. of February, (A. D. 1547,) king Edward rode from the Tower of London, accompanied with his nobility through the city of London towards Westminster, and as he passed on the south side of Paul's churchyard, a man of the nation of Arragosa came from the battlements of the steeple of Paul's church upon a

The service
still said.

The service established in king Edward's days did not cease upon queen Mary's grasping the sceptre: but the

cable, being made fast to an anchor, by the dean's gate, lying on his breast, aiding himself neither with hand nor foot, but spreading them abroad, and after ascended to the midst of the cable, where he tumbled and played many pretty toys, whereat the king and the nobles had good pastime." Stow's Annals, p. 594. ed. Lond. 1631. "The last of September, (A. D. 1553.) queen Mary rode through the city of London towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot of cloth of tissue drawn with six horses, all trapped with the like cloth of tissue. She sat in a gown of purple velvet furred with powdered ermine, having on her head a caul of cloth of tinsel, beset with pearl and stone, and above the same upon her head, a round circlet of gold beset so richly with precious stone, that the value thereof was inestimable, the same caul and circlet being so massy and ponderous, that she was fain to bear up her head with her hand, and the canopy was borne over her chariot. Before her rode a number of gentlemen and knights, then judges, then bishops, then lords, then the council: after whom followed the knights of the bath, thirteen in number, in their robes, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and the marquis of Winchester, lord high treasurer; next came the duke of Norfolk, and after

him the earl of Oxford, who bare the sword before her; the mayor of London, in a gown of crimson velvet, bare the sceptre of gold, &c. After the queen's chariot, sir Edward Hastings led her horse in his hand: then came another chariot, having a covering all of cloth of silver all white, and six horses trapped with the like; therein sat the lady Elizabeth, and the lady Anne of Cleve, their ladies and gentlewomen riding on horses trapped with red velvet, and their gowns and kirtles likewise of red velvet: after them followed two other chariots covered with red satin, and the horses betrapped with the same, and certain gentlewomen between every of the said chariots riding in crimson satin, their horses betrapped with the same; the number of the gentlewomen so riding were 46, besides them in the chariots. At Fenchurch was a costly pageant made by the Genowayes: at Gracechurch corner there was another pageant made by the Easterlings. At the upper end of Grace-street there was another pageant made by the Florentines very high, on the top whereof there stood four pictures, and in the midst of them, and most highest, there stood an angel all in green, with a trumpet in his hand, and when the trumpeter who stood secretly in the pageant did sound his trump, the angel

ministers performed the worship of God, and celebrated the holy sacrament, and used the Common Prayer dili-

did put his trump to his mouth, as though it had been the same that had sounded, to the great marvelling of many ignorant persons: this pageant was made with three thoroughfares or gates, &c. The conduit in Cornhill ran wine, and beneath the conduit, a pageant made at the charges of the city, and another at the great conduit in Cheape, and a fountain by it running wine. The standard in Cheape new painted, with the waits of the city aloft thereof playing. The cross in Cheape new washed and burnished. One other pageant at the little conduit in Cheape next to Paul's made by the city, where the aldermen stood: and when the queen came against them, the recorder made a short proposition to her, and then the chamberlain presented to her in the name of the mayor and the city, a purse of cloth of gold, and a thousand marks of gold in it: then she rode forth, and in Paul's churchyard against the school, one master Haywood sat in a pageant under a vine, and made to her an oration in Latin and English. Then was there one Peter, a Dutchman, stood on the weathercock of Paul's steeple, holding a streamer in his hand of five yards long, and waving thereof, stood sometime on the one foot, and shook the other, and then kneeled on his knees, to the great marvel

of all people. He had made two scaffolds under him, one above the cross, having torches and streamers set on it, and one other over the hole of the cross, likewise set with streamers and torches, which could not burn, the wind was so great: the said Peter had sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence given him by the city for his costs and pains, and all his stuff. Then there was a pageant made against the dean of Paul's gate, where the queristers of Paul's played upon viols, and sung. Ludgate was newly repaired, painted, and richly hanged, with minstrels playing and singing there: then was there another pageant at the conduit in Fleet-street, and the Temple bar was newly painted and hanged. And thus she passed to Whitehall at Westminster, where she took her leave of the lord mayor, giving him great thanks for his pains, and the city for their cost. On the morrow, which was the first day of October, the queen went by water to the old palace, and there remained till about eleven of the clock, and then went on foot upon blue cloth, being railed on either side, unto Saint Peter's church, where she was solemnly crowned and anointed by the bishop of Winchester; which coronation, and other ceremonies and solemnities then used accord-

gently and constantly: and the people frequented the same with more seriousness than before. They foresaw what times were coming; which made them meet often together, while they might: lamenting bitterly the death of king Edward, and partaking of the sacrament with much devotion. It was the bishop of Winchester's resolution to redress this in London: for he was purposed to stifle the religion as speedily and as vigorously as he could. And one way he had to do this was, to send his spies into all the churches in London: and these would come into the churches, and disturb the ministers with rude words and actions in their very ministrations; and then go to the bishop, and make their informations. And so the ministers were fetched up by the officers before him, and then committed, unless they would comply: and this in the very beginning of the queen's reign, when the preachers did but according to the laws then in force, before the parliament had repealed the book of Common Prayer, and the rest of king Edward's reformation. And there were forward men in most parishes, that were very active and violent for the restoring the old superstitions. For the queen had set forth a proclamation, which did declare what religion she did profess in her youth; "that she did continue in the same, and that she minded therein to end her life: willing all her loving subjects to embrace the same." And this they reckoned to be sufficient war-

The queen's
proclamation
of her
religion.

ing to the old custom, was not fully ended till it was nigh four of the clock at night that she returned from the church, before whom was borne three swords sheathed, and one naked. The great service that day done in Westminster hall at dinner by divers noblemen, would ask long

time to write. The lord mayor of London and twelve citizens kept the high cupboard of plate as butlers, and the queen gave to the mayor for his fee a cup of gold with a cover weighing seventeen ounces." Id. pp. 616, 617. See also Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1466.]

rant to set up mass, and introduce popish priests and popish usages every where, without staying for orders and acts of parliament †.

Nor was this change of religion, and these miseries following it unexpected. The learned and pious sort in king Edward's time did reckon upon a great calamity impending over their heads: concluding thereupon, from two causes, among others. One was, the corrupt manners that generally overspread the nation, notwithstanding the light of the gospel, and the much and earnest preaching up of sobriety and virtue. The other was, the taking 313 off by death divers most eminent men, the great stays of religion: so that the preachers did commonly in their sermons declare and foretell, what afterwards indeed fell out. This Becon, an exile, in his epistle to those in England that suffered persecution for the testimony of Christ's Gospel, spake of in these words: "Divers signs had we long before, besides the godly admonitions of the faithful preachers, which plainly declared unto us an utter subversion of the true Christian religion to be at hand, except it were prevented by hasty and hearty repentance. What shall I speak of that godly and mighty prince^u Edward, duke of Somerset, which, in the time of his protectorship, did so banish idolatry out of this our realm, and bring in again God's true religion, that it was a wonder so weighty a matter to be brought to pass in so short a time. Was not the ungentle handling of him, and the unrighteous thrusting him out of office, and afterwards the cruel murdering of him, a man, yea, a mirror of true innocency, and Christian patience, an evident token of God's anger against us? The sudden taking

Signs of a
change of
religion.

† [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1408, where the proclamation is given at full length.]

^u ["good and mighty prince." Strype.]

away of those most goodly and virtuous young imps, the duke of Suffolk^x and his brother, by the sweating sickness, was it not also a manifest token of God's heavy displeasure toward^y us? The death of those two most worthy and godly learned men^z, I speak of M. Paulus Fagius, and^a of D. Martin Bucer^b, was it not a sure prognostication, some great mishap concerning Christian religion to be at hand? ^cBut, as I may pass over many other, and at the last come unto that which is most lamentable, and can never be remembered of any true English heart without large tears, I mean the death of our most godly prince and Christian king, Edward the VI, that true Josias, that earnest destroyer of false religion, that fervent setter up of God's true honour, that most bounteous patron of the godly learned, that most worthy maintainer of good letters and virtue, and that perfect and ^dlively mirror of true nobility, and sincere godliness: was not the taking away of him (alas! for sorrow) a sure sign and an evident token that some great evil hanged over this realm of England? Who, considering these things, perceived not a shipwreck of the Christian religion to be at hand ^e?"

^x ["Among the persons this sweat took away, Henry duke of Suffolk, and the lord Charles, his brother, were greatly lamented, not only because of their quality, but their hopes; who, July 16, (A. D. 1551) died both in one bed."—Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol.ii. pt. i. p. 491. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

^y ["against." Strype.]

^z ["men, M. Paulus." Strype.]

^a ["and D." Strype.]

^b [*Id.* n. x. p. 382.]

^c ["But, passing over many other, to come to."—Strype.]

^d ["lovely."—Strype.]

^e ["See "A Comfortable Epistle to the afflicted people of God:" Becon's Works, vol. iii. pp. 205, 6. Park. Soc. ed.]

CHAPTER III.

THE ARCHBISHOP ADVISETH PROFESSORS TO FLY.

THE favourers of religion, seeing it was now determined The archbishop adviseth to flight. to proceed in all manner of severity against them, began to flee into other countries for their safety as fast as they could. Indeed there were some that made a case of conscience of it: among the rest, one Mrs. Wilkinson, a woman of good quality, and a great reliever of good men. Her the archbishop out of prison advised to escape, and avoid a place where she could not truly and rightly serve God. He took off with spiritual arguments the objections which she or others might make for their stay; as, their **314** loathness to leave their friends and relations, and that it might look like a slandering of God's word, if they should thus run away, and decline the open and bold defence of it. The letter of the archbishop deserves to be read, as it fell from that venerable prelate's own pen: which I have Number LXXII. therefore put in the Appendix.

Though Cranmer himself refused to flee, being advised Cranmer will not flee. by his friends so to do, because of the reports that were abroad, that he should be speedily carried to the Tower. For he said, "It would be no ways fitting for him to go away, considering the post in which he was; and to shew that he was not afraid to own all the changes that were by his means made in religion in the last reign f."

f ["Ad Cranmerum vero quod attinet, adeo cœpti eos mox pu-
duit, ut venia illi statim a regina
impetrata fuerit ab illis ipsis, qui
hæreseos crimen statim ei impe-
gerunt. Antequam custodiæ tra-
deretur, ut a certissima pernicie
fuga se eriperet (confratrum ali-
quot suorum exemplo, qui in
Germaniam jam dudum profuge-

Whither
the profes-
sors fly.

But great numbers fled, some to Strasburgh, some to Wesel, some to Embden, some to Antwerp, some to Duisburgh, some to Wormes, some to Frankford, some to Basil, Zuric, and Arrow in Switzerland, and some to Geneva, to the number of eight hundred, and upwards. And these are the names of some of these refugees.

BISHOPS.

And who? Poynt of Winchester, Barlow of Bath and Wells, Scory of Chichester, Coverdale of Exon, and Bale of Ossory.

DEANS.

Richard Cox, dean of Christ Church Oxon, and of Westminster; James Haddon, dean of Exeter; Robert Horn of Durham; William Turner of Wells; Thomas Sampson of Chichester.

ARCHDEACONS.

Edmund Cranmer, the archbishop's brother, archdeacon of Canterbury; John Ælmer of Stow; Bullingham of Lincoln; Thomas Young, precentor of St. David's.

DOCTORS of Divinity and Preachers.

Edmund Grindal, Robert King, Edwin Sands, Jo. Jewel, Reinolds; Pilkingtons, two brothers; John Joseph, David Whitehead, John Alvey, John Pedder, John Biddil, Thomas Becon, Robert and Richard Turner, Edmund Allein; Le-

rant) amicorum multi hortabantur. Quibus ille; si furti (inquit) paricidii, aut cujusvis sceleris postularer, quantumvis insons, induci fortassis possem ad fugam capessendam. Nunc vero cum de mea non in homines, sed in Deum fide, et sacrarum Scripturarum

veritate, contra pontificios errores agendum video; constantia usus Christiano præsule digna, vita constitui potius quam regno, hoc in tempore cedere." — Godwin. de Præsul. Angl. Comment. p. 141, ed. Cantab. 1743.]

vers, three brothers; John Pekins, Tho. Cottisford, Tho. Donel, Alex. Nowel, with his brother; Barthol. Traheron, John Wollock, John Old, John Medwel, Joh. Rough, John Knocks, John Appleby, John Perkhurst, Edward Large, Galf. Jones, Robert Crowley, Robert Wisdome, Robert Watson, William Goodman, Ant. Gilby, Will. Whittingham, John Makebrey, Hen. Reynolds, James Perse, Jugg, Edmunds, Cole, Mounteyn, two Fishers, Da. Simson, John Bendal, Beaumont, Humfrey, Bentham, Reymiger, Bradbrigg, Saul, &c.^d

Besides, of noblemen, merchants, tradesmen, artificers, and plebeians, many hundreds. And God provided graciously for them, and raised them up friends in England, that made large contributions from time to time for their relief, and for the maintenance of such as were scholars

Chiliades.
Pref. to
Cranmer's
book of the
Sacrament,
in Latin.
315

^d [“*Catalogus illorum episcoporum, praelatorum, et praeceptorum concionatorum, qui ex ordine ecclesiastico bene constituto, propter fidei suae constantem confessionem, sua patria in Christo exulare, quam palinodiam impie canere, maluerunt. Episcopi. Jo. Poynt, Winto. Guliel. Barlo, Bathon. et Vellen. Jo. Scory, Cicest. Milo Coverdale, Exon. Jo. Bale, Osrien. Decani. Doct. Jo. Cox, Edoar. regis in eleemosynis elargiendis dispensator, Westmo. D. Jaco. Haddon, Exon. D. Rober. Horne, Dunel. D. Guliel. Turner, Vellen. Tho. Sampson, Cicestr. Archidiaconi. Edmundus Cranmer, Cantuar. hujus martyris frater. D. Jo. Ælmer, Stoven. D. Bullin, Lincoln. Tho. Yonge, praecentor Meneven. Doctores Theolo. Edmundus Grindal,*

*Rober. Kinge, Sandes, Reinoldes, Pilkinton, Jo. Joseph. Concionatores. David Whitheed, Jo. Alvei, Jo. Pedder, Jo. Biddill, Tho. Becon, Rob. et Ric. Turner, Edmundus Allein, Leveri fratres tres, Jo. Pekins, Tho. Cottesford, Tho. Donel, Alex. Nowel, cum fratre, Bartho. Traheron, alius Pilkinton, Jo. Wolloc, Jo. Olde, Jo. Medwel, Jo. Rough, Jo. Knokes, Jo. Appelbie, Jo. Perkehurst, Edoa. Large, Galfri. Jones, Rob. Crowley, Ro. Wysdome, Ro. Watson, Guil. Goodman, Anto. Gilbie, Whittingham, Macbrey, Henri. Renold, Jac. Perse, Jugg, Edmundes, Cole, Mounteyn, duo Fischeri, Da. Simson, Jo. Bendel, etc.”—*Defens. Ver. et Cath. Doct. de Sacramento, vol. i. Works of abp. Cranmer, p. 9. Park. Soc. ed.]**

and students in divinity especially. And great was the favour that the strangers shewed to their fugitive guests.

Duke of
Northum-
berland put
to death.

Here at home vengeance was taken upon those that set up the lady Jane. And the chief of all, the duke of Northumberland^e, was brought to Tower Hill to lose his head: who indeed was cared for by nobody, and was the only instrument of putting the king upon altering the succession; and who was broadly talked of to have been the shortener of that excellent prince's life by poison, to make room the sooner for his son's advancement, who had married the said Jane. In prison he was visited by bishop Hethe, and afterwards pretended to be brought off by him to the acknowledgment of the Roman Catholic religion. After his condemnation, he, with the marquis of Northampton^f, sir Andrew Dudley^g, sir John Gates^h, sir

^e [See vol. ii. p. 206. n. ^o.]

^f [See vol. ii. p. 140. n. ⁱ.]

^g [Sir Andrew Dudley, brother of John, duke of Northumberland, was keeper of the wardrobe to Edward VI, and a knight of the garter, to which dignity he was raised by his brother, in order to strengthen his own interest; he was imprisoned as an adherent of the lady Jane Grey, and condemned for treason, but was set at liberty, January 18th, 1554, with his nephews, the sons of the duke of Northumberland, and several others.— See Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. ii. pt. i. p. 443; pt. ii. pp. 18, 30, 75, 108, 256, 285; vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 24, 33, 330. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 487. ed. Lond. 1829.]

^h [Sir John Gates, Gate, or

Yates, said to be a creature of the duke of Northumberland, and raised by him, was groom of the privy chamber to Henry VIII, a knight of the bath, one of the lords justices and lieutenants of Essex, and also high sheriff of Essex and Hertford: he was appointed vice chamberlain and captain of Edward VIth's guard, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, upon the sequestration of lord Paget, and one of the privy council in this reign. He signed the instrument of the council, and swore and subscribed to the succession as limited by Edw. VI. in favour of the lady Jane Grey, and was imprisoned and executed for his adherence to her cause.— See Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 36, 464, 479, 541; pt. ii. pp. 44, 160, 163, 164, 202, 207, 8;

Thomas Palmerⁱ, heard a mass within the Tower, and received the sacrament in one kind, after the popish fashion. The duke of Northumberland was drawn hereunto by a promise that was made him, "That, if he would recant and hear mass, he should have his pardon, yea, though his head were upon the block^k."

vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 24, 33, 41, 44. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 325, 487, 488. pt. ii. pp. 24, 25, 35, 85; vol. iii. p. 428. pt. ii. pp. 281, 548. ed. Oxon. 1829. Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. i. p. 543. ed. Lond. 1840.]

ⁱ [Sir Thomas Palmer was an adherent of the duke of Northumberland, and was suspected of having forged evidence against the lord protector Somerset, whose cause he deserted. For the part which he took with the duke of Northumberland in opposing the accession of queen Mary, he was imprisoned and condemned as a traitor, and executed. He "was little pitied, as being believed to be a treacherous conspirator against his former master and friend, the duke of Somerset."—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 123; vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 24, 33, 41. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 367, 368, 371, 383, 480, 487, 488. vol. iii. p. 428. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^k [See Foxe's Acts and Mon. pp. 1407, 8. "The 18. of August, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, William Parre, marquis of Northampton, and John, earl of Warwick, son and

heir to the duke, were arraigned at Westminster hall, before Thomas, duke of Norfolk, high steward of England, where the duke of Northumberland with great reverence towards the judges, protested his faith and allegiance to the queen, whom he confessed grievously to have offended, and said, that he meant not to speak any thing in defence of his fact, but requested to understand the opinion of the court in two points. First, whether a man doing any act by authority of the prince's council, and by warrant of the great seal of England, and doing nothing without the same, might be charged with treason for anything which he might do by warrant thereof. Secondly, whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those, by whose letters and commandments he was directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or pass upon his trial as his peers. Whereunto was answered, that as concerning the first, the great seal, (which he laid for his warrant), was not the seal of the lawful queen of the realm, nor passed by authority, but the seal of an usurper, and therefore could be no warrant to him. As to the

His speech. In his speech, August 22, when he was executed §, he

second, it was alleged, that if any were as deeply to be touched in the case as himself, yet so long as no attainder were of record against them, they were nevertheless persons able in law to pass upon any trial, and not to be challenged therefore, but at the prince's pleasure. After which answer, the duke used few words, but confessed the indictment, by whose example the other prisoners arraigned with him did the like, and thereupon had judgment. And when judgment was given, the duke said, 'I beseech you, my lords, all to be humble suitors to the queen's majesty, and to grant me four requests, which are these. First, that I may have that death which noblemen have had in times past, and not the other. Secondly, that her majesty will be gracious to my children, which may hereafter do good service, considering that they went by my commandment, who am their father, and not of their own free wills. Thirdly, that I may have appointed to me some learned man for the instruction and quiet of my conscience. And fourthly, that she will send two of the council to commune with me, to whom I will declare such matters as shall be expedient for her and the commonweal: and thus I beseech you to pray for me.'—*Stow's Annals*, p. 614. ed. Lond. 1631.]

§ ['The twenty-two of August,

sir John Gage, lieutenant of the Tower, delivered to the sheriffs of London by indenture these prisoners following: first, sir John Gates was brought forth, and set at the garden gate, then the duke of Northumberland was likewise brought forth, and sir Thomas Palmer after him. When the duke and sir John Gates met, 'Sir John,' (saith the duke,) 'God have mercy upon us, for this day shall end both our lives, and I pray you forgive me whatsoever I have offended, and I forgive you with all my heart, although you and your council was a great occasion hereof.' 'Well, my lord,' quoth sir John Gates, 'I forgive you as I would be forgiven; and yet you and your authority was the original cause of all together; but the Lord pardon you, and I pray you forgive me.' So either making obeisance to other, the duke proceeded, and when he came upon the scaffold, he putting off his gown of crane coloured damask, leaned upon the east rail, and said to the people: 'Good people, all you that be here present to see me die, though my death be odious, and horrible to the flesh, yet I pray you judge the best in God's works, for he doth all for the best. And as for me, I am a wretched sinner, and have deserved to die, and most justly am condemned to die by law. And yet this act, wherefore I die, was not altogether of me, (as it is thought,) but I was

acknowledged, "how he had been misled by others ; and

procured and induced thereunto by other ; I was, I say, induced thereunto by other : howbeit, God forbid that I should name any man unto you ; I will name no man unto you, and therefore, I beseech you, look not for it. I, for my part, forgive all men, and pray God also to forgive them. And if I have offended any of you here, I pray you and all the world to forgive me : and most chiefly I desire forgiveness of the queen's highness, whom I have most grievously offended. And I pray you all to witness with me, that I depart in perfect love and charity with all the world, and that you will assist me with your prayers at the hour of death.' The rest of his speech almost in every part was the like as he had said in the chapel of the Tower on the day before, saying, when he had made confession of his belief, he had these words. 'And here I do protest unto you, good people, most earnestly, even from the bottom of my heart, that this, which I have spoken is of myself, not being required, nor moved thereunto by any man, nor for any flattery, or hope of life, and I take witness of my lord of Worcester here, mine old friend and ghostly father, that he found me in this mind and opinion, when he came to me ; but I have declared this only upon mine own mind and affection, and for the zeal and love that I bear to my natural country.

I could, good people, rehearse much more, even by experience that I have of this evil, that is happened to this realm by these occasions ; but you know I have another thing to do, whereunto I must prepare me, for the time draweth away. And now I beseech the queen's highness to forgive me mine offences against her majesty, whereof I have a singular hope, forasmuch, as she hath already extended her goodness and clemency so far upon me, that whereas she might forthwith, without judgment or any further trial, have put me to most vile and cruel death, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, forasmuch as I was in the field in arms against her highness, her majesty nevertheless of her most merciful goodness suffered me to be brought to my judgment, and to have my trial by law, where I was most justly and worthily condemned. And her highness hath now also extended her mercy and clemency upon me, for the manner and kind of my death. And therefore, my hope is, that her grace, of her goodness, will remit all the rest of her indignation and displeasure towards me, which I beseech you all most heartily to pray for, and that it may please God long to preserve her majesty, to reign over you with much honour and felicity.' After he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, saying to them that were about him ; 'I beseech

called the preachers seditious and lewd, and advised the people to return home to the old religion. And that, since the new religion came among them, God had plagued them by wars and tumults, famine and pestilence. He propounded the example of the Germans, how their new doctrine had brought ruin upon them: and quoted that article in the Creed to them, *I believe the Catholick Church*, to convince them of the Roman Catholick faith." If this speech were not of Hethe's inditing, to be used by the duke, yet this argument from the Creed I am apt to think, was his, it being his custom to make use of it. For I find in a conference betwixt this bishop and Rogers, he asked him, if he did not know his Creed, and urged *Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*. But Rogers could tell him, that he did not find the bishop of Rome there^h. If any be minded to see the duke's speech at length, he may have recourse to the Appendix, where I have set it down, as I found it in one of the Cottonian volumesⁱ.

Number
LXXIII.

Sir John
Gates his
speech;

But Gates and Palmer, notwithstanding their hearing mass at their execution the same day and place, confessed

you all to bear me witness that I die in the true catholic faith;' and then said the psalms of 'Miserere,' and 'De profundis,' his 'Pater noster,' and six of the first verses of the psalm, 'In te Domine speravi,' ending with this verse; 'Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit;' and when he had thus finished his prayers, the executioner asked him forgiveness; to whom he said; 'I forgive thee with all my heart, and do thy part without fear.' And bowing toward the block, he said, 'I have deserved a thousand deaths,' laid his head upon the block, and so

was beheaded. Whose body with the head was buried in the Tower, by the body of Edward, late duke of Somerset; so that there lieth before the high altar, in St. Peter's church, two dukes between two queens; to wit, the duke of Somerset, and the duke of Northumberland, between queen Anne, and queen Katherine, all four beheaded."—Stow's Annals, pp. 614, 15.]

^h [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1485.]

ⁱ [Cotton MSS. Titus B. 2. fol. 162. British Museum. Original.]

the faith they had learned in the Gospel. The former confessed, "That he had lived as viciously and wickedly all his life, as any in the world. And yet, that he was a great reader of the Scripture; but a worse follower there was not living. For he read it, not to edify, but to dispute, and to make interpretations after his own fancy: exhorting the people to take heed how they read God's word, and played and gamed with God's holy mysteries. For he told them, that, except they humbly submitted themselves to God, and read his word charitably, and to the intent to be edified thereby; it would be but poison to them, and worse. And so asked the queen, and all the world, forgiveness^k."

Palmer thanked God for his affliction: for "that he And Palmer's.

^k ["At the same time and place also was likewise beheaded sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, which sir John Gates in that place used these or like words. 'My coming hither this day, good people, is to die, whereof I assure you all I am well worthy: for I have lived as viciously and wickedly all the days of my life as any man hath done in the world. I was the greatest reader of Scripture that might be of a man of my degree; and a worse follower thereof not living: for I did not read to the intent to be edified thereby, nor to seek the glory of God; but contrariwise, arrogantly, to be seditious, and to dispute thereof, and privately to interpret it after my own brain and affection. Wherefore, good people, I exhort you all to beware how, and after what sort you come to read

God's holy word; for it is not a trifle, or playing game to deal with God's holy mysteries: stand not too much in your own conceits; for like as the bee of one flower doth gather honey, and the spider poison of the same, even so you, except you humbly submit yourselves to God, and charitably read the same to the intent to be edified thereby, it is to you as poison, and worse: and it were better for to let it alone.' And then after he had asked the queen's highness' forgiveness, and all the world, he desired the people of their charity to pray unto God with him for remission of his sins; and then, refusing the kerchief, laid down his head, which was stricken off at three blows."—Stow's Annals, p. 615. ed. Lond. 1631.]

316 had learned more in one little dark corner of the Tower, than ever he learned by any travels, in as many places as he had been. There he had seen God, what he was, and his numerous works, and his mercies : and seen himself thoroughly what himself was ; a lump of sin and earth, and of all vileness the vilest. And so concluding, that he feared not death ; that neither the sprinkling of the blood of two shed before his eyes, nor the shedding thereof, nor the bloody axe itself, should make him afraid. And so, praying all to pray for him, he said some prayers, and without any daunting laid down his head upon the block¹.”

¹ [“ Sir Thomas Palmer, as soon as he came to the scaffold, took every man by the hand, and desired them to pray for him : then putting off his gown, he leaned upon the east rail, and said these words in effect : ‘ My masters,’ (quoth he,) ‘ God save you all : it is not unknown unto you wherefore I come hither, which I have worthily well deserved at God’s hands ; for I know it to be his Divine ordinance by this means to call me to his mercy, and to teach me to know myself, what I am, and whereunto we are all subject : I thank his merciful goodness, for he hath caused me to learn more in one little dark corner in yonder tower than ever I learned by any travel in so many places as I have been ; for there, I say, I have seen God, what he is, and how unsearchable his wondrous works are, and how infinite his mercies be : I have seen there myself throughly, and what I am,

nothing but a lump of sin, earth, dust, and of all vileness most vilest : I have seen there and know what the world is, how vain, deceitful, transitory, and short it is, how wicked and loathsome the works thereof are in the sight of God’s majesty, how he neither regardeth the menaces of the proud men and mighty ones, neither despiseth the humbleness of the poor and lowly, which are in the same world. Finally, I have seen there what death is, how near hanging over every man’s head, and yet how uncertain the time, and how unknown to all men, and how little it is to be feared ; and should I fear death ? or be sad therefore ? have I not seen two die before mine eyes ? yea, and within the hearing of mine ears ? No, neither the sprinkling of the blood, or the shedding thereof, nor the bloody axe itself shall make me afraid : and now taking my leave to the same, I

But the duke of Northumberland submitted himself to base and mean practices to save his life. He renounced his religion: nay, disavowed "that he ever was of the religion professed in king Edward's days, (if we may believe Parsons,) but only hypocritically, for worldly ends, complied with it. And if he might but have lived, he could have been contented to spend his days in a mouse-hole." For from a priest I have this relation, and the papists best knew the intrigues of queen Mary's reign. After sentence pronounced upon him, he made means to speak with bishop Gardiner, who he knew could do most of any with the queen. When the bishop came to him, in company with another counsellor, to be witness of their discourse, (who himself told my author these passages,) the duke asked the bishop. "If there were no hope at all for him to live, and to do some penance the rest of his days for his sins past. Alas! (said he,) let me live a little longer, though it be but in a mouse-hole. The bishop replied, That he wished to God any thing could have contented his grace but a kingdom, when he was at liberty, and in prosperity: and even at that present he wished it lay in his power to give him that mouse-hole: for he

The Duke's
labours to
get his life.

Wardword,
p. 43^m.

pray you all to pray for me; Come on, good fellow,' (quoth he,) 'art thou he that must do the deed? I forgive thee with all my heart: and then kneeling down, laying his head on the block, said, 'I will see how meet the block is for my neck; I pray thee strike not yet, for I have a few prayers to say, and that done, strike on God's name, good leave have thou;' his prayers ended, and desiring each man to pray for him, he laid down his head again, and so the execu-

tioner took it from him at one stroke."—Stow's Annals, pp. 615, 616.]

^m ["A Temperate Ward-word to the turbulent and seditious Wach-word of sir Francis Hastings Knight," &c. &c. "by N. D. . . . Imprinted with license. Anno 1599." This is taken from the copy in the Bodleian Library. Watts mentions a copy printed in 1590, and, with Strype, assigns the work to Robert Parsons.]

would allow him the best palace he had in the world for that mouse-hole: and did moreover then offer to do for him what he could possiblyⁿ. But because his offence (he said) was great, and sentence passed against him, and his adversaries many, it would be best for him to provide for the worst: and especially, that he stood well with God in matter of conscience and religion. For to speak plainly, (as he went on,) it was most likely he must die. The duke answered, he would dispose himself; and desired he might have a learned priest sent him for his confession, and spiritual comfort. And as for religion, (said he,) you know, my lord bishop, that I can be of no other but of yours, which is the catholick. For I never was of any other indeed, nor ever so foolish as to believe any of that which we have^o set up in king Edward's days; but only to use the same to^p my own purpose of ambition; for which God forgive me. And so I mean to testify publicly at my death: for it is the truth^q. The bishop (saith my author) went away with an afflicted heart, and shed many tears, as he returned: and went to the queen, and entreated so earnestly for him, as he had half gained her consent for his life. Which so much terrified the duke's adversaries, as presently they got the emperor Charles, that was in Flanders, to write to the queen a very resolute and earnest letter, that it was not safe for her, nor the state^r, to pardon his life. And with that he was executed."

Whatever credit is to be given to the rest of this relation, I can hardly believe that passage that he is reported to say to the bishop, "that he was never otherwise than a Roman Catholick, and that he did all along dissemble his religion for worldly ends: and that he would testify as

Whether he
was always
a Papist.

ⁿ ["possible." Strype.]

^o ["had." Strype.]

^p ["for." Strype.]

^q ["is true." Strype.]

^r ["his estate." Strype.]

much at his death." Because this doth no ways comport with his speech upon the scaffold; wherein he mentioneth no such thing, but rather the contrary. Nor did he declare any such thing when he came to die. He said, indeed, that, he was *deceived and misled*, but nowhere that he *dissembled*. And if he were deceived, he dissembled not.

CHAPTER IV.

PETER MARTYR DEPARTS. A PARLIAMENT.

P. Martyr
departs.

THE strangers had this piece of mercy shewn them, that they were suffered to depart the kingdom^r. Among the

^r [See vol. ii. p. 143. n. ⁿ, and above, p. 14. n. ^k. “About the same year and time” (i. e. the beginning of March, 1554,)—“there came from the queen another proclamation against strangers and foreigners within this realm. The purpose and intent of which proclamation, because it chiefly and most specially concerned religion and doctrine, and the true professors thereof, I thought here to annex the tenor and manner of the same. ‘A copy of the queen’s proclamation for the driving out of the realm strangers and foreigners.—The queen, our sovereign lady, understanding that a multitude of evil disposed persons, being born out of her highness’ dominions in other sundry nations, flying from their obeisance of the princes and rulers under whom they be born, some for heresy, some for murder, treason, robbery, and some for other horrible crimes, be resorted into this her majesty’s realm, and here have made their demour, and yet be commorant and lingering, partly to eschew such con-

dign punishment as their said horrible crimes deserve, and partly to dilate, plant, and sow the seeds of their malicious doctrine and lewd conversation among the good subjects of this her said realm, of purpose to infect her good subjects with the like, inso-much as (besides innumerable heresies, which divers of the same being heretics have preached and taught within her highness’ said realm) it is assuredly known unto her majesty, that not only their secret practices have not failed to stir, comfort, and aid divers her highness’ subjects to this most unnatural rebellion against God and her grace, but also some other of them desist not still to practise with her people eftsoons to rebel; her majesty therefore having, (as afore is said,) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and most straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every such person or persons born out of her highness’ dominions, now commorant or resident within this

rest that went away this year was Peter Martyr, the famous and learned professor of divinity in Oxford. But with much ado; for at first he was not only forbid to read his lectures, but not to stir a foot out of the city of Oxon, nor to convey any of his goods away. He obeyed, and afterwards was permitted by the council to depart. He

realm, of whatsoever nation or country, being either preacher, printer, bookseller, or other artificer, or of whatsoever calling else, not being denizen or merchant known, using the trade of merchandise, or servant to such ambassadors as be liegers here from the princes and states joined in league with her grace, shall within twenty four days after this proclamation, avoid the realm, upon pain of most grievous punishment by imprisonment, and forfeiture, and confiscation of all their goods and moveables, and also to be delivered unto their natural princes, or rulers, against whose persons or laws they have offended. Giving to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other her ministers, officers, and good subjects, straitly also in charge, if they know any such person not born in the queen's highness' dominions, (except before excepted,) that shall after the time and day limited in this proclamation, tarry within this realm, that they shall apprehend the same person or persons, and commit him or them to ward, there to remain, without bail or mainprise, till her grace's pleasure or her council's be signified unto

them for the further ordering of the said person or persons. And that if any of her said officers, after the said twenty four days, apprehend, take or know of any such, they shall with diligence immediately certify her said council thereof, to the intent order may be forthwith given for their punishment according[ly].’ In the meanwhile, upon the proclamation before mentioned, not only the strangers in king Edward's time received into the realm for religion, among whom was Pet. Martyr, John à Lasco, uncle to the king of Poland, but many Englishmen, fled, some to Freezeland, some to Cleveland, some to high Germany, where they were diversly scattered into divers companies and congregations, at Wesel, at Frankford, Embden, Markburgh, Strasbourgh, Basle, Arou, Zurich, Geneva, and other places: where by the providence of God they were all sustained, and there entertained with greater favour among strangers abroad, than they could be in their own country at home, well near to the number of eight hundred persons, students, and other together.”—*Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, p. 1425. ed. Lond. 1583.]

came first to Lambeth to the archbishop; but, when he was committed to prison, Martyr went to London, where he remained in great danger, both for his religion, and for his great familiarity with the archbishop, and other pious protestant bishops. However, he thought not fit to transport himself without leave from the government. He signified to them, that he came not hither on his own head, but that he was sent for by king Edward, and sent from the town of Strasburgh: and produced his broad seals from both. And so, since there was no further need of him, he desired leave to depart: which he obtained by letters from the queen herself. But the Papists, his fatal enemies, cried out, that such an enemy of the popish religion ought not to be dismissed, but to be fetched out of the ship, and carried to prison, and punished. He understood also by his friends, that, when he was got over the sea, the danger was not past: for there were snares for him in Flanders and Brabant; whereby they made no doubt to take him. But he used his wits to save himself: for, when other congregations of protestant strangers went straight, some for Freezland, and some for Denmark, by vessels they had hired, (among which was John a Lasco's^s congregation,) he procured an honest and godly shipmaster, who kept him fourteen days in his own house, that so all might think he was gone with the other strangers, and his enemies cease making search for him in the vessels that were bound for foreign parts. And then the master sailed away with P. Martyr to Antwerp, going into that place by night for the more privacy. And by him he was brought to his friends; and by them, before day, conveyed in a waggon out of town, and so travelled safely, through countries that hated him, unto Strasburgh. And by God's goodness, and his own ce-

^s [See vol. ii. p. 142. n. m.]

lerity, he arrived safe among his friends, who received him with the greatest joy. And the senate conferred upon him his old place which he enjoyed before he went for England^t.

Vit. P.
Mart. per
Simler.

t [“Fruebatur jam universa Anglia pace et tranquillitate, et felix erat religione, et legibus optime institutis, in tanta quoque totius regni felicitate Martyr non poterat non etiam felix et beatus videri, qui uteretur optimorum virorum, sanctissimorumque episcoporum amicitia; verum omnia hæc subito Mariani regni tempestate mutata et eversa fuerunt. Pura n. religio e templis est ejecta, sancta ecclesiæ politia deleta, legesque illius abrogatæ sunt, optimi quique in carceres conjecti. In tanta rerum omnium mutatione Martyri docendi munere interdicitur, et denuntiatur præterea ne injussu magistratus pedem moveat, neve quid inde rerum suarum asportet, gravi denuntiato periculo si id faceret. Paruit ille edicto, verum cum moram interponi videret, de suo statu regni consiliariis perscribit, petit si quid admiserit accusatorem sibi sisti et causam cognosci. Qui cum nihil in eum statuere possent, discedendi potestatem illi faciunt. Quamobrem recta Londinum proficiscitur, et illic Cantuariensem inveniens eum plurimum suo adventu recreavit. Venerat hic tum temporis Londinum, ut quæ adversarii de ipso falso in vulgus sparserant refelleret. Nam quia summa ejus apud omnes erat

auctoritas, per concionatores suos pontificii apud plebem invulgarunt, Cantuariæ ipsius mandato missam restitutam esse, ipsum quoque pollicitum esse reginæ se missam dicturum in funere regis; simul etiam de futura disputatione quædam jactabant. Hoc ubi rescivit ille, edito scripto sese purgat: testatur quoque se paratum esse religionis formam ab Edoardo rege institutam, publica disputatione defendere. Si, inquit, nobis libertatem det majestas reginæ, ego cum Petro Martyre, atque aliis quatuor aut quinque, quos mihi delegero, favente Deo, confido nos omnibus approbaturos, non solum preces communes ecclesiasticas, et administrationem sacramentorum, cum cæteris ritibus et ceremoniis, verum doctrinam quoque universam, ac religionis ordinem constitutum a supremo nostro domino rege Edoardo sexto, puriora hæc esse, et verbo Dei magis consentanea, quam quicquid mille retro annis in Anglia usurpatum novimus; tantum ut judicentur omnia per verbum Dei. Protestationem hanc et consilium suum cum martyri exposuisset, probavit ille, et ostendit se paratum esse disputationi, neque ullum periculum nomine religionis velle defugere. Verum dum in hac disputationis expectatione sunt, Can-

Malice towards him.

And Martyr needed not to be discontented that he was gotten out of England, considering how insufferably he was affronted, undermined, belied by the popish party in

tuariensis et Eboracensis archiepiscopi, Londinensis præterea et Wigorniensis episcopi, in carcerem abducuntur: his. n. rationibus adversarii cum illis disputare statuerant. Versabatur tum Martyr in magno periculo cum ob eandem religionem, tum etiam ob familiaritatem et amicitiam horum virorum; neque hoc ipse ignorabat, verum fretus sua innocentia, et quod in leges regni nihil commisisset, non discendum putavit nisi missione impetrata. Quare causa denuo proponit consiliariis regni, ac se non privata voluntate venisse in Angliam demonstrat, sed vocatum a seren. rege Edoardo, et missum ab amplissimo magistratu reipublicæ Argentinensis, ac utriusque diplomata proferebat: cum vero nunc sua opera usui esse non possit, se dimitti postulabat. Quod postquam obtinuit, vix tamen credebant amici, etiam acceptis a regina literis, eum tuto posse discedere. Dicebant, n. ejus adversarii, tantum Pontificiæ religionis hostem non esse e manibus dimittendum, sed vel ex ipsa navi in carcerem et ad supplicium retrahendum esse: monebatur quoque ut sibi caveret ab insidiis, quæ si oceanum trajiceret, illi in Flandria et Brabantia paratæ essent. Verum Dei beneficio cuncta hæc pericula et certissimas insidias, admiranda

ratione evasit. Cum enim peregrinorum alii in Frisiam, nonnulli vero in Daniam discederent, nactus est ipse gubernatorem navis hominem pium et metuentem Deum, qui eum in Anglico littore clam domi suæ detinuit integris quatuordecim diebus, ac jam omnes tam amici quam inimici eum cum cæteris peregrinis abnavigasse credebant, cum ipse demum ex Anglia solvit, et gubernatore suo Antverpian noctu sui causa appellente, ab eo ad amicos est deductus, et ab illis ante lucem curruï impositus, per regiones sibi infestissimas incolumis. Argentinam pervenit, omnesque adversariorum insidias, Dei primum beneficio, deinde sua celeritate evitavit. Excepere eum Argentinæ veteres amici viri optimi atque doctissimi Sturmius, Sleidanus, Zanchus, Herlinus, Dasypodius, Sapidus, Hubertus, et reliqui, magna lætitia. Quo. n. in majori periculo ipsum versari noverant, eo salus ipsius, et inopinatus adventus, majus gaudium illis adferebant. Senatus quoque cum ejus virtutem et doctrinam optime nosset, jussit illi quamprimum reddi pristinum locum, quem ante discessum in Angliam habuerat."—Jo. Simler. de vita et obitu P. Martyri, pp. 16, 17. ed. Tigur. 1563.]

Oxon : who, one would think, might have better entreated a man of quality by birth ; a man, besides, of great learning, integrity, and reverence, and whom the king had thought good, for his great parts, to place for his professor of divinity in that university ; and a man who also had always carried himself inoffensively unto all. The blame of this inhospitable usage might lie upon the English nation, and be a reflection upon the natives, were it not more truly to be laid to the furious spirit that popish principles inspire men with. This Peter Martyr did resent, and took notice of to the archbishop of Canterbury, in his epistle dedicatory, before his book of the Eucharist. There he writes, “ That he could not have thought there were any in the world, unless he had found it, that with such crafty wiles, deceitful tricks, and bitter slanders, would rage so against a man that deserved no manner of evil of them, nor ever hurt any one of them either in word or deed. And yet they tore his name with most shameless lies ; and would never make an end^u.” And if they did thus rudely carry themselves towards him in king Edward’s time, what then may we conclude they would do, when the government favoured them ?

In this first year of queen Mary, a very foul scandal was blown about of her, that she was with child by her ^{A scandal of the queen.}

^u [“ Equidem dum hæc mecum repeterem, meque viderem opera fortissimi alicujus ὑπερασπιστοῦ egere, ad tui neminis auctoritatem confugi, sub qua protegerer ab his, qui nullum videntur finem facturi, detrahendi, lacerandi, et nomen meum ubique mendaciis impudentissimis traducendi. Nunquam ego existimassetem fore aliquos, nisi reipsa

deprehendissem, qui tam subdolis astutiis, fraudulentis artibus, et amaris flagellis in hominem severent atque grassarentur, nihil mali de se unquam meritum, quique dicto vel facto læserit eorum neminem.” — P. Martyr. Epist. Nuncup. Thomæ Cranmero ; Tractat. de Sacramento. ed. Lond. 1549.]

chancellor, bishop Gardiner; however it was raised, whether of her enemies to render her odious, or of some zealots of popish religion, to shew the desire they had of her matching with him, or some other round Roman Catholic, as he was, and for whom she carried a very great reverence. A great reflection upon her chastity, and might have spoiled her marriage. It fled as far as Norfolk, and there spread itself. But such an infamous report not being fit to be put up, Henry earl of Sussex^x being lord lieutenant of that county, took upon him to examine this scandal, and to search it to the very first reporter. And so I find a bill drawn, in the Cotton library, subscribed by that earl's own hand, which set forth that Laurence Hunt, of Disse in Norfolk, came to Robert Lowdal, chief constable, and told him, "That he did hear say, that the queen's majesty was with child by the said bishop, and that his wife did tell him so." And when his wife was examined, she said, she had it of one Sheldrake's wife. And when Sheldrake's wife was examined, she said, she had it of her husband. And when he was examined, he said, he had it of one Wilby of Diss. And Wilby examined, said, he had it of one John Smith of Cock-street. And John Smith said, he heard it of one widow Miles. And she, being examined, said, she had it of two men, but what they were she could not tell, nor where they dwelt. And then, after this bill, follow all their examinations distinctly: which, I suppose, was drawn up for the council, signed with Sussex's hand. And what followed of this I know not: only in another manuscript there is a memorial of one John Albone, of 319 Trunch in Norfolk, who in the first of the queen was indicted for saying, "That the queen was with child by Winchester^y."

^x [See vol. ii. p. 375. n. g.]

^y [This bill exists at full length

A parliament met this year in the month of October^z. A parliament.
The queen knew how difficult it would be to obtain her

in Cott. MSS. Titus, B. ii. fol. 182-184^b. Brit. Mus. Original. The memorial with reference to the examination of John Albone of Trunch has not been discovered.]

^z [“The first day of October, queen Mary was crowned at Westminster, and the 10th day of the said month of October then following, began the parliament with a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost after the popish manner, celebrated with great pomp in the palace of Westminster. To the which mass among the other lords, according to the manner, should come the bishops, which yet remained undeposed, which were the archbishop of York, Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, John Harley, bishop of Hereford. Of the bishops, Dr. Taylor, and M. Harley, presenting themselves according to their duty, and taking their place amongst the lords, after they saw the mass begin, not abiding the sight thereof, withdrew themselves from the company; for the which cause the bishop of Lincoln being examined and protesting his faith, was upon the same commanded to attend, who not long after at Ankerwyke by sickness departed. M. Harley, because he was married, was excluded both from the parliament, and from his bishopric. Mass being done, the queen

accompanied with the estates of the realm, was brought into the parliament house, there, according to the manner, to enter and begin the consultation. At which consultation or parliament were repealed all statutes made in the time of king Henry the VIII, for ‘præmunire,’ and statutes made in king Edward the Sixth’s time for administration of common prayer and the sacraments in the English tongue; and further, the attainder of the duke of Northumberland was by this parliament confirmed.” — “Upon Thursday, being the 5. of October, 1553, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her, and when they were set in the parliament house, the bishop of Winchester made to them a solemn oration, and serjeant Pollard was chosen speaker of the parliament. The same day the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Westchester, were discharged from the parliament and convocation.” — “The parliament beginning about the 5. day of October, continued till the fifth of December. In the which parliament were dissolved as well all the statutes made of ‘præmunire,’ in the time of Henry VIII, &c. as also other laws and statutes concerning religion and administration of sacraments decreed under king Edward the VI. . . .

purpose, to overthrow all that had been established concerning religion in her brother's days; and therefore, when this parliament was to be summoned, she impeached the free election of members, by dispatching abroad into the several counties her letters directing the choice. And such knights and burgesses were chosen by force and threatening for many places, as were judged fit to serve her turn. And divers that were duly chosen, and lawfully returned, were thrust out; and others, without any order or law, put in their places. For the people were aware what the queen intended this parliament should do; and therefore did bestir themselves in most places to return honest men. In the upper house, Taylor, bishop of Lincoln^b, was in his robes violently thrust out of the house. In the house of commons, Alexander Nowel^c, and two more, chosen burgesses, lawfully chosen, returned, and admitted, were so served: which, according to the judgment of some, made the parliament actually void, as by a precedent of the parliament holden at Coventry in the 38th of Henry VI, it appeareth^d. As also her third parliament was reckoned by many to be void, because in the writs, from Philip and Mary, part of the title of the kings of England, viz. *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, was left out: which by a statute made in the

Hales' oration^a.

In the which parliament moreover was appointed the 20. day of December next ensuing, the same year, 1553, that all the old form and manner of church service, used in the last year of king Henry should now again be restored."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1410, 1466, 7. ed. Lond. 1583.—"The 5. of October, the parliament began at Westmin-

ster."—Stow's Annals, p. 617. ed. Lond. 1631.

^a [Harl. MSS. 419. fol. 143 et seqq. British Museum. Original. Foxe's Acts, &c. pp. 2116-19. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^b [See vol. ii. p. 36. n. ⁿ, and p. 413.]

^c See vol. ii. p. 358. n. ^z.]

^d [See Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. pp. 378, 9.]

35th of Henry VIII^e, was ordained to be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm. In which third parliament of the queen they repealed what was done by king Henry VIII, for the restitution of the liberty of the realm, and extinguishing the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome. This flaw Gardiner the lord chancellor well seeing, thought craftily to excuse by saying, (as may be seen in a piece of the statute made in the same parliament, cap. 8,) "That it lay in the free choice and free liberty of the kings of this realm, whether they would express the same title in their style, or no^f."

^e [i. e. 35^o. Hen. VIII. c. 3. intituled "the bill for the king's style," which was set forth "in the Latin tongue by these words; Henricus Octavus Dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie rex, fidei defensor et in terra ecclie Anglicane et Hibernice supremum caput: and in the English tongue by these words; Henry the eight by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England, and also of Ireland in earth the supreme head: and that the said style declared and set forth by this act in manner and forme as is above mentioned, shall be from henceforth by the authority aforesaid, united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this his highness' realm of England."— See Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. p. 958.]

^f [i. e. 1^o. and 2^o. Phil. and Mar. cap. 8. s. 4. Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. pt. i. pp. 247, 252,

253. — "The same time, when this parliament was summoned, she (i. e. queen Mary) also summoned a convocation of bishops and of the clergy, writing unto Boner, (whom she had made vicegerent in the stead of Cranmer being in the Tower), after the tenor and form of a new style, differing from the old style of king Henry and king Edward, as followeth; The style of queen Mary altered, writing to Boner for the summoning of a convocation. 'Maria, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor, reverendo in Christo patri Edmundo Londin. epis. salutem.' Where note, good reader, concerning the altering and changing the queen's style, the latter part thereof to be left out of her title, which is, 'Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Hibernicæ supremum caput;' because in this present parliament the supremacy being given away from the crown of England to the pope, thereupon

But it is replied to this, that though any man may renounce his own private right, yet he may not renounce his right in that which toucheth the commonwealth, or a third person. And this title and style more touched the commonwealth and the realm of England, than the king's.

The parliament repeal queen Katherine's divorce; and Cranmer taxed for it.

In this first parliament an act was made for confirmation of the marriage of the queen's mother to her father king Henry. Herein the leading men shewed their malice against the good archbishop by their wording of the preamble: as, "that Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop, did, most ungodly and against law, judge the divorce upon his own unadvised understanding of the Scriptures, and upon the testimonies of the universities, and some bare and most untrue conjectures." And they declared the sentence given by him to be unlawful. But I cannot let this pass, for the reputation of the archbishop,

this parcel of the title was also taken away."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1426. ed. Lond. 1583.]

§ ["And thus matters were prepared for the parliament; which was opened the fifth of October. In the writ of summons, and all other writs, the queen still retained the title of supreme head. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, and Harley, bishop of Hereford, came thither, resolving to justify their doctrine. Most of the other reformed bishops were now in prison: for besides these formerly mentioned, on the fourth of October the archbishop

of York was put in the Tower, no cause being given, but heinous offences only named in general. When the mass begun, it is said that those two bishops withdrew, and were upon that never suffered to come to their places again. But one Beal*, the clerk of the council in queen Elizabeth's time, reports this otherwise, and more probably; that bishop Taylor took his place in his robes, but refusing to give any reverence to the mass, was violently thrust out of the house." — Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 505, 6. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

* [The name of the clerk of the council in Foxe is Hales. — Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 534.]

without taking notice of the censure that the bishop of Sarum doth worthily bestow upon bishop Gardiner, whom he concludes to be the drawer up of this act: "That he shewed himself herein to be past all shame, and that it was as high a pitch of malice and impudence, as could be devised. For Gardiner had been setting this on long before Cranmer was known to the king, and had joined with him in the commission, and had given his consent to the sentence. Nor was the divorce merely grounded upon Cranmer's understanding the Scriptures, but upon the fullest and most studied arguments that had perhaps been in any age brought together in one particular case. And both houses of convocation had condemned the marriage before his sentence^h."

Hist. Reformat.
vol. ii.
p. 254.

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^h ["By this act, Gardiner had performed his promise to the queen, of getting her illegitimation taken off, without any relation to the pope's authority. But in the drawing of it, he shewed that he was past all shame; when he could frame such an act, of a business, which himself had so violently and servilely promoted. The falsehood of that pretence of corrupting universities has been shewn in the former volume*; but it was all they had now to say. The laying it all upon Cranmer was as high a pitch of malice and impudence as could be devised; for as Gardiner had been setting it on long before Cranmer was known to king Henry, so he had been joined with him in the

commission, and had given his assent to the sentence which Cranmer gave. Nor was the divorce grounded merely upon Cranmer's understanding of the Scriptures, but upon the fullest and most studied arguments that had perhaps been in any age brought together in one particular case; and both houses of convocation had condemned the marriage before his sentence. But because in the right of his see he was legate to the pope, therefore to make the sentence stronger, it went only in his name, though he had but a small share in it, compared to what Gardiner had."—Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 509, 510. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

* [See Hist. of Reformat vol. i. pp. 172, 180.]

CHAPTER V.

THE ARCHBISHOP ATTAINTED.

The arch-
bishop at-
tainted of
treason.

THIS parliament attainted Cranmer, with the lady Jane and her husband, and some others. And in November he was adjudged guilty of high treason at Guildhall. And under this judgment he lay for a good while: which was very uneasy to him, desiring to suffer under the imputation of heresy under this government, rather than treason. He was now looked upon as divested of his archbishopric, being a person attainted: and the fruits of his bishopric were sequesteredⁱ.

ⁱ ["The 13. November, (A. D. 1553,) doctor Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, lady Jane, that was before proclaimed queen, and the lord Guilford, her husband, and the lord Ambrose Dudley, were arraigned at the Guildhall of London, and condemned of treason."—Stow's Annals, p. 617. ed. Lond. 1631.—
"The last act of which I shall give an account, was the confirmation of the attainders that had been made. On the 13th of November, archbishop Cranmer, the lord Guilford Dudley, and the lady Jane his wife, with two other sons of the duke of Northumberland, (which were all, except the lord Robert, who was reserved for greater fortunes), were brought to their trial. These all con-

fessed their indictments. Only Cranmer appealed to those that judged him, how unwillingly he had consented to the exclusion of the queen; that he had not done it till those, whose profession it was to know the law had signed it: upon which he submitted himself to the queen's mercy. But they were all attainted of high treason, for levying war against the queen, and conspiring to set up another in her room. So these judgments, with those that had passed before, were now confirmed by act of parliament. And now Cranmer was legally divested of his archbishopric, which was hereupon void in law, since a man that is attainted can have no right to any church benefice; his life was also at the

Canterbury being now without an archbishop, the dean, The Dean of Canterbury acts in the vacancy. Dr. Wottonⁱ, acted in that station, according to his office, in the vacancy of the see. So he sent out many commissions. There was a commission from him to John Cotterel^k and William Bowerman, to exercise jurisdiction in the see of Wells, by the resignation of Barlow^l, bishop there. Another commission to the see of Bristol, upon the resignation of Bush^m. Another, for the see of Lichfield, upon the death of Richard Sampsonⁿ: which com-

queen's mercy. But it being now designed to restore the ecclesiastical exemption and dignity to what it had been anciently, it was resolved, that he should be still esteemed archbishop, till he were solemnly degraded, according to the canon law. The queen was also inclined to give him his life at this time, reckoning, that thereby she was acquitted of all the obligations she had to him; and was resolved to have him proceeded against for heresy, that so it might appear she did not act out of revenge, or on any personal account. So all that followed on this against Cranmer was, a sequestration of all the fruits of his archbishopric; himself was still kept in prison: nor were the other prisoners proceeded against at this time. The queen was desirous to seem willing to pardon injuries done against herself, but was so heated in the matters of religion, that she was always inexorable on that head."—Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 515, 516. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

ⁱ [See vol. i. p. 159. n. d.]

^k [John Cotterel, LL.D. a civilian, who complied with popery in the reign of queen Mary, was vicar general of Bath and Wells, archdeacon of Dorset and Wells, and commissary for the vacant see of Bristol. He was present at the convocation, 1562, and subscribed the articles. He died A. D. 1572.—See Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 420, 488, 492; vol. ii. pt. i. p. 351; vol. iii. pt. i. p. 39. Ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 352. Ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 152, 258; vol. ii. p. 50. ed. Oxon. 1821. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 44, 50.]

^l [See vol. ii. p. 107. n. a.]

^m [See above, p. 25. n. d.]

ⁿ [Richard Sampson, LL.D. "was bred in St. Clement's hostle, Cambridge," and was chaplain to cardinal Wolsey and his chancellor in the diocese of Tournay; he was afterwards made dean of St. Stephen's and appointed chaplain to Henry VIII., a privy counsellor, and president of Wales, from

mission was directed to David Pool^o, LL.D. dated 1554, September ult. Another, to exercise jurisdiction in the see of Exon, vacant by the death of Veysy, February 9, 1554. Another, for the consecration of Gilbert Bourn^p

which office he was removed by Edward VI. He was consecrated bishop of Chichester, June 9, A. D. 1536, and was translated to Lichfield and Coventry, Feb. 19, 1542. "Though a papist, yet he complied so far, that he continued bishop through queen Mary's reign," to whom he did homage on her accession. He died at Eccleshall, Sept. 25, 1554.—See vol. i. pp. 105, 106, 115, 145, 146, 196, 205, 225. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 10, 29, 194, 499, 502, 503, 504; vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 168; vol. iii. pp. 56, 316. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 143, 431, 467, 667, 724; vol. ii. pp. 292, 554; vol. iii. pp. 286, 288, 590. ed. Oxon. 1829. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 58, 125.]

^o [David Pole, or Pool, LL.D. was chancellor of Lichfield and archdeacon of Salop, and was present as such in the convocation, A. D. 1540; he was appointed vicar general and principal official of the bishop of Lichfield, and afterwards vicar general to cardinal Pole; he was consecrated bishop of Peterborough, August 15, 1557, of which dignity he was deprived about midsummer, 1559. He died in May or June, 1568, but where buried is uncertain."—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 553, 557; vol. iii. pt. i.

pp. 168, 473, 477; pt. ii. p. 26. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 82, 206, 214, 217, 411. ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 106. ed. Oxon. 1821. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 792, 805; vol. iii. pp. 526, 562. ed. Oxon. 1829. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 135, 239.]

^p [Gilbert Bourne, S. T. B. was chaplain to bishop Boner, archdeacon of Bedford, and canon of St. Paul's, in which latter capacity he preached at Paul's cross, August 12, 1553, where taking occasion of the gospel of the day to speak somewhat largely in justifying of Boner being present, one hurled a dagger at him. He was consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells, April 1, 1554, of which dignity he was deprived in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign. He died September 10, 1569, at Sylverton, in Devonshire.—See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1409. ed. Lond. 1583. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 36, 37, 79, 180, 352. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 82, 206, 211, 213, 220, 248. ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 106, 177, 178, 279, 282. ed. Oxon. 1821. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 33, 34, 170.]

bishop of Bath and Wells, John White^q bishop of Lincoln, Morice Griffith^r of Rochester, John Cotes^s of Chester, Henry Morgan^t of St. David's, James Brook^u of Gloucester: who were all consecrated together in the church of St. Saviour's Southwark, April 1, 1554. This commission, I suppose, was to the bishop of Winchester^x. Another commission for the consecration of Hopton bishop of Norwich^y, dated October 6, 1554; consecrated October 28 following. Another commission to consecrate Holiman^z bishop of Bristol, and Bayn^a bishop of Lichfield,

^q [See vol. ii. p. 264. n. v.]

^r [Maurice Griffith, or Griffyn, S.T.B. was archdeacon of Rochester; he was consecrated bishop of that diocese April 1, 1554. He assisted at the consecration of cardinal Pole to the see of Canterbury, March 22, 1555; he died Nov. 20, 1558.—See Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 557; vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 180, 473. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's *Annals of Reformat.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 44. ed. Oxon. 1824. *Le Neve's Fasti*, pp. 8, 251, 254.]

^s [George Cotes, S. T. P. was consecrated bishop of Chester, April 1, 1554, and died about the beginning of December, 1555.—*Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 341. Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 174, 180. ed. Oxon. 1822. *Burnet's Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 552. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^t [See vol. ii. pp. 110, n. v, 111, n. b.]

^u [Or Brookes: see vol. ii. p. 319.]

^x [Stephen Gardiner.]

^y [John Hopton, S. T. P. chaplain to the lady Mary, was consecrated bishop of Norwich, Oct.

25, 1554; he is said to have leavened his diocese with popery, and was so much in debt at the time of his death that his creditors seized his goods to answer his debts to them.—See *Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 212. Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 238, 239, 451. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's *Annals of the Reformat.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 309. ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's *Life of abp. Parker*, vol. i. p. 75. ed. Oxon. 1821. *Burnet's Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. pp. 212, 553, 758. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^z [John Holyman, S. T. P. was consecrated bishop of Bristol, Nov. 18, 1554: he assisted at the trial of Hoper, and was one of a commission to try Ridley and Latimer for heresy. He was also one of the commission for the trial of Cranmer. He died Dec. 20, 1558.—See Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 286, 322. ed. Oxon. 1822. *Burnet's Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. pp. 552, 638. ed. Oxon. 1829. *Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 48.]

^a [Ralph Bain, or Bayne, for-

dated November 16, 1554. consecrated November 18 following. Another commission to consecrate James Turbervil^b bishop of Exon, who was consecrated September 8,

merly fellow of St. John's coll. Cambridge, and who assisted at the trials of Hoper, Rogers, and Taylor, was consecrated bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Nov. 18, 1553. He was present in queen Elizabeth's first parliament, wherein he protested against the bill restoring the first fruits and tenths to the crown, against that restoring and annexing the supremacy to the crown; he also opposed the measure respecting the appointment of bishops, and that for uniformity; he was one of the disputants on the popish side at the Westminster conference, A. D. 1559; he refused to take the oath of supremacy, for which he was a short time imprisoned, and fined in the sum of 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; he was also present at the convocation of that year. He was deprived of his bishopric, June 21, 1559, and died in Jan. 1559^o.—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 286, 287, 288, 290. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 96, 113, 128, 132, 139, 140, 206, 210, 214. ed. Oxon. 1824. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 767, 771, 776, 789, 791; vol. iii. pp. 526, 558. ed. Oxon. 1839. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 125. Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. iii. p. 410. ed. Lond. 1840. Fuller's

Ch. Hist. vol. iv. p. 274. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

^b [James Turbervil, or Turberville, was born at Bere, in the county of Dorset; he was educated at New college, Oxford, and consecrated bishop of Exeter Sep. 8, 1555; he was present in the first parliament of queen Elizabeth, though not in the convocation of A. D. 1559, either personally or by proxy. He protested in parliament against the bills for restoring the first fruits and tenths to the crown, for restoring and annexing the supremacy to the crown, and for the appointment of bishops; he was present at the disputation at Westminster; having refused to take the oath of supremacy, he was summoned before the queen, and imprisoned for a short time; he was deprived of his bishopric about the beginning of January, 1559, but was permitted to reside in his own house afterwards, where "he lived peaceably for many years in great liberty; the privacy of whose life caused the obscurity of his death, and the uncertainty of the date thereof."—See Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. i. pp. 455, 6. ed. Lond. 1840. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 367. vol. iv. pp. 180, 281. ed. Oxon. 1845. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 360. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of

1555. And for William Glyn^e, bishop of Bangor, the same date. All these five last named were consecrated in a chapel of the bishop of London in London.

The poor archbishop most instantly sued to the queen for his pardon, acknowledging his fault in the most submissive manner that could be. But though she had granted pardons to divers others that had signed king Edward's will, and made no such boggle to do it as the archbishop did, yet the archbishop remained unpardoned. 321

He sent divers humble petitionary letters to the queen and her council for the obtaining this favour^d. In one letter to her, he called it his "heinous folly and offence:" and said, "That he never liked it; nor that any thing that the queen's brother ever did, grieved him so much: and that if it had been in his power, he would have letted the doing of it: that divers of the queen's council knew what he had said to the king and the council against proceeding in it: and that he endeavoured to talk to the king alone about it, but was not permitted: and that when he could not dissuade him from this will, he was hardly brought to sign it, notwithstanding what the judges told him, to satisfy him in point of law: and that at last it was the king's earnest request to him, that he would not be the only man that refused it: which, with the judgment of the lawyers, overcame him to set his hand." But I refer the reader to the Appendix to weigh this whole letter, as

The arch-
bishop sues
for pardon
of treason.

Number
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the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 129, 206, 211, 214, 217, 22c. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 177, 178, 279. ed. Oxon. 1821. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 83.]

^c [William Glyn, S. T. P. was educated at Queen's college, Cambridge, of which house he became master A. D. 1553. He was the

brother of Geoffrey Glyn, LL.D. (see vol. ii. p. 170.) and was consecrated bishop of Bangor, Sept. 8, 1555. He died May 21, 1558. See Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. iii. p. 509. ed. Lond. 1840. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. p. 279. ed. Oxon. 1845. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 27, 429.]

^d [See above, p. 20, n. 8.]

Number
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it is there transcribed. Another petition the next year, 1554, he sent up from Oxon, by Dr. Weston^e, to the council. And therein he begged them to intercede with the queen for his pardon. But Weston, carrying it half way to London, and then opening it, and seeing the contents of it, sent it back again to the archbishop, and refused to be the messenger^f.

Obtains it. This at length was the resolution that was taken concerning him in this matter: (because for shame they could not deny him a pardon, when others, far more guilty, and deeper in the business, had it :) That he should be pardoned the treason as an act of the queen's grace, and then he should be proceeded against for heresy; for die they were resolved he should. When this pardon was at length obtained, he was right glad; being very gladly ready to undergo afflictions for the doctrine that he had taught, and the reformation he had set on foot, because this he reckoned to be suffering for God's cause, and not as an evil-doers.

The archbishop looked now with weeping eyes upon the

^e ["Hugh Weston, a native of Leicestershire, entered at Balliol college, Oxford, in 1526, and subsequently became a fellow of that society. He was elected rector of Lincoln college in 1538; and two years afterwards was appointed Margaret Professor of Divinity, and subsequently archdeacon of Colchester, and rector of Clyff, in Kent. In the first year of queen Mary he was made dean of Westminster, but quitted the dignity to make way for abbot Feckenham. He was appointed prolocutor of the convocation in 1553; and was preferred to the deanery

of Windsor in 1556, of which dignity he was deprived by cardinal Pole upon a criminal prosecution; and when he threatened to go to Rome to appeal, he was seized and committed to the Tower, where he died in 1588, and was buried in a church belonging to the Savoy."—See Exam. and Writings of John Philpot, p. 167. Park. Soc. Ed. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 364, 376, 475, 490.]

^f [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1464. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^g [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1871.]

present sad condition of religion, and the miserable apostasy of the church, lapsed into all the formerly rejected superstitions. Nor could he now procure any redress. Yet he felt a pressure upon his spirit to do something towards it. So he attempted, in a letter to the queen, to get liberty from her freely to open to her his mind about the state of religion: hoping that when she heard plainly and truly the reasons that moved her father and brother to do what they did, (a thing studiously concealed from her,) she might be better inclined. He told her, "that indeed it lay not in him, nor in any private subject, to reform things, but only in her majesty, but quietly to suffer what they could not amend; yet he thought it his duty, considering what place he once bore, and knowing what he did, and bearing a great part in all the alterations made in religion, to shew the queen his mind. And when he had done this, then he should think himself discharged. And therefore he earnestly sued to her for her leave." But I do not find that ever he obtained it.

He desires to open his mind to the queen concerning religion.

CHAPTER VI.

A CONVOCATION.

A Convo-
cation.

THERE WAS NOW a convocation^a; which was so packed, or so compliant, that six only of the whole house publicly owned king Edward's reformation: Haddon, dean of Exon^b; Philips, dean of Rochester^c; Young, chanter of St. David's^d; Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester^e; Elmer, archdeacon of Stow^f; and Cheiny, archdeacon of Here-

^a [About the 18th of October. —Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1410. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^b [i. e. James Haddon, who is said to have succeeded Simon Haines in the deanery of Exeter; but it is an error (of Foxe probably) to call him dean of Exeter, as it is clear, from ecclesiastical records, that Dr. Moreman held that dignity at the time of the 'disputation in the convocation house.'—See above, p. 38. He was a voluntary exile at the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, and resided at Strasbourg. See Exam. and Writings of John Philpot, p. 170. Park. Soc. Ed. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 86. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 52, 274. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 527—535. ed. Oxon. 1829. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 164, 206. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

^c ["Walter Philips, the last

prior (of Rochester) made a surrender of his convent into the king's hands in March, 1540, who, ejecting the monks, erected a new society in this church, to consist of a dean and six prebendaries, and constituted the said Walter Philips the first dean." Although he took part in this convocation, and publicly owned king Edward's reformation, he afterwards recanted and subscribed, April 30, 1553. He died in 1570.—See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 252. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. p. 429. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^d [See vol. ii. p. 108. n. 2.]

^e [For a biographical notice of John Philpot, B. C. L. archdeacon of Winchester, see his Examinations and Writings, i—xxi. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^f [i. e. John Aylmer, Ælmer, Ailemer, or Elmer, tutor to the lady Jane Grey, successively archdeacon of Stow (June 15, 1553)

fords; which last owned the presence with the Papists, but denied the transubstantiation. The queen commanded this convocation to hold a public disputation at St. Paul's church, concerning the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar: which, how well it was opposed by four or five of the six, (for Young went away,) in the presence of abundance of noblemen and others, recourse is to be had to Foxe^h. There was a true report of the disputation of these men at this convocation, which Philpot, one of the disputants, wrote, and had it printed: which he owned at one of his examinations before the bishop of London and othersⁱ; and perhaps may be the same we have extant in Foxe's Monuments.

But because both Foxe^k and bishop Burnet are brief concerning the opening of this convocation, therein I shall ^{How it} be more large and particular. The bishop of London's chaplain, Harpsfield^l, began in a sermon at Paul's to the ^{opened.}

and Lincoln, (Nov. 6, 1562) was consecrated bishop of London, March 24, 1576, and died June 3rd or 5th, 1594.—See Le Neve's *Fasti*, pp. 157, 173, 180.]

g [Richard Cheiny, or Cheney, was collated to the archdeaconry of Hereford, Feb. 3, 1551. He was consecrated bishop of Gloucester, April 19, 1562, and "had the queen's leave to hold" the bishopric of Bristol "in commendam" by her letters patent, dated April 29, 1562. He died April 25, 1579.—See Le Neve's *Fasti*, pp. 49, 101, 119. See also *Exam. and Writings of John Philpot*, p. 170. Park. Soc. Ed.]

h [For "the true report of the disputation had and begun in the

convocation house at London, the 18th of October, Anno 1553," see Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1410. et seqq.]

ⁱ [Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1819. ed. Lond. 1583. *Exam. and Writings of John Philpot*, p. 111. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^k [See Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1410. ed. Lond. 1583. Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 526. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^l [This sermon, according to Foxe, was preached on the 16th of October. "John Harpsfield was born in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street, London, and educated at Winchester school. Being elected thence to New college, Oxford, he became

clergy then assembled. That finished, those of the upper house advised those of the lower to choose a prolocutor. And they chose Weston^m, dean of Westminster: who by Pye, dean of Chichesterⁿ, and Wymbesly^o, archdeacon of

fellow of that society in 1534; but quitted his fellowship in 1551, being then beneficed in London: he was made archdeacon of London in 1554; in which capacity he aided Boner in his various plans and proceedings, being a man of a kindred spirit with the bishop, who had probably been first attracted to him by discovering such a similarity of views. In 1558, Harpsfield was appointed dean of Norwich, but was forced to leave it to make room for John Salisbury, suffragan bishop of Thetford. After Elizabeth had come to the throne, he was committed to the Fleet for not acknowledging her ecclesiastical supremacy; but was released upon condition that he should not act, speak, or write against the doctrine of the church of England. Hereupon retiring to the house of a relative dwelling in St. Sepulchre's parish, he passed the remainder of his days in retiredness and devotion. He died in 1578, and was (probably) buried in the church of St. Sepulchre."—Exam. and Writings of John Philpot, p. xxx. Park. Soc. Ed. See also Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 188, 214.]

^m [See above, p. 68. n. e.]

ⁿ ["William Pye, born in Suffolk, was elected fellow of Oriel college, Oxford, in 1529. He

studied physic, was thrice proctor of the University, and subsequently took the degree of D.D. He was made archdeacon of Berkshire in October 1545; and in the reign of Edward VI. shewed signs of being a favourer of the Reformation; but on Mary's accession he changed his mind, and early in her reign, (Dec. 21, 1553) was made dean of Chichester, and prebendary of Lytton in Wells cathedral, with which he united the rectory of Chedzoy in Somersetshire. 'When this learned person and celebrated preacher died,' says Wood, 'unless in 1557, I know not.'"—Exam. and Writings of John Philpot, p. 169. Park. Soc. Ed. See also Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 60, 280, 456, 457.]

^o [John Wimsley, or Wimbesley, was an illegitimate son of sir John Savage of Cheshire, the reputed father also of Edmund Boner, bishop of London, by Elizabeth Frodsham, wife of one Edmund Boner. Wimsley, besides being parson of Tarporley in Cheshire, was collated to the archdeaconry of London, Oct. 29, 1543, which he resigned in 1554, and was succeeded by John Harpsfield. He was collated to the archdeaconry of Middlesex, April 11, 1554, and died before October 10, 1556. See Le Neve's Fasti,

London, was presented by speeches to the bishops. At which time Weston made his gratulatory oration to the house, and the bishop of London answered him. Which sermon and four orations were put together in a book, printed in December 1553, by Cawood^p. Harpsfield's text was, *Attendite vobis, et universo gregi, &c.* Act. xx. Whence he took occasion to treat of three things: "I. How well Paul took heed to himself and his flock. II. How ill the pastors of late regarded each. III. What way was to be used, that they might take heed to themselves and their flocks. Under the first head he shewed how St. Paul took heed to himself by keeping under his body, and bringing it into subjection: by taking heed of three pests of an ecclesiastical life, *flattery, avarice, and vainglory*: and that he might in all things propound himself a pattern to believers. And, secondly, as he thus took heed to himself, so he took heed to the flock in three particulars: in the doctrine which he preached; in his diligence to preserve his flock from wolves; and in his imposition of hands, whereby he provided fit ministers for the church." And then, when he came unto the second head in the division of his discourse, he took occasion at large to vent his malice against the reformed ministers in king Edward's days; shewing how they failed in all the particulars before said: "That they were bellygods; gave themselves over to junketings and pampering of their car- 323 cases: that they were unchaste, taking to themselves wives, some that had lived threescore years single. That

pp. 188, 794. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 556. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 173, 4. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

^p ["Concio quædam admodum elegans, docta, salubris, et pia

magistri Johannis Harpesfeldi, sacre theologiæ baccalaurei, habita coram patribus et clero in ecclesia Paulina, Londini. 26 Octobris, 1553." &c. Bodl. Libr.

they were flatterers, insinuating themselves into the favour of the courtiers: covetous also, keeping no hospitality; vain-glorious, vaunting themselves to understand the holy Scripture as well as any of the ancients, daring to compare themselves with Hierom, Augustin, Ambrose, &c. And some of them from a shop, endued with no liberal discipline, not so much as grammar, would mount the pulpit, and there give out themselves for learned men, if they did but rail against whatsoever was holy, and boast that they had the Spirit. No vice of the laity, but they were guilty of it. And then, as to their neglect of the flock, their doctrine was such, as they might well repent and be ashamed of. How did they tear the Lord's flock, and how many souls send to hell, and what pernicious doctrines bring into the kingdom! That they brought into the ministry, and to preach God's word, cobblers, dyers, weavers, fullers, barbers, apothecaries, beggars, jesters, fitter for the plough-tail than the ministry of the word." And with a great deal more of such railing stuff were the minds of the clergy to be prepared vigorously to overthrow all the reformation, and to bring back Popery again.

The arch-
bishop and
three more
crowded to-
gether in
the Tower.

The Tower, as well as the Fleet and Marshalsea, was crowded with prisoners: all that were supposed to favour religion, or that made any whisper against the popish religion, or that had any the least hand in queen Jane's business, being taken up and committed. The Tower being so full, our archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all thrust together into one chamber: which however inconvenient it were, yet they were very glad to be together; that they might have the opportunity of conferring with one another, and establishing one another. There they read over the New Testament together with great deliberation and study; on purpose to see

if there were any thing that might favour that popish doctrine of a corporal presence. But, after all, they could find no presence but a spiritual: nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But they found in that holy book that the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good; and that God did require none other, nor that it should be ever done again: as Latimer, one of the four, related in his protestation given to Weston.

CHAPTER VII.

THE QUEEN SENDS TO CARDINAL POLE^a.

The queen
sends to
Pole.

THE queen, out of that great opinion she had of cardinal Pole, either to make him her husband, or her archbishop in Cranmer's room, sent letters to him, one dated from London, October 28, written in Latin, conveyed to him from the emperor's court: probably brought thither by Commendone, who had been sent by the pope's legate in that court a private agent unto her: and another, dated 324 January 28. The cardinal was coming now from the pope, as his legate, and in his journey staid, for some reason of state, in the emperor's dominions^b. In this

^a ["Cardinal Pole, who had long time been forth from this realm, and now in great estimation in the court of Rome, was sent for by queen Mary, to return unto his country of England."—Stow's Annals, p. 617. ed. Lond. 1631. For the letters between queen Mary and cardinal Pole, see Phillips's Life of cardinal Pole, vol. ii. pp. 56 et sqq. ed. Lond. 1767.]

^b ["Ex cardinalis Poli instructionibus. The emperor exhorted me, cardinal Pole, that I should no further prosecute my voyage until I should have further commission from the pope's holiness; alleging unto me for this cause the desire and zeal that his majesty hath of the quiet of the queen, the which

by likelihood might be troubled, if I should go forward as the pope's legate, until the minds of those people, now many years alienated from that obedience, were better disposed; which requireth both time, and a greater stablishment of the queen's state in her kingdom, which is yet young and very tender; wherefore it should not be well now to tempt a thing so odious and abhorred of them, which might give them occasion to resist her highness' will and pleasure in this first parliament: after this I have had also letters from the queen herself, by the which she also sheweth herself to fear the very same, and therefore to be counselled to take time, exhorting me to defer my coming,

stay he thought fit, in answer to both her letters, to send his mind at large by his messenger Thomas Goldwell^c; who was once, if I mistake not, prior of the church of Canterbury; but long since fled out of England, and lived with Pole; and by the queen afterwards preferred to the bishopric of St. Asaph^d.

The contents of the queen's former letter consisted in two points: the one concerning the difficulty she feared

The contents of her letters.

but requiring nevertheless my judgment and counsel therein, what I would think best she should do in this case."—Cott. MSS. Titus C. vii. fol. 67. b. British Museum. Copy.]

^c ["Thomas Goldwell, S.T.P. of Canterbury college, in Oxford, succeeded to this priorship," (of Canterbury,) "on his predecessor's (Thomas Goldstone's) death in 1517, and was the last prior of this convent. He continued in the government of it till the year 1540, anno 31 Henry VIII, in which year this priory was dissolved, and the prior and monks ejected, and a dean and twelve prebendaries placed in their room"—Hasted's Hist. of Kent, vol. iv. p. 557. ed. Canter. 1778-1799. "Thomas Goldwell, sub initium Octobris 1555 consecratus, circa solstitium æstivale 1559 (Elizabethæ reginæ primo) solum sponte mutavit, et in exilio viginti postea per annos vixit. Magno conatu magnas nugas. Multis precibus a papa impetravit Goldwellus, indulgentias renovari nescio quas ad tempus certum concessas, superstitionis gratia pere-

grinationes suscipientibus ad fontem qui sanctæ Winefridæ appellatur, et oblationes sacrificulis exhibentibus qui ibi loci ex hoc lucelli genere victitabant.—Mortitur et sepultus est Romæ cir. 1581."—Godwin de præsulibus, p. 642. ed. Cantab. 1743. "Thomas Goldwell, S.T.B. had the temporalities of the see of St. Asaph put into his custody, May 12, 1555, and plenary restitution of them made to him Jan. 22 following: and soon after he was designed to be translated to Oxford, and had patent for restitution of the temporalities of that see, dated Nov. 9, 1558, 5 and 6 Phil. and Mary. But before the translation was perfected, queen Mary died; and when queen Elizabeth came to the crown, he quitted all, and conveyed himself beyond sea."—Rymer, vol. xv. p. 422, 428. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 22.]

^d [For a more full account of the sending for cardinal Pole into England, &c. see Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 516-524; vol. iii. pp. 440 et seqq. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

Concerning
the supre-
macy.

in renouncing the title of the supremacy. For she writ him, that, when the parliament yielded to the abolishing of the laws, wherein her mother's matrimony was made illegitimate, the lower house willingly agreed to the establishment of her right of succeeding to the crown, but made a great boggle of abolishing the title of the supremacy; thinking that might be a way to the introducing the pope's authority again, which they could not gladly hear of: and therefore neither did they like to hear of a legate from the pope. Hence the queen, who knew Pole was now commissioned by the pope for his legate in this kingdom, and ready to come, did entreat him to stop for a while. And she desired his advice, in case the parliament would not be brought to let go the law, wherein the supremacy was placed in the crown imperial of this land. The other point, wherein the queen desired information of the cardinal, was, how the commission she had privately given to Commendone^e was published in the consistory of Rome, as her ambassador resident at Venice had certified her^f.

Concerning
the new bi-
shops.

The sum of her other letter to the cardinal was, concerning certain persons that she had in her intentions to make bishops in the void sees^g: they were Morgan^h, Whiteⁱ, Parfew^k, Coates^l, Brooks^m, Holimanⁿ, and

^e [John Francis Commendone, p. 111. n. b.]
was a native of Venice: pope Julius III. made him his chamberlain, and entrusted him with several important missions: he was made a bishop by Paul IV, and a cardinal by Pius IV: he died, A. D. 1584.]

^f [See above, p. 76.]

^g [Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1467. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^h [See vol. ii. p. 110. n. y. and

ⁱ [See vol. ii. p. 264. n. w.]

^k [Robert Warton, alias Parfew, or Purfoy, abbot of Bermondsey, was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph, July 2, 1536; he was one of the commission appointed "to deprive king Edward's bishops, upon pretence of their being married," and was translated to Hereford, April 24, 1554, upon the deprivation of John Harley:

Bayn^o: how they might be put into those sees without derogation to the authority of the see apostolic. For she intended not to extend the power of the crown further than it was in use before the schism. She sent him also the two acts that had passed in the parliament, the one of the legitimation of the matrimony of queen Katharine with king Henry, and the other of the sacraments to be used in that manner as they were used the last year of king Henry VIII^p, which she sent to him, because she knew they would be matter of comfort and satisfaction to him.

As to both these letters of the queen, he gave instructions to Goldwel to signify to her majesty what his thoughts were. As to the first, his advice was, "that the authority and acceptableness of the person goes a great way to make any proposition well entertained and received by the people. And that, seeing there were none, neither of the temporalty nor spiritualty, but that had either spoke or writ against the pope's supremacy; therefore he thought that her majesty herself would be the fittest person to propound it with her own mouth. Which was the

Pole's advice to the queen.

Instructions to Goldwel. Titus B. 2. 9

he died Sept. 22, 1557.—See vol. i. p. 105. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 22, 111. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 153, 180. ed Oxon. 1822.]

¹ [George Coates, or Cotes, S.T.P. was consecrated bishop of Chester upon the deprivation of John Bird, April 1, 1554. He died about the beginning of December, 1555.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 341. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 552. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^m [See vol. ii. p. 319.]

ⁿ [See above, p. 65. n. 2.]

^o [See above, p. 65. n. 2.]

^p [i. e. 1^o. Mariæ, St. 2. cap. i. intituled, "an act declaring the queen's highness to have been born in a most just and lawful matrimony, and also repealing all acts of parliament and sentences of divorce had and made to the contrary," &c.—Statutes of the realm, vol. iv. pt. i. pp. 201, 2.]

^q [Cotton MSS. Titus B. 2. fol. 170 et sqq. British Museum. Original.]

course the emperor took to justify his war with the French king. He did it by his own mouth before the pope and cardinals. He would have her at the same time to let the parliament know plainly, that he, (cardinal Pole,) being the pope's legate, was to be admitted and
 325 sent for. And therefore that, in order to this, the law of his banishment might be repealed, and he restored in blood." As to the second point, which seemed to offend the queen, that Commendone had revealed that in the consistory which she told him in much secrecy, Pole said, "that he kept her counsel, and told nothing that he heard from her mouth, but only what he had heard of certain devout catholics that knew the queen's mind. Which was in general concerning the devout mind her majesty bare to God and the church: but that nothing was spoken of that particular matter, that she would have none but the pope made acquainted with." Which private matter, it seems, was, that she desired the pope to make Pole his legate to England.

Disgust's
 stop.

But that he should be thus stopped in his journey, when the pope had sent him upon such a weighty errand, the cardinal signified in the same letter his disgust of. And, "he feared it might be so ill taken by the pope and cardinals, that they might send for him back again to Rome, and not permit him to go on that intended charitable design. And that it was contrary to her first commission; when she shewed more fervency to receive the obedience of the church: (as he took the confidence to tell her.) And that therefore he was in some suspicion, that the next commission he should receive from the pope should be to return back into Italy again: because the pope might think, that he had done his part touching his demonstration of his care of the queen and her realms, when he offered both so readily all graces that tended to

make a reconciliation of both to the church. In which perhaps (said he) the cardinals would think his holiness had been too liberal. And, that they might take his stop, without their consent, for a great indignity. And this revocation he still more feared, if his stay should be deferred any longer space."

The cardinal, upon this his stay, sent a servant of his by post to Rome to make a fair excuse for this stop; namely, that the queen shortly trusted that the matters of the parliament should have that satisfaction that the cardinal desired: which was the effect of a letter the queen writ to one Henry Pynning, his servant. He also let the pope know, by the aforesaid messenger, that it was the emperor's advice that the queen should proceed in matters of religion warily and slowly, and not to be too hasty, until temporal matters were better settled.

He also wrote letters to the emperor, which he sent by his servant Pynning, to persuade him to remove this and bade his said servant to repair to the emperor's confessor, that he should personally resort unto him, and by all means possible move the emperor to let the cardinal go forward.

As to the two acts of parliament which the queen sent him, he wrote her, "That they were partly to his satisfaction, and partly not. For the act of ratification of the matrimony was defective, in that the parliament, mentioning the wisdom of the parents in making the match, did make no mention of their wisdom; in that, besides their own consent, they procured the pope's dispensation, and the authority of the see apostolic; whereby the impediments of conjunction, by the laws of the church, were taken away: which (he added) ought by all means to have been mentioned. As to the other act for confirmation of the sacraments, the defect of that (he said) lay,

Sends to Rome about this his stop;

and to the emperor.

His judgment of two late acts of parliament.

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in that this act made those capable of partaking of the sacraments that were not yet entered into the unity of the church, and remained still in schism." But, to receive more full satisfaction in these matters, I refer the reader to the instructions given by the cardinal to Goldwel, as they may be read in the Appendix,

Number
LXXV.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DEALINGS WITH THE MARRIED CLERGY.

THE marriage of the clergy gave great offence to those that were now uppermost. For many of both persuasions, papists as well as protestants, had taken wives; it being allowed by a law in king Edward's days; but would now no longer be endured, and was pretended to be against an oath they had taken, when they received holy orders. For the queen sent a letter and instructions, dated March 4, to all the bishops; some of the contents whereof were, "to deprive all the married clergy, and to amove them from their benefices and promotions ecclesiastical; and besides this, not to suffer them to abide with their wives, or *women*, (as the papists now chose rather to style them,) but to divorce and punish them; but that such priests should be somewhat more favourably dealt withal, that, with the consent of their wives, did openly promise to abstain. These nevertheless were to be enjoined penance by the bishop, and then it lay in him to admit them again to their former ministration; but not in the same place they were in before; of which they were to be deprived; and a part of that benefice they were outed of was to be allowed them, according to the bishop's discretion^a." Ac-

^a ["The next month following, which was the month of March, and the 4. day of the said month, there was a letter sent from the queen to Boner, bishop of London, with certain articles also annexed, to be put in speedy execution." Then the articles follow at full length. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1423, 1424. ed. Lond. 1583. See also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 354-359.]

ording to these instructions of the queen, a sad havock was made among the clergy; some thousands being computed to be put out of their livings upon this account. And a good expedient it proved to get rid of the soberer clergy, that were not for the present turn.

That the reader may take some prospect of these transactions with the married clergy, I will here set down what was done with some of them under the jurisdiction of Canterbury by the dean and chapter, our archbishop being now laid aside.

Married
priests in
London
cited to ap-
pear.

Of those priests, beneficed in London, that pertained to the archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction there, nine were cited, by a citation, March 7, (that is, but three days after the queen's letter,) from the dean and chapter, *Sede Cant. tunc vacante*, (as it is said in the said citation,) to appear in Bow-church, London, before Henry Harvey, LL.D. vicar general, for being married men. These persons thus cited were these: John Joseph^b, rector of the church of St. Mary le Bow; Stephen Green, rector of St. Dionys back-church; Laurence Saunders^c, rector of
327 the church of Alhallowes in Bred-street; Peter Alexander^d, rector of Alhallowes, Lumbard-street; Christopher Ashburn^e, rector of St. Michael's, Crooked-lane; Thomas Mountain^f, rector of St. Michael's in Riola; John Turnor,

^b [See vol. ii. p. 187. n. p.]

^c [For "the history and martyrdom of Lawrence Saunders," who had been preferred by abp. Cranmer to the living of Allhallowes, Bread Street, London, and who was "burned for the defence of the gospel at Coventry, an. 1555, February 8;" see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1493 et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583. See also vol. ii. of this edition, p. 413, and

Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 291. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

^d [See vol. ii. p. 143. n. p.]

^e [Christopher Ashburn, B. A. was admitted to this living by archbishop Cranmer, in April, 1551.—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 261, 2. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

^f For an account of the troubles and escape of Thomas Mountain, parson of St. Michael's,

rector of St. Leonard's in East-cheap; Richard Marsh, rector of St. Pancrace; John Eliot, schoolmaster in the parish of St. Leonard, East-cheap. It may not be amiss to set down the tenour, wherein the citation ran, *viz.*

“That since it was (alas!) notoriously manifest, *Quod* Ex Regist. Eccl. Cant. [M. 14. fol. 139. 140.] *rectores et presbyteri, quorum nomina et cognomina in pede hujus edicti, specificè designantur, contra jura ecclesiastica, sanctorum patrum decreta, et laudabiles Ecclesiæ Christi Catholicæ generatim observatas et usitatas consuetudines, sese prætextu fœderis conjugalis cum nonnullis fœminis illicitè conjunxerint, sub falsa matrimonii appellatione, cum iisdem publice cohabitaverint, et impudice vixerint, in voti sui alias emissi violationem, animarum suarum detrimentum, ac aliorum Christi fidelium exemplum longe perniciosum, in Christi Ecclesia non ferendum; unde pro officii nostri debito, et tantorum scelerum ab ecclesia Dei eliminatione penitus eradicandum, &c. juxta illustrissimæ Domine nostræ Reginæ nobis in hac parte monitionis literarum et mandati continentiam procedere—volentes, &c.”*

The citation was returned by the apparitor: who declared, that he found and personally cited Richard Marsh and John Turnor, and that he affixed the citation of the rest on the church-doors belonging to the respective rectors, on March 8. And no wonder the apparitor met with no more of them, some being fled, and some in prison, and some already violently turned out of their churches and gone. On March^a, according to the citation, Marsh and Turnor made their personal appearance, and were sworn to make true answer to such interrogatories as should be

the Tower royal, see Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 103, 155, 292—315. ed. Oxon. 1822. St. Michael's, Tower royal, was anciently called St. Michael Pa-

ternoster de Riola, or Ryall, possibly a corruption of Royal.—See Dugd. Monasticon, ed. 1830. vol. vi. p. 739.]

^a [16. Strype.]

put to them. What those interrogatories were, I shall set down by and by. These persons confessed, that they made profession of religious vows, and after holy orders, were married, and lived with their wives. Hereupon sentence was denounced against them, to prohibit them to officiate, and to suspend them from the profits of their benefices; and, on Monday following, to appear again to receive further sentence of deprivation, divorce, &c. John Eliot, schoolmaster, it seems, submitted to penance: for he was not presently thrust out of his school, but enjoined not to teach his scholars matins, psalter, or the like, in English, but in Latin; so as they might be able to answer the priest that officiated. The rest, that appeared not, were declared contumacious; and to be proceeded against, on Monday following, by deprivation, &c.

Interrogatories for the married clergy.
[Ex Regist. Eccl. Cant. M. 14. fol. 143, 144.]

The interrogatories ministered unto these men, and to be ministered to all other married priests, were these:

I. In primis; *An fuerit religiosus: cujus ordinis; et in quo monasterio sive domo.*

II. Item; *An fuit promotus ad sacros ordines, dum erat in monasterio.*

III. Item; *In quo et quibus sacris: et an ministravit in altaris ministerio; et quot annis.*

IV. Item; *An citra professionem suam regularem conjunxit se mulieri sub appellatione matrimonii.*

V. Item; *Cum qua: et in qua ecclesia fuit matrimonii solemnizatio; et per quem.*

328 VI. Item; *Quam duxit, eratne soluta, an vidua.*

VII. Item; *An cohabitavit cum ea in una et eadem domo, ut vir cum uxore.*

VIII. Item; *An prolem vel proles ex ea suscitaverit, necne.*

IX. Item; *An post et citra matrimonii hujusmodi solem-*

nizationem, assecutus fuit, et est, beneficium ecclesiasticum, habens curam animarum, et quot annis illud obtinuit.

X. Item; *An officium sacerdotis post et citra assertum matrimonium hujusmodi contractum, in altaris ministerio se immiscuit, et sacramentis et sacramentalibus ministrandis se ingessit.*

XI. Item; *An præmissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera, &c.*

According to these articles, the confessions of Marsh, Turnor, and Eliot are registered at large. On Monday, March 12^a, sentence was pronounced against Marsh and Turnor. 1. Of deprivation from their benefices. 2. Of suspension from their priestly function. 3. Of inhibition to cohabit with their wives. 4. Of nulling and voiding the pretended bond of matrimony; and, 5. of declaration of further punishments, according to the canons of the church. And, March 20, the like sentence was pronounced against the rest that did not appear. Next, the sentence of divorce against John Turnor and his wife was pronounced: and he was ordered to do penance on May 14, 1554, in his late parish-church of East-cheap, by holding a burning wax taper, and making a solemn confession openly and distinctly, with a loud voice, standing in the body of the church, before the face of the people, in these words following:

“ Good people, I am come hither, at this present time, to declare unto you my sorrowful and penitent heart, for that, being a priest, I have presumed to marry one Amy German, widow; and, under pretence of that matrimony, contrary to the canons and custom of the universal church, have kept her as my wife, and lived contrary to the canons and ordinances of the church, and to the evil example of

[Ex Regist.
Ecll. Cant.
M. 14.
fol. 14+ et
seqq.]

Turnor's
confession.
Ex Regist.
Ecll. Cant.
[M. 14.
fol. 151.]

^a [19. Strype.]

good Christen people: whereby now, being ashamed of my former wicked living here, I ask Almighty God mercy and forgiveness, and the whole church; and am sorry and penitent even from the bottom of my heart therefore. And in token hereof, I am here, as you see, to declare and shew unto you this my repentance; that before God, on the latter day, you may testify with me of the same. And I most heartily and humbly pray and desire you all, whom by this evil example doing I have greatly offended, that for your part you will forgive me, and remember me in your prayers, that God may give me grace, that hereafter I may live a continent life, according to his laws, and the godly ordinances of our mother the holy catholick church, through and by his grace. And I do here before you all openly promise for to do, during my life." The manner of the restitution of these priests, thus performing their penance, may be seen in the Appendix.

Number
LXXV. † f
Boner de-
prives the
married
clergy in
London,
without
order.

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And this is some account of the church of Canterbury's doings, in pursuance of the queen's instructions before mentioned. But bishop Boner, with his zeal, was beforehand with the queen; not staying for any orders from above in dealing with his clergy; but of his own power, in the latter end of February, deprived all married priests, in his diocese in London, from their livings; and, after this done, commanded them all to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be divorced from them.

Married
prebenda-
ries in Can-
terbury
proceeded
against.
[Ex Regist.
Eccl. Cant.]

These were some of the doings with the married priests in London. And in the same manner did they proceed about this time in Canterbury with Edmund Cranmerg, the archbishop's brother, archdeacon and prebendary of that church; together with William Willoughby^h, William

^f [Two articles are each marked LXXV in the Appendix. This mark † has been affixed to dis-

tinguish the latter.]

^g [See vol. i. pp. 34, 212, 230.]

^h [See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 15.]

Devenishⁱ, and Robert Goldson^k, prebendaries; and divers others. For March 15, at the chapter house in Canterbury, before Henry Harvey, LL.D. vicar general; Richard bishop of Dover^l, subdean; Richard Parkhurst and John Mills, prebendaries of the said church; personally appeared the said archdeacon and prebendaries; Thomas Brook and Thomas Stevens, preachers; and Sherland and Goodrick, petty canons of the said church: who all subscribed with their own hands to a confession of certain articles exhibited against them, touching their being married. And, being asked what they could say why they should not be suspended and deprived for the said pretended marriages, they gave this answer, as it is set down in the register of that church; *Se nihil habere dicendum*, [Id. fol. 153.] &c. “That they had nothing to say that might be profitable for them; the ecclesiastical law, and the decrees of the holy fathers, standing in their full force: but, by the law of God, they thought they had lawfully married their wives; and, being married, might not forsake them with a safe conscience.” Then sentence of suspension from priestly function, sequestration, deprivation, and prohibition to live with their wives, was pronounced. It is registered, “that they acquiesced in these sentences against them; no one of them appealing, but all remaining silent.” This is the account of the good archbishop’s brother, his manner of deprivation, and his peaceable behaviour under it.

ⁱ [William Devenish was presented to the ninth stall of Canterbury cathedral, Nov. 4, 1544, and instituted the 26th of the same month.—Id. p. 17.]

^k [Robert Goldson succeeded Richard Champion in the third

stall of Canterbury cathedral, to which he was presented, June 7, 1554.—Id. p. 15. See also vol. i. p. 248.]

^l [Richard Thornden. See vol. i. p. 248, and Wharton’s Observations, vol. i. p. 513.]

Edmund
Cranmer
deprived
of all.
Reg. Eccl.
Cant.
[M. 14.
fol. 63.]

[Id. fol.
60.]

Thus he was deprived of his prebend, and one Robert Collins^m was admitted into the same: of his rectory of Ickham, and Robert Marsh succeeded him there, April 12, 1554: and of his archdeaconry, and Nicolas Harpsfieldⁿ was admitted thereunto. Who at the same time entered into obligation to pay, out of the profits of the said archdeaconry, unto William Warham^o, late archdeacon, during his life, a yearly pension of forty pounds sterling, March 31, 1554. But some of the church then appeared not, being either fled or in prison; and those were pronounced

^m [Robert Collins, LL.B., prebendary of Canterbury, was cardinal Pole's commissary for that diocese, as well as for Calais: in the year 1556, he was one of a commission to search for heretics, and for visiting the deanery of Charing, Sutton, and Limne; he absented himself from the election of Parker to the archbishopric of Canterbury by the dean and chapter of the cathedral church, for which "he was pronounced contumacious, and decreed to incur the pain of contumacy."—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 211, 476, 481. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 103. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

ⁿ [Nicholas Harpsfield, LL.D., brother of John Harpsfield (see above, page 71. n. 1.), "a violent maintainer of the popish religion;" was "bred first in Winchester school, then New college in Oxford, where he proceeded doctor of law, and afterward

became archdeacon of Canterbury" (March 31, 1554). Under king Edward VI he banished himself; under queen Mary he returned and was advanced; and under queen Elizabeth, imprisoned for denying her supremacy. He was appointed official, and dean of the arches by cardinal Pole, and was prolocutor of the convocation of A. D. 1557, 8, and 9. He was deprived of his archdeaconry in 1559, and died A. D. 1582, "at London, in prison, after twenty years' restraint, leaving behind him the general reputation of a religious man."—See Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 367; vol. iv. p. 270; vol. v. p. 9. ed. Oxon. 1845. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 13. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 121. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 103. ed. Oxon. 1821. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 533, 630, 700, 774, 775; vol. iii. pp. 509, 526. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^o [See vol. i. pp. 28, 34.]

contumacious, viz. John Joseph^p, Peter Alexander^q, and Bernard Ochin^r, prebendaries; Lancelot Ridley^s, Richard Turner^t, Thomas Becon^u, and Richard Besely^x, preachers.

These doings in all quarters of the realm raised great admiration among the people, upon divers and sundry considerations, incident and depending upon such proceedings: since these marriages were no more than what were agreeable to the laws of the land. So that these married preachers, in marrying themselves, were no transgressors of the law: and yet underwent as great punishments, as though they were so in some high degree. And the proceedings seemed contrary even to the queen's commission, comprised in certain articles (before mentioned) to her bishops: which was, "That they should proceed, according to learning and discretion, in these weighty matters, and that they should not put any other canons and constitutions of the church in exercise, than such as might stand with the law of the realm." Yet they went in most places both against learning and discretion, and the laws of the land.

For the bringing this to pass, they first possessed the queen with great prejudices against these marriages. They cried in her ears, how uncomely these copulations

The in-justice of these proceedings.

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Martin's book against priests' marriage^z.

^p [See vol. ii. pp. 14, 187. n. ^p]

^q [See vol. ii. p. 143. n. ^p.]

^r [See vol. ii. p. 143. n. ^q. See also Wharton's Observations at the end of this volume.]

^s [Lancelot Ridley, one of the six preachers of Canterbury, and pronounced contumacious, was restored to his preachingship in the reign of queen Elizabeth.—See Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 144. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

^t [See vol. ii. pp. 52, 372-374.]

^u [See vol. ii. p. 377. n. ^m.]

^x [See vol. ii. p. 52.]

^y [See above, p. 83.]

^z [See vol. i. p. 113. A copy of Martin's book is in the Bodleian Library, entitled, "A Treatise declarying and plainly provyng, that the pretended marriage of priestes, and professed persones, is no marriage, but altogether unlawful, and in all ages, and al

were; how against God and his honour; how against the church's decrees and discipline; and how worthy to be dissolved again. And when they had obtained their ends with the queen, and gotten out her letter and instructions for that purpose, and by warrant thereof executed their purposes; then, for the giving a better countenance to a thing that looked so odious, and had so much severity in it, to the ruining of so many thousand families, books were thought fit to be published; the purpose of which was, to make married priests contemptible, and to shew how unlawful and wicked marriage was in men of holy orders. Dr. Thomas Martin's book made the greatest noise; a book writ with a brow of brass, so did it abound with confident untruths and falsehoods. And, to the further accumulation of the heavy state of the ministers deprived, were added in this book most slanderous accusations, and untrue matters surmised against them to the queen and realm. The author greatly pretended antiquity and authority all along for his doctrine: whereas indeed it was nothing but counterfeited imitation of authority, and belying antiquity. And, in short, (to give you the sense of one who wrote against the book, and did sufficiently expose it,) "it was mere subtilty without substance, wit without wisdom, zeal without knowledge, and heat without charity." To give but one instance of the unfair and false dealing of the author, he saith, in his book, "that the hereticks affirmed, that all priests and bishops must of necessity marry, whether they have the gift of sole life, or no; and that they were so beastly and ignorant, that they should teach that the fellowship and

Supposed
to be bishop
Ponet.

[Preface.
sign. A. iii.
and ch. 1.
sign. A. 1.]

countrieis of Christendome, bothe forbidden, and also punyshed," &c. &c. "By Thomas Martin, Doctor of the Civile Lawes. Ex-

cusum Londini in ædibus Roberti Caly, Typographi. Mense Maii Anno 1554."]

company of a woman, in a spiritual man, is a means to perfect religion, and that single life was an hinderance to the same, and that they should despise all manner of virginity and single life in them that had the gift of God ; and that they pronounced it wicked and abominable, and termed it a doctrine of devils, and the invention of Antichrist." All which bishop Ponet^a, in the name of all the protestants, in his book did utterly deny, that ever they said, writ, or thought so.

This book was indeed made by the bishop of Winchester^b, when he was in the Tower, (and he borrowed much of it from Albertus Pighius,) and published about that time. Martin being then a student at the university of Bourges in France, it once happened, in some conversation there, that Edward the king of England was commended, whether it were for his virtue, or learning, or abilities beyond his years ; whereat Martin began, as it seemed, to eclipse the king's honour, by mentioning the imprisonment of Winchester, saying, that there was a head papist prisoner in England, meaning him. Upon which several asked him, whether it was not the same Winchester, that had set out an hodge podge concerning marriage of priests? He, laughing, answered, "It was even he." But that man ought to marvel ; for that Winchester was more meet for warlike than for ecclesiastical disputations. Which passage I have from Bale ; who was acquainted at that university with Franciscus Baldwin, the learned professor of law there. Out of this book Martin framed that which went under his name, with Winchester's privity. And this was well enough known to Bale and others in those times. Ponet said, that Martin was abused by others, who set him a-work to bear the name, and to de-

Wherein
Winchester
had the
greatest
hand.

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Declaration
of Boner's
articles,

1554.

Thomas
Martin, or
Winchester
under that
name.

fol. 15.
Mr. Martin,
Winchester's
own
voice.

^a [See vol. ii. p. 131. n. o.]

^b [Stephen Gardiner.]

fol. 40.
Gardiner in
his book
lately
spread
under the
name of
Thomas
Martin.
fol. 77.
Bale's
declar.^c
Answered
by Ponet.

sire the fame of so gay a book, rather than he was the author of it indeed.

The said Ponet, or Poinet, late bishop of Winchester, but now an exile, very learnedly answered this book in two several treatises. The first was entitled, *An Apology against Thomas Martin's Blasphemies*. In this treatise, upon occasion of the papists' prohibition of marriage to priests, he proved that the said papists were hereticks, and had taken part in the most principal parts with all the hereticks that had corrupted the true church of Christ. The second treatise, replenished with great learning, he lived not to finish; (though some doubt whether he were the author of this book;) but the copy falling into the hands of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, he published it, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, with very large and excellent additions of his own^d. Ponet had thoroughly studied this point, and I believe was put upon the study of it by archbishop Cranmer, whose chaplain he was. For before this he put forth two books upon this argument, viz. *Of the Marriage of Ministers*; and *a Defence of that Marriage*.

The con-
fessions of
the married
priests.

The last thing I have to say concerning these orders taken with the married clergy, is, that there were two things thought very hard, which were put upon those that were willing to comply, and put away their wives. The one was in relation to the public confessions they were to make: which were put into their mouths by others, and drawn up for them in that manner, as made them tell horrible lies. They must speak their own shame in bills

^c [“A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles, concerning the clergy of London dyocese whereby that execrable Anty Christe, is in his right colours revealed

in the grace of our Lord A. 1554. by John Bale,” &c. A copy is in the Bodl. Libr.]

^d [See Wharton's Observations at the end of this volume.]

of their penance: lying against themselves most vilely and most shamefully; disabling their credit and estimation for ever. And to give an instance: one such confession, which was much cried out against, was made by one sir John Busby of Windsor, June 29, in the year 1555. Which Ponet calleth a goodly confession of his hearty and earnest repentaunce. "Which," saith he, "was so finely penned, and so catholickly tracted, that I warrant you it was none of the smallest fools that forged it."

The other thing was, that, after these poor men had thus done their penances, and spoke their confessions, the imposers of these penalties upon them were not so good as they pretended they would be, and as the queen's instructions required them to be, towards them: not restoring them to their ministration. Some that had been two or three years parted from their wives, could not be admitted again to ministration: yet they must do open penance, and go by the cross, without any redemption or entreaty, that could be made.

Def. of Pr.
Marr. P.
269.

Married
priests that
did their
penance
hardly
dealt with.

CHAPTER IX.

EVILS IN THIS CHANGE. A PARLIAMENT.

Anno 1554. By this time the face of the church was perfectly changed: and all the reformation that was made for twenty years before, namely, from Cranmer's first ascent to the archiepiscopal chair, to this time, was unravelled in less than a year, and abolished. But the favourers of the Gospel lamented it exceedingly: and bishop Ridley writ a treatise^a, wherein he shewed what a deplorable change in religion this was, by setting down at large what religion was in king Edward's days, and what it was at that present; laying the cause of this sore judgment upon the vile and naughty lives of the people, so unsuitable to the good religion professed. The professors lamented two great evils, lighting upon the people upon this turn of religion; not only that it brought the people into error and superstition, but involved them universally in the crime of perjury: the blame of which they laid upon the popish clergy. For they not only had connived at, but allowed and encouraged the casting off the pope's supremacy, and made both priests and laity swear to the king. And now they set up the pope's authority again in England, and

A twofold
evil upon
this turn
of religion.

^a [i. e. "A piteous lamentation of the miserable estate of the church of Christ in England, in the time of queen Mary; wherein is contained a learned comparison between the comfortable doctrine of the Gospel, and the traditions of the popish religion; with the in-

struction how the true Christian ought to behave himself in the time of trial, written by that worthy martyr of God, Nicholas Ridley, late bishop of London." For this treatise, see Ridley's Works, pp. 48—80. Park. Soc. Ed.]

required all to swear to that. For they compelled not only such as were priests to perjure themselves, but all the laity, nobility, gentry, magistrates, merchants, and others; for hardly any were exempted the oath of supremacy in the former reigns. For in every law day, the keepers of the same were sworn to call all the young men of their hundred, even as they came to years of discretion, to swear never to receive the bishop of Rome, nor no other foreign potentate, to be head of the people of England, but only the king and his successors. Which oath, if it were unlawful, as the clergymen now said, then all the realm had reason of high displeasure against them, that so led them and knew it. Such gross dissembling The dissimulation of the priests. were the bishops guilty of to the involving the people in guilt. And this dissembling quality the priests still retained in this queen's days. For when any came to some of them, shewing them that his conscience was not satisfied in the present way of religion, the priest would tell him, that he said the truth; "My conscience," would he say, "is as yours; but we must bear for a time:" and that he himself looked for another change. When another of a contrary opinion came to the priests, and talked about religion, they would say to him, "that they had been deceived; and thanks be to God," said they, "that ye kept your conscience all this while. And even so was mine; but I durst not do any otherwise, but trusted that this time would come, as is now, thanks be to God." Nay, and sometimes, in the same town, they would minister the service two ways to the people, to please both. Inso-much that the bishops and priests grew, for this cause, as well as for their cruelty, into great dislike with the people. This more at large is shewed in a short manuscript treatise I have, made by a certain person nameless, imprisoned for religion, entitled thus; *All sorts of people*

333 *of England have just cause of displeasure against the bishops and priests of the same.*

A parliament restore the pope.

There was, this year, April 2, a new parliament; that the last year being dissolved^b. Great was the sadness that now possessed the hearts of the English nation, even of papists themselves, the most considerate and wisest part of them, seeing the great slavery the kingdom was like to be ensnared in, by what the parliament was now in doing; that is to say, restoring the pope's tyranny here in England, that had been so long and happily cast out, and allowing the queen's matching with prince Philip; whereby a Spaniard should become king of England^c. Which when P. Martyr had signified in a letter from Strasburgh to Calvin, May 8^d, he told him, "Tanta est

^b ["The 2. of April, the parliament began at Westminster, which was appointed to have been kept at Oxford."—Stow's Annals, p. 623. ed. Lond. 1631. "Not long after this, queen Mary, partly fearing the Londoners by occasion of Wyat's conspiracy, partly perceiving most part of the city for religion's sake, not greatly to favour her proceedings, to their displeasure and hinderance summoned a parliament to be holden at Oxford: as it were to gratify that city, where both the university, town, and country had shewed themselves very obedient and forward, especially in restoring popish religion. For this purpose great provision was made, as well by the queen's officers and by the townsmen and inhabitants of Oxford and the country about. But the queen's mind in short

space changed, and the same parliament was holden at Westminster in April following. Then the queen, beside other things, proposed concerning her marriage to king Philip, and restoring of the pope's supremacy. As touching her marriage it was agreed upon; but the other request could not as then be obtained."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1426. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^c [For a brief account of "king Philip's arrivance in England," and the "marriage of queen Mary," see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1471—1473. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^d ["Joanni Calvino. Circa festum Paschæ literas ad te, vir clarissime, dederam, sed adolescenti Hungaro, et quidem nobilissimo, qui non longe a Selestadio est interfectus: quare cum tam

rerum perturbatio, ut nullo pacto explicari queat :” “ that it could not be told what a disturbance there now was ;” and that all good men, that could, fled away from their own country, from all parts of the land : mentioning three noble knights to be come lately to Strasburg, not less famous for piety than learning, Morisin^e, Cheke^f, and Cook^g. At this parliament, wherein the mass was set up, and confirmed by an act, all that were suspected to favour the truth were turned out of the house. Which made Hoper out of prison in one of his letters^h write ; “ Doubt-

mæstus intervenerit casus, ad te perferri non potuerunt, et quæ tum noveram atque scribebam, cum te aliunde jam rescivisse non dubitem, minime repetenda censeo. Huc vero tristissima ex Anglia sunt allata, nimirum ibi parlamentum (ut vocant) esse assensum, ut papæ sua restituat tyrannissima : et Philippus rex Angliæ sit et habeatur. Bonorum virorum qui abire possunt undique sit fuga ; atque tanta est rerum perturbatio, ut nullo pacto explicari queat. Jamque hic sunt apud nos tres præclarissimi equites, nempe Morisimus*, Chæcus, et Coccus, non minus pietate quam eruditione insignes, quos intra paucos dies puto venturos. Hæc ideo scribo, ut rebus illis prope modum perditis, nedum afflictis, velis precibus una cum tua ecclesia subvenire. Certe jam Cantuariensis et reliqui episcopi, qui una captivi detinentur, in extremo versantur discrimine. Nos hic jam satis quiete agimus quoad externa.—N. salutem meo nomine

dixeris.8. Maii. Argen.”—P. Martyr. Loc. Com. pp. 1092, 3. ed. Heidel. 1603.]

^e [See vol. ii. p. 161. n. p.]

^f [See vol. ii. p. 168. n. e.]

^g [See vol. ii. p. 356. n. m.]

^h [i. e. “ A letter of M. Hooper to certain godly professors, and lovers of truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woful alteration and change of religion ;” in which the following paragraph is found ; “ It is told me, that the wicked idol the mass is stablished again by a law, and passed in the parliament house. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, and what penalty is appointed in the act, and to such as speak against it : also whether there be any compulsion to constrain men to be at it. The statute thoroughly known, such as be abroad and at liberty, may provide for themselves, and avoid the danger the better. Doubtless there hath not been seen before our time, such a parliament as this is, that as many as were suspected to be favourers

* [sic]

less there had not been seen before our time such a parliament as this, that as many as were suspected to be favourers of God's word, should be banished out of both houses."

A design to
revive the
six Articles.

In this parliament a strong and certain report went, that the bloody act of the six Articles should be revived and put in execution. This created abundance of terror in men's hearts. There was nothing but sighs and lamentations every where: and a great many were already fled out of the realm; unto whom this rumour had reached. John Foxe, a learned and pious man, who had an excellent pathetic style, was now set on work: who took his pen in his hand, and, in the name of the protestant exiles, wrote a most earnest expostulatory letter to the parliament, to dissuade them from restoring this law again. He told them, "they had a queen, who, as she was most noble, so she was ready to listen to sound and wholesome counsel. And that they had a lord chancellor, that, as he was learned, so of his own nature he was not bad, were it not for the counsels of some. But that, as among animals, some there were that were born to create trouble and destruction to the other; so there were among mankind some by nature cruel and destructive, some to the church, and some to the state." The letter is worthy the reading: which I have therefore placed in the Appendix, as I transcribed it out of a manuscript collection of Foxe's lettersⁱ. There was indeed such a

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of God's word, should be banished out of both houses. But we must give God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his blessed servant king Edward the Sixth, and pray unto him that we deny it not, nor dishonour it with

idolatry, but that we may have strength and patience rather to die ten times than to deny him once."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1512. ed. Lond. 1583.]

ⁱ [Harl. MSS. 417. No. 93. fol. 123. British Museum.]

design in the house of commons of bringing again into force that act of the six Articles; but whether it were by the importunity of this and other petitions, or that the court thought it not convenient so much to countenance any of king Henry's acts, this business fell. And this parliament was shortlived, for in May it was dissolved; by reason of a bill for confirming abbey-lands to the present possessors, which it seems gave offence to the court^k.

^k [“ In this parliament, the marquis of Northampton was restored in blood. And the act for restoring the bishopric of Durham not having gone through the last parliament when it was dissolved, was now brought in again. The town of Newcastle opposed it much, when it came down to the commons. But the bishop of Durham came to them, on the 18th of April, and gave them a long account of all his troubles from the duke of Northumberland, and desired that they would despatch his bill. There were many provisos put into it, for some that were concerned in Gateside; but it was carried in the house, That instead of these provisos, they should send a desire to him, recommending those persons to his favour; so upon a division, there were 120 against it, and 201 for it. After this, came the bill confirming the attainders of the duke of Suffolk, and fifty eight more, who were attainted for the late rebellion. The lords put in a proviso, excepting entailed lands out of their forfeit-

ures; but the commons rejected the proviso, and passed the bill. Then did the commons send up a bill for reviving the statutes made against Lollardy; which being read twice in the lords, was laid aside. The commons intended next to have revived the statute of the six Articles; but it did not agree with the design at court, to take any notice of king Henry's acts; so this was let fall. Then they brought in another bill to extirpate erroneous opinions and books; but that was at the third reading laid aside. After that they passed a particular bill against Lollardy in some points, as the eating of flesh in Lent; but that also being sent up to the lords, was at the third reading laid aside, by the major part of the house; so forward were the commons to please the queen, or such operation had the Spanish gold on them, that they contrived four bills in one session, for the prosecution of those they called heretics. But to give some content on the other hand, they

passed a bill, that neither the bishop of Rome, nor any other, should have any power to convene, or trouble any, for possessing abbey lands. This was sent up to the lords, but laid aside at that time, assurance being given, that the owners of those lands should be fully secured. The reason of laying it aside was, that since by law the bishop of Rome had no authority at all in England, it was needless to pass an act against his power in that particular, for that seemed to assert his

power in other things; and since they were resolved to reconcile the nation to him, it was said, that it would be indecent to pass an act that should call him only bishop of Rome, which was the compellation given him during the schism; and it was preposterous to begin with a limitation to his power, before they had acknowledged his authority. So this was laid aside, and the parliament ended on the 25th of May.” —Burnet’s Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 560—562. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

CHAPTER X.

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ARCHBISHOP CRANMER DISPUTES AT OXON.

A CONVOCATION of the clergy now met in St. Paul's^b, but was adjourned, the prolocutor Dr. Weston^c, dean of Westminster, and some other of the members, being sent to Oxon (and it was generally thought the parliament would remove thither too^d) to dispute certain points of religion in controversy, with three of the heads of the protestant party, archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley^e, and

A convocation appoint a dispute with Cranmer at Oxford.

^b [Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1426. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^c [See above, p. 68. n. e.]

^d [See above, p. 98 n. b.]

^e ["Ye heard before how divers bishops were removed, and other placed in their rooms: among whom was D. Ridley, bishop of London, a worthy man both of fame and learning. This D. Ridley in time of queen Jane had made a sermon at Paul's cross, so commanded by the counsel, declaring there his mind to the people, as touching the lady Mary, and dissuading them, alleging there the incommodities and inconveniences which might rise by receiving her to be their queen, prophesying as it were before, that which after came to

pass, that she would bring in foreign power to reign over them: besides the subversing also of Christian religion then already established: shewing moreover that the same Mary being in his diocese, he according to his duty, being then her ordinary, had travailed much with her to reduce her to this religion, and notwithstanding in all other points of civility she shewed herself gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, she shewed herself so stiff and obstinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to disturb and overturn all that which with so great labours had been confirmed and planted by her mother afore. Shortly after

old father Latimer^f, now all prisoners: who, for that purpose, in the month of April^g, were removed from the tower, by the queen's warrant to the lieutenant, towards Windsor, and there taken into custody of sir John (afterwards lord) Williams^h, who conveyed them to Oxford, there to remain in order to a disputation. The convocation, while they sat at London, agreed upon the questions to be disputed; and they resolved, that these three pious men should be baited by both the universities; and therefore that they of Cambridge should be excited to repair to Oxford, and engage in this disputation also. The questions were these:

The ques-
tions.
[Harl.
MSS.
3642.]

I. *In sacramento altaris virtute verbi divini a sacerdote prolati, præsens est realiter, sub speciebus panis et vini, naturale corpus Christi, conceptum de Virgine Maria: item naturalis ejusdem sanguis.*

this sermon, queen Mary was proclaimed; whereupon he speedily repairing to Framlingham to salute the queen, had such cold welcome there, that being de spoiled of all his dignities he was sent back upon a lame halting horse to the Tower."—Foxye's Acts, &c. p. 1408.]

^f ["At Richmount, the 14th of September 1553.—A letter of appearance to Hugh Latimer."—MS. Council Book, A. D. 1553—1557. fol. 11, Privy Council Office. Original. "The 4th of September a letter was directed from the council to M. Hugh Latimer for his appearance before them."—Foxye's Acts and Monuments, p. 1410.—"At Westminster, the 13th of September, 1553.—This

day Hugh Latimer there appeared before the lords, and for his seditious demeanour was committed to the Tower, there to remain a close prisoner, having attending upon him Austen, his servant." MS. Council Book, A. D. 1553—1557. fol. 17. See also Foxye's Acts and Monuments, p. 1409.]

^g ["At Westminster, the 8th of March, 1553.—A letter to the lieutenant of the Tower to deliver to sir John Williams the bodies of the late archbishop of Canterbury, doctors Ridley and Latimer, to be by him conveyed to Oxford."—MS. Council Book, A. D. 1553—1557. fol. 88, 89. See also Foxye's Acts and Monuments, p. 1428.]

^h [See vol. ii. p. 198. n. z.]

II. *Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et Hominis.*

III. *In Missa est vivificum Ecclesie sacrificium pro peccatis, tam vivorum, quam mortuorum, propitiabile.*

These questions the convocation sent to the university of Cambridge, requiring them seriously to weigh and deliberate upon them, and, if they contained true doctrine, then to approve of them. Accordingly the senate of that university met, and, after due deliberation, found them agreeable in all things to the catholic church, and the scripture, and the ancient doctrine taught by the fathers: and so did confirm and ratify them in their said senate. And because Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the heads of the heretics that held contrary to these articles, were formerly members of their university, and being to be disputed withal at Oxford concerning these points, they decreed, in the name of all the university, to send seven of their learned doctors to Oxford, to take their parts in disputing with them, and to use all ways possible to reclaim them to the orthodox doctrine again. And accordingly the said senate, April 10, made a public instrument to authorise them, in their names, to go to Oxford and dispute: which instrument may be seen in the Appendix. They also wrote a letter, the same date, to the university of Oxford, to signify that they had appointed those persons to repair unto them, not so much to dispute points so professedly orthodox, and agreeable to the fathers and general councils, and the Word of God, as to defend those truths in their names, and reduce those patrons of false and corrupt doctrine, if possible, unto a sound mind. This letter is also in the Appendix. So that this coming of the Cambridge divines to Oxford was to seem a voluntary thing, to shew their zeal for popery, and vindica-

Sent to
Cambridge.

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tion of their university against liking or approbation of Cranmer and his two fellow-prisoners. So roundly was the university already come about to the old forsaken religion.

The disputa-
tants of
Oxford and
Cambridge.

This Oxford disputation was after this manner: Hugh Westonⁱ, S. T. P. prolocutor of the lower house of convocation; Owen Oglethorp^k, John Seton^l, W. Chedsey^m, S. Th. PP.; Hen. Coleⁿ, Will. Geffrey^o, LL. PP.; William Pye^p, Joh. Feckenham^q, Joh. Harpsfield^r, S. T. BB. representing the whole lower house of convocation, went down to Oxford. To them were joined, by commission, the chancellor of the university, the vice chancellor, the professors and doctors, &c. as namely, Holyman^s, Tresham^t, Ri. Marshall^u, Morwent^x, Smith^y, S. T. PP. of

ⁱ [See above, p. 68. n. e.]

^k [See vol. ii. p. 158. n. i.]

^l [John Seton, or Seaton, S. T. P. was chaplain to bishop Gardiner, and one of the witnesses in his behalf upon his trial; he was also present at bishop Hoper's trials. He was a learned man, but "settled in papistry," and was sentenced, A. D. 1561, "to remain in the city of London, or within twenty miles compass within the same."—See Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 84, 374; vol. iii. pt. i. p. 288. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's *Annals of the Reformat.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 413. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

^m [See vol. ii. p. 159. n. k.]

ⁿ [See vol. ii. p. 157. n. h.]

^o [William Geffrey, or Jeffrey, was one of the convocation of A. D. 1547.—See vol. ii. p. 37.]

^p [William Pye, dean of Chester, where he was installed,

Dec. 21. 1553.—Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 60.]

^q [See vol. ii. p. 123. n. b.]

^r [See above, p. 71. n. l.]

^s [See above, p. 65. n. z.]

^t [See vol. ii. p. 159. n. j.]

^u [See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (*Fasti*) vol. ii. pp. 136, 138. ed. (Bliss.) Lond. 1813-20.]

^x ["Robert Morwent, S. T. B. was sworn president (of *Corpus Chr. Coll. Oxon.*) Nov. 26. 1537:" in 1552, he was committed to the Fleet with Welsh and Allen, fellows of the same college, for allowing other service to be used than that appointed by the *Book of Common Prayer*: "he died August 26. 1558."—See *Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 495. Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 52. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

^y [See vol. i. p. 178. n. z; vol. ii. pp. 48, 49, 155, 167.]

Oxford: and John Young^z, William Glyn^a, Ri. Atkinson, Tho. Watson^b, Cutbert Scot^c, Alban Langdale^d, Tho. Sedgwick^e, S. Th. PP. of Cambridge; in the name of the whole university. All these being met at St. Mary's, there were read the letters commissional to them, sealed with the bishop of London's seal^f, and the subscription besides of the bishops of Winton^g, Durham^h, Wigornⁱ, Chichester^k, Lincoln^l, Bath^m, Roffⁿ, Hereford^o, St. David's^p, Gloucester^q, and Oxon^r. And with these letters were conveyed certain articles, which had been lately by

^z [See vol. ii. p. 170. n. m.]

^a [See vol. ii. p. 170. n. i.]

^b [See vol. ii. p. 357. n. u.]

^c ["Cuthbert Scot, S. T. P.

had the custody of the temporalities" of the bishopric of Chester, "delivered him the 24th of April, 1556, and plenary restitution of them the 29th of September following:" he was present in the first parliament of queen Elizabeth, in which he protested against the bills for restoring the first fruits and tenths to the crown, for the appointment of bishops, and for the supremacy, against the latter of which bills he made a long speech: he was one of the popish disputants at the Westminster conference, A. D. 1559: having refused to take the oath of supremacy, he was fined in the sum of 200 marks, and imprisoned for a short time; he was also deprived of his bishopric on the 21st of June, 1559; and, after being some time detained in the Fleet, "he went privately beyond sea," and lived at Louvain, where

he died.—See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 341. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 108, 113, 128, 132, 133, 139, 140, 206, 209, 210, 215, 417. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 767, 771, 776, 785, 789, 792, 793, ed. Oxon. 1829. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 274, 279. ed. Oxon. 1845. Godwin. de Præsul. p. 776. ed. Cantab. 1743.]

^d [See vol. ii. p. 170. n. k.]

^e [See vol. ii. p. 170. n. l.]

^f [Edmund Boner.]

^g [Stephen Gardiner.]

^h [Cuthbert Tonstal.]

ⁱ [Nicholas Heathe.]

^k [George Day.]

^l [John White.]

^m [Gilbert Bourn.]

ⁿ [Roff, i. e. Rochester, Maurice Griffith.]

^o Robert Warton, alias Parfew.]

^p [Henry Morgan.]

^q [James Brookes.]

^r [Robert King.]

the upper house resolved upon; which articles were, of the sacrament of the altar, of transubstantiation, and of the adoration of the eucharist, and the reservation of the sacrament of the church, and of its institution, and by whom, and for whom, and to whom, it is to be offered. The contents of the letter were, to summon before them Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and to propound those articles to them to dispute on publicly. The sum of which, it seems, were contracted into the three questions abovesaid. Then they provided themselves three public notaries. Next, they celebrated and sung the mass of the Holy Ghost. Then they went a procession, according to the custom of the university. This formal pageantry being finished, and the commissioners returned to St. Mary's, and being come into the choir, to the number of three and thirty, seated themselves before the altar; and then sent to the mayor and bailiffs to bring Dr. Cranmer before them, by virtue of the queen's letters to them: who within a while was brought, guarded with bill men.

Cranmer
brought be-
fore them.

Coming before them, he gave them great reverence, and stood with his staff in his hand. They offered him a stool to sit, but he refused. Then Weston the prolocutor began a speech, wherein "he commended unity in the church of Christ: and withal, turning to the archbishop, told him, how he had been a catholic man once, and in the same unity; but that he had separated himself from it by teaching and setting forth erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith. And therefore that it had pleased the queen to send them to him to recover him again, if it might be, to that unity." And then shewed him the articles to be disputed on, causing them to be read to him, and requiring his answer and opinion thereupon. Then the archbishop answered *extempore*, that, as for unity, he was very glad of it; and said, that it was a preserver of

all commonwealths, as well heathen as Christian : and illustrated the matter by some stories out of the Roman 336 history : and added, that he should be very glad to come to an unity, so it were in Christ, and according to the church of God. Then he read over the articles three or four times : and, being asked whether he would subscribe to them, he answered, That in the form of words in which they were conceived, they were all false and against God's Word ; and therefore that he would not agree in that unity with them. Nevertheless, he said, if they would give him a copy of the articles, and time to consider of them, he would by to morrow send them an answer. Which was granted him, the prolocutor bidding him write his mind of them that night. It was moreover agreed between them, that, in whatsoever he dissented from them, they would proceed to public disputation thereupon, in the public schools, by scholastical arguments in Latin. And lastly, they told him, he should have what books he would ask for. And so Weston gave the mayor charge of him, to be had to Bocardo, where he was before.

His behaviour all this while was so grave and modest, ^{His behav-} that many masters of art, who were not of his mind, ^{viour.} could not forbear weeping. This was the work of Saturday. On Sunday Cranmer sent in what he had writ upon the articles to the prolocutor to Lincoln college, where he lay.

After Cranmer was carried back, the mayor and bailiffs ^{Ridley} brought bishop Ridley. And when the same articles were ^{brought.} read to him, he said, that they were not true : but desired a copy of them, and he would draw up in writing his answer, and soon transmit it to them. And did offer to dispute, as Cranmer had done before^s.

^s For a most characteristic account of both Ridley and Latimer,

And Latimer.

Lastly, Latimer was brought, to whom the prolocutor said as he had to the two former. Latimer confessed, that in the sacrament of the altar there was a certain presence, but not such an one as they would have. And he also promised to send them his answer shortly to these articles, requiring a copy. But, by reason of his old age, his infirmities, and the weakness of his memory, he said, he could not bear a dispute; but that he could and would declare his mind of the said articles. All this that I have above said concerning the managery of this affair, I do for the most part extract out of a letter of Weston's, writ unto the bishop of London, from Oxon. I cannot here omit old father Latimer's habit at this his appearing before the commissioners, which was also his habit while he remained a prisoner in Oxford. He held his hat in his hand; he had a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap such as townsmen used, with two broad flaps, to button under his chin: an old thread-bare Bristow freez gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at which hanged, by a long string of leather, his testament, and his spectacles, without case, hanging about his neck upon his breast. This was the work of Saturday.

Cranmer brought to his disputation.

On Monday Cranmer was brought into the respondents' place in the Divinity schools, the mayor and aldermen sitting by him. In the midst of the disputation, because what he was to answer was more than he could well remember *extempore*, he gave in to Dr. Weston his opinion, written at large, in answer to each proposition; and desired Weston, who sat on high, to read it. These writings are preserved in Foxe's Monuments, and may there be

see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1429, 30. Gloucester Ridley's Life of Ridley, p. 490 et seqq. and

Watkins's Life of Latimer, p. lx. et seqq.

seen^t. This disputation began at eight in the morning, and lasted till two. The beadle had provided drink, and offered the archbishop thereof sometimes, but he refused; nor did he stir all the while out of his place, though the prolocutor had granted him leave to retire for a while, if he had any occasion. And, after having learnedly and boldly maintained the truth against a great many clamorous opponents, he was carried back by the mayor to prison. And then, the two next days, Ridley^u and Latimer^x took their courses.

Cranmer had cautiously provided two notaries to take notes of what he said, lest he might be misrepresented. And they were Jewel^y, afterward bishop of Sarum, and one Gilbert Mounson: who also at Ridley's request were granted him.

^t [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1430-1441. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^u [For "the disputation of doctor Ridley, bishop of London at Oxford," see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1442-1454; Gloucester Ridley's Life of Ridley, p. 503 et seqq. and Ridley's Works, pp. 189-252. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^x [For "the disputation of master Latimer at Oxford," see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1454-1459; Watkins's Life of Latimer, p. cxxxiv. et seqq. and Latimer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 249-278. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^y [John Jewel, S. T. P. was born at Buden, in the parish of Berryn Arbor, near Ilfracombe, Devon, May 24, 1522. "He was chiefly bred in the school of Barnstaple, where John Harding

was his schoolfellow; and at fifteen years of age was admitted in Merton College," from whence he removed to Corpus Christi College; in 1546 he openly professed the tenets of the reformers, and obtained the living of Sunningwell, Berks; at the accession of queen Mary he was induced to comply "by the violence of the popish inquisitors," but finding they were about to prosecute him as a heretic he fled to the continent, and made a public confession of his fall at Frankfort in the presence of the church; on the death of queen Mary he returned to England, and took part on the protestant side in the Westminster conference, A. D. 1559: he was much esteemed by queen Elizabeth, by whom he was raised to the bi-

His notaries.

Cranmer's
demands.

Cranmer required, at the commissioners' hands, more time to have these weighty matters more diligently scanned and examined: urging, that he had so much to speak, that it would take up many days, that he might fully answer to all that they could say. He required also, that he and his fellows might oppose, as well as respond: that they might produce their proofs before the popish doctors, and be answered fully to all that they could say. But neither of these demands would be allowed him: which he in a letter complained of to the council. For indeed, as Cranmer plainly apprehended, the design now was not to look impartially into the truth or falsehood of these doctrines, but to gain glory to themselves, and to have a shew for the resolution that was before taken up of condemning them all three.

Cranmer
disputes
again.

The same week, on Thursday, Harpsfield^z disputed for the degree of bachelor of divinity^a: and, among other opponents, Cranmer was called forth for one by Dr. Weston^b. Where, first taking notice of Weston's opposing Harpsfield out of the Scripture against a corporal presence, (which was Harpsfield's question,) but whereas he left the sense of the Scripture to the catholic church, as judge, Cranmer told him, "He was much mistaken, especially because that, under the name of church, he appointed such judges as had corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of the Scriptures. He wondered also

shopric of Salisbury, A. D. 1560. He died September 20, 1571.— See Fuller's *Worthies of England*, vol. i. p. 407. ed. Lond. 1840. Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 158, 159, 175, 310, 379. ed. Oxon. 1845. Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. pp. 776, 806. ed. Oxon. 1829. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 160.]

^z [See above, p. 106. n. ^r.]

^a [For the "disputation of master Harpsfield, B. D., answering for his form to be made doctor," see Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, pp. 1459-1463.]

^b [See above, p. 106. n. ⁱ, and 68. n. ^e.]

(he said) why Weston attributed so little to the reading of Scriptures, and conferring of places, seeing Scripture doth so much commend the same, in those very places which himself had alledged. And as to his opinion of these questions, he said, they had neither ground of the word of God, nor the primitive church. Nay, and that the schools have spoken diversely of them, and do not agree among themselves." And, having prefaced all this, he began his disputation with Harpsfield, by asking him some questions: as, how Christ's body was in the sacrament, according to his mind and determination? And whether he had the quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such like properties of bodies? And when there was great declining to answer this, and some affirmed one thing, and some another; Harpsfield said, they were vain questions, and not fit to spend time about; and added, that "Christ was there as it pleased him to be there." 338

Cranmer to that said, "He would be best contented with that answer, if their appointing of the carnal presence had not driven him of necessity to have inquired, for disputation-sake, how they placed him there, sithence they would have a natural body." Then some denied it to be *quantum*; some said, it was *quantitativum*; and some affirmed, that it had *modum quanti*: and some denying it, Dr. Weston then stood up, and said, it was *corpus quantum, sed non per modum quanti*. A very grave decision of the point!

Then Cranmer asked, "Whether good and bad men do eat the body in the sacrament; and then, how long Christ tarried in the eater?" Harpsfield said, "They were curious questions, unmeet to be asked. Cranmer replied, "He took them out of their schools, and schoolmen, which they themselves did most use." Then he asked, "How far he went into the body, and how long he abode

in the body?" With these questions Cranmer puzzled them most heavily: for which way soever they answered, there would follow absurdities and inextricable difficulties. In conclusion, Dr. Weston gave him this compliment; "That his wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty was worthy much commendation: giving him most hearty thanks in his own name, and in the name of all his brethren." At which all the doctors put off their caps.

The papists' indecent management of the disputation.

On Wednesday, as soon as Latimer, who came up last, had ended his disputation, the Papists cried *Victoria*, applauding themselves loudly, as though they had vindicated their cause most strenuously and satisfactorily against Cranmer and his two fellows. And so Weston had the confidence to tell them to their faces^c. Though to him that reads the whole disputation, and considereth the arguments on both sides impartially, there will appear no such matter: allowing for all the hissings and noises,

^c ["Thus have ye heard in these foresaid disputations about the holy supper of the Lord, the reasons and arguments of the doctors, the answers and resolutions of the bishops, and the triumph of the prolocutor, triumphing before the victory, with 'vicit veritas,' who rather in my mind should have exclaimed, 'vicit potestas:' as it happeneth always, 'ubi pars major vicit meliorem.' For else if 'potestas' had not helped the prolocutor more than 'veritas,' there had been a small 'victoria.' But so it is where judgments be partial, and parties be addicted, there all things turn to victory, though it be never so mean and simple, as in this dis-

putation might well appear. For, first of the opponents' part, neither was there almost any argument in true mode and figure rightly framed: neither could the answerers be permitted to say for themselves: and if they answered anything, it was condemned before they began to speak. Again, such disturbance and confusion, more like a conspiracy than any disputation, without all form and order, was in the schools during the time of their answering, that neither could the answerers have place to utter their minds, neither would the opponents be satisfied with any reasons."—Foxy's Acts and Monuments, p. 1463. ed. Lond. 1583.]

confused talk and taunts, that were bestowed upon these very reverend and good men. Whereof Ridley said, in reference to his disputation, “That he never in all his life saw or heard any thing carried more vainly and tumultuously; and that he could not have thought, that there could have been found among Englishmen any persons, honoured with degrees in learning, that willingly could allow of such vanities, more fit for the stage than the schools.” He added, “That, when he studied at Paris, he remembered what clamours were used in the Sorbon, where Popery chiefly reigned; but that that was a kind of modesty in comparison of this thrasonical ostentation. Whence he concluded very truly, that they sought not for the sincere truth in this conference, and for nothing but vain glory.”

In his Preface to his Account of his Dispute.

But the professors of the Gospel, on the other hand, were as glad of this dispute, wherein these three chief fathers of the church had so boldly and gallantly stood in the defence of the truth, and maintained the true doctrine of the sacrament so well. And Dr. Rowland Taylor, in prison elsewhere at this time for Christ's sake, wrote them a congratulatory letter in the name of the rest. Which is as followeth^d:

The protestants glad of this disputation.

“RIGHT reverend fathers in the Lord, I wish you to enjoy continually God's grace and peace through Jesus Christ. And God be praised again and again^e for this your most excellent promotion, which ye are called unto at this present; that is, that ye are counted worthy to be allowed amongst the number of Christ's records and witnesses.

339
Dr. Taylor to the three fathers after their disputations.

^d [Headed, in the Letters of the Martyrs, To my dear fathers and brethren, D. Cranmer, D. Ridley, and D. Latimer, prisoners in Ox-

ford, for the faithful testimony of God's holy Gospel.]

^e [praised again for.—Strype.]

England hath had but a few learned bishops that would stick to Christ *ad ignem inclusive*. Once again I thank God heartily in Christ for your most happy onset, most valiant proceeding, most constant suffering of all such infamies, hissings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loss of living and liberty, for the defence of God's cause, truth, and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoyce in my heart for you three such captains in the foreward, under Christ's cross, banner, or standard, in such a cause and skirmish: when not only one or two of our dear Redeemer's strong holds are besieged, but all his chief castles, ordained for our safeguard, are traitorously impugned. This your enterprise, in the sight of all that be in heaven, and of all God's people in earth, is most pleasant to behold. This is another manner of nobility, than to be in the forefront in worldly warfares. For God's sake, pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are stronger and stronger in the Lord, his name be praised; and we doubt not, but ye be so in Christ's own sweet school. Heaven is all, and wholly of our side. Therefore *Gaudete in Domino semper, et iterum gaudete, et exultate*^f.

“Your assured in Christ, Rowland Taylor^g.”

Ridley pens
the relation
of his dis-
putation.

Ridley, knowing their tricks, and suspecting they would publish his disputation unfairly, and to their own advantage, prudently took his pen, and gave an account of it with the greatest exactness, as he could recover it in his memory. He was promised by the Prolocutor, that he should have a view of the dispute, as it was taken by the notaries, that he might supply and amend, and alter, as

^f [“Rejoyce always in the Lord, and again rejoyce and be glad:” added by Strype.]

^g [See Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, pp. 171, 172. ed. 1564.]

he should see any error or mistake in the notes. He promised him likewise, and that in the face and hearing of the rest of the commissioners, and the whole schools, that he should have a time and place allowed him, wherein he might produce what he had more to say, for the confirmation of his answers. But nothing was performed. Ridley never found language more ready to him, nor such a presence of mind in any business he had to do, as he had in this disputation: which he took particular notice of, and thanked God for. Of this relation, as he himself had penned it, he wrote to Grindal, then at Frankford, "That except he had that he gathered himself after his disputation done, he could not think that he had it truly; but if he had that, then he had therewithal the whole manner, after the which he was used in that disputation^h."

^h ["Immediately after the sentence" (i. e. of condemnation, April 20th, 1554.) "was given, D. Ridley writeth to the prolocutor, in manner, as followeth: 'Doctor Ridley to the prolocutor. Master prolocutor, You remember, I am sure, how you promised me openly in the schools, after my protestation, that I should see how my answers were there taken and written of the notaries whom ye appointed, ('me fateor neminem recusare'), to write what should be said, and to have had license for to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted me also at the delivery of my answer unto your first proposition, a copy of the

same: these promises are not performed. If your sudden departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed: for performance of promise is to be looked for at a righteous judge's hands. Now I send you here my answers in writing, to your second and third propositions, and do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same, and I shall by God's grace procure the pains of the writer to be paid for and satisfied accordingly. Master prolocutor, in the time of my answering in the schools, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, ye said then openly, that I should have time and place to say and bring whatsoever I could another

The univer-
sity sends
the disputa-
tions up to
the convo-
cation.

This whole disputation between these three excellent men, and the Oxford divines, was, under the seal of the University, and the subscription of notaries, exhibited into the house of convocation by Hugh Westonⁱ, and some 340 lawyers. This John Foxe had found some years after, writ in the register of a certain church in London. Whereupon, for the sight hereof, he applied himself to Dr. Incent, that had been actuary: but he put him off, telling him the writings were in Boner's hand, or in the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, and that he had them not; probably not being minded they should come to light. Foxe, when his pains succeeded not, wrote to the archbishop and the bishop of London, Parker and Grindal, about 1567, acquainting them with this; and desired their assistance: and the rather, because perhaps there might have been other things met with there, not unworthy knowledge, under the same seal. And so he left the archbishop and bishop to consult as they thought fit, for the finding out these writings of the disputations^k.

time, and the same your saying was then there confirmed of other of the commissioners: yea, and I dare say, the audience also thought then that I should have had another day, to have brought and said what I could for the declaration and confirmation of my assertions. Now that this was not done, but so suddenly sentence given before the cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel, &c."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1464. For Grindal's letter to bishop Ridley, and his answer to the same, see Letters of the Fathers, fol. 49—56. ed. 1564.]

ⁱ [See above, p. 68. n. e.]

^k ["At or near this time I find two learned historians applying to the archbishop. The one was John Foxe, who by his letter signified to his grace and the bishop of London, that he had found in a register of a certain church in London, (as he was a curious searcher into registers and records), that the famous disputations of Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer, with the Oxford divines, were under the seal of the university, and the subscription of notaries exhibited into the house of convocation by Hugh Weston (the chief moderator of

Foxe, by his diligence, procured many and divers copies of them; which I have seen; and that which he printed in his Acts and Monuments was I suppose, from a copy which he reckoned the largest and truest. Ridley apprehended there would many copies of these disputations fly about, (as there were,) whereby they might be wronged. Therefore, to prevent misrepresenting, as I said before, he wrote a brief account of what he had said at his disputation. This, whether he writ it in English or Latin originally, I cannot tell; I suppose in Latin; as it was lately, in the year 1688, published at Oxon. Among Foxe's manuscripts¹ I meet with a better copy than that, which, by comparing both, I find faulty in many things: besides Ridley's epilogue to the reader, which is there placed as a preface before the book, the true place being at the end of it^m.

Various copies of these disputations.

those disputes) and some lawyers; which was celebrated in the first of queen Mary, Boner being bishop of London; and that there were contained under the same seal other things perhaps not unworthy knowledge. That he had endeavoured to search them out; but when his pains succeeded not, he was compelled to desire the assistance of some that belonged to the convocation house. Dr. Incent, that was actuary, told him, that these papers were either in Boner's hands, or in the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, and that he had them not. And having given this information to the said archbishop and bishop, Foxe left it to them to consult as they thought good for

the finding of those writings. Which no question set the archbishop on work, who was an elaborate collector and retriever of such things. The other historian was Richard Grafton."—*Strype's Life of Archbp. Parker*, vol. i. pp. 466, 7. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

¹ [Harl. MSS. 422. fol. 53. et sqq. British Museum.]

^m [The following is the Præfatio N. Rid. in suam disputationem:

“ Nunquam mihi contigit in universa vita mea videre aut audire quicquam vanius aut tumultuosius geri quam hæc quæ nuper mecum habita est disputatio in scholis Oxoniensibus. Et profecto non arbitrabar inter nostrates potuisse reperiri alicujus literaturæ aliquos gradu insigniori

donatos, qui tam perfrictæ frontis essent, ut ejusmodi scenicis vanitatibus (quibus ea disputatio abundabat) indulgere æquo animo sustinuissent. Sorbonici clamores quos olim vidi Parisiis ubi papiasmus maxime regnat præ nostra hac thrasonica ostentatione speciem aliquam habere modestiæ merito videri possunt. Nec mirum erit, quoniam qui aliorum moderatores ibi esse debuerint, quique aliis sese formam in agendo præbuissent, in verbo, in gravitate, &c. ut Paulus loquitur, ipsi sane omnium perfusissime aliis ad tumultuandum et clamandum classicum cecinerunt. Unde manifestum est, Christiane lector, quod haud quaquam ab istis sincera aliqua veritas, sed prorsus vana mundi gloria et thrasonica victoria quærebat. Ceterum ne ad innumera convitia quibus ego inter disputandum totus conspuer, causa nostra quæ Dei est ecclesiæ ipsius mendosis etiam disputationis habitæ exemplaribus mundo traducatur atque inde damnum aliquod ipsa veritas sustinere possit, visum est mihi meam literis commendare responsionem, ut quisquis ejus cognoscendæ cupidus est simul et veritatis studiosus, scire ex his possit et quæ mihi maxime objecta fuerant, et in summa quid a me singulis sit responsum. Quanquam id tibi, amice lector, verisissimum esse fateor omnia omnium mihi a tam multis et tam tumultuose objecta, et a me vicissim tot interdum simul opponentibus tam ce-

lenter responsa ponere esse omnino impossibile. Ad hæc bona pars temporis in contumeliosissimis opprobriis et plusquam theatricis exhibitionibus applausionibus et triumphis ad captandam auram popularem, populari sermone inaniter consumpta est. Quam rem cum ego ægerrime ferrem, ac publice deplorarem, testarerque cœtum illud eruditorum virorum ac scholas (quæ theologorum gravitati destinatæ esse dicuntur,) ejusmodi ineptiis et scenicis vanitatibus contaminari atque pollui, et actores suæ causæ vanitatem per hæc ipsam palam prodere, dicendo nihil profeci, sed obloquentium exhibitionibus et vociferationibus, partim vero præsentium autoritate coactus sum ejus generis in me jactata audire convitia, qualia profecto viri graves non sustinuissent citra ruborem audire conjecta a turpissimo nebulone in vilissimum gæneonem.

“ In initio disputationis cum meam responsionem ad primam propositionem voluissem paucis, idque dialecticorum more confirmare priusquam primam probationem, quæ non admodum proluxa est, potuissem absolvere, exclamant ipsi D. Doctores, ‘ Loquitur blasphemias, blasphemias, blasphemias;’ cunque ego supplex atque obnixe precarer, uti perorantem audire dignarentur: qua mea supplicatione commotus (ut videbat) Dominus prolocutor inclamat ex alto, ‘ Legat, legat.’ Et ego cum rursus pergerem le-

gere, tantus continuo obortus est clamor ‘blasphemias, blasphemias,’ ut nullum me unquam meminere audisse aut legisse similem, præter illum qui in actis apostolorum excitatus est a Demetrio fabro argentario cum suis qui erant ejusdem artis, clamantibus in Paulum, ‘Magna Diana Ephesiorum, Magna Diana Ephesiorum;’ et præter disputationem quandam quam Ariani habebant contra orthodoxos in Africa, ubi dicitur quales præsides, talis erat et disputationis finis: omnia erat plena tumultu et Arianorum calumniis, ut nihil quiete audiri potuisset. Hæc Victor in libro se-

cundo suæ historiæ.

“Atque ita invaluerunt istorum clamores et tumultuationes, ut ego velim nolim, cogerer probationes meas aliqui satis breves inchoatas dimittere.

“Testes habeo hujus veritatis omnes cordatiores qui intererant. Sed de his plura conqueri desinam, et nunc mihi curæ erit argumenta mihi proposita et meas vicissim ad argumenta illorum responsiones quanta mea memoria diligentiori singularum circumstantiarum recordatione suggerere potuerit summatim annotare.”—Harl. MSS. 422. Plut. lxx. E. fol. 53. British Museum. Original.]

CHAPTER XI.

CRANMER CONDEMNED FOR AN HERETIC.

Cranmer
condemned
for heresy.

WITHIN two days after these disputations were ended, that is, on Friday April 20, Cranmer, with his two fellows, were brought again to St. Mary's, before the commissioners. Weston dissuaded them from their opinions; and asked them, whether they would subscribe? and required them to answer directly and peremptorily; and told the archbishop that he was overcome in disputation, with more words to that purpose. To whom the archbishop boldly replied, "That whereas Weston said, that he had answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own error, nor impugn the truth; he said, all that was false; for he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them, and ever four or five interrupting him." Latimer and Ridley, being asked what they would do, said, they would stand to that which they had said. Then, being called together, sentence was read over them, that they were no members of the church; and therefore they were condemned as heretics. And, while this was reading, they were asked if they would turn? They bade them read on in the name of God: for they were not minded to turn. And so the sentence of condemnation was awarded against them. Then the archbishop said,
341 "From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of the Almighty: trusting to be present with him in heaven; for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned." And so Cranmer was returned to

Bocardo, and the other two to other places: as they were kept apart almost all the while they were in Oxon.^a

Weston, after this ingrateful business done, went up the next week to London. And Cranmer wrote to the lords of the council a letter, containing two points: one was, to desire the queen's pardon as to his treason, (for so little favour could he find at court, that he had not yet this absolutely granted him;) and the other was, an account of the disputation: Weston being desired by the archbishop to carry the letter. But, after he had carried it half way, reading the contents, he liked them so ill, that he sent back the letter most churlishly to Cranmer again^b. Indeed he cared not to carry complaints of himself to the court. But, because it gives further light into these matters, I have inserted it in the Appendix.

Cranmer writes to the council.

Number LXXIX.
Disputation intended at Cambridge.

It was such an imaginary victory, as they had now got

^a [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1463, 1464. ed. Lond. 1683.]

^b [See above, p. 68. "Likewise bishop Ridley, hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein he desireth him to carry his answers up to certain bishops in London.—A letter of B. Ridley to the prolocutor. Master prolocutor, I desire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and shew all mine answers, written and subscribed with mine own hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and specially to my lord chancellor, my lords of Durham, Ely,

Worcester, Norwich, and Chester, and also to shew and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines here I write unto you: and that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know ye that I did take witness of them by whom I did send you this writing, and also of those, which were then with them present, viz. the two bailiffs of Oxford, and of master Irishe, alderman, then there called to be a witness.

“By me Nicholas Ridley,

“23. of April, an. 1554.”

—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1464.]

at Oxford, that they intended also to obtain at Cambridge. And much talk at this time arose, that Hoper^c, Rogers^d, Crome^e, and Bradford^f, whom they had in prisons at London, were to be had to this university, to be baited, as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, newly had been at Oxford: and several of the doctors of Oxford should be sent in likewise to Cambridge for this purpose. But Hoper, Farrar^g, Taylor^h, Philpotⁱ, Bradford, and the others, having an inkling of it, consulted among themselves what to do; and resolved to decline it, unless they might have indifferent judges. And for this purpose Bradford sent a private and trusty messenger to Oxford to Ridley, to have his, and his two fellows, their judgments concerning this matter. They were at this time all separated from one another: so, though Ridley signified this in a letter to

^c [See vol. ii. p. 123. n. d. and p. 205. n. n.]

^d [See above, p. 31. n. p.]

^e [Edward Crome, of Christ's college, Cambridge, was parson of St. Mary's, Aldermary, London; "His worth and merits were so much esteemed by the good Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, that about the year 1540, when king Henry was founding anew his cathedral of Christ's Church, Canterbury, he earnestly interceded with the lord Crumwel, that Crome might be placed dean there, esteeming him the fittest in England for that dignity."—Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. iii. pt. 1. p. 159.—In king Edward's days he flourished in fame and reputation for his

preaching and piety, and was noted for his charity and patronage of learning, and learned men. He made some compliances under queen Mary, to save himself from burning, but the report that he recanted was doubtful. He died June 26, 1562.—See Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 92, 164, 330, 331; ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's *Annals of the Reformat.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 545. ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's *Life of Abp. Parker*, vol. i. p. 13. ed. Oxon. 1821. Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. iii. pp. 271, 285, 287, 288. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^f [See vol. ii. p. 300. n. a.]

^g [See vol. ii. p. 107. et seqq.]

^h [See vol. ii. p. 128.]

ⁱ [See above, p. 70. n. c.]

Cranmer, yet he could only give his own sense^k. “He In his letter to Bradford. misliked not (he said) what they were minded to do: for he looked for none other, but that, if they answered before the same commissioners that he and his fellows had done, they should be served and handled as they were, *though ye were as well learned* (said he) *as ever was either Peter or Paul*. Yet he thought occasion might afterward be given them; and the consideration of the profit of their auditory might perchance move them to do otherwise. But determinately to say what was best, he could not; but trusted He, whose cause they had in hand, would put

^k [“Doctor Ridley to the archbishop of Canterbury.—I wish ye might have seen these mine answers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But I trust in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one Spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of God’s word. It is reported that sergeant Morgan, the chief justice of the Common Place, is gone mad. It is said also that justice Hales hath recanted, perverted by M. Moreman. Item, that M. Rogers, D. Crome, and M. Bradford, shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with, as we were here, and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine answers, send them again to Austen, except ye will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our delivery out of all miseries, and of our en-

trance into perpetual rest, and unto perpetual joy and felicity, draweth nigh: the Lord strengthen us with his mighty Spirit of grace. If you have not to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer deserveth to be rewarded, so he may and will do you pleasure. My man is trusty, but it grieveth both him and me, that when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to M. Latimer, and yours to me. I have a promise to see how my answers were written in the schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me; I pray for you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of His church, and lighten the eyes of the magistrates, that God’s extreme plagues light not on this realm of England.”—Foxe’s Acts and Monuments, p. 1464. ed. Lond. 1583.]

them in mind to do that which should be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and their own salvation¹." It came at length to that forwardness, that Weston and his complices had taken out the commission. And it was easy to obtain such a commission at such a lord chancellor's hands. And they were likely speedily to put it in execution. Hoper, who seemed to have the first notice of it, sent the intelligence in a letter to Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, and Philpot, prisoners in the King's Bench. He shewed them what his advice was, and desired them to consult among themselves what course were best to be taken. His own thoughts were, considering what foul play the three learned men had at Oxford, and which they were like to have themselves at this disputation ;

342 I. Because they did commonly make false allegations of the doctors, and took pieces and scraps of them to prove their tenets, against the real mind and sense of those authors ; they should therefore refuse wholly to dispute, unless they might have books present before them. II. To have sworn notaries, to take things spoken indifferently ; which would be hard to have, the adversaries having the oversight of all things : and so would make theirs better, and the protestants worse. III. If they perceived, when they were disputing, that two or three, or more, spake together, and used taunts and scoffs, as they did at Oxon, then to refuse to dispute any longer ; but to appeal to be heard before the queen, and the whole council. Whereby this benefit would happen, that they should be delivered from the commissioners, appointed to hear and judge them, who meant nothing less, than to hear the cause indifferently, being all enemies already unto the protestants,

¹ [For Ridley's Letter to Brad- Monuments, pp. 1725. 1726. ed.
ford, &c. see Foxe's Acts and Lond. 1583.]

and their cause, and at a point to give sentence against them. And then many at the court might be strengthened, who know the truth already; and others better informed who erred rather of zeal than malice; and a third sort, that be indurate, might be answered fully to their shame. He knew, he said, the adversaries would deny their appeal; but yet he advised to challenge it, and to take witness thereof, of such as should be present, and require, for indifference of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the queen and council, or else before all the parliament, as it was used in king Edward's daysⁿ. So wise and wary now were they. But I do not find that this project of the papists went further.

Hoper's
letter.

And let us return, and visit these three faithful prisoners of Jesus Christ. After their disputation and condemnation, their servants were discharged, that so they might not have any conference, or intelligence of any thing abroad. But God provided for every one of them, instead of their servants, faithful fellows, that would be content to hear and see, and do for them whatsoever they could; as Ridley wrote in a letter to Bradford. To these fathers also came supplies of meat, money, and shirts, from London, not only from such as were of their acquaintance, but from strangers, with whom they had no acquaintance; doing it for God's sake, and his Gospel's. The bailiffs so watched them now, that they would not suffer them to have any conferences among themselves. The scholars of that University seemed universally against them. Which Ridley, in a letter to his friend Bradford, could not but take notice of, calling it "a wonderful thing, that, among so many, never yet scholar offered any of them, so far as

Their con-
dition after
condemna-
tion.

ⁿ [For this letter, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1513, 14. ed. Lond. 1583.]

he knew, any manner of favour, either for, or in Christ's cause." They had all things common among them, as meat, money, and whatever one had, that might do another good.

Their employment
in prison.

Neither of them now in prison were idle. Old Latimer read the New Testament through seven times deliberately, while he was a prisoner. Cranmer busied himself earnestly in vindication of his writings of the Sacrament against Winchester, under the name of *Marcus Constantius*. And so did Ridley: who in two treatises, which he now made, shewed how Winchester varied from other papists in eighteen articles, and from himself in eighteen
343 more. And a third paper he wrote, shewing several things Winchester yielded unto, concerning the spiritual use of the sacrament. Foxe hath set down these in his history^o, and preserved them to us; these collections of Ridley falling into his hands. Ridley also wrote, while he was a prisoner in Oxford, *De Abominationibus Sedis Romanæ, et Pontificum Romanorum*: and annotations more large upon Tonstal's first book, (of *Transubstantiation*^p, I suppose;) and more sparingly upon the second. He was now also diligent to set others on work for the exposing false religion: desiring one Grimbald to translate Laurentius Valla his book, which he made and wrote against the fable of Constantine's donation and glorious exaltation of the see of Rome. And, having done that, he would have had him to translate a work of Æneas Sylvius, *De Gestis Basiliensis Concilii*: "in which although (said he) there be many things that savour of the pan, yet I dare say the papists would glory but a little to see such

Letters of
the Martyrs. [fol.
71. ed.
1564.]

^o [For these documents, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 78, 91. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^p [These treatises of bp. Ridley

are no longer extant. See Works of bp. Ridley, p. xvi. Park. Soc. Ed.]

books go forth in English." He directed Austin Bernher, Latimer's servant, to recommend those works unto Grimbold, who had been his chaplain, and a man (as Ridley gave him the character) of much eloquence both in English and Latin; (but he complied and subscribed.) And he also bade Austin tell Grimbold, that if he would know where to have these books, he might find them in a work set forth by Ortwinus Gratius, entitled, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum.*" And added, "that if such things had been set forth in our English tongue heretofore, he supposed great good might have come to Christ's church thereby ^q."

But we have not yet mentioned all the pieces that Ridley wrote in prison. For, besides those above mentioned, were these following. I. A little treatise, which was jointly composed by him and Latimer in the Tower, (which is preserved in Foxe^r;) with the letters N. R. before Ridley's sayings, and H. L. before Latimer's. II. A draught, which he drew out of the Evangelists and St. Paul, shewing thence that the words of the Lord's supper are figuratively to be understood, alleging out of the doctors, three of the Greek church, Origen, Chrysostom, and Theodoret: and three of the Latin, Tertullian, Augustin, and Gelasius^s. III. Three positions to the third question propounded in Oxford, concerning the pro-

Other works of Ridley in prison.

^q [See Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, fol. 67. ed. Lond. 1564.]

^r [For "a conference had betwixt master Ridley and Latimer in prison," &c. see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1718-1725. ed. Lond. 1583. See also Ridley's Works, pp. 97-151. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^s [i. e. "Collectanea ex Evan-

geliis et D. Paulo, tribus doctoribus ecclesiæ Græcæ, sc. Origene, Chrysostomo, et Theodoro, et tribus ecclesiæ Latinæ, sc. Tertulliano, Augustino, et Gelasio de verbis institutionis cœnæ dominicæ figurative intelligendis," which has "unhappily perished." —See Ridley's Works, pp. xv, xvi. Park. Soc. Ed.]

pitiatory sacrifice of the mass ^t. IV. His disputation in the schools, as he wrote it, after it was over. V. A letter, *Ad Fratres in diversis Carceribus* ^u. All these fell into the hands of the papists by this mishap, or treachery. Grimbold, expressing a great desire to have every thing that Ridley had writ during his imprisonment, Mr. Shipside, Ridley's brother-in-law, procured and sent him all those writings before mentioned: but they were all seized, whether in Grimbold's possession, or in the sending them to him, it was uncertain. Some suspected Grimbold himself, but others rather the messenger; for it would not enter into Shipside's head, that Grimbold should play such a Judas's part.

^t [i. e. "Tres positiones de sacrificio missæ expiatorio," which is the same in Latin, as the "account of a disputation held at Oxford;" Ridley's Works, p. xv. Park. Soc. Ed.;—for which disputation, see id. pp. 189 et sqq. and Appendix I. pp. 433 et sqq.]

^u [i. e. "Epistolas ad fratres in diversis carceribus,"—for the English version of which, see Ridley's Works, pp. 342–345, and the Latin version, pp. 346–348. Park. Soc. Ed. and Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, foll. 25. 28. ed. 1564.]

CHAPTER XII.

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A PARLIAMENT. POLE RECONCILES THE REALM.

GREAT care was now to be taken of getting parliament men that might do what was to be laid before them, now the pope's legate was to be received, and the last parliament failing expectation. Therefore letters were dispatched from the queen, and interests made all the nation over, to procure such persons to be elected, as should be named to them. In a manuscript, containing divers orders that were sent into Norfolk in queen Mary's time, there is a letter from that queen, anno 2^o, dated October 6, to the earl of Sussex ^a, directing him to assist in choosing such men to sit in parliament, "as were of wise, grave, and catholic sort; such as indeed meant the true honour of God, with the prosperity of the nation. The advancement whereof we, (as the letter runneth,) and our dear husband the king, do chiefly profess and intend, without alteration of any man's particular possession, as, amongst other false rumours, the hinderers of our good purposes, and favourers of heresies, do most utterly report ^b." For

The queen's letters directing the elections of parliament-men.

^a [See vol. ii. p. 375. n. g.]

^b ["Mary, the queen. Right trusty and well beloved cousin, we greet you well. And where for divers causes, tending principally to the advancement of God's glory, and the commonwealth of this our realm, we have thought convenient to call our high court of parliament to the 12th of the

next month, as by our writ of summons, sent unto you for that purpose, ye may at better length perceive; like as for your own part, we doubt not but ye will be ready to assist us with your best advice and counsel for the furtherance of our good purpose, in such matters as are to be treated of in our said parliament; so to the end

to make the intent of restoring the abbey lands to be the less credited, it was thought convenient to be laid upon the heretics. With these general letters there seemed to go private instructions what particular men were to be set up. For, upon the aforesaid letter, the earl of Sussex sent a letter, October 14, to sir Tho. Woodhouse^c, high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, and to sir William Woodhouse^d, about the elections of knights of those shires; *viz.*

the same may be more gravely debated and circumspectly handled, to the honour of Almighty God, and general commodity of our loving subjects, we have thought convenient speedily to require and pray you to admonish on our behalf such our good and loving subjects, as by order of our writs, have the elections of knights, citizens, or burgesses, within our rule, to choose of their inhabitants, as being eligible by order of our laws, may be of the wise, grave, and catholic sort; such as indeed mean the true honour of God, with the prosperity of the commonwealth. The advancement whereof we, and our dear husband the king, do chiefly profess and intend, without alteration of any particular man's possession, as amongst other false rumours, the hinderers of our good purposes, and favourers of heresies, do utterly report. And to the end we may the better confer with you about these matters that are to be treated of in our said parliament, our pleasure is, you do put yourself in a readiness to make your repair hither, so as ye

may be with us against the feast of All Saints at the furthest. Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster the 6th of October, the 2nd year of our reign."—Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. pt. ii. pp. 283, 4. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^c [“Thomas Wodehouse, esq. eldest son of sir Roger (Wodehouse), notwithstanding what is said in the baronetage, was never knighted: in 1^o. Philip and Mary he was high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, which office he served again 5^o. Elizabeth; in the 4^o. and 5^o. Philip and Mary, and 1^o. Elizabeth, he was burgess in parliament for the borough of Yarmouth in Norfolk; he was in favour with Henry VIII, whom he faithfully served to his death, afterward being retained in the service of Edward VI.”—See Blomfield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. i. p. 760. ed. 1739-1775.]

^d [Sir William Wodehouse, second brother of Thomas Wodehouse, “was vice-admiral of the British fleet, being knighted for his valiant acts done in the battle of Musselburgh; and after his

“That they should reserve their interests and voices for such as he should name, and that he would soon consult with them about the matter.” He then, in pursuit of the queen’s letter, recommended to the bailiff of Yarmouth, John Millicent, to be elected burgesse for that town. This parliament sat November 11^e.

return became a man of much repute in the country; in 1^o. and 2^o. Philip and Mary, he was elected knight of the shire, with Nic. Lestrangle, and 4th and 5th Philip and Mary with sir Henry Bedingfield: he served also for the county 2^o. 1^o. Elizabeth, with Nic. Lestrangle aforesaid, and again in the 5th of that queen, with sir Edward Warner, knight.”—*Id. ibid.*]

^e [“To proceed now further in the course and race of our story whereas we left, being before in the month of November, it followeth more that in the 12.* day of the same month of November being Monday, began the parliament holden at Westminster, to the beginning whereof both the king and queen rode in their parliament robes, having two swords borne before them. The earl of Pembroke bare his sword, and the earl of Westmoreland bare the queen’s. They had two caps of maintenance borne before them, whereof the earl of Arundel bare one, and the earl of Shrewsbury the other.”—*Foxe’s Acts and Mo-*

numents, p. 1475. ed. Lond. 1583. “The twelfth of November the parliament began at Westminster.”—*Stowe’s Annals*, p. 625. “And thus matters went on to the 11th of November, when the third parliament was summoned. In the writ of summons, the title of supreme head of the church was left out, though it was by law united to the other royal titles: and therefore this was urged, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth’s reign, as a good reason for annulling that parliament, since it was not called by a lawful writ. Now was cardinal Pole allowed to come into England. The emperor had this summer brought him to Flanders, where, to make amends for the rudeness of stopping him on his way, he desired him to mediate a peace between France and him; but that had no effect. It soon appeared, that all things were so well prepared by Gardiner’s policy, and the Spanish gold, that it would be an easy matter to carry every thing in this session. The lord Paget, and the lord Hastings, were sent from the

* [“Where note that the printer of queen Mary’s statutes doth err in his supposition, which saith that this parliament began the 11. of this month, which day was then Sunday.”—*Foxe.*]

Pole comes
over.

Cardinal Pole was this summer brought to Flanders by the emperor, who had stayed him before on the way^f. The queen sent over the lord Paget^g and the lord Hastings^h to the cardinal to conduct him over, in quality of the pope's legateⁱ. And the same day he landed at Dover, (which was November 21,) the bill passed for the taking off his attainder^k. Three days after he came to London,

king and queen to bring the cardinal over. At the opening of the parliament, it was an unusual sight to see both king and queen ride in state, and come into it with two swords of state, and two caps of maintenance carried before them. The swords were carried, one by the earl of Pembroke, the other by the earl of Westmoreland; and the caps by the earls of Arundel and Shrewsbury."—Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 584. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^f [See above, p. 76.]

^g [See vol. ii. p. 135. n. b.]

^h [Sir Edward, afterwards lord, Hastings, of Loughborough, son George, earl of Huntingdon, having raised forces in support of queen Mary against the lady Jane Grey, was appointed by her master of the horse, and became a member of the privy council and lord chamberlain: upon the accession of queen Elizabeth, whom he had conducted to the Tower during her sister Mary's reign, he was one of the noblemen appointed to attend her upon her first going to London. He was a great papist, and confined for being present at the mass: he died A. D. 1558,

when the title became extinct.—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 15, 26, 128; pt. ii. pp. 23, 159, 160. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 400; pt. ii. p. 391. ed. Oxon. 1824. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 503, 584, 687, 727; vol. iii. p. 455. ed. Oxon. 1829. Nicholas' Synopsis of the Peerage of England, p. 310.]

ⁱ ["Upon Wednesday the 7. of November, the lord Paget, and sir Edward Hastings, master of the horse, were sent as ambassadors, I know not whither, but as it was adjudged, to cardinal Pole, who lay all the summer before at Brussels; and it was thought they were sent to accompany and conduct him into England, where at that time he was nominated and appointed bishop of Canterbury."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1473, 1474. ed. Lond. 1583. For an original letter, dated Nov. 13, sent from Brussels by lord Paget and sir Edward Hastings, concerning cardinal Pole, see Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. pt. ii. pp. 317-320. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^k ["Cardinal Pole landed at

and so to Lambeth-house : which was ready prepared for his coming¹. Cardinal Pole, before he came into

Dover upon the Wednesday, being the 21. day of November, on which day one act passed in the parliament for his restitution in blood, utterly repealing as false and most slanderous that act made against him in king Henry the Eighth's time ; and on the next day, being Thursday and the 22. of November, the king and the queen both came to the parliament house to give their royal assent, and to establish this act against his coming."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1475. "The first bill put into the lords' house, was the repeal of the attainder of cardinal Pole ; it began on the 17th, and was sent down to the commons on the 19th, who read it twice on that same day, and the third time on the 20th,* and sent it up. This bill being to be passed before he could come into England, it was questioned in the house of commons, whether the bill could be passed without making a session, which would necessitate a prorogation. It was resolved it might be done ; so on the 22nd the king and queen came, and passed it. It set forth, that the only reason of his attainder was, because he would not consent to the unlawful separation and divorce between king Henry, and his most godly, vir-

tuous, and lawful wife, queen Katherine. Therefore they, considering the true and sincere conscience of the cardinal in that point, and his other many godly virtues and qualities, did repeal that act."—Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 584, 5. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

¹ ["The 24. of November cardinal Pole came out of Brabant into England, and was received with much honour : he was by parliament restored to his old dignity, that he was put from by king Henry, and shortly after came into the parliament house, where the king, queen, and other states were present. Then he declared the cause of his legacy, first exhorting them to return to the communion of the church, and to restore the pope his due authority. Secondly, he advertised them to give thanks to God, that had sent them so blessed a king and queen. Finally he signified, forsomuch as they had with great gentleness restored him to his honour and dignity, that he most earnestly desired to see them restored to the heavenly court, and unity of the church."—Stow's Annals, p. 625. ed. Lond. 1631. "Upon Saturday, the 24. November, the said cardinal came by water to London, and so to Lam-

* [This is a correction of Strype's, in the Appendix to the first edition of Burnet. The passage originally stood, 'three times in one day.']

England, and in the last reign, had the reputation here ordinarily of a virtuous, sober, and learned man; and was much beloved by the English nation, as well for his qualities, as his honourable extraction. Latimer, in one of his sermons before king Edward, hath these words of him: "I never remember that man, (speaking of Pole,) but I remember him with a heavy heart; a witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house: so in favour, that, if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the king's proceedings, I heard say, and I believe it verily, he had been bishop of York at this day. And he would have done much good in that part of the realm: for those quarters have always had need of learned
345 men, and a preaching prelate." One great author the cardinal much conversed in was, St. Hierom. Latimer wished "that he would have followed St. Hierom in his exposition of that place, *Come out of her, my people*: where that father understood it of Rome, and called that city, *The purple whore of Babylon*. Almighty God saith, *Get you from it*; get you from Rome, saith Hierom. It were (subjoined Latimer) more commendable to go from it, than to go to it, as Pole hath done^m."

The cardinal absolves parliament and convocation.

Soon after his return into England, he was mighty busy in reconciling the realm to the popeⁿ. He performed it in his own person to the parliament, on the thirtieth of November, with much solemnity; and to the convocation on the sixth of December. On which day, the parliament

both house, which was ready prepared against his coming."—*Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, p. 1475. ed. Lond. 1583. See *Burnet's Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. pp. 585, 6. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^m [See Fifth Sermon before K.

Edward. *Latimer's Works*, vol. i. pp. 173, 4. Park. Soc. Ed.]

ⁿ [See *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, pp. 1477. et sqq. and *Burnet's Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. pp. 584. et sqq.]

being dissolved, he, the lord legate, sent for the whole convocation of upper and lower house to Lambeth: and there he absolved them all from their perjuries, schisms, and heresies. Which absolution they received upon their knees. Then he gave them an exhortation, and congratulated their conversion: and so they departed^o.

January 23, upon the dismissal of the convocation, the bishops and inferior clergy waited again upon the legate at Lambeth. Where he willed them all to repair to their cures and charges, and exhorted them to entreat their flocks with all mildness, and to endeavour to win them by gentleness, rather than by extremity and rigour: and so let them depart.

January 28, he granted a commission to the bishop of Winchester^q, and divers other bishops, to sit upon, and judge according to the laws lately revived against heretics, all such ministers and others that were in prison for heresy: which was done undoubtedly to take off all the eminentest of the Protestant clergy, then in hold. At the very same day (such haste they made) they sat in commission, in St. Mary Overies church, upon Rogers^r, Hoper^s, and Cardmaker^t. And, the next to that, upon

The clergy
again wait
upon the
legate.

A commis-
sion grant-
ed by him
against
heretics.

^o [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1479.]

^p [Id. pp. 1482, 1483.]

^q [Stephen Gardiner.]

^r [See above, p. 31. n. p.]

^s [See vol. ii. p. 123. n. d; p. 205. n. n.]

^t ["John Cardmaker, otherwise Tailour, prebendary and chancellor of the church of Wells, (A.D. 1547—1554,) was an observant friar before the dissolution of abbeys; then after he was a married minister, and in king Edward's

time appointed to be reader in Paul's, where the papists were so much aggrieved with him for his doctrine's sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives." He was "apprehended in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and brought to London, and laid in prison in the Fleet," whilst the laws of Edward VI. were in force. "But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church,"

Hoper and Rogers again, upon Taylor^u also, and Bradford^x; when the two former were formally excommunicated. The day following they sat upon Taylor and Bradford again: to which were added Ferrary^y, Crome^z, and Saunders^a. Then they excommunicated Bradford and Saunders^b.

His commissions to all the bishops to reconcile their dioceses.

But, that this reconciliation to the pope and church of Rome might sound the louder in all parts and corners of the nation, and all persons every where might make their formal submissions to the pope, and thankfully take the mighty benefit of his yoke upon them again, the legate was not contented to reconcile the nation himself under their representatives in the parliament and convocation: but, upon pretence that he could not, in his own person, pardon and reconcile all the people, therefore he granted out a commission to each bishop in his own diocese, to do it to their respective clergy and laity, deputed in his name, and by his authority derived from the pope.

The commission to the dean and chapter of Canterbury.

Such a commission he granted, February 8, to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, that see being then held vacant: therein authorizing them to absolve all manner

(see above, p. 96.) he was brought before the bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor, "and others appointed by commission to examine the faith of such as were then prisoners," to whom the queen's mercy was offered, "if they should agree and be conformable." Continuing stedfast in the religious principles of the Reformation, Cardmaker "suffered on the 30th day of May, (A. D. 1555.) in Smithfield," together with John Warne, citizen of London, who had been condemned with him.—

See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1578—1580. ed. Lond. 1583. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 41.]

^u [See vol. ii. p. 128.]

^x [See vol. ii. p. 300. n. a.]

^y [See vol. ii. p. 107. et seqq.]

^z [See above, p. 124. n. e. fol. ed.]

^a [For the history and martyrdom of Laurence Saunders, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1493—1499. ed. Lond. 1583. See also vol. ii. p. 110 of this edition.]

^b [Id. p. 1483. See also vol. ii. p. 110. of this edition.]

of persons, as well lay as ecclesiastics, religious as secular, from their schism, heresies, and errors, and from all censures due thereupon. And to dispense with the clergy 346 upon divers irregularities: as with such who had received orders from schismatical bishops, or had been collated into their livings by them. To dispense also with the religious and regulars for departing from their cloisters without the pope's license, permitting them to wear the habit of priests, and to serve cures, considering the scarcity of priests, and to live out of their cloisters. Also, to dispense with priests that had married wives, though they were widows, or women defiled, and with such who had been twice married, doing penance and forsaking their wives. Allowing them to minister at the altar, and to serve cures, provided it were out of the dioceses where they were married. The said bishops, by this commission, were also empowered to grant, to fit rectors and curates, a power to reconcile and absolve their respective parishes." This commission I have placed in the Appendix, as it No.LXXX. was transcribed out of the register of the church of Canterbury.

The lord legate also, for the better discharging of this his mighty office, gave out his instructions how the bishops and officials of the vacant sees should perform this work of the reconciliation, deputed to them by the said legate: together with the form of absolution to be pronounced. Which instructions and form, as they were extracted from the said register, may be found in the Appendix. Each bishop was to call before him the clergy of his respective city, and to instruct them in divers things: as, concerning the pope's fatherly love and charity towards the English nation, in sending cardinal Pole his legate hither, as soon as he knew the lady Mary was declared queen, to bring this kingdom, so long separated from the catholic church,

The legate's
instructions
to the bi-
shops.

Numb.
LXXXI.

into union with it, and to comfort and restore them to the grace of God: concerning the joyful coming of the said legate; concerning what was done the last parliament, when the lords and commons were reconciled; and concerning the repealing of all the laws made against the authority of the Roman see by the two last kings, and restoring obedience to the pope and church of Rome: concerning the authority restored likewise to the bishops; especially, that they might proceed against heretics and schismatics. Then the bishops were to acquaint their clergy with the faculties yielded to them by the legate: which were to be read openly. Then all that were lapsed into error and schism were to be invited humbly to crave absolution and reconciliation, and dispensations as well for their orders, as for their benefices. Next, a day was fixed when the clergy were to appear, and petition for the said absolutions and dispensations. On which day, after they had confessed their errors, and sacramentally promised that they would make confession of the same to the bishop himself, or some other catholic priests, and to perform the penance that should be enjoined them; then the bishop was to reconcile them, and to dispense with their irregularities: always observing a distinction between those that only fell into schism and error, and those who were the teachers of them, and leaders of others into sin. The same time was to be appointed another day for a solemn festival; wherein the bishops and curates in their
347 churches should signify to the people all that the bishops before had spoken to their clergy; and then should invite them all to confess their errors, and to return into the bosom of the church: promising them, that all their past crimes should be forgiven, if so be they repented of them, and renounced them. And a certain term was to be fixed, namely, the whole octaves of Easter, within which

term all should come and be reconciled. But, the time to be reconciled in being lapsed, all that remained unreconciled, as also all that returned to their vomit after they had been reconciled, were to be most severely proceeded against.

The said bishops and officials (where any sees were vacant) were to name and depute the rectors of the parish churches, and other fit persons, who should absolve the laity of their parishes from heresy, and schism, and censures, according to a form to be given them by the bishops.

The bishops, and officials, and curates were to have each a book; in which were to be writ the names and parishes of all that were reconciled: that it might afterwards be known who were reconciled, and who were not.

After the octave of Easter was past, the bishops were to visit, first their cities, and then their dioceses; and to summon before them all such as had not been reconciled; and to know of them the cause why they would not depart from their errors; and, remaining obstinate in them, they were to proceed against them.

In this visitation, all the clergy were to be required to shew the titles of their orders and benefices; and notice was to be taken if any defect were therein. And now the bishops were to take care to root out any errors in their dioceses, and to depute fit persons to make sermons, and hear confessions. They were also to take care to have the sacred canons observed; and to have inserted into the books of service the name of St. Thomas the martyr, and of the pope, formerly blotted out: and to pray for the pope, according as it was used before the schism.

Pole a severe persecutor.

They were advised to insist much upon the great miseries we were in before, and the great grace that God now had shewed to this people: exhorting them to ac-

knowledge these mercies, and devoutly to pray for the king and queen, that had deserved so exceedingly well of this kingdom ; and especially to pray for a happy offspring from the queen.

In these instructions there are several strictures, that make it appear Pole was not so gentle towards the heretics (as the professors of the Gospel were then styled) as is reported, but rather the contrary ; and that he went hand in hand with the bloody bishops of these days. For it is plain here, that he put the bishops upon proceeding with them according to the sanguinary laws, lately revived, and put in full force and virtue. What an invention was that of his, a kind of inquisition by him set up, whereby not a man might escape, that stood not well affected to popery ! I mean, his ordering books to be made and kept, wherein the names of all such were to be written, that, in every place and parish in England, were reconciled : and so, whosoever were not found in those books might be known to be no friends to the pope : and
348 so to be proceeded against. And indeed, after Pole's crafty and zealous management of this reconciliation, all that good opinion, that men had before conceived of him, vanished : and they found themselves much mistaken in him ; especially, seeing so many learned and pious gospel bishops and ministers imprisoned and martyred under him, and by his commission. Insomuch that now people spake of him as bad as of the pope himself, or the worst of his cardinals. The Gospellers before this did use to talk much among themselves, that he did but dissemble at Rome in his present outward compliances with them and their superstitions ; and that he would, upon a good opportunity, shew himself an open professor of the truth. And indeed he often had conferences before him of Christ, and of the Gospel, of a living faith, and justification by

faith alone : and he often would wish the true doctrine might prevail. But now the mask was taken off, and he shewed himself what he was. A notable letter to this purpose was written, concerning the cardinal, about this time, by a pious Italian to his friend, who had conceived these good opinions of him. This I have put in the Appendix ; and the rather, because it will give some light into our present history.

Numb.
LXXXII.

CHAPTER XIII.

A CONVOCATION. ARTICLES FRAMED THEREIN.

A convoca-
tion.
Articles
presented
to the
upper
house.

AT a convocation the latter end of this year, an address^c was made by the lower house to the upper, wherein they petitioned for divers things, in twenty eight articles, meet to be considered for the reformation of the clergy. One whereof was, "That all books, both Latin and English, concerning any heretical, erroneous, or slanderous doctrines, might be destroyed and burnt throughout the realm." And among these books, they set Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, his book, made against the sacrament of the altar, in the forefront; and then, next, the *Schismatical Book*, as they called it, viz. the Communion book. To which they subjoined the book of ordering ecclesiastical ministers, and all suspect translations of the Old and New Testament; and all other books of that nature. (So that if Cranmer's book was burnt, it was burnt with very good company; the Holy Bible, and the Communion book.) And that such as had these books should bring the same to the ordinary by a certain day, or otherwise to be taken and reputed as favourers of those doctrines. And that it might be lawful for all bishops to make inquiry, from time to time, for such books, and to take them from the owners. And, for the repressing of such pestilent books, order should be taken with all speed, that none such should be printed

Cranmer's
book to be
burnt.

^c [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 372-379. ed. Oxon. 1829. MS. C.C.C.C.]

or sold within the realm, nor brought from beyond sea, upon grievous penalties. And from another article we may learn, from what spring all the bloody doings that followed the ensuing years sprang; namely, from the popish clergy. For they petitioned, That the statutes made in the fifth of Richard II, and in the second of Henry IV, and the second of Henry V, “against heresy^d, 349 Lollards, and false preachers, might be revived, and put in force.” And that “bishops, and other ecclesiastical ordinaries,” [whose hands had been tied by some later acts,] might “be restored to their pristine jurisdiction against heretics, schismatics, and their fautors, in as large and ample manner as they were in the first year of [king] Henry VIII.” I shall not recite here the whole address, as I find it in a volume of the Benet College library, because the bishop of Sarum had faithfully printed it thence in his history. Only I observe, that the 17th article is in the manuscript scratched out and crossed; viz. “That all exempt places whatsoever might be from henceforth under the jurisdiction of the archbishop or bishop, or archdeacon, in whose dioceses or archdeaconaries they were.” That they judged might grate a little too much upon the pope’s authority, which they were now receiving, since these exemptions were made by popes. And the last, or 28th article, was added by another hand; viz. “That all ecclesiastical persons, that had lately spoiled cathedral, collegiate, or other churches, of their own heads, might be compelled to restore them, and all and singular things by them taken away, or to the true value, and to reedify such things as by them were destroyed or defaced.” This I suppose was added by Boner’s interest, that he might hereby have a pretence

Intit. Syn-
odalia.
Hist. Ref.
vol. ii.
Collect.
p. 266.

^d [heretics, in the original.]

against Ridley, his predecessor ; it affording a fair opportunity to crush the good bishops and preachers, that had, in zeal to God's glory, taken away out of their churches all instruments of superstition and idolatry. And it might serve their turn, who had lately in a most barbarous manner plundered the rich archbishop of York^e.

Men burnt
to death
without
law.

And as they of this convocation were for burning heretics' books, so they were as well disposed to the burning of the heretics themselves. For protestants were already not only imprisoned, but put to death, without any warrant of law, but only by virtue of commissions from the queen and the lord chancellor. Whereupon, when one in the convocation started this objection, "That there was no law to condemn them," Weston, the prolocutor, answered, "It forceth not for a law ; we have a commission to proceed with them : and, when they be despatched, let their friends sue the law^f."

^e [Robert Holgate.]

^f [See above, p. 138.]

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONDITION OF THE PROTESTANTS IN PRISON.

FREEWILLERS.

By this time, by the diligence of the papists, the popish ^{Popery} religion was fully established in England. This apostasy ^{fully estab-} Cranmer saw with a sad heart before his death, and all his labour overturned. And Ridley sends the bad news of it from Oxon to Grindal, beyond sea, in these words: "To tell you much naughty matter in a few words, *Papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.*"

As for the protestants, some were put in prisons, some ^{Protestants.} escaped beyond sea; some went to mass, and some re-350 canted; and many were burned, and ended their lives in the flames for religion's sake.

They that were in prison, whereof Cranmer was the chief, being the pastors and teachers of the flock, did ^{The pastors in prison.} what in them lay to keep up the religion, under this persecution, among the professors: which made them write many comfortable and instructive letters to them, and send them their advices, according as opportunity served.

One thing there now fell out, which caused some dis- ^{Freewillers.} turbance among the prisoners. Many of them that were under restraint for the profession of the Gospel, were such as held freewill, tending to the derogation of God's grace, and refused the doctrine of absolute predestination, and original sin. They were men of strict and holy lives, but very hot in their opinions and disputations, and un-

quiet. Divers of them were in the king's bench, where Bradford^g, and many other Gospellers were; many whereof by their conferences they gained to their own persuasions. Bradford had much discourse with them. The name of their chief man was Harry Hart; who had writ something in defence of his doctrine. Trew and Abingdon were teachers also among them: Kemp, Gybson, and Chamberlain, were others. They ran their notions as high as Pelagius did, and valued no learning: and the writings and authorities of the learned they utterly rejected and despised. Bradford was apprehensive that they might now do great harm in the church, and therefore out of prison wrote a letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the three chief heads of the reformed (though oppressed) church in England, to take some cognisance of this matter, and to consult with them in remedying it. And with him joined bishop Ferrar^h, Rowland Taylorⁱ, and John Philpot^k. This letter, worthy to be read, may be found among the letters of the martyrs, and transcribed in the Appendix. Upon this occasion Ridley wrote a treatise of *God's Election and Predestination*^l. And Bradford wrote another upon the same subject; and sent it to those three fathers in Oxford for their approbation: and, theirs being obtained, the rest of the eminent divines, in and about London, were ready to sign it also.

Bradford's
concern
with them.

Number
LXXXIII.

His kind-
ness to
them.

I have seen another letter of Bradford^m to certain of these men, who were said to hold the error of the Pela-

^g [See vol. ii. p. 300. n. ^a.]

^h [See vol. ii. p. 107.]

ⁱ [See vol. ii. p. 128.]

^k [See above, p. 70.]

^l [Ridley's Treatise 'De Electione et Prædestinatione' is no

longer extant. See Ridley's Works, Biog. notice, pp. xv, xvi. Park. Sec. Ed.]

^m [See Lett. of the Mart. foll. 650, 652. ed. 1564.]

gians and papists concerning man's free will, and were then prisoners with him in the king's bench. By which letter it appeared, that Bradford had often resorted to them, and conferred with them; and, at his own charge and hinderance, had done them good. But, seeing their obstinacy and clamours against him, he forbore to come at them any more: but yet wrote letters to them, and sent them relief. They told him, "he was a great slander to the word of God in respect of his doctrine, in that he believed and affirmed the salvation of God's children to be so certain, that they should assuredly enjoy the same. For they said, it hanged partly upon our perseverance to the end. Bradford said, it hung upon God's grace in Christ; and not upon our perseverance in any point: for then were grace no grace. They charged him, that he was not so kind to them as he ought in the distribution **351** of the charity money, that was then sent by well-disposed persons to the prisoners in Christ, [of which Bradford was the purse bearer:] but he assured them he never defrauded them of the value of a penny: and at that time sent them at once thirteen shillings and four pence; and, if they needed as much more, he promised that they should have it." But, abating these little casual heats and peevishnesses, there was a good Christian correspondence maintained among them. The fore mentioned holy man advised them, "that though in some things they agreed not, yet let love bear the bell away; and let us pray," said he, "one for another, and be careful one for anotherⁿ." He said, "that he was persuaded of them, that they feared the Lord; and therefore he loved them. I have loved you in him, my dear hearts, though you have taken it otherwise, without cause on me given." He

ⁿ [See Letters of the Martyrs, foll. 474. 5. ed. 1564.]

added, "that he had not suffered any copy of his treatise of *Predestination* to go abroad, because he would suppress all occasion so far as might be. I am going," said he, "before you to my God and your God, to my Father and your Father, to my Christ and your Christ, to my home and your home^o."

Bradford
gaineth
some of
them.

By Bradford's pains and diligence he gained some from their errors: and particularly one Skelthorp^p: for whom, in a letter to Careless, he thanked God, who gave this man to see the truth at the length, and to give place to it; hoping that he would be so heedy in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance might thereby think themselves going astray^q.

^o [Id. pp. 361-364.]

^p ["About this time, the first day of July, (A. D. 1556.) amongst divers other prisoners, which died the same year in the king's bench, was also one John Careless of Coventry, a weaver, who, though he were by the secret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, so that he came not to the full martyrdom of his body, yet is he no less worthy to be counted in honour and place of Christ's martyrs, than others that suffered most cruel torments, as well for that he was for the same truth's sake a long time imprisoned, as also for his willing mind and zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had so determined it:"—"the fore-said John Careless . . . endured prisoner the space of two whole years, having wife and children. In the which his captivity, first being in Coventry gaol, he was

there in such credit with his keeper, that upon his word he was let out to play in the pageant about the city with other his companions. And that done, keeping touch with his keeper, he returned again into prison at his hour appointed. And after that being brought up to London he was endued with such patience and constant fortitude, that he longed for nothing more earnestly than to come to that promotion to die in the fire for the profession of his faith; and yet it so pleased the Lord to prevent him with death that he came not to it, but died in the prison, and after was buried in the fields in a dunghill." — Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1919, 20. ed. Lond. 1583. See also Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 223. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^q [Id. pp. 286, 7. Foxe's Acts and Mon. p. 1645. ed. Lond. 1583.]

Careless also, another eminent martyr, as well as Bradford, had much conference with these men, prisoners with him in the king's bench. Of whose contentiousness he complained in a letter to Philpot^r. And there is extant an answer of Philpot to Careless about them: where he writes, "That he was sorry to hear of the great trouble which these schismatics did daily put him to, and wished that he were with him in part, to release his grief. He bade him take his advice, and to be patient, whatsoever his adversaries could say or do against him: that he should commit the success of his labours [in rightly informing these men] unto God; and not to cease, with charity, to do his endeavour in the defence of the truth, against these arrogant and self-willed blinded scatterers. That these sects were necessary for the trial of our faith, and for the beautifying thereof: not to be perverted with them that were perverse and intractable. That he should shew as much modesty and humility as he might possible: and that then others, seeing his modest conversation among these contentious babblers, should glorify God in the truth of him, and the more abhor them. That he should be content that Shimei do rail at David, and cast stones a while. That he should desire all the brethren, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to keep the bond of peace, which is the unity of Christ's church: to let no root of bitterness spring up, which the devil, with all his diligence, seeketh to thrust in among the children of God. To kiss one another with the kiss of unfeigned brotherly love, and to take one another by the hand cheerfully, and say, Let us take up our cross together, and go to the mount of Calvary^s."

Careless's
pains with
them.

Martyrs'
Letters.
Philpot's
counsel.

This contention could not be laid asleep amongst them, 352

^r [Letters of Mart. fol. 408. ed. 1564.]

^s [Id. foll. 245, 6.]

Careless
draws up a
confession
of faith.

notwithstanding the grievous tribulations they endured for the same cause of religion. They wrote also against one another: for in 1556, Careless wrote a confession of his faith, some part whereof favoured absolute predestination against freewill. This confession he sent unto the protestant prisoners in Newgate from the king's bench, where he lay. Whereunto they generally subscribed; and particularly twelve that were a little before condemned to die. Hart, having gotten a copy of this confession, on the back side thereof wrote his confession in opposition thereunto. When they in Newgate had subscribed Careless's confession, this Hart propounded his unto them; and he, with one Kemp and Gybson, would have persuaded them from the former to the latter, but prevailed not. One Chamberlain also wrote against it. I do not meet with this confession; only I find one article was, "That the second book of Common Prayer, set forth in king Edward's days, was good and godly: but that the church of Christ hath authority to enlarge and diminish things in the same book, so far forth as it is agreeable to Scripture." This paper of Careless's confession, with the answer wrote on the back side by Hart, fell by some accident into the hands of Dr. Martin, a great papist; who took occasion hence to scoff at the professors of the gospel, because of these divisions and various opinions amongst them. But Careless, before the said Martin, disowned Hart, and said that he had seduced and beguiled many a simple soul with his foul Pelagian opinions, both in the days of king Edward, and since his departure^t.

Some few
Arians.

Besides these anti-predestinarians, there were some few, who laid in prison for the gospel, were Arians, and disbe-

^t [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1529-1531.]

lieved the divinity of Jesus Christ. Two of these lay in the king's bench. These different opinions occasioned such unseemly quarrelsome disputes and heats among them, that the marshal was fain to separate them from one another. And, in 1556, the noise of this reached to the council; who, the better to know the matters controverted between them, sent Dr. Martin to the king's bench to examine it.

These were some of the transactions that passed among the prisoners. Another matter concerning them deserves relating: which was this; they boldly and bravely made a declaration to the queen and parliament that sat this year: taxing them for overthrowing (as they had lately done) the laws of king Henry and king Edward, and the reformation so maturely and deliberately made, and after the rejection of a religion, which, as they said, there was not a parish in England desired to have restored again. They offered likewise to maintain the homilies and service, set forth in king Edward's days, before them, either by writing, or by disputation in the English tongue. By whom this declaration was drawn up, unless by John Bradford, I know not: for I meet with it in a MS. which contains divers pieces of that good man. This remarkable declaration I have repositied in the Appendix. This now is the second time a public challenge was made to justify king Edward's reformation; the former the last year by Cranmer, the latter now by divers of the learned men in prison.

The prisoners offer to justify king Edward's proceedings.

Number LXXXIV.

After they had lain fifteen or sixteen months thus in prison, their livings, houses, and possessions, goods and books taken from them, they made such another address unto the king and queen, and the parliament: therein undertaking, either by word or writing, before them, or indifferent arbiters to be appointed by them, to prove

353

And again offer it.

themselves no heretics, nor teachers of heresy, as they were pretended to be, nor cut off from the true catholic church; (though by the popish clergy excommunicated:) and, secondly, by the testimony of Christ, his prophets and apostles, and the godly fathers of the church, to prove the doctrine of the church, the homilies and service, taught and used in king Edward's time, to be the true doctrine of Christ's catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the Christian faith. And this was the

Edit. 1610. third public challenge they made. This being preserved
p. 1348. in Foxe's Acts, I forbear to transcribe it.

^u [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1483. ed. Lond. 1583.]

CHAPTER XV.

THE EXILES, AND THEIR CONDITION.

BUT let us now turn our eyes from the prisoners, which The exiles. were kept under close confinement here in England, unto the exiles, that, by the good providence of God, made their flight into foreign countries from these storms at home. These were both of the clergy and laity: who, though great watch was laid for them, and prohibitions given out against any that should privately attempt to transport themselves, yet, by taking their opportunities, and the favour of divers masters of small vessels at Lee in Essex, and upon the coasts in those parts, they safely got to the other side of the sea.

They scattered themselves, and took up their harbours The Lu- as they could. But they found little hospitality in Saxony therans re- and other places in Germany, where Lutheranism was fuse to give professed. But, on the contrary, the exile English were harbour to much hated by those of that profession, because they the exiles. looked upon them as Sacramentaries, and holding as Calvin and Peter Martyr did in the doctrine of the sacrament. Therefore, when any English came among them for shelter, they expelled them out of their cities. And when a grave pastor of Saxony (a friend of P. Martyr's, who, though he Mart. Ep. were a minister, yet was not of their mind) had entertained p. 770. some of them, the rest clamoured against him, and hated him for it. About this time the Saxon divines wrote many books against the Sacramentaries; and namely, one Joachim Westphalus wrote a book against Calvin^a. And

^a [See Jo. Geo. Walchii, Bibl. Theol. Select. tom. ii. pp. 428, 9. ed. Jenæ, 1757—65.]

Ep. Pet. he and the rest got these books printed at Frankford, on
Martyr. ad purpose, as Martyr conjectured, the more to spite the
Calvin. English and French churches that abode now there, and
Anno 1555. to provoke them^b.

^b [“Joanni Calvino.—Fasciculum hunc literarum his diebus, vir clarissime, accepi, committere autem nolui ut absque meis tibi redderentur. Valeo de more, libenterque Dominum de S. Andrea, tuum symmystam vidi, ex quo de rebus Genevensibus luculenter cognovi, quod antea ob rumores, qui varii spargebantur non mediocriter optaveram. Benedictus Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui suos non deserit. Saxones non quiescunt. Farraginem (sic enim appellant) valde ineptam ediderunt. Sententias quasdam ex patribus colligunt, nec non ex Luthero, Philippo, Brentio, Pomerano, et similibus. Addunt ei Bucerum, Illyricum, et Joachimum Westphalum, quo se inter sese consentientes esse ostendunt. Inseruerunt quoque varias epistolas in nos aliquando scriptas. Te vero et me nominatim non attingunt. Joannem a Lasco proscindunt, non sane quod peculiarem foveat opinionem, sed tantum nomine sacramentarii. Atque, si Deo placet, in hujusmodi Centone titulum habent privatim, quod Christi corpus sit ubique. Hoc jam palam tuentur, et istum articulum tribus aut quatuor foliis tractant, neque alia ratione utuntur, quam Filium Dei assumisise naturam humanam in eandem hy-

postasin. Ad extremum addiderunt locum de magistratus officio, quod alia causa eos non fecisse arbitror, nisi ut principes in nos inflamment. Omnia tamen tam insulse ac inepte referunt, ut misericordia potius quam confutatione opus habeant. Quid hic dicet noster Philippus Melancthon? Eum passim testem citant. Verum ipse melius judicabis cum librum videris. Molinæus rediit huc a nuptiis cum principibus, quem audiveram nescio quæ de libero arbitrio non recte sentire, ac ea velle in lucem edere. Hominem ad me vocavi, ostendi, quam sic agendo cum ecclesiasticæ paci, tum sibi male consuleret. Visus est persuaderi, seque pollicitus est non facturum: imo negavit, unquam in animo habuisse, ut quæ de hac re scripserat, invulgaret. Præterea doctor Balduinus, cum de aliis rebus una loqueremur, dixit, te illi significasse, Molinæum conqueri de ipso, quod ejus locum apud nos occupavit. Certe si hoc dicit, vehementer mirandum est. Is enim cum hic fuisset, cum dominis scholarchis non potuit convenire. Ivit itaque Tubingam, et conditionem ibi recepit: atque per annum propemodum est professus leges: deinde Mombelgardum se transtulit, eamque conditionem

At Wesel the English were under some trouble: and the senate were about to command them to depart thence,

The English
at Wesel.

rursus amplexus est, dumque illic esset, D. Balduino venienti huc literas commendatitias ad me dedit. Vacabat proinde tunc temporis ille locus. Unde meo iudicio non habet quod juste queratur. Alius præterea (ut hodie audivi) editus est liber a Joachimo Westphalo in te, ut aiunt, aut certe in sacramentarios: eum non vidi. Mirum est hos homines neque posse recte scribere, neque velle tacere. Omnia hæc sua Francofordiæ curarunt imprimi, fortasse ut Gallicanæ atque Auglicanæ ecclesiæ, quæ ibi collectæ sunt, negotium facessant. Garnerius hic discessit, et ad Lantgravium sese contulit. Ecclesia nostra incipit respirare, atque, si Dominus favorebit, aliquando tandem erit nonnihil quietior. Sinceram tranquillitatem non facile mihi promitto. Illi enim qui Garnerium vexarunt, adhuc manent, suntque ut semper fuerunt ingenio turbulento. Petrus enim Alexander pergit in opere cœpto, ac satis efficaciter et recte docet. Balduinus, ut suspicor, Heidelbergam ibit, nihil certo scio, nam recte agit, et quæ in animo habet, non aperte loquitur. Si discedat, Hotomanum substitui loco ejus velim. Sed Molinæus, ut video, hic hærebit: quærit enim, quantum olfacio, vel istam vel Heidelbergensem conditionem obtinere: non tamen facile ei succedet, cum a Deo facultatem docendi non sit nactus.

Nemo propemodum intelligit eum, dum loquitur. Certe me illius miseret. Nam in facultate sua doctus est, et adversus papam non malam navavit operam. Si animum ad scribendum tutandamque nostram causam appelleret, et apud aliquem principem locum haberet, illi bene consultum putarem. Sed homini constantia deest: unde quid ei faciendum sit, plane incertum habeo. Nostram Italicam ecclesiam, quamvis non opus esse arbitror, quanta possum vehementia tibi commendo. Literas ex Saxonia modo accepi, a pastore quodam amico meo veteri, qui non tantum est doctus, verum pius, et bene de ista controversia sentit; is dicitur habere secum nonnullas fratres, qui secum idem sentiant, sed multitudine obruantur: cæteros vero ait fuere, ita ut in suggestis nil aliud propemodum clament, nisi nos esse hæreticos, falsos prophetas, lupos, Suermoros, sacramentiperdas. Aditque in te præcipue illos debacchari, et jam adversum te suffragia colligi. Arbitror eos, si poterunt, aliquod genus moliri excommunicationis. Deus conatibus eorum obsistat. Is autem bonus vir in summo est odio, quod, ut cæteri faciunt, in nos clamare nolit, quodque Anglos è regno suo profugos, quos alii ejiciebant, hospitio suscepit, et aliquando cum ecclesia Phrisica communicaverit. Unde neque

Bal. Præf.
ad Act.
Pontif.

because of their different sentiments from the Augustan Confession in some points. But Philip Melancthon inter-
354 posed, and interceded with the senate on their behalf. And, when some clamoured against them, he took their part, saying, "That their case ought to be weighed by friendly disputations, and not exploded by noise and hissing: and declared his judgment to be, that these poor exiles were to be retained and helped, not afflicted and vexed by any rough sentence." He wrote also to the governors of Frankford to the same purpose; *viz.* "That the English were not to be oppressed, but to be cherished, considering their sentiments were sound in the main articles of the Christian confession: and that whereas they differed in some points, they were to be instructed and informed, and not to be rudely thrown out from among them by force and violence^c."

suam civitatem, neque Saxoniam sperat se diu posse ferre. Tamen quoniam isti Lutheropapistæ, ut nobis invidiam conflent, multitudini persuadent, omnes illorum ecclesias à nostris esse damnatas, et quod volunt imperitis rerum facile persuadent, judicaret esse utile, si communi nostrarum ecclesiarum voluntate scriptum ad filios ecclesiæ Saxonæ ederetur quo calumnia hæc purgaretur, reddereturque ratio quam simplicissime fidei nostræ. Quod licet alias factum utcumque fuerit, attamen hoc tempore ait, se judicare id multum posse prodesse: præsertim si ecclesiarum subscriptiones haberentur: quoniam passim adversarii jactant, hac de re summam inter nos esse dissensionem, hæc tacere nolui, ut circa ea tuo

utaris judicio. Fasciculum literarum antea misi, quod existimaverim, ibi libellum inclusum Westphali. Has autem constitueram dare Domino de S. Andrea, sed quia (ut audio) discedit in Belgium, nolui ulterius deferre. Deus te nobis diu incolumem servet. Argentinae. 23. Septemb. 1555." — P. Martyr, *Loc. Com.* pp. 1197, 8. ed. Heidel. 1603.]

^c ["Præstantissimis et doctissimis viris ac dominis, Simoni Sulcero. Henrico Bullingero, Joanni Calvino, Philippo Melancthoni, ministris Christi fidelissimis: Joannes Baleus gratiam et pacem optat à Domino Jesu Christo sempiternam.—Ut ergo à primo ordiar, et a remotissimis ad viciniora ascendam, quantum Wirtembergæ, pulcherrimæ omnium bo-

And indeed it was admirable to observe at this time the exceeding heats that were in the Lutherans against all other Protestants, only for differing from them in this one point of the sacrament. There was a book published in the year 1555, in favour of their opinion of the corporeal presence, which was called, *Farrago Doctrinæ Lutheranae*. This P. Martyr called *valde insulsa*, a very foolish book. It contained a collection of sentences out of the Fathers, and also out of the writings of Luther, Philip, Brentius, Pomeran, &c. They added some out of Bucer, Illyricus, and Joachim Westphalus, to shew that they agreed together. They inserted divers letters sometime writ against the Sacramentaries. Indeed Calvin and Martyr they mentioned not by name, but A Lasco they did. In this

The Lutherans' heat against Sacramentaries.

narum artium mercaturæ debeamus, non dissimulant hi, qui eo se visendi et studendi gratia contulerunt. Quorum magnificis laudibus multi commoti, frequentes venirent, si ad tantam itineris longinquitatem emetiendam, ut voluntas, sic facultas suppeteret. Nam cum reliquos doctos non sine grata multorum erga se meritorum testificatione collaudant: tum Philippe, tuam comitatem singularem, facilitatem miram, obviam et paratissimam bene mendi voluntatem prædicant. Nec id abs re. Nam et domi omni humanitatis genere prosequeris, et foris etiam prædicatione tua literisque amantissimis luctantes sæpe et fluctuantes sublevas. Non enim obscurum est, quid apud Wesaliensem senatum Anglorum nomine egeris. Qui cum eos religionis ergo laborare, et hominum

quorundam contra sententiam injustis vociferationibus nonnihil exagitari intelligeres: causam deceptionibus ventilandam, non clamoribus et sibilis explodendam censuisti: homines retinendos et relevandos, non asperiori aliqua sententia affligendos aut vexandos judicasti. In hanc sententiam etiam ad Francofortenses magistratus scripsisti, ut ex literis tuis, quas mihi videre contigit, subodoratus sum: ubi nostros omnibus articulis Christianæ confessionis pure sentientes, et in controversiis aliquot zeli fervore et natura quadam sua, opinionem suam tuentes, docendos, non opprimendos, colloquio admonendos, non vi exturbandos, cum res dubiæ obscuris verbis ab adversaria parte tractatæ sint, existimasti."—Balei Præf. ad Act. Pontif.—Ed. Basil.

book there was a discourse added under this title, *Quod Christi corpus sit ubique*: which was to serve as a proof of their doctrine. And in the conclusion there was a commonplace, *De Magistratus officio*: which was thought to be put in upon no other reason, but to inflame and irritate princes against the Sacramentaries. These Saxon divines were exceeding hot against those that believed not as they did. In their ordinary discourses they stiled them *Heretics, False Prophets, Suermeros, Sacramentiperdas*. About this time they were gathering new votes against Calvin, and, as it was thought, they intended to attempt some excommunication against such as differed from them in this point. And this that I have said is enough to explain the reason of the inhospitality of the Lutherans to our exiles.

At Zurick and other places well received. But in other places they were received with much kindness, and had the liberty of their religious worship granted them; as in Strasburgh, Frankford, Embden, Doesburge, Basil, Zurick, Arrow, Geneva.

At Zurick they were received into one house with Bullinger, and had great favour and countenance shewn them by the townsmen and magistrates: who offered them, by Bullinger, to supply them with such a quantity of bread corn and wine, as should serve to sustain thirteen or fourteen people. But they with thanks refused it: having, I suppose, wherewith to subsist otherwise of themselves, and being willing to be as little burdensome as might be.

Their employments. In these places some followed their studies, some taught schools, some wrote books, some assisted at the printing press, and grew very dear to the learned men in those places. At Embden, they having gotten among them, by
355 sir John Cheke's^e means, as was thought, an original copy

^e [See vol. ii. p. 168. n. e.]

of archbishop Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, translated it into Latin, and printed it there, with a preface before it^f. And there they preserved the said original, as a most invaluable treasure. Here they printed other good books in English, and conveyed them into England. At Geneva a club of them employed themselves in translating the holy Bible into English, intending to do it with more correctness than had hitherto been done; having the opportunity of consulting with Calvin and Beza in order thereunto. What they performed may be perceived by the Bible that goes under the name of the Geneva Bible at this day^g. It was in those days, when it first came forth, better esteemed of than of later times. At Frankford, where they had great countenance of the magistrates of the city, arose great contentions and quarrels among themselves, about the discipline of the church, and in framing a new service, different from what was before set forth in king Edward's reign, to be used in the public congregation: which new service came nearer to the form of the church of Geneva. This occasioned great troubles, animosities, and separations, to the discredit of themselves and the reformation. These matters may be seen at large in the *Troubles at Frankford*^h. There is one thing, which,

Contentions at Frankford.

^f [i. e. "Defensio veræ et catholicæ doctrinæ de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi Servatoris nostri, et quorundam in hac causa errorum confutatio, verbo sanctissimo Domini nixa atque fundata, et consensu antiquissimorum ecclesiæ scriptorum firmata, a reverendiss. in Christo patre ac domino D. Thoma Cranmero archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, primate totius Angliæ et metropolitano, scripta. M.D.L.III;"] for

a reprint of which, see works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^g [For an account of the "revision of the Bible proceeding at Geneva," see Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii. pp. 317, et seqq. ed. Lond. 1845.]

^h [i. e. "A brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. Abowte the Booke off common prayer and ceremonies, and

Some children of the exiles baptized by Lutherans.

that book making, I think, no mention of, I will here relate. Some of the English upon this dissension carried their children to be baptized by Lutheran priests: for though the Lutherans were against the poor exiles, they thought so well of them, as to be willing their children should be initiated into the church by their ministry. The occasion whereof seemed to be, that, in the divisions of this church, one party would not let their children be baptized by the English minister. This causing a new disturbance, some wrote to the great divine P. Martyr, now at Argentine, for his resolution of this question: *An liceat hominibus evangelicis baptismum a Lutheranis accipere.* To this he answered in a letter to the church, disapproving of their doings; telling them, "That the way to heal their differences was, to bring their children to be baptized in such churches, with which they agreed in faith and doctrine." So that this created a new quarrel among them; for some held it unlawful to receive baptism from those that were not orthodox in their doctrine; and others again thought it lawful. And this made them send to Martyr for his judgment, as aforesaid: who wrote, "That he would not say it was unlawful, for that it could not be judged by the word of God; but he disliked the practice, and propounded divers arguments against it." Those that were for it, said, "It was an indifferent thing." To which Martyr made this reply, "That indifferent things were not to be used to the scandal of the weak." They said, "The difference was not so great between us in the matter of the sacrament." But Martyr said, "It was of

continued by the Englishe men theyre, to thende off Q. Maries Raigne, in the whiche discours, the gentle reader shall see the very originall and beginninge off all the

contention that hathe byn, and what was the cause off the same, M.D.LXV."—See reprint of this work, ed. Lond. 1846. and also in the "Phenix:" vol. ii. Lond. 1708.]

great moment, because in it there was a contest concerning the chief head of religion." They added, "That the Lutheran divines did think, in the matter of baptism, as they did." But Martyr answered, "That they were mistaken: for those divines affirmed more of the sacrament than is fit; and tied the grace of God to baptism; and that they thought there was no salvation without 356 baptism; and that they affirmed that infants had faithⁱ."

ⁱ ["Ecclesiæ Anglorum N.S.D. —Nos, fratres in Christo charissimi, quamvis ecclesiam vestram mirifice diligimus, ac jure meritoque plurimi facimus, de spinosis attamen quæstionibus, et quæ nihil aut certe parum ædificationis adferunt, non libenter, imo perinviti judicamus. Nam cum inter vos duæ sunt partes, quarum una affirmat, altera vero negat, facile posset fieri, ut latam sententiam non ferentes, ecclesiam scindere malint, quam fidem vel opinionem commutare. Proinde cum unitatis ecclesiæ simus cupidissimi, mirum in modum coortam inter vos altercationem optaremus esse consopitam, quod fieri posse arbitramur, si liberos vestros iis ecclesiis posthac tingendos traderetis, cum quibus in fide ac doctrina consentitis. Nam si ad hunc modum fieret, et illi qui existimant illud baptismi genus, de quo disputatur, esse illicitum, suæ conscientiae esse satisfactum vehementer gauderent: qui autem è diverso rectum et concessum opinantur, propterea suam fidem seu conscientiam nulla ex parte contaminarent. Huc accedit pios

homines in rebus dubiis maxime decere, ut quæ tutiora sunt maxime amplectantur. Ex verbo Dei, quod exstet disertis et expressis verbis pronuntiatum, res, quam proponitis, non legitur definita: quare de illa oportet disputare, juxta id quod ex consequitione divinarum scripturarum licet conijcere: sed eas connexiones et conclusiones, quando non omnes admittant, hinc difficilis et periculosa evadit istarum rerum tractatio. Attamen quia consulti a vobis non possumus quidnam judicemus de proposita controversia tacere, ea paucis referemus quæ in præsentia videntur magis consentanea. Ea si placuerint, grato animo accipietis: sin minus, salva et incolumi Christiana charitate, quæ meliora fueritis aliunde consequuti, amplectimini. Videtur itaque nobis ante omnia fideles admonendos, ne baptismum à Lutheranis perceptum repetant, quandoquidem nec illum reiteramus quem papistæ nobis ministrant. Cum vero postea de vobis quæritur, an liceat hominibus evangelicis baptismum à Lutheranis accipere: dicimus id ab eis citra

Pieces of
Ridley's
writings
conveyed to
Frankford.

To the exiles residing here at Frankford, some, in the year 1555, conveyed Gardiner's book against Cranmer,

vitium non posse fieri; non sane quod illorum ecclesias prorsus ecclesias esse negemus, neque quod vitio crudelitatis, quo ministri earum in nos laborant, baptismum ipsum infici arbitremur, sed aliis de causis, iisque ut videtur iustissimis, ita sentimus. Primum baptismum affirmamus obsignationem quandam esse fidei ejus qui tingitur, aut si per ætatem is adhuc fide non est imbutus, eam intelligimus obsignari, quam offerentes baptizandum profitentur. Quare cum Lutheranorum et nostrum sit diversa fides, non possumus nostram Lutheranis obsignandam tradere, cum illa ab ea vehementer abhorreant, tantum abest, ut ipsam baptismi signo videri velint comprobare. Quocirca id agendo potius videbimur eorum fidei consentire, nostrumque animum et sensum jam ad illorum ecclesiam et fidem transtulisse. Porro ecclesiam N. non arbitramur in aliam fidem baptizare, quam in eam, quæ in illa viget et traditur. Baptismum vero fidei obsignationem esse, Paulus demonstrat, cum ad Romanos inquit: Abrahamum prius credidisse, idque imputatum ei fuisse ad justitiam: deinde sigillum justitiæ fidei, hoc est, circumcionem accepisse. Nec dubium fidelibus esse potest nostrum baptismum circumcisioni suscessisse. Quin et Judæi non alia ratione circumcidissent externum

hominem, nisi antea proselytus effectus, religionem et fidem eorum fuisse professus. Et nostri adultos minime tingebant, nisi eos per quadraginta dies antea instituissent. At fortasse putatis controversiam eucharisticam leve quoddam esse dissidium, quod non ita se habet, cum in ea de præcipuis religionis capitibus sit certamen. Deinde si res parvi momenti est, cur tam acriter ob eam contendimus? Cur minutam differentiam non dissimulamus? Sin vero est, ut esse docemus gravissimi ponderis, cur a specie taciti consensus non cavemus cum iis ecclesiis quas male sentire certo scimus? cur Lutheranos ministros potius non imitamur, qui suos liberos nostris ministris tingendos minime committerent? Porro, si tradendis filiis vestris ut baptizarentur, illis ministris contestaremini vos ea fide circa eucharistiam illos velle tingi, quam retinetis et profiteremini, eos proculdubio non baptizarent. Pii quoque Hierosolymitani olim suos liberos Hieroboamitis circumcidendos non dedissent, qui vitulos aureos una cum Jehova colebant. Exemplis etiam nostrorum majorum haud parum commovemur. Etenim Theodosius ille magnus, ut Socrates libro 5. capite 6. scripsit, cum Thessalonicæ graviter ægrotare cœpisset, Christianoque baptismo vellet initiari, episcopum

entitled *Marcus Antonius*, with Ridley's answer to the objections of that book, and a treatise in English of tran-

urbis ad se accersivit, eum in primis rogans, quam illa ecclesia fidem profiteretur, Arrianum scilicet an orthodoxam: cumque ipsam audivisset *ὁμοουσίαν* confiteri, et alienam ab Arrianis esse, tum læto et alacri animo se baptizari jussit. Quin et Valentinianus junior, cum in Gallia tingi potuisset, tamen ob hæresium suspiciones quibus ecclesiæ tum laborabant, Mediolanum contendit, ut ab Ambrosio illic initiaretur, cujus ecclesiam sciebat sinceram et orthodoxam fidem sequi. Iis addam Satyrum ipsius Ambrosii fratrem, qui cum e naufragio periculosissimo evasisset, neque baptismum vellet ulterius differre, Arrianorum ecclesiis quam diligentissime vitatis, ad catholicam ubi tingeretur sese celerrime contulit. Cur ista cautione celeberrimi viri tantopere usi fuissent, si baptizari a recte scientibus, et ab errantibus in præcipuis fidei capitibus nihil interesset? Præterea baptismi simbolo qui baptizantur, ecclesiæ visibiliter inseri dicuntur, et illi præcipue in qua baptismi sacramentum ipsis dispensatur. Cum itaque nolitis, et recte quidem, cum N. ecclesia sentire, cur illi filios vestros tingendos offerretis? In eo præterea, fratres charissimi, nostro judicio haud parum fallimini, quod illos ministros de sacramento baptismi vobiscum sentire arbitramini. Res profecto multo aliter se habet:

nam sacramentis plus nimium quam par sit attribuunt, et Dei gratiam baptismis alligant, peperam id interpretantes, quod in Johanne habetur: nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non intrabit in regnum cælorum. Et qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit. Ad hæc ex eo colligimus, illos plus æquo tribuere baptismis, quod nobis accedentibus ad eos eucharistiam non darent, cum tamen baptismum vestris parvulis negare non audeant, quod absque illo salutem eos habere posse desperent. Deinde parvulos fide præditos esse credant, quod neque vos neque nos credimus qui ad illorum salutem satis esse arbitramur, ut sint Spiritu Christi præditi, qui fidei radix et initium est, quique suo tempore illam in eis excitabit. Cum itaque de neutro sacramento inter nos et illos recte conveniat, nescimus cur vestris liberis inde velitis baptismum accipere? Adjiciendum præterea his censemus offensionem seu scandalum infirmorum ecclesiæ vestræ, quando non ex impietate vel superbia, vel nimia obfirmatione proficiscitur, sed ex religionis purioris magno studio, et rationes habet non malas, quibus nitatur a pastoribus et senioribus esse pro viribus evitandum. Quod obsecro emolumenti vel spiritualis ædificationis tandem habetur ex baptismis a Lutheranis petito? Pro-

substantiation, wrote by the same Ridley. This last they intended to turn into Latin, and so to print both. But,

fecto infantes vestri de salute non periclitantur si absque baptismo intereant, quia nec gratia Christi nec prædestinationis effecta externis rebus et sacramentis sunt alliganda. Certe pueri Hebræorum, qui per annos quadraginta præputiati moriebantur, minime credendi sunt omnes ob id æternæ pœnæ damnationem subiisse, nam id a pacto et fœdere cum patribus inito, nec non a Dei bonitate ac ejus promissis longe alienissimum esset. Nec parentibus fraudi erit baptismi Lutherani prætermisio, cum ex contemptu sacramenti non accidat, sed tantum ut conscientiæ et fidei consulatur. Hortamur itaque vos, fratres in Christo charissimi, ut ab ipso baptismi genere tantisper saltem abstinatis, dum vestros infirmos, quemadmodum eos appellatis, licere sacramenta sumere a Lutheranis docueritis. Nam ea res vel est interdicta, vel ad salutem necessaria, vel neutra. Ad salutem necessaria non est, cum sacramentis gratia Dei non sic astricta. Si vero id fieri, ut ipsi opinamur, a Deo prohibitum est, eo magis abstinere debetis. Denique si res est ἀδιάφορα, ut videmini statuere, si vobis etiam hoc daremus, illam cum scandalo infirmorum usurpare non liceret: cum Paulus in hisce rebus neutris conscientis debiliū velit consultum, idque ut minimum ad tempus, donec res quemadmodum

optamus liquidius patefiat. Neque oblivioni tradenda est Pauli regula, qua dixit de hoc toto rerum genere: omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt. Cogitetis, oramus, vobiscum, etiamsi liceret baptismus Lutheranorum, attamen huic tempori et vestris fratribus non expedire. Nec esse videtur Christianæ pietatis, tantum audere ac velle consequi, quantum per leges liceat, si quidem nonnunquam oportet fratrum causa de jure suo cedere, præsertim in iis rebus quæ pro indifferentibus habentur. Sed interea dicitis, inter nos et Lutheranos dissidium etiam atque etiam augetur. Verum fortasse, id est, at nostra culpa non accidit, quandoquidem nos illos amamus, atque ut fratres, non semel habere illos voluissemus, quod illi non modo recusarunt, sed nos fere ubique proscripserunt, et ex ecclesia modis omnibus ejicere conantur. Neque dissidium credi potest idcirco diminutum iri, quod filiis vestris baptismum ab eorum ministerio petatis. Imo fortasse vestri ex ista communionem sacramenti periclitabuntur, ne posthac tam fortiter atque constanter eam veritatem circa sacramentarium articulum propugnent, quam hactenus magna laude ac virtute defenderunt. Est enim flexibile humanum ingenium, nec magis alia re conciliatur male sentientibus,

on second thoughts, they demurred upon it: fearing it might enrage Gardiner the more against Ridley, who was yet alive. Whereupon Grindal wrote to him to know his mind therein before they proceeded to print.

Many of the fugitives took up their residence at Basil ^{Exiles at Basil.} upon two reasons: one was, because the people of that city were especially very kind and courteous unto such English as came thither for shelter: the other, because those that were of slenderer fortunes might have employment in the printing houses there, the printers in Basil in this age having the reputation of exceeding all others of that art throughout Germany, for the exactness and elegance of their printing. And they rather chose Englishmen for the overseers and correctors of their presses, being noted for the most careful and diligent of all others. Whereby many poor scholars made a shift to subsist in these hard times.

Indeed many of these exiles assisted in promoting of ^{Divers of the exiles writers.} learning and religion, by publishing to the world their own or other men's writings.

John Scory^k, that had been bishop of Chichester, wrote ^{Scory.} a very comfortable epistle unto all the faithful that were in prison, or in any other trouble for the defence of God's truth: printed in the year 1555. He was preacher to the English congregation at Embden, and styled their superintendent. From hence this, and many other good books were sent into England, by certain persons, to be dispersed about in London, and other places. There was

quam eorundem sacramentorum usurpatione. Hæc itaque, fratres, hac de re visum est in præsentia rescribere: vos boni consulite, ac pro nostris ecclesiis instanter orate, quemadmodum nos pro vobis impense oramus."—P. Martyr. Loc.

Com. pp. 1198, 9. ed. Heidel. 1603.]

^j [For Grindal's Letter to Ridley, and the reply, see Letters of the Martyrs, fol. 49—56. ed. 1564.]

^k [See vol. ii. p. 258. n. f. and p. 349. n. i.]

one Elizabeth Young that came thence with a book, called *Antichrist*, and several others: who was taken up for bringing in prohibited and heretical books, and endured much trouble. There was also another, named Thomas Bryce, that brought books from Wesel into Kent and London; he was watched and dogged, but escaped several times. Sir John Baker^k, a Kentish man, and a great papist, and a courtier, laid his spies to attack him.

Old. John Old^l printed a book at Waterford, 1555, entitled, *The Acquittal, or Purgation of the most Catholic Christen Prince, Edward VI, against all such as blasphemously and traitorously infamed him, or the Church in his Reign, of Heresy or Sedition*. The writing of this book was occasioned from the preachers of England in queen Mary's time, in their sermons at St. Paul's Cross, and in other pulpits: "spewing out," as the book expresseth it, "with scolding, roaring, and railing, the poison of Antichrist's traditions; and infaming the order, form, and use of preaching, prayers and administration of the holy sacraments, set forth and exercised by common authority in the church of England, reformed under the government 357 of Edward VI. and vilely slandering of his father king Henry VIII. for banishing the violent usurped power and supremacy of the Romish ancient Antichrist for his brother's known wife, and for taking justly upon him the title and estate of supremacy, incident and appertaining, by the undoubted ordinance of God, to his regal office and imperial crown."

Sampson. Thomas Sampson^m, formerly dean of Chichester, wrote an epistle to the inhabitants of Allhallows Bread street, where, in king Edward's time, he had been incumbent.

^k [See vol. ii. p. 11. n. a.]

^l [See vol. ii. p. 377. n. 1.]

^m [See vol. ii. p. 129. n. 1.]

William Turnerⁿ, doctor of physic, and that had been Turner. physician in the duke of Somerset's family, and after dean of Wells, another exile, put forth a book, anno 1555, called *A new Book of Spiritual Physic for divers Diseases of the Nobility and Gentlemen of England*: dedicating it to divers of the chief nobility. It consisted of three parts. In the first, he shewed who were noble and gentlemen, and how many works and properties belong unto such, and wherein their office chiefly standeth. In the second part, he shewed great diseases were in the nobility and gentry, which letted them from doing their office. In the third part, he specified what the diseases were: as namely, the whole palsy, the dropsy, the Romish pox, and the leprosy: shewing afterward the remedies against these diseases. For, being a very facetious man, he delivered his reproofs and counsels under witty and pleasant discourse. He wrote also *The hunting of the Romish Fox*.

John Juel^o, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, assisted Juel. Peter Martyr at Strasburgh in setting out his Commentaries upon the Book of Judges: who, being public reader of divinity there, had first read those Commentaries, and had many learned Englishmen for his auditors; as Poynt^p, Grindal^q, Sands^r, sir John Cheke^s, sir Anthony Cook^t, and divers other knights and gentlemen, as well as divines. And, when he was removed to Zurick to succeed Pelican, he took Juel with him thither. In Frank-

ⁿ [See vol. ii. p. 270. n. a. and p. 371.]

^o [See above, p. 111. n. v.]

^p [See vol. ii. p. 131. n. o.]

^q [See vol. i. p. 171. n. o.]

^r [For a biographical notice of Edwin Sandys, or Sands, S.T.P., afterwards bishop of Worcester (consecrated Dec. 21, 1559), and

of London (translated July 13, 1570), and archbishop of York (translated Jan. 25, 1576), see Sermons, &c. pp. i—xxxii. Park. Soc. Ed. See also Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 180, 299, 311.]

^s [See vol. ii. p. 168. n. e.]

^t [See vol. ii. p. 356. n. m.]

ford there happening, as was said before, unhappy contentions about ceremonies and matters of discipline, (and it was feared that these dissensions might spread themselves into the other fraternities in Zurick and other places,) Juel's great business was to allay these animosities, partly by letters, and partly by his own verbal exhortations: "that they should, as brethren, lay aside strife and emulation, especially for such small matters: that they would hereby offend the minds of all good men: which things they ought to have a special heed of." Some, who seemed more complaining and uneasy at these things, he exhorted to patience, admonishing, "that we ought not to leap from the smoke into the fire: and that we ought to bear a part in Christ's cross, and to consider how much better it was with them than with their poor brethren, that endured tortures in England." And he would often repeat to them, "Bear a while then; things will not endure an age."

Becon.

Thomas Becon^u, formerly a minister in Canterbury, and well known to the archbishop, wrote an epistle in his exile, and sent it to certain godly brethren in England^x: declaring in it the causes of all the miseries and calamities that were fallen upon England: how they might be redressed; and what a merciful Lord our God is to all
 358 faithful penitent sinners, that unfeignedly turn to him. This epistle was brought into England, and read of the brethren in their religious meetings, not without fruit. In this epistle he added a supplication to God, at good length, "for the restoring of his holy Word to the church of England: wherein the devout Christian complaineth

^u [See vol. ii. p. 377. n. m.]

^x [i. e. "A comfortable Epistle to the afflicted people of God; which suffer persecution for the

testimony of Christ's Gospel;"]
 for which see Becon's Works, vol. iii. pp. 193 et seqq. Park. Soc. Ed.]

his grief and sorrow to his Lord for taking away the light of Christ's Gospel; and, humbly acknowledging his fault, and worthy punishment, most heartily wisheth the subversion of Antichrist's kingdom, and the restitution of Christ's most glorious kingdom in this realm^y." He wrote also an epistle to the massing priests, wherein he shewed what a wicked idol the mass was, and what a difference there was between the Lord's supper and that: and what popes brought in every part of the mass, and put them together, as it was then used^z.

Laurence Humfrey^a, while he was in exile, wrote a Humfrey. book in Latin, intituled, *Optimates*, being instructions for noblemen, in three books. It was printed at Basil by Oporinus^b, and dedicated to queen Elizabeth, soon after her entrance upon her kingdom. The reason of this his discourse was out of an universal love to mankind, and desire to better the condition of the world, whose welfare depended so much upon the sobriety and virtue of those of noble rank and quality: "Since nobility, as he wrote, widely spread itself through all regions and coasts of

^y [i. e. "An humble supplication unto God for the restoring of his holy Word, unto the church of England, most mete to be said in these our days, even with tears, of every true and faithful English heart;" for which, see Becon's Works, vol. iii. pp. 224 et seqq. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^z [i. e. "The displaying of the popish mass, wherein thou shalt see, what a wicked idol the mass is, and what great difference there is between the Lord's supper, and the pope's mass: again what popes brought in every part of the

mass, and counted it together in such monstrous sort, as it is now used in the pope's kingdom;" for which, see Becon's Works, vol. iii. pp. 252 et seqq. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^a [See vol. ii. p. 280. n. 1.]

^b ["*Optimates, sive de nobilitate, ejusque antiqua origine, natura, officiis, disciplina, et recta ac Christiana institutione libri tres. Laurentio Humfredo auctore.—Basileæ, per Joannem Oporinum.*" A copy is in the Bodleian Library.]

Christendom, and was preferred to places of trust and honour in all princes' courts, and was the very nerve and strength of commonwealths: and since from it issued the greatest helps or hinderances to the public safety, pure religion, the lives and manners of men: therefore he thought, the gentry and nobility being imbued with right and Christian opinions, not formed to the corrupt rules of antiquity, kings would govern better, the ministers of ecclesiastical matters would more faithfully perform their functions, and the common sort would more diligently discharge all necessary offices, and the whole commonweal might seem more healthfully to breathe, to live, and to recover and persist in a good constitution^c." Beside this excellent book both for the matter and elegance of the Latin style, he printed two or three other things at Basil; and he wrote, while he was abroad, a Commentary upon the Prophet Isaiah. But I know not whether it were published.

Traheron. Bartholomew Traheron^d, library-keeper to king Edward,

^c ["Cum nobilitatem per omnes Christiani orbis regiones atque oras longe lateque pervagantem, in omni dignitatis genere florere, et in omnibus principum aulis rerum summa potiri, et quidem certe nervum ac firmamentum prope rerumpub. esse intelligerem: cumque per eam vel maxima adjumenta, vel summa impedimenta et incommoda, publicæ salutis, puræ religioni, vitæ ac moribus hominum importari viderem: cogitabam hoc lectissimo ordine rectis ac Christianis opinionibus imbuto, et ad incorruptam antiquitatis normam emendato: et reges suis præfaturos salubrius,

et ecclesiasticæ rei administros munus suum ornatuos fidelius, et plebem officiis omnibus necessariis perfuncturam diligentius: ac totam remp. tum demum spirare, vivere, ac convalescere posse firmiter: quod nimirum hujus consiliis hi omnes uti, et autoritate niti videantur."—Laur. Humfred. Optimat. de Nobilit. Præfat. pp. 7, 8. ed. Basil. 1560.]

^d ["Bartholomæus Traheron, parentum stemmate clarus, et ab ipsis incunabilis virtutum studii addictus, Oxonii sub optimis præceptoribus literas tam Græcas quam Latinas didicit, rarisque et eximiis excelluit donis. Qui ma-

and dean of Chichester, made divers readings to the English congregation upon the beginning of St. John's Gospel; and after printed them, against the wicked enterprises of the new start up Arians in England.

John Foxe^e, famous to posterity for his immense labours in his Acts and Monuments, was received by the accurate and learned printer Oporinus of Basil, for the corrector of his press. He published (and which, I think, was the first thing he published, and his first fruits) a Chronological History of the Church. The first part, from the first times unto Martin Luther. This book he presented unto Oporinus, with an handsome epistle: wherein "he desired to be received by him into his service, and that he would vouchsafe to be his learned patron, under whom he might follow his studies, being one that would be content with a small salary: promising 359 him, that, if he would employ him either there, at Basil, or at Argentine, or some university, (which he should rather choose,) *Aut me (said he) destituent omnia, aut efficiam, Christo opitulante, ut omnes politioris literaturæ homines intelligant, quantum Oporino et nomini et officinæ debeant.*"

jora cognoscendi cupidus, et mentem excolendi altioribus bonis, relicta Anglorum insula, natali solo, in Germaniam atque Italiam prospere se contulit. Plures utrobique excellenti doctrina et ingenio viros docentes audivit, coluit, adamavit. Post aliquot annos vero in patriam denuo reversus, facilem bonarum disciplinarum viam multis et ipse ostendit. Unde Edvardo Sexto, Anglorum regi optimo, a bibliothecis tandem fuit, ac decanus, ut vocant, Cicester-

sis ecclesiæ sub episcopo Joanne Scoræo, per eundem regem.—Claret in Germania vir pius, anno salutis Christianorum 1556: Antichristi ministris in Anglia, inaudita tyrannide ferocientibus."—Bale. Script. illustr. Brit. Catal. pp. 696, 7. ed. 1559. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 60.]

^e [For a biog. memoir of John Foxe, see his Acts and Monuments, vol. i. p. 45. ed. Lond. 1848.]

His Acts
and Monu-
ments.

While he was here employed by Oporinus, at spare hours he began his History of the Acts of the Church, in Latin: which he drew out more briefly at first; and, before his return home into England, well near finished. Having here completed the copy, which was but the first part of what he intended, but making a just volume in folio, he sent this work to Basil to be printed: and so it was in the year 155—8. It remained many years after in those parts in great request, and was read by foreign nations; although hardly known at all by our own. Being now in peace and safety at home, Foxe reviewed this his work, and, in the year 1566, first published it in English very voluminous, because of those many relations of the persecutions in queen Mary's days, that came to his hands. All this work he did himself, without the help of any amanuensis, nor had he any servant to do his necessary domestic business; being fain to be often diverted by his own private occasions from his work. He afterwards enlarged these his labours into three large volumes, which have since undergone many editions.

Books by
him pub-
lished in
exile.

But to look back to what he published in his exile: there came to his hand all the trials and examinations of the learned martyr Joh. Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, drawn up by himself; and, finally, his death, being burnt in Smithfield, 1555. These things Foxe put into Latin, (as he had an excellent Latin style,) and printed with this title; *Mira ac elegans cum primis Historia, vel Tragædia potius, de tota ratione examinationis et condemnationis J. Philpotti Archidiaconi Wincestriæ, nuper in Anglia exusti: Ab autore primum lingua sua congesta; nunc in Latinum versa, Interprete J.F.A.* He had also a great hand in publishing of Zonaras and Balsamon upon the Apostles' Canons in Latin: to which he set this title;

Enarrationes, seu Commentarii in Canones Sanctorum Apostolorum et Synodorum, tum quæ Universales, tum quæ Provinciales: Quæque item et privatim quorundam priscorum Patrum propriæ extiterunt. Autoribus Jo. Zonara Monacho religiosæ et Sanctæ Glyceriæ: Qui prius Drungarius, seu Præfectus erat Biglæ, et summus Secretarius. Atque etiam Theodoro Balsamensi; qui prius ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Diaconus, Librarius seu custos chartarum, et Præpositus Blachernensium, deinde et Archiepiscopus est factus ejusdem Ecclesiæ simul et totius Orientis. Which probably was a book printed at Oporinus's press, over which he had care; and made this title, and perhaps translated it into Latin.

Here at Basil Foxe was set on work by Peter Martyr Translates Cranmer's book of the Sacrament into Latin. to translate into Latin Archbishop Cranmer's book of the Sacrament: that is, his large dispute with Winchester. Which Foxe fell upon, while Cranmer was yet in prison. *In quo [libro] videbit spero,* (saith he, in a letter to Oporinus,) *propediem universa Germania, quicquid de causa Eucharistica vel dici vel objici, vel excogitari a quoquam poterit.* But this never saw the light, the manuscript thereof yet lying in my hands^h. In 1557, Foxe set forth a little book, pleading the cause of the afflicted with **360** their persecutors, and comforting the afflicted. Of which Thomas Lever, who was preacher to the English congregation at Arrow, gave this character, in a letter which he sent to Foxe, who had presented him with this book:

“SALUTEM P. in Christo, charissime Frater. Literas Lever to Foxe. tuas accepi, et libellum parvum, in quo magna cum eruditione, et pientissimo zelo, causam afflictorum apud persecutores tyrannos sic agis, ut omnes, qui curant aut impios

^h [Harl. MSS. 418.]

ⁱ [Harl. MSS. 417. fol. 103, b. 104. British Museum.]

admonendos, aut pios consolatione recreandos, id plene a
 Foxii MSS. te perfectum videant. Quod ipsi bene curatum velint. Et
 quoniam meæ vocationis munus in hujusmodi admonitio-
 nibus et consolationibus versatur plurimum, scias velim,
 quod misso ad me parvo libello, magnum dedisti mihi be-
 neficium. Dignum igitur, nihil habens, quod tibi pro
 meritis rependam, exiguum aureolum mitto, rogoque acci-
 pias, ut certum indicium mei animi erga te tuaque studia;
 quibus alendis augendisque tantum nunc polliceor, quan-
 tum unquam potuero, præstare. Vale in Christo, et mihi
 saluta uxorem tuam atque omnem familiam: rogoque ut
 mei, meique ministerii memores sitis in precibus vestris
 apud Deum. Iterum vale, vivens in Domino. Aroviæ,
 7. Novemb. 1557.

“Tuus fideliter in Christo, Th. Leverus.”

Foxe also wrote an expostulatory letter to the lords
 spiritual and temporal of England, to desist those barba-
 rities that were then used towards innocent men in Eng-
 land: killing, burning, imprisoning, sequestering them
 without all mercy. The letter, so pathetically penned,
 deserves a place in the Appendix, for the preservation
 thereof.

Num.
LXXXV.

To all these English writers, during their exile, must
 Bale. John Bale the antiquarian be added; who now published
 and printed in Basil his admirable book of Centuries,
 giving an account of the lives and writings of all such as
 were born English and Scottish.

Knox. John Knokys, or Knox^k, another fugitive, is the last I
 shall mention, fearing I have been too large in this
 digression already. He was a Scotchman, but had lived
 in England, in king Edward's days, with great respect;
 and very zealously preached the Gospel in London, Buck-

^k [See vol. ii. p. 413.]

inghamshire, Newcastle, Berwick, and other places of the north and south parts. He wrote now an epistle to the faithful in those places, and to all others in the realm of England; wherein he earnestly dissuaded them from communicating in the idolatry then established; and to flee, as well in body as spirit, having society with the idolaters: and that as they would avoid God's vengeance: as the burning of cities, laying the land waste, enemies dwelling in the strongholds, wives and daughters defiled; and children falling by the sword. Which he assured them would happen to the nation, because of its return to idolatry, and refusing of God's mercy, when he so long had called upon them. This his affirmation, he said, would displease many, and content few. But, to confirm them in the belief of what he had said, he bade them recollect what he had formerly spoke in their presence, and in the presence of others: a great part whereof was 361 then come to pass. He mentioned particularly what he said at Newcastle and Berwick, before the sweating sickness, and what at Newcastle, upon All Saints day, the year in which the duke of Somerset was last apprehended: and what he said before the duke of Northumberland in the same town, and other places more. Also what he said before the king at Windsor, Hampton Court, and Westminster; and what he said in London, in more places than one, when both fires and riotous banquetings were made for the proclaiming of queen Mary. He foretold these present calamities; not that he delighted in them, as he said, or in the plagues that should befall this unthankful nation. No, his heart mourned: but if he should cease, he should then do against his conscience and knowledge. Then he proceeded to give them the ground of this his certitude: which he took from the Scriptures. And so, in conclusion, he counselled them,

as they would avoid the destruction that was coming, that they should have nothing to do with the abominable idol of the mass; that is, the seal of that league which the devil had made with all the pestilent sons of Antichrist, as he phrased it.”

Foxe's
MSS.¹

How the
exiles sub-
sisted.

It may be inquired, how these exiles were maintained, considering the great numbers of them, and the poverty of many. God stirred up the bowels of the abler sort, both in England, and in the parts where they sojourned, to pity and relieve them, by very liberal contributions conveyed unto them from time to time. From London especially came often very large allowances: till bishop Gardiner, who had his spies every where, got knowledge of it; and, by casting the benefactors into prison, and finding means to impoverish them, that channel of charity was in a great measure stopped. After this, the senators of Zurick, at the motion of Bullinger their superintendent, opened their treasures unto them. Besides, the great ornaments then of religion and learning, Melancthon, Calvin, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Gesner, and others, sent them daily most comfortable letters, and omitted no duty of love and humanity to them all the time of their banishment. Some of the princes, and persons of wealth and estate, sent also their benevolences: among these was Christopher duke of Wirtemberg; who gave at one time to the exiled English at Strasburg three or four hundred dollars, besides what he gave at Frankford: as Grindal, bishop of London, signified to secretary Cecyl, in the year 1563^m, when that prince had sent a gentleman upon busi-

¹ [Harl. MSS. 416. Plut. lxxv. E. fol. 47—62. British Museum.]

^m [“The remembrance of the former kindnesses received by him and the rest, of the exiles in Ger-

many, under queen Mary, stuck close upon his grateful mind; and he thought he could not sufficiently express it upon all occasions; which he shewed again

ness to the queen. The bishop desired the secretary to move the queen to make some signification to this person, that she had heard of his master's former kindness to the poor English, that it might appear his liberality was not altogether buried in oblivion: or at least he wished some remembrance thereof might pass from the secretary's own mouth.

towards another German prince, viz. the duke of Wirtemburgh, who about this time had sent his gentleman into England to the queen. This duke had been very kind unto the English exiles, having at one time bestowed among them at Strasburgh four or five hundred dollars, besides more given to them at Frankfort. This gentleman being to wait upon the queen, the bishop put the secretary in mind to move the queen (if he thought it convenient) to make some signification to him, that she had heard thereof; that it might appear the said duke's liberality was not altogether buried in oblivion, or else at least that some remembrance of it might pass from the secretary's mouth; which he said might do good. As for the gentleman himself, the bi-

shop shewed him all respect at his own house; having been student of the civil law in Strasburgh, when he was there, and now recommended also to him by some friends of his in Germany; and being a learned and ingenious man, he liked his company very well, and entertained him as became him, and entered into friendly communication with him; and particularly they talked of Brentius's *ubiquity*, which he held and approved, but so did not the bishop; but this without heat; and they were contented to hear one another's arguments, and each to suffer other to abound in his own sense. And when he departed, the bishop gave him favourable letters to Sir William Cecil."—*Strype's Life of Abp. Grindal*, p. 132. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

CHAPTER XVI.

MANY RECANT. SOME GO TO MASS.

Many
recant.

MANY of the clergy, that were very forward men under king Edward, now, by the terror of the times, recanted and subscribed. And these were of two sorts. Some out of weakness did it, but persisted not in it: but, as soon as they could, revoked their subscriptions and recantations, and, after their releases and escapes out of prison, made a sorrowful confession in public of their falls. Of this sort were Scory^a and Barlow^b, bishops; Jewel^c, and others. But some, after their recantations, persisted in the popish communion. Of this sort was Bush^d and Bird^e, bishops; Harding^f, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, to whom the

^a [See vol. ii. p. 258. n. f. p. 349. n. l.]

^b [See vol. ii. p. 107. n. a.]

^c [See above, p. 111. n. v.]

^d [See vol. i. p. 227, and above, p. 25. n. d.]

^e [See vol. i. p. 135, and p. 136. n. p.]

^f Thomas Harding was born at Combe Martin, in Devonshire, A. D. 1512, and was educated at Winchester, and New College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship. In 1552 he was appointed by Henry VIII. as the first regius professor of Hebrew, and conformed to the established religion in that reign and the next. He was also chaplain to

the duke of Suffolk, and tutor to the lady Jane Grey, whom he instructed in the protestant faith; but on the accession of queen Mary he apostatized. In 1554 he took his doctor's degree, and was made prebendary of Winchester, and (July 17, 1555) treasurer of Salisbury. When queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, being deprived of his appointments, he went to Louvain, from whence he carried on a long polemical controversy with bishop Jewel. He died, A. D. 1572.— See Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 597. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's *Annals of the Reformat.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 412. ed. Oxon.

lady Jane sent an expostulatory letter^g; Sydal^h and Curtopⁱ of Oxon; Pendleton^k, West^l, &c. Of this last named person let me cast in here one or two remarks. West was in orders, and had been steward to bishop Ridley: of whom the said bishop wrote thus to Grindal, then in Strasburg; “That his old companion, and sometime his officer, relented, but that the Lord had shortened his days.” For it was but a little after his compliance that he died. Foxe writes the occasion of it, namely, “that when he had relented, and said mass against his conscience, he shortly after pined away, and died for sorrow.” When his master the bishop was laid in prison for religion, he shrank away: and, out of his compassion to him, being very loath, as it appeared, that his said master should be put to death, he wrote a letter to him, whereby to move him, if he could, to alter his judgment. The contents of whose letter may be gathered out of Ridley’s answer. Which answer being so excellent, I have put into the Appendix, as I transcribed it out of a manuscript. Which concluded thus, in answer to a sentence that West had concluded his with; namely, “that he must agree, or die: the bishop told him, in the word of the Lord, that

Number
LXXXVI.

1824. Burnet’s Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 545; vol. iii. p. 553. pt. ii. p. 506. ed. Oxon. 1829. Le Neve’s Fasti, pp. 271, 472.]

^g [See Harl. MSS. 416. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 25. British Museum. Original. Foxe’s Acts and Monuments, pp. 1420, 1421. ed. Lond. 1583. for this letter, the variations wherein are very considerable in the MS. and in Foxe.]

^h [See vol. ii. p. 157. n. f.]

ⁱ [See vol. ii. p. 157. n. g.]

^k [i. e. Dr. Pendleton, parson

of St. Stephen’s, Walbrook, who was a great professor of the reformed religion in the reign of Edward VI, and a great preacher in that of queen Mary, in which he recanted his former opinions. He was buried in St. Stephen’s, Walbrook, Sept. 21, 1559.—See Strype’s Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 18. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

^l [See Ridley’s letter to Grindal, Letters of the Martyrs, fol. 53. ed. 1564.]

if he and all the rest of his friends did not confess and maintain to their power and knowledge what was grounded upon God's word, but either for fear or gain, shrank and played the apostates, they themselves should die the death." After the receipt of which answer, West, either out of compassion to his master, or rather out of anguish for his own prevarication, died within a few days himself: and his master outlived him, and writ the news thereof into Germany to Grindal, his fellow chaplain, as was said before.

The persecution hot.

The persecution was carried on against the gossellers with much fierceness by those of the Roman persuasion, who were generally exceeding hot as well as ignorant: chiefly headed by two most cruel natured men, bishop Gardiner and bishop Boner; in whose dioceses were London and Southwark, and the next bordering counties, wherein were the greatest numbers of professors. And the servants were of the same temper with their masters. One of Boner's servants swore, "by his Maker's blood, that wheresoever he met with any of these vile heretics, he would thrust an arrow into him^m."

Tims' letter.

^m ["Peter, so long as he continued with Christ, and Christ's disciples, he continued in the truth, preached the truth, confessed openly Christ to be the son of the living God, and promised that he would not only go to prison, but also to very death with him: but when he came once into the court into the bishop's house, he straightway was stricken with such a fear, that a poor maid and simple ruffian, (such a one as my lord of London hath, that said, By God's blood,

if I meet with any of these vile heretics, I will thrust an arrow in him); when Peter, I say, was amongst them, he denied his master, and swore that he never knew him, whom he, before he came there, boldly confessed before all men; and again, after that he had repented him of his wicked deed, he boldly preached to the believing Jews, commanding them, among other his godly exhortations, to save themselves from that untoward generation." — Another letter of William

Many now therefore, partly out of fear and terror, and 363
 partly out of other worldly considerations, did resort to ^{Gospellers} mass, ^{go to mass.} though they approved not of it, and yet consorted likewise with the gospellers: holding it not unlawful so to do: *viz.* “That their bodies might be there, so long as their spirits did not consent.” And those that used this practice bore out themselves by certain arguments which they scattered abroad.

This extraordinarily troubled the good divines, that ^{Bradford} were then in prison for the cause of Christ, and particu- ^{labours to} larly Bradford: who complained in a letter to a friend ^{hinder it.} ⁿ, “That not the tenth person abode in God’s ways: and

Tyms; for which see Foxe’s Acts and Monuments, p. 1900. ed. Lond. 1583.]

ⁿ [i. e. Master Richard Hopkins, sheriff of Coventry. “This Hopkins, — during the time of his sherevialty, was detected and accused by certain malignant adversaries, of matter pertaining to religion. What matter it was, I am not yet certainly informed, unless it were for sending and lending unto a thief, being then in prison ready to be hanged, a certain English book of scripture for his spiritual comfort. Whereupon, or else upon some such like matter, he being maliciously accused, was sent for and committed to the Fleet, and there endured a sufficient time, not without great peril of life. Notwithstanding, the said Hopkins being at length delivered out of prison, following this counsel of Bradford, and minding to keep his

conscience pure from idolatry, was driven with his wife and eight young children, to avoid the realm, and so leaving all other worldly respects, with his great loss and damage went into high Germany, where he continued in the city of Basle till the death of queen Mary, being like a good Tobias, to his power a friendly helper, and a comfortable reliever of other English exiles there about him; God’s holy blessing so working with him therefore, that in those far countries, neither he fell in any great decay, neither any of all his household during all that time there miscarried, but so many as he brought out, so many he received home again, yea, and that with advantage, and God’s plenty withal upon him.” — Foxe’s Acts and Monuments, p. 1647. ed. Lond. 1583. See also Strype’s Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 227. ed. Lond. 1829.]

that the more did part stakes with the papist and protestant. So that they became mangy mongrels, to the infecting of all the company with them, to their no small peril. For they pretended popery outwardly, going to mass with the papists, and tarrying with them personally at their antichristian and idolatrous service: but with their hearts, they said, and with their spirits they served the Lord. And so by this means, (said he,) as they saved their pigs, I mean their worldly pleasures, which they would not leese, so they would please the protestants, and be counted with them for gospellers." This whole letter deserveth to be transcribed, as I meet with it in one of the Foxian manuscripts, but that I find it printed already at Oxon by Dr. Ironside, in the year 1668.

[Appendix,
LXXX-
VI.*]

Counsels
not to con-
sort with
them.

The same Bradford counselled the true protestants not to consort with these compliers, but to deal with them, "as a certain eminent man, named Simeon^o, archbishop of Seleucia, did with Ustazades^p, an ancient courtier to Sapore^q, king of Persia; who by his threatenings and persuasions had prevailed with the said courtier, a Christian, to bow his knee to the sun. For which base compliance Simeon, passing by where this Ustazades was, formerly his great friend and acquaintance, would not now look at him, but seemed to contemn and despise him. Which when he perceived, it pierced him so to the heart, that he began to pull asunder his clothes, and to rend his garments, and with weeping eyes cried out, Alas! that ever he had so offended God in his body, to bow to the sun: for (saith he) I have herein denied God, although I did it against my will. And how sore is God displeased with me, with whom mine old father and friend Simeon, his dear servant, will not speak nor look towards me! I may

Tripart.
Hist. lib. iii.
cap. 2.

^o [This story is from Sozomen, lib. ii. c. 9.] ^p [Called Ustazardes by Bradford. Usthazades.—Sozomen.] ^q [Sabores.—Sozomen.]

by the servant's countenance perceive the Master's mind. This lamentation came to the king's ear; and therefore he was sent for, and demanded the cause of his mourning. He out of hand told him the cause to be, his unwilling bowing to the sun. By it (said he) I have denied God: and therefore, because he will deny them that deny him, I have no little cause to complain and mourn. Wo unto me, for I have played the traitor to Christ, and also dissembled with my liege lord. No death therefore is sufficient for the least of my faults; and I am worthy of two deaths. When the king heard this, it went to his stomach; for he loved Ustazades, who had been to him and to his father a faithful servant and officer. Howbeit the malice of Satan moved him to cause this man to be put to 364 death. Yet in this point he seemed to gratify him. For Ustazades desired that the cause of his death might be published. This I ask (said he) for the guerdon of my time service to thee and to thy father. Which the king readily granted, thinking that when the Christians should all know it, it would make them the more afraid, and sooner to consent to him. But, so soon as it was published, and Ustazades put to death, Lord, how it comforted not only Simeon, then being in prison, but also all the Christians!" Bradford having told this history, improved it after this tenor. "This history I wish," said he, "were marked, as well of us as of all our popish gospellers, which have none other things to excuse them than Ustazades had. For his heart was with God, howsoever he framed his body. We should behave ourselves straitly against such brethren, as Simeon did; and then they the sooner would play Ustazades' part. Which thing, no marvel, though they do not, so long as we rock them asleep, by regarding them and their companions, as daily we do; and so are partakers of their

evil; and at the length shall feel of their smart and punishment p.”

Ann Hartipol goes to mass.

Of these outward compliers with the mass was one Ann Hartipol, that formerly harboured the lady Ann Ascue, burnt in king Henry's reign. She now went to mass, pretending her conscience to be sound before God, and that her conscience gave her leave to go. To whom Philpot wrote an excellent letter, which is extant among the Letters of the Martyrs.

Pag. 247.

The lady Vane puts certain cases concerning the mass.

The people of this practice had been tampering with the lady Vane, a pious lady, and a great benefactor to the poor prisoners of Christ: insomuch that she propounded to Bradford three questions concerning the mass, being cases of conscience, what she were best to do, whether to go to it, or not? He told her in a letter, “that the questions would never be well seen nor answered, until the thing whereof they arose were well considered. That is, how great an evil it was: that there was never thing upon the earth so great, and so much an adversary to God's true service, to Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice, and kingdom, to the ministry of God's Word and sacrament, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness of life, as that was whereof the questions arose. And that therefore a Christian man could not but so much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same.” Bradford also writ a little book on this

^p [Bradford's Hurt of Hearing Mass. F. iii. ed. Lond. 1580.]

^q [“Here followeth another letter of his, written to the good lady Vane, wherein he resolveth certain questions, which she demanded. This lady Vane was a special nurse, and a great sup-

porter, to her power, of the godly saints, which were imprisoned in queen Mary's time.—She departed of late at Holborn, anno 1568, whose end was more like a sleep, than any death, so quietly and meekly she deceased and departed hence in the Lord. Amongst

other, which wrote unto her, M. Bradford also sent these letters to the said lady: the tenor whereof here followeth.—A letter of M. Bradford, written to the good lady Vane, wherein he discusseth doubts concerning the coming to mass; the abomination of the mass set forth; these questions were concerning the mass, wherein she desired his judgment.—To my good lady Vane. The true sense and sweet feeling of God's eternal mercies in Christ Jesus, be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghost. Amen. I most heartily thank you, good madam, for your comfortable letters: and whereas you would be advertised what were best to be done on your behalf, concerning your three questions; the truth is, that the questions are never well seen nor answered, until the thing whereof they arise be well considered, I mean, until it be seen how great an evil the thing is. If it be once indeed in your heart perceived, upon probable and pithy places gathered out of God's book, that there was never thing upon the earth so great and so much an adversary to God's true service, to Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice, and kingdom, to the ministry of God's word and sacraments, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness of life, as that is, whereof the questions arise, (as most assuredly it is indeed,) then cannot a Christian heart but so much the

more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or anything pertaining to the same, by how much it hath the name of God's service. Again, your ladyship doth know, that as all is to be discommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in respect of ourselves, in respect of avoiding Christ's cross; so the end of all our doings should be to Godward, to his glory, to our neighbour's, to edification and good example, whereof none can be given in allowing any of the three questions by you propounded. But because this which I write now is brief, and needeth the more consideration or explication, as I doubt not of the one in you, so from me by God's grace, you shall receive the other shortly. For I have already written a little book of it, which I will send unto you, in the which you shall have your questions fully answered and satisfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabouts presently; beseeching God, our good Father, to guide you as his dear child with his spirit of wisdom; power, and comfort unto eternal life, that you may be strong and rejoice in him, and with his church, to carry Christ's cross, if he shall so think it need. 1 Peter i., which is a thing to be desired, wished and embraced, if we looked on things after the judgment of God's word, and tried them by that touchstone. If you be accustomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and misery of this

argument, intituled, *The Hurt of the Mass*^r. This book he sent to his acquaintance, to stop their going to the popish service; and particularly to Mr. Shaleros, a friend of his in Lancashire; and recommended the reading of it to one Riddleston, that had defiled himself in this false service.

life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of everlasting life; if you look on things after their ends, and not after their present appearance only: if you use yourself to set God's presence, power, and mercy always before your eyes, to see them as God by every creature would you should, I doubt not but you shall find such strength and comfort in the Lord, as you shall not be shaken with all the power of Satan. God's mercy in Christ be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever.

Amen."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1642. ed. Lond. 1583. See also Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, pp. 333, 5. ed. 1564.]

^r [i. e. "The hurt of hearing masse: sette forthe by the faithfull servant of God, and constant martire of Christ, John Bradford, when he was prisoner in the Tower of London. Imprinted at London for H. Kirkham, and are to be sold at his shop at the little north dore of Saint Paules church, at the signe of the black boye. 1580."]

CHAPTER XVII.

365

A BLOODY TIME. THE QUEEN'S GREAT BELLY.

A CONVOCATION.

THE year 1555 was a bloody year, and many honest Ann. 1555. people, both of the clergy and laity, were burnt alive in Many all parts, because they believed not transubstantiation: burned. insomuch that a tender heart cannot but shrink at the very remembrance thereof.

And as if there were a kind of delight in this sort of Instruc- cruel executions, instructions were sent abroad, in the tions to the beginning of the year, unto the justices of peace through justices. all counties in England, to inquire diligently in every parish for persons disaffected to the popish religion. And in each parish were some appointed to be secret informers against the rest. And for the better discovery of such poor professors of the Gospel, that fled from place to place for their safety, the constables, and four or more of the catholic sort in every parish, were authorized to take examination of all such as might be suspected, how they lived, and where they were? And such as absented from the mass, and conformed not themselves to the church, were to be brought before the justices: who were to persuade them to conform; and if they would not, to bind them to good abearing, or commit them to prison. The justices were also commanded, by another order soon after, to deliver such as leaned to erroneous and heretical opinions, and would not be reclaimed by the justices, to the ordinaries, to be by them travailed with; and, continuing obstinate, to have the laws executed upon them.

Orders sent
into Nor-
folk against
the profes-
sors.

March 26^a, these orders came from the king and queen to the justices of Norfolk: which, as I extract from a manuscript, relating the orders sent into that county, were in these special articles.

I. To divide themselves into several distinctions.

II. To assist such preachers as should be sent; [for it was thought convenient to send abroad itinerary preachers, as was done in the last king's reign, who should by their doctrine endeavour to reduce the people to the old religion;] and to use them reverently, and to be present at their sermons; and to travail soberly with such as abstained from coming to church, or, by any other open doings, should appear not persuaded to conform themselves: and to use others, that be wilful and perverse^b, more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good behaviour, or by imprisoning them, as the quality of the persons, and the circumstance of their doings, may deserve.

III. To lay special wait^c for teachers of heresies, and procurers of secret meetings to that purpose. That they and their families shew good examples, and begin first to reform their servants, if any of them be faulty.

IV. To apprehend spreaders of false and seditious rumours.

V. To procure one or more in every parish, secretly instructed, to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants.

VI. To charge the constable, and four or more catholic inhabitants of every parish, to give account of idle
366 vagabonds and suspected persons, [meaning by these the poor professors, or preachers of the Gospel, who crept

^a [May 27. Strype: which is an incorrect transcript.]

^b ["obstinate;" orig.]

^c ["special weight upon those which be preachers," &c. orig.]

about for their own safety, and had no settled habitation,] and the retainers of such persons. To observe hue and cry; and to look after the watches in every parish.

VII. To send an account of felons, &c. when any should be apprehended.

VIII. To meet every month, and confer about these matters^d.

Whereupon the justices meeting together, it was re-^{The effect thereof.}solved by them to obey every of the said orders; particularly concerning the fifth they resolved, that these secret informations should be given to the justices; and that the accused parties should be examined, without knowledge by whom they were accused.

The earl of Sussex^e lived in that county, and was one of^{The earl of Sussex receiveth information against some.} chief trust there: for this earl had command in Norfolk of queen Mary's army, when she first laid her claim to the crown; and managed it with that prudence and conduct, that others were induced by his means to come in. This earl received several informations against ministers and others; for it seems, notwithstanding all these severe usages, the popish mass had not yet so prevailed every where, but that, in divers places, there were some remainders of king Edward's reformation and service. Among the rest, the curate of Old Bokenham, and divers in that parish, were complained of, because the ceremonies of the holy time of Easter were not observed there. And, it seems, the bishop's officers themselves were not all so diligent as they should be. The earl signified this information to Hopton^f the bishop; who, being in his visita-

^d [Strype gives the substance, though not the exact words, of these orders. See Cotton MSS. Titus B. ii. fol. 115. British Museum, original, and Burnet's Hist.

of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 398, 9. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

^e [See vol. ii. p. 375. n. 5.]

^f [See vol. ii. p. 376. n. 1.]

tion soon after, sent for several of the parish, and made his inquiries, but found things in other sort than were represented to the earl. And, being returned to his house at Norwich, informed him hereof, and desired the earl to inform him further, if any thing were amiss, even amongst his own officers, and he would endeavour to reform them.

Popish
spies set
every
where.

In these times, for the better taking up of all Gospelers, there were certain spies and secret informers set every where, to give notice of any that came not to church, or that spake any thing against the superstitions. For London were, John Auales, Beard^g, and others: for Stepney, one Banbury, a shifter, a dicer, and a whore-monger. By which means none almost could be safe. Yet the professors made some provision against this evil. There were some, that kept them company, who were honest men; by whom they often had secret intelligence what persons Auales and Beard intended to take up. And so several, by shifting places and houses, were preserved. The knight-marshal, sir Thomas Holcroft^h, the under-marshal, the knight-marshal's secretary, were secret friends of the Protestants: and when designs were laid to take any of them, some signification was often privately brought them, that search would within some few hours be made for them; and therefore that they should depart from

^g [For a further account of John Auales, see Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. iii. pt. i. p. 102. ed. Oxon. 1822, and Strype's *Annals of the Reformat.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 186. ed. Oxon. 1824. For Beard, see Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. iii. pp. 102, 313, 434.]

^h [Sir Thomas Holcroft, who was sent by Henry VIII. as an ambassador to Scotland, was made

a knight of the bath at the coronation of Edward VI, and was appointed knight-marshal in this reign; he was committed to the Tower as an adherent of the lord protector Somerset.—See Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 347. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 36, 497. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 367. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

their lodgings, and conceal themselves. And when any good men were under their hands in prison, they would take all occasions to shew them kindness, as far as safely they might.

But notwithstanding these persecutions, and that very few of the ministers remained, being either burnt or fled; ³⁶⁷ yet the Protestants in London had very frequently their assemblies. And sometimes, for want of preachers of the clergy, laymen exercised. Among these I find one old Henry Daunce, a bricklayer of White-chappel, who used to preach the Gospel in his garden every holy-day: where would be present sometimes a thousand people.

The very beginning of May there was exceeding joy among the Papists for the birth of an heir male to the crown; whereof the report was so confident every where, that, in the county of Norfolk, the mayor of Norwich ⁱ sent word of it to the earl of Sussex ^k; and the bishop had *Te Deum* sung in the cathedral, and other places of the city. And all expressions of joy both in city and country were shewn. And so it was, no question, in other parts of the nation. And, which is more strange, so long did this bruit hold, that, besides the first intelligence thereof brought to Norwich, within a day or two after came two persons more, averring the truth thereof. The bishop desired the earl, according as he heard, if he had any further knowledge, to impart it to him. The contents of all this may be read in the original letter, which is transcribed into the Appendix.

But the belief of the queen's great belly went not over so. For then it was given out, that in June, about Whitsuntide, was the time that the queen expected her delivery: and midwives, rockers, and nurses were provided. And, just when that time came, another rumour was

ⁱ [Thomas Marsham.]

^k [See vol. ii. p. 375. n. g.]

blown about in London, that the queen was delivered of a child. And the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made: and in most parts of the realm so it was. Nay, in Antwerp guns were shot off by the English ships, and the lady regent rewarded the mariners with a hundred pistoles.

Like a
design.
Foxe, p.
1450.

But there happened now two things which make it seem as though all this were but design, to impose upon the belief of the world. The one was this: "There was a woman, living near Aldersgate, delivered June the 11th, 1555, being Whitsunday morning, of a man child. Unto whom the lord North and another lord came, and desired to have her child from her, with very fair offers. As, that her child should be well provided for, and that she should take no care for it, if she would swear that she never knew nor had such child. And, after this, other women came to her: of whom one, they said, should have been the rocker. But she would in no case part with her child. This very woman, before witness, made this declaration unto Mr. Foxe and others, about the year 1568, while he was printing his book: but he leaves it to the liberty of the reader to believe what he list." Add to this one other passage of a man within four miles of Berwick, who, speaking of the bonfires for joy of the birth of a prince, said, "There was a joyful triumph, but at length all would not prove worth a mess of pottage¹."

¹ ["Concerning the childbed of queen Mary, as it was rumoured among the people. Long persuasion had been in England with great expectation, for the space of half a year or more, that the queen was conceived with child. This report was made by the queen's physicians, and other nigh about

the court, so that divers were punished for saying the contrary. And commandment was given, that in all churches supplication and prayers should be made for the queen's good delivery:— And now forsomuch as in the beginning of this month of June about Whitsuntide, the time was

As the queen's great belly gave these great disappointments, so, while she went with it, it gave her occasion to ^{The queen's zeal.}

thought to be nigh, that this young master should come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, were prepared and in a readiness, suddenly upon what cause or occasion it is uncertain, a certain vain rumor was blown in London of the prosperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of the child: in so much that the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made, not only in the city of London, and in most other parts of the realm, but also in the town of Antwerp, guns were shot off upon the river, by the English ships, and the mariners thereof rewarded with an hundred pistolets or Italian crowns by the lady regent, who was the queen of Hungary. Such great rejoicing and triumph was for the queen's delivery, and that there was a prince born. Yea, divers preachers, namely one, the parson of St. Ann within Aldersgate, after procession and 'Te Deum' sung, took upon him to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen. In the midst of this great ado, there was a simple man, (this I speak upon information,) dwelling within four miles of Berwick, that never had been before half way to London, which said concerning the bon-

fires made for queen Mary's child; 'Here is a joyful triumph, but at length all will not prove worth a mess of pottage,' as indeed it came to pass: for in the end all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived; for the people were certified, that the queen neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have any child. At this time many talked diversly; some said this rumour of the queen's conception was spread for a policy; some other affirm that she was deceived by a tympany, or some other like disease, to think herself with child, and was not; some thought that she was with child, and that it did by some chance miscarry, or else that she was bewitched; but what was the truth thereof, the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is secret. One thing of mine own hearing and seeing, I cannot pass over unwitnessed. There came to me, whom I did both hear and see, one Isabel Malt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate street in Horne alley, not far from the house where this present book was printed, who before witness made this declaration unto us, that she being delivered of a man child upon Whitsunday in the morning, which was the 11 day of June, an. 1555, there came to her the lord North, and another

be more severe against the poor Gospellers, who were now daily burnt. For she thought, and so she said, “she
 368 could not be safely and happily delivered, nor that any thing could succeed prosperously with her, unless all the heretics in prison were burnt *ad unum*, not sparing one^m.” Which cruelty I do suppose her priests and confessors put into her head.

Pet. Martyr
 ad Pet.
 Alexand.

A convoca-
 tion.

There was a convocation in November this year; wherein cardinal Pole presided. The queen gave him a license under the great seal to hold a synod: wherein she ordered him to decree what canons he thought fit. So he composed a book, with a very specious title, viz. *Reformatio Angliæ, ex Decretis Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis, &c.* which was printed: a manuscript copy whereof was in the famous library of Mr. Smith, of late years sold by auction.

lord to her unknown, dwelling then about Old Fish street, demanding of her if she would part with her child, and would swear that she never knew nor never had no such child, which, if she would, her son, they said, should be well provided for, she should take no care for it, with many fair offers if she would part with the child. After that came other women also, of whom one she said should have been the rocker, but she in no wise would let go her son, who at the writing hereof being alive and called Timothy Malt, was of the age of thirteen years and upward. Thus much, I say, I heard of the woman herself. What credit is to be given to her relation, I deal not withal, but leave it to the liberty of the reader, to believe it they that list:

to them that list not, I have no further warrant to assure them.” —Fexe’s Acts and Monuments, pp. 1496, 1597. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^m [“Petro Alexandro.—In Anglia hebdomada superiori septem boni viri sunt combusti, qui bono animo atque firma constantia testimonium fidei reddiderunt. Regina non adhuc peperit, et jactasse scribitur, se non posse feliciter parere, neque putare sibi quicquam prospere successurum, nisi omnes hæreticos, quos in carcere habet, ad unum combusserit. Quamobrem ex his potes cognoscere dominum Cantuariensem in magno nunc esse discrimine.—18 Junii, 1555, Argentinæ.”—P. Martyr. Epist. in calc. Loc. Com. p. 1096. ed. Heidel. 1603.]

The decrees of this book, in number twelve, were agreed to in February. They are briefly set down by the bishop of Sarum in his Historyⁿ. There was an article made in Part ii. p.
324.

ⁿ [“From the parliament I turn next to the convocation—

“The first decree is, that there should be constantly a remembrance of the reconciliation now made with Rome, in every mass, besides a procession, with other solemnities, at the anniversary of it. He also confirmed the constitutions of Otho, and Othobonus, forbidding the reading of all heretical books; and set forth the catholic faith, in the words of that exposition of it, which pope Eugenius sent from the council of Florence to those of Armenia.

“The 2d was, for the careful administering and preserving of the sacraments; and for the putting away of all feasting in the festivities of the dedications of churches.

“The third exhorts the bishops to lay aside all secular cares, and give themselves wholly to the pastoral office; and to reside in their dioceses, under the highest pains. Their canons also are required to reside, and also other clergymen. All pluralities of benefices with cure, are simply condemned: and those who had more benefices with cure, were required to resign all but one: otherwise it was to be declared that they had forfeited them all.

“The 4th is, that whereas the residence of bishops could not be

of great use, unless they became truly pastors to their flock; which was chiefly done by their preaching the Word of God; that had been, contrary to the Apostles' practice, much neglected by many: therefore he requires them to preach every Sunday or holiday; or if they were disabled, to find other fit persons to do it. And they were also in private to instruct and exhort their people, and all the other inferior clergy; and to endeavour to persuade them to the catholic faith; or if need were, to use threatenings. And because of the great want of good preachers, the cardinal declared, he would take care there should be homilies set out, for the instruction of the nation. In the mean while, every bishop was to be sending such as were more eminent in preaching, over their dioceses, thereby to supply the defects of the rest.

“The 5th is, about the lives of the bishops: That they should be most strict and exemplary: that they should lay aside all pride and pomp; should not be clothed in silk, nor have rich furniture; and have frugal tables, not above three or four dishes of meat; and even so many he rather allows, considering the present times, than approves; that at their tables the scriptures, or other good books,

Vol. intit.
Synodalia.
[C. C. C. C.
MSS.]

favour of non-residences ; which I meet with in the Benet library : there is no date, but I strongly conjecture it is to

should be read, mixed with pious discourses ; that they should not have too great numbers of servants or horses ; but that this parsimony might not appear to flow from avarice, they were to lay out the rest of their revenues on the poor, and for breeding young scholars, and other works of piety. All the same rules he sets to the inferior clergy, with a due proportion to their stations and profits.

“The 6th is, about giving orders ; They were not to be rashly given, but upon a strict previous examen. Every one that was to be ordained, was to give in his name a long time before, that there might be time to enquire carefully about him. The bishops were charged not to turn over the examination upon others, and think their work was only to lay on their hands ; but were to examine diligently themselves, not superficially ; and to call to their assistance such as they knew to be pious and learned, and in whom they might confide.

“The 7th was, about conferring benefices, which in some sort came also within that charge, *Lay hands suddenly on no man*. They were to lay aside all partiality in their choice, and seek out the most deserving ; and to make such as they put in benefices bind themselves by oath to reside.

“The 8th was, against the giving the advowsons of benefices before they were vacant.

“The 9th was about simony.

“The 10th was against the alienation of any of the goods of the church.

“The 11th was, that in every cathedral there should be a seminary for supplying the diocese ; of whom two ranks were to be made ; the one, of those who learned grammar ; the other, of those who were grown up, and were to be ordained acolyths ; and these were to be trained up in study and virtue, till they were fit to serve in the church. And a tax of the fourth penny was laid on the clergy for their maintenance.

“The 12th was about visitations.

“These were all finished, agreed to, and published by him in February next year.

“In these decrees, mention is made of homilies, which were intended to be published ; and among archbishop Parker’s papers, I find the scheme he had of them was thus laid. He designed four books of homilies ; the first, of the controverted points, for preserving the people from error ; the second, for the exposition of the Creed, and ten Commandments, the Lord’s prayer, the salutation of the Virgin, and the sacraments ;

be laid to this convocation. The cardinal seemed not to favour non-residences ; but the rich clergy and dignitaries were of another mind : wherefore they made this proposition ;

Decretum perpetuæ residentię juxta canonum sanctiones optant pii ; sed multa sunt, quę hodie impediunt, quominus suum effectum juxta bonorum virorum vota consequatur.

To which are subjoined reasons for this proposition, and remedies for this evil : which may be read in the Ap-
pendix. Number
LXXXVIII.

the third was to be for the saints' days, and the Sundays and holidays of the year ; for explaining the Epistles and Gospels ; and the fourth was concerning virtues and

vices, and the rites and ceremonies of the church."—Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 651—4. ed. Oxon. 1829.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RIDLEY AND LATIMER BURNT.

Some petition the queen for Cranmer.

WE can declare little this year of the poor archbishop, being now a prisoner at Oxford, and out of all place of action. The archbishopric was sequestered into the hands of cardinal Pole, and his palace at Lambeth appointed for the cardinal's abode. In a petition, that some of those that were abroad had sent over to the queen this year, to dissuade her from these persecutions that were now so rigorously set on foot in England, they interceded for Cranmer, putting her in mind how he had once preserved her, in her father's time, by his earnest intercessions with him for her. "So that," they said, "she had more reason to believe he loved her, and would speak the truth to her, than she had of all the rest of the clergy." But, alas, this did little good.

He seeth Ridley and Latimer going to their burning.

In October, Ridley and Latimer were brought forth to their burning; and, passing by Cranmer's prison, Ridley looked up to have seen him, and to have taken his farewell of him: but he was not then at the window, being engaged in dispute with a Spanish friar. But he looked after them, and, devoutly falling upon his knees, prayed to God to strengthen their faith and patience in that their last, but painful passage^a.

^a ["M. doctor Ridley, as he passed towards Bocardo, looking up where M. Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass window, and to have spoken unto him. But then M.

Cranmer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him through that occasion."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1769. ed. Lond. 1583.]

And here, for a farewell to these two reverend fathers, ^{Latimer's} let us make a little halt, to take some view of them. Of ^{character.} Ridley sufficient has been said to acquaint us with the 369 worthiness of that man. Of Latimer a word or two. His character is best taken from them who best knew him, and lived in his time^b. One of these thus speaks of him, ^{Becon, in} while he was yet alive, in the beginning of king Edward. ^{his Jewel} "Latimer was very famous, not only for the pureness of ^{of Joy.} his life, which had always been innocent and blameless, but for the sincerity and goodness of his evangelical doctrine : which, since the beginning of his preaching, had in all points been so conformable to the teaching of Christ, and of his Apostles, that the very adversaries of God's truth, with all their menacing words, and cruel imprisonment, could not withdraw him from it. But whatsoever he had once preached, he valiantly defended the same before the world, without fear of any mortal creature, although of never so great power and high authority ; wishing and minding rather to suffer, not only loss of worldly possessions, but also of life, than that the glory of God, and the truth of Christ's Gospel, should in any point be obscured or defaced through him. His life was not dear unto him, so that he might fulfil his course with joy, and the office that he received of the Lord Jesus, to testify of the Gospel of God's favour. His fame began to grow apace, while he was at Cambridge, [which was some years before 1530,] doing abundance of good there among the students by his sermons, which were many, by him preached both in Latin and English. The scholars flocked after him, and took great notice of his doctrine, and commending it sometimes to letters, as most faithful treasures of memory. Before them he did, by authorities out of God's Word, and invincible arguments, besides the alle-

^b [See Wharton's Observations at the end of this volume.]

gation of the doctors, prove, that the holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue of all Christen people, whether they were priests or laymen: though many friars and others could not abide this doctrine, and would resist him, and preach against him, notwithstanding he, or rather God in him, got the victory. And it came to pass according to his teaching; [when the reading of the Scripture was allowed by the royal authority.] Before the scholars also he inveighed against temple works, good intents, blind zeal, superstitious devotion; as the painting of tabernacles, gilding of images, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimage, and such other idle inventions of men; whereby the grace of God was obscured, and his works of mercy the less regarded. He was also wont to rebuke the beneficed men, with the authority of God's Word, for neglecting and not teaching their flock, and for being absent from their cures, they themselves being idle, and masting themselves like hogs of Epicurus, taking no thought, though their poor parishioners miserably pined away, starved, perished and died for hunger. He would condemn also, at these his University sermons, foolish, ungodly, and impossible vows; as the vow of chastity: wishing rather that liberty of marriage might be granted to them which had so vowed, by the higher powers, than so to continue, through single life, in all kind of abominable uncleanness. O how vehement was he in rebuking
370 all sins; namely, idolatry, false and idle swearing, covetousness, and whoredom! Again, how sweet and pleasant were his words in exhorting unto virtue! He spake nothing, but it left, as it were, certain pricks or stings in the hearts of the hearers, which moved them to consent to his doctrine. None, except they were stiff necked, and uncircumcised in heart, went away from his sermons, which were not led with a faithful repentance of their

former lives, affected with high detestation of sin, and moved unto all godliness and virtue.”

The writer of all this said, “He knew certain men, which, through the persuasion of their friends, went unto his sermons, swelling blown full, and puft up, like Esop’s frogs, with envy and malice against him; but, when they returned, his sermon being done, and demanded how they liked him and his doctrine, they answered, with the bishops and pharisees’ servants, *There was never man spake like unto this man.* He would also speak freely against buying and selling of benefices; against promoting such to the livings of spiritual ministers, which were unlearned and ignorant in the law of God; against popish pardons; against the reposing our hope in our own works, or in other men’s merits. He was also a charitable man, when he was at Cambridge, according to his ability, to poor scholars, and other needy people: so conformable was his life to his doctrine. Insomuch that there was a common saying in that university, *When Mr. Stafford read, and Latimer preached, then was Cambridge blessed*^c.”

^c [“*Phil.* First cometh to my remembrance a man worthy to be loved and revered of all true-hearted Christian men, not only for the pureness of his life, which hath always before the world been innocent and blameless, but also for the sincerity and godliness of his evangelic doctrine, which since the beginning of his preaching hath in all points been so comfortable to the teaching of Christ and his apostles, that the very adversaries of God’s truth, with all their menacing words and cruel imprisonments could

not withdraw him from it, but whatsoever he had once preached, he valiently defended the same before the world without fear of any mortal creature, although of never so great power and high authority, wishing and minding rather to suffer not only loss of worldly possessions, but also of life, than the glory of God, and the truth of Christ’s gospel should in any point be obscured or defaced through him. His life was not dear unto him, so that he might fulfil his course with joy. and the office that he received of

Cranmer's
employ-
ment in
prison.

But to return to our archbishop in his prison: where he divided his melancholy time, partly in disputings and

the Lord Jesu, to testify the gospel of God's favour. He might well say with the holy psalmo-graph, 'I spake, O Lord, of thy testimonies and ordinances in the presence of kings, princes, and rulers; and I was not abashed.'

"*Eus.* I much desire to know his name: tell it us, I pray you.

"*Phil.* Ye have heard, I am sure, of master Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester?

"*Chris.* His noble fame and virtuous renown is more known not only in this realm of England, but also in foreign countries among both learned and unlearned, than it can be hid. I, for my part, have known him before twenty years in the university of Cambridge: to whom next unto God I am especially bound to give most hearty thanks for the knowledge, if any I have, of God and of His most blessed word.

"*Phil.* How so?

"*Chris.* I was some time a poor scholar of Cambridge, very desirous to have the knowledge of good letters; and, in the time of my being there, this godly man preached many learned and Christian sermons, both in the Latin and English tongue, at the which all I, for most part, was present; and although at that time I was but a child of sixteen years, yet I noted his doctrine so

well as I could, partly reposing it in my memory, partly commending it to letters as most faithful treasures unto memory.

"I was present when, with manifest authorities of God's word and arguments invincible, besides the allegations of doctors, he proved in his sermons that the Holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue of all Christian people, whether they were priests or laymen as they be called; which things divers drowsy duncers, with certain false flying flattering friars, could not abide, but openly in their unsavoury sermons resisted his godly purpose, even as Alexander the coppersmith and Elymas the sorcerer, with many other, resisted blessed Paul and his godly doctrine, notwithstanding he (yea, rather God in him, whose cause he handled) gat the victory, and it came to pass according to his teaching.

"Neither was I absent when he inveighed against temple works, good intents, blind zeal, superstitious devotion, &c., as the painting of tabernacles, gilding of images, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimage, and such other idle inventions of men, whereby the glory of God was obscured, and the works of mercy the less regarded.

"I remember also how he was

discourses with learned men of the contrary persuasion,

wont to rebuke the beneficed men with the authority of God's word for neglecting and not teaching their flock, and for being absent from their cures, they themselves being idle, and masting themselves like hogs of Epicurus' flock, taking no thought though their poor parishioners miserably pine away, starve, perish, and die of hunger.

"Neither have I forgotten how he at that time condemned foolish, ungodly, and impossible vow to be fulfilled, as the vow of chastity, wishing rather that liberty of marriage might be granted to them which have so vowed, by the higher powers, than so to continue through single life in all kind of abominable uncleanness.

"Oh! how vehement was he in rebuking all sins, namely, idolatry, false and idle swearing, covetousness and whoredom: again, how sweet and pleasant were his words in exhorting unto virtue! He spake nothing but it left as it were certain pricks or stings in the hearts of the hearers which moved them to consent to his doctrine. None, except they were stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart went away from his sermons which were not led with a faithful repentance of their life, affected with a high detestation of sin, and moved unto all godliness and virtue. I did know certain men which, through the persuasion of their friends, went

unto his sermons swelling, blown full, and puffed up like unto Esop's frog, with envy and malice against him; but when they returned, the sermon being done, and demanded how they liked him and his doctrine? they answered with the bishops, and pharisees' servants: *Nunquam sic locutus est homo, sicut hic homo;* 'There was never man that spake like unto this man.' So sharp a two edged sword is the word of God (it 'entereth through even unto the dividing of the soul and the spirit, and of the joints and the marrow'), so watcheth God upon his word, so causeth the Father of Heaven 'his word not to return unto Him void, but to do whatsoever His good pleasure is,' and to take root and bring forth fruit in them that are afore ordained unto everlasting life 'in some an hundred fold, in some three score fold, in some thirty fold.'

"I leave off to report his free speech against and selling of benefices, against the promoting of them unto the livings of spiritual ministers which are unlearned and ignorant in the law of God; against popish pardons, against the reposing our hope in our own works or in other men's merits, against false religion, &c. Neither do I here rehearse how beneficial he was according to his possibility to poor scholars and other needy people; so conform-

who laboured to bring him over, thinking thereby to obtain a great glory to their church; and partly in preparing an answer to bishop Gardiner, under the name of *Marcus Antonius*, in vindication of his own book concerning the sacrament. And he finished three parts in prison: two whereof were lost in Oxford, and one came into the hands of John Foxe, as he tells us himself; which, he said, was ready to be seen and set forth, as the Lord should see good. Bishop Ridley also in his confinement wrote marginal annotations on the side of Gardiner's said book, with the lead of a window, for want of pen and ink. Great pity it is that these last studies of the archbishop are lost: for even that part which was once in Foxe's custody is gone with his fellows, for aught that I can find among his papers^d.

Report of
the queen's
death.

It was some time before this that there was a report spread, that the queen was dead. The rumour presently extended itself over the seas: which occasioned the death of one pious professor of the gospel; namely, Bartlet Green, a lawyer. For Christopher Goodman having writ to him, his former acquaintance in Oxford, to certify him of the truth thereof, he in a letter in answer wrote this; "The queen is not yet dead." This and divers other letters, that were given to a bearer, to carry beyond sea to the exiles there, were intercepted; and, being read at the council, some would have it to amount to treason, as though there had been a plot carrying on against the

able was his life to his doctrine; so watered he with good deeds whatsoever tofore he planted with godly words; so laboured he with all main both in word and deed to win and allure other unto the love of Christ's doctrine and

His holy religion. There is a common saying which remaineth unto this day, 'When master Stafford read, and master Latimer preached, then was Cambridge blessed.'"—Becon's Works, vol. ii. pp. 424, 5. Park. Soc. Ed.]

queen's life. But the law not making those words treason, he, after long lying in the Tower, was sent by the 371 council to bishop Boner. Who upon examination found him too firm to be moved from the doctrine of the gospel; and so condemned him to the fire^e.

^e [Bartlet Greene "was a man beloved of all men except of the papists, who love none that love the truth, and so he well deserved; for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and most gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, 'especially to those that were of the household of faith,' as appeared, amongst other, by his friendly dealing with master Christopher Goodman, being at that present a poor exile beyond the seas; with whom this Bartlet Greene, (as well for his toward learning, as also for his sober and godly behaviour), had often society in Oxford, in the days of good king Edward; which now, notwithstanding his friend's misery and banishment, he did not lightly forget, and that turned, as it chanced, (not without the providence of Almighty God,) to the great grief of both, the one of heart for the loss of his friend, and the other of body in suffering the cruel and murdering rage of papists. The cause hereof was a letter, which Greene did write unto the said Goodman, containing as well the report of certain demands or questions, which

were cast abroad in London, as appeareth hereafter in a letter of his own penning, which he meant to have sent unto M. Philpot, (wherein he declareth his full usage before the bishop of London and others*,) as also an answer to a question made by the said Christopher Goodman, in a letter written unto him, in which he required to have the certainty of the report, which was spread amongst them on the other side of the seas, that the queen was dead, whereunto master Greene answered simply, and as the truth then was; that she was not dead. These letters, with many others, written to divers of the godly exiles by their friends here in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came by the apprehension of the said bearer unto the hands of the king and queen's council, who at their convenient leisure, (which in those days by some of them was quickly found out for such matters,) perused the whole number of the said letters, and amongst them espied this letter of master Greene's, written unto his friend, Christopher Goodman, in the contents whereof, (amongst

* [See letter of Bartlet Greene to John Philpot.—Fexe, p. 1852.]

other news and private matters,) they found these words, 'The queen is not yet dead,' which words were only written as an answer, to certify master Goodman of the truth of his former demand. Howbeit, (to some of the council,) they seemed very heinous words, yea, treason they would have made them, if the law would have suffered; which when they could not do, (and being yet very loath to let any such depart freely, whom they suspected to be a favourer of the gospel,) they then examined him upon his faith in religion, but upon what points, it is not certainly known. Nevertheless, (as it seemeth,) his answers were such as little pleased them, (especially the anointed sort,) and therefore, after they had long detained him in prison, as well in the Tower of London,

as elsewhere, they sent him at last unto Boner, bishop of London, to be ordered according to his ecclesiastical law, as appeareth by their letters sent unto the bishop, with the said prisoner also; wherein it may appear that sir John Bourne (then secretary to the queen) was a chief stirrer in such cases, yea, and an enticer of others of the council, who otherwise (if for fear they durst) would have been content to have let such matters alone. The Lord forgive them their weakness, (if it be His good pleasure,) and give them true repentance. Amen! He was apprehended, and condemned, Jan. 15, 1555, and afterward burned with the other martyrs, the 27. of the same month." —Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1851, 1856. ed. Lond. 1583.]

CHAPTER XIX.

THE LAST PROCEEDINGS WITH CRANMER.

AFTER Ridley and Latimer were dispatched, and had sealed their doctrine with their blood at Oxford, the said course was resolved to be taken with Cranmer, late archbishop, but now the arch heretic, as he was esteemed by them. They had been all three condemned, and adjudged heretics, by Dr. Weston^f, in the university of Oxford, after their disputations. But that sentence was void in law; because the authority of the pope was not yet received: therefore they were tried and judged upon new commissions. The commission for judging the two former was from Pole the cardinal, lord legate: wherein the commissioners constituted were, White^g, bishop of Lincoln; Brooks^h, bishop of Gloucester; and Holimaniⁱ, bishop of Bristow. But there was a new commission sent from Rome for the conviction of Cranmer. Brooks, of Gloucester, was the pope's subdelegate under cardinal Puteo, to whom the pope had committed this process; and Martin and Story, doctors of the civil law, were the queen's commissioners: the former of which was now, or soon after, for his good services, made one of the masters in chancery, and was much employed in these trials of poor men. Notwithstanding this man complied in queen Elizabeth's reign, and took his oath against the pope now a second time. In this commission from the pope he

Proceedings against Cranmer.

[Appendix, Number LXXX-VIII.**]

^f [See above, p. 68. n. e.]

^h [See vol. ii. p. 319. n. *.]

^g [See vol. ii. p. 264. n. w.]

ⁱ [See above, p. 65. n. z.]

decreed, in a formality of words, "that the archbishop should have charity and justice shewed to him, and that he should have the laws in most ample manner to answer in his behalf." He decreed also, "that the said archbishop should come before the bishop of Gloucester, as high commissioner from his holiness, for the examination of such articles as should be produced against him: and that Martin and Story should require, in the king and queen's name, the examination of him." In pursuance of this command from the pope, and in obedience to the king and queen, they came down to Oxon upon this commission; and, September 12, (which was seven days before the condemnation of Latimer and Ridley,) sat in St. Mary's church, accompanied with many other doctors, and such like; and, among the rest, the pope's collector. The archbishop was brought forth out of prison, habited in a fair black gown, and his hood of doctor of divinity on both shoulders. Then some proctor said aloud, "Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, appear here, and make answer to that which shall be laid to thy charge for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy." What due honour the archbishop gave unto the queen's commissioners, as representing the supreme authority of the nation, and how he gave none to Brooks, the pope's representative, keeping on his cap; and the speeches, that the said Brooks and the
372 other two made unto him, with the archbishop's discreet and excellent answers, still interposing his protestation against Brooks his authority; may be seen at large in Foxe's Monuments^k.

Only it may not be amiss here briefly to mention, (for the better understanding of the form of the process,) that,

^k [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1872-1876. ed. Lond. 1583.]

after the archbishop was cited, as before was said, into the court, the bishop of Gloucester first made an oration, directed unto the archbishop at the opening of his commission. Next, Dr. Martin made a short speech; and, being with Dr. Story appointed the king's and queen's attorneys, he offered unto the said bishop their proxy, sealed with the broad seal of England; and then presenting himself to the proctor on their behalf. After that, he proceeded to exhibit certain articles against the archbishop, containing adultery and perjury; (the one for being married, the other for breaking his oath to the pope.) Also he exhibited books of heresy, made partly by him, and partly by his authority published: and so produced him as a party principal to answer to his lordship. After this, having leave given him, the archbishop, beginning with the Lord's Prayer and Creed, made a long and learned apology for himself: which is preserved to posterity in the Acts and Monuments¹.

By his discourse before the commissioners it appeared, how little he was taken with the splendour of worldly things. For he professed, "that the loss of his promotions grieved him not: he thanked God as heartily for that poor and afflicted state in which he then was, as ever he did for the times of his prosperity. But that which stuck closest to him, as he said, and created him the greatest sorrow, was, to think that all that pains and trouble, that had been taken by king Henry and himself, for so many years, to retrieve the ancient authority of the kings of England, and to vindicate the nation from a foreign power, and from the baseness and infinite inconveniences of crouching to the bishops of Rome, should now thus easily be quite undone again. And therefore,

¹ [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1880, 81.]

he said, all his trouble at that time, and the greatest that ever he had in his life, was, to see the king and queen's majesties, by their proctors there, to become his accusers, and that in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. For that, if he had transgressed the laws of the land, their majesties had sufficient authority and power, both from God, and the ordinance of the realm, to punish him. Whereunto he would be at all times content to submit himself."

Interrogatories put to him, with his answers.

At this time of his trial, several interrogatories were administered unto him, to make answer to : as, concerning his marriage ; concerning his setting abroad heresies, and making and publishing certain books of heresy. To which he confessed, that the Catechism, and the book of Articles, and the book against bishop Gardiner, were of his doing. Concerning subscribing those Articles, and his compelling persons to subscribe. Which he denied ; but that he exhorted them that were willing to subscribe, he acknowledged. Concerning his open maintaining his errors in Oxon : [whereas they brought him to the disputation themselves.] Concerning his being noted with the
373 infamy of schism ; and that he moved the king, and subjects of his realm, to recede from the catholic church and see of Rome. Which he acknowledged : but that their departure, or recess, had in it no matter of schism. Concerning his being twice sworn to the pope. And Dr. Martin then shewed a copy of his protestation against the pope at his consecration, under a public notary's hand. That he took upon him the see of Rome, in consecrating bishops and priests, without leave or license from the said see. To which he answered, that it was permitted to him by the public laws of the realm. Concerning his standing out still to subscribe to the pope's authority, when the whole nation had. This being done,

a public notary entered his answers. Then the bishop of Gloucester made another speech, at breaking up of this meeting, and Dr. Story another, reflecting upon what Cranmer had said; with reviling and taunts.

The last thing they did at this meeting was, to swear ^{Witnesses} several persons, who were the next day to declare what ^{sworn} they knew, or could remember, against this reverend ^{against} father. And these were, Dr. Marshal^m, dean of Christ's Church, a most furious and zealous man; and who, to shew his spite against the reformation, had caused Peter Martyr's wife, who deceased while he was the king's professor, to be taken out of her grave, and buried in his dunghill: Dr. Smithⁿ, public professor, who had recanted most solemnly in king Edward's days, and to whom the archbishop was a good friend, yet not long afterwards he wrote against his book, and was now sworn a witness against him: Dr. Tresham^o, a canon of Christ Church, who was one of the disputers against Cranmer, and had said, in his popish zeal, "that there were six hundred errors in his book of the Sacrament:" Dr. Crook^p; Mr.

^m [Richard Marshal, S.T.P. who had publicly retracted the papist faith under king Edward VI, and shewed himself to be forward for the reformation, became a vehement persecutor in the reign of queen Mary, by whom he was appointed to the deanery of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1553; "upon queen Elizabeth's accession to the crown, he resigned it in May, 1559." Being apprehended whilst lurking about in the north, he was taken before the council, and committed to the custody of the bishop of London, (Edmund Grin-

dal.) He made a formal subscription to the articles of the reformed religion on St. Thomas' day, 1563, and "would have given a more public testimony by word of mouth, had not his death prevented."—Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 48—50. ed. Oxon. 1824. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 230. Wood's Athen. Oxon. (Fasti,) vol. ii. pp. 136, 138. ed. (Bliss) Lond. 1813—20.]

ⁿ [See vol. i. p. 178. n. ^z. and vol. ii. pp. 48, 49, 77, et seqq.]

^o [See vol. ii. p. 159. n. ^j.]

^p [See vol. i. p. 18. n. ⁿ, Strype's

London^q, a relation, I suppose, of Dr. London^r, who came to shame for his false accusation of Cranmer and others in king Henry's reign; and now this man, 'tis like, was willing to be even with Cranmer, for his relation's sake: Mr. Curtop^s, another canon of Christ's Church, formerly a great hearer of P. Martyr; Mr. Ward^t; Mr. Serles^u; the same, I suppose, who belonged to the church of Canterbury, and had been among the number of the conspirators against him in king Henry's days. And these being sworn, the archbishop was allowed to make his exceptions against any of them: who resolutely said, "He would admit none of them all, being perjured men; having sworn against the pope, and now received and defended him: and that therefore they were not in Christian religion." And so the good father was remitted back, for that time, to prison again.

Cited to
Rome.

I know not what the depositions of these witnesses were, given in against him the next day: for Foxe relates nothing thereof, nor any other, as I know of. Doubtless they were some of the doctrines that he preached, or taught, or defended, in Canterbury formerly, or more lately in his disputations in the schools, or in his discourses in his prison, or at Christ's Church, where he sometimes was entertained. But to all that was objected against him he made his answers. And the last thing they of this commission did, was to cite him to appear at Rome, within eighty days, to make there his answer in

Eccl. Mem. vol. i. pt. i. p. 220. ed. Oxon. 1822, and Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 412, 413.]

^q [i. e. George London. See Process. contr. Cranmer., in the Appendix to this volume, No. lxxxviii.*]

^r [See vol. i. p. 247, et seqq.]

^s [See vol. ii. p. 157. n. 5.]

^t [i. e. Robert Ward. See Process. contr. Cranmer., in the Appendix to this volume.]

^u [See vol. i. pp. 214, 248, et seqq.]

person: which, he said, he would be content to do, if the 374
king and queen would send him. And so he was again
remanded back to durance, where he still remained. And
an account of what these commissioners had done was
dispatched to Rome forthwith: from whence the final
sentence was sent in December next.

Then pope Paul sent his letters executory^x unto the The pope's
letters
against
him.

^x [The following is "the commission sent from the pope, with the sentence diffinitive to proceed against the reverend archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer."

Paulus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio Philippo regi, et carissimæ in Christo filiæ Mariæ reginæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, illustribus ac venerabilibus fratribus Londonensi, et Eliensi, episcopis salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Dudum per literas vestras carissime filii Philippe rex, et Christiana filia Maria regina nobis significatur, quod iniquitatis filius Thomas Cranmerus, olim archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, in hæreses aliaque tam grandia et enormia crimina erat prolapsus, quod non solum regimini ecclesiæ Cantuariensis se reddiderat indignum, verum etiam majori pœnæ se feceret obnoxium. Nos de præmissis certam notitiam non habentes, et tanta crimina si vera essent, impunita, ecclesiamque ipsam sine pastore idoneo derelinquere nolentes, dilecto filio nostro Jacobo, tituli Sanctæ Mariæ in via, tunc Sancti Simeonis, præsbeytero cardinali de Puteo nuncupato, vel de præmissis etiam

summarie, simpliciter, et de plano sine strepitu et figura iudicii, ac sine ulla terminorum substantiatione, citato dicto Thoma se informaret, et quicquid invenisset nobis referret, per specialem commissionem manu nostra signatam, dedimus in mandatis, sibi attribuentes potestatem in curia, et extra, citandi, et inhihendi, ac literas compulsoriales, generales et speciales ac remissorales, in forma consueta ad patres decernendi, et personas quascunque, si opus esse arbitraretur, ad exhibendum jura, sive ad perhibendum testimonium etiam per censuras ecclesiasticas cogendi, et compellendi, seu, si pro celeriori expeditione sibi videretur, ad recipiendum informationem hujusmodi, aliquem probum virum in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutum in partibus istis commorantem cum simili citandi, inhihendi et cogendi facultate, deputandi, ac subdelegandi: ac sicut exhibita nobis nuper pro parte vestra, filii rex, et filia regina petitio continebat, dictus Jacobus cardinalis, commissionis hujusmodi vigore, citatione ad partes contra eundem Thomam ad vestram, filii

king and queen, and to the bishops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him: and, in the end of those four-

rex, et filia regina instantiam decreta, venerabilem fratrum nostrum episcopum Gloucestresem, una cum certis aliis ejus in ea parte collegis, et eorum quemlibet in solidum ad informationem super præmissis recipiendum subdelegavit, eisque vices suas in præmissis commisit. Et postquam dictus episcopus Gloucestrensis in causa hujusmodi ad certos actus processerat, et ipsum Thomam super præmissis examinaverat, citatione prædicta, una cum ejus legitima executione in partibus facta coram eodem Jacobo cardinali judicialiter producta, et processu per audientiam literarum nostrarum contradictarum contra eundem Thomam citatum et non comparentem decreto, cum processu coram dicto episcopo Gloucestrensi contra ipsum Thomam in partibus habito coram præfato Jacobo cardinali productus fuisset, et idem Thomas, ad id citatus contra eum nihil deceret, ino comparere non curaret, præfato Thoma ad videndum per ipsum Jacobum cardinalem referri causam et referri juramentum in supplementum plenæ probationis quantum opus esset, et ad concludendum et audiendum, sententiam diffinitivam, ad certam tunc expressam diem, et horam per audientiam literarum contradictarum hujusmodi citato, omnibus actis, et actitatis causis hujusmodi diligenter visis et consideratis, causam ipsam

ac omnia in præmissis actitata nobis in consistorio nostro secreto fideliter retulit: qua relatione nobis ut præfertur facta, et causa ipsa cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalibus tunc in eodem consistorio existentibus, plene discussa, et mature examinata, cum dilecti filii Petrus Rovilius, clericus Ippotegiensis, ac Antonius Massa de Galesio in dicta curia causarum, et vestrum fili rex et filia regina procuratores, de quorum procuracionis mandato in actis causæ hujusmodi legitimis constare dignoscitur documentis, et Alexander Palentarius, fisci nostri procurator pro ejus jure et interesse, in ipsius Thomæ citati et non comparentis contumaciam in causa hujusmodi concludi et diffinitive pronounciari petiissent, nos pro tribunali, in throno justitiæ, more Romanorum pontificum, prædecessorum nostrorum sedentes, in causa hujusmodi conclusimus, et nostram desuper in scriptis, quam per secretarium nostrum legi et publicari mandavimus, et quam ipse de verbo ad verbum legit, et publicavit, diffinitivam tulimus, et promulgavimus sententiam, sub hujusmodi tenore. Nos Paulus, divina providentia Papa quartus, salvatoris et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus vices, (licet immerito,) in terris gerimus nomine invocato, in throno justitiæ pro tribunali sedentes, et

score days, he was declared *contumax*, as wilfully absenting himself from Rome, when he was summoned to go,

solum Deum, qui justus est Dominus, et in justitia judicat orbem terræ, præ oculis habentes, per hanc nostram diffinitivam, quam de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ Cardinalium consilio ferimus in his scriptis, in causa, et causis, quæ coram dilecto filio nostro Jacobo tituli sanctæ Mariæ in via presbytero cardinali, de Puteo nuncupato, nobis in consistorio nostro secreto, (ut moris est), referenda inter carissimos in Christo filios nostros Philippum regem et Mariam reginam Angliæ illustres denunciatores ex una, et quendam Thomam Cranmerum olim archiepiscopum Cantuariensem reum et denunciatum de et super crimine hæresis et aliis excessibus censurisque et pœnis propter crimen et excessus hujusmodi per dictum Thomam reum denunciatum ac confessum et convictum incursum, rebusque aliis in actis causæ et causarum hujusmodi latius deductis ex altera parte in prima instantia vigore specialis commissionis nostræ versæ fuerunt et vertuntur pronunciamus, sententiamus, decernimus, et declaramus dictum Thomam tunc Cantuariensem archiepiscopum animæ suæ salutis immemorem contra regulas et dogmata ecclesiastica sanctorum patrum nec non apostolicas Romanæ ecclesiæ et sacrorum conciliorum traditiones Christianæque religionis hactenus in ecclesiæ consuetos ritus,

præsertim de corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi et sacri ordinis sacramentis aliter quam sancta mater ecclesia prædicat et observat sentiendo et docendo et sanctæ sedis apostolicæ et summi pontificis primatum et auctoritatem negando nec non contra processus qui singulis annis per prædecessores nostros in die cœnæ Domini more solito celebrati fuerunt, prout et nos dante Domino in futurum celebrare intendimus, in quibus processibus per Romanos pontifices prædecessores præfatos ad retinendam puritatem religionis Christianæ et ipsius unitatem quæ in conjunctione membrorum ad unum caput Christum videlicet ejusque vicarium principaliter, et sanctam fidelium societatem ab offensione servandam consistit inter alia Wiclefistæ et Lutherani, et omnes alii heretici damnati et anathematizati fuerunt etiam abjuratam olim per Berengarium Andagavensem ecclesiæ diaconum hæresim innovando, et tam illam quam etiam per damnatæ memoriæ Johannem Wiclef, et Martinum Lutherum hæresiarchas, alias proposita et damnata falsa et hæretica dogmata credendo et sequendo et desuper etiam libros scribendo et imprimi faciendo impressosque publicando in illisque scripta etiam in publicis disputationibus defendendo ac etiam coram subdelegato nostro in responsionibus ad positiones sibi factas pertinaciter asse-

though he was detained in prison ; which might have been a lawful and just excuse. But these matters must proceed

verando, ac in pertinacia et obstinatione hujusmodi permanendo, excommunicationis et anathematis nec non privationis archiepis. Cantuar. prædicti aliorumque beneficiorum et officiorum ecclesiasticorum si quæ obtinet et annuarium pensionum si quas super beneficiis ecclesiasticis assignatas habet, juriumque actionum et privilegiorum quorumcunque bonorum quoque et seniorum ecclesiasticorum patrimonialium et secularium nec non inhabitatis ad quascunque dignitates et beneficia, et alias contra tales personas tam de jure communi quam per literas processum prædictorum statutas pœnas non solum tanquam credentem hæreticis prædictis et illorum sequacem sed etiam tanquam hæresiarcham notorium damnabiliter incidisse et incurrisse, proptereaque ipsum Thomam excommunicatum anathematizatum et archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi aliisque prælaturis dignitatibus officiis et beneficiis nec non pensionibus, juribus, privilegiis, bonis et feudis prædictis, primatum, et ad illa ac alia quæcunque inhabilem, Curie seculari tradendum, bonaque eis per eos ad quos spectat confiscanda fore et esse prout eum tradi et ejus bona confiscari mandamus et concedimus omnes quoque et quascunque personas Thomæ præfato ratione dicti archiep. Cantuar. et aliarum prælaturarum si quas obtinuit et obtinet olim

subjectas a quibuscunque fidelitatis et obedientiæ juramentis ei præstitis absolvendas et liberandas fore et esse prout absolvimus et liberamus, ac juramenta hujusmodi relaxamus, nec non super omnibus et singulis prædictis eidem Thomæ perpetuum silentium imponimus, supplentes omnes et singulos tam juris quam facti defectus, si qui forsitan in processu causæ hujusmodi intervenerint ita pronunciamus. Cum autem a dicta sententia utpote in causa hæresis et per nos de fratrum nostrorum consilio lata appellari non potuerit et dicti Petrus et Antonius et Alexander procuratores citato per audientiam literarum hujusmodi coram nobis præfato Thoma ad videndum decerni literas executoriales ad aliquem prælatum qui actualem ipsius Thomæ degradationem faciat eumque curiæ seculari tradat in partibus deputari in contumaciam dicti Thomæ ut præfertur citati et non comparentis literas executoriales decerni ac aliquos prælatos qui actualem ipsius Thomæ degradationem faciant et eum curiæ seculari tradant in istis partibus deputari per nos multa cum instantia postulaverint, nos hujusmodi justis postulationibus annuentes literas executoriales prædictas apostolica autoritate decrevimus ac vos fratres episcopi qui actualem ipsius Thomæ degradationem faciatis et ea facta eum curiæ secu-

in their form, whatsoever absurdity or falsehood there were in them.

By these letters executory, (which are in the first edition of Foxe, but omitted in all the rest,) we may collect ^{The process against him at Rome.} how the process went against Cranmer at Rome, which I shall here briefly set down. First, the king and queen sent their information to the pope against Thomas archbishop of Canterbury; *viz.* "That he had brought this noble realm from the unity of the catholic church. That he was a person guilty of heresy, and many other grand crimes, and not worthy to enjoy his bishopric, and most

lari præmissa tamen in ipso actu traditionis incessionem ad iudicem secularem pro hujusmodi tradendis per ecclesiam solita fieri tradatis autoritate, et tenore prædictis deputavimus. Qua propter vos omnes et singulos supradictos quibus præsentis nostræ literæ diriguntur rogamus, et vobis fratres episcopi per apostolica scripta mandamus, et in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ et sub suspensionis a divinis et interdicti ingressus ecclesiæ sententiis districtius injungimus ut ad ulteriorem executionem sententiæ nostræ prædictæ procedatis. Et vos fili rex et filia regina bona ipsius confiscetis seu per eos ad quos spectat confiscari et ipsum Thomam postquam curiæ seculari juxta tenorem præsentium traditus fuerit, id quod juris fuerit, fieri mandetis et faciatis Vos vero fratres episcopi, vel alter vestrum, ita quod alter pro altero se non excuset, sed hæc omnia in solidum sub sententiis prædictis exequamini, nec contra

ea excusationem aut exceptionem apponere valeatis autoritate nostra ceremoniis in similibus servari solitis plene observatis actualem ipsius Thomæ degradationem faciatis, eumque postea curiæ seculari modo ut præfertur tradatis contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compescendo non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis contrariis quibuscumque, aut si aliquibus communiter vel divisim ab eadem sit sede indultum quod interdicti, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per literas apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulta hujusmodi mentionem. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum. Anno incarnationis Domini, millesimo quingentesimo, quinquagesimo, quinto, decimo, nono calendis Januarii, pontificatus nostri, anno primo. I. Bareng."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 2132, 3. ed. Lond. 1583.]

worthy greater punishments; and they requested that process might be made against him." For the better inquiry into, and taking cognisance of the truth of these accusations, the pope gave a special commission, signed with his hand, to James Puteo, cardinal of St. Mary's, and afterwards of St. Simeon, to cite the said Thomas before him, and all such witnesses as should be needful, to come to a true knowledge of the archbishop's crimes: and accordingly to give the pope an account of all he should find. This he was to do in his own person, or to constitute any dignified person, abiding in these parts, to do the same. So the said cardinal appointed Brookes bishop of Gloucester, and some colleagues with him, to manage this commission in his stead. This Brookes, having been bishop Gardiner's chaplain, was probably nominated and recommended by the said Gardiner, as I do suppose he was the person that directed the whole managery of this process against the archbishop. And so Brookes, being now by this deputation the pope's subdelegate, proceeded in this cause, as was said before. In regard of the archbishop's citation to Rome, to answer there, and make his personal appearance before the pope, the letters executory say, *comparere non curaret*, as an aggravation of his crime, that "he took no care to appear;" (which was false;) and that therefore, as the said letters ran, the king and queen's proctors at Rome, named Peter Rouilius, and Anthony Massa de Gallesio, and Alexander Palentarius, the proctor of the pope's treasury, had sued, that contumacy might be definitively pronounced against the said Thomas Cranmer, being cited and not appearing. Therefore, "He, pope Paul IV, sitting in the throne of justice, and having before his eyes God alone, who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth the world in righteousness, did make this definitive sentence, pronouncing and decreeing the said Thomas

Cranmer to be found guilty of the crimes of heresy and other excesses, to be wholly unmindful of the health of his soul, to go against the rules and ecclesiastical doctrines of the holy fathers, and against the apostolical traditions of the Roman church and sacred councils, and the rites of the Christian religion hitherto used in the church; especially against the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, and holy orders; by thinking and teaching otherwise than the holy mother church preacheth and observeth; and by denying the primacy and authority of the apostolic see; and against the processions, which every year, on Corpus Christi day, were wont to be celebrated by the pope's predecessors." Mention also is made of his "bringing again in the heresy abjured by Berengarius, of his believing the false and heretical doctrines of Wicklif and Luther, those arch heretics: printing of books of that nature, and publishing them, and defending those doctrines in public disputations, and that before his sub-delegate, and persisting herein with obstinacy. Therefore the pope excommunicated him, and deprived him of his archbishopric, and all other places and privileges whatsoever, and adjudged him to be delivered over to the secular court, and all his goods to be confiscate. And the pope absolved all persons from any oath of fidelity given to Cranmer, and imposed perpetual silence upon him. And moreover, upon the instance of the abovesaid proctors, commanded the bishops of London^y and Ely^z to degrade him, and so to deliver him over to the secular court. This bore date December 14."

In obedience to these letters from Rome, the two bishops, the pope's delegates, came down to Oxford; and, sitting in the choir of Christ's Church, before the high altar, the said commissional letters were read: wherein it

The pope's
letters read.

^y [Edmund Boner.]

^z [Thomas Thirlby.]

was specified, "That all things were indifferently examined on both parties, and counsel heard as well on the king's and queen's behalf, who were Cranmer's accusers, as on the behalf of Cranmer, so that he wanted nothing to his necessary defence." Whereat the archbishop could not but exclaim (while these things were reading) against such manifest lies, "That, (as he said,) when he was continually in prison, and could never be suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, he should produce witness, and appoint his counsel at Rome. God must needs punish (added he) this open and shameless lying."

They de-
grade him.

But this command of degrading our archbishop was presently proceeded upon^a: Thomas Thirlby^b, bishop of Ely, his old friend, infinitely beforetime obliged by the archbishop, shed many tears at the doing of it. So that Cranmer, moved at it, was fain to comfort him, and told him, he was well contented with it. So they appareled the archbishop in all the garments and ornaments of an archbishop; only in mockery every thing was of canvas, and old clouts. And the crosier was put into his hand. And then he was, piece by piece, stript of all again. When they began to take away his pall, he asked them, "Which of them had a pall, to take away his pall? They then answered, acknowledging they were his inferiors, as bishops; but, as they were the pope's delegates, they might take away his pall." While they were thus spoiling him of all his garments, he told them, "That it needed not; for that he had done with this gear long ago." While this was doing, Boner made a triumphant
376 speech against the poor archbishop. But when they came to take away his crosier, he held it fast, and would not

^a [For "the form of degrading ed. Lond. 1583.]
an archbishop," see Foxe's Acts
and Monuments, pp. 2133-2135.

^b [See vol. i. p. 205. n. r.]

deliver it: but pulled out an appeal out of his left sleeve under his wrist, and said, "I appeal unto the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cause, and the form of it, which I desire may be admitted." And prayed divers times to the standers by to be witnesses, naming them by their names. This appeal is preserved in Foxe, which is well worthy the reading^c.

The archbishop was all along ill dealt with in divers respects in this his process, which himself was well sensible of. One was, that he had desired the court, that, considering he was upon his life, he might have the use of proctors, advocates, and lawyers. But they would allow him none. After the court, wherein Brooks was subdelegate, had done, they promised him that he should see his answers to sixteen articles, that they had laid against him; that he might correct, amend, and change them, where he thought good. And that promise they performed not. And so entered his answers upon record, though his answer was not made upon oath, nor reserved, nor made *in judicio*, but *extra judicium*. Which Cranmer made a protest of: but not to the bishop of Gloucester, as judge, whom he would not own; but to the king's and queen's proctors, Martin and Story. To them, for these reasons, he wrote a letter, "that he trusted they would deal sincerely with him, without fraud or craft, and use him as they would wish to be used in the like case themselves: bidding them remember, that with what measure they mete, it should be measured to them again^d."

^c [For "the tenor of the appeal of the archbishop of Canterbury from the pope to the next general council," see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1882, 1883. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^d [The following is the letter of abp. Cranmer to Drs. Martin and Story.

"I have me commended unto you; and, as I promised, I have sent my letters unto the queen's

The reasons
of his ap-
peal.

Therefore, to make himself some amends for all this foul dealing, his last refuge was an appeal: whereof he seriously bethought himself when, and in what manner, to make it. The causes for his resolving upon it, besides those already mentioned, were, because he remembered Luther once did so in such a case; and that he might not seem rashly to cast away his own life; and because he was bound by his oath never to receive the pope's authority in this realm; and because the commissioners had broken their promise with him, as above was said; and because he thought the bishop of Rome was not an indifferent judge in this cause, which was his own cause:

majesty unsigned, praying you to sign them, and deliver them with all speed. I might have sent them by the carrier sooner, but not surer: but hearing M. Bailiff say, that he would go to the court on Friday, I thought him a meeter messenger to send my letters by; for better is later and surer, than sooner and never to be delivered. Yet one thing I have written to the queen's majesty enclosed and sealed, which I require you may be so delivered without delay, and not to be opened until it be delivered into her grace's own hands. I have written all that I remember I said, except that which I spake against the bishop of Gloucester's own person, which I thought not meet to write. And in some places I have written more than I said, which I would have answered to the bishop, if you would have suffered me.

"You promised I should see mine answer to the sixteen arti-

cles, that I might correct, amend, and change them, where I thought good: which your promise you kept not. And mine answer was not made upon my oath, nor repeated; nor made *in judicio*, but *extra judicium*, as I protested; nor to the bishop of Gloucester as judge, but to you the king's and queen's proctors. I trust you deal sincerely with me, without fraud or craft, and use me as you would wish to be used in like case yourselves. Remember, that *qua mensura mensi fueritis, eadem remetietur vobis*, i. e. 'what measure you mete, the same shall be measured to you again.' Thus fare you well, and God send you his Spirit to induce you into all truth." [Sep. 1555.]—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1892. ed. Lond. 1583; and Jenkyns's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 367. Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 446, 7. Park. Soc. Ed.]

for all the archbishop's troubles came upon him for departing from him. He therefore wrote privately to a trusty friend, and learned in the law, then in the university, to instruct him in the order and form of an appeal: and whether he should first appeal from the judge delegate to the pope, or else from that judge immediately to a general council: and so earnestly entreated him to lay aside all other studies, and to take this in hand presently, because he was summoned to make his answer at Rome, the sixteenth day of this month, that is, of February. There was one reason more moved him to appeal, which must not be omitted, namely, that he might gain time to finish his answer to Marcus Antonius. "He feared, after all, they would not admit his appeal. But he did not much pass, and desired God's will might be done: so that God might be glorified by his life or death. He thought it much better to die in Christ's quarrel, than to be shut in the prison of the body, unless it were for the advancement of God's glory, and the profit of his brethren." This letter of the archbishop, being writ with so much strength and presence of mind, and shewing so much prudence and wit, is happily preserved in Foxe's Monuments, where it may be read^e.

^e [The following is abp. Cranmer's letter to a lawyer :

"Naturæ lex hoc ab omnibus postulat, ut quatenus citra divina numinis injuriam fieri potest, quisque vitam tueatur suam. Quod cum tribus abhinc diebus mihi in mentem venisset, simulque memoriæ occurrisset appellatio Martini Lutheri a Leone Decimo ad concilium generale, constitui et ipse concilium generale legitimum et liberum appellare, ne

temere et inconsulto vitam proderem meam. Verum cum appellationis materia ad legisperitos spectet, cujus ego ignarus sum, cumque Lutheri appellatio ad manum mihi non sit: decrevi amico alicui fido et jurisperito, consilium meum hac in re pandere, cujus opera in hoc negotio uterer: ac tu quidem unus occurristi, qui mihi in hac academia visus est ad hoc munus idoneus. Sed summam hæc res taciturnitatem postu-

He presseth
his appeal.

This appeal, when the archbishop had produced and preferred to the bishop of Ely, he told him, "That they

lat, ut antequam res fiat, nemo resciscat. Dies mihi dictus est ut respondeam Romæ decimo sexto hujus mensis, ante quem mihi provocandum esse puto, ac post sententiam appellandum. Sed an primum mihi provocandum et appellandum sit a iudice delegato ad ipsum pontificem, ac deinde ad concilium generale, an omisso pontifice ad concilium primum appellandum sit, consilio mihi opus est tuo.

"Porro appellationis causæ mihi multæ sunt.

"Primo quod juramento astrictus sim, nunquam me consensurum in auctoritatem Romani pontificis.

"Deinde cum ego respondere omnino renuerem ad articulos mihi objectos ab episcopo Gloucestrensi iudice delegato, responderam tamen Doctori Martino et Storeo cum hac protestatione, quod responsio mea non daretur iudici neque in iudicio, sed extrajudicialis esset, et post responsum datum petebam responsionis meæ copiam, ut eandem mihi emendare liceret, vel addendo, vel mutando, vel subtrahendo: quantum hæc mihi promissa sunt, et a Gloucestrensi et a procuratoribus regis et reginæ, omnino tamen fefellerunt fidem, non dantes emendandæ responsionis meæ copiam, et nihilominus (ut audio) inter acta judicialia adscripserunt.

"Postremo, cum causa defec-

tionis a Romano pontifice et papistica religione in jus vocor, ut jam mihi lis sit adversus pontificem Romanum, et nemo æquus iudex sit in causa propria, æquum mihi videtur ut concilium appellem, præsertim cum jus naturæ (ut aiunt) appellationis remedium nemini negandum censeat.

Jam cum ad hanc rem maxima taciturnitate opus sit, si forsitan ob rerum imperitiam aliorum consiliis tibi opus sit, obtestor tum te per Christianam fidem ac charitatem, ut cujus causa sit, nemini significes. Et cum jam instet tempus, et mature opus sit facto, hoc me sinas a te impetrare, ut sepositis aliis studiis atque negotiis, huic uni incumbas quousque perfeceris. Potissima sane appellationis meæ causa est, ut (si ita Deus voluerit) donetur eousque vivendi tempus, quousque cœptum contra Marcum Antonium Constantium responsum absolvero. Quod si veritatis hostes meæ appellationi deferre nolint, (quod existimo,) fiat voluntas Dei, susque deque fero, modo glorificetur Deus, sive per vitam, sive per mortem. Melius est enim multo mori pro Christo et cum illo regnare, quam in hoc carnis ergastulo concludi, nisi in fratrum utilitatem ad majorem Dei gloriam propagandam liceat aliquandiu militare; cui sit omnis gloria in ævum. Amen.

"Est et alia appellationis causa

could not admit of it, because their commission was to proceed against him, *omni appellatione remota.*" Cranmer replied, "That this cause was not every private man's cause, but that it was between the pope and him immediately, and none otherwise: and that no man ought to be judge in his own cause. And therefore they did him the more wrong." So at last Thirlby received it of him, and said, if it might be admitted, it should.

And so, after this interruption, they proceeded to degrade him, taking off the rest of his habits; and then put him on a poor yeoman bedel's gown, threadbare, and a townsman's cap. And Boner told him, "He was no lord any more:" and so was sent to prison.

quod cum Romam vocatus sim illic dicturus causam, interim carere detineor, ut comparere mihi ad dictum diem non liceat. Cum autem de statu et vita mea agitur, et pro defensione mea jurisperitorum consilio mihi opus esset, quum id peterem, negatum est omne advocatorum, procuratorum, et jurisconsultorum consi-

lium et auxilium. Vale." [Nov. 1555.]—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, first ed. p. 1492; p. 1892. ed. Lond. 1583. Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, pp. 15-18. ed. Lond. 1844; Jenkyns' Cranmer, vol. i. p. 384; and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 455, 56. Park. Soc. ed.]

CHAPTER XX.

CRANMER WRITES TO THE QUEEN.

Writes two letters to the queen. [Appendix, Number LXXX-VIII.**] AND now, having undergone these brunts with all this gravity, discretion, learning, and courage, he next resolved to give the queen a true and impartial account of these transactions, to prevent misreports, and to justify himself in what he had said and done. Two letters therefore he wrote to her, but thought not fit to entrust them with the commissioners, since Weston had served him such a trick in the like case before. In these letters he related the reason of his refusing the bishop of Gloucester^a for his judge, and of his appeal. For as he thought it his duty, at that juncture, to declare himself in that public manner against the bishop of Rome, so he reckoned he ought to declare himself also to the supreme magistrate. And therefore, before the bishop of Gloucester, and the commissioners, he said, “That as he had thus discharged his own conscience towards the world, so he would also write his mind to her grace touching this matter.”

The contents of the first.

He wrote to her, “That the twelfth day of that month he was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after. And that it could not but grieve the heart of a natural subject to be accused by the king and queen of his own country, and before any outward judge: as if the king and queen were subjects within their own realm, and were fain to complain and require justice at a stranger’s hand against their own subject, being already condemned to

^a [James Brookes.]

death by their own laws. As though the king and queen could not have or do justice within their own realm, against their own subjects; but they must seek it at a stranger's hand, in a strange land."

Then he proceeded to shew her, why he refused the pope's authority, when Brooks bishop of Gloucester came to try him; namely, "Because he was sworn never to 378 consent that the bishop of Rome should have or exercise any authority or jurisdiction in the realm of England. Another reason why he denied his authority, was, because his authority repugned to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the same. For the pope saith, all manner of power, both temporal and spiritual, is given unto him of God: and that temporal power is given to kings and emperors to use it under him. Whereas, contrary to this claim, (said the archbishop,) the imperial crown of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under him only, and is subject to none but God alone.

"Moreover, to the imperial laws of this realm all the kings in their coronations, and all justices, when they receive their offices, are sworn, and all the whole realm bound to defend them. But, contrary hereunto, the pope," he said, "made void, and commanded to blot out of our books, all laws and customs repugnant to his laws.

"Then he proceeded to shew, how contrary the laws of the realm and the pope's laws were. And therefore, that the kings of this realm had provided for their laws by the *præmunire*. So that, if any man let the execution of the law, by any authority from the see of Rome, he fell into the *præmunire*. And, to meet with this, the popes had provided for their law by cursing.

"He supposed that these things were not fully opened in the parliament house, when the pope's authority was

received again: for, if they were, he could not believe that the king and queen, the nobles and commons, would again receive a foreign authority, so hurtful and prejudicial to the crown, and to the laws and state of this realm. He rebuked the clergy, who were the main movers of this at the parliament, for their own ends. For they desired to have the pope their chief head, to the intent that they might have, as it were, a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown; and live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear of any man. And then he glanced at some of the clergy, [probably meaning Thirlby, Hethe, Toustal, &c.] that they held their peace for this consideration, though they knew this well enough: who, if they had done their duty to the crown and realm, should have opened their mouths at this time, and shewn the peril and danger that might ensue to the crown hereby.

“Another cause he urged to the queen, why he could not allow the pope’s authority, was, because he subverted not only the laws of the nation, but the laws of God. So that, whosoever be under his authority, he suffered them not to be under Christ’s religion purely. For proof of which he gave these instances. God’s will and commandment is, that, when the people be gathered together to serve God, the ministers should use such a language as the people might understand, and take profit thereby. For God said by the mouth of St. Paul, As a harp or lute, if it give no certain sound, that men may know what is stricken, who can dance after it? it is but in vain. So
379 it is in vain, profiteth nothing, if the priest speak to the people in a language they know not. And whereas, when he urged this to the commissioners, they told him, That that place respected preaching only. He told the

queen, That St. Paul's words meant it not only of preaching, for that he spake expressly of praying, singing, and giving thanks, and of all other things, which the priests say in the churches. And so," he said, "all interpreters, Greek and Latin, old and new, school authors, and others, that he had read, understood it: till about thirty years past, Eckius, and others of his sort, began to invent this new exposition. And so," he said, "all the best learned divines, that met at Windsor 1549, for the reformation of the church, both of the new learning and the old, agreed without controversy, (not one opposing,) that the service of the church ought to be in the mother tongue; and that that place of St. Paul was so to be understood.

"Again, Christ ordained the sacrament to be received of Christian people, under both forms of bread and wine, and said, *Drink ye all of this*. The pope gives a clean contrary command, That no layman shall drink of the cup of their salvation. So that if he should obey the pope in these things, he must needs disobey his Saviour."

Again, "He instanced in the pope's taking upon him to give the temporal sword to kings and princes, and to depose them from their imperial states, if they were disobedient to him; and in commanding subjects to disobey their princes: assoiling them as well from their obedience, as their lawful oaths made unto them; directly contrary to God's commandment, that commandeth all subjects to obey their kings, and their rulers under them.

"Then he spake of the superiority the pope claimed above kings and emperors, and making himself universal bishop. And how his flatterers told him he might dispense against God's word, both against the Old and New Testament: and that whatsoever he did, though he drew

innumerable people by heaps with himself to hell, yet might no mortal man reprove him ; because he is the judge of all men, and might be judged by no man. And thus he sat in the temple of God, as he were a God, and named himself God, and dispensed against God. If this were not," he said, "to play antichrist's part, he knew not what antichrist was ; that is, Christ's enemy and adversary. Now," added he, "until the time that such a person may be found, men might easily conjecture where to find antichrist.

"He took God to record, that what he spake against the power and authority of the pope, he spake it not for any malice he ought to the pope's person, whom he knew not ; nor for fear of punishment, or to avoid the same ; thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate, than to diminish the same : but for his most bounden duty to the crown, liberty, laws, and customs of this realm of England ; and most especially to discharge his conscience, in uttering the truth to God's glory, casting away all fear by the comfort which he had in Christ ; who saith, *Fear not them that kill the body.*"

380 As touching the sacrament, he said, "That forasmuch as the whole matter stood in the understanding those words of Christ, *This is my body ; This is my blood* : he told the commissioners, that Christ in those words made demonstration of the bread and wine, and spake figuratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood ; because he ordained them to be sacraments of his body and blood. And he told them, he would be judged by the old church, which doctrine could be proved elder ; and that he would stand to. And that, forasmuch as he had urged in his book Greek and Latin authors, which above a thousand years continually taught as he did ; if they could

bring forth but one old author that said in these two points as they said, he offered six or seven years ago, and offered so still, that he would give place.

“Then he shewed her how fond and uncomfortable the papists’ doctrine of the sacrament is : for of one body of Christ is made two bodies : one natural, having distance of members, with form and proportion of man’s perfect body ; and this body is in heaven. But the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must needs be a monstrous body, having neither distance of members, nor form, fashion or proportion of a man’s natural body. And such a body is in the sacrament, teach they, as goes into the mouth with the form of bread, and entered no further than the form of bread goes, nor tarrith no longer than the form of bread is by natural heat digesting : so that when the form of bread is digested, the body of Christ is gone. And what comfort,” said he, “can be herein to any Christian man, to receive Christ’s unshapen body, and it to enter no further than the stomach, and depart by and by as soon as the bread is consumed? It seemed to him a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ hath but one body, and that hath form and fashion of a man’s true body : which body spiritually entereth into the whole man, body and soul. And though the sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness, and never departeth until the receiver forsaketh him.

“That if it could be shewed him, that if the pope’s authority be not prejudicial to the things before mentioned ; or that his doctrine of the sacrament be erroneous, then he would never stand perversely in his own opinion, but with all humility submit himself to the pope, not only to kiss his feet, but another part also.

“For all these reasons he could not take the bishop of Gloucester for his judge, representing, as he did, this pope. But another reason was, in respect of his own person, being more than once perjured, having been divers times sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his successors for supreme heads thereof. And he was perjured again, in taking his bishopric both of the queen and the pope, making to each of them a solemn oath: which oaths be so contrary, that the one must needs be perjury. And further, in swearing to the pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, and ordinances, he declared himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws of the realm: whereby he shewed himself not worthy to sit as a judge in this realm.” This was the sum of this excellent letter of the archbishop to the queen.

The contents of his second letter.

He wrote another to her soon after: wherein he plainly told her, “That, at her coronation, she took an oath to the pope, to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, and privileges: and at the same time another oath to the kingdom, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. He prayed her to weigh both oaths, and see how they did agree; and then to do as her grace’s conscience should give her: for he was sure,” he said, “she would not willingly offend. He feared there were contradictions in her oaths, and that those that should have informed her majesty thoroughly, did not their duties herein. He complained that he was now kept from company of learned men, from books, from counsel, and from pen and ink, saving to write to her majesty at that time: and, as to his appearance at Rome,” he said, “if she would give him leave, he would appear there; and he

trusted God would put in his mouth to defend the truth there, as well as here."

These letters of his one of the bailiffs of Oxon carried up to the queen. Something else he wrote to her, enclosed and sealed; which he required Martyn and Story to be delivered without delay, and not to be opened until it were delivered unto her own hands^c. These and other of his smart and learned letters, no question, made impression upon the queen, or at least upon those that read them; for they were delivered by the queen to no less a person than the holy father cardinal Pole himself; who was advised to frame an answer to them.

So he wrote to the archbishop, in answer to one of them, a long letter, dated from St. James's, November 6, "wherein he pretended a great deal of compassion to his soul; which, he told him, was ready to be lost, as well as his body: and that the condemnation that was lately passed on him was so horrible to him to hear, that he testified to him before God, and upon the salvation of his soul, that he would rather choose to be the means of bringing him to repentance, than to receive the greatest benefit that could be given him under heaven in this world." Which the cardinal might say, to take off the odium of the suspicion, as though he hastened Cranmer's death, that he might jump into his place. And so the cardinal proceeded to attempt to convince him in the two great points of his letter; *viz.* concerning the authority of the pope, and concerning the sacrament of the altar: especially, because Cranmer had said in his letter, "that he would not be perverse, to stand wilfully in his own opinion, if any could shew him by reason that his doctrines were erroneous." But I refer the reader to the Appendix, if he be minded to read the cardinal's letter; which I met

The bailiff
of Oxford
carrieth his
letters.

Pole an-
swereth
them.

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^c [See above, p. 223. n. d.]

with among Foxe's manuscripts. By comparing of this letter of Pole's with that of Cranmer's, any one may see a mighty difference: strength, evidence, and conviction in the archbishop's, who had truth on his side; but a flashiness and debility in the cardinal's, made up of poor shifts 382 and weak arguings, and impertinent allegations of Scripture, and personal reflections, to help out a bad cause.

Some account of the cardinal's letter to Cranmer.

To mention some few of this sort. He charged the archbishop with covetousness and ambition in affecting the archbishopric: and then, by and by, not well remembering what he had said before, in his heat against the good archbishop, he gives a contrary reason thereof, namely, "That he might be in a capacity to reform the church according to his mind; and that it was for the sake of that, that he took an oath to the pope at his consecration, though he were fain to make a protestation against the said oath." He said in this letter, "That the archbishop's fall into error was not as the fall of others usually were, by frailty or curiosity, but by deliberate malice: and that the archbishop, by his protestation that he made before he took his oath to the pope, brake his oath, and was forsworn before he did swear." Which, methinks, is pretty strange. And concerning this protestation, he said, "It was a privy protestation, and that he had privy witnesses of it:" whereas it was done in the most open and public manner that could be, two or three times over, before public notaries, and by them entered on record, on purpose that all might take notice of it. And whereas the archbishop had said, "That it was much more probable that the bread and wine should be a figure, than the real body and blood:" the cardinal said, "The more probable it was, the more false; because the great sophister and father of lies deceived by probability of reason." The consequence whereof one would think

should be, the more improbable any opinion in religion was, the more true. "But," he said, "the true doctrine was taught another way. He represented the archbishop as challenging them of the other side to bring any one single doctor of the church, that ever spake in favour of transubstantiation;" leaving out, "for a thousand years next after Christ," which the archbishop expressly had said. And, in fine, every where he triumphed over the archbishop's "wilful blindness and ignorance;" and told him, in much charity, "That he was under the vengeance of God, a member of Satan, and damned." This, and a great deal more, may be seen in Pole's letter.

To which I might have added another letter of the said cardinal to the same archbishop, concerning the sacrament, a little after the disputation at Oxford, but that it would be too prolix, being a just treatise against Cranmer's book of that argument. This treatise bears this title:

REGINALDI POLI Cardinalis Legati Apostolici Epistola ad Thomam Cranmerum, qui Archiepiscopalem sedem Cantuariensis Ecclesie tenens, novam de Sacramento Eucharisticæ Doctrinam contra perpetuum Catholicæ Ecclesie consensum professus est, ac tradidit. Qua Epistola eum nec Magistrum tanti Mysterii, neque Discipulum idoneum esse posse; simulque unde hic ejus Error manarit, ostendit; et ad pœnitentiam hortatur.

[Appendix, Number LXXXIX.*]

CHAPTER XXI.

HE RECANTS, REPENTS, AND IS BURNT.

He recants. HAVING brought the archbishop unto his degradation and appeal, wherein he shewed so much Christian courage, wisdom and fortitude, I must now represent him making a great trip and a sad fall; and mention one of the greatest blemishes of his life. For now the popish party, thinking what a piece of glory it would be to gain this great man to their church, used all means, all arts, as well as arguments, to bring him to recant. They set the doctors of the university upon him. He was entertained at the dean of Christ's Church his lodging: there they treated him with good fare. They got him to bowls with them. They let him have his pleasure in taking the air. Sometimes they accosted him with arguments and disputations: sometimes by flatteries, promises, and threatenings. They told him, "the noblemen bare him good will: that his return would be highly acceptable to the king and queen. That he should enjoy his former dignity in the church; or, if it liked him better, he should lead a quiet life in more privacy: and that it was but setting his name in two words in a piece of paper. They told him, the queen was resolved to have Cranmer a Catholic, or no Cranmer at all. That he was still lusty and strong, and might live many a year more, if he would not willingly cut off his own life by the terrible death of burning." He rejected these temptations a long while, but at

last was overcome and yielded ^a. The recantation I shall

^a [“ In this mean time, while the archbishop was thus remaining in durance, (whom they had kept now in prison almost the space of three years,) the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves all that ever they could, about M. Cranmer, to have him recant, assaying by all crafty practices and allurements they might devise how to bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent they might win him easily, they had him to the dean’s house of Christ’s Church in the same university, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, secretly and sleightly they suborned certain men, which when they could not expunge him by arguments and disputation, should by entreaty and fair promises, or any other means, allure him to recantation; perceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the archbishop had stood stedfast in his sentence; and again on the other side, how great profit they should get, if he, as the principal standard bearer, should be overthrown. By reason whereof the wily papists flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, intreating and promising, and all other means; especially Henry Sydal, and friar John, a Spaniard, de Villa Garcia, to the end to drive him

to the uttermost of their possibility, from his former sentence to recantation. First, they set forth how acceptable it would be both to the king and queen, and especially how gainful to him, and for his soul’s health, the same should be. They added, moreover, how the council, and the noblemen bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity, saying, it was but a small matter, and so easy that they required him to do, only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hand, which if he did, there should be nothing in the realm, that the queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity, or else if he had rather live a private life in quiet rest, in whatsoever place he listed without all public ministry, only that he would set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper; but if he refused, there was no hope of health and pardon; for the queen was so purposed, that she would have Cranmer a catholic, or else no Cranmer at all: therefore he should choose whether he thought it better to end his life shortly in the flames and firebrands now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his life, until the course of nature did call for him, for there was no middle way. Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to

not repeat, it being to be seen at large in Foxe. It was signed by his hand. The witnesses thereunto were two or three, who had been exceedingly busy in tampering with him: one Sydal^b, (a great professor in the last reign,) and John and Richard, two Spanish friars.

Notwith-
standing,
his burning
is ordered.

The doctors and prelates caused this recantation speedily to be printed and dispersed. When the queen saw his subscription, she was glad of it, but would not alter her determination to have him burned; by the instigation, as

his wealth, his estimation, and quietness, saying, that he was not so old, but that many years yet remained in this his so lusty age; and if he would not do it in respect of the queen, yet he should do it for respect of his life, and not suffer that other men should be more careful for his health than he was himself; saying that this was agreeable to his notable learning, and virtues, which being adjoined with his life, would be profitable, both to himself, and to many others: but being extinct by death, should be fruitful to no man; that he should take good heed that he went not too far, yet there was time enough to restore all things safe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they would him to lay hold upon the occasion of his health while it was offered, lest if he would now refuse it while it was offered, he might hereafter seek it, when he could not have it. Finally, if the desire of his life did nothing move him, yet he should remember that to die is grievous in all ages, and especi-

ally in these his years and flower of dignity it were more grievous; but to die in the fire and such torments, as is most grievous of all. With these and like provocations these fair flatterers ceased not to solicit and urge him, using all means they could to draw him to their side, whose force his manly constancy did a great while resist. But at last, when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the archbishop being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind, I cannot tell, but at length gave his hand. It might be supposed, that it was done for the hope of life, and better days to come. But as we may since perceive by a letter of his sent to a lawyer, the most cause why he desired his time to be delayed was, that he would make an end of Marcus Antonius, which he had already begun; but howsoever it was, plain it was, to be against his conscience."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1884. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^b [See vol. ii. p. 157. n. f.]

I suppose, of Pole the legate^c: the writ for which was sent down by Hethe, lord chancellor, in the latter end of February, under the broad seal. It was charged upon his converters, that they were negligent in procuring his life from the queen: but the true reason was, the queen was resolved not to grant it. She privately gave instruction to Cole^d to prepare a sermon to preach at his burning: and several lords, and other justices of the peace in those parts, were ordered to attend there, with their servants and retinue, to keep peace, and to see him executed. Cole coming with his errand to Oxon, visited him in the prison, and asked him if he stood firm to what he had subscribed? This was the day before his execution; but saying nothing to him of his determined death. The next day, being the day he was to be burned, *viz.* March 21, he came again, and asked him if he had any money? And, having none, he gave him certain crowns to bestow to what poor he would; and so departed, exhorting him to constancy. But the disconsolate archbishop perceived 384 what this tended: and, being by and by to be brought to St. Mary's, (where Cole was to preach,) there openly to confess what he had more privately subscribed, he resolved with himself to disburden his conscience, and to revoke his recantation. And he prepared a prayer, and a declaration of his faith, which he drew up in writing, and carried it privately along with him, to make use of it when he saw his occasion^e. The manner how he behaved

^c [See Wharton's Observations at the end of this volume.]

^d [See vol. ii. p. 157. n. h.]

^e [The "recantation" of the archbishop was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted and set

abroad in all men's hands. Whereunto for better credit, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemn subscription; then followed the witnesses of this recantation, Henry Sydal, and friar John de Villa Garcina. All this while Cranmer was in no

himself after Cole's sermon, and how he delivered his last

certain assurance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the doctors: but after that they had their purpose, the rest they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to do. The queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly: but of her purpose to put him to death, she would nothing relent. Now was Cranmer's cause in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries. Besides this, on the one side was praise, on the other side scorn; on both sides danger, so that neither he could die honestly, nor yet dishonestly live. And whereas he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evil men the note of dissimulation. In the mean time, while these things were adoin (as I said) in the prison among the doctors: the queen taking secret counsel how to despatch Cranmer out of the way, (who as yet knew nothing of her secret hate, and looked for nothing less than death,) appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him commandment, that against the 21 of March, he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning, and so instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and

pleasure in that behalf, sendeth him away. Soon after the lord Williams of Thame, and the lord Chandois, sir Thomas Bridges, and sir John Browne were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices, commanded, in the queen's name, to be at Oxford at the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should raise there any tumult. Cole, the doctor, having this lesson given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to Oxford, ready to play his part, who, as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prison to Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith, wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had answered, that by God's grace he would be daily more confirmed in the catholic faith, Cole departing for the time, the next day following repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared; and therefore in the morning, which was the 21 day of March, appointed for Cranmer's execution, the said Cole coming to him, asked if he had any money. To whom, when he answered that he had none, he delivered him fifteen crowns to give to the poor, to whom he would; and so exhorting him so much as he could to constancy in faith, departed thence about his business, as to his sermon apper-

mind, and with what bitterness and tears he did it; and how he was pulled down by the scholars, priests, and friars, with the greatest indignation at this their disappointment; and how he was led out of the church forthwith to the place of burning, over against Balliol college; and how he there first put his right hand into the flames to be consumed, for that base subscription that it made; and how his heart was found whole and unconsumed in the ashes, after he was burnt: these, and the rest of the particulars of his martyrdom, I might leave to Foxe, and other historians from him, to relate^f.

Yet, because it is not convenient so briefly to pass over such a remarkable scene of his life, being his last appearance upon the stage of this world, I shall represent it in the words of a certain grave person unknown, but a papist, who was an eye and ear witness, and related these matters,

A letter from Oxford concerning Cranmer's death.

tained. By this partly, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to surmise what they went about. Then, because the day was not far past, and the lords and the knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish friar, witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument with the articles, with his own hand, and sign it with his name; which, when he had done, the said friar desired that he would write another copy thereof, which should remain with him, and that he did also. But

yet the archbishop, being not ignorant whereunto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand, in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he put secretly in his bosom his prayer with his exhortation, written on another paper, which he minded to recite to the people before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing lest if they had heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterward have suffered him to exhort the people."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1884, 5, ed. Lond. 1583.]

^f [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1885-1888.]

as it seems, very justly, in a letter from Oxon to his friend. Which is as followeth :

Inter Foxii
MSS.^g

“ But that I know for our great friendship, and long continued love, you look even of duty that I should signify to you of the truth of such things as here chanceth among us ; I would not at this time have written to you the unfortunate end, and doubtful tragedy, of T. C. late bishop of Canterbury : because I little pleasure take in beholding of such heavy sights. And, when they are once overpassed, I like not to rehearse them again ; being but a renewing of my woe, and doubling my grief. For although his former life, and wretched end, deserves a greater misery, (if any greater might have chanced than chanced unto him,) yet, setting aside his offences to God and his country, and beholding the man without his faults, I think there was none that pitied not his case, and bewailed^h not his fortune, and feared not his own chance, to see so noble a prelate, so grave a counsellor, of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life. I have no delight to increase it. Alas, it is too much of itself, that ever so heavy a case should betide to man, and man to deserve it.

Cranmer
brought to
St. Mary’s.

“ But to come to the matter : on Saturday last, being 21 of Marchⁱ, was his day appointed to die. And because the morning was much rainy, the sermon appointed by Mr. Dr. Cole to be made at the stake, was made in St.

^g [Harl. MSS. 422. Plut. lxxv. E. fol. 48—52. British Museum. Original ; from which the text of Strype has been corrected for this edition. This document is thus described at the head of the MSS :

“ Archbp. Cranmer’s death related by a by-stander.”]

^h [“ not,” omitted by Strype.]

ⁱ [“ Being the 21st of March.” —Strype.]

Mary's church: whither Dr. Cranmer was brought by the mayor and aldermen, and my lord Williams^k: with whom came divers gentlemen of the shire, sir T. A. Bridges, sir John Browne, and others. Where was prepared, over against the pulpit, an high place for him, that 385 all the people might see him. And, when he had ascended it, he kneeled^l [him] down and prayed, weeping tenderly: which moved a great number to tears, that had conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance.

“Then Mr. Cole began his sermon. The sum whereof Cole's
sermon. was this. First, he declared^m causes why it was expedient that he should suffer, notwithstanding his reconciliation. The chief are these. One was, for that he had been a great cause of all this alteration in this realm of England. And, when the matter of the divorce between king Henry VIII. and queen Katharine was commenced in the court of Rome, he, having nothing to do with it, set upon it as judge, which was the entry to all the inconveniences that followed. Yet in that he excused him, that he thought he did it not of malice, but by the persuasions and advice of certain learned men. Another was, that he had been the great setter forth of all this heresy received into the church in this last time; had written in it, had disputed, had continued it, even to the last hour: and that it had never been seen in this realm (but in the time of schism) that any man continuing so long hath been pardoned: and that it was not to be remitted for ensample's sake. Other causes he alleged, but these were the chief, why it was not thought good to pardon him. Other causes beside, he said, moved the queen

^k [See above, vol. ii. p. 198. n. z.]

^m [“First declared causes.”—Harl. MS.]

^l [“Kneeled down.”—Strype.]

and the council thereto, which were not meet and convenient for every one to understand them.

“The second part touched the audience, how they should consider this thing: that they should hereby take example to fear God; and that there was no power against the Lord: having before their eyes a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates of the church, an archbishop, the chief of the council, the second peer in the realm of long time: a man, as might be thought, in greatest assurance, a king of his side; notwithstanding all his authority and defence to be debased from an high estate to a low degree; of a counsellor to be a caitiff; and to be set in so wretched estate, that the poorest wretch would not change conditions with him.

Turns his
speech to
Cranmer.

“The last and end appertained unto him: whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture. And with these, and such, bidding him nothing mistrust but he should incontinently receive that the thief did: to whom Christ said, *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso*. And out of St. Paul armed him against the terrors of the fire, by this; *Dominus fidelis est: Non sinet vos tentari ultra quam ferre potestis*: by the example of the three children; to whom God made the flame seem like a pleasant dew. He added hereunto the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross; the patience of St. Laurence on the fire: ascertaining him, that God, if he called on him, and to such as die in his faith, either will abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it. He glorified God much in his conversion; because it appeared to be only his work: declaring what travel and conference had beenⁿ with him to convert him, 386 and all prevailed not, till it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which

ⁿ [“Had been used with him.”—Strype.]

place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doing.

“ And I had almost forgotten to tell you, that Mr. Cole promised him, that he should be prayed for in every church in Oxford, and should have mass and *Dirige* sung for him; and spake to all the priests present to say mass for his soul.

“ When he had ended his sermon, he desired all the people to pray for him: Mr. Cranmer kneeling down with them, and praying for himself. I think there was never such a number so earnestly praying together. For they, that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion, and hope of continuance. They that loved him before could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion of every side^o.

“ I shall not need, for the time of sermon, to describe his behaviour, his sorrowful countenance, his heavy cheer, his face bedewed with tears; sometime lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, sometime casting them down to the earth for shame; to be brief, an image of sorrow: the dolour of his heart bursting out at his eyes in plenty of tears: retaining ever a quiet and grave behaviour. Which increased the pity in men’s hearts, that they unfeignedly loved him, hoping it had been his repentance for his transgression and error. I shall not need, I say, to point it out unto you; you can much better imagine it yourself.

“ When praying was done, he stood up, and, having leave to speak, said, Good people, I had intended indeed to desire you to pray for me; which because Mr. Doctor hath desired, and you have done already, I thank you most heartily for it. And now will I pray for myself, as

^o [“ Devotion on every side.”—Strype.]

I could best devise for mine own comfort, and say the prayer, word for word, as I have here written it. And he read it standing: and after kneeled down, and said the Lord's Prayer; and all the people on their knees devoutly praying with him^q. His prayer was thus^r:

He prayeth. "O FATHER of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O [God] ^sHoly Ghost, proceeding from them both, three Persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched caitiff, and miserable sinner: who^t have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously than any tongue can express, whither then may I go, or whither should I fly for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I find no refuge [or succour^x.] What shall I then do? shall I despair? God for-

^p ["And read it."—Harl.MSS.]

^q [Two other forms of this address of abp. Cranmer to the people are given in the MS. besides that in the text above; they are as follows: "Cranmer's words before his death.—Good people I intended to desire you to pray for me, which because Mr. doctor hath desired, and you have done already, I thank you most heartily for it. And now will I pray for myself, as I could best devise for my own comfort; and standing read out of his paper this prayer; (the prayer followeth), kneeling."—fol. 50. "My dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ,—Good Christian people, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me unto Almighty God, that he will pardon me, and forgive me all my sins, and offences, which be many without number, and great with-

out measure; but how many and great soever they be, I beseech you to pray to God of his mercy to pardon me and forgive me all. Then kneeled he down and said."—fol. 51. b.]

^r [The words, "his prayer was thus," are not found in the MS.: they are added by the author to connect the circumstances, inasmuch as the form of prayer is given after the words quoted in the foregoing note from fol. 51. b. at the end of the MS.]

^s ["O Holy Ghost."—Strype.]

^t ["Sinner, I who have offended."—Strype. "I" has been inserted in the MS. above "who" evidently by another hand, and of a different formation to the character used throughout by the writer.]

^x [The words "or succour" are omitted by Strype.]

bid. O good God, thou art merciful, and refuseth none that cometh^y unto thee for succour. To thee therefore do I run. To thee do I humble myself: saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. O God the Son, thou wast not made, this great mystery was not wrought, [that^z God became man,] for few or small offences. Nor thou didst not give thy Son unto death, (O God the Father,) for our little and small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world: so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart: 387 as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. For although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be glorified thereby: and for thy dear son Jesus Christ's sake. And now therefore, Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

“ [aAnd] then rising, he said, Every man desireth, good ^{His words before his death.} people, at the time of their deaths, to give some good exhortation, that other may remember after their deaths, and be the better thereby. So I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something, at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

^y [“That come unto thee.”—*Strype.*]

^z [“O God the Son, thou wast not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for few.”—*Strype.*]

^a [“Then rising,” *Strype.*—After the words above,—“the people on their knees devoutly praying with him,”—the MS. thus proceeds; “Then rising up,

exhorted the people in form following, (the enclosed) which containeth three points.”—*Strype* has here inserted this enclosed exhortation, to render the facts continuous, and resumes the narrative of the letter lower down, by inserting the words, “so that his speech contained chiefly,” instead of “which containeth,”—as in the MS.]

“First, It is an heavy case to see, that many folks be so much doted upon the love of this false world, and so careful for it, that on^b the love of God, or the love of the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing therefore. This shall be my first exhortation; that you set not over much by this false glosing world, but upon God and the world to come: and learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, *That the love of this world is hatred against God.*

“The second exhortation is, That, next unto God, you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmur or grudging; and not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God: knowing that they be God’s ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you. And therefore whoso resisteth them, resisteth God’s ordinance.

“The third exhortation is, That you love all together like brethren and sistern. For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man hath to another: not taking each other as sisters and brothers; but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson, To do good to all men as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural and loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder^c him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God’s favour.

“The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, That they will

^b [“That or the love.” —
Strype.]

^c [“To hinder or hurt him.”
—Strype.]

well consider and weigh those sayings of the Scripture.

One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, *It is hard* He quoted also a third place out of James against covetous rich men; Weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you; your riches doth rot, your clothes be moth eaten, your gold and silver is cankered, &c. *for a rich man to enter into heaven*: a sore saying, and yet spoken^d by him that knew the truth. The second is of St. John, whose saying is this, *He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say, he loveth God?* Much more might I speak of every part; but time sufficeth not. I do but put you in remembrance of things. Let all them that be rich, ponder well these^e sentences: for if ever they had any occasion to shew their charity, they have now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear. (For though I have been long in prison, yet I have heard of the great penury of the poor^f.) Consider, that that which is given to the poor, is given to God: whom we have not otherwise present corporally with us, but in the poor. 388

“And now, for so much as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life passed, and my life to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ in heaven, in joy, or else to be in pain ever with wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe, without colour or dissimulation: for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have written in times past.

“First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, &c. and every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his apostles, and prophets, in the Old and New Testament.

^d [“Yet spoke by him.”— Strype.]

Strype.]

^f [These words are not found

^e [“Those sentences.”— in the MS.]

Confesseth
his dissem-
bling.

“And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life: and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth. Which here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written^g for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all such bills, which I have written or signed with mine own hand since my degradation: wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished^h [therefore]: for if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ’s enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

“And here, being admonished of his recantation and dissembling, heⁱ said, Alas, my lord, I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth; which I am most sorry for^k [it.] He added hereunto, that, for the sacrament, he believed as he had taught in his book against the bishop of Winchester. And here he was suffered to speak no more.

His reply
to my lord
Williams.

“So that his speech contained chiefly three points, love to God, love to the king, and love to the neighbour. In the which talk he held men very suspense, which all depended upon the conclusion^l: where[in] he so far deceived all men’s expectations, that, at the hearing thereat, they were much amazed; and let him go on a while, till my lord Williams bad him play the Christen man, and re-

^g [“And writ for fear.”—
Strype.]

^h [“Be punished.”—Strype.]

ⁱ [“Dissembling said.”—
Harl. MS.]

^k [“Sorry for.”—Strype.]

^l [“Which all depended upon
the conclusion. Where he.”—
Strype.]

member himself. To whom he answered, That he so did : for now he spake truth.

“Then was heⁿ carried away; and a great number, that did run to see him go so wickedly to his death, ran after him, exhorting him, while time was, to remember himself. And one Friar John, a godly and well learned man, all the way travelled with him to reduce him. But it would not be. What they said in particular I cannot tell, but the effect appeared in the end: for at the stake he professed, that he died in all such opinions as he had taught, and oft repented him of his recantation. [And confirmed his former saying, that because his hand had offended, it should be first burned. And so he died^o.]

Goes to the place of his burning.

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* “Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garments with haste, and stood upright in his shirt: and a bachelor of divinity, named Elye, of Brazen-nose college, laboured to convert him to his former recantation, with the two Spanish friars. And^p when the friars saw his constancy, they said in Latin one to another, *Let us go from him; we ought not to be nigh him: for the devil is with him.* But the bachelor in divinity was more earnest with him: unto whom he answered, that, as concerning his recantation, he repented it right sore, because he knew it was against the truth; with other words more. Whereby^q the lord Williams cried, Make short, make short. Then the bishop took certain of his friends by the hand. But the bachelor of divinity refused to take him by the hand, and blamed all others that so did, and said, he was sorry that ever he came in

His talk and behaviour at the stake.

ⁿ [“Then he was.”—Strype.]

^o [The words found in the MS., but are omitted by Strype, who inserts the passage between * * from the enclosure before re-

ferred to, (see p. 249. n. a.).]

^p [“And when the friars saw.”—Strype.]

^q [“Whereupon the lord Williams.”—Strype.]

his company. And yet again he required him to agree to his former recantation. And the bishop answered, (shewing^r his hand,) This was^s the hand that wrote it, and therefore shall it suffer first punishment^t.*

He burn-
eth his
right hand.

“ Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space, before the fire came to any other part of his body ; where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, *This hand hath offended*. As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while.

“ His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, and subversion of true religion, I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any father of ancient time : but, seeing that not the death, but cause^u and quarrel thereof, commendeth the sufferer, I cannot but much dispraise his obstinate stubbornness and sturdiness in dying, and spe-

^r [The words “ shewing his hand” are not in the MSS.]

^s [“ This is the hand.”—Strype.]

^t [Strype omits the following words from the enclosure of the MS. : “ And the fire being brought to him, he put forth his right hand, and held it still therein a good space, before the fire came to his body ; and so died patiently and never stirred, nor cried ; the 21 of March Anno 1555.”—(fol. 51.)—And returns to the letter itself for the description of the archbishop’s martyr-

dom, but has changed the construction of the whole sentence, which reads thus in the original MS. : “ For when the fire was put to him, and pretty while before the fire came to any other part, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, where it was seen of every one sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, ‘ This hand hath offended.’ As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead.”]

^u [“ but the cause and quarrel.” Strype.]

cially in so evil a cause. Surely his death much grieved every man; but not after one sort. Some pitied to see his body so tormented with the fire raging upon the silly carcass, that counted not of the folly. Other that passed not much of the body, lamented to see him spill his soul, wretchedly, without redemption, to be plagued for ever. His friends sorrowed for love; his enemies for pity: strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound one to another. Thus I have enforced myself, for your sake, to discourse this heavy narration, contrary to my mind: and, being more than half weary, I make a short end, wishing you a quieter life, with less honour; and easier death, with more praise. The 23^x of March.

“Yours, J. A.”

All this is the testimony of an adversary, and therefore **390** we must allow for some of his words; but may be the more certain of the archbishop's brave courage, constancy, patience, Christian and holy behaviour, being related by one so affected.

In regard of this holy prelate's life, taken away by martyrdom, I cannot but take notice here of two things, as Two remarks upon his martyrdom. though God had given him some intimation thereof long before it happened. The one is, that whereas his paternal coat of arms was three cranes, (alluding to his name,) king Henry appointed him to bear in the room thereof three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood v. The like coat of arms, or much resembling it, I find several of queen Elizabeth's first bishops took; whether to imitate Cranmer, or to signify their zeal to the Gospel, and their readiness to suffer for it, I do not determine. The other remark I make is, what his friend Andreas Osiander, in Ep. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evan. an epistle to him in the year 1537, told him: which was,

^x [“The 23d of March.” Strype.]

^v [See vol. i. p. 277.]

that he had *animum vel martyrio parem*; “a mind fit, or ready, for martyrdom:” and so took occasion to exhort him at large to bear the afflictions that were to attend him: as though God had inspired that great German divine with a prophetic spirit, to acquaint this his faithful servant by what death he should glorify God, and what sufferings he must undergo for his sake. He urged him “to contemn all dangers in asserting and preserving the sincere doctrine of Christ, since, as St. Paul testified, that *all that would live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution*. How much (said he) ought we to reckon that you are to receive the various assaults of Satan, seeing you are thus good for the good of many. But

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito :

“Yield not to these evils, but go on the more boldly. And seeing you must bear adversity, remember that we are baptized into the death of Christ, and buried together with him, that we may be once made partakers of his resurrection and eternal happiness^z.”

^z [*“Amo te quum propter vulgata ista quæ tibi cum multis communia sunt, generis dico nobilitatem, oris ac formæ dignitatem, morum incredibilem suavitatem, eruditionem minime vulgarem, benignitatem, liberalitatemque in omnes, præcipue in bonarum literarum studiosos: tum vero multo magis propter abstrusiores illas ac plane heroicas animi tui virtutes, ut hoc ævo inventum raras, ita in te neutiquam dubiis argumentis, non a me tantum deprehensas, sapientiam dico, prudentiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam, justitiam, studium in patriam*

singulare, fidem in serenissimum regem summam, contemptum rerum terrenarum, amorem cœlestium: evangelicæ veritatis, sinceræ religionis, ac gloriæ Christi studium flagrantissimum: denique animum vel martyrio parem, quorum nihil adulandi causa de te prædico: id enim est a moribus meis vel inimicis etiam testibus alienum: sed ut tuis te bonis excitem, et ad omnium periculorum contemptum, in asserenda, et conservanda sincera Christi doctrina provocem ac quodammodo urgeam. Quum enim Paulo teste, omnes qui in Christo pie

I do not find who were the queen's great instigators, (now Winchester was dead ^a), stirring her up not to spare this prelate, but by any means to put him to death, and that even after his subscription; nor for what reason of state this resolution was taken at court, notwithstanding his former good merits towards the queen, who therefore certainly must have felt great strugglings before she could yield to have him die. But I am apt to suspect the cardinal (who now governed the queen) had no small hand in it, to shew his zeal for the papacy, and to revenge the injuries done it in king Henry's reign, as well as to succeed in his place. For his Latin letter to the archbishop, mentioned above ^b, savoured of a great deal of malice and mortal hatred towards him. In this letter, it appears, the cardinal looked upon our archbishop as a mere infidel and apostate from Christianity, and so to be treated. For in the very beginning he makes it a matter of conscience to

Who instigated the queen to put him to death.

vivere volunt, persecutionem passuri sint: quanto magis tibi Satanæ varios insultus excipiendos esse arbitramur, qui tam multorum hominum bono bonus es? Proinde tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito. Et si aliquid adversæ fortunæ ferendum est, memento nos in mortem Christi baptizatos ac eidem consepultos esse, ut resurrectionis et æternæ felicitatis simus aliquando participes. Quanquam ne in hac quidem vita, desint sua præmia virtuti. Sed ego jamdudum præ nimio meo in R. T. P. amore, mei prorsus oblitus ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑσκαμμένα πηδῶ. Quare quod superest, me R. T. P. commendo, Christumque precor, ut eandem omnibus animi

bonis indes florentiorem ad gloriam nominis sui quam diutissime servet incolumem. Amen. Datum Nerobergæ, idibus Januarii, anno a nativitate Christi salvatoris nostri supra sesquimillesimum trigesimoseptimo."—Osiandri Harm. Evang. ep. dedicat. ed. Basil. 1561.]

^a [Gardiner died the next month after the burning of Ridley and Latimer; viz. Nov. 12, 1555.—See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 287. For "the life and story of Gardiner, blshop of Winchester," see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1785, et seqq. ed. Lond. 1583, and vol. vii. pp. 585, et seqq. ed. Lond. 1843-48.]

^b [See above, p. 235.]

Ep. John
ii. 10.

write to him, "It being in effect as much as receiving him into his house: against which St. John gave a charge, speaking of Christians turned heathens, that *they should not be received into our houses, nor bid God speed.* And therefore, he wrote, he was once in his mind not to speak
391 at all to him, but to God rather concerning him, to send fire from heaven and consume him: and asketh the question, [as though it could not be reasonably gainsaid,] whether he should not do justly in this imprecation upon him, who had before cast out the king out of the house of God, that is, the church. He meant, as he explained himself, casting him out, as Satan cast out man from paradise; not by force, but by deceivable counsels. That him the archbishop had followed, and, by his impious advice, forced the king to disjoin himself from the communion of the church, and his country, together with himself; and wickedly betrayed the church, the mother of us all; to the opposing whereof he gave Satan all advantages, to the destruction as well of souls as bodies. That he was the worst of all others. For they, being beset on all sides with divers temptations, a great while resisted, and at last indeed gave way; but he, the archbishop, of his own free accord, walked in the counsel of the ungodly; and not only so, but stood in it, and in the way of sinners, and confirmed the king therein: and moreover sat in the seat of the scornful. That, when he came first to the episcopal chair, he was called to it to cheat both God and man: and that he began his actions with putting a cheat upon the king; and, together with him, upon the church and his country." This, and a great deal more to the same purpose, he tells the archbishop plainly and expressly, though under a shew of great sanctity: which shews with what an implacable mind he stood affected towards him.

And thus we have brought this excellent prelate unto his end, after two years and an half's hard imprisonment. His body was not carried to the grave in state, nor buried, as many of his predecessors were, in his own cathedral church, nor enclosed in a monument of marble or touchstone. Nor had he any inscription to set forth his praises to posterity: no shrine to be visited by devout pilgrims, as his predecessors St. Dunstane and St. Thomas had. Shall we therefore say, as the poet doth,

*Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet; at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo. Quis putet esse deos?*

No; we are better Christians, I trust, than so, who are taught, that the rewards of God's elect are not temporal, but eternal. And Cranmer's martyrdom is his monument, and his name will outlast an epitaph or a shrine. But methinks it is pity, that his heart, that remained sound in the fire, and was found unconsumed in his ashes, was not preserved in some urn: which, when the better times of queen Elizabeth came, might, in memory of this truly great and good Thomas of Canterbury, have been placed among his predecessors in his church there, as one of the truest glories of that see.

Though these three martyrs, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were parted asunder, and placed in separate lodgings, that they might not confer together; yet they were suffered sometimes to eat together in the prison of Bo-cardo. I have seen a book of their diet every dinner and supper, and the charge thereof: which was at the expense of Winkle and Wells, bailiffs of the city at that time; under whose custody they were. As for example in this method:

No monu-
ment for
him but his
martyrdom.

His heart
unconsum-
ed.

The bailiffs'
expenses
about these
three martyrs.

MSS.
C. C. C.
[cxxviii.
p. 365.]

The first of October dinner.

Bread and ale.....	ii d.
Item, oysters	i d.
Item, butter	ii d.
Item, eggs.....	ii d.
Item, lyng	viii d.
Item, a piece of fresh salmon	x d.
Wine	iii d.
Cheese and pears	ii d.
	<hr/>
	ii s. vi d.

From this book of their expenses give me leave to make these few observations. They ate constantly suppers as well as dinners. Their meals amounted to about three or four shillings; seldom exceeding four. Their bread and ale commonly came to two pence or three pence. They had constantly cheese and pears for their last dish, both at dinner and supper; and always wine; the price whereof was ever three pence, and no more. The prices of their provisions (it being now an extraordinary dear time) were as follow. A goose, 14d. A pig, 12 or 13 pence. A cony, 6d. A woodcock, 3d. and sometimes 5d. A couple of chickens, 6d. Three plovers, 10d. Half a dozen larks, 3d. A dozen of larks and two plovers, 10d. A breast of veal, 11d. A shoulder of mutton, 10d. Roast beef, 12d.

The last disbursements (which have melancholy in the reading) were these:

For three loads of wood fagots to burn	
Ridley and Latimer.....	12 0
Item, one load of furs fagots	3 4
For the carriage of these four loads	2 0

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Item, a post	1	4
Item, two chains	3	4
Item, two staples	0	6
Item, four labourers	2	8

Then follows the charges for burning Cranmer:

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For an 100 of wood fagots	6	0
For an 100 and half of furs fagots.....	3	4
For the carriage of them.....	0	8
To two labourers	1	4

It seems the superiors in those days were more zealous The bailiffs not repaid. to send these three good men to Oxon, and there to serve their ends upon them, and afterwards to burn them, than they were careful honestly to pay the charges thereof. For Winkle and Wells, notwithstanding all their endeavours to get themselves reimbursed of what they had laid out, which came to sixty three pounds, ten shillings and two pence, could never get but twenty pounds: which they received by the means of sir William Petre, secre- 393 tary of state. Insomuch that, in the year 1566, they put up a petition to archbishop Parker and the other bishops; that they would among themselves raise and repay that sum, which the said bailiffs were out of purse in feeding of these three reverend fathers. In which petition they set forth, "That, in the second and third years of king Philip and queen Mary, archbishop Cranmer, bishop Latimer, and bishop Ridley, were by order of council committed to the custody of them, and so continued a certain time; and for them they disbursed the sum of 63*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*: whereof but 20*l.* was paid to them. Therefore they pray his grace, and the rest of the bishops, to be a means among themselves that the remaining sum may be paid

to them, being 43*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*; or some part thereof: otherwise they, and their poor wives and children, should be utterly undone." And, to give the better countenance to these men, that were going to carry up their petition, Laurence Humfrey^c, president of Magdalen college, and the queen's professor, wrote this letter on their behalf to archbishop Parker.

J E H.

Humfrey to
archbishop
Parker in
their behalf.
Exbiblioth.
C.C.C.C.

"My humble commendations presupposed in the Lord. To be a suitor in another man's case, it seemeth boldness; and, in a matter of money, to write to your grace, is more than sauciness: yet charity, *operiens multitudinem peccatorum*, doth move me, and will persuade you to hear him. A debt is due unto him for the table of Mr. Dr. Cranmer, by the queen's majesty's appointment. And Mr. secretary in Oxford wished him, at that time of business in progress, to make some motion to the bishops for some relief. The case is miserable. The debt is just. His charges in the suit have been great. His honesty, I assure your grace, deserves pitiful consideration. And for that my lord of Sarum^d writeth to me, as here, in Oxford, he promised that his part shall not be behind, what order soever it please my lords to take for the despatch of the same. I request your grace, as successor to that right reverend father, and chief patron of such poor suitors, to make, by your good means, some collection for him among the rest of my lords the bishops; that his good will, shewed to that worthy martyr, may of you be considered: and so he bound to your goodness, of his part altogether undeserved. Thus recommending the common cause of reformation to you; and myself, and this poor man to your good remembrance, I leave to trouble you:

^c [See vol. ii. p. 280. n. i.]

^d [John Jewel.]

requesting you once again to hear him, and tender his cause even of charity for God his sake: to whose protection I commend your grace. From Oxon, November 22, anno 1566.

“Your grace’s humble orator, Laur. Humfrey^e.”

Though I cannot trace this any further, yet I make no doubt this petition was favourably received with the archbishop and bishops. It seems, in Cranmer’s life time, 394 money was sent to Oxford for the sustentation of these prisoners of Christ, but embezzled. For one W. Pantry of Oxford received forty pounds at Mr. Stonelye’s hand for my lord Cranmer, and the other two in like case. This was declared by the bailiffs to Thomas Doyley, esquire, steward to archbishop Parker.

^e [MSS. C.C.C.C. cxxviii. p. 365.]

CHAPTER XXII.

CRANMER'S BOOKS AND WRITINGS.

HAVING brought our history of this singular and extraordinary light of the church to this period, we will, before we take our leave of him, gather up some few fragments more: thinking it pity that any thing should be lost that may either serve to communicate any knowledge of him to posterity, or to clear and vindicate him from aspersions or misrepresentations, vulgarly conceived of him. And here will fall under our consideration, first, his books and writings; after them, his acquaintance with learned men, and his favour to them and learning: then, some matters relating to his family and officers: and, lastly, we shall conclude with some observations upon him.

His books
and writ-
ings.

For the pen of this great divine was not idle, being employed, as earnestly as his authority and influence, for the furtherance of religion, and rescue of this church from popish superstition and foreign jurisdiction. He laid a solid foundation in learning by his long and serious studies in the university: to which he was much addicted. Insomuch that this was one of the causes which made him so labour, by the interest of his friends with king Henry, to be excused from taking the archbishopric of Canterbury; because this promotion would so much interrupt his beloved studies: desiring rather some smaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book. And as he had been an hard student, so he was a very great writer; both in respect of the number of books and treatises.

tises he compiled, as of the learning, judgment, and moment of them^f.

The first treatise he wrote was, that which was done at the command of Henry VIII, viz. concerning the unlawfulness of his marriage with his brother Arthur's widow: which he made appear to be both against the word of God, and against the judgment of the ancient Fathers of the church; and therefore a case indispensable by the pope. And so well had he studied the point, and so well was assured of what he had wrote, that he undertook, before the king, to maintain the truth of it at Rome, in the presence of the pope himself. The king accordingly dismissed him to the pope, in joint embassy with the earl of Wiltshireg, and some others, for that purpose. He presented his book to the pope, offering to stand by it against any whomsoever that should attempt to gainsay it. But the pope thought not fit to suffer so tender a point to be disputed, wherein his prerogative was so much touched. When he had finished this discourse, it was **395** sent to Cambridge, and had the approbation and subscription of the eminentest doctors there; viz. Salcot^h, Reppiⁱ, Crome^k, and divers others. Among which, I suppose, were, Heines^l, Latimer, Shaxton^m, Skipⁿ, Goodrick^o, Hethe^p; who were then gremials.

After this book, he was much employed in writing more, at various times, and upon various occasions. Foxe

Other of his writings.

^f [For the lists of Cranmer's writings, see Appendix, No. CX.]

^g [See vol. i. p. 17.]

^h [i. e. John Salcot, alias Capon, afterwards bishop of Bangor and Salisbury.—See vol. i. p. 62.]

ⁱ [i. e. William Rugg, alias Repps.—See vol. i. p. 105, and corrections and additions to vol. i.

p. 515.]

^k [See above, p. 124. n. e.]

^l [See vol. ii. p. 161. n. o.]

^m [See vol. i. p. 78.]

ⁿ [See vol. i. p. 170.]

^o [i. e. Thomas Goodrich, afterwards bishop of Ely, and lord chancellor.]

^p [See vol. i. p. 205. n. t.]

mentioneth Cranmer's book of the Reformation^q, (which I suppose was that of the public service,) the Catechism, the book of Homilies, which was part by him composed, and part by his procurement, and by him approved and published. Likewise the confutation of eighty eight articles, devised and propounded by a convocation in king Henry's reign, and laboured to be received and enjoined, though they were not.

His book of
the doctrine
of the Sa-
crament.

But his discourse, wherein he stated the doctrine of the Sacrament in five books, must especially be remembered: which he wrote on purpose for the public instruction of the Church of England. And it is the more to be valued, as being writ by him in his mature age, after all his great readings and studies, and most diligent and serious perusals of all the ecclesiastical writers; whereby he became thoroughly acquainted with their judgments and opinions in that doctrine. And in it are contained his last and ripest thoughts on that argument. This book displayeth the great weakness of that distinguishing doctrine of the church of Rome, that asserts transubstantiation.

Other writ-
ings men-
tioned by
Bishop
Burnet.

Besides these, many other writings and discourses were made by him: which we are beholden to the bishop of Sarum for retrieving the memory of, and preserving the substance of divers of them in his excellent History; *viz.*

Hist. Ref.
p. i. p. 174.^r

A learned Speech, made to the lords concerning the pope and a general council: which that right reverend author thinks was made about the year 1534, which was soon after his being made archbishop.

^q [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1870. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^r [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 353—359. ed. Oxon. 1839. Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 11; and Works of abp. Cranmer,

vol. ii. pp. 76—78. Park. Soc. ed.]

^s [Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 48. British Museum. Original. See also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 476—479. Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 465, 6.]

Some Queries in order to the correcting of several abuses Ubi supr.
in religion ; whereby the people had been deceived. p. 364.^s

Some Queries concerning Confirmation : with the an- Ibid.^t
swers which were given to them by archbishop Cranmer.

Some considerations to induce the king to proceed to a Ibid.^u
further reformation. These three last were presented by
the archbishop to the king, about the year 1536, as the
bishop of Sarum supposeth : and, having seen the originals
thereof in the Cotton library, hath transcribed them to us
in the Addenda to the Collections.

His Resolution of Seventeen Questions concerning the Ubi supr.
Sacraments, anno 1540. p. 289.^x

A Collection of Passages out of the Canon Law, to shew Ubi supr.
the necessity of reforming it, anno 1542. p. 330.^y

His Letters to Osiander, and Letters of Osiander to Pag. 171.^z
him, concerning the proceedings of the German divines ;
whose violence the archbishop disliked.

A Speech made in the Convocation : wherein he ex- Hist. Ref.
p. ii. p. 40.^a

^t See Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 83. Also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 479, 480. Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 18. Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 80.]

^u [Cott. MSS. E. v. fol. 50. See also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. ii. pp. 480-482. Jenkyns's Rem. of abp. Cranmer, vol. iv. App. No. vii. Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 466, 7; and Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. pp. 33-35. ed. Lond. 1840, 41.]

^x [Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 53. British Museum. Original. Stillingfleet MSS. 1108. fol. 69. Lambeth Library. See also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 578-582. pt. ii. pp. 314

et seqq. Jenkyns' Rem. of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 98; and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 115-117.]

^y [MSS. C. C. C. C. cccxl. p. 447. Stillingfleet MSS. 1107. Lambeth Library. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 391-398. See also Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 1. Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 68-78; and the Addenda to this volume, No. iii. in which the preceding passages, extracted by Cranmer from the Canon Law, are given in full.]

^z [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 348.]

^a [Id. vol. ii. p. 83.]

horted the clergy to give themselves to the study of the
 396 Scriptures, and to consider seriously what things in the
 church needed reformation, anno 1547.

Pag. 116. ^b His Answer to the demands of the rebels in the west ;
 drawn up by him by order of the council, anno 1549.

Pag. 248. ^c His declaration, to vindicate himself from an aspersion,
 That he had caused mass to be sung in Canterbury : and
 offering therein a public dispute to maintain the reforma-
 tion, anno 1553.

Hist. Ref.
 part i.
 p. 288. ^d Besides two volumes in folio, writ by Cranmer's own
 hand, upon all the heads of religion : consisting of allega-
 tions of texts of Scripture, and of ancient fathers, and
 later doctors and schoolmen, upon each subject. There
 were also six or seven volumes of his writings, which were
 in the lord Burleigh's possession ; as appeared by a letter
 of the said lord, which the bishop of Sarum saw : but he
 thought these may now be lost. Most of the foremen-
 tioned writings are preserved in the Cotton library, or in
 that of Corpus Christi, Cambridge ; or among the manu-
 scripts of the right reverend bishop Stillingfleet.

Athen.
 Oxon.
 p. 578. To which we must add the mention of a bundle of
 books lying in the palace treasury in Westminster, in de-
 fence of the king's title of Supreme Head, and concerning

^b [MSS. C.C.C.C. cii. p. 337.
 See also vol. ii. pp. 502-562 of
 this edition. Burnet's Hist. of
 Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 237-242.
 Jenkyns' Rem. of abp. Cranmer,
 vol. ii. p. 202 ; and Todd's Life of
 abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 76-139.
 ed. Lond. 1831.]

^c [See above, p. 17, and Ap-
 pendix to this vol. No. lxxi* ;
 also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat.
 vol. ii. pp. 498, 9. pt. ii. pp. 349-
 351.]

^d [This reference is corrected
 from pt. ii. p. 171, as it stands in
 the original edition. It should be
 as above.—See Burnet's Hist. of
 Reformat. vol. i. pp. 576, 7. ed.
 Oxon. 1829. Also Works of abp.
 Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 203-211.
 Park. Soc. Ed., in which the
 document is printed from the
 Stillingfleet MSS. 1108. f. 58 in
 the Lambeth library, and all the
 references are verified.]

the divorce, and several other matters; with a preface against cardinal Pole: which are supposed to be written partly by Dr. Clark^e, bishop of Bath and Wells, and partly by our archbishop.

Several other letters, speeches, and arguments of our archbishop, may be found in these Memorials; which I omit here rehearsing. But I will add to these divers pieces besides of this prelate's writing, as they are set down by Melchior Adam, at the end of Cranmer's life: who indeed did but transcribe them from Gesner^f; and he from John Bale's Centuries^g.

I. A Preface to the English translation of the Bible, This is transcribed in the Appendix. [Number CIV.]

II. A Catechism of Christian Doctrine; printed by Gualter Lynn, anno 1548. This Catechism was first framed in Germany; and by the archbishop himself, or his special order, turned into English. And, to fix an authority to the same, he caused it to be published in his own name, and owned it for his own book. This Dr. Rowland Taylor, who lived in the archbishop's family, declared before Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor, at his examination before him^h. And in this

More of his writings still.

See Dr. Taylor's letter in Foxe.

^e [John Clerk, S.T.P.—See vol. i. pp. 42, 115, 157, 200.]

^f [See above, p. 178.]

^g [See above, p. 176.]

^h [“Then master secretary Bourne said; which of the religions mean ye of in king Edward's days? for ye know there were divers books of religion set forth in his days. There was a religion set forth in a catechism by my lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will stick to that? I answered: my lord of Can-

terbury made a catechism, to be translated into English, which book was not of his own making; yet he set it forth in his own name, and truly that book for the time did much good. But there was after that set forth by the most innocent king Edward, (for whom God be praised everlastingly), the whole church service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned of the realm, and authorised by the whole parliament, and received

sense we must understand the author of the History of the Reformation, when, speaking of this Catechism, he styles it, "a work that was wholly his own^k." It was

and published gladly by the whole realm; which book was never reformed but once, and yet, by that one reformation, it was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our Christian religion in every behalf, that no Christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I mean of that book reformed."—A Letter of Dr. Taylor, containing and reporting the talk had between him and the lord chancellor and other commissioners, the 22. of January (1555); for which see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1521. ed. Lond. 1583. For further remarks on this Catechism, see Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Pref. pp. liv, lv.]

^k ["The next thing Cranmer set about was the compiling of a catechism, or large instruction of young persons in the grounds of the Christian religion. In it, he reckons the two first commandments but one; though, he says, many of the ancients divided them in two. But the division was of no great consequence, so no part of the decalogue was suppressed by the church. He shewed, that the excuses the papists had for images were no other than what the heathens brought for their idolatry; who also said, they did not worship the image, but that

only which was represented by it. He particularly takes notice of the image of the Trinity. He shews how St. Peter would not suffer Cornelius, and the angel would not suffer St. John, to worship them. The believing that there is a virtue in one image more than in another, he accounts plain idolatry. Ezekias broke the brazen serpent, when abused, though it was a type or image of Christ, made by God's command, to which a miraculous virtue had been once given. So now there was good reason to break images, when they had been so abused to superstition and idolatry; and when they gave such scandal to Jews and Mahometans, who generally accounted the Christians idolaters on that account. He asserts, besides the two Sacraments, of baptism, and the Lord's supper, the power of reconciling sinners to God, as a third; and fully owns the divine institution of bishops and priests; and wishes that the canons and rites of public penitence were again restored; and exhorts much to confession, and the people's dealing with their pastors about their consciences, that so they might, upon knowledge, bind and loose according to the Gospel. Having finished this easy, but most useful work, he dedicated it to the king; and

said before¹ that Justus Jonas (he, I suppose, that dwelt with the archbishop) was the translator of it into Latin. It treated of the sacrament after the Lutheran way: which way the archbishop embraced next after his rejection of the gross papal transubstantiation. This Catechism was printed first, by the archbishop's order, about the time of king Henry's death, or soon after. In a second edition the word *not* was inserted in a certain place of the book, to alter the doctrine of the real presence; which was asserted in the first edition. This Dr. Martin, one of queen Mary's commissioners, threw in his dish at his examination in Oxford. But the archbishop professed his ignorance concerning the foisting of that word. The addition of which word, indeed, he thought was needless; still holding the body and blood *truly* present in the holy supper, though after a spiritual manner^m.

in his epistle to him, complains of the great neglect, that had been in former times, of catechising; and that confirmation had not been rightly administered, since it ought to be given only to those of age, who understand the principles of the Christian doctrine, and did upon knowledge, and with sincere minds, renew their baptismal vow. From this it will appear, that from the beginning of this reformation, the practice of the Roman church in the matter of images was held idolatrous. Cranmer's zeal for restoring the penitentiary canons is also clear: and it is plain, that he had now quite laid aside those singular opinions which he formerly held of the ecclesiastical functions; for now, in a work which was wholly his

own, without the concurrence of any others, he fully sets forth their divine institution."—Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 145-7. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

¹ [See vol. ii. p. 46.]

^m ["*Martin*. You, master Cranmer, have taught in this high sacrament of the altar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one 'verbum Domini.'

"*Cran*. Nay, I taught but two contrary doctrines in the same.

"*Mart*. What doctrine taught you when you condemned Lambert, the sacramentary, in the king's presence in Whitehall?

"*Cran*. I maintained then the papists' doctrine.

"*Mart*. That is to say, the catholic and universal doctrine of Christ's church. And how when

III. The Ordinances or Appointments of the reformed Church. This was the book of Common Prayer, with the preface before it, beginning, "There was never any thing," &c. as I learn out of Bale.

IV. One book of ordaining Ministers. Which I sup-

king Henry died? Did you not translate Justus Jonas's book?

"*Cran.* I did so.

"*Mart.* Then there you defended another doctrine touching the sacrament, by the same token that you sent to Lynne your printer; that whereas in the first print there was an affirmative, that is to say, Christ's body really in the sacrament, you sent then to your printer to put in a 'not,' whereby it came miraculously to pass, that Christ's body was clean conveyed out of the sacrament.

"*Cran.* I remember there were two printers of my said book, but where the same 'not' was put in, I cannot tell.

"*Mart.* Then from a Lutheran ye became a Swinglian, which is the vilest heresy of all in the high mystery of the sacrament; and for the same heresy you did help to burn Lambert the sacramentary, which you now call the catholic faith and God's word.

"*Cran.* I grant that then I believed otherwise than I do now; and so I did, until my lord of London, doctor Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors drew me quite from my opinion."—*Jenkyns' Remains of Abp. Cranmer*, vol. iv. pp. 95-7.

Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1877. ed. Lond. 1583.

"Strype appears to have believed this assertion of Martyn, but Dr. Burton has shewn that there is good reason for supposing it to be altogether unfounded. No copy has yet been found where the 'not' appears; yet, if the charge were true, no others could be expected to exist: for the earlier impressions where it was omitted would of course, as far as possible, have been suppressed. On the same supposition, the dispute between Cranmer and Gardyner on this point would have taken a different turn. If, as was most likely, Gardyner had been acquainted with the later copies only, he would not have accused Cranmer of asserting the real presence; if by any accident he had seen one of the earlier, he would not have failed to have taunted his adversary with the variation. The origin of the charge cannot now be ascertained; but there is much probability in Dr. Burton's conjecture, that it arose from Martyn's confused recollection of a passage in Gardyner's explication. Preface to Cranmer's Catechism, p. xxiii. Oxford, 1829."—*Jenkyns' Remains of Abp. Cranmer*, vol. iv. pp. 96, 7. n. ^x.]

pose was the form of ordination published in the year 1550.

V. One book concerning the Eucharist with Luther : with whom Cranmer once consented in the doctrine of the presence ⁿ.

VI. A Defence of the Catholic Doctrine, in five books. Which was his excellent work, in vindication of himself against bishop Gardiner, and Dr. Richard Smith^o : whereof much hath been said before ^p.

VII. Ecclesiastical Laws in the time of king Edward. This was the book of the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws ; the management of which was, by the king's letters, committed to eight, whereof Cranmer was the chief ^q.

VIII. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper ; against Gardiner's sermon. This sermon is the same, I suppose, with that book of his, intituled, *A Detection of the Devil's Sophistry, wherewith he robbeth the unlearned People of the true Belief of the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar* ^r. Which gave occasion to the archbishop's first writing upon this argument.

IX. One book against the error of Transubstantiation.

X. One book, how Christ is present in the Supper.

XI. One book, concerning eating the Lord's Supper.

XII. One book, concerning the offering up of Christ.

ⁿ [See vol. ii. p. 137.]

^o [See Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Park. Soc. Ed. and Jenkyns' Remains of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 275.]

^p [See vol. ii. pp. 312, et seqq.]

^q [See Strype, Life of Cheke, p. 43. ed. Oxon. 1821, and of this work, vol. i. p. 294, vol. ii. p. 361, and Jenkyns' Remains of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Pref. pp. cviii.—cxi.]

^r [“ Gardiner's ‘Detection of the Devil's sophistry, wherewith he robbeth the unlearned people of the true byleaf in the most blessed sacrament of the altar,’ was first published in 1546, and was replied to by Hoper and others before the publication of Cranmer's first book of the Sacrament.”—Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 107. n. κ. Park. Soc. Ed.]

These five books last mentioned are nothing else but the five parts of his book of the holy Sacrament, mentioned before^s.

XIII. One book of Christian Homilies. Which must be the first part of our book of Homilies, published under king Edward^t.

XIV. One book in answer to the calumnies of Richard Smith. For this man had writ against Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, as well as Gardiner; but done so scurrilously, that Cranmer calls it his *Calumnies*^u.

XV. Confutations of Unwritten Verities. Written against a book of the same Smith, intituled, *De Veritatibus non scriptis*. Which he afterwards recanted^x.

XVI. Twelve books of Common-places, taken out of the doctors. Those volumes mentioned by bishop Burnet, I suppose, were some of these common place books^y.

XVII. Concerning not marrying the Brother's Wife: two books. Which must be those drawn up for the use and by the command of king Henry^z.

XVIII. Against the Pope's supremacy: two books. This was the declaration against the papal supremacy, said to be put forth by the bishops, in the year 1536, upon occasion of Pole's book of *Ecclesiastical Union*^a.

XIX. Against the Pope's Purgatory: two books.

398 XX. Concerning Justification: two books. I cannot trace these two last mentioned books, unless by them be

^s [See Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Park. Soc. Ed. and Jenkyns' Remains of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 275—463.]

^t [Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 128—149. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^u [Ibid. vol. i. pp. 368—379. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^x [See vol. ii. pp. 48, et seqq.]

See also Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 1—67. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^y [See above, p. 268.]

^z [See vol. i. pp. 7, 9, and Jenkyns' Remains of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Pref. pp. vi.—ix.]

^a [See vol. i. pp. 11—16, and Jenkyns' Remains of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Pref. pp. ix. x.]

meant those two treatises of justification and purgatory, that are set at the end of the Institution.

XXI. Pious Prayers: one book. This book, I suppose, was the *Orarium, seu libellus precationum*, put forth by the king and clergy, 1545. From whence a book of prayers was translated into English, anno 1552.

XXII. Letters to learned Men: one book^b. This I cannot hear any tidings of.

XXIII. Against the Sacrifice of the Mass, and against the Adoration of the Bread: one book. Said to be writ while he was a prisoner. Which makes me conclude it to be part of his reply to Gardiner's second assault of him, under the name of *Constantius*^c.

XXIV. To Queen Mary: one book, or rather one letter; which was that he writ after his examinations before her commissioners, and the pope's subdelegate^d.

If somebody of leisure, and that had the opportunity of libraries, would take the pains to collect together all these books, and other writings of this archbishop, and publish them, it would be a worthy work, as both retrieving the memory of this extraordinary man, who deserved so well of this church; and serving also much to illustrate the history of its reformation^e. But I know nothing of this nature done since the industrious John Day, in the year

^b [See Wharton's Observations at the end of this volume. For the collection of the archbishop's letters to various learned men and others, see Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 229-458. Park. Soc. Ed., and Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i.]

^c [See above, p. 128; and also Jenkyns' Remains of archbishop

Cranmer, vol. i. Preface, page xcviij.]

^d [See above, p. 228.]

^e [This work has been done by Dr. Jenkyns in his admirable edition of the Remains of abp. Cranmer, and also more fully in the Park. Soc. Ed. of the works of this prelate.]

1580, printed a book in folio, containing our archbishop's *Answer unto Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, against the true Doctrine of the Sacrament: Also, to Richard Smith. Also, A true Copy of the Book writ by Stephen Gardiner. Also, The Life and Martyrdom of Cranmer, extracted out of the Book of Martyrs*^f.

Archbishop Parker was in pursuit of certain MSS. of Cranmer, concealed.

And now we are mentioning this great prelate's writings, it may not be unworthy to take notice of what I meet with in a letter of archbishop Parker to secretary Cecyl, in the year 1563, his grace being then at Canterbury. Where he spake of the *great notable written books* (as he styles them) of his predecessor Dr. Cranmer, which he had left behind him at some of his houses at or near Canterbury, whether Ford or Bekesborn, or both, or with some friends in those parts. These manuscripts, it seems, were embezzled and surreptitiously taken away by private hands, probably during his restraint in queen Mary's days, and now studiously concealed by some that were minded, it may be, to stifle them, being chiefly levelled against the Roman church and bishop. Parker, who was a great and painful searcher after ancient and learned manuscripts, and a diligent retriever of eminent men's writings, had, by credible information, learned in what hands many of those books were; and had sent either for the persons concerned, or to them, to demand the said books. But they denied them: whereupon, knowing no other way to recover them, he desired the secretary, by some power from the queen's council, to authorise him to inquire and search for those books, and such like monu-

^f [The Park. Soc. Ed. of abp. Cranmer upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper has followed the 1580 Ed. of John Day, but

has further given the variations of that originally published and set forth in 1551.]

ments, by all ways, as by the said Parker's discretion should be thought good; whether giving the parties an oath, or viewing their studies. Wishing he might recover them to be afterwards at the queen's commandment: 399 adding, that he should be as glad to win them, as he would be to restore an old chancel to reparation. This letter of archbishop Parker I have inserted in the Appendix. But whether, after all his diligence, he succeeded in the recovery of those manuscripts, I know not: I am apt to think he did; and that these writings of Cranmer, that were in his possession, and afterwards bequeathed unto the library of Benet college, and those other divers volumes, which were, as was before said, in the keeping of the lord Burghley, might be some at least of them.

Number
XC.

An inquisitive man would be glad to know what the matter and contents of these numerous writings of our archbishop were: and that, seeing so many of them are perished, the knowledge of the various subjects of them at least might be preserved. This, besides what hath been shewn already, may be gathered by what I find in a supplication made to queen Elizabeth by Ralph Morice, that had been his secretary for the space of twenty years: during which time he was employed by that most reverend father in writing for him, "about the serious affairs of the prince and realm, committed unto him by those most noble and worthy princes, king Henry VIII and king Edward VI, concerning as well the writings of those great and weighty matrimonial causes of the said king Henry VIII, as also about the extirpation of the bishop of Rome, his usurped power and authority, the reformation of corrupt religion and ecclesiastical laws, and alteration of divine service; and of divers and sundry conferences of

What the
subject of
his nume-
rous writ-
ings were.

learned men for the establishing and advancement of sincere religion, with such like. Wherein, he said, he was most painfully occupied in writing of no small volumes from time to time ε.

ε [See the Appendix to this volume, Number ciii and ciii*.]

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S REGARD TO LEARNED MEN.

FROM these truly noble and useful exercises of his great knowledge and learning, let us descend unto the respect he bare to good letters: which appeared from his favour to places of learning, and men of learning. We shewed before what were the applications of the University of Cambridge to him, and what a gracious patron he was to it and its members.

Among whose good offices to that University, besides those already mentioned, it must not be omitted, that he was the great instrument of placing there those two very learned foreign divines^a, Paulus Fagius^b and Martin Bucer^c. By his frequent letters to them, then at Strasburg, urging them with the distracted and dangerous state of Germany, he first brought them over into England in the year 1548: and, having entertained them in his family, the next year he preferred them both in Cambridge; Fagius to be public professor of the Hebrew tongue, and Bucer of divinity. And, beside the University salary, he procured for each of them from the king, in the third year of his reign, patents for an honorary stipend of an hundred pounds per annum each, *de gratia speciali domini regis*, to be paid by the hands of the clerk of the Hanaper, or out of the treasury of the Court of Augmentations, *durante beneplacito domini regis*: as I find by king Edward the Sixth's book of sales, formerly mentioned. Which patents bare date September 26, anno 1549, and their salaries

Paulus Fagius and Martin Bucer placed at Cambridge by his means.

Procures them honorary stipends from the king.

^a [See vol. ii. pp. 140 et seqq.]

^b [See vol. ii. p. 143. n. o.]

^c [See vol. ii. p. 140. n. h.]

payable from the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin. By the way, I do not see any where in the said book of sales, that Peter Martyr, placed professor of divinity in the other University of Oxon, enjoyed any such royal salary, though he also had been invited over by Canterbury with the king's knowledge and allowance, and placed there by that archbishop's means.

Allowances
to P. Mar-
tyr and
Ochin.

Yet he, and his companion Ochinus^d, had their annual allowances from the king; and so, I suppose, had all other learned foreigners here. Melancthon also, who was now expected over, was intended some more extraordinary gratuity. Unto this noble Christian hospitality and liberality, Latimer, the great court preacher, excited the king in one of his sermons before him. The passage may deserve to be repeated: "I heard say, Master Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such as he is, [to have] two hundred pounds a year: the king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Martyr and Bernard Ochin, which have an hundred marks a piece. I would the king would bestow a thousand pounds on that sort^e." These matters, I doubt not, were concerted between Latimer and our archbishop before; at whose palace he now was for the most part: as I find by one of his sermons, wherein he speaks of his taking boat at Lambeth^f; and, in another place, he mentioneth a book he met with in my lord of Canterbury's

The third
sermon.

^d [See vol. ii. p. 143. n. 4; also Wharton's Observations at the end of this volume.]

^e [Latimer's Works, (the third Sermon preached before king Edward,) vol. i. p. 141. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^f ["Well, he comes to Simon's

boat, and why rather to Simon's boat than another? I will answer as I find by experience in myself. I came hither to day from Lambeth in a wherry; and when I came to take boat, the watermen came about me, as the manner is, and he would have me, and he

library g, and elsewhere of many suitors that applied to him at my lord of Canterbury's, that interrupted his studies there^h. The use I make of this is, that it is a fair conjecture hence, that this, and the many other excellent things so plainly propounded by this preacher to king Edward, happened by the counsel and suggestion of the archbishop. But to return.

There was one Dr. William Mowse, a civilian, and probably one of his officers, whom, for his merits and learning, our archbishop for many a year had been a special benefactor to. Sir John Chekeⁱ also bare him a very good will. Upon the removal of Dr. Haddon^k to some other preferment, this Dr. Mowse^l succeeded Master of Trinity Hall in Cambridge. And, in the year 1552, the archbishop, valuing his worth and integrity, was a suitor at

Dr. Mowse,
Master of
Trinity
Hall, fa-
voured by
Cranmer.

would have me: I took one of them. Now ye will ask me, why I came in that boat rather than in another? Because I would go into that that I see stand next me; it stood more commodiously for me. And so did Christ by Simon's boat: it stood nearer for him, he saw a better seat in it. A good natural reason."—Id. p. 205.]

g ["Oh, there is a writer hath a jolly text here, and his name is Dionysius. I chanced to meet with his book in my lord of Canterbury's library: he was a monk of the Charter house. I marvel to find such a sentence in that author."—Id. p. 209.]

h ["I cannot go to my book, for poor folks come unto me, desiring me that I will speak, that their matters may be heard. I trouble my lord of Canterbury;

and being at his house, now and then I walk in the garden looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it. But something I must needs do to satisfy this place. I am no sooner in the garden, and have read a while, but by and by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith: 'Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you.' When I come there, then is it some one or other that desireth me that I will speak, that his matter might be heard; and that he had lain this long at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing."—Id. p. 127.]

ⁱ [See vol. ii. p. 168. n. e.]

^k [See vol. ii. p. 259. n. h.]

^l [William Mowse was first admitted master of Trinity hall,

court for some further preferment for him, whatever it were, which the study of the civil law had qualified him for: writing his letters on Mowse's behalf to secretary Cecyl^m, who was then with the king in his progress, not to forget him. And accordingly he was remembered, and obtained the place: for which the archbishop afterwards gave him his most hearty thanks. And Dr. Mowse also sent the same secretary a letter of thanks from Cambridge for the preferment he had obtained by his means: the main drift thereof was, to excuse himself for his neglect, in that he had not sooner paid his acknowledgments. Which, as it seems, the secretary had taken some notice
 401 of, having expected to be thanked for the kindness he had done him. This letter, because there is therein mention made of our archbishop's singular munificence, and Cheke's affection towards him, and Mowse himself once making a figure in that University, I have thought it not amiss to insert in the Appendix: though this man seemed to be none of the steadiest in his religion. For I find him put out of his Mastership of Trinity Hall, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, for having been a Protestant, and to make way for the restoration of Dr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who had been outed before. Upon whose death that Mastership falling void, and Mowse having complied with the Romish religion, he became Master there again. And soon after, in queen Elizabeth's reign, he was deprived by her commissioners for being a papist, and one Harveyⁿ came in his room.

Number
XCI.

His incon-
stancy,

Dr. Mowse's fickleness appeared, that, upon the first

Cambridge, A. D. 1552.—See Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 426. See also Fuller's *Hist. of Cambridge*, page 180. ed. Lond. 1840.]

^m [See vol. ii. Appendix, page 672.]

ⁿ [Henry Harvey, LL.D., who succeeded to the mastership of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, A. D. 1560, in which year he was also vice chancellor.—Le Neve's *Fasti*, pp. 395, 426.]

tidings that fled to Cambridge of queen Mary's success against the lady Jane's party, he, with several other temporising university men, changed his religion, and, in four and twenty hours, was both protestant and papist. The truth is, his judgment varied according to his worldly interest: and, being one of those that came about so roundly, he was appointed, by the complying party of the university, to be one of the two (Dr. Hatcher being the other) that should repair unto Dr. Sands^o, then the vice chancellor, to demand of him, without any colour of reason or authority, the university books, the keys, and such other things as were in his keeping. And so they did. And my author makes an observation of his ingratitude, as well as of his inconstancy; *viz.* "That he that was an earnest protestant but the day before, and one whom Dr. Sands had done much good for, was now become a papist, and his great enemy P."

and ingra-
titude.

Foxe.

Thus was our archbishop a friend to this man, and divers others who went along with him, as far as he and the times favoured them: but, when these failed them, they failed the archbishop, through timorousness in some, and worldly respects in others.

But once more of this Dr. Mowse, and I have done with him. As a reward of his forwardness at Cambridge, before mentioned, I find he was soon after incorporated at Oxon, (together with Andrew Pern^q, D. D., a man of the same inconstancy,) and preferred to be reader of the civil

Becomes
reader of
the civil

law at
Oxon.

Ath. Oxon.

^o [i. e. Edwin Sandys, master of Catherine hall, Cambridge, and afterwards successively bishop of Worcester, and London, and archbishop of York, for a biographical notice of whom, see his Sermons, —Park. Soc. Ed.]

cerning the troubles and happy deliverance of the reverend father in God, doctor Sandes, first bishop of Worcester, next of London, and now archbishop of York;” —Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 2086–2089. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^p [See “A brief discourse con-

^q [See vol. ii. p. 171. n. n.]

law there, in the room of Dr. Aubrey^r, who probably was removed for incomppliance. And when the next change happened under queen Elizabeth, Mowse^s came about

^r ["William Aubrey, LL.B. fellow of All Souls' college, succeeded to the king's law professorship, October 7, 1553. William Mosse, LL.D. was the next, in the latter end of 1554."—Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 474.]

^s ["William Mowse or Mosse, doctor of the civil law of Cambridge, was incorporated this year, but the particular time when I cannot find. He was 'master' of Trin. hall in that university*, was this year the king's professor of the civil law in this of Oxon, but whether in his own right, or in that of doctor Will. Awbrey is yet to me uncertain. 'In the beginning of queen Mary's reign he was put out of the mastership of Trin. hall in Camb. for having been a protestant. After Dr. Gardiner's death, 1554, upon his compliance he became master again. After queen Elizabeth came to the crown he was outed for a papist, and Dr. Harvey succeeded him, and was prebend of York.' On the first of March, 1560, he was installed prebend of Botevant in the church of York, being at that time master of the

aforesaid hall, and dying in 1588, he became a considerable benefactor to that house.

"Andr. Perne, D. of D. of Cambridge, was also this year incorporated, but the day or month when, appears not. He was educated in Peter house, whereof he was fellow and master; and in 1557 was made the second dean of Ely in the place of Rob. Styward, who died 22 Sept. the same year. This Dr. Perne, who is reported to have been a mutable man in his religion, and of a facetious nature, yet a great Mæcenas of learning, died at Lambeth in Surrey 26 Apr. 1589, and was buried in the chancel of the parish church there; whereupon John Bell, D. of D. succeeded him in his deanery. You may read many things of this Dr. Andr. Perne in the book of 'Acts and Monuments of the Church,' &c. under the year 1557, written by John Foxe; wherein you'll find him a zealous man for the catholic cause in the reign of queen Mary."—Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniæ*. vol. ii. (*Fasti*.) col. 140, 1. ed. (Bliss.) Lond. 1813—20.]

[* "Will. Mowse, L. D. 13 cal. Junii 1509, factus officialis curiæ de arcubus, decanus peculiarium, judex curiæ audientiæ, et archiepiscopi Cant. vicarius in spirit. generalis. *Lib. Pole.* part 2. fol. 2. — Gul. Mowse, LL. D. Cant. an. 1552. *Regr.* Jul. 20, 1552, he was recommended to Trin. hall from court to be master there, and succeeded Haddon, who was removed to Oxford that year.—Baker."]

again; and, in the year 1560, obtained a prebend in the church of York. He lived till the year 1588, leaving some benefactions to his old college.

The archbishop was indeed a great patron to all learned and pious men, especially those of the reformation: cherishing those not only of his own country, but foreigners and strangers also. And as he brought over divers with him, when he returned into England from his embassy in Germany, so he sent for more: and such as came to him he gave honourable harbour and maintenance to; keeping them at his own cost, till he had made provisions for them either in the church or university.

For Erasmus our archbishop had a great value; whose worth and service to the church he well knew. He allowed him an honorary pension: promising him, that he would be no less kind unto him than his predecessor Warham had been before him: which archbishop was one of Erasmus his best and most extraordinary friends and benefactors. Of whom he used these words to a friend of his, *Qui mihi unus multorum instar erat*. Soon after the succession of Cranmer into this archbishop's room, sir Thomas More wrote to Erasmus, that he, that then filled the see of Canterbury, bore no less love to him than Warham had done before; and, *Quo non alius vixit tui amantior*, "that there was no man living loved him better^t." And Erasmus himself, mentioning his great loss in archbishop Warham, and divers other patrons of his, that were taken off by death, comforted himself that God had made up those losses to him by raising him up

The archbishop a patron to learned foreigners.

402
To Erasmus, allowing him an honorary pension.

Eras. Ep. 10. lib. 27.

^t ["Gaudeo tua causa, et, quoniam te amo, etiam mea, præsentem Cantuariæ præsulem non minorem erga te amorem præ se ferre, quam præstitit olim War-

mus, quo non alius vixit tui amantior."—Thomas More Erasmo.—Epist. Erasmi. tom. ii. col. 1856. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1706.]

Ep. 7. lib.
27.

other friends. "So," saith he, "in the room of Warham succeeded the reverend Thomas Cranmer, (*professione theologus, vir integerrimus, candidissimisque moribus. Qui ultro pollicitus est sese in studio ac beneficentia erga me, priori nequaquam cessurum: et quod sponte pollicitus est, sponte præstare cœpit: ut mihi Waramus non ereptus, sed in Cranmero renatus videri queat*^u.) By profession a divine, a person of the greatest integrity, and most unblamable behaviour. Who of his own accord promised, that, in favour and kindness toward me, he would be no ways behind his predecessor. And that which he voluntarily promised, he hath voluntarily begun to make good. So that, methinks, Warham is not taken away from me, but rather born to me again in Cranmer." One specimen of his munificence towards this learned man I meet with in one of his letters, wherein he acknowledged to have received of Cranmer eighteen angels: when the bishop of Lincoln^x sent him also fifteen, and the lord Crumwel twenty^y.

To Alexander Aless,
a Scotchman.

Alexander Aless^z was another learned stranger whom our archbishop gave harbour and shewed favour to: a Scotchman by birth, but that had long lived and con-

^u ["Siquidem in archiepiscopi demortui locum ac dignitatem successit R. D. Thomas Cranmerus, professione theologus, vir integerrimus, candidissimisque moribus. Qui ultro pollicitus est sese in studio ac beneficentia erga me, priori nequaquam cessurum: et quod sponte pollicitus est, sponte præstare cœpit: ut mihi Waramus non ereptus, sed in Cranmero renatus videri queat."—Erasmus Rot. Petro Richardoto, S. Epist. MCLX.—Id. tom. ii.

col. 1481.]

^x [John Longland.]

^y ["Pensionarii excusant, præter spem tamen nescio quo consilio Thomas Cronvelius regis secretarius, qui nunc secundum regem potest plurimum, dono misit viginti angelatos, Cantuariensis octodecim, Lincolnensis quindecim, nullus tamen horum scripsit."—Erasmus Rot. Gilberto Cognato Nozerens. Epist. MCCXCVI. tom. ii. col. 1519.]

^z [See vol. ii. p. 200. n. f.]

versed with Melancthon in Germany. Who, knowing the generous and hospitable disposition of the archbishop, recommended this Aless to him: giving a high character of him for his learning, probity, and diligence in every good office. In the year 1535, he brought over from Melancthon a book, to be presented to the archbishop: wherein “that learned German laboured (as he told the archbishop in his letter, sent at the same time) to state diligently and profitably most of the controversies, and, as much as he could to mitigate them: leaving the judgment of the whole unto his grace, and such learned and pious men as he, from whose judgment (he said) he would never differ in the church of Christ: desiring him also to acquaint Aless what his grace’s own judgment was of the book, that Aless might signify the same unto him^a.”

By him
Melanc-
thon sends
a book to
the arch-
bishop.

^a [“Episcopo Cantuariensi S. D.—Reverendissime præsul. Ex Osiandro, viro optimo, et mihi veteri amicitia conjuncto, et ex multis aliis bonis et doctis viris intellexi, te præclaram doctrinæ laudem cum eximia pietate conjunxisse. Itaque sæpe gratulor Britanniæ vestræ talem episcopum: quales si haberet ecclesia aliquanto plures, non difficulter et concordia orbis terrarum constitui, et servari ecclesia posset. Cum autem non dubitarem, quin ad cæteras virtutes humanitatem summam adjunxisses: duxi tibi commendandum esse hunc bonum virum, Alexandrum Alesium Scotum. Is proficiscitur in Britanniam, ut exhibeat R. P. T. quoddam meum scriptum. Scripsi et R. P. T. me conatum esse ut et diligenter et utiliter explicarem,

et quantum possem mitigarem plerasque controversias. Sed judicium de toto scripto libenter et R. P. T. et similibus viris doctis et piis permitto, a quorum judicio nunquam in ecclesia Christi dissentiam. Itaque si vel studium meum, vel scriptum probabis, rogo ut R. P. T. adjuvet hunc Alexandrum, ut regiæ majestati libellum exhibere possit. Cæterum ipsius Alexandri tanta est doctrina, probitas, et in omni officii genere diligentia, ut nullam possit ad virum sapientem commendationem majorem quam suam virtutem adferre. Proinde licet vere sperem te pro tua prudentia et potestate libenter amplexurum hominem: rogo tamen, si quid literæ nostræ apud R. P. T. valent, aliquid mea causa studii addas ad ea officia, quæ tua vo-

Such was the deference Melancthon gave unto the learning and censure of Cranmer. This book I should suppose to have been his Commonplaces, but that they came out a year after. By the same messenger he sent another of these books to be presented in his name to the king; and, in case the archbishop approved of what he had

And to the king.

403 wrote, he entreated him to introduce the bringer, and to assist him in the presenting of it. Upon these recommendations of Aless, and the archbishop's own satisfaction in the worth of the man, he retained him with him at Lambeth, and much esteemed him. This was that Aless that Crumwel, probably by Cranmer's means, brought with him to the convocation in the year 1536, whom he desired to deliver there his opinion about the sacrament^b. Who did so, and enlarged in a discourse, asserting two sacraments only, instituted by Christ; namely, baptism, and the Lord's supper: as the author of the British An-

Aless brought by Crumwel into the convocation: where he asserts two sacraments only.

luntate in eum collaturus es. Judicium vero tuum de meo scripto, poteris mihi R. P. T. per hunc Alexandrum significare. Commendo me R. P. T. summo studio. Bene valeat R. P. T. ad illustrandam gloriam Christi. Mense Augusto, anno 1535."—Melancthon. Epist. pp. 192—194. ed. Basil. 1665.]

^b ["An. 1537. Sed cum vices regias in spirituali tum administratione gereret, Cranmero Cantuariensi archiepiscopo scripsit, ut episcopos convocaret, in quorum cœtum ac conventum Cromwellus ingressus declaravit regis esse voluntatem ritus ac ceremonias ecclesiasticas ad scripturarum normam redigere, omniaque ex eccle-

siis delere quæ autoritate divini verbi non niterentur. Absurdum etiam esse cum in eo salutis æternæ lex contineatur, e glossographis, interpretationibus, aut pontificiis decretis pendere Christianos. Actumque primo est tanquam exempli causa de Novi Testamenti fœderibus seu sacramentis, de quibus Cromwellus rogavit Alexandrum quendam Alessium Scotum, virum in theologia perdoctum, quem secum in concilium adduxerat, ut sententiam suam diceret."—(Vit. Thom. Cranm.) Parker, de Antiq. Brit. Eccl. ed. 1572. See also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 429, 30. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

tiquities relates, *ad ann.* 1537, calling him there *virum in theologia perductum*, “a thoroughpaced divine.”

This man compiled a useful treatise against the schism laid to the charge of protestants by those of the church of Rome: the substance and arguments of which book were Melancthon’s own invention, but Aless composed and brought it into method and words. This book Melancthon sent unto George prince of Anhalt. The consolations of which, as he wrote to that noble and religious man, he was wont to inculcate upon himself, against those who objected commonly to them “the horrible crime of schism,” as he styles it: “for,” saith he, “their monstrous cruelty is sufficient to excuse us^c.” Which, it seems, was

Writes a book to clear protestants of the charge of schism.

Atroux schismatis crimen. Ep. 36. lib. 1. *Satis excusat nos istorum horribilis crudelitas, quam profecto neque adjuvare neque approbare debemus.* Ubi supra.

^c [“Illustrissimo et reverendissimo principi ac domino, domino Georgio principi in Anhalt, comiti Ascaniæ, &c. præposito ecclesiæ Magdeburgensis, et coadjutori in ecclesiastica gubernatione Merseburgensi, Domino suo clementissimo.—S. D. Quod hactenus ad Cels. T. nihil dedi literarum, fatebor potius parum officiose a me factum esse, quam utar aliqua inepta excusatione. Quæso autem, ut Cels. T. meam in hoc genere procrastinationem boni consulat. Ego enim C. T. benevolentiam erga me facio plurimi, non solum meæ utilitatis causa: sed multo magis, quod tanta virtus et doctrina in principe viro præcipue merentur admirationem atque amorem. Utinam haberemus multos tales ecclesiæ gubernatores. Sed et de pulcerrimis virtutibus Cels. T. et de ecclesiarum conditione alias plura. Nunc mitto

C. T. Alesii libellum, in quo collectæ sunt quædam consolationes, quas ipse mihi inculcare soleo, adversus eos, qui nobis atrox schismatis crimen objiciunt. Satis enim excusat nos istorum horribilis crudelitas, quam profecto neque adjuvare neque approbare debemus. Spero hanc consolationem et T. Cels. gratam futuram esse. Commendo autem me Cels. T. tanquam præcipuo patrono, ac polliceor semper autoritatem Cels. T. plurimum apud me valituram esse. Commendo etiam Cels. T. M. Franciscum, quo cum mihi propter ipsius summam humanitatem ac fidem, vetus est amicitia. Præcipue autem cupit Cels. T. esse commendatus propter excellentem virtutem et doctrinam Cels. T. Bene et feliciter valeat Cels. T.” — Melancthon, *Epist.* pp. 81, 83, 84. ed. Witebergæ. 1570.]

one of the arguments whereby they defended themselves against that charge : esteeming it lawful and necessary to leave the communion of a church which countenanced and practised cruelty, a thing so contrary to one of the great and fundamental laws of Christian religion, namely, that of love ; and that their abiding in a church where such bloody and barbarous practices were, would argue their approbation and concurrence.

Translated
a book of
Bucer's
about the
English
ministry.

And as Melancthon made use of him in composing his thoughts into a handsome style, so did another great light of the same nation ; I mean Bucer. In king Edward's days he had wrote a book in the German, that is, in his own country language, about ordination to the ministry in this kingdom of England, intituled, *Ordinatio Ecclesiæ, seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici in florentissimo Angliæ regno.* This our Ales turned into Latin, and published, " for the consolation of the churches every where in those sad times." as it ran in the title.

Received
into Crum-
wel's fa-
mily.

Hist. Ref.
p. i. p. 308.

If any desire to look backward unto the more early times of this man, the first tidings we have of him was about the year 1534 ; when, upon a sharp persecution raised in Scotland, he, with other learned men, fled thence into England, and was received into Crumwel's family. And it is said that he became known to, and grew into such favour with, king Henry, that he called him *his scholar*. But, after Crumwel's death, in the year 1540, he, taking one Fife with him, went into Saxony : where both of them were, for their great learning, made professors in the university of Leipzig.

Ales pro-
fessor of
divinity at
Leipzig.
Mel. Ep.
p. 359. edit.
1647. d

In the year 1557, I find this man at Leipzig, where he was professor of divinity, as was said before. Hither this year Melancthon sent to him from Wormes, giving him some account of the preparations that were making

d [“ Alexandro Alesio, theologiæ D. Lipsiæ, S. D. Cum Julius

by the Roman catholic party, in order to a conference with the protestants: at which the said Aless was to be present, and make one of the disputants on the protestant side. And, ten years before this, *viz.* 1547, he was the public moderator of divinity, both in the schools and pulpits of Leipzig, or some other university.

Besides this Aless, there were four other pious and learned persons, foreigners, who, bringing along with them letters of recommendation from the said Melancthon, were courteously received, and freely entertained by our hospitable archbishop, all of them, in the year 1548, at which time the persecution grew hot upon the interim. One of these was Gualter, another Scot by nation. A second was one named Francis Dryander, an acquaintance of Melancthon's of long continuance. "Whom, as he told the archbishop, he had tried and known inwardly, and found him endowed with excellent parts, well furnished with learning; that he judged rightly of the controversies, altogether free from all wild and seditious opinions; and that he would soon perceive the singular gravity of his manners, after some few days knowledge of him: motioning withal to the archbishop his fitness to be preferred in

*Cum et in
templis, et
in scholis
doctrinam
gubernes.*

Mel. Ep.

111. lib. 3.

Four others

recom-

mended by

Melancthon to the

archbishop:

viz. Gual-

ter, Dry-

ander.

nondum convocarit delectos ad colloquium, nec ostenderit qua de re et quo ordine disseri velit, hactenus neque publicè neque privatim convenimus. Ideo te nondum accersunt nostri. Video autem non ad alium conventum plures accessisse adversarios instructos sophistica, quam ad hunc. Belgæ enim attracti sunt, quorum sunt naturæ præstigiatrices. Itaque precor filium Dei, ut ipse sit et βραβευτής, 'remunerator' noster et σύμβουλος, 'consiliarius,' et tri-

buat nobis concordiam in nostro cœtu. Scribam ad te mox ubi initia actionum audivero. Bene et feliciter valete. Die nuptiarum filiæ tuæ, quæ ut sint faustæ et felices faciat Deus æternus pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, humanæ naturæ conditor, et servator, quem oro toto pectore, ut nos et nostra gubernet et servet. Wormatiæ, anno 1557.—Melancthon. Epist. p. 359. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1647.]

either of our universities^e. As he did also to king Edward, in letters brought at this time to him by the said Ep. 7. lib. 3. Dryander :” wherein he recommended him to that king, as one that would prove a very useful person, either in his universities, or elsewhere in his kingdom^f.

^e [“ Reverendissimo domino Thomæ archiepiscopo ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, &c.—S. D. reverendissime antistes: scripsit ad me Gualterus Scotus, se amanter à te exceptum esse, propter testimonium, quod a nobis discedenti dederam. Gaudeo et illius et mea causa. Nam non minus illius secundis et adversis rebus, quam meis moveor, tibi que reverenter gratias ago. Cum autem in Britanniam et hic meus amicus Franciscus Dryander Gaulthero notus profecturus esset, literas a me petivit, non ut cuique oneri esset, sed homo peregrinus ut veteri more, quem istic patronum habeat καὶ προστάτην ut Græci vocabant, quærit. Arbitror jam istic et alios quosdam esse, quibus notus est, quorum de Francisco judicia cum audieris, haud dubie summa voluntate, et singulari benevolentia eum complecteris. Familiaritas ei mecum est multorum annorum. Vere servamus hoc Homericum inter nos, ut hospes tanquam frater diligatur. Etiam iudicio eum complexus sum. Penitus enim perspexi ejus opiniones et mores, ac animadverti eum excellenti ingenio præditum esse, et præclare instructum eruditione et de controversiis rectissime judi-

care, ac prorsus alienum esse a fanaticis et seditiosis opinionibus. Morum etiam gravitatem singularem ipse cito cognosces. Et his ornamentis tantis addit veram Dei agnitionem et invocationem. Talis cum sit, quæso ut eum complectaris. Usui etiam eum fore in academia aliqua arbitror. Scribo brevius et simplicius propter temporis angustiam, quæ mihi ad has literas scribendas nunc contigerat, teque oro ut veniam des epistolæ subito effusæ, quam tamen veram esse judicabis ipse, ubi Francisci ingenium, eruditionem, et mores dierum aliquot consuetudo ostenderit. Bene et feliciter vale. Idib. Jan. anno 1548.”—Melancthon. Epist. pp. 89, 92, 93. ed. Bremæ, 1590.]

^f [“ Edvardo regi Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ. Inclyte et potentissime rex. Multi in universa Europa sciunt inclytum et sapientissimum regem, patrem tuum, notis controversiis dogmatum diu in hanc cogitationem incubuisse, ut ecclesiis toto orbe terrarum recte consuleretur, quæsita controversiarum moderatione, nec voluisse armis opprimi veritatem. Atque utinam ejus consilium cæteri reges audivissent. Nam quod alii armis restitui ecclesiæ con-

This recommendation had so much force, that this man Dryander seemed soon after to be sent and placed at Oxon, and placed at Oxon. there remained, till, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, when all strangers were commanded to depart the realm, he went hence to Paris, and from thence to Antwerp. Whence he wrote a letter to one Crispin, a doctor of physic in Oxon; therein relating to him a passage concerning the coarse entertainment which the divines of Lovain gave Gardiner bishop of Winchester, upon the scandal they took against him for his book *De vera Ob-* Ad ann. 1555.
dientia. Which letter is extant in Foxe.

The third was Eusebius Menius, the son of Justus Me- Eusebius Menius.
nius. Which Justus was a person of great fame and esteem, both for his learning in philosophy and divinity, and for the government of the churches within the terri-

cordiam existimant, non recte sentiunt. Injusta enim consilia opprimendæ veritatis nec Deo placent, nec diu sunt felicia, et hærent in ecclesia veteres morbi magni (quod et rex sapientissimus pater tuus videbat) quibus necesse est vera et salutaria remedia adhiberi. Quod igitur in regno tuo deliberationes instituisti de ecclesiis, recte facis, et paternum exemplum imitaris: Deumque æternum Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi toto pectoro oro, ut et tuam mentem regat, et ecclesias in tuo regno et alibi feliciter emendet, ut et ipsius gloriæ vere celebretur, et multi homines ad eum vere convertantur, ac socii fiant æternæ consuetudinis cum filio Dei. Cavendum autem erit tibi in hac emendatione, ne prava

ingenia corruptelas misceant. Ideo prudenter et tuæ gentis hominum, et hospitem sensus atque opinionones considerabis. Affirmo autem hunc Franciscum Dryandrum longa mihi consuetudine cognitum, recte excultum esse eruditione; tum vero prudentissime judicare de religionis controversiis: ac toto animo, totaque mente à fanaticis et seditiosis opinionibus abhorrere. Quare eum in tuo regno, in academia aliqua magno usui atque ornamento ecclesiæ Dei esse posse existimo, eamque ob causam literas ei ad R. M. T. dedi, eumque R. M. T. reverenter commendo. Bene et feliciter valeat R. M. T. anno 1548. Idibus Januarii. — Melancthon. Epist. pp. 16, 17. ed. Bremæ, 1590.]

Mel. Ep. 66.
lib. 1.

tories of John Frederick, duke of Saxony. Of this Eusebius his son, Melancthon writ to our archbishop, "that he had good preferments in Germany, but he could not bear to behold the calamities of his poor country, which made him seek for a being in foreign parts. He recommended him to his grace, desiring him to cherish him." Adding, "that, in the Gothic times, what remained of the church, and of right doctrines, were preserved in our island; and that Europe being now in a combustion, it were to be wished that some peaceable harbour might be for learning. He doubted not but that many flocked hither; but that it was the part of piety and goodness especially to help the youth of excellent men, and the sons of such as had well deserved of the church; especially when they themselves also were eminent for their parts and learning. And since this Eusebius was a good mathematician, and had read mathematics in one of their schools, he propounded him to the archbishop to be a fit person for the profession of that science in our university^h."

^h ["Thomæ episcopo Cantuariensi in Anglia. S. D. Reverende domine, literis quas Jonæ filius de sermone tuo mihi scripsit, ante mensem respondi. Quo diutius autem de vestra deliberatione, qua nulla gravior, et magis necessaria in genere humano institui potest, cogito, eo magis et opto, et vos adhortandos esse censeo, ut de universo doctrinæ corpore edatis confessionem veram et perspicuam, collatis judiciis eruditorum, quorum et nomina adscribantur, ut apud omnes gentes extet illustre testimonium

de doctrina gravi autoritate traditum, et ut posteritas normam habeat, quam sequatur. Nec vero multum dissimilis ea confessio nostræ erit futura, sed paucos quosdam articulos velim extare ad posteritatem magis explicatos, ne ambiguitates postea occasionem præbeant novis dissidiis. Nunc et a Carolo imperatore proposita est moderatio controversiarum, quam fortassis editurus est, sed quia conjungere dissidentes conatur, idque eo modo fieri posse existimat, posita aliqua generali sententia, quam nemo propter ge-

The fourth was Justus Jonas, the son also of a great German divine of the same name, and who was one of the four that, in the year 1530, came to Augsburgh, upon a diet appointed by the emperor for religion, with the elector of Saxony; Melancthon, Agricola, and Georgius Spalati-

Justus
Jonas.
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neralitatem rejicere possit, cothurnos facit, qui novas discordias excitabunt, et quædam intexit confirmatura abusus. In ecclesia rectius est, scapham, scapham dicere, nec objicere posteris ambigua dicta, ut in fabulis dicitur, pomum *ἔριδος* objectum esse deabus in convivio sedentibus. Si in Germania nostrarum ecclesiarum consensus integer fuisset, in has miserias non incidissemus. Magnopere igitur te hortor, ut incumbas in hanc curam et cogitationem, ut ecclesiis vere consulatur. Si meum judicium ac suffragium etiam flagitabitis, libenter et audiam alios doctos viros, et dicam ipse sententiam meo loco, et sententiæ causas ostendam, τὰ μὲν πείθων, τὰ δὲ πειθόμενος, ut decet in colloquia piorum. Vincant autem semper veritas, gloria Dei, et salus ecclesiæ, non privati effectus ulli. Hanc epistolam dedi Eusebio Menio, filio Justi Menii, qui ecclesias in ditone ducis Saxonie Johannis Friderici diu pie rexit, et adhuc regit, et præclare doctus et in cælesti doctrina et philosophia, et multa scripsit utilia ecclesiæ, cumque viciniam habebat, in qua multi idola papæ defendebant, et venena anabaptistarum spargebant, pie et

diligenter lupos repressit. Filius ut oris, ita animi paterni effigies est, et eruditionem ad bonos mores adjunxit, patremque hac parte superat, quod mathematica studiose didicit, quæ in academia frequenti magna cum laude docere potest. Et habebat locum honestum in his regionibus, sed tam tristi tempore spectator esse calamitatum patriæ noluit. Ut autem Gothicis temporibus ecclesiæ, et doctrinarum reliquiæ in insula vestra servatæ sunt, ita nunc quoque tumultuante Europa optandum est, ut aliqua maneant tranquilla hospitia literarum. Et Britannie vestræ tranquillitatem opto. Hunc autem Eusebium tibi reverenter commendo, teque oro, ut eum complectaris. Poterit in academia mathemata aliis tradere, et spero ecclesiæ usui, atque ornamento futurum esse ubicunque erit. Non dubito multos adhuc accedere, sed tamen bonitatis et pietatis est tuæ, ut tales adolescentes præstantium virorum, et bene meritorum de ecclesia filios, ingeniis et eruditione excellentes adjuves. Bene et feliciter vale. Calendis Maii, 1548. Melancthon. Epist. pp. 171-173. ed. Witeb. 1570.]

Sleid. lib. 7. nus, being the other threeⁱ. The son came over with letters commendatory from Melancthon, as the others did. He commended his excellent parts, and his progress in all kind of philosophy and good manners, and especially his eloquence; which, he said, he had a nature divinely framed to. To which it may not be amiss to subjoin what Melancthon somewhere else did observe of his family: namely, “that his grandfather was a person of fame for oratory and civil prudence; his father endowed with such parts as naturally made him an orator, in respect of his fluency of words, and gracefulness of delivery^k.” And this felicity of nature he improved by a great accession of learning: which made him tell our Justus, that he was born in *oratoria familia*. And such care did he take of him when he was young, that he took the pains to write him a long letter, containing instructions for his improvement in the grounds of learning^l. This man the archbishop was very kind to, gave him harbour, and admitted him freely into his society and converse: insomuch that

Ep. 129.
lib. 1.

ⁱ [“Augustam primus omnium venit elector Saxonie, cum Joanne Friderico filio: in reliquo comitatu erant Philippus Melancthon, Joannes Islebius Agricola, Justus Jonas, Georgius Spalatinus.”—Sleidan. de statu relig. et reipub. p. 101. ed. Argent. 1555.]

^k [See below, p. 298. n. m.]

^l [“Justo Jonæ, filio Justi Jonæ doctoris, S. D.—Hortantur autem te domestica exempla ad has artes amandas, quæ ad recte dicendum necessaria sunt. Es enim natus in oratoria familia. Nam avum tuum audivimus summam autoritatem propter eloquen-

tiam et civilem prudentiam in patria consecutum esse, qui, ut illa tempora ferebant, non indoctus fuit, et studiosus in primis, ne desessent in oratione nervi. Pater vero etsi tantum natura valet, ut nullius ingenium cognoverim ad eloquentiam aptius, tanta est ubertas, tantus splendor in ejus oratione, quæ naturæ bona sunt, tamen illam naturæ felicitatem magna doctrinæ copia etiam instruxit. Horum te accendi exemplis convenit, ut possessionem hujus laudis in familia retineas. Bene vale.”—Melancthon. Epist. pp. 504, 514. ed. Witeb. 1565.]

Justus Jonas the father entreated Melancthon, that he would take particular notice to the archbishop of his great favour shewed to his son. Among the discourses the communicative prelate held with Jonas while he was with him, one happened concerning a noted question in divinity: where, launching out into free communication with him upon that point, he desired him to impart to Melancthon the substance of what he had discoursed; and that he should signify to him, that the archbishop requested his judgment thereof. Which accordingly Jonas did. And Melancthon, in a letter to the archbishop, styles it *non obscura quæstio*, “and that it had already much shaken the church, and (says he) *concutiet durius*, shall shake it yet more:” giving his reason for this conjecture, “because those governors [meaning, I suppose, the papal clergy] did not seek for a true remedy to so great a matter^m.” It doth not appear to me what this

^m [“Reverendissimo domino Thomæ archiepiscopo ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, &c.—S. D. reverendissime domine: etsi Jonas pater sciebat te filium singulari benevolentia jam complecti: tamen ut intelligeres nos hoc tuum beneficium magnificare, voluit me de filio ad te scribere. Quod cum fecissem, ecce adferuntur filii Jonæ literæ, in quibus mihi sermonem quendam tuum narrat de quæstione non obscura, sed quæ duriter concussit ecclesias, et concutiet durius, quia gubernatores, illi tantæ rei non quærunt vera remedia. Nihil autem in hac epistola præter meum dolorem indicare volo, qui tantus est, ut exhauriri non possit, vel si tantum

funderem lacrymarum, quantum vehit undarum Albis noster, aut apud vos Tamesis. Vides multiplices explicationes et olim excogitatas esse, et nunc excogitari: quia negligitur simplex et sincera vetustas. Ac longiorem disputationem nunc non eo tantum omitto, quia properant tabellarii: sed etiam quia non amo labyrinthos, ut vides omne meum studium in multis materiis fuisse, ut extarent plane evoluta. Illud autem te oro, ut deliberes cum viris bonis ac vere doctis, et quid statuendum, et qua moderatione initio in docendo opus sit. Ego optarim ut et in priore epistola scripsi, non tantum de hac quæstione, sed de quibusdam aliis rebus edi

question was that the archbishop was so earnest to confer with this great divine about; whether it were concerning the necessity of episcopal government and ordination, or concerning the use of ceremonies in the church, or about the doctrine of the sacrament; this last I am apt to believe: but either of them hath, according to Melancthon's prediction, sufficiently shaken the churches of Christ. But to return to Jonas. He had written some pieces, and presented them to the king; for which he intended to reward him. And, being now ready to go to France for the improvement of his knowledge, and so, after a time, to return into England again, for which he had a great affection, he besought secretary Cecyl, in a well-penned letter, "that whatsoever the king intended to bestow on him, he would do it out of hand, for the supply of his travelling necessity." This letter, for the antiquity of it, and the fame of the man, I have inserted in the Appendix. In which is also contained an extract of part of Jonas the father's letter to his son concerning the miseries of Germany.

Number
XCII.

summam necessariæ doctrinæ sine privato ullo affectu, deliberatis et adscriptis suffragiis piorum et doctorum, qui essent adhibiti ad eam deliberationem, nec relinqui posteris ambiguitates tanquam *μῆλον ἔριδος*. Synodus Tridentina veteratoria decreta facit, ut ambigue dictis tueatur suos errores: hanc sophisticam procul ab ecclesia abesse oportuit. Minimum est absurdi in rebus veris recte propositis: invitaret igitur et rerum bonitas et perspicuitas ubique bonas mentes. Nimis horridæ fuerunt initio Stoicæ dispu-

tationes apud nostros de fato, et disciplinæ nocuerunt. Quare te rogo, ut de tali aliqua formula doctrinæ cogites. Nunc rursus de Jona: cum videas ingenii in eo vim egregiam esse, et omnium philosophiæ partium initia eum recte didicisse, ac mores bonos esse, et naturam divinitus ad eloquentiam factam esse: te oro, ut eum tibi commendatum habeas. Reip. Deo volente et usui et ornamento magno futurum esse speramus. Bene vale. Anno 1558."—Melancthon. Epist. pp. 89, 94, 95. ed. Bremæ, 1590.

CHAPTER XXIV.

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MELANCTHON AND THE ARCHBISHOP GREAT FRIENDS.

THESE occasions of the frequent mention of Melancthon do draw us into a relation of some further passages between him and our archbishop. In the year 1549 happened several disputations, chiefly concerning the doctrine of the Lord's supper, before the king's commissioners in both universities. In Oxford they were managed chiefly by Peter Martyr: and in Cambridge, Ridley, then bishop of Rochester, and a commissioner, was the chief moderator. Soon after, Martin Bucer, in this university, defended three points: one, of the *Sufficiency of the Scripture*; another, concerning the *Erring of Churches*; and the last, concerning *Works done before Justification*; against Pern, Sedgwick, and Yong. They on the popish side pretended much, in their disputations, to have antiquity and the fathers for them ^a.

These disputations did our most reverend prelate, together with his own letter, convey to Melancthon by the hand of one Germanicus, a German: who probably might be one of those learned strangers that the archbishop hospitably entertained.

The reflection that that divine, in an answer to his grace in the year 1550, made upon perusal of these papers, was, "That he was grieved to see that those who sought so much for the ancient authorities would not acknowledge the clearness of them. Nor was there any doubt what the

Divers memorable passages between Melancthon and our archbishop.

Sends Melancthon certain public disputations in Oxford and Cambridge.

Melancthon's reflections thereupon. Ep. 41. lib. 3.

^a [For an account of these disputations, see vol. ii. pp. 152—174.]

souder men in the ancient church thought. But that there were new and spurious opinions foisted into many of their books: into that of Theophylact most certainly for one. And that there was some such passage in the copy that Ecolampadius made use of, when he translated Theophylact, which he liked not of, but yet translated it as he found it: but this was wholly wanting in the copy that Melancthon had. That the same happened in Bede's books, which he supposed might be found more incorrupt among us," [Bede being our countryman.]

Sends the
archbishop
his Enarra-
tion upon
the Nicene
Creed.

The same Melancthon, with this his letter, sent our archbishop a part of his Enarration upon the Nicene Creed; for this end, that he might pass his judgment thereon: as he also did, for the same purpose, to A Lasco, Bucer, and Peter Martyr; all then in England^b.

The begin-
ning of their
acquaint-
ance.

The beginning of this learned German's acquaintance with our prelate was very early. For the archbishop's fame soon spread abroad in the world, beyond the English territories: which was the cause of that address of Melancthon, mentioned before in the year 1535, and in the month of August, when he sent a letter and a book to him

^b [“ Reverendissimo domino Thomæ archiepiscopo ecclesie Cantuariensis, &c.—Reverendissime domine. Et epistolam et libros quos misisti reddidit mihi Germanicus adolescens ex Anglia in patriam rediens, mense Maio. Legi certamen, et doleo eos, qui quærunt vetera testimonia, non velle perspicuitatem eorum agnoscere. Nec vero dubium est, quid saniores in veteri ecclesia senserint. Sed imposturas audi. Multis libris novæ et nothæ sententiæ assutæ sunt. Id in Theophylacto

accidisse certum est. Nam quod Ecolampadius in suo codice vertit (cum quidem rem non probaret) sed vertit tamen: id in nostro codice prorsus deerat. Idem accidit in Bedæ libris, quos tamen arbitror apud vos inveniri incorruptiores. Mitto vobis partem enarrationis symboli Niceni, et mitto tanquam censoribus, tibi, Lascio, Bucero, Petro Martyri, et aliis doctis et candidis. Bene valete. 28. Maii anno 1550.”—Melancthon. Epist. pp. 89, 91. ed. Bremæ 1590.]

by Alexander Aless. In the letter he signified what a high character both for learning and piety he had heard given of him by many honest and worthy men; and “that, if the church had but some more such bishops, it would be no difficult matter to have it healed, and the world restored to peace: congratulating Britain such a bishop^c.” And this seems to have been the first entrance into their acquaintance and correspondence.

In the year 1548, Cranmer propounded a great and **407** weighty business to Melancthon; and a matter that was likely to prove highly useful to all the churches of the evangelic profession. It was this. The archbishop was now driving on a design for the better uniting of all the protestant churches; viz. by having one common confession and harmony of faith and doctrine, drawn up out of the pure Word of God, which they might all own and agree in. He had observed what differences there arose among protestants in the doctrine of the sacrament, in the divine decrees, in the government of the church, and some other things. These disagreements had rendered the professors of the gospel contemptible to those of the Roman communion: which caused no small grief to the heart of this good man, nearly touched for the honour of Christ his master, and his true church, which suffered hereby. And, like a person of a truly public and large spirit, as his function was, seriously debated and deliberated with himself for the remedying this evil. This made him judge it very advisable to procure such a confession. And in order to this he thought it necessary for the chief and most learned divines of the several churches to meet together, and with all freedom and friendliness to debate the points of controversy according to the rule of

The archbishop propounds a weighty matter to Melancthon for the union of all protestant churches.

^c [See above, p. 287. n. a.]

Scripture : and, after mature deliberation, by agreement of all parties, to draw up a book of articles, and heads of Christian faith and practice : which should serve for the standing doctrine of protestants^d.

The diligence of the archbishop in forwarding this design.

As for the place of this assembly, he thought England the fittest in respect of safety, as the affairs of Christendom then stood : and, communicating this his purpose to the king, that religious prince was very ready to grant his allowance and protection. And as Helvetia, France, and Germany, were the chief countries abroad where the gospel was professed, so he sent his letters to the most eminent ministers of each, namely, to Bullinger, Calvin, and Melancthon, disclosing this his pious design to them, and requiring their counsel and furtherance. Melancthon first of all came acquainted with it by Justus Jonas, junior, to whom the archbishop had related the matter at large, and desired him to signify as much in a letter to the said Melancthon ; and that it was his request to him, to communicate his judgment thereupon. This Jonas did, and Melancthon accordingly writ to our archbishop on the calends of May this year to this purpose : “ That if his judgment and opinion were required, he should be willing both to hear the sense of other learned men, and to speak his own, and to give his reasons, τὰ μὲν πείθων, τὰ δὲ πειθόμενος, *persuading and being persuaded*, as ought to be in a conference of good men : letting truth, and the glory of God, and the safety of the church, not any private affection, ever carry away the victory.” Telling him withal, “ that the more he considered of this his deliberation, than

Ep. 66. lib. 1. Melancthon's judgment and approbation thereof.

^d [See Jenkyns' Rem. of Abp. 422, 425, 430, 431, 433. Park. Cranmer, vol. i. pp. 329, 331, 335, 337, 344, 346, 348. and Works of Soc. ed. See also Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 87. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

which he thought there could be nothing set on foot more weighty and necessary, the more he wished and pressed him to publish such a true and clear confession of the whole body of Christian doctrine, according to the judgment of learned men; whose names shall be subscribed thereto: that among all nations there might be extant an illustrious testimony of doctrine, delivered by grave authority; and that posterity might have a rule to follow." And he was of opinion, that this confession should be much of the nature of their confession of Augsburgh: only that some few points in controversy might be in plainer words delivered than was in that. "That ambiguities might not hereafter occasion new differences. And that in the church it was best to call a spade a spade: and not to cast ambiguous words before posterity, as an apple of contention. And that if in Germany there had been an entire consent of all the churches, they had not fallen into those miseries." And so concludes, earnestly exhorting our prelate to apply himself vigorously in these his pious cares and thoughts for the good estate of the churches.

Not long after, he pursued his first letter with a second. Wherein he again reminded our reverend father of that caution; viz. "That nothing might be left under general terms, but expressed with all the perspicuity and distinctness imaginable." Which, I suppose, he said, to meet with the opinion of some, who thought it might be more convenient, in order to peace, to suffer some difficult and controverted points to pass under dubious expressions, or in the very words of Scripture, without any particular decisive sense and explanation imposed on them. And concerning this it is probable our archbishop had desired his opinion. This Melancthon was against; saying, "that, for

His caveat of avoiding ambiguous expressions. *In Ecclesia rectius est scapham, scapham dicere.*

Renews the same caution in another letter.

his part, he loved not labyrinths; and that therefore all his study was, that whatsoever matters he undertook to treat of, they might appear plain and unfolded. That it was indeed the practice of the council of Trent; which therefore made such crafty decrees, that so they might defend their errors by things ambiguously spoken. But that this sophistry ought to be far from the church. That there is no absurdity in truth rightly propounded: and that this goodness and perspicuity of things is greatly inviting, wheresoever there be good minds."

And of this very judgment was Peter Martyr, another great divine. For when Bucer, in a discourse with him at Strasburg, had advised him, when he spake of the Eucharist, to use more dark and ambiguous forms of speech, that might be taken in a larger acceptation, urging to him, that this was the course he himself took, and "that a certain good man" [whom I suspect strongly to be our archbishop] "had persuaded him, that by this means the great controversy concerning the real presence in the sacrament might be at an end, and so peace, so long wanted, might be restored to the church:" Martyr was over persuaded by his friend so to do, and used for some time the same form of speech with him, when he had occasion to discourse of that doctrine. But afterward he returned to his former more dilucid style, as well in the matter of the real presence, as in all other subjects he treated of. And that both because he saw this would not suffice them, who held a gross and carnal presence of Christ's body, unless their gross manner of expression were received, and their as gross interpretation too; and because he found that many weaker brethren were greatly offended with these ambiguities of speech, and so entangled and confounded, that they scarce knew what to think in this point. And

Peter Martyr of this judgment. *Quod vir bonus sibi persuasisset posse hac ratione tolli gravem, quæ est de hac causa, controversiam, et ita Ecclesie pacem diu desideratam restitui.*
In Vit. P. Mart. per Josiam Simlerum.

so, leaving Bucer to pursue his obscurer phrases, he chose to speak more clearly and distinctly. And neither did Bucer disallow of Martyr in this course, or was Martyr ignorant of Bucer's true sense, however doubtful his expressions were: as the author of his life tells us^e. This I^{Josias Simler.} mention to shew, how exactly Martyr accorded with Melancthon in this opinion, of expressing things in clear and perspicuous terms; which the said Melancthon thought it

^e ["Atque hujus rei apertum testimonium scripta illius præbent; nam cum multa de justificatione hominis, de prædestinatione divina non pauca, plurima vero scripserit de cœna Domini, in cujus explicatione complures viri docti affectata quadam obscuritate utuntur, nihil nisi proprium, simplex, dilucidum in ejus scriptis legitur. Quin etiam cum Bucerus, quem coluit et admiratus est, sæpe illum hortaretur ut in causa cœnæ Dominicæ obscuris quibusdam et ambiguis dicendi formulis uteretur, quibus ipse ideo utebatur, quod vir bonus sibi persuasisset, posse hac ratione tolli gravem quæ est de hac causa controversiam, et ita ecclesiæ pacem diu desideratam restitui: paruit tandem illi, et eisdem cum eo loquendi formis usus est: sed mox periculo hujus rei animadverso, sententiam mutavit. Vidit enim hac ratione non posse illis satisfieri, qui crassam et carnalem præsentiam corporis Christi in cœna statuunt, nisi etiam crassæ eorum locutiones cum ple-

na crassaque interpretatione recipiantur: rursus etiam expertus est fratres infirmiores hac orationis ambiguitate partim graviter offendi, partim ita implicari et perturbari, ut vix norint quid sibi in hac causa sentiendum sit. Quare Bucero suas locutiones concedens, ipse eandem quam in aliis rebus in hoc quoque dogmate perspicuitatem secutus est, mansitque nihilominus inter eos firma constansque amicitia: nam neque Martyris sententiam Bucerus improbat, neque Buceri sensum, quantumvis ambiguis locutionibus uteretur, Martyr ignorabat. Itaque etsi diversa eorum in hac causa esset docendi ratio, fuit tamen summus eorum consensus in omni doctrina religionis, et perpetua amicitia vitæque conjunctio: quam si explicare vellem, et omnia eorum officia quibus mutuum amorem declararunt commemorare, verba me citius quam res ipsæ deficerent." —Simler. de vita et obitu Pet. Martyr. Orat. pp. 11, 12. ed. Tigur. 1563.]

What Melancthon thought of the doctrine of fate.

highly necessary now to be inculcated, when deliberation was had of drawing up a general confession of faith. After he had thus declared his mind in this matter, he particularly descended to the doctrine of fate; telling the archbishop, how “the stoical disputes of that subject among them in the beginning were too rough, and horrid, and such as were prejudicial to discipline.” Which, I suppose, might be occasioned from some passage in the archbishop’s letter, advising with this learned man how to propound the doctrines of predestination and free will.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ARCHBISHOP CORRESPONDS WITH CALVIN.

THESE his counsels he brake also to John Calvin, the chief guide of the French churches: who also highly approved of his pious proposition. The archbishop, in a letter to that great reformer, had been lamenting the differences that were in the reformed churches; having his eye, I suppose, herein upon those of Geneva and Germany; and, like a true father of the church, consulting for the making up of the breaches, he thought no fitter remedy could be used, than for pious and wise men, and such as were well exercised in God's school, to meet together and profess their consents in the doctrine of godliness. This Calvin acknowledged was rightly and prudently advised by him; applauding him, that he did not only lead the way in purging the doctrine of God's church from corruption, but did so voluntarily exhort and encourage others therein: and that he did not only take care of religion at home in his own country, but all the world over. And as to the meeting and converse of divines for this purpose, which Cranmer had told him he had made the king so sensible of the need and usefulness of, that he was forward in it, and had offered a place in his kingdom for them securely to assemble together in; that French divine wished, "That learned and wise men from the chief churches would accordingly meet, and, diligently discussing the chief heads of faith, would by common consent deliver to posterity the certain doctrine of the Scripture. But that, among the great evils of that

Calv. Ep.

126.

The arch-
bishop
breaks his
purpose
also to
Calvin.Calvin's ap-
probation
thereof, and
commendation
of the
archbishop.

Offers his
service.

410

Excites the
archbishop
to proceed.

age, this also was to be reputed, that churches were so divided from one another, that human society was scarcely kept up among them: much less that sacred communion of the members of Christ, which all professed with their mouths, but few did sincerely take care to preserve. That as to himself, if he might be thought to be of any use, he would not grudge to pass over ten seas, if there were need. That if it were only to contribute some assistance to the kingdom of England, he should esteem it a reason lawful enough; but much more, he thought, he ought to spare no labour, no trouble, to procure a means, whereby the churches, that were so widely divided, might unite among themselves. But he hoped, his weakness and insufficiency being such, he might be spared: and that he would do his part in prosecuting that with his prayers and wishes, which should be undertaken by others." And whereas our archbishop had hinted to him his jealousy, that the business would hardly find a good issue by reason of certain difficulties attending it, Calvin not only exhorted, but earnestly beseeched him to go forward, till it should have some effect at least, though it succeeded not in all respects according to his wish. And so prayed God to guide him with his holy Spirit, and to bless his pious endeavours^f.

^f [Calvinus Cranmero, archiep. Cantuariensi S. D. Tu quidem, illustrissime domine, vere et prudenter in hoc tam confuso ecclesiæ statu nullum aptius afferri posse remedium judicas, quam si inter se convenient pii, cordati, et in Dei schola probe exercitati homines, qui suum in pietatis doctrina consensum profiteantur. Videmus enim quam variis arti-

bus Satan evangelii lucem, quæ mirabili Dei bonitate urbis exorta passim refulget, conetur obruere. Conductitii papæ canes latrare non desinunt, ne purus Christi sermo exaudiatur. Tanta licentia passim ebullit, et grassatur impietas, ut parum a manifestis ludibriis absit religio. Qui professi non sunt veritatis hostes, ea tamen protervia lascivunt, quæ

But the troubles at home and abroad frustrated this excellent purpose, which for two years he had been la-
This excellent purpose frustrated.

brevi, nisi obviam eatur, fœdam nobis confusionem pariet. Neque solum in hominum vulgo regnat hic tum stultæ curiositatis, tum intemperantis audaciæ morbus : sed quod magis pudendum est, in ordine quoque pastorum nimis jam grassatur. Quibus deliriis seipsum deludat et quosdam alios fascinet Osiander, plus satis notum est. Et Dominus quidem, ut ab initio usque mundi solitus est, sinceræ fidei unitatem, ne laceretur hominum dissidiis, mirabiliter, et modo nobis incognito servare poterit. Quos tamen ipse in excubiis locavit, minime torpere vult : quando et eosdem sibi destinavit ministros, quorum opera sanam in ecclesia doctrinam ab omnibus corruptelis purget, ac incolumem ad posteros transmittat. Tibi præsertim, ornatissime præsul, quo altiore in specula sedes, in hanc curam, ut facis, incumbere necesse est. Quod non ideo dico, quasi tibi addendum esse novum calcar existimem : qui non modo sponte præcurris, sed aliis quoque instas voluntarius hortator, verum ut te in tam fausto præclaroque studio mea gratulatione confirmem. Lætum quidem esse in Anglia evangelii successum audimus. Sed istic quoque usu venire quod suo tempore expertus est Paulus, non dubito : ut ostio ad recipiendam puram doctrinam aperto,

multi repente adversarii contra insurgant. Etsi vero me latet, quam multi sint vobis ad manum idonei ad refellenda Satanæ mendacia vindices : facit tamen eorum improbitas, qui ad turbandum satagunt, ut bonorum sedulitas hac in parte nunquam nimia sit aut supervacua. Deinde scio non ita unius Angliæ haberi abs te rationem, quin orbi simul universo consulas. Regis quoque serenissimi non modo generosa indoles, sed rara etiam pietas merito exosculanda, quod sanctum consilium de habendo ejusmodi conventu favore suo prosequitur, et locum in regno suo offert. Atque utinam impetrari posset, ut in locum aliquem docti et graves viri ex præcipuis ecclesiis coirent, ac singulis fidei capitibus diligenter excussis, de communi omnium sententia certam posteris traderent scripturæ doctrinam. Cæterum in maximis seculi nostri malis hoc quoque numerandum est, quod ita aliæ ab aliis distractæ sunt ecclesiæ, ut vix humana jam inter nos vigeat societas, nedum emineat sancta membrorum Christi communicatio, quam ore profitentur omnes, pauci reipsa sincere colunt. Quod si frigidius quam par esset se gerunt doctores, gravissima penes ipsos principes est culpa, qui vel profanis suis negotiis impliciti, ecclesiæ salutem et

Thinks of drawing up articles of religion for the English church.

Which he communicates to Calvin. Ep. 125. and Calvin's reply and exhortation.

bouring to bring to some good issue. His next resolution was to go as far as he could in this matter, since he could not go as far as he would. And he bethought himself of assembling together the divines of his own church, (and that by the king's authority,) to confer with them about drawing up a body of articles of religion: which purpose he had likewise communicated to Calvin. For which he greatly commended him; telling him, "That since the times were such, that that could not in the least be hoped for, which was so much to be wished, viz. that the chief teachers of the divers churches, which embraced the pure doctrine of the Gospel, might meet together, and publish to posterity a certain and clear confession, out of the pure Word of God, concerning the heads of religion then in controversy; he did extremely commend that counsel which he had taken to establish religion in England; lest things remaining any longer in an uncertain state, or not

totam pietatem negligunt: vel singuli privata pace contenti, aliorum cura non tanguntur. Ita fit, ut membris dissipatis, lacerum jaceat ecclesiæ corpus. Quantum ad me attinet, si quis mei usus fore videbitur, ne decem quidem maria, si opus sit, ob eam rem trajicere pigeat. Si de juvando tantum Angliæ regno ageretur, jam mihi ea satis legitima ratio foret. Nunc cum quæretur gravis et ad Scripturæ normam probe compositus doctorum hominum consensus, qua ecclesiæ procul alioqui dissitæ inter se coalescant, nullis vel laboribus vel molestiis parcere fas mihi esse arbitror. Verum tenuitatem meam facturam spero, ut mihi parcat. Si votis prosequar quod ab aliis

susceptum erit, partibus meis defunctus ero. D. Philippus longius abest, quam ut ultro citroque commear brevis tempore literæ queant. D. Bullingerus tibi forte jam rescripsit. Mihi utinam par studii ardori suppeteret facultas. Porro quod me facturum principio negavi, ipsa rei quam sentis difficultas tentare me cogit: non ut te hortor modo, sed etiam obsteter ad pergendum: donec aliquid saltem effectum fuerit, si non omnia ex voto succedant. Vale, ornatissime præsul, et mihi ex animo reverende. Dominus te Spiritu suo regere, sanctosque tuos conatus benedicere pergat. Genevæ." — Jo. Calvinus Epist. p. 61. ed. Amstel. 1667.]

so rightly and duly composed and framed as it were convenient, the minds of the people should remain in suspense and wavering." And then, quickening him, told him, "That this was his part chiefly to do: that he himself saw well what that place required of him, or rather what God exacted, in respect of that office he had laid upon him. That he was of very powerful authority; which he had not only by the amplitude of his honour, but the long conceived opinion that went of his prudence and integrity. That the eyes of the good were cast upon him, either to follow his motions, or to remain idle upon the pretence of his unactiveness."

He took the freedom also with Craumer to blame him for not having made more progress in the reformation: which he thought he might have done in the three years space, wherein king Edward had already reigned: and told him, "That he feared, when so many autumns had been passed in deliberating only, at last the frost of a perpetual winter might follow:" meaning that the people would grow stark cold in minding a reformation. Then "he reminded him of his age, that that called upon him to hasten, lest, if he should be called out of the world before matters in religion were settled, the conscience of his slowness might create great anxiety to him. He particularly put him in mind of the great want of pastors to preach the Gospel, and that the church's revenues were made such a prey: which he called *an intolerable evil*: and said, that this was a plain reason why there was so little preaching among us; that a parcel of slow bellies were nourished from the revenues of the church, to sing vespers in an unknown tongue. But, in the close, he excused him in regard of the many and great difficulties that he wrestled with." Which was certainly most true: Blames him for having not made more progress in the reformation.

But not justly.

g ["Calv. Cranmero archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, S. D. Quando

insomuch that, if he had not been a man of great conduct and indefatigable industry, the reformation had not made

hoc tempore minime sperandum fuit, quod maxime optandum erat, ut ex diversis Ecclesiis, quæ puram Evangelii doctrinam amplexæ sunt, convenirent præcipui quique doctores, ac ex puro Dei verbo certam de singulis capitibus hodie controversis ac dilucidam ad posteros confessionem ederent: consilium quod cepisti, reverende Domine, vehementer laudo, ut mature apud se religionem Angli constituent: ne diutius rebus incertis, vel minus rite compositis quam decebat, suspensi hæreant plebis animi. In quam rem ita omnes qui gubernacula istic tenent, communibus studiis incumbere oportet, ut tamen præcipuæ sint tuæ partes. Vides quid locus iste postulet, vel magis quid pro muneris quod tibi injunxit ratione abs te suo jure exigat Deus. Summa est in te auctoritas, quam non magis tibi honoris amplitudo conciliat, quam concepta, pridem de tua prudentia et integritate opinio. Conjecti sunt in te bonæ partis oculi, vel ut tuum motum sequantur, vel ut cessationis tuæ prætextu torpeant. Atque utinam te duce aliquanto longius jam ante triennium progressi forent, ne tantum hodie negotii crassis superstitionibus tollendis ac certaminum restaret. Fateor equidem ex quo serio refluere Evangelium in Anglia, intra breve tempus non parvas accessiones esse factas. Verum si reputas, et quid adhuc

desit, et quam nimis fuerit in multis rebus cessatum, non est quod remissius ad metam, quasi magna stadii parte confecta properes. Neque enim quasi te videam in opere assiduum, monendus videris, ne tibi quasi defunctus indulgeas. Sed, ut libere loquar, magnopere vereor, nec desinit metus hic recurrere, ne tot conctando transigantur autumnii, ut perpetuæ tandem hyemis frigus succedat. Jam ætas quo magis ingravescit, acrius te stimulare debet: ne si rebus confusis e mundo sit migrandum, magna te ex conscientia tarditatis, anxietas constringat. Res confusas appello: quia sic correctæ sunt externæ superstitiones, ut residui maneant innumeri surculi, qui assidui pullulent. Imo ex corruptelis Papatu audio relictam esse congeriem, quæ non obscuret modo, sed propemodum obruat purum et genuinum Dei cultum. Interim totius ordinis ecclesiastici anima non spirat, vel saltem non viget ut par erat: doctrinæ scilicet prædicatio. Certe nunquam integra florebit religio, donec ecclesiis melius prospectum fuerit, ut idoneos habeant pastores, et qui docendi munus serio obeant. Id quominus fiat, occultis quidem artibus obsistit Satan. Unum tamen apertum obstaculum esse intelligo, quod prædæ expositi sunt ecclesiæ reditus. Malum sane intolerabile. Sed præter illam dis-

so fair a progress as it did in his time. And one may admire rather that he went so far, the iniquity of the times considered, than that he went no farther.

For the great ones, in the minority of the king, took their opportunity most insatiably to fly upon the spoils of the church, and charitable donations; little regarding any thing else than to enrich themselves. Very vicious and dissolute they were in their lives, as the soberer sort in those days complained; and therefore the less to be wondered they were so negligent to provide for the promoting the reformed religion and piety in the land. In the mean time, the chief preachers did what they could to redress these evils: for they plainly and boldly rebuked this evil governance; and especially the covetousness of the courtiers, and their small regard to live after the Gospel: and sometimes incurred no small danger by this freedom. Mr. Rogers^h, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and afterwards a martyr under queen Mary, was one of these: who so freely discoursed once at St. Paul's Cross, concerning the abuse of abbeys, and the church's goods, that he was summoned before the privy council to answer for itⁱ.

The clergy
preach
against
sacrilege.

sipationem, quæ nimis crassa est, non multo levius mihi videtur aliud vitium, quod ex publico ecclesiæ proventu aluntur otiosi ventres, qui lingua incognita vespas cantillent. Nihil dico amplius, nisi quod te approbatorem esse ejus ludibrii, quod palam cum legitimo ecclesiæ ordine pugnat, plusquam absurdum est. Quamquam autem non dubito, quin hæc tibi subinde veniant ultro in mentem, et ab optimo et integerrimo viro D. Petro Martyre, cujus te consilio uti plurimum gaudeo,

suggerantur: tot tamen ac tam arduæ difficultates quibuscum luctares, mihi visæ sunt sufficere, ne supervacua foret mea exhortatio. Vale, clarissime præsul, et mihi reverende. Dominus te diu conservet incolumem, Spiritu prudentiæ et fortitudinis magis ac magis locupletet, tuosque labores benedicat, Amen."—Jo. Calvini Epist. pp. 61, 2. ed. Amstel. 1667.]

^h [See vol. i. pp. 129, 130. 185. and above, p. 31. n. p.]

ⁱ ["After the queen was come

And so were divers others upon the same reason. And I am apt to think that these preachers did what they did by the counsel and direction of the archbishop. So that the present state of things, and the endeavours of him and the rest of the clergy considered, he was a little too hastily censured by Calvin in that behalf. But Cranmer was of so mild and gracious a spirit, that he did not seem to conceive any displeasure against Calvin for this his unjust charge of negligence; but kept up a great esteem and value for him.

But that I may take occasion here to insist a little longer upon this argument, and vindicate the honesty and boldness of the English clergy, in speaking their minds against the sacrilegious spirit that reigned in these times; it may not be amiss to give some account of a communication that happened about December or January, 1552, at court, between sir William Cecyl, the king's secretary, and one Miles Wilson, a grave divine, and acquaintance of the said Cecyl, and a man of eminency in the univer-

The univer-
sity men
declaim
against it in
the schools.

to the Tower of London, he (Rogers) being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement sermon at Paul's Cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and other had there taught in king Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council being then overmatched with popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon: to whom he made a stout, witty, and godly answer, and yet in such sort handled himself, that at that time

he was clearly dismissed. But after that proclamation was set forth by the queen to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council, (for the bishops thirsted after his blood). The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as prisoner to keep his own house, and so he did: although by flying he might easily have escaped their cruel hands; and many things there were, which might have moved him thereunto."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1484. ed. Lond. 1583.]

sity of Cambridge. Discourse happening between them of divers and sundry things, relating partly to the propagating Christ's religion, and partly to the preservation and increase of the commonwealth; the said Wilson delivered to Cecyl an oration to read, which he had composed, *De rebus Ecclesie non diripiendis*; "concerning not spoiling the church of her means:" and which he ⁴¹² once pronounced in the public schools of the university, about that time when those matters were in agitation above. Cecyl, being a good and conscientious man, had in this conference signified to him his earnest desire to hear and see what could be proposed out of the holy Scripture in so unusual an argument. To shew this, and to give also a short view of his said oration, because the secretary's infinite business would not allow him to read long discourses, Wilson soon after digested the contents thereof, reducing it into some syllogisms and ratiocinations, more apt to urge, and easier to remember, and more accommodate to persuade. These, with his letter, he sent to the secretary. His ends herein were to satisfy him in this point, being a man of great stroke in the public transactions of those times: who might accordingly use his interest and endeavour to retrieve what had been so unjustly taken from the church; that the famous schools lately dissolved, to the great ruin of the university, might be reedified again; and that those livings, which were miserably spoiled by covetous patrons, might be restored, and enjoy their whole revenues, to the real honour of the state. And, lastly, that the hospitals, impoverished or wholly beggared, might, by his means, be remedied and helped by the king's council; that they might revert to their former condition; that is, to succour and help the poor. He urged moreover to Cecyl, that the destruction of schools would be the destruction of the

universities: and that all learning would soon cease, and popery and more than Gothic barbarism would invade all, if learned men were not better taken care of than they were; and if the rewards of learning, viz. rectories, prebends, and all, were taken away from them.

And the redress urged upon some at court.

This man had also freely discoursed these matters to two other great and public spirited men, viz. Goodrich, the lord chancellor, who was bishop of Ely; and Holgate, archbishop of York: to both whom he had also given the names of a great many schools, parsonages, and hospitals, that had undergone this sacrilegious usage. And he particularly mentioned to Cecyl a town not far from Cambridge, called Childerlay, where a gentleman had pulled down all the houses in the parish, except his own. And so, there being none to frequent the church, the inhabitants being gone, he used the said church, partly for a stable for his horses, and partly for a barn for his corn and straw. This letter of Wilson to the secretary, together with his arguments against pilling the church subjoined, I have thought worthy preserving in the repository for such monuments in the Appendix. But to return from this digression, which Calvin's censure of our archbishop occasioned.

Number XCIII.

And when, in the year 1551, he despatched into England one Nicolas, (that Nicolas Gallasius, I suppose, who was afterward by Calvin recommended to be minister to the French congregation in London, at the desire of Grindal, bishop of London, that he would send over some honest able person for that place,) with letters to the duke of Somerset and likewise to the king; to whom he presented also, at the same time, his book of Commentaries upon Esay, and the Canonical Epistles, which he had dedicated to him; both the king's council, and the king himself, were much pleased and satisfied with this

Calvin sends letters, and certain of his books to the king. Ep. 123.

message: and the archbishop told Nicolas, "that Calvin could do nothing more profitable to the church, than to write often to the king." The substance of what he wrote to the king, that was so well taken, was to excite and sharpen the generous parts of the royal youth, as Calvin hinted in a letter to Bullinger^a.

Well taken by the king and council. What the archbishop told the messenger hereupon. Ep. 120.

^a ["Nuper excusi sunt mei in Jesaïam et Epistolas Canonicas commentarii. Utrosque regi Angliæ dicare visum est. Exemplar præfationis unius, quod Vergerio

misi, abs te legi potuit. Addidi et privatas literas, quibus generosam pueri indolem acuere conatus sum."—Jo. Calvini Epist. p. 59. ed. Amstel. 1667.]

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ARCHBISHOP HIGHLY VALUED PETER MARTYR.

P. Martyr
and the
archbishop
cordial
friends.
The use the
archbishop
made of
him.

Ep. 126.

As for the learned Italian, Peter Martyr, who is worthy to be mentioned with Melancthon and Calvin, there was not only an acquaintance between him and our archbishop, but a great and cordial intimacy and friendship: for of him he made particular use in the steps he took in our reformation. And, whensoever he might be spared from his public readings in Oxford, the archbishop used to send for him, to confer with him about the weightiest matters. This Calvin took notice of, and signified to him by letter how much he rejoiced that he made use of the counsels of that excellent man^a. And when the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws was in effect wholly devolved upon Cranmer, he appointed him, and Gualter Haddon^b, and Dr. Rowland^c Taylor, his chaplain, and no more, to manage that business: which shews what an opinion he had of Martyr's abilities, and how he served himself of him in matters of the greatest moment. And in that bold and brave challenge he made in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, to justify, against any man whatsoever, every part of king Edward's reformation; he nominated and made choice of Martyr therein to be one of his assistants in that disputation, if any would undertake it with him^d. This divine, when he was forced to leave Oxford upon the change of religion, retreated first to the archbishop at Lambeth; and from thence, when he

^a [See above, p. 313. n. g.]

^c [See vol. ii. p. 128.]

^b [See vol. ii. p. 259. n. h.]

^d [See above, p. 14.]

had tarried as long as he durst, he departed the realm to Strasburgh ^e.

This man was he that saw and reported those voluminous writings of this archbishop, which he had collected out of all the ancient church writers, upon all the heads of divinity; and those notes of his own pen, that he had inserted in the margin of his books: which the archbishop communicated to him, when he conversed with him at his house. And from these, and such like of the archbishop's labours, he acknowledged he had learned much, especially in the doctrine of the sacrament; as he writ in his epistle before his tract of the Eucharist ^f.

The fame of Peter Martyr, and the desire of preserving all remains of so learned a professor, and great an instrument of the reformed religion, hath inclined me to put two of his letters into the Appendix, though otherwise not to our present purpose; being originals, writ by his own hand from Oxon. The one to James Haddon ^g, a learned court divine, and dean of Exon, to procure a license from the king or the council for a friend and auditor of his to preach publicly. The other to sir William Cecyl, to forward the payment of a salary due to him, that read the divinity lecture in the room of Dr. Weston ^h, a papist, who had claimed it himself, and laboured to detain it from him.

I cannot forbear mentioning here an instance of his love and great concern for our archbishop, his old friend and patron, after the iniquity of the times had parted them; the one then in prison, and the other at Strasburgh. It was in June 1555, when queen Mary, supposing herself with child, was reported to have said in her zeal, "That she could never be happily brought to bed, nor succeed

^e [See above, pp. 14, 50.]

^g [See vol. ii. p. 259. n. ^h.]

^f [See vol. ii. p. 323. n. ⁱ.]

^h [See above, p. 68. n. ^e.]

Martyr saw the voluminous writings and marginal notes of the archbishop.

Two letters of Martyr from Oxford.

Numbers XCIV. XCV.

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An instance of his love to the archbishop.

well in any other of her affairs, unless she caused all the heretics she had in prison to be burnt, without sparing so much as one." Which opinion very likely, the bishop of Winchester, or some other of her zelotical chaplains, put into her head. This report coming to Martyr's ears, afflicted him greatly; not only for the destruction that was likely suddenly to befall many holy professors, but more especially for the imminent hazard he apprehended that great and public person, the archbishop, to be in. Which made him express himself in this manner, in a letter to Peter Alexander, to whom that most reverend father had also formerly been a kind host and patron; "That, from those words of the queen, he might discover that my lord of Canterbury was then in great danger."

Pet. Mar-
tyr. Ep.
Theolog.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S FAVOUR TO JOHN SLEIDAN.

To all these learned and religious outlandish men, to whom the archbishop was either a patron or a friend, or both, we must not forget to join John Sleidan, the renowned author of those exact Commentaries of the state of religion, and the commonwealth in Germany, in the time of Charles V. About the end of March, anno 1551, he procured for him from king Edward an honorary pension of two hundred crowns a year, as some aid for the carrying on his Commentaries, which he then was busy about; and, as it seems, encouraged by Cranmer to take in hand and prosecute. And when Dr. Bruno, a learned man, and father in law to Sleidan, departed out of England, which was about the time before mentioned, being the agent of the duke of Saxony, the archbishop informed him of this stipend, by the king granted unto his son in law; confirming the same to him in the king's name, and encouraging the commentator hereby to proceed cheerfully in his useful undertaking.

The archbishop's favour to John Sleidan.

Procures him a pension from the king.

But upon the stirs at court, the payment of this pension was neglected a great while: which caused Sleidan to call upon the archbishop more than once, as also upon his friends Cheke and Cecyl; entreating them to remind the archbishop of him, and to communicate to his lordship the letters he had writ to them. But alas! he needed not to have been excited to things of this nature, bearing so

The payment neglected.

415 good a will to them, and being of his own nature so forward to favour learned and honest men, and useful designs; nor was his good will to Sleidan any whit abated, but his interest at court was, now towards the declension of king Edward's reign.

Sleidan labours with the archbishop to get the pension confirmed by letters patent.

But, because his pension depended only upon a verbal promise of the king, and the getting it under his seal might contribute to the payment of it in better sort hereafter, he laboured with our prelate, and the two other persons mentioned, that it might be confirmed by letters patents. He urged to them, "That he could have employed himself in other business, that would have redounded more to his profit, as many others did. But he reckoned himself called to this work from heaven, and that he could take no rest in his mind till he had brought the history down to that present time;" (it being then the year 1553.) "That he had hope, that they, according to their humanity and prudence, who well understood things, would take some pains that the arrears of his promised stipend might be paid, and that some further care might be taken for the due payment of it hereafter, that so he might the more conveniently and freely follow that matter. Leaving it to them to consider how much that labour cost him:" [as to the charges, he means, of correspondence for the getting particular and faithful accounts of things, that passed in all parts.] And lastly, "That it belonged properly to kings to cherish such labours, as would be ornaments to religion and learning, and of use to the common good." And, in another address to secretary Cecyl, he desired, "That he would plead in his behalf with the most reverend the archbishop;" adding, "that he did wholly give up himself to this work, and was in a diligent pursuit of all matters in order to the compiling a complete history."

Though I have said so much already of Sleidan, yet I will take this occasion to add somewhat more; that I may retrieve as much as I can of this honest man, and excellent writer. In the month of September, anno 1552, he sent to the king, together with a letter, his Commentaries of the German Wars, brought down to that very time: being a short draught of that he intended afterwards more largely and fully to write. And Cheke and Cecyl were the men that presented them to his majesty. With this kind of writing the king declared himself much pleased, as Cecyl wrote him back; and so he and Cheke also were.

Sends his Commentaries to the king.

This encouragement put our author upon another design, resolving to write the whole actions of the council of Trent: wherein he himself had been a part, having been agent there for five months from the city of Strasburg. This he intended to do for the king's own sake: that he might thoroughly understand the form of councils, and might then make his judgment of the rest of the History of the Reformation of Religion, which he was then writing.

Designs to write the history of the council of Trent.

For the king's use.

The spring after he presented the king with a specimen of his writing concerning the council of Trent. It was the beginning and entrance into that treatise he intended to write of that subject. This he desired might be kept in the king's study, and communicated to no other hand; and that no copy of it might be taken, it being but a small part of a future work, and so imperfect.

Sends the king a specimen thereof.

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He had now, in the ides of March, completed his Commentaries from the year 1517 to the year 1536; and was resolved, by God's grace, to go on with it in the same method. In order to which, in the month of December before, he had desired of Cecyl, that he would procure him the whole action between king Henry VIII and pope

In order to the proceeding with his Commentaries

tarries, de-
sires Cecyl
to send him
the whole
action be-
tween king
Henry VIII
and pope
Clement
VII.

Clement VII, when that king vindicated his own liberty, and that of his kingdom, from papal pretences of supremacy over each. This matter between the king and the pope he called, "*locus illustris et memorabilis*, and judged it very worthy for posterity to know. Adding, that though he had in his own hands some matters relating thereto, yet they were not so exact and certain as he could wish; because he desired to describe every thing properly and most exactly according to truth. He entreated also, that if either he or Cheke had any other matters of that nature to impart, they would oblige him with them." Which passages make me conclude that, in relation to the English affairs, he made great use of intelligences from Cecyl and Cheke, and probably our archbishop too. Which consideration may add a great reputation unto the credit of his book.

Now, to preserve as much as we can of this excellent historian, John Sleidan, I have thought good to insert divers of his letters in the Appendix; and likewise because mention is often therein made of our archbishop: to which I have subjoined a letter of Martin Bucer, a great name, wrote to Cecyl in behalf of the said Sleidan. For he did not only importune those courtiers before mentioned, but, when no answer came from them, he made Bucer also his solicitor from Cambridge: who, anno 1551, Feb. 18, wrote to Cecyl to further Sleidan's business, and to despatch the payment of his stipend; and that Sleidan might be resolved one way or other; giving Cecyl this memento, "That this would well become the administration of a kingdom so much adorned as with other things, so with the benefit of religion." By the way, the date of this letter would deserve well to be noted, serving to judge of the true date of Bucer's death: which by historians is variously set down, if we may believe Fuller in his History

Bucer
writes to
Cecyl in
behalf of
Sleidan.
Numbers
XCVI.
XCVII.
XCVIII.
XCIX. C.
CI. CII.

of the University of Cambridge^a. It is certain Bucer was ill when he wrote that letter to Cecyl; for he mentions therein an epistle, which he sent to Dr. John Quercetanus the physician, upon the said Cecyl's desire, the which, he said, he was hardly able to dictate. This letter to Cecyl I take to be writ in his last sickness, nine days before the date which Sleidan his friend assigned for the day of his death. To which agrees, within a day, a passage at the end of a piece of Bucer's, intituled, *Explicatio de vi et usu S. Ministerii*; where it is said, "that he died at Cambridge before he finished it. *Pridie Cal. Martias*, anno 1551^b."

I have one learned man more behind to mention, and he our own countryman; to whom our archbishop was a patron; and that is the celebrated antiquarian John Leland^c, library keeper to Henry VIII, and who, by a

^a ["Martin Bucer ended his life, and was buried in St. Mary's; several authors assigning sundry dates of his death. Martin Crusius (in *Annal. Suev.* pt. ii. lib. ii. cap. 25.) makes him to die A. D. 1551, on the second of February. Pantaleon (de *viris illustribus Germaniæ*) makes him expire about the end of April of the same year. Mr. Foxe, in his "Reformed Almanack," appoints the twenty third of December for Bucer's confessorship. A printed table of the chancellors of Cambridge, set forth by Dr. Perne, signeth March the tenth, 1550, for the day of his death. Nor will the distinction of old and new style (had it been then in use) help to reconcile the differ-

ence. It seems by all reports, that Bucer was sufficiently dead in or about this time."—Fuller's *Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge*, p. 284. ed. Lond. 1840.]

^b ["Huc usque explicatione sua progressus doctissimus theologus, in morbum incidit gravissimum: cujus vehementia latius grassante, paulo post in Christo Servatore felicissime obdormuit, Cantabrigiæ in Anglia pridie Cal. Martias, anno salutis M. D. LI."—Bucer. *Script. Anglic.* p. 610. ed. Basil. 1577.]

^c ["Joannes Lelandus, antiquarius, inclytæ Londinensis urbis indigena, omnium quos præterita ætate Britannia nutrit, rerum suarum studiosissimus, patriam omnem exquisitissimis la-

417 commission under the broad seal, granted to him for that purpose by the king, had got together a vast heap of col-

boribus adornavit. De ejus ingenii et doctrinæ amplitudine, non est quod hic dicam quum opuscula plura, tam prosa quam carmine ab ipso fœliciter edita, in omni disciplinarum genere Græce et Latine, atque in multis aliis linguis eruditissimum fuisse testentur. Sub Sylvio quodam, Lutetiae Parisiorum studuit: et alibi locorum, sub præceptoribus semper optimis, antiquitatis Britannicæ fervidus amator, ac diligentissimus perscrutator, vetera totius insulæ monumenta, magna ubique industria et cura perlustravit, ac quasi ex silice flammam disquisivit, ut ipsam illustraret. Incognita locorum et rerum ex nimia vetustate vocabula prima, per antiquos ac fide dignos auctores revocavit: et quo facilius intelligerentur, tam originalibus quam nunc usitatis explicuit illa nominibus. Exoletos seu ab usu remotos, atque adeo in oblivione pene sepultos, Brytannicos auctores, hic solus resuscitavit, ut dignam haberent ex splendidis factis et ipsi memoriam. Nihil præterea omisit, ex aliarum nationum scriptis aut linguis, quod ad natalis soli ornamentum quoquo modo faceret: quasi ad communem ejus tum commodum, tum decorum fuerit natus. Quod ex subita mentis deturbatione, cerebri vitio, furore, tristitia, vel alia quocunque immoderato animi affectu, in amentiam aut prehene-

sim inciderit, lugere certe debet, quisquis patriæ studium inter virtutes connumerat. Obiit Londini, vir (ut Sigismundus Gelenius scribit) fœliciori valetudine dignus, anno salutis nostræ 1552, die 18 Aprilis sub rege Edwardo sexto."—Bale: Script. Brit. illust. Cat. pp. 671, 2. ed. Basil. 1557. "John Leland was born in London, and instructed in grammar, &c. under the famous Will. Lilly. From his school (St. Paul's) he was sent to Cambridge, where, as he himself saith, he received the first seeds of academical learning in Christ's college, and from thence, as in another place he tells us, he went to Oxon, but to what college or hall therein he adds not. Howbeit by sure tradition from Thom. Key of All Souls' college to Thom. Allen of Gloucester hall, it appears that he spent several years in study in the said college of All Souls, which is also noted by William Burton the antiquary of Leicestershire. Afterward he journied to Paris, and returning entered into holy orders, became chaplain to king Henry VIII, rector of Poppeling in the Marches of Calais, and library keeper to that king. In 1533 he was made the king's antiquary. In 1542 he was presented to the rectory of Haseley, near to, and in the county of Oxon; and in 1543 the king gave to him a canonry in this his college, (i. e.

lections of the historical antiquities of this nation: which he was many years a making by his travels and diligent searches into the libraries of abbeys and religious houses, before and at their dissolution, and elsewhere. From whence he intended to compile a complete history of the antiquities of Britain; to which he wholly devoted himself. But being at that time poor, and the charges of such an undertaking great, he wanted somebody to make this known to the king, and to recommend him effectually to his favour and countenance, and to procure him a royal gratuity: for which purpose he made his application to Cranmer, (who, he well knew, was the great encourager of learning and ingenuity,) in a very elegant address in verse, as he was an excellent poet. And, I am apt to think, the preferments that soon after befell him, as a good parsonage near Oxford, and a canonry of the King's college in that university, and a prebendship elsewhere, accrued to him by the means of the archbishop, laying open his state before the king. His copy of verses were as follow:

Ad Thomam Cranmerum Cantiorum Archiepiscopum.

*EST congesta mihi domi supellex,
Ingens, aurea, nobilis, venusta,
Qua totus studeo Britanniarum*

Christ Church,) and about that time the prebend of E. Knowle, and W. Knowle, near to Salisbury in Wiltshire: but this canonry he lost in 1545, upon the surrender of this college to the king, and in lieu thereof had no pension allowed him as other canons had, but preferment else-

where. At length, falling distracted, he died April 18, 1552, and was buried in the church of St. Mich. le Querne in London." —Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford, vol. iii. pp. 429, 431. n. 78. ed. (Gutch.) Oxon. 1786-96.]

*Vero reddere gloriam nitore.
Sed fortuna meis noverca cæptis,
Jam felicibus invidet maligna.
Quare ne pereant brevi vel hora
Multarum mihi noctium labores
Omnes, et patriæ simul decora
Ornamenta cadant, suusque splendor
Antiquis male desit usque rebus,
Cranmere, eximium decus piorum,
Implorare tuam benignitatem
Cogor. Fac igitur tuo sueto
Pro candore, meum decus, patronumque,
Ut tantum faveat, roges, labori
Incepto: pretium sequetur amplum.
Sic nomen tibi litteræ elegantes
Recte perpetuum dabunt, suosque
Partim vel titulos tibi receptos
Concedet memori Britannus ore.
Sic te posteritas amabit omnis,
Et fama super æthera innotesces.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER'S RELATIONS AND CHAPLAINS.

To look now a little into the archbishop's more private ^{His wives} and domestic concerns. He had two wives. While he ^{and chil-} was fellow of Jesus college in Cambridge, not being in orders, he married his first, named Joan, dwelling at the Dolphin, opposite to Jesus lane, which I think is a public house to this day: which occasioned some of his enemies afterwards to say, "That he was once an ostler," because he lodged some time with his wife at that house. Her he buried within a year, dying in childbed. And then for divers years he continued studying hard, and reading learned lectures in the university, and bringing up youth, till he was called to the court. His second wife, named Anna, he married in Germany, while he was ambassador there. By her he had children. In king Henry's reign he kept her secret; and, upon the act of the six Articles he sent her **418** away into Germany, that he might give no offence, nor draw any danger upon himself. In the time of king Edward, when the marriage of the clergy was allowed, he brought her forth, and lived openly with her. He had children that survived him; for whose sake an act of parliament passed in the year 1562^b, to restore them in blood, their father having been condemned for treason in

^a [See above, pp. 20, 154, 163.]

^b [i. e. 5. Eliz. A. D. 1562-3. intituled "an act for the restitution in blood of the heirs of Thomas

Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury."—See Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. pt. i. p. xxvii.]

consenting to the lady Jane's succession to the crown: for which yet he was pardoned by queen Mary^b. Probably the pardon was only verbal, or not authentically enough drawn up, or might admit of some doubt: to take off which such an act was procured. How many children he had, or what issue remains of them to this day, I am not able, after all my inquiries, to shew.

His wife survived him.

Sincere and modest Defence of English Catholics.

His wife survived him: for we may give so much credit to a very angry book, writ against the *Execution of Justice in England*, by cardinal Allen; which, charging the archbishop with breach of vows, saith, "That at the very day and hour of his death, he was sacrilegiously joined in pretended marriage to a woman, notwithstanding his vow and order." And living she was toward the latter end of archbishop Parker's time; and for her subsistence enjoyed an abbey in Nottinghamshire; which king Henry, upon Dr. Butts his motion, without the archbishop's knowledge, granted to him and his heirs^c.

MS. Life of Cranmer in Benet college.

Divers Cranmers.

For his wife and children he could not escape many a taunt from his enemies behind his back; and one to his face from Dr. Martin, one of those that were commissioned to sit as judges upon him at Oxford. He told him in reproach, "That his children were bondmen to the see of Canterbury." Whether there be any such old canon law, I know not: but the archbishop smiled, and asked him, "If a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had children by her, whether those children were

^b ["This is certain, that not long after this, he was sent unto the Tower, and soon after condemned of treason. Notwithstanding, the queen when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and specially seeing,

he last of all other subscribed to king Edward's request, and that against his own will, released to him his action of treason, and accused him only of heresy."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1871. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^c [MSS. C. C. C. No. cxxviii.]

bondmen to the benefice, or no? And that he trusted they would make his children's case no worse^d." I find two of his name in king Edward's reign; but whether they were his or his brother Edmund's sons, or some other relations, I cannot tell. There was one Richard Cranmer, one of the witnesses at the abjuration of Ashton, priest, an Arian, 1548^e. Daniel Cranmer^f of Bilsington, of the diocese of Canterbury, who, about administering to a will, was, for contumacy to the court of Canterbury, excommunicate: and a *significavit* was issued out against him thereupon, in the year 1552. There was also a Thomas Cranmer about these times, who bought something in Ware lane of the city of Canterbury^g: he was public notary, and register to the archdeacon in the year 1569. I find likewise one Robert Cranmer, esq., who was nephew to the archbishop, and alive at the latter end of queen Elizabeth. This Robert left one only daughter and heiress, named Ann; whom sir Arthur Harris, of Crixey in Essex, married, and enjoyed with her three manors: Postling, which came to the said Robert in the beginning of queen Elizabeth; Kingsnorth in Ulcomb, and Saltwood; both which he purchased in the latter end of that queen: upon whose grandchild, sir Cranmer Harris, of Lincoln's Inn, kt. those estates descended. There was another Cranmer of Canterbury, who enjoyed a manor called Sapinton, in Petham in Kent: one of 419 whose offspring by descent successively was entitled to the propriety of it, and was alive when Philipot published his book of that county, *viz.* 1659^h. There be living at

Cranm.
Regist.
Sumner's
Ant.

Philipott's
Villar.
Cantian.

^d [See the last proceedings against archbishop Cranmer in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1881. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^e [Cranmer, Reg. fol. 74.]

^f [See above, p. 230.]

^g [See Somner's Antiq. of Canterbury, p. 347. ed. Lond. 1640.]

^h [See Philipott's Villare Cantium, p. 274. ed. Lond. 1659.]

this time, among divers others, two knights of this name, sir Cesar Cranmer, once belonging to the court; and sir William Cranmer, a worthy merchant of London, and now deputy governor of the Hamburgh company.

The arch-
bishop's
stock.

But, if we look backward, the archbishop's stock and pedigree was very ancient, and of good credit. His father was Thomas Cranmer of Aslacton in Nottinghamshire, esquire; and his mother was Agnes, the daughter of Laurence (or Stephen) Hatfield of Willoughby, of like degree, a gentleman, if I mistake not, of the same county. Which two had issue three sons; John, and Thomas our archbishop, and Edmund, who was the archdeacon: and four daughters; Dorothy, Ann, Jane, Isabel. Which sisters of our archbishop were thus matched: Dorothy to Harold Rosel of Radcliff in this county, esquire; Ann to Edmund Cartwright of Ossington in Staffordshire, esquire; Jane to John Monings, lieutenant of Dover Castle; and Isabel to sir ... Shepey, knight. Matches, I suppose, especially the two latter, of the archbishop's own making, for the preferment of his sisters. His elder brother John married Jone, daughter of Fretchvile, of a good family in the same county: whose grandchild Thomas, and grandnephew to our archbishop, had none but daughters; one of whom, being a coheir, married John Rosel, grandchild to Harold aforesaid, and the other to good families in these parts.

Aslacton.

The archbishop's great grandfather, Edmund, married Isabel, daughter and heir of William de Aslacton, a very ancient family. This Edmund was alive in the reign of Henry VI.

Whatton.

In the church of Whatton, in this county, is an ancient monument of an ancestor of our archbishop, with this inscription; *Hic jacet Thomas Cranmerus. Qui obiit 27 Maii, 1501. Cujus animæ propitiatur Deus. Amen.* And on the

monument the coat of arms of the Cranmers; being a chevron between three cranes, quartered with those of the Aslactons, Newmarches, Whattons, and two families more. This might probably enough be the archbishop's father.

The archbishop, in the first year of king Edward VI purchased of that king the rectories of Whatton and Aslacton, (the manors whereof belonged to his family before,) with the advowsons of the churches: both which had pertained to the dissolved monastery of Welbeck. Which rectories the archbishop, as it seems, made over to his nephew Thomas, son to his brother John: for he died seised of them both; and they descended to his son and heir Thomas. The manors of the said Whatton and Aslacton are now come into the noble family of Dorchester: the tithes and glebe to the Armstrongs of Scarlington. For these collections I am beholden to Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire^h.

And now, in the last place, let us look into the archbishop's domestic affairs. He took great heed to the well-government of his family, that all things there might be seem the house of a truly Christian bishop, and the chief spiritual governor of the English church. And, in order to this, one of his cares was to have learned men about him: a few whereof, as I could retrieve them, I shall here mention, and give some account of. And first let us begin with his chaplains.

I can find but few of them: but men they were of great parts and achievements in learning, as well as piety. One of them was Rowland Taylorⁱ, doctor of both laws, and

^h [See Thoroton's Hist. of Notts., vol. i. pp. 263, 269. ed. Lond. 1797. For the genealogy of the archbishop, see Todd's Life of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i.]

ⁱ [See vol. ii. p. 128.]

preferred by the archbishop to be parson of Hadley in Suffolk: who sealed his doctrine with his blood: an extraordinary man, both for his learning, as well as his bold and brave profession of Christ's religion, even to the fiery trial. He had read over (which was rare in those days) all St. Augustine's works, St. Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, Eusebius, Origen, and divers other fathers. He professed the civil law, and had read over the canon law also: as he told the lord chancellor Gardiner, when in his scorn and rage together he called him an *ignorant beetle-brow*. The archbishop made use of him in his affairs: and he was one of those that were joined with him, in king Edward's days, for making a reformation in the ecclesiastical laws. Soon after he was invested in his benefice, leaving the archbishop's family, he went and resided, like a careful pastor, and performed among his parishioners all the parts of an excellent minister, in respect of his doctrine, example, and charity. He was sent down to his own parish of Hadley, where he was extremely beloved, to be burnt. But I refer the reader to the large and full account that Foxe gives of him in his book of Acts and Monuments^k, and shall only recite his epitaph, as it now remaineth, or lately did, in a brass plate hanging in the church of Hadley, where he deserved so well.

^k [For "the history of Dr. Rowland Taylor, who suffered for the truth of God's word, under the tyranny of the Roman bishop, 1555, the ninth day of February,"

see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1518-1529. ed. Lond. 1583; vol. vi. pp. 676-703. ed. Lond. 1843-48.

Gloria in altissimis Deo.

Of Rowland Tailors fame I shew
 An excellent divine
 A doctor of the civill lawe
 A Preacher rare and fyne.
 Kinge Henrye and Kinge Edwarde dayes
 Preacher and Parson here
 That gave to God contynuall prayse
 And kept his flocke in feare
 And for the truth condempned to dye
 He was in fierye flame
 Where He received pacyentlie
 The torment of the same
 And stronglie suffered to tbende
 Which made the standers by
 Rejoyce in God to see their frend
 And Pastor so to dye
 O Tailor were the myghtie fame
 Uprightly here inrolded
 Thy deeds deserve that thye good name
 Were siphered here in golde

His epi-
 taph.

Obiit anno dni 1555.

And in Aldham common, not far from Hadley town, is a great stone, that assigns the place where he suffered, and on it are written these words, or to this effect ;

D Tayler in de
 fending that
 was good at
 this plas left
 his blode¹.

¹ [Strype gives the following inscription of the stone, which is incorrect :

Dr. Taylor for maintaining what
 was good,
 In this place shed his blood.

421 His living was immediately supplied by one Newal: and, to deserve his preferment, or by commandment, perhaps, from above, to render their taking away Dr. Taylor the more justifiable, he made a sermon February 10, 1555, being the day next after he suffered, upon this text; *Sic currite, ut comprehendatis*. His work was to persuade the people to return to the old superstitions, and to bespatter the martyr with false reports. And, meeting with a writing that containeth the sum of this sermon, I will crave leave here to insert it; to give a specimen of popish preaching in these days.

A sermon preached the day after his burning.

Inter Foxii MSS.

Wherein the martyr is grossly slandered.

“ He exhorted^m to run in the strait way, and leave the
In addition to the brass plate in the church and stone at Aldham common in memory of Dr. Taylor, there is a monument on Aldham common, erected in the year 1818, with the following inscription :

This is the victory that overcometh
the world, even our faith. 1 John 5 c. 4 v.

Mark this rude stone where Taylor dauntless stood,
When zeal infuriate drank the martyr's blood.
Hadleigh! that day how many a tearful eye
Saw thy lov'd Pastor drawn a victim by;
Still scattering gifts and blessings as he past,
To the “blind pair” his farewell alms were cast;
His clinging flock e'en here around him prayed,
As thou hast aided us, be God thine aid.
Nor taunts nor bribe of mitred rank nor stake,
Nor bones nor flames his heart of firmness shake:
Serene! his folded hands, his upward eyes,
Like holy Stephen's, seek the opening skies.
There fixed in rapture his prophetic sight
Views truth drawn clear on England's bigot night.
Triumphant saint! he bowed and kissed the rod,
And soared on seraph wing to meet his God.

The above information, and the correction of the inscriptions, were given by the Rev. H. B. Knox, rector of Hadleigh.]
^m [Harl. MS. 425. Plut. lxx. E. fol. 119-120. Brit. Mus. Original.]

wide gate; *viz.* to leave the new found learning, and but *new found* indeed, and follow all one religion. For ye were (said he) erroneously taught by such men as died yesterday: of whom I will speak, but for no malice, as God I take to record.

“ His opinions were, wherefore he died, one, that priests might have wives: the other, that in the sacrament was not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ substantially and really.

“ The first, that priests should have wives, he could prove by no Scripture, but by three other authors. And he was demanded, if he were willing to stand to hisⁿ last? He answered, Yea, before God. Then the book laid afore him, and read to him in Latin and English: and he, reading the English of it himself, said he would read the Latin; and so did, and confuted himself; and stood then as amazed; as can witness five hundred.

“ And I dare say there were a thousand texts rehersed to him to the contrary: but he could answer not to one. And so had divers admonitions, but was so stubborn in his own conceit, according to Paul’s saying, *Si sit homo sectuum, Let him be admonished once or twice*; and so hath he been. *If he will not turn, let him be cast out*: and so he is now. For better were it so to do, then to put many souls in danger with evil doctrine.

“ And one text I will declare to you for priests having wives. St. Paul, when he was tempted, rid to our Saviour Christ, and asked what remedy were for temptation, for his temptation? but whether it were of lust of the flesh, or vainglory, I cannot tell; but let that go to the opinion of men. And Christ answered, *Why, Paul, is not my grace sufficient for thee?* But he did not say, Take a wife, and let that be thy remedy. But they strait take a drab

ⁿ [“ To the last.” Strype.]

by the tail, saying, That no man can live chaste without the gift of God.

“ And as concerning the sacrament, to prove it, he brought Paul in the end of the first to the Corinthians, Luke, John, sixth of Mark. And it is not to be called the *Supper of the Lord*, as these Banbury glossers have called it. For *cœna facta*, he said, *This is my body*, which is, or shall be, betrayed. And in one text^o, Cyprian, one of the primitive church, said, in a sermon of the supper, *The bread which Christ gave to his disciples, by the omnipotency of the word, is made flesh* p. And Dionysius^q and Hilary *similiter* r.

^o [Some of the authorities cited by Newal were the common places of controversy at the time; but of very vague application. Some were probably made at random. See the following notes.

p [“ Panis iste quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi, factus est caro.” Cyprian. (Arnoldi) de cœna Domini. p. 468. ed. Paris. 1574.]

^q [Probably from Dionysius Areop. Hierarch. cap. iii. Τὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον ἄρτον ἀνακαλύψας, καὶ εἰς πολλὰ διελλών, καὶ τὸ ἐνιαῖον τοῦ ποτηρίου πᾶσι καταμερίσας, συμβολικῶς τὴν ἐνότητα πληθύνει, καὶ διανέμει, παναγεστάτην ἐν τούτοις ἱερουργίαν τελῶν. p. 103 c. ed. Lut. Paris. 1615.

See this passage commented on in Cranmer's Defence of the doctrine of the Sacrament; Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, ii. 320. 402. Cranmer's Answer to Gar-

dyner, *ibid.* iii. 235. See also for some general remarks on the misquoting of Dionysius, Jewell's reply unto Harding's answer, ed. Lond. 1620. pp. 9. 20.]

^r [“ Si enim vere verbum caro factum est, et vere nos verbum carnem cibo dominico sumimus; quomodo non naturaliter manere in nobis existimandus est, qui et naturam carnis nostræ jam inseparabilem sibi homo natus assumpsit, et naturam carnis suæ ad naturam æternitatis sub sacramento nobis communicandæ carnis admiscuit, &c. Hilar. de Trin. lib. viii. § 13. ed. Ben. p. 222. See Cranmer's Defence; Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, ii. 405, 406. Answer to Gardyner, *ibid.* iii. 249, 253. Dispute with Chedsey, iv. 40, 47. It is referred to by Waterland, as an authority for the mystical, not the carnal sense, in his Review of the doctrine of the Eucharist, ed. Oxon. 1823. vol. vii. ch. vi. p. 132.]

“ To err is a small fault, but to persevere is a devilish thing: for it moveth many minds to see an heretic con- 422
stant, and to die. But it is not to be marvelled at: for the devil hath power over soul and body. For he causeth men to drown and hang themselves at their own wills: much more he may cause a man to burn; seeing he is tied, and cannot fly. Barnabe saith^s so. Cyprian^t, *unus clericorum*, saith, That grievous is the fault of discord in Christ’s church, and cannot be cleansed with burning, or any other sacrifice. *Ergo*, damned.

“ For sure he died in damnable case, if he did not otherwise repent in the hour of pain. For though he did burn in this case, he sheweth himself a Christian man no otherwise than the devil sheweth himself like Christ: and so maketh no end of a martyr. Austin saith, *He that will deny the church to be his mother, God will deny him to be his son*^u. And so Pope Julius the third prayed for, &c.” He made an end for lack of his books, because, he said, he was but new come, and brought not his books with him.

“ Item, last, the person being laboured by the way, to

^s [Barnabas could at that time of course be quoted at second hand only. It is probable that reference is made to the following often cited passage: Ἐφ’ ἧς μὲν γάρ εἰσι τεταγμένοι φωταγωγὸι ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐφ’ ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Σατανᾶ· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶ Κύριος ἀπ’ αἰώνων εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τῆς ἀνομίας. Epistola, § 18. Cotel. Patr. Apost. i. p. 50. This is quoted by Origen, lib. iii. περὶ ἀρχῶν, cap. 2.]

^t [“ Tales etiamsi occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula

ista sanguine alluitur. Inexpiables et gravis culpa discordiæ, nec passione purgatur. Esse martyr non potest, qui in ecclesia non est: ad regnum pervenire non potest, qui eam, quæ regnatura est, derelinquit.” Cyprian. de Unit. Eccl. ed. Fell. Oxon. 1682. p. 113.]

^u [“ Nec habebit Deum Patrem, qui ecclesiam noluerit habere matrem.” August. Sermones ad Catechumenos. tom. vi. p. 582 c. § 13. ed. Bened.]

have left his opinion, answered, Alas! what would you have me to do? Once I have recanted, and my living is gone. I am but a wretch: make an end of me. And, I warrant you, said not one word at his death, more than desired the people to pray for him. Which was no token of a Christian, but of stubbornness. But I am glad that ye were so quiet.”

A right popish sermon, patched up of ignorance, malice, uncharitableness, lies, and improbabilities. That he had no Scripture to produce for himself. That his adversaries had a thousand against him. That he should be willing to stand to a quotation out of a father, and know no better what it was, as, when he saw it, to be so confounded and amazed. That if he were so convinced and speechless, that he should be so stupid and senseless to suffer death, for matters which he saw were not true. But such a character was here given of him, as was no ways agreeable to the great learning, wisdom, and piety, that this excellent man was endued with.

John Ponet.

John Ponet^x, or Poinet, a Kentish man, and of Queen's College, Cambridge, was another of his chaplains; a very ingenious as well as learned man: afterward bishop of Rochester, and then of Winchester. A great friend to that accomplished scholar, Roger Ascham^y; who, in confidence of his friendship, writ to him, when domestic chaplain to the archbishop, to deliver his letter, and forward his suit to his grace, to dispense with him for eating fish, and keeping Lent, as was mentioned before. He was of great authority with Cranmer, and of his council in matters of divinity. We may judge of his great abilities by what Godwin speaks of him, *viz.* “That he had left divers writings in Latin and English: and that, besides the Greek and Latin, he was well seen in the Italian and

^x [See vol. ii. p. 131. n. o.]

^y [See vol. ii. pp. 53 et seqq.]

Dutch tongues. [Which last he learned probably in his exile.] That he was an excellent mathematician, and gave unto king Henry VIII a dial of his own devise; shewing not only the hour of the day, but also the day of the month, the sign of the sun, the planetary hour; yea, the change of the moon, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, with divers other things as strange, to the great wonder of 423 the king, and his no less commendation^z." And he was as eminent for his gift in preaching as for his other qualifications, being preferred by king Edward for some excellent sermons preached before him. One of our historians ^{Stow.} writes, that he was with sir Thomas Wyat in his insurrection: and, after his defeat, fled into Germany, where, in the city of Strasburg, he died about the year 1556^a. But

^z ["Gardiner sic ut retulimus exauctorato, sufficitur Joannes Poynetus sacræ theologiæ doctor, qui episcopus Roffensis tum nuper fuerat creatus. Hic in Cantia natus, et in collegio regio Cantabrigiæ educatus est. Rerum potita Maria, in Anglia nihil tuti sibi reliquum existimans, profugit in Germaniam, ubi juvenis diem obiit Argentorati nondum quadragenarius undecimo Aprilis* 1556. Vir egregie doctus, quod abunde testantur opera ab illo tam Latine quam Anglice edita. Græcam vero etiam linguam callebat ad amussim, Italicam quoque et Germanicam mediocriter. Mathematicarum porro scientiarum ad miraculum usque peritus, Henrico octavo dicitur horologium fabricasse, quod non solum horas vul-

gares ostenderet, sed diem etiam mensis, mutationes lunares, et fluxus atque refluxus maris tempora. Ad hæc, magna vi dicendi præditus, per conciones aliquot egregias innotuit regi etiamnum puero, cujus tamen singulari favore ad has dignitates dicitur pro- vectus."—Godwin de præsul. pp. 237, 8. ed. Cantab. 1793.]

^a ["Whilst Wyat and his counsel were devising how to raise his ordinance dismantled, many of his society slipped from him, among the which, M. Harper was one, who went to the court, and opened all the premises aforesaid, to the queen and council, where Wyat was, what had chanced, and what was his intention. The breaking of the said gun was such an hinderance to his enter-

* ["Aug. 11, 1556, quadragenarius, et Argentorati sepultus, ut habet Baleus, cent. 8. p. 695."—Godwin.

Bale speaks not a word of his being with Wyat; but that he died, being forty years of age, buried at Strasburg, and attended honourably to his grave with abundance of learned men and citizens^b.

prize, that all about him were amazed, and at their wit's end, because by that means the hour was broken of appointment; wherefore Vaughan, Bret, and other appointed, soldiers and counsellors, such as had wise heads in other affairs, as doctor Poinet, and other, did counsel the said Wyat to march forwards and keep his appointment, and to let the gun lie, which in no wise he could be persuaded to do. Doctor Poinet, bishop of Winchester, therefore, considering how many of his confederacy was stolen away from him, he began to persuade with captain Bret, and other his friends, to shift for themselves, as he would do, and at that very place where the gun did break, he took his leave of his secret friends, and said he would pray unto God for their good success, and so did depart, and went into Germany, where he died."—Stow's Annals, p. 620. ed. Lond. 1631.]

^b ["Joannes Ponetus, in Cantiorum comitatu prognatus, literarum ab ipsa pueritia cupidissimus, ad Cantabrigienses adolescens venit: et nullo non genere doctrinæ inter eos in reginæ collegio enituit. Ad omnem nimirum philosophiæ, et aliarum artium liberalium omnium reconditam cognitionem compositus, eo

excellentis eruditionis pervenit, ut plenam et perfectam cujusque artis peritiam in illo esse crederent homines. Pro ingenii certe miraculo ducebat Henricus octavus Anglorum rex, scioteria seu horologia quedam, quæ pro sua majestate fecisset: arguta in illis erat, et in ambitu tam brevi, dierum, mensarum, noviluniorum, fluxuum et refluxuum maris, cælestium signorum, planetarum, rerumque contingentium descriptio. Vir utique talis Ponetus pariter fuit, ut prædictis artibus, elimatam eloquentiam adjunxerit: et in omni actione aut rebus quas præclare gessit, heroicam quandam civilitatem ac morum dulcedinem expresserit. Operam etiam non segnem linguis cognoscendis adhibuit, Latinæ scilicet, Græcæ, Italicæ, ac demum Germanicæ: in quibus tantum profecit, ut tres primas alias eleganter prælegeret, et ex ipsis in Anglicam sermonem complures libros transferret. Successus ejus studiorum talis tantusque fuit, ut in Cantabrigiensi academia, theologi titulis omnibus sit donatus; et ab Edwardo clementissimo rege, ob insignes conciones, episcopus primum Roffensis, postea Wintoniensis designatus. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Thomæ Cranmero, tanquam Achates, in magna semper authori-

Thomas Becon^c, a Suffolk man, seems to have been his^{Tho. Be-} chaplain. To Cranmer Becon dedicated his treatise of^{con.} Fasting: wherein he mentioned several benefits he had received from the archbishop: one whereof was, his making him one of the six preachers of Canterbury. He was deprived in queen Mary's reign, as all the other five were, for being married. He was a famous writer, as well as preacher, in the reigns of king Henry, king Edward, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth. So eminent, that he was one of the three (Vernon and Bradford being the other two) that were sent for by queen Mary's council, and committed to the Tower in the beginning of her reign, *viz.* August 16, 1553^d: from whence he was not delivered till March 22 following. During which time, as he complained himself, he underwent a miserable imprisonment. To conceal himself in those dangerous times, he went by the name of Theodore Basil: and was one of

tate fuit, et a consilio in abditis divinatorum mysteriorum eloquii.

“Sed mortuo piissimo rege Edwardo cum duodecim episcopis aliis, videlicet, Cantuariensi præfato, Eboracensi, Londinensi, Lincolnensi, Cestrensi, Cicestrensi, Wigornensi, Menevensi, Herefordensi, Excestrensi, Bathoniensi, et Bristollensi, per mutationem religionis in papismum teterrimum, loco remotus fuit. Tandemque fugiens a facie Jesabelis, et suorum sacrificulorum, qui avidissime, his saltem diebus, prophetarum sanguinem sitiunt, verus Jesu Christi servus in Germaniam exul concessit.—Obiit quadragenarius Ponetus, pro Christi nomine pauper et exul,

in firmissima divinæ veritatis confessione, Argentorati sepultus, anno salutis nostræ 1556, et die 11 mensis Augusti. In cujus funere incredibilis aderat eruditorum hominum ac civium multitudo. Det Dominus tales suæ ecclesiæ doctores multos, quo nomen suum gentibus innotescat.”—Bale, script. illust. Brit. Catal. pp. 694. 5. ed. Basil. 1557.]

^c [See vol. ii. p. 377. n. m.]

^d [“The same day (August 16, 1553) was M. Bradford, M. Vernon, and M. Beacon, preachers, committed to the charge of the lieutenant of the Tower.”—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1409. [erroneously printed 1497.] ed. Lond. 1583.]

those authors, whose names were specified in a severe proclamation put forth by king Philip and queen Mary, 1555, as being writers of books, which, as contrary to the pope and Roman catholic religion, were forbidden to be brought into England, or used, and commanded diligently to be searched for, and brought to the ordinary, upon penalty of the statute of Henry IV against heresy. After his delivery from prison, skulking about for some time, at length he saved himself by exile.

He was a man mightily tossed about. For to look upon him before this, in king Henry's reign; then, for his security, he was forced to leave his friends and country, wandering as far as Darbyshire, and the Peak: where he privately taught school for a subsistence: and, coming a mere stranger into Alsop in the Dale, one Mr. Alsop, a pious man in that barbarous country, shewed him great civility. Afterwards he travelled into Staffordshire, where he also educated children in good literature, and instilled into their minds the principles of Christian doctrine. After a year's tarrying there, and in Leicestershire, he flitted into Warwickshire, where he taught also divers gentlemen's sons, and where he met with old father Latimer, to his great joy, who had first made him acquainted with the Gospel, when he was a scholar in Cambridge, twenty years before. He wrote a great many books, forty in number, suited to the various occasions of Christians, both in the persecutions under queen Mary, and the free profession and restoration of the Gospel, under king Edward and queen Elizabeth: and many more against the religion of the Roman church. All these did this learned and painful author compose for the benefit of the professors of religion: whereby he did such service to the enlightening of men's minds in the knowledge of the truth, and for the exposing the corruptions of popery,

that it was thought convenient that some of that communion should be employed to write against him. And so Richard Smith^e, sometime reader of divinity in Oxon, and one that had subscribed to the reformed religion, and after fled into Brabant, and became a zealous asserter of popery, writ in a bitter style against some of Becon's books, as he had done against the archbishop himself before.

I find this Becon put up to preach one of the Lent sermons at St. Paul's Cross, in the year 1565. And such then was his fame for a preacher, and such his favour with the greatest prelates, that the lord mayor for that year sent a message to archbishop Parker, that his grace would prevail with him to preach one of the sermons at the Spittle that Easter ^f.

In the year 1564 he revised and reprinted all his former books in three volumes; dedicating the whole to all the archbishops and bishops of the realm. And, in commendation thereof, Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, wrote these verses to him :

*Vidi et perlegi doctos, Bæcone, libellos,
Quos tua non pridem sancta Minerva dedit.
Dispeream, siquid legi unquam sanctius, aut si
Quid potuit populo tradier utilius.
Auspice perge Deo tales vulgare libellos :
Vaniloquax sed nec lingua timenda tibi est.
Sic Christum possis avido inculcare popello,
Sic possis nomen condecorare tuum* ^g.

Besides these, there was his Postil, being godly and

^e [See vol. i. p. 178. n. 2. vol. p. 135. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

ii. pp. 48, 49, 77, 153, et seqq.]

^g [See Becon's Works, vol. i.

^f [See Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 426. and vol. iii.

p. 33. Park. Soc. Ed.]

learned sermons on all the Sunday Gospels in the year: printed in quarto in the year 1567.

Rich.
Harman.

I shall say no more of his chaplains, after I shall have mentioned Richard Harman. Who seems to have been one of his first chaplains; being once of King's College, but went away scholar, (probably for religion;) afterwards lived in Jesus College, and commenced master of arts with Cranmer; whom he also preferred to be his domestic afterwards. This man was one of those Cambridge men that were elected into St. Frideswide's College in Oxon; and suffered much there for religion. He was afterwards a canon of Windsor; but fell back to popery.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER'S OFFICERS.

I SHALL NOW add a few words of two of his civil officers, his steward and his secretary. One Nevyl^a was his steward

^a [i. e. Sir Edward Neville, brother of lord Abergavenny, who was indicted Dec. 4, 1538, with sir Geoffrey Pool, the marquis of Exeter, and several others, for saying "the king was a beast, and worse than a beast." He was condemned for treason, and was executed with the marquis of Exeter and lord Montacute, on Tower Hill, Jan. 9, 1539. See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 717, 719. Stow's Annals, p. 575. ed. Lond. 1615.

The following letter was also written by the archbishop to Crumwell respecting the nomination of the latter in the room of sir Edward Neville to the office of the archbishop's steward:—

"After most hearty commendations unto your good lordship, these shall be to signify unto the same, that I have received your letters dated at Hampton Court, the 12th day of December, by which I perceive that the king's majesty hath nominated and appointed you to the offices of the high stewardship of all my franchises, and master of the game of all my chases and parks, by rea-

son of the attainder of sir Edward Nevell, knight, and thereupon you require for your better assurance my confirmation in that behalf. Surely, my lord, I am right glad that you of all other hath the preferment thereof; and if it shall please you to send unto me the tenor of the king's letters patents to you made for the same, I will make unto you such lawful assurance as in me shall be; and to the intent your lordship may be ascertained what grants my predecessor made of the said office, I send unto you herewithal the copies of the said grants. And as touching the said office of the stewardship of the liberties, the same of late hath not been duly exercised as it ought to have been, by reason whereof, as I am informed by the learned counsel, the interest therein by the said grant heretofore made is forfeited; so that, if the law will permit, I will be glad to assure it to you for a term of your life, or else it will appertain unto the lord of Burgayveny. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the 14th day of December,

in king Henry's reign; who conducted sir Thomas Seimour, coming with a message from the king, through the hall, when the tables were sumptuously set, unto the archbishop at dinner: him I have nothing to say of. But he

425 had another afterwards, named Robert Watson^b, born in Norwich, of whom I have a word or two to say. He was a great civilian, and an exile for religion in queen Mary's reign. But, before his escape beyond sea, he lay in prison in Norwich a year and four months, saith Bale; almost two years, saith Foxe^c; and then was most fortunately delivered, without doing any violence to his conscience, by the subscription which he made. Being abroad, he wrote a piece, intituled, *Ætiologia, to all that sincerely professed Christ, wheresoever dispersed, especially his Countrymen, the English, banished with him.* In this tract he gave a relation of himself, and his imprisonment, and escape; and of the disputes that happened between him and his adversaries concerning transubstantiation, and the real presence of Christ in the sacrament; and by what

Robert
Watson,
the arch-
bishop's
steward.]

(1538.)" — Jenkyns' Cranmer, vol. i. p. 277. Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 386, 7. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^b ["Robertus Watsonus, a Nordovico oriundus, jurisperitissimus, et archiepiscopo Cantuariensi Cranmero sanctissimæ memoriæ olim a dispensatione, seu administratione domestica: vir tam in scripturis sacris, quam etiam doctoribus adprime doctus: Latine scripsit opusculum elegans, ad omnes Christum sincere profitentes ubique terrarum dispersos, præcipue ad conterraneos Anglos secum exulantes, et propter evangelium afflictionem perpressos, cui

titulum addidit, 'Ætiologiam, lib. i. quum omnes sincere Christum piæ.' In qua explicatur, quare deprehensus, annum unum et menses pene quatuor, propter evangelium incarceratus fuit: quænam ipsum et ejus antagonistas in carcere habita fuerit disceptatio de transubstantione et reali Christi præsentia in sacramento: et quo pacto corpore incolumi et illibata conscientia tandem expediverit eum Dominus."—Bale, Scrip. illust. Brit. Cat. pp. 729, 30. ed. Basil. 1557. See Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. ii. p. 490. ed. Lond. 1840.

means he escaped safe in body and conscience: which was a rare matter to do from such inquisitors. It was propounded to him to set his hand to these words; *viz.* “That he believed and confessed that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, through the omnipotency of God’s Word, pronounced by the priest, were turned into the body and blood of Christ; and after consecration, under the forms of bread and wine, remained the true body and blood of Christ, and no other substance.” To which he made this subscription; *His omnibus eatenus assentior et subscribo, quatenus Verbo Dei nituntur, eoque sensu, quo sunt ab ecclesia catholica et a sanctis patribus intellecta.* By the means of one Dr. Barret, a learned friar of Norwich, he was upon this favourable subscription dismissed. But Christopherson, dean of Norwich, when he understood it, was much incensed, and laid out to take him again. But he, by the help of friends, escaped over the seas.

Now, lastly, of Ralph Morice his secretary, so much employed, and so greatly entrusted by our archbishop, it may not be amiss to set down a few memorials. He was his secretary, not so much for ordinary matters incident to his archiepiscopal office, as his amanuensis for learned treatises and discourses which he composed. In this place he remained for twenty years; that is, from the archbishop’s first entrance upon his see, to the death of king Edward VI, his good master. He was a very considerable person, and of good birth, being the son of James Morice of Royden in the county of Essex, esq. Which James was sometime servant unto the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond and Derby, and clerk of her kitchen, and master of her works; and particularly of Christ’s college and St. John’s in Cambridge, both which she founded. He also and his son William were joint receivers of the lands,

His secretary, Ralph Morice.

His parentage.

called Richmond Lands: and other lands, called the Recovered Lands.

Well known
to divers
eminent
bishops.

Our Ralph, by reason of his service about the archbishop, was well known to bishop Heth^d, bishop Thirlby^e, bishop Cox^f, bishop Barlow^g, and bishop Scory^h; men that were much about the archbishop, and his friends: and who were privy to those volumes that the secretary writ out for his master. He dwelt sometime in Chartham, not far from Canterbury; and had the farm of that parsonage, and the nomination of the curate. And, being a man of conscience and integrity, endeavoured to procure here an honest and able preacher; and so presented to the

Presents
Turner to
Chartham.

church one Richard Turnerⁱ, a man of an irreprehensible life, and well learned in the holy Scriptures: who, for his
426 doctrine against the popish superstition, and the pope's

supremacy, met with great troubles. But his patron very stiffly stood by him, and procured the archbishop to favour him: and, having an interest with sir Anthony Denny and sir William Butts, courtiers, he wrote Mr. Turner's case at large to them, and got them to read his letter before the king. Who, though before he had been by sinister reports so incensed against him, as to command him to be whipped out of the country, now by this means he conceived better thoughts of him, and commanded him to be cherished as a good subject; as I have before more at large related.

And stands
by him in
his troubles
for his
faithful
preaching.

But his patron very stiffly stood by him, and procured the archbishop to favour him: and, having an interest with sir Anthony Denny and sir William Butts, courtiers, he wrote Mr. Turner's case at large to them, and got them to read his letter before the king. Who, though before he had been by sinister reports so incensed against him, as to command him to be whipped out of the country, now by this means he conceived better thoughts of him, and commanded him to be cherished as a good subject; as I have before more at large related.

An instance
of the arch-
bishop's
kindness
to this his
secretary.

Another passage I meet with of this man relates to the kindness of the archbishop his master to him: who, in token of his good will he bore him, and of his readiness to reward his diligence and faithfulness in his service, did

^d [See vol. i. p. 205. n. t.]

^h [See vol. ii. p. 258. n. †, and

^e [See vol. i. p. 205. n. r.]

p. 349. n. c.]

^f [See vol. ii. p. 160. n. n.]

ⁱ [See vol. ii. p. 373.]

^g [See vol. ii. p. 107. n. a.]

procure him a lease of the parsonage of Ospring in Kent, being an impropriation belonging unto St. John's college in Cambridge, worth better than forty marks by the year *de claro*, when wheat was but a noble the quarter. This the archbishop got a grant of from the said college for him. But, when the lease was prepared, and ready to be sealed, one Hawkins of the guard, by his importunate suit, got king Henry VIII to obtain it of the college to be sealed for the use of him, the said Hawkins. The archbishop then solicited the king in his servant's behalf, and the king promised him, and also Dr. Day, the master of the college, that he would otherwise recompense Morice for the same, with like value or better. Which was never done, the king dying before he did any thing for him.

This caused Morice to prefer a supplication unto queen Elizabeth, setting forth his said case, and desiring therefore her liberality, aid, and succour; especially considering, that her royal father had in his will provided, that all such who had sustained any manner of damage or hinderance by him should be satisfied for the same: suing therefore to her majesty for a pension, that had been allowed unto one Wilbore, late prior of the monastery of St. Augustine's, lately deceased, that it might be conferred upon him during his life. And indeed he seemed now, in his old age, to have need of some such favour, his condition being but mean according to worldly things, and having four daughters all marriageable, and not wherewithal to bestow them according to their quality. This his poverty he urged to the queen, and that the granting him this pension would be a good furtherance of his said daughters' marriage.

The same person had some lands descended to him from James his father out of two manors, the one called Royden Manor, and the other called the Temple, both situate

Morice
his suit to
queen Eli-
zabeth for
a pension.

His second
suit to the
queen to
confirm
lands de-

scended to
him from
his father.

and lying in the parish of Royden. His said father, upon some certain reasons and agreements, surrendered two long leases of both these manors into king Henry VIII his hands. In consideration of which, and of long and true services, the said king did give, except, and reserve certain tenements, lands, pastures, and meadows, out of the said two lordships, to the use of the said James and his heirs and assigns for ever, as appeared by his letters patent.

427 And James did enjoy them peaceably and quietly, without any molestation, until his death; which was in the second year of queen Mary. But of late the leases of the manors being sold away unto others, they laid claim and title unto the said reserved lands, upon the information of one Thurgood, steward of the courts there; pretending that there were not words sufficient in the said letters patents to justify the said exceptions. This occasioned Ralph Morice the son, who enjoyed some of the copyholds within the said exceptions, to sue unto the queen for her majesty's letters patents, to ratify and confirm the said exceptions, that the king's godly disposition, intent, and meaning, might be in force to James Morice's heirs and assigns for ever.

What success he had in this and the former petition, I find not; but am ready to think the queen gratified him in both, as well for his own merits, as out of that high respect she bore to the memory of our incomparable prelate, whose servant he had so long been, and for whose sake he recommended himself and his suit to her. I have inserted the former of these supplications in the Appendix, being an original of Morice's own hand writing, and containing some memorable passages in it.

Numbers
CIII [and
CIII*.]

He was re-
gister to the
commis-
sioners in
king Ed-

This man was, by the archbishop's means, appointed a register in king Edward VI his visitation, which was in the second year of his reign; the articles whereof were

drawn up by the archbishop, and preserved to us in Bishop Sparrow's Collections^k. And, being ready to depart with the king's commissioners, the archbishop sent for him to Hampton Court, and willed him to make notes of certain matters in the said visitation, whereof he gave him particular instructions; and had large discourse with him of the good success that this course was like to have.

In the beginning of queen Mary he suffered much: being glad to fly from his own house; but afterwards taken by the justices, and committed to custody. Out of which he escaped by breaking prison. His house was often searched. But he outlived those hard times, and was alive in the year 1565; and then lived at Bekesborn.

It was this Morice that supplied Mr. Foxe, the writer of the Acts and Monuments, with those memorials concerning the bishop of Winchester, which shewed how small a share he had in king Henry's affections, notwithstanding his boasting thereof, which he was very apt to do; and particularly how that king came to leave him out of his last will. All which sir Anthony Denny related to our archbishop, in the hearing of this his secretary: who was alive when Foxe wrote this, and whom he asserts, towards the end of his eighth book, as a witness to the same^l. For

^k [For these "Articles of visitation," see Sparrow's Collection of Articles, &c. pp. 25-33. ed. Lond. 1684. Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. pp. 23-26. and Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 154-159. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^l ["Moreover as touching this foresaid bishop of Winchester forso much as he, in king Edward's time, bragged so much of his old master of famous memory,

king Henry VIII, to the intent that the glorious vanity of this bishop, and of all others like unto him, more notoriously may appear to all men, here is to be noted by the testification as well of master Denny, as also of sir Henry Nevell, who were there present witnesses of the matter, whose record is this, that king Henry, before the time of his sickness, taking his horse upon the terrace at

it is to be noted here, that, among those persons that assisted this author with matter for the compiling his

Windsor to ride out on hawking, saw standing before him the lord Wriothesley, lord chancellor, with divers others counsellors, and amongst them the bishop of Winchester. Whereupon he called the lord chancellor, and said, 'Did not I command you he should come no more amongst you?' (meaning the bishop.) Whereunto the lord chancellor answered, that his coming was to bring his majesty word of a benevolence given unto him by the clergy: whereat the king said, 'Ah! let him come hither;' and so he did his message, and the king went straight away. Item, another time the king immediately after his repair to London, fell sick, and caused divers times his whole council to come unto him about his will, and other his grave affairs: at that time the bishop also would come up with them into the utter privy chamber, and there remain until the council came from the king, and then go down with them again, to the end, (as then was thought), to blind the world withal. Furthermore, as the king grew more in sickness, he considering upon his will and testament* made before at his going over to Boulogne,

willed the same to be drawn out again with leaving out and excluding the bishop of Winchester by name from among his executors: which being to him no small corsey,† and a cutting off of all their purposes, a way was found, that sir Anthony Browne, a principal pillar of Winchester's side, pretending unto the king, as though by the negligence of the writer the bishop's name had been left out of the king's will, kneeled down to the king's majesty, lying in his bed, and said, 'My lord of Winchester, I think, by negligence, is left out of your majesty's will, who hath done your highness most painful, long, and notable service, and one without whom the rest shall not be able to overcome your great and weighty affairs committed unto them.' 'Hold your peace,' (quoth the king), 'I remembered him well enough, and of good purpose have left him out. For surely, if he were in my testament, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. Marry,' quoth the king, 'I myself could use him, and rule him to all manner of purposes, as seemed good to me, but so shall

* [For the will of Henry VIII, see Fuller's Church Hist. vol. iii. pp. 214—229. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

† ['Corsey,' or 'Corsive,' a corruption of 'corrosive,' vexation or injury. (Nares).—Foxe's Acts and Monuments. vol. v. ed. Lond. 1848, 49.]

laborious books, this Morice was one, and to whom we are to reckon ourselves beholden for divers other material passages of our church history, and especially those of his lord and master the archbishop, which are preserved in the said books to posterity. To Day the printer he sent many papers of monuments for the furnishing Foxe's History; and many more he had communicated, but that, in queen Mary's reign, his house in two years was thrice 428 searched; by which means he lost a great sort of things worthy perpetual memory; and especially divers letters of king Edward to the archbishop, and of the archbishop to him.

I meet with one Morice, a man of worship, that was much acquainted with, and very well affected towards, Mr. Hugh Latimer, whom the said reverend father called "his trusty friend." When he was parson of West Kingston in Wiltshire, the priests at Bristol and thereabouts had combined against him; and, accusing him in several articles, which they had maliciously and falsely collected out of his sermons, got him convented before Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and Stokesly bishop of London. By them he was detained a great while, and underwent

Morice a
cordial
friend to
Latimer.
Foxe.

you never do, and therefore talk no more of him to me in this behalf.' Sir Anthony Browne, perceiving the king somewhat stiff herein, gave place to the king's words at that time. Howbeit, seeking further occasion upon more persuasions put into his head, took in hand once again to move the king to have the bishop one of his executors. When the king perceived that this instant suit would not cease, 'Have you not yet done,' quoth the king,

'to molest me in this matter? If you will not cease further to trouble me, by the faith that I owe unto God, I will surely despatch thee out of my will also, and therefore let me hear no more of this matter.' All this sir Anthony Denny was heard to report to the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, of the said archbishop's secretary, who is yet alive and witness to the same."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1290, 1. ed. Lond. 1583.]

many an examination. While he was in these his troubles, Morice, whom I suspect to be either this Ralph or his father, wrote a kind letter to him to comfort him. To which Latimer gives an answer; wherein he explains at large to him the reasons of his troubles, thanking him for this kindness, as well as for others heretofore shewn him; and for which he prayed God to reward him.

CHAPTER XXX.

A PROSPECT OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S QUALITIES.

THERE is an original writing of this Morice's hand, preserved in the Benet library, entitled, *A Declaration*^a, &c. which he drew out for the use, and by the command, of archbishop Parker. Wherein divers remarkable passages of this archbishop, not yet mentioned, are set down: and particularly, he is herein vindicated from one thing, which to this day he is by some blamed for; namely, for alienations, and long leases of the revenues of the see, granted to the king and others. A great part therefore of this I shall here transcribe.

“He was of such temperance of nature, or rather so mortified, that no manner of prosperity or adversity could alter or change his accustomed conditions: for were the storms never so terrible, or odious, or the prosperous state of the times never so pleasant, joyous, or acceptable; to the face of the world his countenance, diet, or sleep, commonly never altered or changed. So that they which were most near and conversant about him, never or seldom perceived, by any sign or token of countenance, how

^a [i. e. “A declaration concerning the progeny, with the manner and the trade of life and bringing up of the most reverend father in God Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, and by what order and means he came to his preferment and dignity.”—C.C.C.C. MSS. No. cxxviii. p. 405. “This life was written at

the desire of archbishop Parker, by one who had been a domestic of Cranmer's, and though concise, contains many curious anecdotes, most of which have been inserted by Strype in his *Life of Cranmer*.”—Nasmith's *Catal. Lib. MSS. C.C.C.C.* p. 204. ed. *Can-tab.* 1777.]

the affairs of the prince or realm went. Notwithstanding privately, with his secret and special friends, he would shed forth many bitter tears; lamenting the miseries and calamities of the world.

His carriage towards his enemies.

“ Again, he so behaved himself to the whole world, that in no manner of condition he would seem to have any enemy; although in very deed he had both many great and secret enemies, whom he always bare with such countenance and benevolence, that they could never take good opportunity to practise their malice against him, but to
429 their great displeasure and hinderance in the end. And as concerning his own regard towards slanders and reproach, by any man to him imputed or impinged, such as entirely knew him can testify, that very little he esteemed or regarded the bruit thereof; because he altogether travailed evermore from giving of just occasion of detraction. Whereupon grew and proceeded that notable quality or virtue he had, to be beneficial unto his enemies. So that in that respect he would not be acknown to have any enemy at all. For whosoever he had been that had reported evil of him, or otherwise wrought to do him displeasure, were the reconciliation never so mean or simple on the behalf of his adversary, if he had any thing at all relented, the matter was both pardoned and clearly forgotten; and so voluntarily cast into the satchel of oblivion behind the back parts; that it was more clear now out of his memory, than it was in his mind, before it was either commenced or committed. Insomuch that, if any such person should have had any suit unto him afterward, he might well reckon, and be as sure to obtain, (if by any means he might lawfully do it,) as any other of his special friends. So that on a time I do remember, that Dr. Hethe, late archbishop of York, partly misliking this his over much lenity by him used, said unto him, My lord,

I now know how to win all things at your hand well enough. How so? quoth my lord. Marry, said Dr. Hethe, I perceive that I must first attempt to do unto you some notable displeasure; and then, by a little relenting, obtain of you what I can desire. Whereat my lord bit his lip, as his manner was when he was moved, and said, *You say well; but yet you may be deceived. Howbeit, having some consideration so to do, I may not alter my mind and accustomed condition, as some would have me to do.*

“Again, one thing he commonly used, wherein many did discommend him; which was this: he always bare a good face and countenance unto the papists, and would, both in word and deed, do very much for them; pardoning their offences: and, on the other side, somewhat over severe against the protestants. Which being perceived not to be done but upon some purpose, on a time a friend of his declared unto him, that he therein did very much harm; encouraging thereby the papists, and also thereby discouraging the protestants. Whereunto he made this answer, and said, What will ye have a man do to him that is not yet come to the knowledge of the truth of the Gospel, nor perchance as yet called, and whose vocation is to me uncertain? Shall we perhaps in his journey coming towards us, by severity and cruel behaviour, overthrow him, and, as it were in his voyage, stop him? I take not this the way to allure men to embrace the doctrine of the Gospel. And if it be a true rule of our Saviour Christ, to do good for evil; then let such as are not yet come to favour our religion learn to follow the doctrine of the Gospel by our example, in using them friendly and charitably. On the other side, such as have tasted of sincere religion, and as it were taken hold of the Gospel, and seem in words to maintain the true doctrine thereof, and

Severe in
his beha-
viour
towards
offending
protestants.

then, by the evil example of their lives, most perniciously
 430 become stumbling blocks unto such as are weak, and not
 at all as yet entered into the viage; what would you have
 me do with them? Bear with them, and wink at their
 faults; and so willingly suffer the Gospel, by their outra-
 geous doings, to be trodden under feet? Using herewith
 another notable saying of our Saviour out of our memory:
 which saith, The servant, knowing his lord and master's
 pleasure and commandment, if he regardeth not the
 same, is, as a man might say, of all others worthy of many
 plagues. And thus with these two Scriptures, or doctrines
 of our Saviour Christ, he answered mine eldest brother,
 who was earnest with him for his amendment of this
 quality. Mr. Isaac, yet living, is a witness of the same.

Stout in
 God's or
 the king's
 cause.

“Again, if there were any matter of weight, (besides his
 own cause, wherein evermore, with all kinds of persons,
 he was ready to relent and give place, according to the
 quality of the matter, more than became his state,) which
 touched God percase, or his prince, there was no man
 more stout, or more inexorable. So far forth, that neither
 fear of losing of promotion, nor hope of gain, or winning
 of favour, could move him to relent, or give place unto
 the truth of his conscience. As experience thereof well
 appeared, as well in defence of the true religion against
 the six Articles in the parliament, as in that he offered to
 combat with the duke of Northumberland in king Ed-
 ward's time^b; speaking then on behalf of his prince, for
 the staying of the chantries, until his highness had come
 unto lawful age: and that especially for the maintenance
 of his better state then. But if at his prince's pleasure,
 in case of religion, at any time he was forced to give place,
 that was done with such humble protestation, and so knit
 up for the safeguard of his faith and conscience, that it

^b [See vol. ii. p. 206. n. °.]

had been better his good will had never been requested, than so to relent or give over as he did. Which most dangerously (besides sundry times else) he especially attempted, when the Six Articles passed by parliament; and when my lord Crumwel was in the Tower: at what time the book of Articles of our Religion^c was new penned. For even at that season the whole rabblement (which he took to be his friends, being commissioners with him) forsook him, and his opinion and doctrine: and so, leaving him *post* alone, revolted altogether on the part of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. As by name, bishop Hethe, Shaxton, Day, and all other of the meaner sort. By whom these so named were chiefly advanced and preferred unto dignities. And yet this sudden inversion notwithstanding, God gave him such favour with his prince, that book altogether passed by his assertion, against all their minds: more to be marvelled at, the time considered, than by any reason to compass how it should come to pass. For then would there have been laid thousands of pounds to hundreds in London, that he should, before that synod had been ended, have been shut up in the Tower, beside his friend the lord Crumwel. Howbeit the king's majesty, having an assured and approved affiance of his both deep knowledge in religion, and fidelity both to God and him, suspected in that time other men in their judgments not to walk uprightly, nor sincerely; for that some of them swerved from their former opinions in doctrine: and, having great experience of the constancy of the lord Cranmer, it drave him all along to join with the said lord Cranmer in the confirmation of his

Viz. The
Erudition
of a
Christen
Man.

The king
sides with
Cranmer
against all
the bishops.

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^c [i. e. "A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man, set forth by the king's majesty of England," for which see

Formularies of Faith in the reign of Henry VIII, pp. 213-283. ed. Oxon. 1825.]

opinion and doctrine against all the rest, to their great admiration.

His great ability in answering the king's doubts.

“For at all times, when the king's majesty would be resolved in any doubt or question, he would but send word to my lord over night: and by the next day the king would have in writing brief notes of the doctors' minds, as well divines as lawyers, both old and new; with a conclusion of his own mind: which he could never get in such a readiness of any; no, not of all his chaplains and clergy about him, in so short a time. For, being thoroughly seen in all kinds of expositors, he could incontinently lay open thirty, forty, sixty or more, some whiles, of authors. And so, reducing the notes of them altogether, would advertise the king more in one day, than all his learned men could do in a month.

Cranmer studied three parts of the day.

“And it was no marvel; for it was well known, that commonly, if he had not business of the prince's, or special urgent causes before him, he spent three parts of the day in study as effectually as he had done at Cambridge. And therefore it was that the king said on a time to the bishop of Winchester, the king and my said lord of Winchester defending together, that the canons of the apostles were of as good authority as the four evangelists, contrary to my lord Cranmer's assertion; *My lord of Canterbury*, said the king, *is too old a truant for us twain.*

Would speak to the king when none else durst.

“Again, his estimation was such with his prince, that in matters of great importance, wherein no creature durst once move the king for fear of displeasure, or moving the king's patience, or otherwise for troubling his mind, then was my lord Cranmer most violently, by the whole council, obtruded and thrust out to undertake that danger and peril in hand. As, beside many other times, I remember twice he served the council's expectation. The first time was, when he staid the king's determinate mind and sen-

tence; in that he fully purposed to send the lady Mary, Lady Mary. his daughter, unto the Tower, and there to suffer as a subject; because she would not obey the laws of the realm, in refusing the bishop of Rome's authority and religion. Whose stay in that behalf, the king then said unto the lord Cranmer, would be to his utter confusion at the length. The other dangerous attempt was, in the disclosing the unlawful behaviour of queen Katherine Queen Katherine Howard. Howard towards the king, in keeping unlawful company with Durrant, her servant. For the king's affection was so marvellously set upon that gentlewoman, as it was never known that he had the like to any woman. So that no man durst take in hand to open to him that wound, being in great perplexity how he would take it. And then the council had no other refuge but unto my lord Cranmer: who with overmuch importunity gave the charge; which was done with such circumspection, that the king 432 gave over his affections unto reason, and wrought marvellous colourably for the trial of the same.

“ Now as concerning the manner and order of his hos- His hospitali-pitality and housekeeping. As he was a man abandoned from all kind of avarice, so was he content to maintain hospitality, both liberally and honourably, and yet not surmounting the limits of his revenues: having more respect and foresight unto the iniquity of the times, being inclined to pull and spoil from the clergy, than to his own private commodity. For else, if he had not so done, he was right sure that his successors should have had as much revenues left unto them, as were left unto the late abbeyes: especially considering that the lands and revenues of the said abbeyes, being now utterly consumed and spread abroad; and for that there remained no more exercise to set on work, or no officers but surveyors, auditors, and receivers; it was high time to shew an example of liberal

hospitality. For although these said workmen, only brought up and practised in subverting of monastical possessions, had brought that kind of hospitality unto utter confusion, yet ceased they not to undermine the prince, by divers persuasions, for him also to overthrow the honourable state of the clergy.

Falsely
accused of
ill house-
keeping.

“ And, because they would lay a sure foundation to build their purpose upon, they found the means to put into the king’s head, That the archbishop of Canterbury kept no hospitality, or house, correspondent unto his revenues and dignity; but sold his woods, and, by great incomes and fines, made money, to purchase lands for his wife and children. And to the intent that the king should with the more facility believe this information, sir Thomas Seymor, the duke of Somerset’s brother, being one of the privy chamber, was procured to take this matter in hand. And, before he informed the king thereof, he blasted it abroad in the court. Insomuch that the gentlemen and he fell out for the same: they declare, That his report was manifestly false, as well for the keeping of his house, as for the purchasing lands for his wife and children. This notwithstanding, Mr. Seymor went through with his information, and declared unto the king, as is before declared. The king, hearing this tale with the sequel, (that was, That it was meet for the bishops not to be troubled, ne vexed with temporal affairs, in ruling their honours, lordships, and manors; but rather, they having an honest pension of money yearly allowed unto them for their hospitality, should surrender unto the king’s majesty all their royalties and temporalties,) said, I do marvel that it is said, my lord of Canterbury should keep no good hospitality; for I have heard the contrary. And so, with a few more commendations of my lord, as one that little regarded the suit; but yet, as it appeared afterward, some-

thing smelling what they went about, left off any further to talk of that matter, and converted his communication to another purpose.

“Notwithstanding, within a month after, whether it was of chance, or of purpose, it is unknown; the king, going 433 to dinner, called Mr. Seymour unto him, and said, Go ye straightways unto Lambeth, and bid my lord of Canterbury come and speak with me at two of the clock at afternoon. Incontinently Mr. Seymor came to Lambeth, and, being brought into the hall by the porter, it chanced the hall was set to dinner. And when he was at the skreen, and perceived the hall furnished with three principal messes, beside the rest of the tables thoroughly set, having a guilty conscience of his untrue report made to the king, recoiled back, and would have gone in to my lord by the chapel way. Mr. Nevyl, being steward, perceiving that, rose up and went after him, and declared unto him, that he could not go that way; and so brought him back unto my lord through the hall. And when he came to my lord, and had done his message, my lord caused him to sit down and dine with him. But making a short dinner, because he would bring the king word again of his message, he departed and came to the king, before he was risen from the table. When he came to the king’s presence, said the king, Will my lord of Canterbury come to us? He will wait on your majesty, said Mr. Seymor, at two of the clock. Then said the king, Had my lord dined before you came? No forsooth, said Mr. Seymor, for I found him at dinner. Well, said the king, what cheer made he you? With these words, Mr. Seymor kneeled down, and besought the king’s majesty of pardon. What is the matter? said the king. I do remember, said Mr. Seymor, that I told your highness that my lord of Canterbury kept no hospitality correspondent unto his dignity:

and now I perceive that I did abuse your highness with an untruth. For, besides your grace's house, I think he be not in the realm, of none estate or degree, that hath such a hall furnished, or that fareth more honourably at his own table. Ah, said the king, have you spied your own fault now? I assure your highness, said Mr. Seymor, it is not so much my fault as other men's; who seemed to be honest men, that informed me hereof. But I shall henceforth the worse trust them while they live. Then said the king, I knew your purpose well enough; you have had among you the commodities of the abbeyes, which you have consumed; some with superfluous apparel, some at dice and cards, and other ungracious rule; and now you would have the bishops' lands and revenues to abuse likewise. If my lord of Canterbury keep such a hall as you say, being neither term nor parliament, he is metely well visited at those times, I warrant you. And if the other bishops kept the like for their degree, they had not need to have any thing taken from them, but rather to be added and holpen. And therefore set your hearts at rest; there shall no such alteration be made while I live, said the king. So that in very deed, where some had penned certain books for the altering that state in the next parliament, they durst never bring them forth to be read. Whereupon it also came to pass, that, when the king understood, that, contrary unto the report, my lord of Canterbury had purchased no lands, his highness was content
434 upon the only motion of Dr. Butts, without my lord Cranmer's knowledge, that he should have the abbey in Nottinghamshire; which his wife now enjoyeth.

“Thus much I have declared concerning Mr. Seymor's practice, to the intent men may understand that my lord Cranmer's hospitality was a mean to stay the estate of the clergy in their possessions.”

CHAPTER XXXI.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER PRESERVED THE REVENUES OF

HIS SEE.

“AND here I must answer for my lord Cranmer against certain objections, which are in divers men’s heads, that by his means all the preferments, offices, and farms, are so given and let out, that his successors have nothing to give or bestow upon their friends and servants; nor that such hospitality can be kept by reason of his fault, in letting go such things as should have maintained provisions of household. But to answer this in a few words, before I descend to any particular declaration. It is most true, that, if he had not well behaved himself towards his prince and the world, his successors should not been cumbered with any piece of temporal revenues; either lands, woods, or other revenues. And I pray God they may maintain, in this mild and quiet time, that which he in a most dangerous world did uphold, and left to his successors. Yet for better declaration, in answering to those objections, it is to be considered, that, when he entered upon his dignity, every man about the king made means to get some reversion of farms, or of other office of him. Insomuch that the king himself made means to him for one or two things, before he was consecrated: as for the farm of Wingham Barton; which was granted unto sir Edward Bainton, kt. for fourscore and nineteen years. When my lord perceived, that, in such suits as he granted to the king and queen, men would needs have an hundred years save one, he wrote to the chapter of

The pre-
serving the
bishop’s
revenues
owing to
the archbi-
shop.

The arch-
bishop vin-
dicated
about his
leases.

Christ Church, and willed them, in any condition, not to confirm any more of his grants of leases, which were above one and twenty years. By this means much suit was stopped. So that in very deed he gave out his leases but for one and twenty years. Which would not satisfy the greedy appetites of some men: and therefore they found a provision for it. For when my lord had let out certain goodly farms at Pinner, Heyes, Harrow on the Hill, Mortlake, &c., to the number of ten or twelve farms, for one and twenty years, taking no manner of fine for them; all these farms by and by were put into an exchange for the king. And the king had them not in possession six days, but they were my lord North's and other men's. And they were not past one year in their possessions, but that the reversion of every of them was sold for more years: some for an hundred pounds, and some for more, and some for less, making sweepstakes 435 of altogether. And so was my lord used in all things almost that he did let out for one and twenty years.

By long leases he saved the revenues.

“By means whereof justice Hales, and other of his counsel, learned in the laws, advised him to let out his farms for many years, which might be a mean that they should not be so much desired in exchanges as they were: for those farms which came to my lord, came with years enough upon their backs. And so, upon this conclusion, my lord was fain to alter his purpose in letting of his farms. Whereupon he did let St. Gregory's in Canterbury to Mr. Nevyl, the priory of Dover, Chislet Park, and Curleswood Park, with others, for so many years as he did, on purpose to stay them; or else he had gone without them one time or other. And, as I heard say, since your grace was elect, Curleswood Park was in exchange, and the rent thereof paid for one half year unto the queen's use: but, so soon as they understood there

were so many years to come, it was reversed to the archbishopric again. So that hereby partly may be perceived in what state my lord Cranmer stood with his lands.

“ And as touching the diminishing of his rents, houses, and other commodities, for the provision of his hospital-ity ; if all things be well pondered, he had left the same in better state than he found it. For, as touching his exchanges, men ought to consider with whom he had to do : especially with such a prince as would not be bridled nor be gainsaid in any of his requests, unless men would danger altogether. I was by when Otford and Knol were given him. My lord, minded to have retained Knol unto himself, said, That it was too small an house for his majesty. Marry, said the king, I had rather have it than this house, meaning Otford ; for it standeth on a better soil. This house standeth low, and is rheumatic, like unto Croiden, where I could never be without sickness. And as for Knol, it standeth on a sound, perfect, wholesome ground : and if I should make abode here, as I do surely mind to do now and then, I will live at Knol, and most of my house shall live at Otford. And so by this means both those houses were delivered up into the king’s hands. And as for Otford, it is a notable great and ample house : whose reparations yearly cost my lord more than men would think. And so likewise did Maidstone, which had no manner of commodity to belong unto it. And I am sure, that after certain exchanges passed between the king and him, there were an hundred marks a year, or thereabouts, allowed unto him in his last exchanges, for recompense of parks and chases : and yet those parks and chases, beside the provision of his venison, stood him yearly in much more, by the reason of the patents and fees belonging unto them, than he by any means else got by them.

Justified from diminishing the rents of the see.

Otford and Knol.

Curles-
wood.

“For as for Curleswood, it stood him in twenty nobles a year fee. And yet there was no gain in it, but only co-nies: which the keeper had also in his patent. So that the archbishop by suppressing of that, and raising that small rent it payeth, may spend thereby seven pounds a year more than it was accustomed to pay towards the archbishopric.

Chislet
Park.

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“And touching Chislet Park, it came to my lord in exchange for eight pounds a year. And the farmer payeth ten pounds: so that thereby is gained forty shillings a year. Wherefore it cannot be indifferently gathered, that my lord, in preferring his friends unto these things, hath any whit hindered the revenues of the bishopric.

Pasture and
meadow.

“And as touching pasture and meadow for the provision of his house, both at Croyden, and about Canterbury, Ford, and Chislet, there is thrice so much meadow, pasture, and marsh, as was left unto him.

Woods.

“And as for the sale of his woods, like as he was driven to exchange them, and sell them for to maintain his hospitality, especially having almost twenty years together learned men continually sitting with him in commission; for the trying out, and setting forth of the religion received, and for the discussing of other matters in controversy: some of them daily in diet with him, and some evermore living in his house: so provided he again like woods, more commodious for his houses; as the Blenewoods, belonging to St. Austin's; and Pinewood, and others which be known well enough.

Corn.

“And as touching provision for corn out of Chislet Court, and in other places, it is incredible what a business he had and ado with sir Christopher Hales, for that farm and corn; who challenged it of the king by promise; and so would have defeated my lord thereof, had not the king very benignly stood on his side. And it is no small reve-

nue to have yearly so much corn, both wheat, malt, and oats, at so mean a price.

“And therefore let men leave off that report of him, that he was not beneficial to his successors. Other bishops, some of them, lost whole manors and lordships, without any exchange at all. Thus much my conscience hath compelled me to say, in defence of my lord and master his good name: whom I knew to take as much care for his successors in that bishopric, as ever did archbishop, or shall; and would have as much advanced the same, if the iniquity of the world would have permitted him.

“Now, finally, concerning his behaviour towards his family: I think there was never such a master among men, both feared, and entirely beloved. For as he was a man of most gentle nature, void of all crabbed and churlish conditions, so he could abide no such quality in any of his servants. But, if any such outrageousness were in any of his men or family, the correction of those enormities he always left to the ordering of his officers: who weekly kept a counting house. And if any thing universally were to be reformed or talked of, on that day, which commonly was Friday, the same was put to admonition. And if it were a fault of any particular man, he was called forth before the company: to whom warning was given, That if he so used himself after three monitions, he should lose his service.

“There was an infamy of him, that he should have been an hostler: which the ignorant popish priests, for very malice, had published against him; saying, that he had no manner of learning at all, more than hostlers are wont to have. And this rumour sprang of that, that when he had married his first wife, being reader then of Buckingham College, he did put his wife to board in an inn at

The best master towards his servants.

An infamy that he was an hostler.

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Cambridge; and he resorting thither unto her in the inn, some ignorant priests named him to be the hostler, and his wife the tapster. This bruit then began, but it much more was quickened when he was archbishop than before. Insomuch that a priest far north, about Scarborough, sitting among his neighbours at the ale house, and talking of archbishop Cranmer, divers men there commending him: What, said the priest, make ye so much of him? He was but an hostler, and hath as much learning as the goslings of the green that go yonder. Upon which words, the honest men of the parish, which heard him, gave information to my lord Crumwel of those his slanderous words. The priest was sent for before the council, and cast into the Fleet; my lord Cranmer not being that day among the council, nor hearing no manner of word of the priest's accusation. It chanced the priest to lie in the Fleet eight or nine weeks, and nothing said unto him. He then made suit by one, named Chersey, (a grocer dwelling within Ludgate, now yet alive, and uncle, as I suppose, to the priest,) unto my lord Cranmer for his deliverance. This Chersey brought the copy of the priest's accusation from my lord Crumwel's house. Whereby plainly appeared there was nothing laid unto the priest but those words against my lord Cranmer. And therefore he besought him to help him out of prison; for it had put him to great charges living there, and he had a benefice which was unserved in his absence; and said, that he was very sorry he had so dishonestly abused himself towards his grace. Whereupon my lord Cranmer sent to the Fleet for the priest. When he came before my lord, said my lord Cranmer to him, It is told me that you be prisoner in the Fleet for calling me an hostler, and reporting that I have no more learning than a gosling. Did you ever see me before this day? No, forsooth, quoth the priest.

What meant you then to call me an hostler; and so to deface me among your neighbours? The priest made his excuse, and said, that he was overseen with drink. Well, said my lord's grace, now ye be come, you may oppose me to know what learning I have. Begin in grammar, if you will, or else in philosophy, or other sciences, or divinity. I beseech your grace pardon me, said the priest; I have no manner of learning in the Latin tongue, but altogether in English. Well then, said my lord, if you will not oppose me, I will oppose you. Are you not wont to read the Bible? quoth my lord. Yes, that we do daily, said the priest. I pray you tell me, quoth my lord, then, who was David's father? The priest stood still, and said, I cannot surely tell your lordship. Then said my lord again, If you cannot tell me that, yet declare unto me who was Solomon's father? Surely, quoth the priest, I am nothing at all seen in those genealogies. Then I perceive, quoth my lord, however you have reported of me, that I had no learning, I can now bear you witness, that you have none at all. There are such a sort of you in this realm, that know nothing, nor will know nothing, but 438 sit upon your ale bench, and slander all honest and learned men. If you had but common reason in your heads, you that have named me an hostler, you might well know that the king, having in hand one of the hardest questions that was moved out of the Scripture this many years, would not send an hostler unto the bishop of Rome, and the emperor's council, and other princes, to answer and dispute in that so hard a question; even among the whole college of cardinals, and the rout of Rome. By all likelihood the king lacked much the help of learned men, that was thus driven to send an hostler on such a voyage: or else the king hath many idle priests, without wit or reason, that can so judge of the prince and his council,

and of the weighty matters of the realm. God amend you, said he, and get ye home to your cure, and from henceforth learn to be an honest man, or at least a reasonable man.

“The priest, lamenting his folly, went his way into his country; and my lord Cranmer discharged him out of the Fleet, because there was no matter against him, but that which only concerned my lord. My lord Crumwell, within four days after, came to my lord Cranmer, and sware a great oath, That the popish knaves should pick out his eyes, and cut his throat, before he would any more rebuke them for slandering him. I had thought that the knave priest, which you have discharged and sent home, should have recanted at Paul’s Cross on Sunday next. Yea, marry, quoth my lord Cranmer, you would have all the world know by that mean that I was an hostler indeed. What manner of blockheads would so think, quoth my lord Crumwel. Too many papists, quoth my lord Cranmer. Howbeit, quoth he, you have caused the poor priest to spend all that he hath in prison; and would you now put him to open shame too? He is not the first, not by five hundred of them, that hath called me so; and therefore I will not now begin to use extremity against this priest: I perceive he is sorry for it. Well, quoth my lord Crumwel, if you not care for it, no more do I: but I warrant you one day, if they may, they will make you and me both as vile as hostlers. This I repeat to declare his lenity, and promptness to remit notable offences; howbeit it should have been placed before, if I had remembered it.

“Thus I have hastily penned such things as came to my memory, since Saturday last: beseeching your grace to take it in good part, being certainly assured that I have declared nothing of mine head, as concerning the very matters.”

CHAPTER XXXII.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BESIDES these observations, made to my hand by another, of this great archbishop, I shall gather some further observations of his endowments and qualities, whether Christian or moral: whereby we shall have occasion offered us of gathering up a few more memorials of him.

Observations upon the archbishop.

He was a most profound learned man in divinity, as also in the civil and canon laws. As appeared by those many voluminous writings and common places, by him devised or collected out of all the fathers and church writers: which Peter Martyr reported he himself saw; and were indeed communicated to him by the archbishop, while he harboured him at Lambeth. And there was no book, either of the ancient or modern writers, especially upon the point of the eucharist, which he had not noted with his own hand in the most remarkable places: no councils, canons, decrees of popes, which he had not read and well considered. And from this his indefatigable reading, and exact knowledge of authors, he ventured publicly, before the pope's delegate, and queen Mary's commissioners, to make this challenge; "That if it could be proved by any doctor above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is in the sacrament of the altar really, he would give over^a."

His learning very profound.

^a ["Now, as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine of the sacrament of the altar: for if it can be proved by any doctor above a thousand years

after Christ, that Christ's body is there really, I will give over. My book was made seven years ago, and no man hath brought any authors against it. I believe, that

His library. So that his library was the storehouse of ecclesiastical writers of all ages : and which was open for the use of learned men. Here old Latimer spent many an hour ; and found some books so remarkable that once he thought fit to mention one in a sermon before the king^b. And when Ascham of Cambridge, a great student of politer learning, and of Greek authors, wanted Gregory Nyssen^c in Greek, (not the Latin translation of him,) and which it seems the university could not afford, he earnestly entreated Poynt, his grace's chaplain, to borrow it in his name, and for his use, for some months, of the archbishop. For in those times it was rare to meet with those Greek fathers in their own language, and not spoiled by some ill Latin translation. Another of his books I will mention, because it is now in the possession of a reverend friend of mine near Canterbury : in which book the archbishop's name is yet to be seen, written thus with his own hand, *Thomas Cantuariensis* ; and a re-

whoso eateth and drinketh that sacrament, Christ is within them, whole Christ, his nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension, but not that corporally that sitteth in heaven."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1874. ed. Lond. 1583. See also Jenkyns' Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 85. and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 213. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^b ["Oh, there is a writer hath a jolly text here, and his name is Dionysius *. I chanced to meet with his book in my lord of Canterbury's library : he was a monk of the Charterhouse : I marvel to

find such a sentence in that author."—Latimer's Works, Sixth Sermon before king Edward, vol. i. p. 209. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^c ["Gregorium Nyssenum Græcun, si habes, doctissime Ponete, ad tempus mutuo libentissime sumerem : sin tu non habes, rogo te per vetustatem amicitiae nostræ, ut illum a reverendissimo patre ad aliquot menses mihi impetres : quod si facies, quam gratam rem facies, proximis literis meis declarabo. Vale in Christo ornatissime Ponete."—Rog. Achami, epist. pp. 201, 2. ed. Lond. 1590.]

* ["Dionysius Carthusianus, a voluminous writer, who died in 1471. Among other works he wrote Commentaries on the whole Scriptures. Cave, Hist. Literar. Append. p. 166. Oxon. 1743."]

markable book it is, which we may conclude the archbishop often perused, viz. *Epistolæ et Historia Joannis Hus*. Printed at Wittemberg, 1537.

And this learning happening in a mind possessed with ^{An excel-} piety, made him the more deeply sensible of the greatness ^{lent bishop.} of the charge that lay upon him. And as he well knew under what needs the church laboured, so he was very solicitous that nothing might be wanting on his part: shewing himself a most conscientious bishop, and tender pastor of Christ's flock. He was not guided in his episcopal function by vainglory, or affectation of popular applause, or worldly ambition, or covetousness, but only 440 by the holy and pious ends of discharging his duty, and promoting the honour of Christ, and the knowledge of his Gospel, and the good of his people: as he took God to witness in the preface of his book of the sacrament. A paragraph whereof I think not unworthy to be here inserted, whereby it may appear of what a truly apostolical spirit our archbishop was. "When I see," said he, "Christ's vineyard overgrown with thorns, brambles, and weeds, I know that everlasting woe appertaineth unto^d me, if I hold my peace, and put not my hands^e and tongue to labour in purging his vineyard. God I take to witness, who seeth the hearts of all men thoroughly unto the bottom, that I take this labour for none other consideration but for the glory of his name, and the discharge of my duty, and the zeal I bear^f toward the flock of Christ. I know in what office God hath placed me, and to what purpose; that is to say, to set forth his word truly unto his people, to the uttermost of my power, without respect of person^g, or regard of thing^h in the

^d ["to." Strype.]

^g ["persons." Strype.]

^e ["hand." Strype.]

^h ["things." Strype.]

^f ["have." Strype.]

world, but of him alone. I know what account I shall make to him hereof at the last day, when every man shall answer for his vocation, and receive for the same, good or illⁱ, according as he hath done. I know how Antichrist hath obscured the glory of God, and the true knowledge of his Word, overcasting the same with mists and clouds of error and ignorance, through false glosses and interpretations. It pitieth me to see the simple and hungry flock of Christ led into corrupt pastures, to be carried blindfold they know not whither, and to be fed with poison, in the stead^k of wholesome meats. And, moved by the duty, office, and place, whereunto it hath pleased God to call me, I give warning in his name unto all that profess Christ, that they flee far from Babylon, if they will save their souls, and to beware of that great harlot, that is to say, the pestiferous see of Rome, that she make you not drunk with her pleasant wine, &c.^l”

His care of
his own
diocese.

And as he had this care of the whole church of this land, as the high patriarch thereof, so he particularly had his eye upon his own diocese. He took care, even in king Henry's ticklish reign, to place such ministers in Kent as were learned, and dared to open their mouths to preach Gospel doctrine, and to convince the people of the usurpations of the bishop of Rome, and of the idolatry and superstitions, wherein they had been so long nursled up. And for the preventing whereof, for time to come, he ordered his archdeacon, and other his officers, to take down images out of churches, and deface them. Which things created him much hatred among the popish clergy,

ⁱ [“evil.” Strype.]

^k [“instead.” Strype.]

^l [Preface to the Reader, prefixed to the original edition of the

Defence of the true and catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament.”—See Jenkyns's Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 289. 90.]

whose gain depended so much therein. He had a peculiar regard of the greater towns of his diocese, that such places might be furnished with able men, where the inhabitants were numerous, and the salaries generally small. Whereby he saw it came to pass, that where there was most need of learned men, there the most ignorant were placed. Therefore he thought this worthy his redressing. I meet with this memorandum in one of his note-books :

“ These towns following are especially to be remembered ; that in them there be placed learned men, with sufficient stipends :

In the Be-
net li-
brary.
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“ Sandwich,	Tenderden,	Whitstable,
Dover,	Crambroke,	Marden,
Folkston,	Faversham,	Maydston,
Ashford,	Hearn,	Wye, and Wingham.”

In these great towns, as well as Canterbury, he often preached himself. And, for his sermons at Sandwich, he was once complained of openly in the parliament house, to have brought him under the lash of the statute of the six Articles. And within seven or eight years, after his first entrance into the see, he had placed such store of good preachers about Kent, that, at another time, a long list of articles were drawn up against them, and given in to the justices of the county at a quarter sessions of the peace ; and they by a combination preferred the complaint to the king and council.

At the great
towns he
preached
often.

His high estate puffed him not up, nor made him forget the great work of his calling ; which he very earnestly desired to prosecute above all things in the world. Nor did he care at all for the high titles that were attributed to him, as he was archbishop of Canterbury, as may appear by this passage. Upon occasion of a question arising concerning his style of primate of all England, for bearing

Affected
not his
high styles.

which, in his summons for a provincial visitation, the bishop of Winchester, out of malice, had complained to king Henry against him, as though it were an encroachment upon the king's supremacy; he protested to Crumwel, then secretary, (who had sent him word of it,) "That, as God should be merciful to him in the day of judgment, he set not more by any title or style, than he did by the paring of an apple, further than it should be to the setting forth God's word and will." His expression was, "That they were the successors of Diotrephes that affected glorious titles, styles, and pomps." He professed, "he could have been willing that bishops should lay aside their lofty styles, and only write themselves by the style of their offices; *The Apostles of Jesus Christ*: and wished heartily, that the Christian conversation of the people were the letters and seals of their offices, (as the Corinthians were to St. Paul, who told them, that they were his letters, and the signs of his apostleship,) and not paper, parchment, lead, or waxⁿ."

His diligence in reforming religion.

Great indeed and painful was his diligence in promoting God's truth, and reforming this church: insomuch that he raised up against himself the malice and hatred of very many thereby. These memorials, before related, do abundantly evince the same. The words of Thomas Becon, in an epistle dedicatory, deserve here to be transcribed: "In plucking up the enemy's tares, and in purging the Lord's field, that nothing may grow therein but pure wheat, your most godly and unrestful pains, most reverend father, are well known in this church of England, and thankfully accepted of all faithful Christian hearts. Inso-

Before his *Treatise of Fasting*.

ⁿ [See vol. i. Appendix No. xiv. pp. 352, 3; also Jenkyns' Cranmer, vol. i. p. 137. and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 395. Park. Soc. Ed.]

much that very many do daily render unto God most humble and hearty thanks for the singular and great benefits which they have received of him, through your virtuous travel, in attaining the true knowledge of justification, °of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, 442 [those two things especially he laboured to retrieve and promote a true knowledge of,] and such other holy mysteries of our profession. And albeit the devil roar, the world rage, and the hypocrites swell, at these your most Christian labours, which you willingly take for the glory of God, and the edifying of his congregation, yet, as you have godly begun, so without ceasing continue unto the end p." And so he did, to the effusion of his blood, not many years after.

For he was very sensible of the gross abuses and cor- Puts king rptions into which the Christian church had sunk : which Henry up- made him labour much to get it purged and restored to on a pur- its primitive constitution and beauty. And this he ceased pose of re- not to make king Henry sensible of, putting him upon the forming many things. reformation of the English church, as he could find occasion, and convenience serve him, to move him thereunto. Which found at last that good effect upon the king, that, towards the latter years of his reign, he was fully purposed to proceed to a regulating of many more things than he had done. But the subtilty of Gardiner bishop

As long as queen Ann, T. Crumwell, bishop Cranmer, Mr. Denny, Dr. Butts, with such like, were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he ? as is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts, set forth by him ; in setting up the Bible in the church ; in exploding the pope with his vile pardons ; in removing divers superstitious ceremonies ; in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects ; in putting chantry priests to their pensions ; in permitting white meats in Lent ; in destroying pilgrimage worship ; in abrogating idle and superstitious holydays ; both by acts public, and by private letters to Boner.—[Foxe's] *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1147. a. Edit. 1610.

° ["and of the."—Strype.]

mer.—See Becon's Works, vol. ii.

p [Becon's "Fruitful treatise of fasting ;" dedicated to abp. Cran-

p. 526. Park. Soc. Ed.]

of Winton, and his own death, prevented his good designs. While the aforesaid bishop was ambassador abroad, employed about the league between the emperor and the English and French kings, our archbishop took the opportunity of his absence to urge the king much to a reformation; and the king was willing to enter into serious conference with him about it. And at last he prevailed with the king to resolve to have the roods in every church pulled down, and the accustomed ringing on Alhallow night suppressed, and some other vain ceremonies. And it proceeded so far, that, upon the archbishop's going into Kent, to visit his diocese, the king ordered him to cause two letters to be drawn up, prepared for him to sign: the one to be directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other to the archbishop of York; who were therein to be commanded to issue forth their precepts to all the bishops in their respective provinces, to see those enormities redressed without delay: which our archbishop accordingly appointed his secretary to do. And the letters, so drawn up, were sent by the archbishop up to court. But the king, upon some reasons of state, suggested to him in a letter from Gardiner, his ambassador beyond sea, being by some made privy to these transactions, suspended the signing of them^a.

The king again pur-
poseth a re-
formation.

And that put a stop to this business for that time, till some time after, the king, at the royal banquet made for Annebault the French king's ambassador, leaning upon him and the archbishop, told them both his resolution of proceeding to a total reformation of religion: signifying that, within half a year, the mass both in his kingdom, and in that of France, should be changed into a communion; and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome should be wholly rooted out of both; and that both kings

^a [See vol. i. pp. 301-306.]

intended to exhort the emperor to do the same in his territories, or else they would break off the league with him. And at that time also he willed the archbishop to draw up a form of this reformation, to be sent to the French king to consider of. This he spake in the month of August, a few months before his death. This his purpose he also signified to Dr. Bruno, ambassador here from John Frederick duke of Saxony, some little time after, saying, "That if his master's quarrel with the emperor was only concerning religion, he advised him to stand to it strongly, and he would take his part^r." But the king's death prevented all.

And as for this king's next successor, king Edward, the archbishop had a special care of his education. Whose towardliness, and zealous inclination to a reformation, was attributed to the said archbishop, and three other bishops; viz. Ridley, Hoper, and Latimer, by Rodolph Gualter of Zurick: who, partly by his living some time in England, and partly by his long and intimate familiarity and correspondence with many of the best note here, was well acquainted with the matters relating to this kingdom. Of the great influence of one of these upon the king, viz. the archbishop, the former memorials do sufficiently shew.

^r [See vol. i. p. 305. n. †.]

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER PROCURES THE USE OF THE
SCRIPTURES.

A great
scripturist.

THE archbishop was a great scripturist; and, in those darker times of popery, was the chief repairer of the reputation of the holy Scriptures; urging them still for the great standard and measure in all controverted matters relating to religion and the church. By these he disentangled king Henry VIII his great matrimonial cause, when all his other divines, who had the pope's power and laws too much in their eyes, were so puzzled about it; shewing how no human dispensation could enervate or annul the Word of God. And in the course he took about the reforming of religion, the holy Scripture was the only rule he went by; casting by schoolmen, and the pope's canons and decretals, and adhering only to the more sure word of prophecy, and divine inspiration. And so Roger Ascham, in a letter to Sturm^a, in the year 1550, when they were very busy in the reformation,

Ea veræ religionis cura apud Josiam nostrum imprimis, et Cantauriensem, et universum concilium regium ex-

writes: "That such was the care of their Josiah, (meaning king Edward,) the archbishop of Canterbury, and the whole privy council, for true religion, that they laboured in nothing more, than that as well the doctrine as discipline of religion might be most purely drawn out of the fountain of the sacred Scriptures; and that that Roman

regium ex-cubat, ut in nulla re æque laboratum sit, quam ut religionis, tum doctrina, tum disciplina, ex Sacrarum Literarum fonte purissime hauriatur: et ut sentina illa Romana, qua tot humanæ sordes in ecclesiam Christi redundarunt, funditus obstruatur.—[Rog. Aschami Epist. p. 27. ed. Lond. 1590.]

^a [April 4.]

sink, whence so many human corruptions abounded in the church of Christ, might be wholly stopped up.”

This his high value of the Scriptures made him at last ⁴⁴⁴ the happy instrument of restoring them to the common people, by getting them, after divers years opposition, printed in the English tongue, and set up in churches, for any to read that would for their edification and comfort ; when, for some hundred years before, those treasures had, for the most part, been locked up and concealed from them.

But, first, great was the labour of our archbishop, before he could get this good work effected, being so disliked and repugned by the patrons of popery. For he had almost all the bishops against him ; as may appear by what I am going to relate. The king being by the archbishop brought to incline to the publishing thereof, the translation done by Coverdale^a, was, by Crumwel or the archbishop, presented into the king's hands ; and by him committed to divers bishops of that time to peruse, whereof Stephen Gardiner was one. After they had kept it long in their hands, and the king had been divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at last, being called

Procures the publishing the English Bible.

The bishops oppose it.

^a [See vol. ii. page 347. n. i. “Ac cum rex omnem ecclesiasticam Cranmeri moderationi permisisset, in synodo illa quæ (ut diximus) cum parlamento incæpta est, Cranmerus de vertendis sacris Bibliis, de oratione dominica, Apostolorum symbolo, et catalago vulgari lingua perdiscendis, de portiferiis usus Romani abolendis, matrimonio vicariis episcoporum permittendo, de ecclesiasticis ad statum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ legibus componendis, ac de regis

necessitatibus ecclesiastico subsidio sublevandis egit. Pontificii quia jam cognita regis voluntate resistere aperte non audebant, renitebantur quantum occulte poterant. Namque aliquandiu quibus Bibliæ transferenda committerentur ambigebant. Quidam id negotii Cantabrigiensi et Oxoniensi Academiis delegare volebant, alii certos ex synodo doctos viros designabant.”—Parker. de Antiq. Brit. Eccl. p. 396. ed. Lond. 1572.]

for by the king himself, they redelivered the book. And being demanded by the king, what their judgment was of the translation? they answered, That there were many faults therein. Well, said the king, but are there any heresies maintained thereby? They answered, There were no heresies that they could find maintained in it. If there be no heresies, said the king, then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people. This circumstance I thought fit to mention, being the substance of what Coverdale himself afterwards, at Paul's Cross Sermon, spake in his own vindication, against some slanderous reports that were then raised against his translation; declaring his faithful purpose in doing the same: confessing withal, "That he did then himself espy some faults; which, if he might review it once again, as he had done twice before, he doubted not (he said) but to amend."

*Defence of
the English
Translat.*
ch. 1. p. 4.
edit. 1583.

This is related by Dr. Fulk, who was then one of Coverdale's auditors, and heard him speak and declare all this^b.

^b ["I myself, and so did many hundreds beside me, hear the reverend father, M. Doctor Coverdale, of holy and learned memory, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, upon occasion of some slanderous reports that then were raised against his translation, declare his faithful purpose in doing the same; which after it was finished, and presented to king Henry VIII, of famous memory, and by him committed to divers bishops of that time to peruse, of which (as I remember) Stephen Gardiner was one; after they had kept it long in their hands, and the king was divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at the last being

called for by the king himself, they redelivered the book, and being demanded by the king what was their judgment of the translation, they answered that there were many faults therein. 'Well,' said the king, 'but are there any heresies maintained thereby?' They answered, 'There were no heresies that they could find maintained thereby. 'If there be no heresies,' said the king, 'then in God's name let it go abroad among our people.' According to this judgment of the king, and the bishops, M. Coverdale defended his translation, confessing that he did now himself espy some faults, which if he might

The first edition of the Bible was finished by Grafton, ^{The first edition of the Bible.} in the year 1538 or 1539^c. That year our archbishop procured a proclamation from the king, allowing private persons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their houses^d.

review it once over again, as he had done twice before, he doubted not but to amend, but for any heresy, he was sure there was none maintained by his translation."—Fulkes' Defence of the Translation of the Bible, p. 98. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^c [The first edition was published in 1535, without place or name. Humphry Wanley thought by the type that it was printed at Zurich, by Chr. Froshover. In 1537, Matthew's Bible, partly Tyndale's and partly Coverdale's, was printed by Grafton and Whitchurch. See archd. Cotton's List of Editions of the English Bible. Oxford, 1821.]

^d [The following is evidently the proclamation referred to:—"Henry the eighth, &c.—To all and singular, printers and sellers of books, within this our realm, and all other officers, ministers, and subjects, these our letters, hearing or seeing: We let you to wit, that being desirous to have our people at times convenient, give themselves to the attaining the knowledge of God's word, whereby they will the better honour him, and observe and keep his commandments; and also do their duty better to us, being their prince and sovereign lord: and considering, that as this our

zeal and desire cannot, by any mean take so good effect, as by the granting to them the free and liberal use of the Bible in our own maternal English tongue: so unless it be foreseen, that the same pass at the beginning by one translation to be perused and considered; the frailty of man is such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold inconveniences; as when wilful and heady folks shall confer upon the diversity of the said translations. We have therefore appointed our right trusty and well beloved counsellor, lord Crumwell, keeper of our privy seal, to take for us and in our name special care and charge that no manner of person or persons within this our realm shall enterprize, attempt, or set in hand, to print any Bible in the English tongue of any manner of volume, during the space of five years next ensuing after the date hereof, but only all such as shall be deputed, assigned, and admitted by the said lord Crumwell, willing and commanding all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other officers, ministers and subjects to be aiding to our said counsellor in the execution of this our pleasure, and to be conformable in the accomplishment of the

And about two^e or three years after they were reprinted, and backed with the king's authority, the former translation having been revised and corrected, whether by certain learned men of both universities, or by some members of the convocation that were then sitting, it is uncertain. But to this translation the archbishop added the last hand, mending it in divers places with his own pen, and fixing a very excellent Preface before it^f. In which he divided his discourse between two sorts of men : the one, such as would not read the Scripture themselves, and laboured to stifle it from others. The other, such as read the Scripture indeed, but read it inordinately, and turned it into matter of dispute and contention, rather than to direct their lives. And thereby, while they pretended to be furtherers thereof, proved but hinderers, as the others were ; these being as blameless almost as those.

*Antiq. Brit.
in Vit.
Cranm.*

The Preface
to the Bible
made by
the arch-
bishop.

The con-
tents
thereof.

§ As to the former sort ; he marvelled at them that they should take offence at publishing the Word of God. For 445 it shewed them to be as much guilty of madness, as those would be, who, being in darkness, hunger, and cold, should obstinately refuse light, food, and fire. Unto which three God's word is compared. But he attributed it to the prejudice of custom : which was so prevalent, that, supposing there were any people that never saw the sun, such as the

same, as shall appertain. On witness whereof, Witness ourself at Westminster, the fourteenth day of November, 1539. Per ipsum regem." — Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 649. Herbert's *Ames*, vol. iii. p. 1550. See Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii. p. 83. See also Cranmer's Letter to Crumwell.

Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 289. and *Works of abp. Cranmer*, vol. ii. pp. 395, 6. Park. Soc. Ed.]

^e [In April 1539; by Grafton and Whitchurch.]

^f [See above, p. 269. n. §.]

§ [The following is a mere abstract of the Preface; not in the words of the original.]

Cimmerii were fancied to be; and that God should so order it, that that glorious light should in process of time break in upon them, at the first some would be offended at it. And when tillage was first found out, according to the proverb, many delighted notwithstanding to feed on mast and acorns, rather than to eat bread made of good corn. Upon this reason he was ready to excuse those, who, when the Scripture first came forth, doubted and drew back: but he was of another opinion concerning such as still persisted in disparaging the publishing of the Scripture, judging them not only foolish and froward, but peevish, perverse, and indurate. And yet, if the matter were to be tried by custom, we might allege custom for reading the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe more ancient custom than for the contrary. Shewing that it was not above an hundred years since the reading it in English was laid aside within this realm: and that many hundred years before it had been translated and read in the Saxon tongue, being then the mother tongue; and that there remained divers copies of it in old abbeys. And when that language became old, and out of common usage, it was translated into the newer tongue: and of this many copies then still remained, and were daily found.

Then, from custom, he proceeded to consider the thing in its own nature; shewing how available it was that the Scripture should be read of the laity. For which he takes a large quotation out of St. Chrysostom, in his third sermon *De Lazaro*; wherein that father exhorted the people to read by themselves at home, between sermon and sermon; that what he had said before in his sermons upon such and such texts, might be the more fixed in their minds and memories: and that their minds might be the more prepared to receive what he should say in his ser-

mons which he was to preach to them. And that he ever had, and would exhort them, not only to give ear to what was said by the preacher in the church, but to apply themselves to reading the Scriptures at home in their own houses. And a great deal more upon the same argument.

And then, as to the other sort, our archbishop shewed, how there is nothing so good in the world, but might be abused and turned from unhurtful and wholesome, to hurtful and noisome. As above in the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, were abused by idolatry; and here on earth, fire, water, meat, drink, gold, silver, iron, steel, are things of great benefit and use, and yet we see much harm and mischief done by each of these, as well by reason of the lack of wisdom and providence in them that suffer evil by them, as by the malice of them that work the evil by them. Advising therefore all that came to read the Bible, which he called *the most precious jewel,*
446 *and most holy relic that remained upon earth,* to bring with them the fear of God; and that they read it with all due reverence, and used their knowledge thereof, not to the vain glory of frivolous disputation, but to the honour of God, increase of virtue, and edification of themselves and others.

And then he backed this his counsel with a large passage out of Gregory Nazianzen; which was levelled against such as only talked and babbled of the Scripture out of season, but were little the better for it. And, lastly, he concluded his Preface, by directing to such qualifications as were proper for such as came to read these sacred volumes: namely, That he ought to bring with him a fear of Almighty God, and a firm purpose to conform himself thereunto; and so continue to proceed from time to time, shewing himself a sober and fruitful hearer and learner.

This whole Preface, for the antiquity and usefulness of it, and to preserve as much as we can of the writings of this most reverend man, I have transcribed and placed in the Appendix. Number CIV.

The edition in the year 1540 had a remarkable frontispiece before it^h: which, because it is somewhat rare, both in regard of the antiquity and device of it, I will relate. In the upper part thereof you see king Henry VIII sitting in state, guarded on each hand of him with the lords spiritual and temporal; holding in his right hand a Bible closed, which he delivered unto archbishop Cranmer, being on his knee, in the name of the rest of the bishops; all which stood at his right hand bare headed, their mitres lying upon the ground, in token of their acknowledgment of the king's supremacy; and this motto issuing out of the king's mouth, *Hæc præcipe et doce*: [Ti. iiiii.] holding also in his left hand another Bible, stretched towards the lords temporal, and delivered to one (whom I suppose to be intended for the lord Crumwel) at the head of them, standing on the left side, and this word coming out of the king's mouth towards them; *Quod justum est, judicate*: and this; *Ita parvum audietis, ut magnum*: [Deut. primoⁱ] and this; *A me constitutum est, decretum^k, ut in universo imperio et regno meo homines tremiscant^l et paveant Deum viventem*. [Daniel vi.] Among these nobles is the figure

^h [The frontispieces to the Bibles of 1539, 1540, and 1541, are similar; except the shield under the supposed lord Crumwel is not blank in either the 1539 or 1540 edition, as Strype states. It bears lord Crumwel's arms, viz. azure, on a fess between three lions rampant or, a rose between two Cornish choughs, proper, quartered with what are probably his mo-

ther's arms. The legends issuing from the mouths of the several persons have been corrected from the 1540 edition; and Strype's errors are noted below.]

ⁱ [Strype has omitted all the references to passages of Scripture, inserted in the frontispiece.]

^k ["et decretum." Strype.]

^l ["revereantur et paveant." Strype.]

The frontispiece of Cranmer's edition of the Bible.

of one on his knees, and these words issuing out of his mouth; *Verbum tuum lucerna pedibus meis.* [Psalm cxviii.] Over the king's head is the figure of God Almighty sitting in the clouds, with these words coming out of his mouth in a scroll towards the right hand; *Verbum^m [meum] quod egredietur de [ore meo], non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed faciet quæcunque volui.* [Esa. lv.] And in another scroll towards the left, with his hand pointing to the king, [*Inveni virum juxta cor meumⁿ qui faciet omnes voluntates meas.* Underneath the bishops there is another figure, representing archbishop Cranmer, his coat of arms by him, with the distinction of a crescent. He stood with his mitre on his head, and dressed in his *pontificalibus*, his chaplain behind him, and a priest with a tonsure, kneeling before him, in the posture of a candidate for priest's orders, and having his hand stretched out to receive the Bible offered him by the archbishop, and out of his mouth this scroll; *Pascite, qui in vobis est, gregem Christi.* [*prima Pe. v.*] On the other side, opposite to the archbishop, and underneath the lords temporal, stood another person, 447 whom I conjecture to be the lord Crumwel, with his shield by him blank, without any bearing; and out of his mouth came, *Diverte a malo, [et fac bonum, inquire] pacem et persequere^p [eam.* Psalmo xxxiii.] In the lowest part of this frontispiece, you have the resemblance of a priest, preaching out of a pulpit before a great auditory of persons of all ranks, qualities, orders, sexes, ages; men, women, children, nobles, priests, soldiers, tradesmen, countrymen. Out of the mouth of the preacher went this verse; *Obsecro igitur primum omnium fieri obsecrationes,*

^m ["verbum quod egredietur de me." Strype.]

ⁿ ["Ecce servum qui faciet." Strype.]

^o [Pet. v. ed. 1539.]

^p ["Diverte a malo, sequere pacem." Strype.]

orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones, pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus, &c. [1 Tim. ii.] Implying the benefit accruing to princes by the people's knowledge of the Scriptures, namely, that it taught them to obey and pray for them. And out of the mouths of these hearers of all sorts issued, *Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex*; and out of the mouths of the children, *God save the King*: denoting the great joy the people conceived for the enjoyment of God's Word, and the preaching thereof, and their thankfulness to the king for his permission of the same. In the middle stood the title of the Bible: which was this; "The Bible in English; that is to say, The⁹ Content of all the Holy Scripture [both] of the Old and New Testament, with a Prologue thereunto made by the Reverend Father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury. This is the Bible appointed to the Use of the Churches. Printed by Richard Grafton, *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. An. Dom. MDXL r.*"

⁹ ["contents of all the Holy Scriptures of the old." Strype.]

^r [The title of the 1539 Bible runs thus; "The Byble in Englyshe, that is to say, the content of all y^e holy Scripture, both of y^e old and new Testament, truly translated after y^e veryste of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by y^e dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges. ¶ Prynted by Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1539.*" The following is the title of ed. 1541; "¶ The Byble in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume, auctorised and apoynted by the commaundment of our moost re-

doubted prynce and souveraygne Lorde, Kynge Henrye the .viij, supreme head of this his church and realme of Englande; to be frequented and used in every church wⁱⁿ this his said realme, accordyng to the tenoure of hys former injunctions geven in that behalfe. ¶ Oversene and perused at the commaundment of the Kynges hyghnes, by the ryght reverende fathers in God, Cuthbert bysshop of Duresine, and Nicholas bisshop of Rochester. ¶ Printed by Rycharde Grafton. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1541.*"

Both of these editions contain abp. Cranmer's prologue or preface.]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER COMPASSIONATE TOWARDS SUFFERERS
FOR RELIGION.

His affection and compassion towards professors of the gospel. Particularly for sir John Cheke, a prisoner;

As he had a great love and value for the eminent professors and patrons of the Gospel, so he bare a most compassionate spirit towards those that suffered for the sake of it. It made a very great impression upon him when he heard that sir John Cheke^a had been taken up and indicted, soon after queen Mary's access to the crown; namely, in the month of August, which was the next month after. And not knowing wherefore he was indicted, whether for his meddling in the lady Jane's business, or for his zeal in promoting religion, he earnestly desired sir William Cecyl^b to inform him whether? If for the former, "considering," as he said, "he had been none of the chief doers in that matter, he hoped he should have been one of them that should have partaken of the queen's favour. But if it were for the latter, *viz.* his earnestness in religion, if he suffer for that," said he, "*Blessed is he of God that suffereth for his sake, howsoever the world judge of him. For what ought we to care for the judgment of the world, when God absolves us?*" But wishing most passionately withal that some means might be used for the relief of him and the lord Russel^c, who it seems was clapped up for the same cause^d.

And the lord Russel.

A patron so such as preached the gospel in king Henry's days.

And indeed as our archbishop was in the time of king Edward, he was the same under king Henry; that is, the

^a [See vol. ii. p. 168. n. e.]

^b [See above, p. 19.]

^c [See vol. ii. p. 10. n. w.]

^d [See the Appendix to this volume, No. cix.]

common patron, as far as he might, or dared, of such priests who were drawn into trouble for professing or 448 preaching the Gospel. So he shewed himself to Turner before mentioned: and in the year 1533 or 1534, I find him in a commission for the relieving of another that had been most straitly and rigorously handled by Stokesly, then bishop of London, and his chancellor: his name was Thomas Patmore, parson of Hadham in Hertfordshire, a learned and godly man, who had by them been condemned to imprisonment for life, together with the loss of his benefice and goods, because he had persuaded his curate to marry a wife; and, being privy to his marriage, did nevertheless suffer him to officiate in his church: and because he had preached certain doctrines at Cambridge, as laying little stress upon the pope's curse, and that we are saved only by God's mercy; and that all that are saved, are saved by faith; and that it is against God's law to burn heretics. This poor man, after three years' close imprisonment in Lollards Tower, by the means of his friends, who put up frequent petitions to the king and the lady Ann Bolen, was at last released, and obtained of the king a commission to our archbishop, to whom were joined Audley, lord chancellor, and Crumwel, secretary of Foxe. state, to inquire into his injuries and unjust handling, and to determine thereof according to equity and justice^e.

Thus favourable he was to religion and good men in the two former kings' reigns: but when queen Mary succeeded, he could no longer be a sanctuary or succour unto

^e [For the full account of Thomas Patmore, parson of Hadham, his imprisonment by John Stokesly, bishop of London, and subsequent release by royal commission addressed to lord chan-

cellor Audley, archbishop Cranmer, secretary Crumwell, and others, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1044, 5. ed. Lond. 1583. vol. v. pp. 35-37. ed. Lond. 1843-49.]

them, unless it were to comfort them by words, and to pray for them, as was said before.

The archbishop added, "that he was for his part now utterly unable either to help or counsel, being in the same condemnation that they were. But that the only thing that he could do, he would not omit; and that was, to pray for them, and all others then in adversity. But he entreated Cecyl, who by this time seemed to have gotten his pardon, or at least to be in good assurance of it, and so in a better capacity to raise up friends to those honest men, to use what means possible he could for them^f.

His succour
of afflicted
strangers in
king Ed-
ward's days.

This was all he could do now for the prisoners of Christ. But while he was in place and capacity of succouring such distressed persons, as he was in king Edward's days, he gave them countenance, entertainment at his house and table, preferment, recommendation to the king and protector. And indeed there was great need of some such patrons of poor protestants, the persecutions in Italy, in Spain, in France, in Germany, and other places, being about this time extremely hot: which occasioned the flight of great numbers into this nation, which some of them styled *Christi asylum*, "a sanctuary for Christ." In the year 1549 the persecution in France grew very warm: which was partly occasioned upon the inauguration of king Henry II, and his entrance into Paris for that purpose. For the burning of martyrs in several streets of the city, where and when the king was to pass by, made a barbarous part of the solemnity. In this year many French protestants, who had been imprisoned for religion in their own country, were either banished, or secretly made their escape into this kingdom. These applied to some French ministers, entertained, as it seems, in the archbishop's family, with Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others:

^f [See Appendix to this volume, No. cix.]

[Florebant
ergo tunc
patres reve-
rendissimi
in Anglia
vestra bonæ
literæ ;
fervebat
veræ pieta-
tis studium,
et] ad vos,
ceu in asy-
lum et por-
tum tutis-
simum sub
sanctissimi
regis alas
confluebant

which ministers delivered the condition of these poor men to the archbishop. And having a petition to present to the lord protector, declaring their miserable state, and requiring relief, he appointed the French ministers to apply themselves to Cecyl, then master of requests to the lord protector: and, that he might be the more ready to recommend and forward the petition, to render it the more effectual, he advised Bucer, Martyr, Alexander, and Fa- gius, to write their letters jointly unto the said Cecyl, for the French ministers to carry along with them as their letter of credence. For the archbishop well knew that Cecyl had a great esteem for those learned men, and that their letters would go a great way with him. Such was the particular care and diligence our prelate piously used for relief of these poor French exiles. The copy of this letter I have thought well worthy to be put in the Appendix.

Indeed it was noted at this time, as a quality of the nation, that it was *φιλοξενος*, “addicted to shew favour to strangers;” nay, “to admire them.” And surely it was not without the providence of God, that when, in these difficult times, so many honest, pious, learned men, were forced from their own countries, friends, and estates, they found such hospitable entertainment here. Care was taken for their sufficient livelihoods; and for those of them that were towards learning, places were assigned them in the colleges of the Universities, and yearly stipends settled on them. Of those that were most forward and exemplary in these Christian offices, Dr. Laurence

Germani, Galli, Hispani, Itali, Poloni, Scoti, ut illic Deo suo in fidei libertate servient, quam ipsi patria ingrata negabat. — Gualt. Præf. ante Hom. in prior. D. Paul. Ep. ad Cor. [Op. tom. x. B. 2. ed. Tig. 1583-88.]

Number CV.

England harborous of strangers. *Anglos φιλοξενους esse non nego, et peregrinorum habitisunt admiratores.* [Maximi] Humfrid. [Optimates, sive] de Nobilit. [p. 252. ed. Bas. 1550.]

g [This is from his “In priorem D. Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios Epistolam Homiliæ xcv.” in officina Froschoviana, anno 1588,

in the last page of the Preface, sign. B. 3. There is a copy in the Bodleian library.]

*In lib. de
Nobilitat.
p. 253.*

Humfrey (one who lived in those times, and was well acquainted with these matters) names king Edward in the first place: who, as he asserts of his own knowledge, was extraordinarily bountiful to them, both in London and in the Universities. Among the noblemen he mentions Henry earl of Dorset and duke of Suffolk: and among the bishops, Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, of whom he bestowed this character; “that he was worthy to succeed William Warham in his see, whom he so well imitated, both in courteous behaviour and hospitality^h.”

The arch-
bishop’s
favour to
foreigners.

And as he was in king Edward’s days of such an hospitable disposition towards strangers, so he was noted for it in the reign of his father king Henry, being wont then to shew himself very kind and humane to such as travelled into these parts for learning, as well as for shelter. Gualter, the great divine of Zurick, being but a young man, came into England about the year 1537; and was so affected with the civilities he received here, that he let it stand upon record, in the Preface to his Homilies upon the first epistle of the Corinthians, how humanely he was received at Oxford, not only by the students, but by the

^h [“Quod Edowardum beatæ memoriæ principem Londini fecisse liberalissime, et in academiis, scio: quem duces ac nobiles aliquot et episcopi sequuti sunt, in primis reverendus pater ac primas quondam Angliæ, Henrico octavo, regi, et filio Eduuardo ab intimis semper consiliis, a Maria filia martyrio beato coronatus, Thomas Cranmerus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, dignus qui Guilielmo Waramo in episcopatu

succederet, quem in morum candore et φιλοξενία tam probe effinxerit. Inter nobiles non minimam laudem meritis est cæli nunc civis inclytus, Henricus Graius marchio Dorcetensis et dux Sudonolgius, qui doctos exules liberaliter sustentavit: alique nonnulli, qui terrenis ac mundo renunciantes, vitam morte, imo mortalitatem immortalitate commutarunt.”—Id. pp. 253, 4.]

public professors, and by divers at court. But among them he particularly mentioned "how archbishop Cranmer, whom he stiled *The immortal glory of England*, received him, though a young man then, and a stranger, and had no experience of things, nor any mark or excellency to recommend him."

And as he was compassionate and hospitable, so he was ⁴⁵⁰ of a free and liberal disposition; and, as became a Christian bishop, and an English peer, kept great hospitality. ^{Unjustly charged with covetousness.} Yet however he could not escape the imputation of nigardise and closeness. He had been once accused of it to his master king Henry, but came off with honour, the king himself clearing him of that injurious scandal, and giving him a character of a quite contrary nature.

And again in king Edward's reign, in the year 1552, ^{His words to Cecyl upon this charge.} some taking the advantage of his absence from the court, slandered him as though he were covetous. Which coming to his ear, by the cordial friendship of Cecyl, the king's secretary, he wrote that courtier a letter in vindication of himself; professing "that he was not so doted to set his mind upon things here, which neither he could carry away with him, nor tarry long with them. And that he took not half so much care for his living when he was a scholar at Cambridge, as he did at that present, when he was archbishop of Canterbury; for as he had now much more revenue than he had then, so he had much more to do withal. And, that he rather feared stark beggary at lastⁱ."

This, and other things to the same purpose, he signified in that letter; that Cecyl thereby might the better understand his condition, and know how and what to plead at

ⁱ [See vol. ii. pp. 383, 4, and Appendix, No. lxxvii. pp. 672, 3.]

court in his behalf, as occasion served, as hath been more at large related before.

Reduced, as
he feared,
to stark
beggary be-
fore his
death.

By the way, I cannot but reflect upon one of the archbishop's expressions, which seemed to have been uttered prophetically; so exactly did the event answer to his words: for to stark beggary he was indeed at last reduced: when, in his imprisonment at Oxon, he had not a penny in his purse. And, which was more, his enemies were so barbarously severe, that it would not be allowed any well disposed person to relieve his necessity, nor to give him an alms; a privilege allowed any beggar beside. And when a gentleman of Gloucestershire, sensible of the archbishop's need, and withal knowing how dangerous it was to give the poor archbishop any money, had conveyed somewhat to the bailiffs, to be by their hands bestowed on him, Boner and Thirleby, the two bishops that degraded him, staid this gentleman, intending to send him up to the council, had he not gotten off by the intercession of some friends^k.

^k ["And thus with great compassion and pity of every man in this evil favoured gown was he (i. e. Cranmer) carried to prison (viz. after his degradation). Whom there followed a gentleman of Gloucestershire with the archbishop's own gown, who standing by, and being thought to be toward one of the bishops, had it delivered to him: who by the way talking with him, said; the bishop of Ely protested his friendship with tears. 'Yea,' said he, 'he might have used a great deal more friendship toward me, and

never have been the worse thought on, for I have well deserved it:' and going into the prison up with him, asked him if he would drink; who answered him, saying, if he had a piece of salt fish, that he had better will to eat, for he had been that day somewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, but now that is past, my heart,' said he, 'is well quieted.' Whereupon the gentleman said, he would give him money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But he being one toward the law, and fearing M. Farmer's

case, durst therefore give him nothing, but gave money to the bailiffs that stood by, and said, that if they were good men, they would bestow it on him, (for my lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his purse to help him,) and so left him, my lord bidding him earnestly farewell, commending himself to his prayers, and all his friends. That night this

gentleman was staid by Boner and Ely, for giving him this money; and but by the help of friends, he had been sent up to the council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without punishment."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1883, 4. ed. Lond. 1583.]

SOME ACCOUNT OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER'S HOUSEKEEPING.

Some account of his housekeeping.

BUT the more fully to confute this calumny, it will not be amiss to look more narrowly into his housekeeping^a. His daily custom at Lambeth was, to dine in a room above, where all noblemen, and persons of better quality, that came to dine with him, were entertained. Here he was very honourably served, both with dishes and attendants. In the hall the table was every day very plentifully furnished, both for household servants and strangers, with three or four principal head messes of officers: besides the relief of the poor at his gates. And, which is a very observable charity, as well as hospitality, he appropriated his mansion house at Bekesborn in Kent, and his parsonage barn, for harbour and lodgings for the poor, sick, and maimed soldiers, that came from the wars of Bulloign, and other parts beyond seas. For these he also appointed an almoner, a physician, and a chirurgeon, to attend on them, and to dress and administer physic to such of them as were not able to resort to their own countries; having also daily from his kitchen hot broth and meat: besides the common alms of his household, that were bestowed upon the poor people of the country. And when any of these were recovered, and were able to travel, they had money given them to bear their charges, according to the number of miles they were to pass before they got home.

Retrenches the clergy's superfluous housekeeping.

I do not know whether some might have taken advan-

^a [See the "Orders and Statutes of Household," &c. in the Addenda to this vol. No. 4.]

tage thus to slander him, from a laudable endeavour of his to reduce within some bounds the provisions of clergymen's tables, which in the latter times of king Henry the Eighth grew to great excess and extravagancy, so unbecoming spiritual men. For in the year 1541 the archbishop, with the consent of the other archbishop, and most of the bishops, and divers other deans and archdeacons, made a constitution for moderating the fare of their tables; *viz.*

“That archbishops should not exceed six divers kinds of flesh, or as many dishes of fish on fish days; a bishop not above five; a dean or archdeacon, four; and all under that degree, three. But an archbishop was allowed at second course to have four dishes, a bishop three, and all others two; as custards, tarts, fritters, cheese, apples, pears, &c. But if any of the inferior clergy should entertain any archbishop, bishop, dean, or archdeacon, or any of the laity of like degree, as duke, marquis, earl, viscount, baron, lord, knight, they might have such provision as were meet for their degree: nor was their diet to be limited, when they should receive an ambassador, [to recommend, I suppose, to foreigners the English hospital-452
tality.”] It was ordered also, “That of the greater fish or fowl, as cranes, swans, turkeys, haddocks, pike, tench, there should be but one in a dish: of lesser sorts than they, as capons, pheasants, conies, woodcocks, but two: of less sorts still, as of partridges, an archbishop, three; a bishop, and other degrees under him, two. The number of the blackbirds were also stinted to six at an archbishop's table, and to four for a bishop. And of little birds, as larks, snytes, &c. the number was not to exceed twelve^b.”

^b [See Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. ed. Oxon. 1821. Works of Abp. p. 862. ex MSS. C. C. C. C. Misc. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 491. Park. Papers, p. 630. Strype's Life of Soc. Ed.]
Abp. Parker, vol. iii. pp. 117, 118.

But so strongly bent were the clergy in those days to this sort of sensuality, that these injunctions of our archbishop were observed but two or three months, and so they returned to their old superfluity again.

His pious
design
therein.

The archbishop's pious design hereby was only to curb intemperance and unnecessary prodigality in such, upon whose office those vices cast such just reflections: but it could not reasonably argue any covetous temper in him; for, that the poor might not fare the worse for this intrenchment of exorbitant hospitality, but rather the better, the archbishop in these aforesaid orders provided, "That whatsoever was spared out of the old housekeeping, should not be pocketed up, but laid out and spent in plain meats for the relief of poor people."

Others
charged
him with
prodigality.

And that this charge may still appear to be nothing but a mere detraction, proceeding from envy, or some other ill principle, others there were that would blame him for the contrary vice, of too much lavishing and unprofitable expense. So hard a matter is it for the best men to escape the spiteful and venomous insinuations of the world. But he patiently and with an even mind bore all.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

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ARCHBISHOP CRANMER HUMBLE, PEACEABLE, BOLD IN
A GOOD CAUSE.

FOR, which is another thing to be remarked in him, he was very humble and condescending, and did not only bear to be reproved, but was thankful for it; and that even when the reproof was undeserved: which was the more to be valued in him, considering the height and dignity of his calling. To give an instance or two of this.

When, in the year 1552, Cecyl had charged him with the imputation of covetousness, as a report that went of him in the court, and which himself seemed partly to believe, begging withal pardon of his grace for his freedom with him: our archbishop told him, “That as for the admonition, he took it very thankfully; and that he had ever been most glad to be admonished by his friends; accounting no man so foolish, as he that would not hear friendly admonishment^a.” And when, at another time, the same Cecyl (who would always take the liberty to speak his mind to his friends, whensoever he thought they wanted counsel) had signified to him the hazard he incurred in not shewing more compliance towards the duke of Northumberland^b, who now swayed all; and then apologising for his boldness; Cranmer was so far from taking this ill, that “he returned him his very hearty thanks for his friendly letter and advertisements; desiring him

^a [See vol. ii. pp. 383-5. Appendix, No. lxxvii. pp. 672, 3.] ^b [See vol. ii. p. 206. n. o.]

to be assured, that he took the same in such good part, and to proceed of such a friendly mind, as he ever looked for at his hands, and whereof he would not be unmindful, if occasion hereafter served, to requite the same^c.”

Peaceable
and mild.

And this good temper led him also to gentleness and lenity. He was no huffer nor contender, but of an exceeding peaceable and amicable spirit. Whereunto he was moved by the reason of policy, as well as religion: because he well saw how a contentious quarrelsome disposition in great men would be apt to give an ill example unto inferiors. There happened once, in the year 1552, a contest between him and the lord warden of the cinque ports, who lived not far from him; and so probably it might be about some worldly matters. It was sir Thomas Cheyny^d; who, in the year 1549, was one of those that met with Warwick in London, and published a proclamation against the archbishop's friend, the duke of Somerset, as a traitor: which might be an occasion that the archbishop did not much affect Cheyny, nor Cheyny the archbishop. Concerning this difference between them, which it seems was taken notice of at court, when his true friend Cecyl had wrote to him, advising a reconciliation, he gave this Christian and meek answer from 454 his house at Ford; “That there was no man more loth to be in contention with any man than he was; especially with him who was his near neighbour, dwelling both in one county, and whose familiar and entire friendship he most desired, and that for the quietness of the whole county:” adding, “That the examples of the rulers and heads would the people and members follow^e.”

^c [See Appendix No. cvii. to this volume.]

^e [See Appendix to this volume, No. cviii.]

^d [See above, p. 6. n. ^m.]

His peaceableness also appeared in his hearty desires of the public peace, as well as private. When, upon occasion of hearing of the wars that were about the year 1552, eagerly followed both in Christendom and out of it, he used these words; “The sophy and the Turk, the emperor and the French king, not much better in religion than they,” ^{His speech upon the news of wars abroad.} [such it seems was his censure of them, by reason of the cruelty and persecution they exercised, and the disturbances they made in the world,] “rolling the stone, or turning the wheel of fortune up and down; I pray God send us peace and quietness with all realms, as well as among ourselves^f.”

But though he were of so quiet and mild a spirit, yet, ^{Unacquainted with the arts of court flattery.} being a plain downright man, he would never learn the arts of flattery and base compliances with them that were uppermost: which had like to have created him much trouble from Northumberland; to whom he carried not ^{Would never crouch to Northumberland.} himself with that deference and pleasingness as he expected. For Cranmer knew the bad heart of this haughty man, and could not forget the ill measure his friend, the duke of Somerset, had found at his hands. He did not care to make any application to him, nor to be an instrument in forwarding any of his designing business. When he was to write up to some of the court concerning Reiner Wolf, I suppose for license to print the Articles of Religion, anno 1552, he desired to take Cecyl’s advice, to whom he should write: “For I know not,” saith he, “to whom to write but my lord of Northumberland;” to whom to make any address he would fain have avoided if he could^g. There was, about the year 1552, a commission issued out for a strict inquiry to be made after all such as

^f [See Appendix to this volume, No. cvii.]

^g [See vol. ii. Appendix, No. lxvi. p. 672.]

had defrauded the king of any goods or treasure, accruing to him by the suppression of chantries, or that belonged to churches. Now this was done by Northumberland and his creatures on purpose that it might light heavy upon Somerset's friends, who had been the chief visitors in those affairs, and had many of them been supposed to have enriched themselves thereby. Commissioners were appointed in each county. In Kent the commission was directed to the archbishop, and to several other gentlemen and justices of peace. The archbishop, perceiving well the spite and malice of this commission, acted very slowly in it: insomuch that Northumberland began to be highly angry with him. Cecyl observing it, and having ever a great veneration for that good man, and fearing he might feel the effects of his fury, writ to him, signifying Northumberland's displeasure, and giving him advice to take heed of him. For which the archbishop thanked him, and prudently writ his excusatory letter to that duke, dated November 20, signifying, "that the cause of his stay of
455 the commission was, because he was alone, and that the gentlemen and justices of peace, who were in commission with him, were then at London, [probably because of the term,] before whose coming home, if he should proceed without them, he might," as he said, "travel in vain, and take more pains than he should do good^h." And by such soft, but honest words, mollifying him for the procrastination of that which he had no mind to meddle in.

He and
Ridley fall
under the
duke's dis-
pleasure.

But not long after he, and Ridley bishop of London with him, fell under great displeasure with this duke, and the rest of the great men of his party; who in the latter end of king Edward's reign governed all. The reason whereof was, for opposing, as much as they could, though

^h [See Appendix to this volume, No. cvii.]

to no effect, the spoil of the church goods; which were taken away only by a commandment of the higher powers, without request or consent of them to whom they did belong; as Ridley himself relates in his treatise, wherein he lamented the change of religion in Englandⁱ: which indeed was more than ever Henry VIII had done. Ridley's lamentation.

Add to the rest, that our bishop was of a bold and undaunted courage in the cause of God and his church. It was a brave and generous act, and worthy the chief bishop of the English church; I mean that public challenge which he made, to maintain the Common Prayer Book, and the other parts of the reformation, by the Scripture and Fathers, in open disputation, against whomsoever, if the queen so pleased to permit it: which was done by him soon after the queen's coming to the throne. And had he not been prevented by others, who dispersed copies of this challenge without his knowledge, it had been made very solemnly, as he freely told the queen's counsel, by fixing this his declaration on the doors of St. Paul's, and other churches, with his hand and seal to it^k. And his courage herein appeared the greater, because he was at this very time under a cloud, and in great danger; having some time before now been convented before the council, and confined to Lambeth^l.

And whosoever shall consider that good progress that by his means was made in religion, not only in king Edward's reign, but even in that of king Henry, under the discouragements of an anciently riveted superstition and idolatry; and withal shall ponder the haughty nature of that prince, of so difficult address, and so addicted to the

ⁱ [Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1778. ed. Lond. 1583; and Ridley's Works, pp. 49. et sqq.]

^k [See above, p. 15.]

^l [See above, p. 19.]

old religion; and how dangerous it was to dissent from him, or to attempt to draw him off from his own persuasions; cannot but judge Cranmer to have been of a very bold spirit, to venture so far as he did. And undoubtedly his courage went an equal pace with his wisdom and discretion, and was no whit inferior to his other excellent qualifications. And this I say the rather, to vindicate the memory of this most reverend prelate from an unworthy reflection, made upon him in a trifling account of his life: wherein he is charged to be of too easy and flexible a disposition, which made him cowardly to comply with the church of Rome. For^m, although he never did any harm
 456 to the protestants, yet he did not unto them so much good as he might andⁿ ought^o. For the confutation of which, I appeal to numberless passages which I have written of him. But it is easy to see from whence this author had this character of our archbishop; namely, from Parsons and Saunders, two malicious, calumniating Jesuits. The former hath these words of him^p; “That to the king’s will and liking he resolved to conform himself, as well in religion as in other things. ¶ And, that when king Henry [upon his first breach with the pope] was [somewhat careless and] large towards the protestants, Cranmer was also so; but when [afterward] the king [grew to be more strait] and rigorous [in that point], especially after the [statute of the] Six Articles, Cranmer was ready to prosecute the same.” And therefore Saunders framed a name for the

^m [“And that though.”—*Strype*.]

ⁿ [“or ought.”—*Strype*.]

^o [Fuller’s *Abel Redivivus*, p. 226. ed. Lond. 1651.]

^p [Parsons’ *Three Conversions*, pt. iii. 9. cap. 7. 9. 28. pp. 371, 2. ed. 1604.]

^q [“And, that when king Henry was large towards the protestants, Cranmer was so also; but when the king became more strict and rigorous, especially after the Six Articles, Cranmer was ready to prosecute the same.”—*Strype*.]

Abel Redivivus.

Three conversions.

archbishop, calling him *Henricianus*^r; in the same sense as Herod's creatures in the Scriptures were called *Herodiani*. A very false character of this good archbishop, to say no worse of it.

I must here make a note of one quality more of our archbishop: which was this; that he was a man of ardent affections, and of an open and generous temper; and where he loved, he thought he could never enough express it. An instance of this I will give in bishop Thirleby: to whom, for the good qualities he supposed were in him, he had a most earnest love. An account of this I will lay down in the words of Morice, the archbishop's secretary, who well knew it. Of ardent affections.
Inter Foxii MSS.^s

“ Besides his special favour to him,” saith he, [borne^t] “ that way, [in recommending him to the king,] there was no man living could more friendly esteem any man of himself, as my lord Cranmer did this [Dr.^u] Thirleby; for there was no kind of pleasure which my lord Cranmer was liable to do, that was not at this man's commandment: whether it were jewel, plate, instrument, map, horse, or any thing else, though he had it from the king's majesty; but if this man did once like or commend it, the gentle archbishop would forthwith give it unto him. And [when^x] many times Dr. Thirleby, for civility sake, would instantly refuse the same, yet would he send it unto him the next

^r [“ Atque hactenus quidem Cranmerus iste, Henricianum, hoc est, Henrici regis sectatorem se gesserat, utpote qui neque latum unguem ab Henrici præscripto unquam recedere in ulla re audebat.” — Sanderus, de Schismat. Anglic. p. 115. ed. Co-

lon. Agrip. 1585. See vol. i. p. 148.]

^s [Harl. MSS. 416. 183. b. British Museum. Original.]

^t [“ He, that way.”—Strype.]

^u [“ Did this Thirleby.”—Id.]

^x [“ And many times.”—Id.]

day after to his house. Insomuch that it came into a common proverb, That Dr. Thirleby's commendation of any thing of my lord's, was a plain winning or obtaining thereof. So that some men thought, that if he would have demanded any finger, or other member of his, he would have cut it off to have gratified him therewith^y; such was his ardent^z affection towards [Dr. Thirleby.^a] This^b can testify no small sort of honest men, now living ;" that is, about the year 1565, when this was written^c.

Cranmer
compared
with
cardinal
Wolsey.

It may deserve also a remark, that our good prelate rose upon the fall of another great churchman, viz. the cardinal of York. For about that very time the king rejected Wolsey from his favour and employment, Cranmer succeeded into them. It may be also observed, that, as the king's great matter of the divorce was first moved and managed by Wolsey ; so it was taken up, and vigorously
457 carried on, and successfully ended, by Cranmer. And as the former started it upon an unjust policy, and so in the issue, by God's secret judgment, prospered no better by it, it finally proving his ruin ; so the latter, acting in it out of a better and more honest principle of conscience and religion, became thereby advanced to the greatest honour in the church : which he held for twenty years together. Though at last indeed it had the same fatal issue to him, by the secret malice of queen Mary, as it had to the cardinal before, by the secret displeasure of

^y [The MS. reads, " gratified him it."]

^z [The MS. reads, " such was ardent affection."]

^a [" Affection towards him."—Strype.]

^b [" This no small sort of ho-

nest men, now living, can testify."—Strype.]

^c [The above extract is from a letter of Ralph Morice to John Day, the printer, and is dated " from Bekesbourne, the xth of January 1565."]

queen Ann. But as they were thus parallel in the cause of their falls, so their demeanours under their calamities were very different. The cardinal under his shewed a most abject and desponding mind; but our archbishop's carriage was much more decent under his, remaining undaunted and magnanimous: having a soul well fortified by the principles of solid virtue and religion, which the other had not. And this appeared in him, when, being brought forth to be baited before Brooks, the pope's sub-delegate, and Martin and Story, the king's and queen's commissioners at Oxford; he gravely, and with an unmoved spirit, used these words: "That he acknowledged God's goodness to him in all his gifts; and thanked him as heartily for that state wherein he found himself then, as ever he did in the time of his prosperity; and that it was not the loss of his promotions that grieved him at all^a."

^a [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1880. ed. Lond. 1583, and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 221. Park. Soc. Ed.]
Jenkyns' Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 110,

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OSIANDER'S AND PETER MARTYR'S CHARACTER OF THE
ARCHBISHOP.

THE last thing I shall observe of him is, that he always remained the same man; not altered by his honours and high advancements. As he was a person of great piety, goodness, affability, and benignity, before he was archbishop, and the sunshine of royal favour, so he continued at all times after. For a witness of this, I will set down two characters given him by two foreign learned men, both which knew him well.

Osiander's
character of
the arch-
bishop.

The one shall be of Osiander; from whom we may take this account of what he was before he was bishop, while he remained abroad in Germany. Osiander, that great divine of Norinberg, professed to love him for some excellent endowments that were common to him with some other good men, but especially for others more extraordinary and peculiar to himself: of the former sort was, "that he was a gentleman of good birth and quality; that he had an aspect and presence that carried dignity with it, an incredible sweetness of manners; that he had learning beyond the common degrees of it; was benign and liberal towards all, and especially to those that were studious and of good literature. Of the latter, were those
458 more abstruse and heroical virtues of his mind, rare to be found in the age wherein he lived, viz. his wisdom, prudence, fortitude, temperance, justice; a singular love towards his country, the highest faithfulness towards the king; a contempt of earthly things, a love of heavenly;

Epist. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evangelic.

a most burning study towards the evangelic truth, sincere religion, and Christ's glory^a." And this was Cranmer before he was placed in his high and honourable station.

The other character of Cranmer is that of Peter Mar-^{And Peter}tyr; who thus speaks of him, when he was at the top of^{Martyr's.} all his earthly honour, in the middle of king Edward's reign: "That his godliness, prudence, faithfulness, and his singular virtues, were known to all the kingdom. *Ep. Dedicat. ante librum de Eucharist.* That he was so adorned with the grace and favour of Christ, as that, though all others are the children of wrath, yet in him piety, and divine knowledge, and other virtues, might seem to be naturally born and bred; such deep root had they taken in him. So that Martyr often wished and professed, he should esteem it as a great benefit vouchsafed him of God, that he might come as near as might be to his virtues, which he admired in him as the wonderful gifts of God. And, as to himself and others,

a ["Amo te quum propter vulgata ista quæ tibi cum multis communia sunt, generis dico nobilitatem, oris ac formæ dignitatem, morum incredibilem suavitatem, eruditionem minime vulgarem, benignitatem, liberalitatemque in omnes, præcipue in bonarum literarum studiosos, tum vero multo magis propter abstrusiores illas ac plane heroicas animi tui virtutes, ut hoc ævo inventu raras, ita in te neutiquam dubiis argumentis, non a me tantum deprehensas, sapientiam dico, prudentiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam, justitiam, studium in patriam singulare, fidem in sere-

nissimum regem summam, contemptum rerum terrenarum, amorem cœlestium: evangelicæ veritatis, sinceræ religionis, ac gloriæ Christi studium flagrantissimum: denique animum vel martyrio parem: quorum nihil adulandi causa de te prædico, (id enim est a moribus meis, vel inimicis etiam testibus alienum), sed ut tuis te bonis excitem, et ad omnium periculorum contemptum, in asserenda et conservanda sincera Christi doctrina provocem ac quodammodo urgeam."—Osiand. Epist. Dedicat. in Harmon. Evangel. p. 8. ed. Lutet. 1545.]

fled into these quarters for religion, that Cranmer's kindness and humanity, merits and benefits towards them, were such, that if he should render just thanks, and speak of them as they deserved, he must do nothing but tell of them; and how much soever he should extol them, the greatness of the matter would overreach his speech. And that it was well known to all how humanely he received not him only, but many other strangers of his order, and how kindly he treated them^b."

Bale's character of the archbishop.

To both these I will subjoin the judgment of another, who, I cannot but conclude, was well acquainted with the archbishop, and a long and diligent observer of his demeanour in his superintendency over the church; and *In Centur.* that was John Bale, sometime bishop of Ossery. "He never placed," said he, "the function of a bishop in the

^b [Styve has transposed the position of this passage from P. Martyr, which runs thus in the original: "Ea vero est benignitas tua et humanitas, merita et beneficia quibus me affecisti, pro quibus si velim juste gratias agere, eaque ut merentur ornare, et mihi nil præterea dicendum erit, et quantumvis ista prædicavero, magnitudine rei semper vincetur oratio. Idcirco de his potius nihil, quam indigne ac tenuiter, dicere, statui. Notum est jam omnibus, non solum me, verum permultos alios mei ordinis peregrinos, quam humaniter exceperis, et exceptos quam benigne tractaveris, ideo hæc, ut probe cognita, ulterius prosequi desino. De tua item pietate, prudentia, fide, summisque virtutibus,

optime intelligo non expectari ab hoc regno meum testimonium, cum sint omnibus testatissimæ.—Ego vero Celsitudinem tuam, et gratia et favore Christi adeo ornatum animadverti, ut licet omnes natura simus filii iræ, sicut cæteri, tibi nihilominus pietas, theologia, cæteræque virtutes connatæ insitæque naturaliter videri possint, adeo altas in tuo animo radices egerunt. Quare optavi sæpius, et mihi a Deo pro magno beneficio dari velim, ut quantum teneor, tantum erga tuam Celsitudinem gratum animum habeam, et ad tuas virtutes, (quas dona Dei in te admiror,) valeam quam proxime accedere."—P. Martyr. Epist. Nuncup. in Tract. de Sacrament. Eucharist. ed. Lond. 1549.]

administration of secular things, but in a most faithful dispensation of God's Word.

“In the midst of wicked Babylon he always performed the part of a good guide of Israel. And among papists, that tyrannised against the truth of Christ, he governed the people of God with an admirable prudence.

“No man ever so happily and steadily persisted, with Christ himself, in the defence of the truth, in the midst of falsely learned men, in such imminent hazard of his life, and yet without receiving any harm.

“No man did more prudently bear with some false apostles for a time, although, with St. Paul, he knew what most pestilent men they were, that so they might not be provoked to run into greater rage and madness^c.”

All this that I have before written concerning this our venerable prelate cannot but redound to his high praise and commendation: and it is very fit such virtues and accomplishments should be celebrated and recorded to posterity. Yet I do not intend these my collections for such a panegyric of him, as to make the world believe him void of all faults or frailties, the condition of human nature. He lived in such critical times, and under such

The difficult times wherein Cranmer lived. 459

^c [“Episcopi functionem, in profanarum rerum administratione nunquam ponebat, sed in fidelissima verbi divini dispensatione, ne Dei Patris in Christo gratia Antichristi præstigiis malignis, mundo diutius occuleretur. In medio Babylonis iniquæ probum semper egit Israeliticæ gentis ducem: atque inter tyrannizantes in Christi veritatem Papicolæ, inaudita prudentia moderatus est populum Dei, ne vulpibus ali-

quando essent prædæ. Nemo unquam fœlicius aut firmiter in pseudomagistrorum medio cum Christo ipso, pro dicta veritate tuenda, in tam summis vitæ suæ periculis, sine omni læsione perstitit. Nemo prudentius pseudoapostolos quosdam, tametsi cum Paulo sciret esse pestilentissimos, tolerabat ad tempus, ne in majorem concitarentur insaniam.” — Bale, de Script. Illustr. Catal. p. 690. ed. Basil. 1559.]

princes, and was necessarily involved in such affairs, as exposed him to greater temptations than ordinary. And if any blemishes shall, by curious observers, be espied in him, he may therefore seem the more pardonable; and his great exemplary goodness and usefulness in the church of God may make ample amends for some errors.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ARCHBISHOP VINDICATED FROM SLANDERS OF PAPISTS.

I HAVE given, I hope, a just, though imperfect, account, from undoubted records and authentic manuscripts, as well as the best published books, of the excellent endowments of this great prelate, and of his innocent, prudential, and useful behaviour in his high place and station. So that none, who impartially weighs the premises, can conclude otherwise of him, than that he was a very rare person, and one that deserves to be reckoned among the brightest lights that ever shone in this English church. And this all the sober unprejudiced part of posterity will believe, notwithstanding the unjust calumnies some hot spirited papists have cast upon his memory.

A lying character of this archbishop by a late French author.

I shall pass over the unhandsome name that Feckenham^a gave him, calling him *Dolt*; as he did also his two other brethren in tribulation, Ridley and Latimer, prisoners then in Oxford, (men by far more learned than himself,) upon occasion of Mr. Hawks esteeming them deservedly “godly and learned men^b.”

^a [See vol. ii. p. 123. n. b.]

^b [“Then Fecknam stood up, and said, ‘I had such a one before me this other day. Alas! these places serve nothing for your purposes. But I perceive ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford.’”

“*Fecknam*. ‘I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley.’”

“*Hawkes*. ‘I know nothing else by them, but that they be both godly and learned.’”

“*Fecknam*. ‘Wilt thou trust to such dolts?’ &c.”—Foxy’s Acts and Monuments, p. 1589. ed. Lond. 1583.]

“*Hawkes*. ‘What mean you by that?’”

I shall also pass by what bishop Boner then said of him, viz. "That he dared to say, that Cranmer would recant so he might have his living^c;" as though he were a man of a prostituted conscience, and would do any thing upon worldly considerations.

But there is a late French writer, whom I cannot but take notice of with some indignation; who, to shew his bigoted zeal to the Roman church, hath bestowed this most defamatory character upon this our archbishop; "That he was one of the profligatest men of England; that had nothing of Christianity in him, but the outward appearances; being ambitious, voluptuous, turbulent, and capable of all sorts of intrigues^d." Of which all that I have written is an abundant confutation; besides the severe chastisements the right reverend the bishop of Sarum hath lately bestowed upon this author^e: who questionless was well versed in those famous popish calumniators of our reformation, and of this our archbishop, the great instaurator thereof, and had a mind to outdo them in their talent of throwing dirt. Those, I mean, who,

^c [*Boner*. 'If any of these' (viz. Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley) 'recant, what will you say to it?']

Hawkes. 'When they recant I will make you an answer.'

Boner. 'Then thou wilt say as thou dost now for all that.'

Hawkes. 'Yea, indeed, will I, and that, trust to it, by God's grace.'

Boner. 'I dare say Cranmer would recant, so that he might have his living.'—*Id. ibid.*]

^d ["Ministre en la place de Volsey, c'étoit un prestre nommé Cranmer, l'un des plus scelerats

et de plus dangereux hommes d'Angleterre. Il ne conservoit guere que l'exterieur de la religion Chrétienne, parce qu'il n'en pouvoit accorder l'interieur avec l'ambition, et la vie voluptueuse qu'il menoit. Il étoit turbulent, hardi, fin, et capable de toutes sortes d'intrigues."—*Varillas*, *Hist. des revolut.* livre ix. tom. ii. pp. 384, 5. ed. Paris, 1686-8.]

^e [See *Burnet's Reflections on Mr. Varillas' History of the Revolutions that have happened in Europe in matters of religion*, pp. 80, 1. ed. Lond. 1689.]

living in the age past, did most bitterly and virulently, as 460
it fell in their way, fly upon Cranmer's memory and fame,
to eclipse it to posterity if they could; namely, Saunders,
Allen, and Parsons, and some others. But those who
read these Memorials will be able easily to confute them,
and will perceive that these men sought not so much to
say what was true, as what might serve the ends of their
anger and spite; their reports being made up for the
most part of nothing but lies and slanders idly patched
together.

Allen, if he were the answerer of the *Execution of Eng-* Allen's
calumny of
the arch-
bishop.
Sincere and
modest
Defence of
English
Catholics,
p. 45^f.
lish Justice, saith, "that Cranmer was a notorious per-
jured, and often relapsed apostata, recanting, swearing
and forswearing at every turn." A heavy charge; but
we are left to guess what these perjuries, these so often
swearings and forswearings, these relapses and recanta-
tions be. But it is enough for them to roar out "noto-
rious perjuries, &c." But let us see what oaths Cranmer
took, that might occasion his perjuries. He swore, at his
consecration, the usual oath to the pope; and, in his
future doings, laboured to restore the king's supremacy
against the pope's usurpations, and to promote a reforma-
tion against the pope's superstitions. Was this one of his

^f ["The libel therefore maketh
a glorious muster of archbishops,
(so he speaketh by 'enalage num-
meri;') for indeed there was but
one, and he* a notorious perjured
and often relapsed 'apostata;' re-
canting, swearing, and forswear-
ing at every turne; and at the
very day and hour of his death,
sacrilegiously joined in pretended
marriage to a woman, notwith-
standing his vow and order, the
very first and principal cause of

the English calamity."—A true,
sincere, and modest defence of
English catholics that suffer for
their faith both at home and
abroad: against a false, seditious * [Cran-
and slanderous libel intituled; ^{mer.}]
"The execution of justice in Eng-
land," p. 45. (without date or
place of publication.) This trea-
tise was generally attributed to the
pen of cardinal William Allen.]

^g [See vol. i. Appendix, p.
494.]

Wiped off. “notorious perjuries?” It is pity the doing so good a thing should fall under so bad a name. But, at the taking of that oath, did he not make a solemn protestation openly before public notaries, and that entered down into record, that he intended not by the said oath to do any thing against the law of God, the king, or the realm, and their laws and prerogatives; nor to be abridged thereby from consulting for the reformation of religion? In which way the best civilians then put him, and assured him, that by this means he might safely, without any guilt, take the oath to the pope: which otherwise he would not have done. And truly, for my part, I think there was no other way to escape that perjury, that all other bishops elect in those times were entangled in, by swearing two contrary oaths, one to the pope, and another to the king. Cranmer swore also, at receiving orders, to live chastely; but he afterwards married a wife. Surely hereby he brake not his oath, but rather kept it. He did likewise swear to the succession of queen Ann: but would Allen have all that submitted to that act of parliament to be perjured? That would reflect upon the wisdom of the three estates at that time, in making such an ensnaring law; and involve all sorts of people, both clergy, nobility, and gentry, and all other persons of age, in perjury, as well as the archbishop, excepting only two persons, More and Fisher, who would not submit to this act. And even they themselves offered to swear to the succession itself, and refused only to swear to the preamble of the said act. There was indeed an act made, which seemed contrary to this act, namely, that which in the year 1536 put by the succession of queen Ann, and carried it to the king’s children by another queen; and to this act the subjects were to swear also. And we will suppose that the archbishop swore with the rest to this act. Neither was there

any perjury here; for this oath in truth was not contrary to the former: for by reason of some lawful impediment of queen Ann's marriage with the king, as was then pretended, it was declared by the parliament, that the issue 461 of that queen was illegitimate, and not inheritable. And the first oath was only for the succession of lawful issue by queen Ann. Therefore, there being no lawful issue of that queen, as was then at least supposed, the oath to the lawful issue of another queen might certainly be very innocently taken, without infringing the breach of the former. And where at length is this "notorious perjury, and swearing and forswearing at every turn?"

Allen again lets fly upon him, calling him *apostata*. Cleared from his charge of apostasy. But surely it is not apostasy to leave error, superstition, and idolatry, for the true doctrine and profession of the gospel. He chargeth him also with "often relapsing and recanting." He made no relapses nor recantations at all, as I know of, unless a little before his death, when he subscribed to a parcel of popish articles, by the importunity of papists, working upon his frailty and long sufferings. But he soon revoked all again, and died most patiently in the profession of the true religion. And to this at last comes all this mighty clamour, that he was "notoriously perjured, an often relapsed *apostata*, recanting, swearing and forswearing at every turn."

Saunders his scurrilous and false accounts of Cranmer Saunders' falsehoods of the archbishop. De Schism. Ang. are numberless; I will only mention one or two. He saith, "That from Cambridge he went to the service of sir Thomas Bullen, and by his preferment was made archbishop of Canterbury ^h." Whereas from Cambridge he

^h ["Hoc ubi Thomas Bolenus, presbyterum quendam doctum, qui putabatur Annæ Bolenæ pater, accepisset: 'Jamdudum,' inquit, 'O rex domi meæ habeo gravem, et modestum, cujus fides abunde tuæ majestati probata est, in ea quam apud pontificem gessit

was immediately made the king's chaplain, and wanted not the recommendation of any to his preferment, the king being so well acquainted with his merits. And though he abode some time with the earl of Wiltshire, whom he styleth sir Thomas Bullen, yet it was not in the quality of his chaplain, but of one whom the king recommended to himⁱ. He writeth, "that the archbishop carried his wife about with him in a chest, when he removed;" and addeth a ridiculous story relating thereunto^k. And his brother Parsons saith, "This was a most certain story, and testified at that day by Cranmer's son's widow to divers gentlemen, her friends," from whom Parsons saith he had it^l. Other popish dignitaries in those days kept

legatione. Hic mihi a sacello jam diu fuit, eundemque novi erga divortium hoc tam sincere affectum esse, ut si tua majestas eum creaverit Archiepiscopum, in me recepturus sim, facturum illum quicquid a subdito, quopiam expeti aut etiam desiderati queat. Placuit conditio, maxime, quod Anna Bolena in eandem sententiam regi supplicassèt. Cranmerus ergo fit ea conditione archiepiscopus, ut etiamsi Romanus pontifex secundum regis et Catharinæ matrimonium sententiam ferret, ille tamen ex adverso pronuntiaret, Catharinam necessario esse repudiandum."—Sanderus de schism. Anglican. p. 57. ed. Colon. Agrip. 1585.]

ⁱ [See vol. i. p. 7.]

^k ["Unum illud molestissime illum habebat, quod meretricem suam non poterat palam uxoris loco libere habere, quia id Henricus prohibuerat, sed partim do-

mi eam occultare, partim cum foras prodiret, cista inclusam secum una circumferre cogebatur."—Sanderus de schism. Anglican. p. 115.]

^l ["Doctor Saunders writeth, that from Cambridge he went to the service of sir Thomas Bullen, father to queen Anne, and by his preferment was made archbishop of Canterbury after Warham's death: for that the king saw him forward, and resolute in the matter of queen Catherine's divorce. Foxe would have men think, that Cranmer was inclined to be a protestant from his youth: and well it may be, in respect of his inclination to liberty and sensual life, as appeareth not only by his hasty marriage, when he was a fellow of the aforesaid college," (i. e. Jesus college, Cambridge,) "and by oath prohibited to marry (during his being there at least:) but also for that, (as doctor Saun-

and conversed with their concubines and whores more publicly; and did the archbishop keep his wife so close? But in case he had travelled with her more openly, who should examine the archbishop, and call him to account, whether she was his wife or his concubine? and therefore the story is most improbable. The king himself knew he had a wife well enough. And when the archbishop saw the danger of having her with him, he sent her away to her friends beyond sea for a time. And that silly story comes through too many hands, before it came to Parsons, to make it credible. Cranmer's son tells it to his wife, nobody knows where: she, being a widow, tells it to certain gentlemen, nobody knows who: and they tell it to Parsons, nobody knows when. No one place, person, or time, mentioned. And so all the faith of the matter lies upon a woman's evidence, and her's upon the credit of those two very honest men, Parsons and Saunders.

ders writeth,) soon after his being made archbishop, though he were a priest, and had made a vow of chastity, yet got he a woman, and carried her about with him in a chest, when he had occasion to remove. Whereof ensued a strange chance at one time. For that carrying down his said chest among other of his furniture, when he went from London to Canterbury, it happened, that at Gravesend (where the bishop lay one night) his chests were brought a land, and put in a gallery. And this among other being much recommended to the shipmen, (as containing precious stuff belonging to my lord's grace,) they severed it from the rest, and put it up endlong against the wall

in my lord's chamber, with the woman's head downward, which putting her in jeopardy to break her neck, she was forced at length to cry out. And so the chamberlains perceiving the error, took her forth foully disfigured, and as good as half dead. This is a most certain story, and testified at this day by Cranmer's son's widow, yet living, to divers gentlemen her friends, from whom myself had it. But John Foxe to excuse this his incontinency saith, that he took a wife secretly by his own authority in king Henry's days. And thus much for his life."—Parsons' *Three Conversions of England*, part iii. cap. 7. § 27. pp. 370, 1. (see also p. 384.) ed. 1604.]

Parsons his
compliments to
the arch-
bishop.

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In Parsons his Three Conversions of England are these many favourable expressions of our archbishop to be found: that “he was the first heretic in that order, [of archbishops of Canterbury^m.]” Because he was the first that laboured a reformation of the horrible errors of the degenerate church of Rome. And, “that he was the first archbishop of Canterbury that ever brake from the Roman faithⁿ.” And, that “this was the first change of religion in any archbishop, from the beginning unto his days^o.” Designing thereby to fix a very black mark upon him, which rather redounds to his everlasting honour. That “he was an unconstant man in his faith and belief, incontinent in his life, variable in all his actions, accommodating himself always to the times wherein he lived, and to the humours of those who could do most; and this in matters even against right and conscience^p.” No, but quite contrary: he was constant in his faith and belief to the very last, except one fall, which he soon recovered; most chaste in his life, living in the holy state of marriage; steady in all his actions; accommodating himself always, neither to the times nor to the humours of any man, let him be as great as he would, any farther than he might do in right and conscience; and often opposing king, parliament, privy council, and synods, to his utmost dan-

In his
Kalendar.

^m [Parsons’ Three Conversions of England: see the table of particular matters to part i. “Cranmer;” referring to the passages which follow from this portion of the treatise. ed. 1603.]

ⁿ [Id. part i. cap. 11. § 32. p. 231.]

^o [Id. part i. cap. 11. § 27. p. 227.]

^p [“Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, martyr. How

unconstant a man this was in his faith and belief, and how incontinent in his life, and how variable in all his actions, accommodating himself always to the times wherein he lived, and to the humor of those who could do most, and this even in matters against right and conscience, you shall see declared at large.”—Id. part iii. (The Catholic Kalendar, March 23, 1556.)]

ger, in defence of truth, and for the discharge of his own conscience.

Again, "That he was a [Roman] catholic in most points during king Henry's reign ^q." Whereas he was so in no point, excepting in that of the corporeal presence. "That he applied himself to the religion which the state and prince liked best to allow of in that time [of king Henry VIII]^r." From which he was so far, that he often boldly and publicly declared against divers things which the king was bent upon; as in the act of the Six Articles, and in composing the book called *The Necessary Erudition*. That "these three, the king, queen Ann, and archbishop Cranmer, held the catholic faith, usages, and rites; and went as devoutly to mass as ever, and so remained they, in outward show, even to their deaths ^s." Though some years before Cranmer's death, namely, from the first year of king Edward, the mass was wholly laid aside, and never used at all. That "Cranmer and Crumwel went to mass, after the king married the lady Ann Bolent^t, as before." What they did as to the going to mass, our histories tell us little of: if they did, it was with little approbation of it. "And as Crumwel on the scaffold protested, that he was a good catholic man, (but there is difference between a good catholic and a Roman catholic,) and never doubted of any of the church sacraments then used ^u." Thereby intending, I suppose, to make a differ-

^q [Parsons' Three Conversions, part iii. cap. 7. § 28. p. 371.]

^r [Id. part i. cap. 11. § 27. p. 227.]

^s ["And yet if you behold the external face of the English church at this day, all these named and others held the catholic faith, use, and rites, and both king, and

queen, Cranmer, and Crumwell went as devoutly to mass as ever before, and so remained they in outward shew (I mean the former three) even to their deaths."—Id. part i. cap. 11. § 28. p. 237.]

^t [Id. *ibid.*]

^u [Id. *ibid.* See also part i. cap. 11. § 13. p. 559.]

ence between them and the Gospel sacraments. But surely Crumwel in his lifetime was so utterly against four or five of them, that he brought Aless^x, a learned man, into a convocation to dispute there for two only. "And the like^y [would] Cranmer have done, no doubt, if he had been brought to the scaffold in king Henry's days: which had been a happy case for him^z." To a scaffold they of the Roman persuasion endeavoured many a year to bring him; and they would have thought it a happy case for them, if they could have brought it to pass. But I verily believe the quite contrary to this confident assertion, and that he would have owned the truth to the last, as he did afterwards in the reign of that king's daughter, queen Mary.

463 That "he always fell jump with them that governed, and could do most^a." No, he never fell in with Gardiner, who sometime had the ascendant over king Henry; nor with the duke of Northumberland^b, who could do most, and did all for a time with king Edward. That "^cwhen king Henry [upon his first breach with the pope] was [somewhat careless and] large towards the protestants, Cranmer was so also, joining with Crumwel to protect them. But when [afterwards] the king grew to be more strait and rigorous [in that point], especially after the Six Articles, Cranmer was ready to prosecute the same." He argued long and earnestly in the House against those Six Articles; and, when he saw they would pass, he protested against it; and was so troubled about it, that the king sent the duke of Norfolk and the lord Crumwel, and divers other noble persons, to comfort him

^x [See vol. ii. p. 200. n. f.]

^a [See part iii. cap. 7. § 30.

^y ["And the like Cranmer had done." Strype.]

p. 374.]

^b [See vol. ii. p. 206. n. o.]

^z [Parsons' Three Conversions, part i. cap. 12. § 8. p. 238.]

^c [See for this passage above, p. 410. n. q.]

in the king's name. So that I hardly think he would after this be brought to prosecute that bloody act, the making of which he so utterly disliked^d. Nor is there the least footstep of it in history. Indeed Parsons bringeth in some persons, in whose deaths he would have the archbishop to have a hand. "As we may see^e," saith he, "by the sentence of death pronounced against [John^f] Lambert^g, Thomas Gerard^h, William Jerome, and Ann Ascue^k, and others, condemned by him [to the fire^l] for denying the real presence [in the sacrament]^m." Though in king Henry's time the archbishop believed the real presence, yet he was not for putting any to death that denied it. No; such extreme rigours, for an error, he utterly detested. Lambert suffered before the act of the Six Articles. Nor did the archbishop condemn him, but only, by the king's command, disputed against him. Gerard, [he means Garret,] and Jerome, and Ann Ascue, were condemned and burnt indeed; but he had no manner of hand either in their condemnation or death, as we can find in our histories. But Winchester, Boner, and Wriothesly, and others of that gang, shed those good people's blood. And it is an impudent falsehood to lay their condemnation to the archbishop's charge.

He saith further, that "to the king's will and liking he resolved to conform himself, as well in religion, as in all other thingsⁿ." If he had said this of bishop Gardiner, the character would have better by far fitted him. He saith, that "he divorced the king of his own authority

^d [See vol. i. pp. 160—166.]

^e ["As may appear." Strype.]

^f ["John" omitted by Strype.]

^g [See vol. i. pp. 143—146.]

^h [See vol. i. p. 182. and vol. ii. p. 82.]

ⁱ [See vol. ii. p. 82.]

^k [See vol. ii. p. 185.]

^l ["to the fire" and "in the sacrament" omitted by Strype.]

^m [Parsons' Three Conversions, part iii. cap. 7. § 30.]

ⁿ [Id. part iii. cap. 7. pp. 371, 372.]

from queen Katherine^o." Whereas, in truth, what he and Winchester, and other bishops did in this affair, was by commission from the king, and not by their own authority ^p. That "he married the king to queen Ann^q." That "it was in open parliament, under his hand writing, yet extant in public printed record^r, (to his eternal shame,) that the queen (that is, [said^s] queen Ann) was never true wife unto the said king^t." Where was the eternal shame of this, when he set his hand to no more than what she herself confessed before him? See more of this before^u. That "after this [again^v] he married the king to [Q.^w] Jane Seymour, and [she being dead^x] to queen Ann of Clevey, after [this again he married the king^z] to [Q.^a] Katherine Howard, and after that to [Q.^a] Katherine Parre^b." Which we must take upon his word: for I think it hard by any good history to know it. And what if Cranmer did all this? That "he joined with the protector [in the beginning of K. Edward's days^c] for^d overthrowing of king Henry's will [and testament presently upon his death; as also] with Dudley [afterwards] against

^o [Parsons' Three Conversions, part iii. cap. 7. § 30.]

^p [See vol. i. p. 42, and Appendix, p. 325.]

^q [Parsons' Three Conversions, part iii. cap. 7. § 28. pp. 371, 2. See also vol. i. pp. 35, 6; and Letter to archdeacon Hawkins, Appendix, No. vii. p. 328. by which it is proved that Cranmer did not officiate at the marriage between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.]

^r ["records." Strype.]

^s ["said" omitted by Strype.]

^t [Parsons' Three Conversions, part iii. cap. 7. § 28. p. 372.]

^u [See vol. i. pp. 100—102.]

^v ["again" omitted by Strype.]

^w ["Q." omitted by Strype.]

^x ["after." Strype.]

^y ["Cleves." Strype.]

^z ["and after that to Katherine." Strype.]

^a ["Q." omitted by Strype.]

^b [Parsons' Three Conversions, part iii. cap. 7. § 28, 9. pp. 372, 373.]

^c ["in the beginning of K. Edward's days" omitted by Strype.]

^d ["in overthrowing king Henry's will; and with Dudley against." Strype.]

the protector." Palpable falsehoods! the contrary whereof is notoriously known to any ordinary historian. Of the same truth is, that "he joined with [the same^e] Dudley 464 and the duke of Suffolk [after that again^f] for the overthrow of the king's two daughters: and after that [again^g] with Arundel, Pembroke, Paget, [and others^h,] for the overthrow of [the dukes ofⁱ] Northumberland and Suffolk^k." He joined with these, for the setting the true heir in the throne, not for the overthrow of any particular persons.

Again, he saith, "Cranmer and Ridley followed king Henry's religion and humour while he lived, [being now also^l] resolved to enjoy the preferment^m and sensualityⁿ of this time," [of king Edward,] "so far as any way they might attain unto^o." No, they were men more mortified, and that made little account of the pleasures and vanities of this wretched world. "Getting authority into their hands by the protector, and others that were in most power^p, began to lay lustily about them, and to pull down all them, both of the clergy and others, whom they thought to be able and likely to stand in their way, or resist their inventions^q." Instancing in Gardiner and Boner, and speaking of their "unjust persecutions and deprivations^r, by such violent and calumnious manner as is proper to heretics to use: whereby a man may take a

^e ["with Dudley." Strype.]

^f ["Suffolk for the." Strype.]

^g ["after that with." Strype.]

^h ["and others" omitted by Strype.]

ⁱ ["the dukes of" omitted by Strype.]

^k [Parsons' Three Conversions, part iii. cap. 7. § 28, 9. pp. 372, 373.]

^l ["and resolved." Strype.]

^m ["pleasures." Strype.]

ⁿ ["sensualities." Strype.]

^o [Parsons' Three Conversions, part i. cap. 12. § 30. p. 256.]

^p ["place." Strype.]

^q [Parsons' Three Conversions, part i. cap. 12. § 30. p. 256.]

^r ["persecution and deprivation." Strype.]

taste what they meant to have done if they had had times." Here they are set forth as a couple of most worldly, ambitious, haughty men, contriving by all, however base and unlawful ways, to build up themselves and their fortunes upon the ruin of others, and to beat down all that opposed their designs. Whereas to any that shall read their histories, there was nothing in the world so contrary to their aims, tempers, and inclinations. And things were done towards the two bishops before mentioned with great mildness and patience, under unsufferable provocations offered by them. Nor was it Cranmer's and Ridley's doings, but rather the king's council, who thought not fit to put up the affronts those bishops had offered to the government.

He saith, that "in king Edward's time Cranmer played the tyrant^t." That "he punished one Thomas Dobb, a master of arts of Cambridge, casting him into the Counter, where he died. And John Hume, imprisoned for the same cause by Cranmer^u." Both these passages the author had from Foxe. Dobbs indeed, in the very beginning of king Edward's reign, disturbed the mass that was saying in a chapel in St. Paul's: for which the mayor complained of him to the archbishop. And what could he

^s [Parsons' Three Conversions, part i. cap. 12. § 30. p. 256.]

^t [Id. part iii. cap. 7. § 29. p. 373.]

^u ["For as on the one side many that knew or suspected the protector's inclination, did think and lay wagers, that Zuinglianism would prevail: so others hearing the archbishop Cranmer, and his part stood resolutely on the other side, and had punished divers for speaking against the mass,

and real presence in the sacrament before, to wit, one Thomas Dobbe, a master of art in Cambridge, (as Foxe telleth us,) cast into the Counter by Cranmer, and held there till he died, and John Hume, imprisoned for the same cause by this archbishop. This (I say) made many to expect and bet on the other side."—Parsons' Three Conversions, part ii. cap. 12. § 33. p. 609.]

do better than commit him to the Counter, both to punish him for making a public disturbance in the church, and also to deliver him from the rage of the multitude, till his pardon could be gotten him? which was obtained soon after from the duke of Somerset: but he suddenly died in prison, before his deliverance. And as for Hume, he was a servant to a very stiff papist, who sent him up to the archbishop, with a grievous complaint against him for speaking against the mass; but whether the archbishop imprisoned him, or what followed, Foxe mentioneth not, and leaves it uncertain what was done with him^x.

He saith, "that Cranmer stood resolutely for the carnal presence in the sacrament in king Edward's first parliament: wherein a disputation about it was continued for the space of four months; that is, from November 4 to March 14^y." Which was the full time of the second session of that first parliament, and was in the year 1548.

What he means by this long disputation in that parliament, 465 for so many months, I cannot tell. Does he mean, that the parliament did nothing else all that session? Indeed ^{King Edward's Journal z.} there was once a notable dispute of the sacrament, in order to an uniformity of prayer to be established. Or does he mean that this four months' disputation was the work of the convocation sitting that parliament time? Before it indeed lay now the matter of the priests' mar-

^x [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1297. ed. Lond. 1583.]

^y [See Parsons' Three Conversions, part ii. cap. 12. § 33. p. 609.]

^z ["Year II. — A parliament was called, where an uniform order of prayer was institute, before made by a number of bishops and learned men gathered together in

Windsor. There was granted a subsidy, and there was a notable disputation of the sacrament in the parliament house."—Cotton MSS. Nero. C. x. British Museum, Original and holograph; see also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 7, 8. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

riage; which they agreed to, almost three against one: and likewise of receiving the sacrament in both kinds; which was also agreed to, *nemine contradicente*. But not a word of any disputation then about the real presence. And yet 'tis strange, that he should with such confidence put this story upon the world, of four months' disputation in the parliament concerning the real presence, and that the archbishop then was so resolute for it. Which cannot be true neither on this account, that Cranmer was a year or two before this come off from that opinion. He adds, "that Cranmer stood resolutely in that first parliament for a real presence against Zuinglianism." But there was neither in that parliament, nor in that convocation, a word of the real presence. "And that Cranmer and Ridley did allow a real presence, and would not endure the sacrament should be contemptibly spoken of, as some now began to do." The real presence that Parsons here means is, the gross corporal presence, flesh, blood, and bone, as they used to say. This real presence Cranmer and Ridley did not allow of at this time of day: now they were better enlightened. But most true it is notwithstanding, that they could not endure to have the sacrament contemptibly spoken of.

He tells us romantically on the same argument, that "many posts went to and fro, between Peter Martyr and Cranmer, while the imaginary disputation before mentioned lasted, whether Lutheranism or Zuinglianism should be taken up for the doctrine of the church of England. For that he was come, in his reading upon the eleventh of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, to those words, *This is my body*, and did not know how to determine it, till it was resolved about. The message returned him was, that he should stay, and entertain himself in his readings upon other matters for a while. And so the

poor friar did," [as Parsons calls that learned man,] "with admiration and laughter of all his scholars." Surely some of them had more esteem and reverence for him. "Standing upon those precedent words; *Accipit panem, &c.* And, *Gratias dedit, &c. Fregit; et dixit, Accipite et manducate, &c.* Discoursing largely of every one of these points." And surely they were words of sufficient weight to be stood upon, and points to be discoursed largely of. "And bearing one from the other that ensued, *Hoc est corpus meum.* But when the post at length came, that Zuinglianism must be defended, then stepped up Peter Martyr boldly the next day, and treated of *This is my body*: adding moreover, that he wondered how any man could be of any other opinion." The reporters of this story Parsons makes to be Saunders, Allen, and Stapleton, and others that were present^b. Excellent

^b ["But especially this doubt, and expectation was notorious in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where Peter Martyr, and Bucer, had read now for the space of a year or more, and were oftentimes urged and pressed much by their scholars, (whereof the far greater parts in those days were catholics), to declare themselves clearly, of what opinion they were touching the sacrament of the altar, and the real presence. To wit, whether they were Lutherans or Zuinglians. But they kept themselves aloof, and indifferent and rather doubtful, so far as they could, until the determination of the parliament should come. Yet was Peter Martyr put into a great strait thereby. For that having taken

upon him to read, and expound to the scholars of Oxford the first epistle to the Corinthians, (wherein the apostle in the eleventh chapter handleth the institution of the blessed sacrament), he had thought to have come to that place just at the very time, when the parliament should have determined this controversy. But the contention enduring longer by some months than he expected, he was come to the eleventh chapter long before they could end in London. Whereupon many posts went to and fro between him and Cranmer, to require a speedy resolution. Alleging that he could not detain himself any longer, but that being come to the words, "*Hoc est corpus meum.*" he must needs

witnesses! Peter Martyr is here represented as a man of no conscience or honesty, but ready to say and teach whatsoever others bade him, be the doctrine right or wrong; and, at the beck of the state, to be a Lutheran or a Zuinglian. But if he were of such a versatile mind, why did he leave his country, his relations, his substance, his honour, that he had there? which he did because he could not comply with the errors of the church in which he lived. But all this fine pleasant tale is spoiled, in case Martyr were not yet come to Oxford to be reader there: for he came over into England but in the end of November 1547^c, and was then sometime with the archbishop before he went to Oxford^d. Which we may well conjec-

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*Simleri
Orat. in
Obit. P.
Mart.*

declare himself a Lutheran, or a Zuinglian. But he was willed to stay, and entertain himself in other matter, until the determination might come. And so the poor friar did with admiration and laughter of all his scholars: standing upon those precedent words, ‘*accepit panem, &c. et gratias agens, &c. Fregit, &c. et dixit, &c. accipite et manducate, &c.*,’ discoursing largely of every one of these points, and bearing off from the other that ensued. But when at length the post came, that Zuinglianism must be defended: then stepped up Peter Martyr boldly the next day, and said, ‘*Hoc est corpus meum.*’ ‘This is my body,’ interpreting it, This is the sign of my body. Adding moreover, that he wondered how any man could be of any other opinion, seeing this exposition was so cloth! Where-

as if the post had brought other news, himself also would have taught the contrary opinion. And this story did testify whilst they lived, doctor Sanders, doctor Allen, doctor Stapleton, and others, that were present at this trifling and tergiversation of this apostata friar.”—Parsons’ *Three Conversions*, part ii. cap. 12. §. 33. 4. pp. 609–611.]

^c [“November 1548.”—*Strype.*]

^d [“Itaque sub exitum Novembris anni 1547, permissu senatus Argentinae ubi jam quinquennium docuerat, in Angliam discessit, comitante eum Bernardino Ochino, qui et ipse quoque ab eodem archiepiscopo vocatus fuerat. Cum autem aliquandiu eos archiepiscopus secum detinisset, et omnibus humanitatis officii prosecutus esset, Martyr jussu regis sacris literis interpre-

ture was till the winter was pretty well over; so that he could not well be there before the 14th of March was P. 107. passed. The author of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* conjectures, that he came to Oxon in February, or the beginning of March; but that it was the beginning of the next year that the king appointed him to read his lecture^e. So that either he was not yet at Oxon, or, if he were, he had not yet begun his reading till the parliament was over. And thus we have traced this story till it is quite vanished.

Further still, he writes, "That Cranmer wrote a book for the real presence, and another against it afterwards^f :

tandis Oxonii præfectus est."—
Simler. Orat. de Vit. et Obit. P.
Martyr. p. 13. ed. Tigur. 1563.]

^e ["In 1547 he (i. e. Peter Martyr) was invited into England by Edward lord protector, and Dr. Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, to the end that his assistance might be used to carry on a reformation in the church. In the month of December, the same year, he, with Bernardine Ochine, another Italian, arrived in England, and retiring to Lambeth were kindly received by archbishop Cranmer, and entertained there for some time. About the latter end of the same year, in February, or beginning of March, Martyr went to Oxon, was incorporated doctor of divinity as he had stood at Padöua, and though addicted more to the Zuinglian than to the Lutheran doctrines in point of the sacrament, was in the beginning of the year following appointed by the king to read a public lecture to the academi-

cians in the divinity school, and for his reward to have an annuity of 40 marks."—Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 327, 328. ed. Bliss. 1813-20.]

^f ["And as for the real presence in the sacrament, he (i. e. Cranmer) was so earnest at that time against them, (i. e. the Zuinglians and Calvinists), as he did not only profess it openly and eagerly before the king and his nobility, in his public disputation against the foresaid John Lambert, in the month of November 1538, but that he wrote also a special book thereof.—But when after he saw, that those, who governed, were bent wholly that way, he thought good to accommodate himself also, and for gaining of more credit, wrote a special book against the real presence."—Parsons' Three Conversions, part iii. cap. 7. §. 31, 2. p. 375. See also part ii. cap. 11. §. 11. p. 557. ed. 1603.]

which two books Boner brought forth, and would have read them, when he was deposed by Cranmer and Ridley; or at leastwise certain sentences thereof, that were contrary one to the other." If Cranmer wrote any book for the real presence, it was in Luther's, not in the popish sense; and against that sense indeed he wrote in his book of the Sacrament. Nor did Boner bring any such books forth at his deposition, or deprivation, nor offered to read them, nor any sentences out of them, for ought I can find in any historians that speak of Boner's business: and I think none do, but Foxe, who hath not a word of it, though he hath given a large narration of that whole affair^h. Indeed Boner at his first appearance told the archbishop, "That he had written well on the sacrament, and wondered that he did not more honour it." To which the archbishop replied, (seeing him commend that which was against his own opinion,) "That if he thought well of it, it was because he understood it notⁱ." Thus we

^h [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1312-1330. ed. Lond. 1583.]

ⁱ ["At which words the bishop, either for that he did not greatly delight to hear of this matter, or else because he would make his friends believe that he was called to account only for his opinion in religion, began to turn his talk unto other matters, and said unto the archbishop, 'In good faith, my lord, I would one thing were had in more reverence than it is.' 'What is it?' said the archbishop. 'The blessed mass,' quoth he: 'you have written very well of the sacrament, I marvel you do no more honour it.' The

archbishop of Canterbury therewith perceiving his subtlety, and seeing his gross blindness, to commend that which was utterly contrary to his opinion, said unto him again, 'If you think it well, it is because you understand it not.' The other then, adding unto his former gross ignorance an obstinate impudency, answered, 'I think I understand it better than you that wrote it.' Unto which words the archbishop replied, 'Truly I will easily make a child that is but ten years old [to] understand therein as much as you. But what is this to the matter?'"—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1312. ed. Lond. 1583.

may see how Parsons writ he cared not what; and took up any lying, flying reports from his own party, that might but serve his turn. But observe how this writer goes on with his tale; “But Cranmer blushing, suffered it not to be shewed; but said, he made no book contrary to another^k.” Then he needed not to have blushed. But if he did, it must be at the impudence of Boner, who carried himself in such a tumultuous bold manner throughout his whole process, as though he had no shame left. And lastly, (to extract no more passages out of this author,) to prove that our archbishop was for a corporal presence in the beginning of king Edward, he saith, that “in the first year of that reign he was a principal cause of that first statute, intituled, An Act against such persons as shall unreverently speak against the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, commonly called, The Sacrament of the Altar, &c.^l” And a very good act it was: but it does not follow, that because the archbishop was the cause of this act, that therefore he believed a gross carnal presence; the plain design of the act being occasioned by certain persons, “who had contemned the whole thing, for certain abuses heretofore committed therein, (I use the very words of the act,) and had called it by vile and unseemly words. And it was levelled against such as should deprave, despise, or contemn the blessed sacrament^m.” Nor is there any word in that act used in favour of the carnal presence.

vol. v. p. 749. ed. Lond. 1843
—49.]

^k [Parsons’ Three Conversions,
part iii. cap. 7. §. 31, 2. p. 375.]

^l [Id. part iii. cap. 7. §. 31.
p. 375.]

^m [“Some arrogant and con-
tentious people have either out of

wickedness or want of learning,
because of certain abuses hereto-
fore committed of some in mis-
using thereof condemned in their
hearts and speech the whole thing,
and contemptuously depraved, des-
pised, or reviled the same most
holy and blessed sacrament, and

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Foxe in
behalf of
Cranmer.
Jo. Foxe
against
Hierom.
Osorius.
p. 338.

For a conclusion, let the reader not hear me, but another speak for our archbishop against one of these calumniators, and he a Portugal bishop: "After Cranmer, by hearing of the Gospel, began to savour of Christian profession, what wickedness was ever reported of him? With what outrage of lust was he enflamed? What murders, what seditious tumults, what secret conspiracies, were ever seen or suspected so much to proceed from him? unless ye account him blameworthy for this, that when king Henry, father to Mary, upon great displeasure conceived, was for some secret causes determined to strike off her

not only disputed and reasoned irreverently of that most high mystery, but also in their sermons, preachings, readings, lectures, communications, arguments, rhymes, songs, plays, or jests, name and call it by such vile and unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed. For reformation whereof it is enacted by the king's highness, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and of the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that whatsoever person or persons, from and after the first day of May next coming shall deprave, despise, or contemn the said most blessed sacrament by any contemptuous words, or by any words of depraving, despising, or reviling; or whatsoever person or persons shall advisedly in any other way contemn, despise, or revile the said most blessed sacrament contrary to the effects

and declaration abovesaid, that then he and they shall suffer imprisonment of their bodies, and shall make fine and ransom at the king's will and pleasure."—1^o. Edw. VI. Statutes at Large, vol. vi. p. 100. See also Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* vol. v. pp. 225, 6. ed. Lond. 1840-41. Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. pp. 84, 85. ed. Oxon. 1829. Fuller's *Church Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 29, 30. ed. Oxon. 1845. Dodd's *Ch. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 8. ed. Tierney.—This statute passed Dec. 10. 1547; and a "proclamation concerning the irreverent talkers of the sacrament," was soon afterwards issued, "dated the 27th day of December, anno regni reg. Edward. primo, 1547."—"Whereas the king's highness."—(See *Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer*, iv. pp. 342-345.) *Works of abp. Cranmer*, vol. ii. pp. 505-507. See also *Wilkins' Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 20. *Dodd's Ch. Hist.* vol. ii. Appendix, pp. lviii-lx. ed. Tierney.]

head, this reverend archbishop did pacify the wrath of the father, and with mild continual intercession preserved the life of the daughter : who, for life preserved, acquitted her patron with death.

“ As concerning his marriage, if you reproachfully impute that to lust, which Paul doth dignify with so honourable a title ; I do answer, that he was the husband of one wife, with whom he continued many years more chastely and holily than Osorius in that his stinking, sole, and single life, peradventure one month, though he flee never so often to his catholic confessions. And I see no cause why the name of a wife shall not be accounted in each respect as holy, with the true professors of the Gospel, as the name of a concubine with the papists.” Thus Foxe.

And so I have at last, by God's favourable concurrence, ^{The con-} finished this my work ; and have compiled an imperfect ^{clusion.} history, yet with the best diligence I could, of this singular archbishop and blessed martyr ; and, in the conclusion, have briefly vindicated him from those many false surmises and imputations, that his implacable enemies of the Roman faction have reported and published abroad against him : not contented with the shedding of his blood, unless they stigmatised his name and memory, and formed the world into a belief, that he was one of the vilest wretches that lived, who in reality and truth appeareth to have been one of the holiest bishops, and one of the best men that age produced



