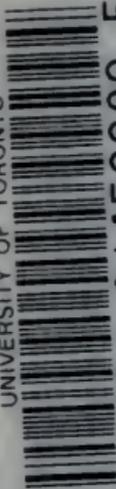
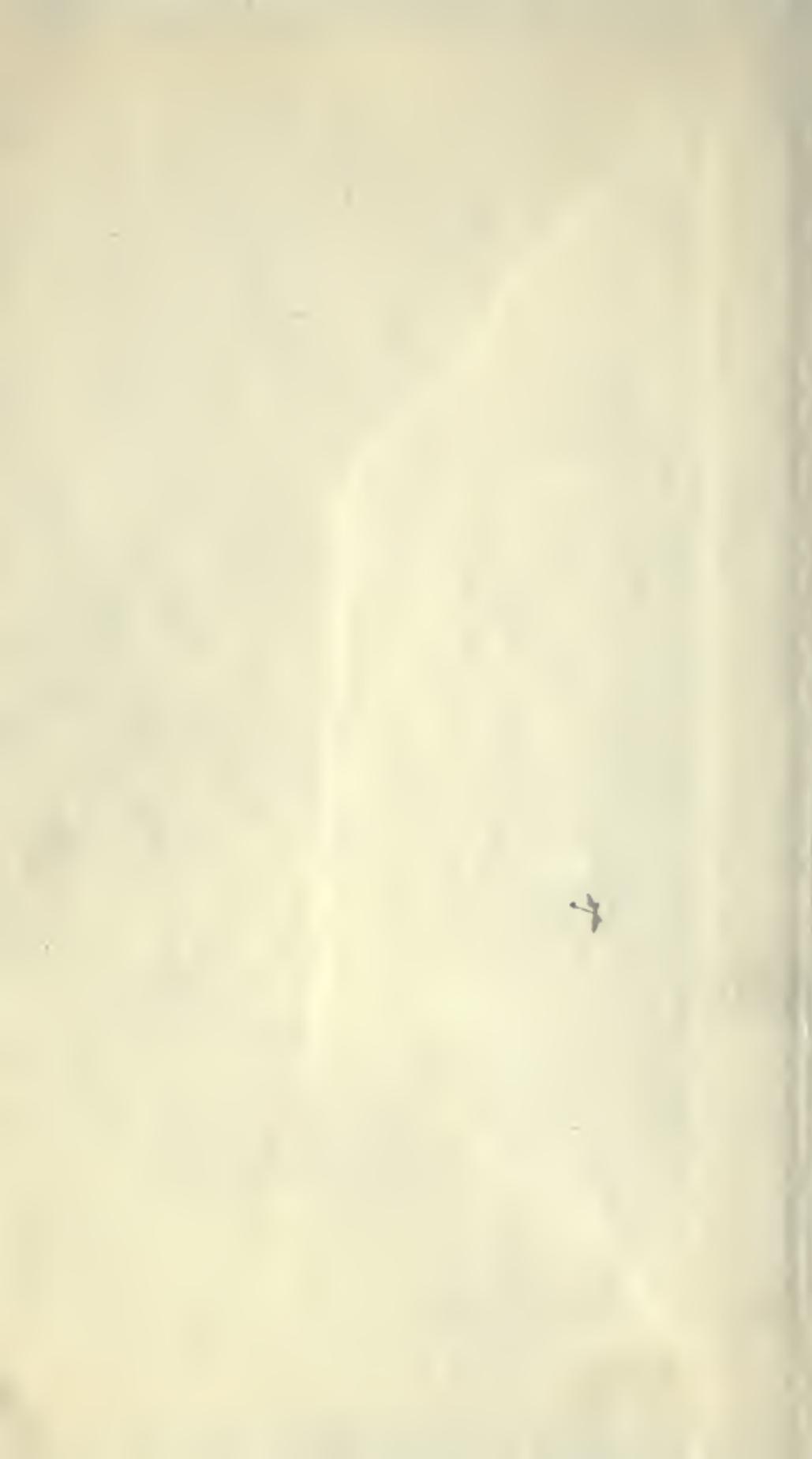


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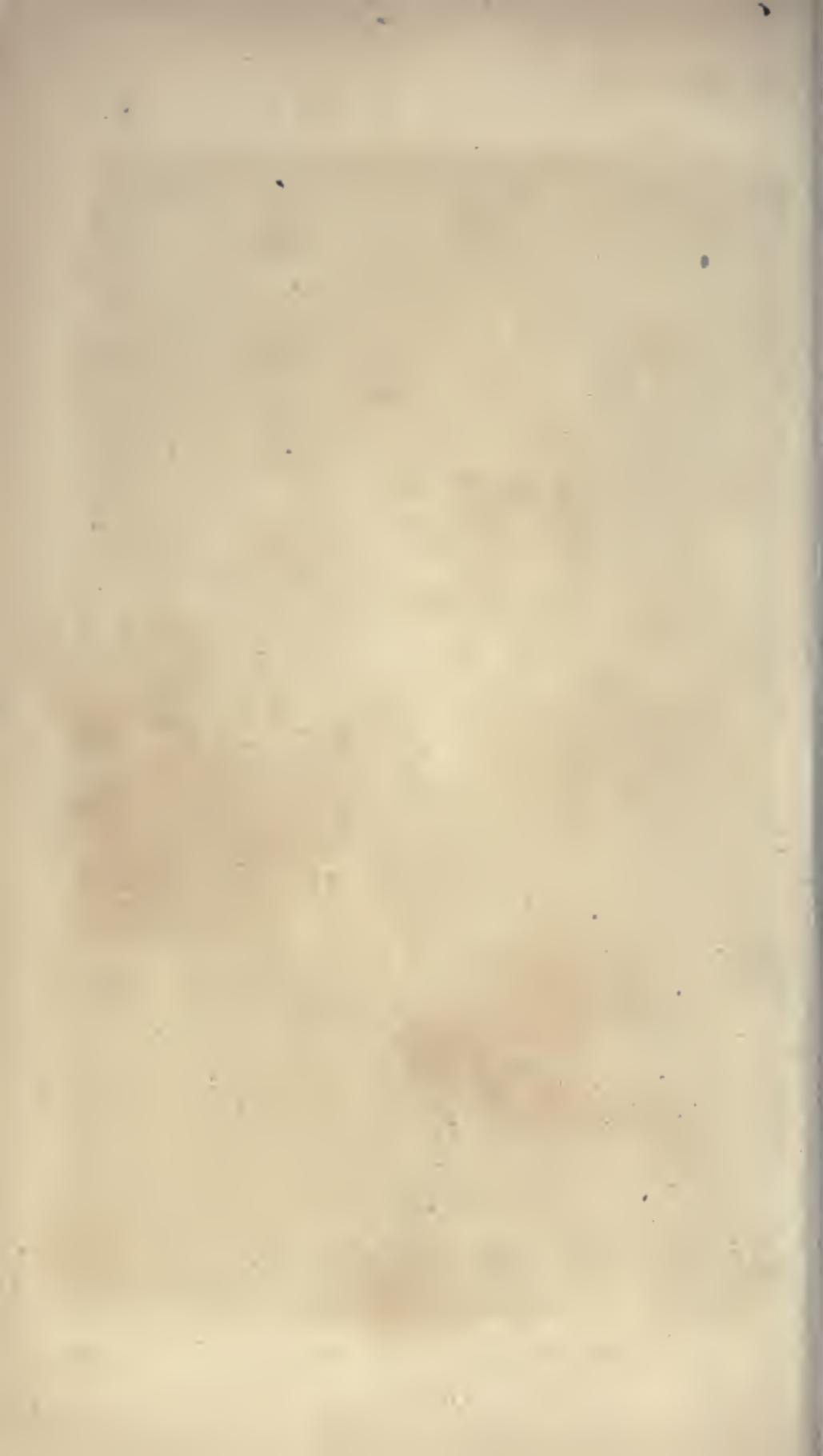
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE REFORMATION  
OF THE  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY  
GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF SARUM.

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IN SIX VOLUMES :  
VOL. III. — PART I.

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PART III.

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE TWO FORMER  
VOLUMES.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT

1950

TO

## THE KING.

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SIR ;

THIS Work, which is designed to finish the History of our Reformation, seems reserved to be laid at your Majesty's feet ; who, we trust, is designed by God to complete the Reformation itself :—to rectify what may be yet amiss, and to supply what is defective among us ; to oblige us to live and to labour more suitably to our profession ; to unite us more firmly among ourselves ; to bury, and for ever to extinguish, the fears of our relapsing again into popery ; and to establish a confidence and correspondence with the protestant and reformed churches abroad.

The eminent moderation of the most serene house from which your Majesty is descended, gives us auspicious hopes, that as God has now raised your Majesty, with signal characters of an amazing Providence, to be the head and the chief strength of the Reformation ; so your Majesty will, by a wise and noble conduct, form all these churches into one body ; so that though they cannot agree to the same opinions and rituals with us in all points, yet they may join in one happy confederacy, for the support

of the whole, and of every particular branch of that sacred union.

May this be the peculiar glory of your Majesty's reign ; and may all the blessings of Heaven and earth rest upon your most august person, and upon all your royal posterity !

This is the daily prayer of him, who is, with the profoundest respect,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most loyal, most obedient,

And most devoted subject and servant,

GI. SARUM.

## P R E F A C E.

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I HAD in my introduction to this volume, which I published a year ago, said all that then occurred to me in the way of preface: but some particulars coming to my knowledge since that time, give me an occasion to add a little to what was then copiously deduced.

I begin with M. Le Grand, who I understand is now in a considerable post in the court of France. He being lately at Geneva, explained himself to my friends in these terms, "that he was young when he wrote against me; and that the heat of youth had carried him to some expressions from which he would abstain if he were to write now: he was glad to hear that I was upon the reviewing the history of the Reformation;" and named to them a life that he had seen in Spain, of Bartholomew Caranza, archbishop of Toledo, who was King Philip's confessor, and went with him to England, and was particularly employed in reforming (as they called it) the universities. And, as he said, he died when he was to be delivered out of the prison of the Inquisition. He added, that he had also seen a collection of Cardinal Pole's letters, with an account of what passed in England after the death of King Edward, which he believed I had not seen, and that could inform me of many particulars; but that he himself had other employments than to think of the affairs of England. If I had received this civil message from M. Le Grand before I had published my Introduction, I would have said nothing at all with relation to him; but what is past cannot be recalled: so I hope he will accept of this for all the reparation I can now make him.

As for Anthony Harmer, some have doubted if he could be capable of making three capital errors in one line: and since Mr. Strype has suggested to me that, in which I was under some reserve before, as having it from another hand, I am now free to set it down. For *capitulum ecclesie cathedralis*, he has printed, *epistolam conventus ecclesie catho-*

*licæ*. If the abbreviations may seem to excuse the reading *epistolam* for *capitulum*, and *catholicæ* for *cathedralis*, nothing can excuse the adding the word *conventus*, which he thought wanting to make a complete title; having read the others as he did: so I hope I have reason to have no regard to any thing that comes from him upon his bare authority. The weak and ill-natured attempts that some among ourselves have of late made upon me, give me no sort of concern, unless it is to pray for those who have despitefully used me.

There was also a great poem lately prepared, and, I suppose, designed to be published, when that which our enemies hoped was near accomplished should have been effected: it was written in imitation of *Hudibras*, and so was a mock poem on the Reformation, composed by one Thomas Ward, of whom I can give no other account, but that it is said he is a priest. In it, Sanders's work was made the plot of the fable: it was full of impious abuse, put in a strain apt enough to take with those who were disposed to divert themselves with a show of wit and humour, dressed up to make the Reformation appear both odious and ridiculous; not doubting of equal success with Butler's admired performance. It was no wonder, if, upon such a design, my History was treated with all the characters of scorn and contempt. This was what I might justly expect from those of that side, but I was sorry to find so much censure from those from whom I had no reason to expect it; and which seemed to be the effect only of envy and ill-nature: God forgive them for it!

I must say a little more, with relation to a learned and copious writer of our Ecclesiastical History, who finds my History often in his way: he treats me decently as to his expressions, but designs all through to set such remarks on my work, as, if they were well grounded, must destroy the credit that it has hitherto obtained. I will first give some instances to show what the spirit, the principles, and the design, of that writer must be: I will name but four out of a great many.

When he sets forth King Henry the Eighth's proceedings against the memory of Thomas Becket, he has these words (p. 150, vol. ii, col. 1); "And though his conduct in this dispute was not altogether defensible, he was far however from being guilty of that gross mismanagement with which he is charged." I will leave the judgment that must be passed upon this period to all who are in any sort acquainted with the history of that time.

When he gives the character of King Edward the Sixth,

immediately before he tells of his death, it is in these words (p. 332, col. 2): "His conscience was not always under a serviceable direction;" (the meaning of this dark expression I do not reach:) "he was tinctured with Erastian principles, and under wrong prepossessions as to church government: he seems to have had no notion of sacrilege: and, which is somewhat remarkable, most of the hardships were put upon ecclesiastics in the latter end of his reign, when his judgment was in the best condition:" and without adding one word of his good qualities, or to correct those severe reflections, he concludes with the account of his death.

He gives a very different account of the death of Mary queen of Scots, in these words (p. 601, col. 2); "Her fortitude and devotion were very remarkable. She supported her character with all imaginable decency: she died like a Christian, and like a queen."

And, to mention no more, when he comes to Queen Elizabeth's death and character, he runs a parallel between the two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, in these words (p. 671, col. 2): "The one made martyrs, the other made beggars: the one executed the men, and the other the estates: and, therefore, reserving the honour of the Reformation to Queen Elizabeth, the question will be, Whether the resuming the first-fruits and tenths, putting many vicarages in a deplorable condition, and settling a perpetuity of poverty on the church, was not much more prejudicial than fire and faggot? Whether destroying bishoprics was not a much greater hardship than the destroying bishops? because this severity affects succession, and reaches down to future ages: and, lastly, Whether, as the world goes, it is not more easy to recruit bishops, than the revenues to support them?" These words give such an indication of the notion that the author has of the happiness or misery of a church, that they want no commentary.

I will add this one remark of a fact upon a passage that I had writ concerning the book of Ordination, published in the third year of King Edward, which was in these words\*: "Another difference between the Ordination book set out at that time, and that we now use, was, that the bishop was to lay his one hand on the priest's head; and with his other to give him a Bible, with a chalice and bread in it, saying the words that are now said at the delivery of the Bible. In the consecration of a bishop, there is nothing more than what is yet in use, save that a staff was put into his hand

\* Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii, p. 189.

with this blessing, 'Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd.'" Upon this his remark is in these words (p. 290, col. 2): "But here, as it happens, this learned person has been led into a mistake: for the two first editions of the Ordinal made in King Edward's reign, have none of the different rites mentioned by this gentleman." I was indeed surprised when I read this, and went to look into the first edition of that Ordinal, which I knew was in the Lambeth library; for, by Archbishop Sancroft's order, I had the free use of every thing that lay there. There I went to examine it, and I found indeed a small variation from my History; the whole is in these words: in the ordination of a priest, after the imposition of hands, with the words still used, follow this rubric: "Then the bishop shall deliver to every one of them the Bible in the one hand, and the chalice, or cup, with the bread, in the other hand, and say, 'Take thou authority,'" &c. In the consecration of a bishop, this rubric is, "The elected bishop, having upon him a surplice and a cope, shall be presented by two bishops, being also in surplices and copes, having their pastoral staves in their hands." And after the form of the consecration this rubric follows; "Then shall the archbishop lay the Bible upon his neck, saying, 'Give heed to reading.'" The next rubric is, "Then shall the archbishop put into his hands the pastoral staff, saying, 'Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd;'" on to the end of the charge, now given altogether, but then divided in two. This book was printed by Richard Grafton, the king's printer, in March, 1549; or, by the Roman account, 1550. I have given this full account of that matter in my own justification: I am sorry that I cannot return this learned person his compliment to myself, "that he was led into a mistake."

The next, and indeed the last particular that out of many more I will mention, is, the setting down the explanation, that was made upon the order for kneeling at the sacrament in King Edward's time, wrong in a very material word: for in that the words were, "that there was not in the sacrament any real or essential presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood;" but he instead of that puts, "corporal presence" (p. 310, col. 2). It seems in this he only looked at the rubric as it is now at the end of the communion service, upon a conceit that it stands now as it was at that time changed; and we know who was the author of that change (D. P. G.), and who pretended that a corporal presence signified such a presence as a body naturally has, which the asserters of transubstantiation itself do not, and cannot pretend is in this case: where they say the body is not present

corporally, but spiritually, or as a spirit is present. And he who had the chief hand in procuring this alteration, had a very extraordinary subtilty, by which he reconciled the opinion of a real presence in the sacrament with the last words of the rubric, "that the natural body and blood of Christ were in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one." It was thus: a body is in a place, if there is no intermediate body, but a vacuum, between it and the place; and he thought, that, by the virtue of the words of consecration, there was a *cylinder* of a *vacuum* made between the elements and Christ's body in heaven: so that, no body being between, it was both in heaven and in the elements. Such a solemn piece of folly as this can hardly be read without indignation. But if our author favours this conceit, yet when he sets down that which was done in King Edward's reign, he ought not to have changed the word, especially such an important one. I shall say no more of that work, but that there appeared to me, quite through the second volume, such a constant inclination to favour the popish doctrine, and to censure the reformers, that I should have had a better opinion of the author's integrity, if he had professed himself not to be of our communion, nor of the communion of any other protestant church.

But as I thought myself bound to give this warning to such as may have heard of that work, or that have seen it; so there is another history lately written in French, and which, I hope, is soon to appear in our own language, which I cannot recommend more than it deserves. It is Mr. L'Enfant's History of the Council of Constance; in which that excellent person has with great care, and a sincerity liable to no exceptions, given the world, in the history of that council, so true a view of the state of the church, and of religion, in the age before the Reformation, that I know no book so proper to prepare a man for reading the History of the Reformation, as the attentive reading of that noble work: he was indeed well furnished with a collection of excellent materials, gathered with great fidelity and industry by the learned Doctor Vander Hordt, professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt; and procured for him by the noble zeal and princely bounty of that most serene and pious prince, Rodolph August, the late duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, who set himself with great care, and at a vast charge, to procure from all places the copies of all papers and manuscripts that could be found, to give light to the proceedings of that great assembly. That col-

lection amounted to six volumes in folio. From these authentic vouchers the history of that council is now happily compiled. And if that learned author can find materials to give us as full and as clear a history of the council of Basil, as he has given of that of Constance, I know no greater service can be done the world: for by it popery will appear in its true and native colours, free from those palliating disguises which the progress of the Reformation, and the light which by that has been given the world, has forced upon those of that communion. We have the celebrated history of the Council of Trent, first published here at London, written with a true sublimity of judgment, and an unbiassed sincerity; which has received a great confirmation, even from Cardinal Palavicini's attempt to destroy its credit; and a much greater of late from that curious discovery of Vargas's Letters. But how well and how justly soever the history that P. Paulo gave the world of that council is esteemed, I am not afraid to compare the late History of the Council of Constance even to that admired work; so far at least, as that if it will not be allowed to be quite equal to it, yet it may be well reckoned among the best of all that have written after that noble pattern, which the famous Venetian friar has given to all the writers of ecclesiastical history.

Since I published my Introduction, I fell on many papers concerning the Reformation in Scotland, which had escaped the diligence of that grave and judicious writer Archbishop Spotswood, of which I have given a full account, and have used the best endeavours I could to be furnished with all the other materials that I could hear of: it is true, I never searched into a lately-gathered famous library in this place, but yet I had from some, on whose good judgment and great care I might well depend, who had carefully looked through it, every thing that they found material to my purpose.

No curiosity pleased me more than that noble record of the legates' proceedings in the matter of King Henry's divorce; of which I had the free use, as of every thing else that was in the library of my learned and dear brother, the late bishop of Ely; in whose death the church, and all his friends, and none more than myself, have had an invaluable loss. I read that record very carefully twice or thrice over, and gave a full abstract of it, but did not then reflect on what has occurred to me since: for though, upon the credit of so noble a record, I have said that the king and queen were never together in court, yet I find the contrary is affirmed by that king himself, in a letter bearing date the 23d

of June, to his ambassadors at Rome, in these words; "Both we and the queen appeared in person:" and he sets forth the assurances the cardinals gave of their proceeding without favour or partiality; "yet she departed out of court, though thrice called to appear, and was denounced contumacious." The only reconciling of this apparent contradiction seems to be this, that they were indeed together in the hall where the court sat; but that it was before the cardinals sat down and had formed the court: for as it is not to be imagined that in the record so material a step could have been omitted, so highly to the honour of the court; so it is not likely that the queen, after her appeal, would have owned the court, or have appeared before those judges: therefore the most probable account of that particular is this, that the king intending to appear in the court, the queen went thither after him, and made that speech to him in the open hall that I mentioned in my former work: but all this was over, and they were both gone before the court was opened, or that the cardinals had taken their places; so that their appearance could be no part of the record of the court.

I am now to give an account of some papers that I add as an Appendix, for they relate to the former volumes. The first of these was sent me by one Mr. Thomas Granger, of whom I can give no other account but that I understood he was a clergyman. He dated his letter from Lammerton, near Tavistoke, in Devonshire, the 7th of February, 1683-4. I wrote him such a civil answer, as so kind a censure deserved: and I promised that I would make my acknowledgments more publicly to him whensoever I reviewed that work. Upon my settling at Salisbury, I inquired after him, but I was told he was dead; so I lost the occasion of returning my thanks to him in a more particular manner, which I now express thus publicly.

I had another letter, writ in another strain, full of expostulation, from Anthony (who affected to write himself) à Wood. He thought it incumbent on him to justify himself, since I had reflected on him; so he gave this vent to it. I wrote short remarks on it; one of these I find is in the bishop of Worcester's hand: they were sent to Bishop Fell, to be communicated to him; but whether they were or not I cannot tell. The thing has escaped my memory, but the paper still remains with me; and therefore I have thought it a justice to Mr. Wood's memory, and to his writings, to insert it here.

The third paper was drawn by me at Paris, in the year

1685. My History being then translated into French, was much read ; and as to the main conduct of our Reformation, it was approved by some men of great name. At that time there was an embroilment between the court of Rome and that of Versailles : and the propositions that passed in the year 1682 seemed to threaten a greater rupture to follow. Upon that, the scheme of the English Reformation was a subject of common discourse ; and that was so much magnified by those who were called the *Converters*, that the hope of a reformation in France was one of the artifices that prevailed on some, who knew not the “ depths of Satan,” and were easily wrought on to make their court by changing their religion, in hope that a great reformation of abuses among them was then projected. But one of the learnedest men that ever I knew of that communion, said then to myself, that all that was only done to fright Pope Innocent the Eleventh, who was then in the interests of the house of Austria ; but that whensoever they should have a pope in the interests of France, their court would not only declare him infallible in points of doctrine, but even in matters of fact : and he added, that it was an abuse that people put upon themselves, to imagine, that with what pomp or zeal soever the court seemed to support those articles passed in the assembly of the clergy, that this could have any other effect but to bring the court of Rome into their interests. He said, this had been Cardinal Mazarine’s practice during his whole ministry. When he could not carry matters to his mind at Rome, he showed such favour to the Jansenists, as let many of them into great dignities ; but when he had brought that court to what he designed, he presently changed his conduct towards them.

A person of distinction at Paris, finding my History so much liked, wrote a censure upon it. This run through many hands, but was never printed : it fell into Mr. Auzont’s hands, and from him I had it. I wrote an answer to it, and got it to be translated into French : it was favourably received by many in Paris. I do not find the copy of that censure among my papers ; but I have still the copy of my remarks on it, from which the substance of that censure may be gathered : so I have thought fit to add this to my Appendix.

The fourth paper is a large collection of many mistakes (descending even to literal ones) in both the volumes of my History, and in the Records published in them, which a learned and worthy person has read with more exactness than either my amanuensis or myself had done. I publish

these sheets, as that unknown person sent them to me ; whom I never saw, as far as I remember ; and who will not suffer me to give any other account of him, but that he lives in one of the universities. His copy of my work being of the second edition, only some very few of the errors marked that had crept into the second, but that were not in the first edition, are struck out. In several particulars I do not perfectly agree with these corrections ; but I set them down as they were sent me, without any remarks on them ; and I give my hearty thanks in the fullest manner I can, to him who was first at the pains to make this collection, and then had the goodness to communicate it to me in so obliging a manner : for he gave me a much greater power over these papers than I have thought fit to assume.

The next paper is a much shorter one. It is indeed the abstract of a larger paper, but I have taken out of it only that which relates to my History : and have not meddled with some remarks made on Harmer's Specimen, and many more made on the Rights of an English Convocation. These did not belong to my subject, so I have not copied them out. The writer has not let me know his name ; he sent the sheets to me in an unsubscribed letter, to which I wrote an answer by the conveyance that he marked out to me : but I have heard no more of him.

The sixth and last paper was sent me by the sincere and diligent Mr. Strype, who has descended to such a full and minute correction, both of my History, and of my copies of the Records, that I confess it gave me great satisfaction : many of his corrections may seem so inconsiderable, that it may be suggested that they were not worth the while. But my whole concern in writing being to deliver the transactions of a former age faithfully down to posterity, nothing could please me more than to have every error I had fallen into discovered ; and it was no small satisfaction to me to find, that a writer, who has been now above thirty years examining all that passed in that age, and has made great discoveries of many secrets hitherto not known ; and who was so kind as to pass over nothing, how small and inconsiderable soever it may appear to be, that was liable to correction ; yet did not touch upon any one thing that is of any moment in my whole work. This I look on as a very authentic confirmation of it all, except in the places thus censured by one who has searched into all the transactions of that time with so much application and success.

This work was composed above a year ago ; and after it was read and corrected by some proper judges, it was put

in the press, and was printed off to the end of King Edward's reign, before the 1st of August last: nor has any thing been added to it since that time, except some very few particulars in the last book relating to Scotland.

I cannot conclude this preface, and so dismiss this work out of my hands, without some reflections on what has appeared among us of late, but too evidently, in a course of some years. Many, who profess great zeal for the legal establishment, yet seem to be set on forming a new scheme, both of religion and government; and are taking the very same methods, only a little diversified, that have been pursued in popery, to bring the world into a blind dependence upon the clergy, and to draw the wealth and strength of the nation into their hands.

The opinion of the sacrament's being an expiatory sacrifice, and of the necessity of secret confession and absolution, and of the church's authority acting in an independence on the civil power, were the foundations of popery, and the seminal principles out of which that mass of corruptions was formed. They have no colour for them in the New Testament, nor in the first ages of Christianity; and are directly contrary to all the principles on which the Reformation was carried on; and to every step that was made in the whole progress of that work; and yet these of late have been notions much favoured, and written for with much zeal, not to say indecency; besides a vast number of little superstitious practices, that in some places have grown to a great height, so that we were insensibly going off from the Reformation, and framing a new model of a church, totally different from all our former principles, as well as from our present establishment: to all which they have added that singular and extravagant conceit, of the invalidity of baptism, unless ministered by one episcopally ordained; though this not only cuts off all communion with the foreign protestant churches, of which, perhaps, they make no great account, but makes doubtings to arise with relation to great numbers, both among ourselves, and in the Roman communion.

This I lament; not that I think that there is such a sacredness in any human constitution, that it is never to be called in question, or altered: for if we had the same reasons to alter any thing established at the Reformation, that our fathers had to alter the former establishment in the times of popery, I should acknowledge we had now as good grounds to change the present, as our ancestors had then to change the former constitution. The Scriptures are the

only sure foundation of our faith that is unalterable : all other constitutions being always to be governed by that perfect declaration of God's holy will with relation to mankind. But it gives a just indignation, to see the same men make wide steps to great alterations on the one hand, and yet make heavy complaints where there is no just occasion given, and that about points of mere speculation ; whereas the other relate to matters of practice, which had been in former ages so managed, that the whole complex of the Christian religion was totally depraved by them.

We have also rules and rubrics for worship, that are our standards, fixed by law : and yet we see a humour of innovation making a great progress in these, without the least complaint, by the same persons who are apt to make tragical outcries on the smallest transgressions on the other hand.

Both are very culpable : but of the two, we find the growth of superstition has been so spreading, as well as so specious, that the extremes of that hand may be justly reckoned the more dangerous, one of the worst effects of superstition being that with which our Saviour charged the pharisees of his time, that while they were exact in " tithing mint, anise, and cummin, they omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith." In opposition to which he gives a standing rule, applicable to all such cases, " These things ye ought to have done, and not to leave the other undone." This relates to practices of a lower order, but such as are commanded ; whereas voluntary and assumed ones, like the washings among the Jews in our Saviour's time, eat out the sense of the great duties of religion ; instead of which some trifling performances are set up, and are highly magnified, while the others are spoken of more coldly : nor does any thing feed a censorious and uncharitable temper more than these voluntary and distinguishing practices, which as they are the badges of different parties, so they are engines to keep up that wrath, emulation, and hatred, that have made such havoc among us, of the great and indispensable duties of " peace, brotherly-kindness, and charity."

"These have been but too visibly the arts of Satan to divide and distract us ; and have oftener than once brought us near the brink of ruin. God has often rescued us, while the continuance and progress of these evil dispositions have as often made us relapse into a broken and disjointed state. Oh that we may at last " see the things that belong to our peace," and " follow after those things that make for peace,

and the things wherewith we may edify one another!" In this prayer I will continue as long as I live, and I hope to end my days with it. We must ask it of God, and of him only: it is in vain to ask it of some men, who, when we "speak to them of peace, make them ready to battle;" we must look for it only to him, who said, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you." The world will only give it to those of their own knot and party. But "the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy: and the fruits of righteousness are sown in peace of them that make peace."

## INTRODUCTION.

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I COME, after a long interval of three-and-thirty years, to give all the finishing to the History of our Reformation that I have been able to collect, either from new discoveries that have come in my own way, or the kind advertisements of friends, and the severe animadversions of critics; of which I have endeavoured to make the best use that I could. It has been objected to me, that I wrote in haste, and did not reflect enough on the matters I wrote about. That may be very true; and I will give an account how it happened to be so. When Sanders's History was published in France, it had so ill an effect there, that some of our best divines were often called on to hasten such an answer to it as might stop the course of so virulent a book. Those to whom these advices were sent thought me a proper person to be engaged in it.

The ancient, the learned, and the pious bishop of Worcester, is the only person now alive that was concerned in the choice: and he having read all the printed books that he could hear of relating to those times, had taken the dates of every remarkable thing that passed out of them; which he caused to be copied out for me. They are about eight sheets of paper. Upon this stock I set out, and searched all the public offices about the town, with a labour and diligence that was then looked on as no contemptible performance. I marked every thing as exactly as I could. I might, in such a variety, make some mistakes, for which men of candour will make just allowances. But when I had gone through all that lay thus open to me, I knew what treasures were still in the Cotton Library.

The present bishop of Worcester carried me to Sir John Cotton, to ask admittance: but a great prelate had been beforehand with us; and had possessed him with such pre-

judices against me, as being no friend to the prerogative of the crown, nor to the constitution of our church, that he said (as he was prepared), that unless the archbishop of Canterbury and a secretary of state would recommend me as a person fit to have access to his library, he desired to be excused. And though that worthy prelate said he would be answerable for the use that I should make of it, yet he could not be prevailed on to depart from the answer that he had made us. Nor could that reverend person prevail with Archbishop Sancroft to interpose. And though I offered to deliver up all the collections I had made to any person that would undertake the work, yet no regard was had to that; so I saw it was resolved on, either not to let that work go on, or, at least, that I should not have the honour to be employed in it.

With this we were at a full stop, when, accidentally meeting with Sir John Marsham the younger, I told him how I was denied access to the Cotton Library; but he told me he was, by marriage, a nephew to the family, and that for many years he had free access to it, and he might carry with him whom he pleased. So I, with a copier, went thither under his protection; and we were hard at work from morning to night for ten days; but then the owner, with his family, coming to town, I could go no further. In that time, and in the haste we were in, I did make such a progress, that the good bishop, together with the late archbishop of Canterbury, Tillotson, and the late bishop of Worcester, Stillingfleet, thought I was sufficiently furnished with materials for composing the first volume. Every part of it, as I wrote it, passed through their hands, and under their censure, and I submitted to their judgment in every particular.

I have been told, one that was much practised in that library, who is now dead, has censured me for not comparing what my copier wrote carefully with the originals. To this, all I can say is, that as my copier, by much practice, was become pretty exact; so I made him read all over to me, having the originals in my hands. I cannot say, in such dull though necessary work as the collating those things, I carried along with me all the attention that was requisite; but I did it as well as I could. And when I was lately in the Cotton Library, I read over several of the originals, but found no material differences from the copies I had printed. One, indeed, runs through all those in the English language, which might perhaps offend a severe critic, that the old spelling is not everywhere exactly copied. I did recommend it to my copier, and he observed it often; but he said,

when he wrote quick, it was impossible for him to carry an antiquated spelling along with his pen.

The first volume lay a year after I wrote it before it was put in the press, and was offered to be read and corrected by all who were willing to give themselves that trouble. When it was brought to Secretary Coventry for his licence, he was pleased to say, that he dipped into it out of curiosity; but added, that he found such an entertainment in it, that he could not part with it till he had read it quite through. The earl of Nottingham (lord chancellor) took time to read and examine it, and to add many remarks in several parts of it, in all which I submitted to his censure; and some smaller matters coming in my way, they were added; so when those under whose direction I made every step in it advised me to put it in the press, I went on with it.

It happened to come out a few months after the discovery of the popish plot; and the ferment of that working powerfully over all the nation, the work was favourably received; and as I had the thanks of both houses of parliament for it, with a desire to finish what I had begun, so those who were the most zealous against popery pressed me to make all possible haste with the second volume, when they understood that I had made considerable discoveries with relation to Queen Mary's reign. By that time, Sir John Cotton seeing the good use I had made of his library, was pleased to acknowledge the injustice of the suggestions that had been made to my prejudice, and allowed me free liberty to examine every thing in it; in which I ought to have been more exact than I was in searching into the matters set forth in my first volume; but the repeated importunities of my friends, for my publishing the second volume, so far prevailed, that I only examined what belonged to that period. I took, indeed, some papers relating to the former reign, that accidentally fell in my way, and inserted them. I had also other materials brought me from several hands, upon the public notice that I gave of my design in the first volume.

That primitive bishop, Fell, of Oxford, engaged an acquaintance of his, Mr. Fullman, to make remarks on it; which he did with a particular acrimony of style, for which the bishop had prepared me. I bore it, and drew out of it all that was material, and sent it to him, to see if he did not find in it the substance of all his remarks on the first at the end of the second volume. It has been published over and over again, that he complained that I did not print a full account of his censure. The fact was thus: I sent it to him by the carrier; and begged of him, that, if he had any ex-

ception to the abstract I had made of his remarks, he would return it back to me as soon as possible, for the press was to be stopped till it came. I stayed for it till the second return of the carrier; and when no answer came, I reckoned he acquiesced in my abstract; so I put it in the press. But before it was printed off, his answer came by the third return of the carrier; and I, finding that he excepted to some few parts of my paper, was at the charge of reprinting it exactly to his mind; and he afterwards received the present that I made him without any insinuation of any complaint.

Thus this work was sent abroad into the world. Nor do I yet see what more I could have done to procure me better information, nor what other steps I could have made. It took quiet possession of the belief of the nation at home, and of a great part of Europe abroad, being translated into four languages; and for some years I heard of neither censure nor answer.

When I went to Paris, in the year 1685, I found there was a censure going about, written, but not printed. It came into my hands, and I presently wrote an answer to it; which I got to be put into French. And all who read both papers seemed fully satisfied with my answer; which will be found at the end of this volume. I was told that it was writ by M. Le Grand; who had given out, in many companies, that he had great objections ready to be made to my History. Upon that, two learned and worthy men (Mr. Auzont and Mr. Thevenot) designed to bring us together, and to hear what M. Le Grand had to object. We dined at Mr. Thevenot's; and after dinner, for the space of three hours, M. Le Grand proposed his objections, and I answered them on the sudden, far from charming them with my eloquence; which M. Le Grand must certainly mean as a jest, for I pretend to no more French than to be understood when I speak it. What he said was mean and trifling; and yet it was so fully answered by me that we parted civilly, and (as I thought) good friends; and when he was gone, both Thevenot and Auzont said they were ashamed to hear such poor things objected (*pauvretés* was their word), after the noise that M. Le Grand had made. But, two days after, Mr. Auzont came to me, both in his own name and in Mr. Thevenot's, and desired me not to speak of that matter to any person. The court was then so set on extirpating heresy, that they apprehended any thing said by me might bring me into trouble. They would do me justice, so I need not be concerned to do it to myself.

I must also add, that M. Le Grand said, after he had

offered his objections, that, as to the main of my History, he could furnish me with many materials to support it. And he made me a present of a very valuable book, published by Camusat, at Troyes, 1613, with the title of *Melanges Historiques*; of which I have made use in the following work. The matter rested thus till the year 1688, that M. Le Grand published the History of King Henry the Eighth's Divorce: and soon after that, two other volumes of his appeared: one was a severe invective against me and my History; the other was a collection of letters, by which his History was justified. In this last there are some very valuable ones; to which I have had occasion oftener than once to refer my reader. In the two first of these tomes, M. Le Grand thought fit to lay aside all sort of good manners, and to treat me more in the style of an angry monk than of one that had lived long in the company of well-bred men. I imputed this to a management he was under by some of the court of that unfortunate prince, who soon after felt the tragical effects of such unhappy counsellors as had then the ascendant. To these I did believe M. Le Grand had dedicated his pen; and that drew from me a severe postscript to a censure that I published upon the bishop of Meaux's Book of Variations; for which I am heartily sorry, and ask his pardon.

The truth is, the first paper in his third tome seemed to justify any thing that could have been said, to expose a man that could offer such an abstract as he gave of it in his History, and them that judged so ill as to think fit to print that letter, that does plainly contradict the sense he gave of it. The letter is writ by Pace, dean of St. Paul's, to King Henry (said by him to be written in the year 1526, but in that he is mistaken, as will appear afterwards), on the subject of the divorce. He owns that he writ the book, which had been brought to the king the day before, by the advice and assistance of Dr. Wakefield, who was ready to defend it all, either in writing or in a public disputation. “\* And since

\* Et quoniam majestas tua mihi significavit, nescio quos è suis literatis consiliariis scripsisse Deuteronomium abrogare Leviticum, diligenter perquisivi quid id sibi vellet; et tandem inveni id indubitato falsum esse: est compendium, ac repetitio, seu, ut ita dicam, recapitulatio legis Mosaicæ. Et illud Græcum nomen Deuteronomium, quantum ad sensum rei attinet illud, idem significat quod habetur in Hebræo; id est, liber, in quo continetur secunda lex, vel repetitio primæ legis. Post meum à majestate tua discessum, D. R. Wakefeldns unice me rogavit, ut sibi significarem, an placeret tibi veritatem hac in re intelligere, utrum staret à te an contra te? Ei ita respondi, Te nihil velle quod esset alienum à nobili principe, et singularibus virtutibus prædito; illum majestati tuæ rem gratissimam facturum si laboraret ut puram veritatem tibi declararet. Tum ille nescio quo ductus ti-

he heard from the king, that some of his learned counsellors wrote that Deuteronomy abrogated Leviticus, he shows him how false that was. It was only a recapitulation of the Mosaic law. It seems they thought this was the import of the Greek word Deuteronomy (or a second law), but he shows that it imported only a repetition of the former law, and the book had another title in the Hebrew. Then he says, that Wakefield desired him to let him know whether the king had a mind to know the truth in that matter, whether it stood for him or against him. To this Pace answered, that the king desired nothing but what became a noble and a virtuous prince; and that he would do a most acceptable thing to him if he would take pains to let him know what was the pure verity. Then he, being under some fear, said he could not set about it, unless his majesty would enjoin and command it; but when he received his commands, he would set forth such things, both against him and for him, as no other person within his kingdom could do." There is nothing here but what is honourable both for the king, for Pace, and for Wakefield.

M. Le Grand has made a very particular abstract of this: He says, "\* Pace designing to flatter his prince's passion, thought they should not stand either on the Vulgar, or the LXX translators, but have recourse only to the Hebrew, which he maintained was more favourable to the king. He had written to Wakefield, and showed him the trouble the king was in, and desired he would clear up the matter. Wakefield, ravished to be thus employed, said he would justify all that Pace had said to the king: but then, apprehending that Pace might deceive him, or be deceived

*more negavit se hoc posse facere, nisi majestas tua id sibi injungeret et mandaret; et si mandares se producturum in medium tam contra te quam pro te illa quæ nemo alius in hoc tuo regno producere posset.*

\* Nos avons la lettre de ce dernier (Pace), qui cherchant à flatter la passion de son prince, vouloit que sans s'arreter ni à la Vulgate ni à la Traduction des Septante, on eût recours au texte Hebreu; qu'il soutenoit luy estre plus favorable. Il en escrivit à Robert Wakefield, et luy decouvrit l'embarras où le Roy se trouvoit, le priant de luy vouloir éclaircir cette matiere. Wakefield ravy de travailler pour le roy, repondit d'abord, qu'il appuieroit ce que Pace avoit dit à Henry. Puis faisant reflexion que Pace pouvoit le tromper ou se tromper luy meme, ou que le roy changeroit peut estre, il alla trouver Pace, et luy temoignoît, qu'il souhaitroit que sa majeste luy escrivit elle meme, ce qu'elle vouloit qu'il fit, et si il devoit defendre le pour ou le contre, et qu'alors selon les ordres qu'il recevroit, il donneroit des éclaircissemens ou pour ou contre. qui passeroient le capacite de tous les Anglois. C'est ainsi que Wakefield, qui avoit plus de vanité que de religion, trafiquoit de ses sentiments.

himself, or perhaps that the king might change his mind, he desired that the king himself would let him know what he would have him to do; whether he should defend the one side or the other: and he would do according to the orders he should receive, and make such discoveries for or against it as should pass the capacity of all Englishmen. Thus (ends he) Wakefield, who had more vanity than religion, was driving a traffic with his sentiments."

I have put in the margin the Latin of Pace's letters, and the account that M. Le Grand gives of it in French, that the reader may judge what can be thought of a man that represents things so unfairly, and makes such inferences from them. I confess this raised in me too much indignation to be governed as it ought to have been: I therefore thought such a writer deserved not to be followed in every step. I likewise employed at several times some who went to Paris, to try in what esteem that performance was; and if I was not much deceived in the accounts sent me from thence, the book had lost the esteem of all persons there, so that it was no more talked of, nor read. I cannot therefore bring myself to examine it minutely; yet where any matter of weight requires it, I shall either justify or retract what I had delivered in my History. I shall say no more of that work in this place, save only that the original judgment of the Sorbonne, about which M. Le Grand seemed to be chiefly concerned, both in the conference I had with him and in his book, is now found by Mr. Rymer, among the other judgments of the universities in the secret treasury, out of which that laborious searcher into our original treaties has already published fifteen great volumes in folio. Of this I shall give a more particular account in its proper place.

The next attack that was made on my work was in the year 1693, under the title of, *A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England*; by Anthony Harmer. It is well known that was a disguised name, and that the author was Mr. Henry Wharton, who had published two volumes with the title of *Anglia Sacra*. He had examined the dark ages before the Reformation with much diligence, and so knew many things relating to those times beyond any man of the age. He pretended that he had many more errors in reserve, and that this Specimen was only a hasty collection of a few out of many other discoveries he could make. This consisted of some trifling and minute differences in some dates of transactions of no importance, upon which nothing depended: so I cannot tell whether I took these too easily from printed books, or if I committed any errors in my notes taken in the

several offices. He likewise follows me through the several recapitulations I had made of the state of things before the Reformation, and finds errors and omissions in most of these: he adds some things out of papers I had never seen. The whole was writ with so much malice, and such contempt, that I must give some account of the man, and of his motives. He had expressed great zeal against popery, in the end of King James's reign, being then chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, who, as he said, had promised him the first of those prebends of Canterbury that should fall in his gift: so when he saw that the archbishop was resolved not to take the oaths, but to forsake his post, he made an earnest application to me, to secure that for him at Archbishop Tillotson's hands. I pressed him in it as much was decent for me to do; but he said he would not encourage these aspiring men, by promising any thing before it should fall; as indeed none of them fell during his time. Wharton upon this answer thought I had neglected him, looking upon it as a civil denial, and said he would be revenged; and so he published that specimen. Upon which I, in a letter that I printed, addressed to the present bishop of Worcester, charged him again and again to bring forth all that he pretended to have reserved at that time; for, till that was done, I would not enter upon the examination of that specimen. It was received with contempt; and Tillotson justified my pressing him to take Wharton under his particular protection so fully, that he sent and asked me pardon: he said he was set on to it, and that if I would procure any thing for him, he would discover every thing to me. I despised that offer, but said that I would at any price buy of him those discoveries that he pretended to have in reserve: but Mr. Chiswel (at whose house he then lay, being sick) said, he could draw nothing of that from him, and he believed he had nothing. He died about a year after: so I will say no more of him, only this, that where I see a voucher for any thing that he objects, I will submit and own my error, but I have no reason to take any thing on his word. I have a work lying on my table, which shows how little regard is due to his collections. It was sent me by a worthy person in one of the universities, and is a collating of ten pages of his *Anglia Sacra* with the manuscript that he vouches: it swells indeed to a book. Wharton omits the most material passage of an instrument that blemished one of his heroes. In some places there are errors in every line; and there are three capital errors in one line, and about fifty in that small compass. I have showed the book to a great many persons, and will show it to any who desire to see it; but do not

descend here to further particulars, for that perhaps might discover the author, and expose him to the malice of an ill-natured cabal. Since that time, a writer of a greater name has with abundance of ill-natured scorn pretended to undervalue my work. I name him not, for I love not to transmit the remembrance of such things to posterity. Where he gives such vouchers as can be come at, I will be ready to retract; but when he appeals to some nameless manuscript in his own possession, I will have no regard to this: for a writer that has been found too faulty in citing such vouchers as can be examined, ought not to expect belief when he has recourse to such as are kept by him as secrets, not to be communicated but to a few confidants; nor entirely to these, as I have been informed. All that has been hitherto objected to me, though with airs of great assurance and scorn, has been so trifling, that some good judges have thought I showed them too much respect to take any notice of them: they thought it was enough to mark down such small mistakes as I saw had been made by me, without so much as mentioning those who made such reflections. I would have complied with their advice, if I had not a just zeal to maintain the credit of that work; which I cannot do better than by acknowledging the discoveries that had been made, even in the minutest matters, though with all the indecency and contempt possible.

A very worthy person in one of the universities has sent me a copious collection of remarks on both my former volumes, but upon condition not to name him; which I will observe religiously, because I promised it, though it is not easy to myself, since I may not own to whom I owe so great an obligation; but I suppress none of them, and give them entirely as he offered them to me. I have had assistance from some other hands, which I will gratefully own as I come to mention them in their proper places.

I have chosen rather to publish all that is of new offered to me, in a volume apart, than to reprint my former volumes with these corrections, as some have advised me to do. There are some thousands of the former impressions abroad in the nation, that would be of little value, if any such new edition should appear. I have ever looked on such enlarged editions as little less than a robbing the public; besides that, in so doing, I should only drop those errors of my former work, without that formal disowning and retracting of them, which I think I owe to the public. I have ever looked on falsehoods in history, when fallen into deliberately, as the worst sort of lying, both the most public and the most lasting. But if they are more innocently committed, and are yet persisted in after a discovery, they are

as bad as when done on design. I writ before as well and as carefully as I could; and if, in so great a variety of materials, some are spurious, and others appear doubtful; and if, in the haste in which the circumstances of that time almost forced me to publish that work, without looking out for more aid, and without waiting for further discoveries, there are some inconsiderable errors and defects in the less important parts of my work, that relate not to the main of things; I hope the world will be so just and so favourable as to make fair allowances for them, and to accept all the reparation I can make for past errors, when I own my failing, and set my readers right.

I come next to give an account of the reasons that moved me to set about this work at this time. The reasons of my engaging in it at first seemed now to return upon me, and have determined me to delay the doing of it no longer. The danger of a popish successor then in view, and the dreadful apprehensions we had of the power of France, and of the zeal with which the extirpating that which some called the "pestilent heresy; that had so long infested those northern kingdoms," was then driven on, made it seem a proper time to awaken the nation, by showing both what popery, and what the Reformation was; by showing the cruelty and falsehood of the former, and what the patience and courage of our reformers was: and the work had generally so good an effect then, that if the like dangers seem to revert, it may not be an improper attempt to try once more to awaken a nation, that has perhaps forgot past dangers, and yet may be nearer them than ever.

If there is any difference between the present state of things, and that we were in above thirty years ago, it is that we are now more naked and defenceless, more insensible and stupid, and much more depraved in all respects than we were then. We are sunk in our learning, vitiated in principle; tainted, some with atheism, others with superstition; both which, though by different ways, prepare us for popery. Our old breaches are not healed, and new ones, not known in former times, are raised and fomented with much industry and great art, as well as much heat: many are barefacedly going back to that misery, from which God with such a mighty hand rescued us, and has hitherto preserved us with an amazing chain of happy providences; but "the deaf adder stops her ear, let the charmer charm never so wisely."

All books relating to those controversies lie dead in shops, few calling for them; many of them (as men of the trade have told me) being looked on as waste paper, and turned to pasteboard. There are, after all, some real and sensible

arguments, that may perhaps have some effect on those who let not themselves be moved with matters of dry speculation, or with cold reasoning, I have made many discoveries, that may awaken some on whom the clearest demonstrations will perhaps make no impression.

In Queen Mary's time, beside all that scene which I had formerly opened, of a perfidious breach of solemn promises, of the corrupting and packing of parliaments, and of that unrelenting cruelty which was pursued to the end of that reign without intermission, I have had occasion to see much further into the spirit which then prevailed. I have had the perusal of the original council-book, that went from the beginning of her reign to the last day of the year 1557; in which such a spirit of cruelty and bigotry appears through the whole course of that reign, that I was indeed amazed to find a poor harmless woman, weak though learned, guilty of nothing but what her religion infused in her, so carried to an indecency of barbarity, that it appears that Bonner himself was not cruel enough for her, or at least for her confessor. She believed herself with child, and when the time came in which she expected to be delivered, she continued looking for it every day above a month; then a conceit was put in her head, that she could not bear her child as long as there was a heretic left in the kingdom.

It was a great part of the business of the council to quicken the persecution everywhere. Letters were writ to the men of quality in the several counties, to assist at the execution of those who suffered for heresy, and to call on all their friends to attend on them. Letters of thanks were writ to such officious persons as expressed their zeal, ordering them to commit all to prison who came not to the service, and to keep them in prison till the comfort of their amendment appeared. Directions were given to put such as would not discover others to the torture. Thanks were in a particular style sent to some gentlemen, who (as it is expressed) came so honestly, and of themselves, to assist the sheriffs in those executions. Pretences of conspiracies were everywhere under examination; many were committed and tried for words. Letters were writ to corporations about the elections of mayors; and the lords had many letters to look carefully to the elections of parliament men, and to engage the electors to reserve their voices for such as they should name. Sheriffs began to grow backward, and to delay executions, in hopes of reclaiming persons so condemned; but they were ordered to do so no more.

Letters were on one day wrote to the sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Staffordshire, and to several mayors, to

signify what had moved them to stay the executions of such persons as had been delivered to them by the ordinaries, being condemned for heresy. One letter, of a more singular strain, was wrote to the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London, to give substantial orders (I give the words in the council-book), "that when any obstinate man, condemned by order of the law, shall be delivered to be punished for heresy, there be a good number of officers and other men appointed to be at the execution, who may be charged to see such as shall misuse themselves, either by comforting, aiding, or praising the offenders, or otherwise use themselves to the ill example of others, to be apprehended and committed to ward; and besides, to give commandment that no householder suffer any of his apprentices, or other servants, to be abroad, other than such as their masters will answer for; and that this order be always observed in like cases hereafter." Such pains were taken to extinguish all the impressions of humanity, or at least to punish every expression of it; and this was so constantly pursued, that three men and two women were burnt at Canterbury on the 10th of November, a week before her death; for she died on the 17th.

Nor were they satisfied with all these arts of cruelty in England; but hearing that there were some of that sort in Ireland, one Cole was sent over, with a commission to set a persecution on foot there\*. When he was at Chester, the corporation waited on him, in respect to his being sent by the queen: he showed them his powers and letters to the government of Ireland; but leaving his papers on the table when he went, in respect to this body, to conduct them down stairs, the mistress of the house, being secretly a zealous woman, did, with a particular address, make up a packet like his, in which she put a pack of cards, the knave of clubs being turned uppermost; and so she took away his papers, putting this instead of them. He suspecting nothing, nor looking into them, went over to Dublin, and delivered his message and packet to the council there, which was certainly received with scorn and indignation. He came back to London, and got new powers, a few days before the queen's death; for the news of it overtook him before he had his passage. The levity of this story made me at first suspect it, till I found it in several books, in which it is said that the woman had, for this service, a pension from Queen Elizabeth.

I have, in my former History, showed what steps were made in that reign towards the setting up an inquisition in

\* Cox's History of Ireland.

England, which was very probably suggested by King Philip, and some of his Spaniards, as the only sure method to extirpate heresy ; but I have since seen some further steps made towards it. Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, was in high favour ; and he, who saw what was the method to secure and advance it, moved, that, instead of the dilatory proceedings in the ordinary courts, such offenders should be proceeded against by martial law. To this the council wrote answer, they commended his zeal, and acknowledged that such persons deserved to be so used ; yet it was not thought the best way ; but they were to be punished as the laws did order. But when they had had their punishment, he was ordered to keep them in prison and in irons, till they came to know themselves and their duty. I have also found what he did towards the setting up an Inquisition. I did formerly print the instructions that were sent to the county of Norfolk\*. Of these, the sixth did run thus : “ They shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, as near as may be, some one or more honest men, secretly instructed, to give information of the inhabitants amongst or about them.” I find, in a register of the earl of Sussex, that, to the sixth article, it is agreed, “ That the justices of the peace, in every of their limits, shall call secretly before them one or two honest and secret persons, or more, by their discretions, and such as they shall think good ; and command them by oath, or otherwise, as the same justices shall think good, that they shall secretly learn and search out such person or persons as shall evil behave themselves idly at church, or despise openly by words the king and queen’s proceedings, or go about to make or move any stir, commotion, or unlawful gathering together of the people ; or that shall tell any seditious or lewd tales, rumours, or news, to move or stir any person or persons to rise, stir, or make any commotion or insurrection, or to consent to any such intent or purpose. And also, that the same persons so to be appointed, shall declare to the same justices of the peace the ill behaviour of lewd, disordered persons ; whether it shall be for using unlawful games, idleness, and such other light behaviour, of such suspected persons as shall be within the same town, or near thereabouts. And that the same information shall be given secretly to the justices ; and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they be accused. And that the same justices shall, upon their examinations, punish the offenders according as their offences

\* Hist of the Reform. Vol. II, Part II, Book II, Collect. No. 13.

shall appear to them upon the accusation and examination, by their discretion, either by open punishment or good abearing." Here are sworn spies appointed, like the familiars of the Inquisition; secret depositions, not to be discovered; and upon these, further proceedings are ordered. If this had been well settled, what remained to complete a court of Inquisition would have been more easily carried.

Here is that which those who look towards a popish successor must look for when that evil day comes. All this will make little impression on those who have no fixed belief of any thing in religion themselves, and so may reckon it a small matter to be of any religion that comes to have the law and the government on its side; and resolve to change with every wind and tide, rather than put any thing to hazard by struggling against it. Yet some compassion to those who have a more firm belief of those great truths might be expected from men of the same country, kindred, and who have hitherto professed to be of the same religion. The reviving the fires in Smithfield, and from thence over the whole nation, has no amiable view to make haste to it; and least of all to those, who, if they have any principles at all, must look for nothing less than the being turned out of their livings, or forced to abandon their families, and, upon every surmise or suspicion, to be hunted from place to place, glad if they can get out of the paw of the lion into parts beyond the seas; and then they may expect to meet with some of that haughty contempt with which too many have treated foreigners who took sanctuary among us.

But when this fatal revolution comes upon us, if God, for our sins, abandons us into the hands of treacherous and bloody men, whither can we hope to fly? for, with us, the whole Reformation must fall under such an universal ruin, that, humanly speaking, there is no view left beyond that.

Yet, since that set of men is so impiously corrupted in the point of religion, that no scene of cruelty can fright them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a part in it as may be assigned them, there are other considerations of another sort, arising from some papers (put in my hands since I wrote the History), that may perhaps affect them deeper, because they touch in a more sensible part.

It is well known how great and how valuable a part of the whole soil of England the abbey lands, the estates of the bishops, of the cathedrals, and the tithes are. I will not enter into any strict computation of what the whole may amount to. The resumption of these would be no easy matter to many families; and yet all these must be thrown

up; for sacrilege, in the church of Rome, is a mortal sin. And therefore Cardinal Pole, even in that pretended confirmation of the grants that were then made, laid a heavy charge on those who had the goods of the church in their hands, to remember the judgments of God that fell on Belshazzar, for profaning the holy vessels, though they had not been taken by himself, but by his father. It is true, this may be supposed to relate only to church plate; though there is no reason to restrain such a solemn charge to so inconsiderable a part of what had been taken from the church, no doubt he had the whole in his view. And this showed, that, though he seemed to secure them from any claim that the church might have, or any suit or proceeding upon that account, yet he left the weight of the sin on their consciences; which a dexterous confessor might manage so as to make the possessors yield up their rights, especially when they themselves could hold them no longer. The thing was still a sin, and the possession was unjust. And, to make it easy to restore in the last minutes, the statute of mortmain was repealed for twenty years; in which time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the best part of what they had lost. Besides that, the engaging the clergy to renew no leases was a thing entirely in their own power; and that, in forty years time, would raise their revenues to be about ten times their present value.

But, setting all this aside, it has appeared evidently to me, from some papers sent me some years after I wrote my History, that all that transaction was fraudulent, and had so many nullities in it, that it may be broke through whensoever there is a power strong enough to set about it. In the first powers that are in that collection, all the grace and favour that the pope intended to the possessors of those lands was to indemnify them for the mean profits they had received, and for the goods that had been consumed; "they restoring first (if that shall seem expedient) the lands themselves that are unjustly detained by them." This was only the forgiving what was past; but the right of the church was insisted on for the restitution of those lands. The reservation in these words, "if that shall seem expedient to you," can be understood in no other sense, but that it was referred to his discretion, whether he should insist to have the restitution first made, before he granted the indemnity for the mean profits, or not.

It is true, the council in England, who were in that supported by the emperor, thought these powers were too narrow, and insisted to have them enlarged. That was done; but in so artificial a manner, that the whole settlement

made by Pole signified nothing, but to lay the nation once asleep, under a false apprehension of their being secured in those possessions, when no such thing was intended; nor was it at all granted, even by the latest powers that were sent to Cardinal Pole. For in these, after the pope had referred the settling that matter to him, that he might transact it with such possessors for whom the queen should intercede, and dispense with their enjoying them for the future without any scruple, a *salvo* is added, by which the whole matter is still reserved to the pope, for his final confirmation, in these words—*Salvo tamen in his quibus propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem hæc sancta sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro et præfatæ sedis beneplacito et confirmatione*: “Saving always in such things, in which for their greatness and importance it shall appear to you that this holy see ought in reason to be consulted, our and the said see’s good pleasure and confirmation.” By these words it is very plain, that as in the powers granted they seemed to be limited to a few, to such for whom the queen should intercede, since it is not expressed that the pope thought that he should intercede for all that possessed them, so they were only provisional. And therefore, since no bull of confirmation was ever obtained, all these provisional powers were null and void when the confirmation was asked and denied; as all the historians of that time agree it was. And this was so suitable to Pope Paul the Fourth’s temper and principles, that no doubt is to be made of his persisting steadfastly in that resolution.

I know there was a mercenary writer found in King James’s reign, who studied to lay all people asleep, in a secure persuasion of their titles to those lands. He pretends there was a confirmation of all that Pole did, sent over to England. He brings, indeed, some proof that it was given out and believed; which might be a part of the fraud to be used in that matter. But as no such thing appears in the Bullary, so he does not tell us who saw it, or where it was laid up. He, indeed, supports this by an argument that destroys it quite: for he tells us, that, two years after this, Secretary Petre had a particular bull, confirming him in his possession of some church-lands. This shows, that either that person, who was secretary of state, knew that no confirmation was sent over, so that it was necessary for him to procure a particular bull for securing his own estate; or whatever might be in Pole’s powers, he might think such a general transaction, which the necessity of that time made reasonable, would be no longer stood to than while that necessity continued.

General treaties and transactions have had such a fate, that few will trust to them. The spirit of the church, as well as the spirit of a treaty, will be preferred to the words of all transactions. Have not we seen, in our own days, an edict that was passed with all solemnity possible, and declared perpetual and irrevocable, yet recalled with this very preamble—that it was made in compliance to the necessity of that time, and on design to bring those that were promised to be for ever tolerated by it into the bosom of the church? There is so much in the canon law against all sacrilege, and all alienations of what is once dedicated to God, that though some canonists may have carried the plenitude of the papal power so far as to reach even to this, which this hired writer builds on, yet there is so much affirmed to the contrary by others, that it is certain, whensoever the papacy has strength enough to set aside all the settlement then made, they will find sufficient grounds in law to proceed to the overturning all that was then done. The princes of Germany, whose settlements he appeals to, do not trust to any treaty, with either emperor or popish princes, with relation to the church-lands, of which they possessed themselves; but to the treaties and guarantees into which they entered with one another: and so they are engaged by their faith, and by their mutual interests, to maintain one another and themselves in their possessions; nor does it appear that a papal bull was ever obtained to confirm them. On the contrary, the pope's legates protested against them; and, as will appear afterwards, Charles the Fifth's confessor refused to give him absolution for his consenting to edicts of that sort. If the necessity of the time makes it necessary to maintain that settlement, so long it will be maintained, and no longer.

But to put this matter out of all doubt, that same pope did, soon after our ambassadors were sent to him, by a bull dated the 12th of July 1555, within three weeks after the English ambassadors had their audience, condemn all the alienations of church-lands, and even all leases for one or more lives, or for a term longer than three years. This he extends to all cathedrals, monasteries, and hospitals; and annuls all leases, grants, exchanges, mortgages, and obligations of lands, castles, towns, and cities, even though made by popes themselves, or by their authority and order; and by the presidents, prelates, or rectors of churches, monasteries, or hospitals, of what rank and dignity soever, cardinals by name being expressed, that were done to the prejudice of the church, the solemnity by law required not being observed; and that which was null in the first mak-

ing, but supplied by subsequent contracts, in what form soever made, though by proofs upon oath, and by what length of time soever it may claim prescription, is all rescinded, and made void and null. And the detainers of goods, upon those titles, are required to quit possession, and to make full satisfaction for what they have received, and to be thereto compelled, if they obey not, both by ecclesiastical censures and pecuniary punishments.

It is true, in all this England is not expressly named; and perhaps the pope had the recovering from the family of the Farnese that which Paul the Third had alienated to it, chiefly in his eye. But the words of this bull do plainly take in the late settlement in England; for though the English ambassadors were then newly come to Rome, demanding the confirmation of what Pole had done, yet no exceptions are made for England; so, it seems, it was intended by these general words, put in on design, to overthrow it. Now because this matter is of such great concern, and every one has not a Bullary to examine into this bull, I will begin my Collection of Records with it, as no small piece of instruction to all who are possessed of any estate so alienated from churches, monasteries, or hospitals.

Upon the conclusion of this head, I cannot but take notice of one insinuation that I hear some are not ashamed to make: that such a resumption may be indeed a prejudice to the laity, but that the clergy will be enriched by it. If this had been brought me by an ordinary hand, I should not have thought it worth mentioning; but since some have the impudence to set it on foot, I must add, that these are vain hopes, as well as they are suggested on black designs; for though the church, take it in the bulk, has immense riches in the Roman communion, yet in no church that ever I saw are the parochial clergy kept poorer, and made more despicable; they are, as the hewers of wood and drawers of water, kept at hard labour on a very poor subsistence. The several orders among them, the governing clergy, and the outward magnificence of their churches and services, devour all that treasure; so that the poor clergy, even in that state of celibate, have scarce necessary sustenance, unless it be in some capital cities, and in very vast parishes in them. They are starved, to maintain the luxury and vanity of others. This was the true occasion of all the poverty of the parochial clergy among us; to which some remedies have been sought for, and in some degree found, ever since the Reformation was first settled among us.

But none of these things will move an insensible and degenerate race, who are thinking of nothing but present ad-

vantages; and, so they may now support a luxurious and brutal course of irregular and voluptuous practices, they are easily hired to betray their religion, to sell their country, and to give up that liberty and those properties which are the present felicities and glories of this nation. The giving them up will be a lasting infamy on those who are guilty of it, and will draw after it the heaviest curses of posterity on such perfidious betrayers of their trust; by this they will bring slavery on themselves (which they will deserve, being indeed the worst sort of slaves), and entail it on the succeeding generation.

I return to prosecute the account of my design in this work. I went through those volumes in the Cotton Library, of which I had only a transient view formerly, and laid together all that I thought necessary to complete it. I saw a great and fair prospect of such a change ready to be made in France as King Henry had made in England. Mr. Le Vassor has, out of an invaluable collection of original papers that are in Sir William Trumball's hands, published instructions sent by the duke of Orleans to the princes of Germany; by which, as he declared himself a Protestant, so he gave, in general words, good hopes of his father Francis. I found also, both in papers and printed books, that King Henry often reproached Francis for not keeping his word to him; and in a long despatch of a negotiation that Paget was employed in with the admiral of France, I saw further evidence of this. I was, by these indications, set on to see how far I could penetrate into that secret.

I was, by the favour of the earl of Dartmouth, admitted to a free search of the Paper-office, which is now in much better order and method than it was above thirty years ago, when I saw it last; and there, among other very valuable papers, I found the copy of that solemn promise that Francis made to Henry, minuted on the back by Cromwell's hand, as a true copy, in these words—*An instrument devised from the French King, for his justification and defence of the invalidity of the King's Highness's first marriage, and the validity of the second.* “By this, he in express words condemns the pope's bull, dispensing with the marriage with Queen Katharine, which he, by the unanimous consent of those learned men whom he had appointed to examine it, condemns as incestuous and unlawful; and reputes the daughter born in it, spurious and illegitimate: and that the second marriage with Anne, then queen, was lawful and just; and that Queen Elizabeth, born of it, was lawfully born. And he promises to assist and maintain the king in this against all the world. In this instrument he

owns King Henry to be, under God, the supreme head of the church of England; and he affirms, that many of the cardinals, in particular the late cardinal of Ancona, and even Pope Clement the Seventh himself, did, both to his ambassador and to himself, at Marseilles, plainly confess that the pope's bull, and the marriage made upon it, were null and void; and that he would have given a definitive sentence, if some private affections and human regards had not hindered it." This makes me conclude that he gave other instruments, of a further extent, to King Henry; for failing in which, I find he was often reproached, though this single instrument is all that I could find out. But Lord Herbert reckons, among the chief causes of King Henry's last rupture with Francis, that he had not deserted the bishop of Rome, and consented to a reformation, as he once promised.

I saw, when I passed through Zurick, a volume of letters that passed between Bullinger and those English divines that had been so kindly entertained by him in that noble canton; and, by the interposition of my learned, judicious, and pious friend, Mr. Turretin, of Geneva, M. Otto (a worthy professor there) has taken such care, that copies of them are procured for me; in which we may see the sense of those who revived our Reformation in Queen Elizabeth's time. Men who had been abroad, and had seen all things about them in a true light—that saw in what the strength of popery lay, and what fortified or weakened the body of the reformed—were liker to have truer views than can be expected from retired or sullen men, who have lived in a corner, and have but a small horizon.

It has been objected to me, that I have said little of proceedings in convocation, and of the struggle that the clergy made before they were brought to make the submission which brought those bodies under restraints, that seem now uneasy to the advocates for church power. I must confess I have been very defective here. I understood that the books of convocation were burnt. None of those great men, under whose direction that work went on, knew any thing of those discoveries that have been of late made; so no wonder if I passed over what was then so little known. Yet, now I have examined all that I could find of those matters, I confess I am not inclined to expect much from the assemblies of clergymen. I have seen nothing in church history to incline me to depart from Gregory Nazianzen's opinion of those assemblies; what has happened among ourselves of late, has not made me of another mind: and I will not deny, but that my copiousness on these mat-

ters is, in my own opinion, one of the meanest parts of my work. The wisest and worthiest man in that convocation, Archbishop Warham, was the person that promoted the submission the most. It was no wonder if a corrupt clergy, that made such ill use of their power, had no mind to part with any branch of it. Yet, since these things have been of late such a subject of debate among us, I have taken what pains I could to gather all that is left of those times in such copies, or rather abstracts, as have been of late found in private hands: only I will set down the opinion of Sir Thomas More, the best man of the popish side in that age, of those meetings. "It is true," he says, "the clergy's assembling at the convocation was called by the name of confederacies. But," he adds\*, "if they did assemble often, and there did such things, for which such assemblies of the clergy in every province throughout Christendom from the beginning were instituted and devised, much more good might have grown thereof than the long disuse can suffer us now to perceive. But all my days, as far as I have heard, nor (I suppose) a good part of my father's neither, they came never together to convocation but at the request of the king; and at such their assemblies, concerning spiritual things, have very little done. Wherefore, that they have been in that necessary part of their duty so negligent, whether God suffer to grow to an unperceived cause of division and grudge against them, God, whom their such negligence hath, I fear me, sore offended, knoweth."

The affinity of the matter has led me to reflect on a great transaction, with relation to the church of France, which was carried on, and finally settled, in the very time that King Henry was breaking with the court of Rome. It was the concordat, that Francis the First made with Pope Leo the Tenth. The king and the pope came to a bargain, by which they divided the liberties of the Gallican church between them, and, indeed, quite enslaved it. There are so many curious passages in the progress of that matter, that I hope the opening these will be a very acceptable entertainment to the nation. And the rather, because in it this nation will see what it is to deliver up the essential liberties of a free constitution to a court, and to trust to the integrity and firmness of courts of justice, when an assembly of the states is no more necessary to the raising of money, and the support of the government. I know nothing writ in our language, with relation to this matter, besides that account

\* More's Apol. 1533, fol. 241.

I gave of it in a book concerning the Regale. It was taken from a very exact history of that transaction, that was written by Mr. Pinsons, printed anno 1666; and that seemed to some very proper judges to relate so much to our affairs, that, as they thought, it very probably disposed the nation more easily to throw off the papal authority. They saw what a filthy merchandise the court of Rome had made of the liberties of the neighbouring church; taking care only to secure their own profits, and delivering up the rest to the crown. The best writers of that church have, on many occasions, lamented the loss of their liberties by that detestable bargain, into which Francis's necessities, wrought on by the practices of the court of Rome, drew him. "By this the church of France, from being a queen, became (as Bishop Godeau expresses it) a slave." And he adds, "Our fathers have groaned, and all that love the order of the house of God will still groan, as long as elections continue to be put down; so that we must needs enter into the sanctuary by the way of the court." In another place—"These promotions have been always fatal to the church; and the bishops that the court has made have been ordinarily the chief advancers of schisms, heresies, and of the oppression of the church." And he concludes, "One cannot read Nazianzen's verses of the prelates of his time, without being struck with horror, and forced to acknowledge that a secular temper is entirely contrary to the episcopal spirit." Of this a Greek writer makes a severe remark, in the History of Andronicus's reign, which may perhaps be as justly applied to other reigns, telling what sort of bishops were then made, "Princes choose such men to that charge who may be their slaves, and in all things obsequious to what they prescribe; and may lie at their feet, and have not so much as a thought contrary to their commands." This change in their constitution has put an end not only to national but even to provincial synods in that kingdom. Some were indeed held, upon the progress that Luther's doctrine was beginning to make in France; and others, during the civil wars, in order to the getting the council of Trent received in France: but now, in the space of ninety years last past, these are no more brought together. The assemblies of the clergy meet only to give subsidies, and to present their grievances; but do not pretend to the authority of a regular synod: and though, in the year 1682, they drew up some articles, yet these had their authority only from the severity of the king's edict, till, by a transaction with the court of Rome, that was let fall.

I have now gone over all the matters that do properly fall

within this Introduction. It remains, that I leave the sense of the subject of this, and of my two former volumes, upon the consciences of my readers. Can it be possible that any are so depraved as to wish we had no religion all, or to be enemies to the Christian religion? Would these men reduce us to be a sort of Hottentots? And yet this must grow to be the effect of our being without all religion. Mankind is a creature, by his make and frame disposed to religion; and if this is not managed by true principles, all the jugglings of heathenism would again take possession of the world. If the principles of truth, justice, temperance, and of universal love, do not govern men, they will soon grow curses and plagues to one another; and a crew of priests will grow up, who will teach them to compound for all crimes, and to expiate the blackest practices by some rituals.

Religion has so much to struggle with, that, if it is not believed to be revealed by God, it will not have strength enough to resist those ill inclinations, those appetites and passions, that are apt to rise up in our minds against its dictates. What is there in the true and unsophisticated Christian religion, that can give a colour to prejudices against it? The whole complex of that rule of life which it prescribes, is so plainly suited to our composition, both in our souls and their faculties, and in our bodies, with relation to good health, to industry, and long life; and to all the interests of human society, to the order and peace of the world, and to the truth and love that are the cements and securities of the body politic, that, without any laboured proof of its Divine original, these are such characters, that they may serve to prove, it is sent into the world by a lover of mankind, who knew our nature, and what was proper both to perfect it, and to render it not only safe, but happy.

But when to all this we add the evidence that was given at its appearing in the world, that he who was the first Author of it, and those whom he employed first to propagate it, did upon many occasions, in full daylight, and in the sight of great multitudes, do things so far above the powers of nature, in such uncontested miracles, that by these it evidently appeared they were assisted by somewhat superior to nature, that could command it at pleasure — here is the fullest ground of conviction possible. These things were written, published, and received, in the age in which they were transacted; and those writings have been preserved with great care, and are transmitted down to us, at the distance of about sixteen ages, pure and uncorrupted. In these we have the fixed standard of our religion; and by

them we can satisfy ourselves concerning all such practices as have been made upon it; or such inferences as are drawn from it. I wish those, who take to themselves the name of Freethinkers, would consider well, if they think it is possible to bring a nation to be without any religion at all; and what the consequences of that may prove; and then see, if there is any religion so little liable to be corrupted, and that tends so much to the good of mankind, as the true Christian religion reformed among us.

As for those that do truly believe this religion, and have an ingenuous sense and taste of liberty; can they admit a comparison to be made, between a religion restrained to a fixed standard (into which every one is admitted to examine the sense of it, in the best method he can); and that which sets up another uncertain standard, of which they pretend to be the depositaries; I mean, traditions; and pretend further, they are the infallible expounders of it; and that the true standard itself is not to be exposed to common view? that God is to be worshipped in a language not understood; that instead of a competent provision to those who labour in this work, the head of them is to become a great prince, and may pretend to a power to dispose of kingdoms and states, to pardon sins, and to redeem sinners out of the miseries of a future state: and that the character derived from him is so sacred, that, in defiance to sense and reason, a priest, by a few words, can work a miracle, in comparison to which the greatest of miracles is nothing; and who, by these means, have possessed themselves of an immense wealth, and a vast authority?

These are all things of so strange a nature, and so contrary to the genius and design of the Christian religion, that it is not easy to imagine how they could ever gain credit and success in the world: but when men's eyes have been once opened; when they have shaken off the yoke, and got out of the noose; when the simplicity of true religion has been seen into, and the sweets of liberty have been tasted; it looks like charm and witchcraft, to see so many looking back so tamely on that servitude, under which this nation groaned so heavily for so many ages. They may soon see and know what our happy condition is, in the freedom we enjoy from these impositions, and what their misery is that are condemned to them. It is not enough for such as understand this matter, to be contented in their own thoughts with this, that they resolve not to turn papists themselves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and the most stupid, to apprehend their danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost industry, to guard against

it, and to resist it: they ought to use all their efforts to prevent it, and earnestly to pray to God for his blessing upon them. If, after all men's endeavours to prevent it, the corruption of the age, and the art and power of our enemies, prove too hard for us, then, and not till then, we must submit to the will of God; be silent, and prepare ourselves for all the extremities of suffering and of misery; and if we fall under a persecution, and cannot fly from it, we must resolve to glorify God, by bearing our cross patiently. Illegal sufferings are no more to be borne than the violences of a robber: but if the law comes once to be in the hands of those wicked men, who will not only revive the repealed laws against heretics, but, if they can, carry their cruelty up to the height of an Inquisition, then we must try by the faith and patience of the saints, to go through fire and through water, and in all things to be more than conquerors."

I know some, who are either apt to deceive themselves, or hope to deceive others, have this in their mouths,—that popery is not what it was before the Reformation; things are much mended, many abuses are detected, and things are not so gross as they were then: and they tell us, that further corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a treaty with them; in particular, they fancy they see the error of proceeding severely with heretics; so that there is no reason to apprehend the return of such cruelties as were practised an age and a half ago.

In answer to this, and to lay open the falsehood of it, we are to look back to the first beginning of Luther's breach: it was occasioned by the scandalous sale of pardons and indulgences, which all the writers of the popish side give up, and acknowledge it was a great abuse; so in the countries where the Reformation has got an entrance, or in the neighbourhood of them, this is no more heard of: and it has been taken for granted, that such an infamous traffic was now no more practised. But of late, that we have had armies in Spain and Portugal, we are well assured that it is still carried on there, in the most barefaced manner possible. It is true, the proclaiming a sale is forbid by a bull: but there is a commissary in every place, who manages the sale with the most infamous circumstances imaginable. In Spain, by an agreement with the pope, the king has the profits of this bull; and it is no small branch of his revenue. In Portugal, the king and the pope go shares. Dr. Colbatch has given a very particular account of the managing the bull there: for as there is nothing so impudent, that those men are ashamed to venture on; so they may safely do what they please,

where the terror of the Inquisition is so severe a restraint, that men dare not whisper against any thing that is under that protection.

A notable instance of this has appeared lately, when in the year 1709 the privateers of Bristol took the galleon, in which they found 500 bales of these bulls, and 16 reams were in a bale, so that they reckoned the whole came to 3,840,000. These bulls are imposed on the people, and sold, the lowest at three rials, a little more than 20d.; but to some at 50 pieces of eight, about 11*l.* of our money; and this to be valued according to the ability of the purchaser, once in two years all are obliged to buy them against Lent. Besides the account given of this in the cruising voyage, I have a particular attestation of it by Captain Dampier, and one of the bulls was brought me printed, but so that it cannot be read. He was not concerned in casting up the number of them; but he says, that there was such a vast quantity of them, that they careened their ship with them.

As for any changes that may be made in popery, it is certain, infallibility is their basis; so nothing can be altered where a decision is once made. And as for the treatment of heretics, there has been such a scene of cruelty of late opened in France, and continued there now almost thirty years without intermission; that even in the kingdom where popery has affected to put the best face on things possible, we have seen a cruel course of severity beyond any thing in history. I saw it in its first and sharpest fury, and can never forget the impression that made on me.

A discovery lately made shows what the spirit of those at Rome, who manage the concerns of that religion, is, even in a mild reign, such as Odischalci's was; and we may well suppose, that, because it was too mild, this was ordered to be laid before him, to animate him with a spirit of persecution. When the abbey of St. Gall was taken in the late war in Switzerland, a manuscript was found, that the court of Propaganda ordered their secretary to prepare for Innocent the Eleventh's own use, which after his death came into the hands of Cardinal Sfondrato, who was abbot of St. Gall, and so at his death left this book there. It gives a particular account of all the missions they have in all the parts of the world; and of the rules and instructions given them; with which I hope those worthy persons, in whose hands this valuable book is now fallen, will quickly acquaint the world. The conclusion of it is an address to the pope, in which they lay his duty before him, from two of the words in the New Testament, directed to St. Peter. The first was, "Feed my sheep," which obliged him not only to feed the

flock that was gathered at that time, but to prosecute the constant increase of it, and to bring those sheep into it that were not of that fold. But the other word was addressed to him by a voice from heaven, when the sheet was let down to him full of all sorts of beasts, of which some were unclean, " Rise, Peter, kill and eat ! " to let all see, that it is the duty of the great pontiff to rise up with apostolical vigilance, to kill and to extinguish in the infidels their present life, and then to eat them, to consubstantiate their false and brutal doctrine into the verity of our faith. There is an affectation in these last words, suitable to the genius of the Italians. This application of these two passages, as containing the duties of a pope, was formerly made by Baronius, in a flattering speech to encourage Pope Paul the Fifth in the war he was designing against the Venetians.

By this we see, that how much soever we may let the fears of popery wear out of our thoughts, they are never asleep, but go on steadily, prosecuting their designs against us. Popery is popery still, acted by a cruel and persecuting spirit ; and with what caution soever they may hide or disown some scandalous practices, where heretics dare look into their proceedings, and lay them open ; yet even these are still practised by them, when they know they may safely do it, and where none dare open their mouth against them ; and therefore we see what reason we have to be ever watching, and on our guard against them.

This is the duty of every single Christian among us ; but certainly those peers and commoners, whom our constitution has made the trustees and depositaries of our laws and liberties, and of the legal security of our religion, are under a more particular obligation of watching carefully over this sacred trust, for which they must give a severe account in the last day, if they do not guard it against all danger, at what distance soever it may appear. If they do not maintain all the fences and outworks of it, or suffer breaches to be made on any of them ; if they suffer any part of our legal establishment to be craftily undermined ; if they are either absent or remiss, on critical occasions ; and if any views of advantage to themselves prevail on them, to give up or abandon the establishment and security of our religion ; God may work a deliverance for us another way, and if it seem good in his eyes, he will deliver us ; but they and their families shall perish, their names will rot and be held in detestation ; posterity will curse them, and the judgments of God will overtake them, because they have sold that which was the most sacred of all things, and have let in an

inundation of idolatry, superstition, tyranny, and cruelty, upon their church and country.

But, in the last place, those who are appointed to be the watchmen, who ought to give warning, and to lift up their voice as a trumpet, when they see those wolves ready to break in and devour the flock, have the heaviest account of all others to make, if they neglect their duty; much more if they betray their trust: if they are so set on some smaller matters, and are so sharpened upon that account, that they will not see their danger, nor awaken others to see it, and to fly from it; the guilt of those souls who have perished by their means "God will require at their hands." If they, in the view of any advantage to themselves, are silent when they ought to cry out day and night, they will fall under the character given by the prophet, of the watchmen in his time; "They are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber; yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough: and they are shepherds that cannot understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter; that say, Come, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant."

This is a lively description of such pastors as will not so much as study controversies, and that will not know the depths of Satan; that put the evil day far off, and, as the men in the days of Noah or Lot, live on at their ease, satisfying themselves in running round a circle of dry and dead performances; that do neither awaken themselves nor others. When the day of trial comes, what will they say? To whom will they fly for help? Their spirits will either sink within them, or they will swim with the tide: the cry will be, The church! the church! even when all is ruin and desolation. I hope they will seriously reflect on the few particulars that I have, out of many more, laid together in this Introduction, and see what weight may be in them, and look about them, to consider the dangers we are in, before it is too late: but what can be said of those who are already going into some of the worst parts of popery? It is well known, that in practice, the necessity of auricular confession, and the priestly absolution, with the conceit of the sacrifice of the mass, are the most gainful parts of popery, and are indeed those that do most effectually subdue the world to it. The independence of the church on the state is also so contended for, as if it were on design to disgrace our Reformation. The indispensable necessity of the priesthood to

all sacred functions, is carried in the point of baptism further than popery. Their devotions are openly recommended, and a union with the Gallican church has been impudently proposed; the Reformation and the reformers are by many daily vilified; and that doctrine that has been most universally maintained by our best writers, I mean the supremacy of the crown, is on many occasions arraigned. What will all these things end in? And on what design are they driven? Alas! it is too visible.

God be thanked, there are many among us that stand upon the watch-tower, and that give faithful warning; that stand in the breach, and make themselves a wall for their church and country; that cry to God day and night, and lie in the dust mourning before him, to avert those judgments that seem to hasten towards us: they search into the "mystery of iniquity" that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with all that mass of corruption that is in popery. They have another notion of the worship of God, than to dress it up as a splendid opera: they have a just notion of priesthood, as a function that imports a care of souls, and a solemn performing the public homage we owe to God; but do not invert it to a political piece of craft, by which men's secrets are to be discovered, and all are subdued by a tyranny that reaches to men's souls, as well as to their worldly concerns. In a word, they consider religion in the soul as a secret sense of Divine matters, which purifies all men's thoughts, and governs all their words and actions: and in this light they propose it to their people, warning them against all dangers, and against all deceivers of all sorts: watching over them as those that must give an account to the "Great Bishop of souls: feeding the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made them overseers;" ready to lay down their lives for them; looking for their crown from the "Chief Shepherd, when he shall appear."

May the number of these good and faithful servants increase daily more and more! May their labours be so blessed, that they may see the travail of their soul and be satisfied! And may many, by their means and by their example, be so awakened, that they may "resist even to blood, striving against sin," and against the man of sin! And may I be of that number, labouring while it is day, and ready when the night comes, either to lie down and rest in the grave; or, if God calls me to it, to seal that doctrine, which I have been preaching now above fifty years, with my blood! May his holy will be done, so I may but glorify him in my soul and body, which are his!

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE REFORMATION.

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PART III.

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE TWO FORMER VOLUMES.

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BOOK I.

*Of Matters that happened in the time comprehended in the First Book of the History of the Reformation.*

BEFORE I enter on the affairs of England, I have thought it would be of great use to prepare the reader for what relates to them; by setting before him the progress of that agreement, into which the French king's affairs carried him, by which he delivered up one great part of the liberties of the Gallican church to the pope, and invaded the rest himself. This was carried on in a course of many years; and the scene lying next us, and it being concluded in the very time in which the breach of this nation was far carried on, in the year 1532, I thought it would not be an improper beginning of my work, to set out that matter very copiously; since it is highly probable, that it had a great influence on all who were capable to reflect on it.

The greatest transaction that happened in this period being the setting up the Concordat, in the room of the Pragmatic Sanction, by Francis the First, it will be necessary, in order to the clear opening of the matter, to look back into the former ages.

(1300.) The progress the papacy had made from Pope Gregory the Seventh to Pope Boniface the Eighth's time, in little more than two hundred and thirty years, is an amazing thing: the one begun the pretension to depose kings, the

other, in the jubilee that he first opened, went in procession through Rome, the first day attired as pope, and the next day attired as emperor; declaring, that all power, both spiritual and temporal, was in him, and derived from him: and he cried out with a loud voice, "I am pope and emperor, and have both the earthly and heavenly empire:" and he made a solemn decree in these words, "We say, define, and pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Bishop of Rome." The holy war, as it was called, was a great part of the business of that interval, by which the authority and wealth of the papacy received no small addition. It is true the removal of the popes to Avignon, and the schism that followed upon the popes' return to Rome, did put no small stop to that growing power, and to the many and great usurpations and inventions not known to former ages, which were set on foot to draw all people into a servile dependence on the popes.

This long schism between the popes that sat at Rome and Avignon, was the best conjuncture the bishops could ever have hoped for, to recover their authority; which had been for some ages oppressed, and indeed trodden under foot by the papacy: and if that had happened in a less ignorant age, it is very probable there would have been more effectual provisions made against it. The bishops that met at Constance, did not apprehend that the continuance of that breach was that in which their strength lay: they made too much haste to heal it; but they soon found, that, when all was again united, none of the regulations that they made, could restrain a power that pretended to know no limits. The greatest security of the church, as they thought, was in the act for perpetual general councils, which were to meet after short intervals; and in the act for subjecting the popes to the councils, requiring them to call them and the council to meet at the end of ten years, whether the pope summoned it or not.

But these proved feeble restraints; yet the council of Basil did sit pursuant to the decree made at Constance: and the bishops who met there, endeavoured, as much as their low size of learning could direct them, to set forward a reformation of those abuses that were brought into the church, and that supported that despotic power which the popes had assumed. They reckoned a regulation of the election of bishops was the laying a good foundation, and the settling of pillars and bases upon which the fabric of the church might securely rest. Many bishops were made by papal provisions; these they simply condemned: others were pro-

moted by the power and favour of princes, to which ambitious men recommended themselves by base compliances and simoniacal bargains; in opposition to these, they restored elections to the chapters, with as good provisions as they could contrive, that they should be well managed.

A contest falling in upon their proceedings, between them and Pope Eugenius the Fourth, they addressed themselves to Charles the Seventh, king of France, for his protection. They sent him the decrees they had made against *annats*, that is, first fruits; a late device of Pope Boniface the Ninth, then about fifty years standing, pretending to carry on a war against the Turk by that aid. They also condemned *gratias expectativas*, or the survivances of bishoprics, and other benefices; with all clauses of reservations in bulls, by which popes reserved to themselves at pleasure, such things as were in a bishop's collation. They appointed elections to be confirmed by the metropolitan, and not by the pope. They condemned all fees and exactions upon elections, except only a salary for the writer's pains; and all appeals, except to the immediate superior; with all appeals from a grievance, unless it was such that the final sentence must turn upon it: and when the appeal rose up by all intermediate steps to the pope, it was to be judged by delegates appointed to sit upon the place where the cause lay, or in the neighbourhood: only the causes marked expressly in the law, as greater causes, were reserved to the pope. Provision was made for the encouragement of learning, and of the universities, that the benefices that fell in any collator's gift, should be in every third month of the year given to men that had been, during a limited number of years, bred in them; and had upon due trial obtained degrees in them. If a bishop had ten benefices in his gift, the pope might name to one; and if fifty, to two, but to no more. Some of the provisions relate to the discipline and order of the cathedral churches: but the main thing of all was their declaring the council to be above the pope; that the pope was bound to submit to it, and that appeals lay to it from him.

The first breach between the pope and the council was made up afterwards by the interposition of Sigismund, the emperor: the pope recalled his censures, confessed he had been misled, and ratified all that the council had done: but that lasted not long; for upon the pretence of treating a reconciliation with the Greek church, some moved for a translation of the council to Ferrara, but the majority opposed it; yet the pope did translate it thither. Upon which, the council condemned that bull, and proceeded against

Eugenius. He, on the other hand, declared them to be no council, and excommunicated them: they, on their part, deposed him, and chose another pope, Amedee, duke of Savoy, who took the name of Felix: he had retired from his principality, and upon that, they again begged the protection of France.

The king being thus applied to by them, summoned a great assembly to meet at Bourgos (1438); where the dauphin, the princes of the blood, many of the nobility, and many bishops met. They would not approve the deposition of the pope, nor the new election of Felix: but yet they rejected the meeting of Ferrara, and adhered to that at Basil. The decrees past at Basil were by them reduced into the form of an edict, and published under the title of the Pragmatic Sanction; which the king declared he would have to be inviolably observed, and he resolved to moderate matters between the pope and the council.

There are very different relations made of the effects that this edict had: some say that the church of France began to put on a new face upon it, and that men were advanced by merit, and not as formerly by applications to the court of Rome, nor solicitations at the court of France: "Others give a most tragical representation of elections, as managed by faction, indirect arts, the solicitations of women, and simoniacal bargains; and in some places by open violence, out of which many suits were brought into the courts of law. The treasure of the church was, as they said, applied to maintain these; the fabric was let go to ruin; and bishops' houses dilapidated. Pope Leo the Tenth, in his bull that abrogates this Sanction, enumerates many evils that arose out of these elections, and that in particular, simony and perjury prevailed in them, of which he says he had undeniable evidence, in the many absolutions and rehabilitations that were demanded of him." This might be boldly alleged, because it could not be disproved, how false soever it might be.

There might be some instances of faction, which were no doubt aggravated by the flatterers of the court of Rome: for the profits which came from France being stopped by the Pragmatic, all arts were used to disgrace it.

Eneas Silvius was counted one of the ablest men of that time. He was secretary to the council of Basil, and wrote copiously in defence of it against the pope; but he was gained over to the interests of the court of Rome: he had a cardinal's hat, and was afterwards advanced to the popedom, and reigned by the name of Pius the Second. He retracted

all his former writings, but never answered them : yet he was so barefaced in setting himself to sale, that when he was reproached for changing sides, he answered, the popes gave dignities, abbeys, bishoprics, and red hats to their creatures ; but he asked, how many of such good things did the council give.

He distinguished himself as deserters are apt to do, by railing at all that the council of Basil had done, and against the Pragmatic Sanction. He branded it as a heresy : and in a council that he held at Mantua, twenty years after (1458), he inveighed severely against it. He said bishops thought to have established their power, but on the contrary their authority was ruined by it ; for ecclesiastical courts were brought into the secular courts, and all things were put into the king's hands : yet that Sanction was observed in France till the king's death ; and though some were persuaded to go to Rome, and to procure bulls, these were esteemed no better than traitors and enemies to the country. It is true, upon this the courts of parliament took upon them to judge in all ecclesiastical matters, and to examine whether the ecclesiastical courts had proceeded according to the laws of the church or not : and that the sentences of the temporal courts might be executed, they ordered the revenues of bishops, if they stood out in contumacy, to be seized into the king's hands, and their persons to be arrested.

When Danesius, the attorney-general, heard how Pope Pius had arraigned the Pragmatic Sanction, and that he was designing to proceed to censures against the king and his ministers, he protested against all he had said, referring the decision of the matter to a general council.

Upon that king's death he was succeeded by Louis the Eleventh ; and the bishop of Arras having great credit with him, the pope gained him, by the promise of a cardinal's hat, to use his endeavours to get the king to abrogate the Sanction ; and because he thought that which might work most on the king, was the apprehension that much money, which was now kept within the kingdom, would, upon the laying it aside, be carried to Rome ; this expedient was offered, that there should be a legate resident in France, with powers to grant such bulls as were necessary ; though this was never done, and it seems it was only offered as a specious concession to gain their point. King Louis the Eleventh's character is given us so fully by Philip de Comines, who knew him well, that none who have read him will wonder to find, that, when he needed any favour from the court of Rome, he made the fullest submission that any king perhaps ever made : he, in a letter that he wrote to the

pope \*, owns " the pope to be God's vicar on earth, to whose words he will always hearken and obey: and therefore, though the Pragmatic Sanction was received upon long deliberation, in a great assembly, and was now fully settled, yet since the pope desired that it might be abrogated, and since the bishop of Arras had put him in mind of the solemn promise that he had made by him, before he came to the crown, he, reckoning that obedience was better than all sacrifice, since that Sanction was made in a time of sedition and schism, so that by it his kingdom was not conform to other kingdoms, though many men studied to maintain it, yet he resolved to follow and obey the pope's orders; therefore he abrogates it entirely, and does of his own accord, not compelled in any sort, restore him to the authority that Martin the Fifth, and Eugenius the Fourth, did exercise in former times: and bids him use the power given him by God, at his pleasure: and promises, on the word of a king, that he will take care that all his commands shall be executed within his kingdom, without opposition or appeal; and that he will punish such as are contumacious, as the pope shall direct."

Here was an entire submission, penned no doubt by the aspiring cardinal. It was received at Rome with no small joy; the Pragmatic was dragged about the streets of Rome, the pope wept for joy, and at mass on Christmas-eve he consecrated a sword, with a rich scabbard, to be sent to the king. The title of the Most Christian King had been given by former popes to some kings of France; but Pope Pius was the person who upon this high merit made it one of the titles of the crown: such as read Des Comines' history, will not find any other merit in that king, to entitle him to so glorious a compellation.

The court of parliament of Paris interposed; they made a noble remonstrance to the king, in which they pressed him to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction, which had its original from a general council, and they affirmed that the king was obliged to maintain it. Yet afterwards, that king's project of engaging the pope to assist his son in-law to recover Sicily, then possessed by the bastard of Arragon, did miscarry, the pope refusing to concur in it; upon which, the king was offended, and carried his submissions no further; only he suffered bulls of reservations and survivances to take place again.

This matter was taken up again six years after by Pope Paul the Second. A new minister was gained by the same

\* Councils, tom. 14, p. 97.

bait of a cardinal's hat, to procure the revocation : so the king's edict was sent to the court of parliament of Paris to be registered there, in vacation time. The court ordered the attorney-general to examine it. St. Romain was then attorney-general, and he behaved himself with such courage, that he was much celebrated for it. "He opposed the registering it, and spoke much in praise of the Pragmatic Sanction; he showed the ill consequences of repealing it. That it would let in upon them abuses of all sorts, which were by it condemned: all affairs relating to the church would be settled at Rome: many would go and live there, in hopes of making their fortunes by provisions. He set forth, that ten or twelve bulls of survivances were sometimes obtained upon the same benefice; and during three years in Pope Pius's time (in which the exact observation of the Pragmatic Sanction was let fall) twenty-two bishoprics happened to fall void, 500,000 crowns were sent to Rome to obtain bulls; and sixty-two abbeys being then vacant, a like sum was sent for their bulls; and 120,000 crowns were sent to obtain other ecclesiastical preferments. He added, that for every parish there might be a bull, of a *gratia expectativa*, or survivance, purchased at the price of 25 crowns; besides a vast number of other graces and dispensations. He insisted, that the king was bound to maintain the rights and liberties of the church in his kingdom, of which he was the founder and defender."

The aspiring cardinal, offended with this honest freedom of the attorney-general, told him he should fall under the king's displeasure, and lose his place for it. He answered, "the king had put him in the post freely, he would discharge it faithfully, as long as the king thought fit to continue him in it; and he was ready to lay it down whensoever it pleased the king; but he would suffer all things, rather than do any thing against his conscience, the king's honour, and the good of the kingdom." The favourite prevailed to get him turned out, but the crafty king gave him secretly great rewards; he esteemed him the more for his firmness, and restored him again to his place.

The university of Paris also interposed, and the rector told the legate, that if the matter was further prosecuted, they would appeal to a general council; but this notwithstanding, and though the court of parliament stood firm, yet the king being under the apprehensions of some practice of his brothers of Rome, whom he hated mortally; in order to the defeating those, renewed his promises for abrogating the Pragmatic Sanction: and it was for many years let fall into desuetude. Towards the end of this reign an assembly was

held at Orleans, in order to the re-establishing the Pragmatic Sanction; and the hindering money to be carried to Rome. The king died 1583.

Upon Charles the Eighth's succeeding, an assembly of the states was held at Tours; in which the observation of the Pragmatic Sanction was earnestly pressed; the third estate insisted on having it entirely restored. The prelates, who had been promoted contrary to it under King Lewis, opposed this vehemently: and were in reproach called the court-bishops, unduly promoted; and were charged, as men that aspired to favour at Rome. St. Romain, now again attorney-general, said, he knew no ecclesiastical law better calculated to the interest of the kingdom than the Pragmatic Sanction was; and therefore he would support it. The king saw it was for his advantage to maintain it, and so was firmly resolved to adhere to it. The courts of parliament not only judged in favour of elections made by virtue of that sanction, but, by earnest remonstrances, they pressed the king to prohibit the applications made to the court of Rome for graces condemned by it.

Innocent the Eighth continued by his legates to press the entire repeal of the Pragmatic; yet, notwithstanding all opposition, it continued to be observed during Charles the Eighth's reign. Lewis the Twelfth did, by a special edict, appoint it to be for ever observed. Thus it continued till the council of Lateran (1499), summoned by Pope Julius the Second, to which Silvester, bishop of Worcester, and Sir Robert Wingfield, were commissioned by King Henry the Eighth to go "in his name, and on behalf of the kingdom, to conclude every thing for the good of the catholic church, and for a reformation both in the head and in the members; and to consent to all statutes and decrees for the public good: promising to ratify whatever they, or any of them should do\*." The king's empowering two persons in such a manner, seems no small invasion of the liberties of the church; but it was in the pope's favour, so it was not challenged.

This council was called by that angry pope chiefly against Lewis the Twelfth: and the Pragmatic Sanction was arraigned in it; both because it maintained the authority of the council to be superior to the pope, and because it cut off the advantages that the court had made by the bulls sent into France. The pope brought Lewis the Eleventh's letters-patent, by which it was abrogated, into the council; and the advocate of the council, after he had severely arraigned it,

\* Rymer, To. 13, 17 Feb. 1511.

insisted to have it condemned. So a monition was decreed, summoning all who would appear for it to come and be heard upon it within sixty days. The pope died in February thereafter.

Pope Leo the Tenth succeeded, and renewed the monitory letters issued out by his predecessor. But the personal hatred with which Julius prosecuted Lewis being at an end, things were more calmly managed. Some bishops were sent from the Gallican church to assist in the council : but before any thing could be concluded, King Lewis dying, Francis succeeded. He understood that the pope and the council were intending to proceed against the Pragmatic Sanction, so he resolved to bring the matter to an agreement ; in which some progress was made, in an interview that he had with the pope at Bononia. It was concluded by a sanction called the Concordat, between the Cardinals of Ancona and of Sanctorum Quatuor on the pope's side, and Chancellor Prat for the king. Some small differences remained : which were all yielded as the pope desired : and in the month of December (1516), the pope's bull, condemning the Pragmatic Sanction, was read, and approved by that council, such as it was.

The Concordat was put instead of it. The truth was, Francis was young ; and was so set on pursuing his designs in Italy, in which he saw the advantage of having the pope on his side, that he sacrificed all other considerations to that, and made the best bargain he could. "The king and the pope divided the matter between them. When any bishopric became vacant, the king was within six months to name to it a doctor, or one licensed in divinity, of the age of twenty-seven. If the pope did not approve of the nomination, the king had three months more to nominate another ; but if he failed again, the pope was to provide one to the see. The pope had reserved to himself the providing of all that became vacant in the court of Rome (a pretension the popes had set on foot, in which by degrees they had enlarged the extent of it to very great and undetermined bounds : and did thereby dispose of many benefices). And the king was limited in his nomination by some conditions, with relation to the person so nominated ; yet the want of these was not to be objected to the king's kindred, or to other illustrious persons. The king was also to nominate to all abbeys a person of twenty-three years of age. *Gratia expectativa*, or survivances and reservations in bulls, were never to be admitted : only one benefice might be reserved from a collator of ten ; and two from one of fifty. Causes of appeals were to be judged *in partibus*, in the parts where the matters

lay ; excepting the causes enumerated in the law as greater causes. It was also provided, that, in all bulls that were obtained, the true value of the benefice was to be expressed ; otherwise the grace was null and void." No mention was made of annats ; and, in other particulars, the articles in the Pragmatic Sanction were inserted. The pope promised he would send a legate to France, to tax the value of all ecclesiastical benefices. All former excommunications were taken off, with an indemnity for all that was passed.

The king having the two instruments, the one abrogating the Pragmatic Sanction, and the other establishing the Concordat, sent in great pomp to him, in order to their being registered in parliament, resolved only to offer the latter, as that in which the other was virtually comprehended. So he went in person to the court of parliament, to which many great men, divines, and other persons of distinction were called. The chancellor set forth the hatred Pope Julius bore King Lewis the Twelfth, and the violence with which he had proceeded against him : the king succeeding when the council of the Lateran was assembled ; which was composed chiefly of members of the court, or of dependers on the court of Rome, who were all engaged against the Pragmatic Sanction, as that which diminished their profits : the king saw it was in vain to insist in defending it ; but apprehending, if it were simply condemned, all the old oppressions would again take place, he being then engaged in a most dangerous war in Italy, saw no better way to gain the pope than by agreeing to the Concordat.

The ecclesiastics who were present said, by their mouth, the Cardinal of Boisi, that the Concordat did so affect the whole Gallican church, that, without the general consent, it could not be approved. The king upon this said, with some indignation, that he would command them either to approve it, or he would send them to Rome, to dispute the matter there with the pope. The president answered in the name of the court, that he would report the king's pleasure to the court ; and they would so proceed in that matter, as to please both God and the king : the chancellor replied, the court were wise : the king said, he did enjoin them to obey without delay. Then letters-patent were made out, setting forth the Concordat, and requiring the court of parliament, and all other judges, to observe it, and to see it fully executed.

Some days after that, the chancellor, with some of the officers of the crown, came and brought the whole courts together, and delivered them the king's letters-patent, requiring them to register the Concordat. They upon that appointed the king's council to examine the matters in it. The

advocate-general did, in the chancellor's presence, represent the inconvenience of receiving the Concordat, by which the liberties of the Gallican church were lessened; and said, that by the paying of annats, much money would be carried out of the kingdom; so he desired they would appoint a committee to examine it. Four were named, who, after they had sat about it ten days, desired more might be added to them: so the president of the Enquets, or Inquisitions, and four more, were joined to them. A week after that, the advocate-general moved the court to proceed still to judge according to the Pragmatic, and not to receive the revocation of it, against which he put in an appeal. Four days after this, the Bastard of Savoy, the king's natural uncle, came into the court with orders from the king, requiring them to proceed immediately to the publishing the Concordats: appointing him to hear all their debates, that he might report all to the king. He told them how much the king was offended with their delays; they, on the other hand, complained of his being present to hear them deliver their opinions. They sent some of their number to lay this before the king; it looked like a design to frighten them, when one, not of their body, was to hear all that passed among them. The king said there were some worthy men among them; but others, like fools, complained of him, and of the expense of his court: he was a king, and had as much authority as his predecessors. They had flattered Lewis the Twelfth, and called him the father of justice: he would also have justice done with all vigour. In Lewis's time some were banished the kingdom because they did not obey him; so, if they did not obey him, he would send some of them to Bourdeaux, and others to Thoulouse, and put good men in their places; and told them he would have his uncle present during their deliberations: so they were forced to submit to it.

On the 13th of June (1517), they began to deliver their opinions, and that lasted till the 24th of July; and then they concluded that the court could not, and ought not, to register the Concordats: but that they would still observe the Pragmatic Sanction; and that the university of Paris, and all others that desired to be heard, ought to be heard. Therefore, they said, they must appeal from the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction; and if the king would insist to have the Concordat observed, a great assembly ought to be summoned, such as Charles the Seventh had called to settle the Pragmatic. They also charged the Savoyard to make a true report to the king of their proceedings.

Upon this the king wrote to them, to send some of their body to give him an account of the grounds they went on:

two were sent, but it was long before they were admitted to his presence; the king saying he would delay their dispatch as they had delayed his business. When they were admitted, they were ordered to put what they had to offer in writing: this they did, but desired to be likewise heard; but being asked if they had any thing to offer that was not in their paper, they said they had not, but desired the king would hear their paper read to him; the king refused it. They were a body of one hundred persons, and had been preparing their paper above seven months; but the chancellor would answer it in less time; and the king would not suffer them to have a verbal process against what he had done. He told them there was but one king in France: he had done the best he could to bring all to a quiet state, and would not suffer that which he had done in Italy to be undone in France; nor would he suffer them to assume an authority like that of the senate of Venice. It was their business to do justice, but not to put the kingdom in a flame, as they had attempted to do in his predecessor's time: he concluded he would have them approve the Concordats; and if they gave him more trouble, he would make them ambulatory, and to follow his court; nor would he suffer any more ecclesiastics to be of their body. They were not entirely his subjects, since he had no authority to cut off their heads: they ought to say their breviary, and not to meddle in his affairs.

They answered him, that these things were contrary to the constitution of their court. He said he was sorry his ancestors had so constituted it; but he was king as well as they were; and he would settle them on another foot; so he bid them be gone early the next morning: they begged a short delay, for the ways were bad; but the great-master told them from the king, that if they were not gone by such an hour, he would put them in prison, and keep them in it six months, and then he would see who would move to set them at liberty; so they went to Paris. The duke of Tremoville was sent after them to the parliament, to let them know that the king would have the Concordats to be immediately published, without any further deliberation: they must obey the king, as became subjects; he told them, the king had repeated that ten times to him in the space of a quarter of an hour, and concluded, that if they delayed any longer to obey the king, the king would make all the court feel the effects of his displeasure.

The court called for the king's learned counsel, but they said they had received positive orders from the king, by Tremoville, to consent to the Concordats; otherwise the king would treat them so, that they should feel it sensibly:

the advocate-general said, he was sorry for the methods the king took ; but he wished they would consider what might follow, if they continued to deny what was so earnestly pressed on them : the publishing of this could be of no force, since the church, that was so much concerned in it, was neither called for, nor heard ; the thing might be afterwards set right, for Lewis the Eleventh saw his error, and changed his mind. He offered two things to soften that which was required of them : one was, to insert in the register that it was done in obedience to the king's commands often repeated : the other was, that they should declare that they did not approve the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, but were then only to publish the Concordats ; and that they might resolve in all their judiciary proceedings to have no regard to that ; and in particular to that clause, that all bulls were void if the true value of the benefice was not expressed in them. On the 18th of March (1518), they came to this resolution, that their decree of the 24th of July, for observing the Pragmatic, was by them fully confirmed ; but, in obedience to the king's commands, they published the Concordats, adding a protestation, that the court did not approve it, but intended in all their sentences to judge according to the Pragmatic Sanction.

The court made these protestations in the hands of the bishop of Langres, a duke and peer of France, setting forth that their liberty was taken from them ; that the publication of the Concordats was not done by their order, but against their mind, by the king's express order ; and that they did not intend to approve it, nor to be governed by it in their judgments, but to observe the Pragmatic Sanction. They ordered likewise an appeal to be made from the pope, to the pope better advised, and to the next general council : upon all which the bishop of Langres made an authentic instrument ; so it was resolved to proceed to publication on the 22d of March : but on the 21st the rector of the university of Paris, accompanied by some of that body, and by some advocates, appeared, desiring to be heard before they should proceed to such publication. The court received his petition, and promised to consider it ; but said, if they made the publication, it should not prejudice any of their rights, for they were resolved to judge as formerly notwithstanding that ; yet they required him not to publish this. The dean of Nostredame came on the 22d to the court, and said they heard they were going to publish the Concordats, which both implied their condemning the councils of Constance and Basil, and tended to the destruction of the liberties of the Gallican church, which the popes had always envied them.

He desired they would not proceed to it till the whole Gallian church was consulted in the matter; and protested, that what they were about to do should not be to the prejudice of the church. After this was received, they proceeded to the publication, as they had promised, adding these words to it; "read, published, and registered, by the order and command of the king often repeated to us, in the presence of the lord Tremoville, his first chamberlain, specially sent to have it done." And on the 24th of March they renewed their protestation, that they did not approve of it; that they insisted in their former appeals, and were resolved to proceed in all their judgments without regard to it.

On the 27th of March the rector of the university ordered a mandate to be affixed, prohibiting their printers to print the Concordats: he likewise appealed from the pope to a general council, lawfully assembled, sitting in a safe place, and in full freedom. This was printed and affixed; and great reflections were made by some preachers in their sermons, both on the king and on the chancellor. The king, being informed of this, wrote to the first president, complaining both of the rector, and of the preachers: he ordered them to take informations of all those matters, and to get the Concordats to be printed as soon as was possible, and to punish the authors of sedition. But the court said, they knew nothing tending that way; for their business took them up so entirely, that they could not attend on sermons. The king complained likewise severely of the appeal they had made; he was monarch, and had no superior to whom an appeal could lie: he also sent an order to inhibit all meetings in the university.

In the Concordat it was provided, that if it was not published within six months in France, it should be null and void: but the delays that had been made put the king on getting that term prolonged a year longer. "The three chief exceptions that the parliament had to the Concordats were, first, the declaring bulls void, if the true value of the benefices was not set forth in them; which might put the obtainers of them to great charge and many suits. The second was, the carrying the greater causes to be judged at Rome. The third was concerning elections. The first of these was given up, and was no further urged by the court of Rome; but it was not settled what those greater causes were. By the Pragmatic, they were restrained to bishoprics and monasteries; but the Concordats held the matter in general words: so the number of these causes was indefinite, and on all occasions it would increase as the canonists pleased. They condemned that device of the court of Rome

of granting provisions for all that was held by any who died in the court, considering the great extent to which that had been carried. They also found, that by the Concordats all nunneries were left to the pope's provision; and likewise all inferior dignities, such as deaneries and provostships. All churches that had special privileges were exempted from the king's nomination; and at Rome exceptions might be unjustly made to the persons named by the king: but, above all, they stood on this, that the right of electing was founded on the law of God, and on natural right: that this was established by the authority of general councils, by the civil law, and by many royal edicts, during all the three races of their kings: this right was now taken away, without hearing the parties concerned to set it forth. If there had crept in abuses in elections, these might be corrected; but they thought the king usurped that which did not belong to him, on this pretence, that the pope granted it to him, which was contrary both to the doctrine and practice of the Gallican church. They found many lesser exceptions, in point of form, to the method of abrogating the Pragmatic Sanction: one was, that the council of the Lateran did forbid all persons that held lands of the church to observe or maintain that sanction, under the pain of forfeiting those lands; which was a plain invasion of the king's prerogatives, who is supreme lord of all those lands within his dominions. The pope also took upon him to annul that sanction, that then subsisted by the royal authority: this might be made a precedent, in time to come, for annulling any of their laws. They likewise thought the taking away the Pragmatic Sanction, which was made upon the authority of the councils of Constance and Basil, and had declared the subjection of the pope to the council, did set aside that doctrine, and set up the pope's authority above the council; though the Pragmatic was made while the pope was reconciled to the council: and the breach upon which Eugenius was deposed happened not till almost a year after that; it being published in July, 1438, and his deposition was not till June, 1439; besides that, ten years after that, Pope Nicolaus the Fifth confirmed all the decrees made at Basil. They likewise put the king in mind of the oath he took at his coronation, to maintain all the rights and liberties of the Gallican church. So they moved the king, either to prevail with the pope to call a general council, or that he would call a national one in France, to judge of the whole matter: and as for the threatenings given out, that the pope would depose the king, and give away his kingdom, if he did not submit to him, they

said the king held his crown of God, and all such threatenings ought to be rejected with scorn and indignation."

To all these the chancellor made a long and flattering answer; for which he had the usual reward of a cardinal's cap. He set forth the danger the king was in, being engaged in the war of Italy; the pope threatening him with censures: for the Pragmatic Sanction was then condemned by the pope, and that censure was ratified by the council in the Lateran; upon which he would have reassumed all the old oppressions, if the king had not entered into that treaty, yielding some points to save the rest. He said, the kings of the first race nominated to bishoprics; for which he cited precedents from Gregory of Tours. So the kings of England did name, and the popes upon that gave provisions: the kings of Scotland did also name, but not by virtue of a right, but rather by connivance. He said, elections had gone through various forms; sometimes popes did elect, sometimes princes with the people, sometimes princes took it into their own hands, sometimes the whole clergy without the people, and, of late, the canons chose without the concurrence of the clergy. That the king being in these difficulties, all those about him, and all those in France who were advised with in the matter, thought the accepting the Concordats was just and necessary. Pope Leo repented that he had granted so much; and it was not without great difficulty that he brought the cardinals to consent to it: he went very copiously, as a canonist, through the other heads, softening some abuses, and showing that others had a long practice for them, and were observed in other kingdoms.

And thus was this matter carried in the parliament of Paris, in which, as the court showed great integrity and much courage, which deserve the highest characters with which such noble patriots ought to be honoured; so, in this instance, we see how feeble the resistance, even of the worthiest judges, will prove to a prince who has possessed himself of the whole legislative authority; when he intends to break through established laws and constitutions, and to sacrifice the rights of his crown, and the interests of his people, to serve particular ends of his own. In such cases, the generous integrity of judges, or other ministers, will be resented as an attempt on the sovereign authority: and such is the nature of arbitrary power, that the most modest defence of law and justice, when it crosses the designs of an insolent and corrupt minister, and an abused prince, will pass for disobedience and sedition.

If the assembly of the states in France had maintained

their share of the legislative power, and had not suffered the right they once had to be taken from them, of being liable to no taxes but by their own consent, these judges would have been better supported; and the opposition they made upon this occasion would have drawn after it all the most signal expressions of honour and esteem that a nation owes to the trustees of their laws and liberties, when they maintain them resolutely, and dispense them equally. And the corrupt chancellor would have received such punishment as all wicked ministers deserve, who, for their own ends, betray the interests of their country.

The court of parliament showed great firmness after this; and it appeared, that the protestation that they made, of judging still according to the Pragmatic, was not only a piece of form to save their credit. The archbishop of Sens died soon after; and the king sent to inhibit the chapter to proceed to an election. It was understood that he designed to give it to the bishop of Paris; so the chapter wrote to that bishop, not to give such a wound to their liberties as to take it upon the king's nomination: but seeing that he had no regard to that, they elected him, that so they might by this seem to keep up their claim. The bishop of Alby died soon after that; the king named one, and the chapter chose another; upon that Alby, being within the jurisdiction of Thoulouse, the court of parliament there judged in favour of him who was elected by the chapter, against him who had obtained bulls upon the king's nomination: at which the king was highly offended. The archbishopric of Bourges falling void soon after, the king nominated one, and the chapter elected another. The chapter pretended a special privilege to elect, so the pope judged in their favour. Some years after this (1524), the king carried on his wars in Italy, leaving his mother regent of France; so the court of parliament made a remonstrance to her, setting forth the invasions that had been made upon the rights of the Gallican church, desiring her to interpose, that the Pragmatic Sanction and the liberty of elections might again have their full force; but that had no effect.

Soon after this, the king was taken prisoner by the army of Charles the Fifth at the battle of Pavia: and upon that his mother declared, that she looked on her son's misfortunes as a judgment of God upon him, for his abolishing the Pragmatic Sanction; and though she would not take it upon her to make any alteration during her son's absence, yet she promised, that, when he should be set at liberty, she would use her utmost endeavours with him to set it up again, and

to abolish the Concordats. This was registered in the records of the court of parliament, yet it had no effect upon the king's return out of Spain: he, finding the parliament resolved to maintain all elections, ordered that matter to be taken wholly out of their cognizance; and he removed all suits of that sort from the courts of parliament to the great council, upon some disputes that were then on foot (1527) concerning a bishopric and an abbey given to Chancellor Prat, then made a cardinal in recompense of the service he had done the court of Rome: so by that an end was put to all disputes.

The parliament struggled hard against this diminution of their jurisdiction: they wrote to the dukes and peers of France to move the regent not to proceed thus to lessen their authority: on the other hand she said, they were taking all things into their own hands, in prejudice of the king's prerogative. But the king confirmed that, and settled the chancellor in the possession of the see and abbey, and the proceedings of the parliament against him were annulled and ordered to be struck out of their registers. And it appearing that some chapters and abbeys had special privileges for free elections, the king obtained a bull from Clement the Seventh, suspending all those during the king's life. The court of Rome stood long upon this, and thought to have gained new advantages before it should be granted: but the pope was at that time (1532) in a secret treaty with the court of France, which was afterwards accomplished at Marseilles: so he was easier in this matter, and the bull was registered in parliament in May thereafter. And upon this the chancellor, pretending that he would see and examine those privileges, called for them all, and when they were brought to him, he threw them all into the fire.

But to lay all that I have found of this matter together, the clergy of France, in a remonstrance that they made to King Henry the Third, affirmed, that Francis at his death declared to his son, that nothing troubled his conscience more than his taking away canonical elections, and his assuming to himself the nomination to bishoprics. If this was true, his son had no regard to it, but went on as his father had done. Upon his death (1560), when the cardinal of Lorraine pressed the parliament to proceed in the vigorous prosecution of heresy, they remonstrated, that the growth of heresy flowed chiefly from the scandals that were given by bad clergymen and ill bishops: and that the ill choice that had been made by the court since the Concordats were set up gave more occasion to the progress that heresy made than any other

thing whatsoever. The courts were so monstrously corrupt, during that and the two former reigns, that no other could be expected from them.

An assembly of the states was called in the beginning of Charles the Ninth's reign. In it the first estate prayed, that the Pragmatic Sanction might again take place, particularly in the point of elections; they backed this with great authorities of councils, ancient and modern: with them the two other estates agreed. The court tried to shift this off, promising to send one to Rome to treat about it: but that did not satisfy; so a decree was drawn up to this effect, that an archbishop should be chosen by the bishops of his province, by the chapter of his cathedral, and twelve persons of the chief of the laity; and a bishop by the metropolitan and the chapter. The court of parliament opposed this: they thought the laity ought to have no share in elections, so they pressed the restoring the Pragmatic Sanction without any alteration; yet, in conclusion, the decree was thus amended: an archbishop was to be chosen by the bishops of the province, and the chapter of the see; but a bishop was to be chosen by the archbishop, with the bishops of the province, and the chapter, and by twenty-four of the laity to be thus nominated: all the gentry were to be summoned to meet, and to choose twelve to represent them at the election, and the city was to choose other twelve. All these were to make a list of three persons to be offered to the king, and the man named by the king was to have the see. Thus they designed to bring this matter into a form as near the customs mentioned in the Roman law as they could. But this design vanished, and was never put in practice.

The clergy still called for restoring the elections; president Ferrier was sent to Rome to obtain it. He in a long speech showed, that neither the Gallican church, nor the courts of parliament, had ever received the Concordats; that shadow of approbation given to it by the parliament of Paris being extorted from them by force; and he laid out all the inconveniences that had happened since the Concordats were set up: but that court felt the advantages they had by them too sensibly, to be ever prevailed with to give them up: and thus that great affair was settled in the view of this church and nation, at the time that King Henry broke off all correspondence with it. It may be very reasonably presumed, that inferences were made from this, to let all people see what merchandize the court of Rome made of the most sacred rights of the church, when they had their own profit secured: and therefore the wise men in this church at that time might justly conclude, that their liberties were safer while they re-

mained an entire body within themselves, under a legal constitution; by which, if princes carried their authority too far, some check might be given to it by those from whom the public aids were to be obtained for supporting the government, than while all was believed to belong to the popes, who would at any time make a bargain, and divide the spoils of the church with crowned heads; taking to themselves the gainful part, and leaving the rest in the hands of princes.

I hope, though this relation does not belong properly to the History of the Reformation, yet, since it is highly probable it had a great influence on people's minds, this digression will be easily forgiven me. And now I turn to such of our affairs as fall within this period.

The first thing that occurred to me in order of time, was a letter of Queen Katharine's to King Henry (Sept. 16, 1513), who, upon his crossing the sea, left the regency of the kingdom in her hands; the commission bears date the 11th of June, 1513. King James the Fourth of Scotland having invaded England with a great army, was defeated and killed by the earl of Surrey. The earl gave the queen the news in a letter to her, with one to the king; this she sent him with a letter of her own; which, being the only one of hers to the king that I ever saw, I have inserted it in my Collection (No. ii). The familiarities of calling him in one place my husband, and in another my Henry, are not unpleasant. She sent with it a piece of the king of Scots' coat to be a banner: she was then going to visit, as she calls it, our lady of Walsingham.

I will next open an account of the progress of Cardinal Wolsey's fortunes, and the ascendant he had over the king. The first step he made into the church was to be rector of Lymington in the diocese of Bath and Wells; then, on the 30th of July, 1508, he had a papal dispensation to hold the vicarage of Lyde, in the diocese of Canterbury, with his rectory. There is a grant as almoner, on the 8th of November, 1509. The next preferment he had was to be a prebendary of Windsor: he was next advanced to be dean of Lincoln. A year after that, Pope Leo, having reserved the disposing the see of Lincoln to himself, gave it to Wolsey, designed in the bulls dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster. But no mention is made of the king's nomination. This is owned by the king in the writ for the restitution of the temporalities. On the 14th July, that year (1514), Cardinal de Medici, afterwards Pope Clement the Seventh, wrote to King Henry, that, upon the death of Cardinal Bembridge, he had prayed the pope not to dispose of his benefices till he knew the king's mind, which the pope, out of his

affection to the king, granted very readily \*. Perhaps the king did recommend Wolsey, but no mention is made of that in his bulls. The king granted the restitution of the temporalities of York before his instalment ; for in the writ he is only called the *elect archbishop* : and it is not expressed that he had the king's nomination. He had Tournay *in commendam*, but resigned it into the hands of Francis, who for that gave him a pension of 12,000 livres during life : at the same time (July 31, 1518) prince Charles, afterwards Charles the Fifth, gave him a pension of 3000*l*. It seems he afterwards desired to have it better secured : so in the end of that year (Dec. 16, 1518) prince Charles lodged a pension of 5000 ducats to him, on the bishopric of Páce in Castile. Above a year after that (March 29, 1520), Pope Leo gave him a pension of 2000 ducats out of Palencia, instead of that which was charged on the bishopric of Páce. Besides all this, when Charles the Fifth was in London, he gave him another pension of 9000 crowns, dated the 8th of June, 1522. It seems he had other pensions from France ; for, five years after this (Nov. 18, 1525), there was an arrear stated there as due to him, of 121,898 crowns. He had also pensions from other princes of a lower order. The duke of Milan's secretary did, by his master's express order, engage, in the year 1515, to pay Wolsey 10,000 ducats a year ; he on his part engaging, that there should be a perpetual friendship settled between the kings of England and France with that duke †.

The French king being a prisoner, his favour was necessary in that distress ; so the regent engaged to pay it in seven years' time. But whatever may be in Wolsey's provisions, when the bishopric of Salisbury was given to Cardinal Campegio by a bull (Dec. 2, 1524), mention is expressly made in it of the king's letters interceding humbly for him.

When King Henry wrote his book of the Seven Sacraments, it seems it was first designed to send it over in manuscript : for Wolsey sent one to the king finely dressed, that was to be presented to the pope : and he writes, that he was to send him more, which were to be sent about with the pope's bulls to all princes and universities : one in particular, as he writes, was far more excellent and princely (Collect. No. iii). He also sent with it the choice of certain verses, to be written in the king's own hand, in the book that was to be sent to the pope, and subscribed by him, to be laid up in the archives of the church, to his im-

\* Rymer, tom. 13, August 5.

† Rymer, vol. 12.

mortal glory and memory. The matter was so laid, that the book was presented to the pope on the 10th of October (1521); and the very day after, the bull, giving him the title of Defender of the Faith, bears date: and in a private letter that Pope Leo wrote to him, he runs out into copious strains of flattery, affirming, "that it appeared that the Holy Ghost assisted him in writing it\*."

The king was so pleased with the title, that Wolsey directed his letters to him with it on the back, as appears in a letter of his (Collect. No. iv), that sets forth the low state of the affairs of Spain in Italy. It appears it was written (for the year is not added in the date) after that Luther wrote his answer to the king's book, at least after letters came from him on the subject; the original of which he desires might be sent him, that he might send it to the pope: and he intended to send copies both of those, and of the king's answers, to the cardinal of Mentz, and to George duke of Saxony.

After the king's interviews both with the emperor and the king of France were over, new quarrels broke out, by which the emperor and Francis engaged in hostilities: but King Henry, pretending to be the umpire of their differences, sent Wolsey over to compose them. He came to Calais in the beginning of August (1521). From Dover he wrote to the king (Collect. No. v), and sent two letters to him, which the king was to write in his own hand to the emperor, and to the lady regent of Flanders, which he desired the king would send to him: for he would move slowly towards him. Thus he took the whole ministry into his own hands, and prepared even the king's secret letters for him. He was with the emperor thirteen days, who gave him a singular reception; for he came a mile out of town to meet him. The town is not named, but it was Bruges; for in one of Erasmus's letters, he mentions his meeting Wolsey in that town, he being then with the emperor. The cardinal returned by the way of Graveling; and from thence, beside the public letter, in which he gave the king an account of his negociation, he wrote a private one to him, with this direction on it, *To the kings Graceys own hands only* (Collect. No. vi). It seems he had no private conversation with the emperor formerly: "for in this he observes, that for his age he was very wise, and understood his affairs well. He was cold and temperate in speech; but spoke to very good purpose. He reckoned that he would prove a very wise man: he thought he was much inclined to truth,

\* Ut Spiritum affuisse sanctum apparet.

and to the keeping of his promises : he seemed to be inseparably joined to the king : and was resolved to follow his advice in all his affairs, and to trust the cardinal entirely. He twice or thrice in secret promised to him, by his faith and truth, to abide by this : he promised it also to all the rest of the privy-council that were with the cardinal, in such a manner, that they all believed it came from his heart, without artifice or dissimulation. So Wolsey wrote to the king, that he had reason to bless God, that he was not only the ruler of his own realm, but that now by his wisdom Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low-countries, should be ruled and governed." Whether the emperor did by his prudent and modest behaviour really impose upon Wolsey, or whether by other secret practices he had so gained him as to oblige him to persuade the king to such a confidence in him, I leave it to the reader to judge.

It passes generally among all the writers of that age, that he aspired to the popedom : and that the emperor then promised him his assistance ; in which he failing to him afterwards, Wolsey carried his revenges so far, that all the change of counsels, and even the suit of the divorce, is in a great measure ascribed to it. I went into the stream in my history, and seemed persuaded of it ; yet some original letters of Wolsey's, communicated to me by Sir William Cook of Norfolk, which I go next to open, make this very doubtful. The first was upon the news of Pope Hadrian's death, September 14 (Collect. No. vii), upon which he immediately wrote to the king, September 30, " That his absence from Rome was the only obstacle of his advancement to that dignity : there were great factions then at Rome : he protests before God, that he thought himself unfit for it, and that he desired much rather to end his days with the king ; yet, remembering that at the last vacation (nine months before) the king was for his being preferred to it, thinking it would be for his service, and supposing that he was still of the same mind, he would prepare such instructions as had been before sent to Pace, dean of St. Paul's, then ambassador at Rome, and send them to him by the next : " with this [he also sent him the letters that he had from Rome. The next day (Oct. 1) he sent the letters and instructions, directed to the king's ambassadors (Collect. No. viii), who were the bishop of Bath, Pace, and Haniball, for procuring his preferment ; or, that failing, for Cardinal de Medici : these he desired the king to sign and dispatch. And that the emperor might more effectually concur, though, pursuant to the conference he had with the king on that behalf, he verily supposed he had not failed to

advance it, he drew a private letter for the king to write with his own hand to the emperor, putting to it the secret sign and mark that was between them.

The dispatch, that upon this he sent to the king's ambassador at Rome, fell into my hands when I was laying out for materials for my second volume\* ; but though it belonged in the order of time to the first, I thought it would be acceptable to the reader to see it, though not in its proper place. In it, after some very respectful words of Pope Hadrian, which, whether he wrote out of decency only, or that he thought so of him, I cannot determine, "he tells them, that, before the vacancy, both the emperor and the king had great conferences for his advancement, though the emperor's absence makes that he cannot now join with them; yet the regent of the Netherlands, who knows his mind, has expressed an earnest and hearty concurrence for it: and by the letters of the Cardinal de Medicis, Sanctorum Quatuor, and Campegio, he saw their affections: he was chiefly determined by the king's earnestness about it, though he could willingly have lived still where he was; his years increasing, and he knew himself unworthy of so high a dignity: yet his zeal for the exaltation of the Christian faith, and for the honour and safety of the king and the emperor, made him refer himself to the pleasure of God: and in the king's name he sends them double letters; the first to the Cardinal de Medicis, offering the king's assistance to him; and if it was probable he would carry it, they were to use no other powers: but if he thought he could not carry it, then they were to propose himself to him, and to assure him, if he was chosen, the other should be, as it were, pope: they were to let the other cardinals know what his temper was, not austere, but free: he had great things to give, that would be void upon his promotion: he had no friends or relations to raise, and he knew perfectly well the great princes of Christendom, and all their interests and secrets: he promises he will be at Rome within three months, if they choose him; and the king seems resolved to go thither with him: he did not doubt but, according to the many promises and exhortations of the emperor to him, that his party will join with them.

"The king also ordered them to promise large rewards and promotions, and great sums of money to the cardinals; and though they saw the Cardinal de Medici full of hope, yet they were not to give over their labour for him if they saw any hope of success; but they were to manage that so

\* Vol. II, Collect. Records. No. xlviij.

secretly, that the other may have no suspicion of it." This was dated at Hampton-court the 4th of October.

To this a postscript was added in the cardinal's own hand, to the bishop of Bath : he tells him, " what a great opinion the king had of his policy ; and he orders him to spare no reasonable offers, which perhaps might be more regarded than the qualities of the person. The king believed all the imperialists would be with him, if there was faith in the emperor : he believed the young men, who for most part were necessitous, would give good ear to fair offers, which shall undoubtedly be performed. The king willeth you neither to spare his authority, nor his good money or substance ; so he concludes, praying God to send him good speed." But all this fine train of simony came too late, for it found a pope already chosen.

His next letter upon that subject (Dec. 17) tells the king (Collect. No. ix), " That after great heat in the conclave, the French party was quite abandoned ; and the cardinals were fully resolved to choose Cardinal de Medicis or himself : that this coming to the knowledge of the city of Rome, they came to the conclave windows, and cried out what danger it would be to choose a person that was absent : so that the cardinals were in such fear, that, though they were principally bent on him, yet, to avoid this danger, they, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (so he writes) did on the 19th of November choose Cardinal de Medicis, who took the name of Clement the Seventh ; of which good and fortunate news, the king had great cause to thank Almighty God ; since as he was his faithful friend, so by his means he had attained that dignity : and that for his own part he took God to record, that he was much gladder than if it had fallen on his own person. In these letters there is no reflection on the emperor, as having failed in his promise at the former election : nor is that election any way imputed to him, but laid on a casualty ordinary enough in conclaves ; and more natural in that time, because Pope Hadrian's severe way had so disgusted the Romans, that no wonder if they broke out into disorders upon the apprehension of another foreigner being like to succeed. If it is suspected, that though Wolsey knew this was a practice of the emperor's, he might disguise it thus from the king, that so he might be less suspected in the revenge that he was meditating, the thing must be left as I find it ; only though the emperor afterwards charged Wolsey as acting upon private revenge for missing the popedom, yet he never pretended that he had moved himself in it, or had studied to obtain a promise from him ; which would have put that general

charge of his aspiring, and of his revenging himself for the disappointment, more heavily on him.

The king and the cardinal continued in a good correspondence, both with that pope and the emperor, till the battle of Pavia, that Francis's misfortune changed the face of affairs, and obliged the king, according to his constant and true maxim, to support the weaker side, and to balance the emperor's growing power, that by that accident was like to become quickly superior to all Christendom. It has been suggested, that the emperor wrote before to Wolsey in terms of respect, scarce suitable to his dignity, but that he afterwards changed both his style and subscription: but I have seen many of his letters, to which the subscription is either your *good* or your *best friend*; and he still continued that way of writing. His letters are hardly legible, so that I could never read one complete period in any of them, otherwise I would have put them in my Collection.

But having looked thus far into Wolsey's correspondence with the king, I shall now set him in another light from a very good author, the Lord Burghleigh, who in that memorial prepared for Queen Elizabeth against favourites, probably intended to give some stop to the favour she bore the earl of Leicester, has set out the greatness of Wolsey's power, and the ill use he made of it. "He had a family equal to the court of a great prince. There was in it one earl and nine barons, and about a thousand knights, gentlemen, and inferior officers. Besides the vast expense of such a household, he gave great pensions to those in the court and conclave of Rome; by whose services he hoped to be advanced to the papacy. He lent great sums to the emperor, whose poverty was so well known, that he could have no prospect of having them repaid (probably this is meant of Maximilian). Those constant expenses put him on extraordinary ways of providing a fund for their continuance. He granted commissions under the great seal, to oblige every man upon oath to give in the true value of his estate; and that those who had fifty pounds or upwards, should pay four shillings in the pound. This was so heavy, that though it had been imposed by authority of parliament, it would have been thought an oppression of the subject: but he adds, that to have this done by the private authority of a subject, was what wants a name. When this was represented to the king, he disowned it; and said, no necessities of his should be ever so great, as to make him attempt the raising money any other way but by the people's consent in parliament. Thus his illegal project was defeated; so he betook himself to another not so odious, by the way

of benevolence : and to carry that through, he sent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and said to them, that he had prevailed with the king to recall his commissions for that heavy tax, and to throw himself on their free gifts. But in this he was likewise disappointed ; for the statute of Richard the Third was pleaded against all benevolences : the people obstinately refused to pay it ; and though the demanding it was for some time insisted on, yet the opposition made to it being like to end in a civil war, it was let fall." All this I drew from that memorial. (Cott. Libr.) I found also a commission to the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Calham, and others, setting forth the great wars that the king had in France, in which the duke of Bourbon, called one of the greatest princes in France, was now the king's servant : they are by it required to practise with all in Kent, whose goods amounted to four pounds, or above, and whose names were given to a schedule to anticipate the subsidy granted in parliament. This is all that has occurred to me with relation to Wolsey's ministry. I will in the next place set out what he attempted or did in ecclesiastical matters, with the proceedings in convocation during this period. When King Henry called his first parliament, by a writ tested October 17, 1509, to meet at Westminster the 21st of January following, he did not intend to demand a supply ; so there appears no writ for a convocation : but the archbishop of Canterbury summoned one, as it seems, by his own authority : yet none sat then at York. The house of lords was sometimes adjourned by the lord treasurer ; because the chancellor (Warham) and other spiritual lords were absent, and engaged in convocation : but it does not appear what was done by them.

In the year 1511, on the 28th of November, a writ was sent to Warham to summon a convocation, which met the 6th of February : they had several sessions, and gave a subsidy of 24,000*l.* but did nothing besides with relation to matters of religion. There was some heat among them on the account of some grievances and excesses in the archbishop's courts. A committee was appointed of six persons, the bishops of Norwich and Rochester, the prior of Canterbury, the dean of St. Paul's, and an archdeacon ; but without addition of his place ; these were to examine the encroachments made by the archbishop's courts, and the inhibitions sent to the inferior courts : but especially as to the probates of wills, and the granting administrations to intestate goods, when there was any to the value of five pounds in several dioceses : an estimate first settled by Warham, for which he had officials and apparitors in every

diocese, three or four in some, and five or six in others, which was looked on by them as contrary to law. Cardinal Morton is said to be the first who set up this pretence of prerogative: against these the bishops alleged the constitutions of Ottobonus, and of archbishop Stratford: it is also set forth, that when Warham was an advocate, he was employed by Hill, bishop of London, in whose name he appeared against them, and appealed to Pope Alexander against these invasions made by the archbishop on the rights of his see. And when Warham was promoted to the see of London, he maintained his claim against them, and opposed them more than any other bishop of the province, and sent his chancellor to Rome to find relief against them. But when he was advanced to be archbishop, he not only maintained those practices, but carried them further than his predecessor had done. All this, with thirteen other articles of grievances, were drawn up at large in the state of the case between the archbishop and the bishops; and proposals were made of an accommodation between them about the year 1514; but the event showed that this opposition came to nothing. This must be acknowledged to be none of the best parts of Warham's character. In the year 1514 they were again summoned by writ; they met and gave subsidies, but they were not to be levied till the terms of paying the subsidies formerly granted were out. In the year 1518, Warham summoned a convocation to meet at Lambeth, to reform some abuses; and in the summons he affirmed, that he had obtained the king's consent so to do\*. At this Wolsey was highly offended, and wrote him a very haughty letter; in it he said, "It belonged to him, as *legatus a latere*, to see to the reformation of abuses: and he was well assured, that the king would not have him to be so little esteemed, that he should enterprise such reformation to the derogation of the dignity of the see apostolic, and otherwise than the law will suffer you, without my advice and consent." And he in plain words denies that he had any such command of the king, but that the king's order was expressly to the contrary†. So he orders him to come to him, to treat of some things concerning his person. This it seems Warham was required to send round to his suffragan bishops: so he recalled his monitions in expectation of a legateine council: the pestilence was then raging, so this was put off a year longer; and then Wolsey summoned it by a letter, which he transmitted to the bishops: that to the bishop of

\* Reg. Heref. Booth, fol. 37.

† Wake's State of the Church, appendix, p. 208.

Hereford is in his register \*. He desires him to come to a council at Westminster for the reforming the clergy, and "for consulting in the most convenient and soundest way, of what we shall think may tend to the increase of the faith." He hoped this letter would be of as much weight with him as monitories in due form would be.

It appears not by any record I could ever hear of, what was done in the legatine synod thus brought together, except by the register of Hereford, in which we find, that the bishop summoned his clergy to meet in a synod at the chapter-house, to consult about certain affairs, and the articles delivered by Wolsey as legate in a council of the provinces of Canterbury and York, to the bishops there assembled, to be published by them. All that is mentioned in this synod is concerning the habits of the clergy, and the lives and manners of those who were to be ordained; which the bishop caused to be explained to them in English, and ordered them to be observed by the clergy: and these being published (May 4, 1519), they proceeded to some heads relating to those articles; and he gave copies of all that passed in every one of them.

The next step he made was of a singular nature. When the king summoned the parliament in the fourteenth year of his reign, Warham had a writ to summon a convocation of his province, which did meet five days after, on the 20th of April (1523). The cardinal summoned his convocation to meet at York, almost a month before, on the 22d of March; but they were immediately prorogued to meet at Westminster the 22d of April. The convocation of Canterbury was opened at St. Paul's: but a monition came from Wolsey to Warham, to appear before him, with his clergy, at Westminster on the 22d; and thus both convocations were brought together. It seems he intended that the legatine synod, thus irregularly brought together, should give the king supplies: but the clergy of the province of Canterbury said, their powers were only directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, and these would not warrant them to act in any other manner than in the provincial way: so the convocation of Canterbury returned back to St. Paul's, and sat there till August, and gave the supply apart, as did also that of York †. But Wolsey, finding those of Canterbury could not act under him, by the powers that they had brought up with them, issued out on the 2d of May monitory letters to the bishops of that province, to meet at Westminster the 8th of June, to deliberate "of the reformation of the clergy, both of seculars

\* Reg. Heref. Booth. fol. 41.

† Reg. Hereford. fol. 84.

and regulars, and of other matters relating to it." In this he mentions Warham's summoning a convocation, which he had brought before him; but upon some doubts arising, because the proctors of the clergy had no sufficient authority to meet in the legatine synod, he therefore summoned them to meet with him, and to bring sufficient powers to that effect by the 2d of June: but it does not appear that any assembly of the clergy followed pursuant to this: so it seems it was let fall. This is the true account of that matter\*. I gave it indeed differently before, implicitly following some writers that lived in that time: more particularly that account given of it by either Archbishop Parker, or Josceline, a book of such credit, that the following it deserved no hard censure. The grant of the subsidy is, indeed, in the name of the province of Canterbury; but the other relation of that matter being too easily followed by me, it seemed to me that it was a point of form, for each province to give their subsidy in an instrument apart, though it was agreed to, they being together in one body. It was indeed an omission not to have explained that; but now, upon better evidence, the whole matter is thus fully opened. I find no other proceedings of Wolsey's as legate on record, save that he took on him, by his legatine authority†, to give institutions at pleasure into all benefices in the dioceses of all bishops, without so much as asking the bishop's consent. In the register of London, an institution given by him to South Wickington, on the 10th of December, 1526, is entered, with this addition, that the cardinal had likewise given seven other institutions in that diocese, without asking the consent of the bishop: and on the margin it is added, that the giving and accepting such institutions, by the legate's authority, being papal provisions, involved the clergy into the prebend, from which they were obliged to redeem themselves. Wolsey did also publish a bull‡, condemning all who married in the forbidden degrees; and he sent mandates to the bishops to publish it in their several dioceses; he also published Pope Leo's bull against Luther§, and ordered it to be everywhere published: he also required all persons, under the pain of excommunication, to bring in all Luther's books that were in their hands: he enumerated forty-two of Luther's errors; and required a return of the mandate to be made to him, together with such books as should be brought in upon it, by the 1st of August. The date of the mandate is not set down; and this is all that I find in this period relating to Wolsey.

\* Antiq. Brit.

‡ Fisher's Register, fol. 127.

† Reg. Tonstal. fol. 31.

§ Reg. Hereford. fol. 66.

This last shows the apprehensions they were under of the spreading of Luther's books and doctrine. All people were as this time so sensible of the corruptions, that seemed by common consent to be as it were universally received, that every motion towards a reformation was readily hearkened to everywhere; corruption was the common subject of complaint; and in the commission given to those whom the king sent to represent himself and this church, in the council of the Lateran, the "reformation of the head and members," is mentioned as that which was expected from that council.

This was so much at that time in all men's mouths, that one of the best men in that age, Colet, dean of St. Paul's, being to open the convocation with a sermon, made that the subject of it all; and he set forth many of those particulars to which it ought to be applied. It was delivered, as all such sermons are, in Latin, and was soon after translated into English. I intended once to have published it among the papers that I did put in the Collection; but those, under whose direction I composed that work, thought that, since it did not enter into points of doctrine, but only into matters of practice, it did not belong so properly to my design in writing: yet since it has been of late published twice, by a person distinguished by his controversial writings on this subject, I will here give a translation of all that he thought fit to publish of it.

His text was, "Be ye not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed in the renewing of your mind." He told them, "he came thither that he might admonish them to apply their thoughts wholly to the reformation of the church." He goes on thus: "Most of those who are dignitaries, carry themselves with a haughty air and manner; so that they seem not to be in the humble spirit of Christ's ministers, but in an exalted state of dominion: not observing what Christ, the pattern of humility, said to his disciples, whom he set over his church, 'It shall not be so among you;' by which he taught them, that the government of the church is a ministry; and that primacy in a clergyman is nothing but an humble servitude.

"O covetousness! From thee come those episcopal, but chargeable visitations, the corruptions of courts, and those new inventions daily set on foot, by which the poor laity are devoured. O covetousness! the mother of all wickedness; from thee springs the insolence and boldness of officials, and that eagerness of all ordinaries in amplifying their jurisdiction: from thee flows that mad and furious contention about wills, and unseasonable sequestrations; and the superstitious observing of those laws that bring gain to them,

while those are neglected that relate to the correction of manners.

“The church is disgraced by the secular employments, in which many priests and bishops involve themselves: they are the servants of men more than of God; and dare neither say, nor do any thing, but as they think it will be acceptable and pleasant to their princes; out of this spring both ignorance and blindness: for being blinded with the darkness of this world, they only see earthly things.

“Therefore, O ye fathers, ye priests, and all ye clergymen! awaken at last out of the dreams of a lethargic world; and hearken to Paul, who calls upon you, ‘Be ye not conformed to this world.’ This reformation and restoration of the ecclesiastical state must begin at you, who are our fathers; and from you must come down to us your priests. We look on you as the standards that must govern us: we desire to read in you and in your lives, as in living books, how we ought to live: therefore, if you would see the notes that are in our eyes, take the beams first out of your own.

“There is nothing amiss among us, for which there are not good remedies set out by ancient fathers: there is no need of making new laws and canons, but only to observe those already made. Therefore, at this your meeting, let the laws already made be recited. First, those that admonish you fathers not to lay hands suddenly on any: let the laws be recited which appoint that ecclesiastical benefices should be given to deserving persons, and that condemn simoniacal defilement. But, above all things, let those laws be recited that relate to you, our reverend fathers, the Lord’s bishops, the laws of just and canonical elections, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost.

“Because this is not done in our days, and bishops are chosen rather by the favour of men than by the will of God; we have sometimes bishops who are not spiritual, but worldly rather than heavenly; and who are led by the spirit of the world, rather than by the Spirit of Christ. Let the laws be recited for bishops residing in their dioceses. Last of all, let those laws be recited for frequent councils, which appoint provincial councils to be more frequently called for the reformation of the church; for nothing has happened more mischievous to the church than the not holding of councils, both general and provincial.

“I do therefore, with all due reverence, address myself to you, O fathers! for the execution of laws must begin at you: if you observe the laws, and transform your lives to the rules set by the canons, then you shine so to us, that we may see what we ought to do, when we have the light of excellent

examples set us by you : we, seeing you observe the laws, will cheerfully follow your steps. Consider the miserable face and state of the church, and set about the reforming it with all your strength. Do not you, O fathers, suffer this famous meeting to end in vain, and in doing nothing: you do indeed meet often ; but (by your favour suffer me to say what is true) what fruit has the church yet had of all your meetings ? Go then, with that Spirit which you have prayed for, that, being assisted by his aid, you may contrive, establish, and decree such things as may tend to the advantage of the church, to your own honour, and to the glory of God."

This Colet had travelled through France and Italy, and upon his return he settled for some time at Oxford, where he read divinity lectures, without any obligation or reward for it. His readings brought him all the learned and studious persons in the university. He read not according to the custom that prevailed universally at that time, of commenting on Thomas Aquinas, or on Scotus ; but his readings were upon St. Paul's Epistles. He was brought afterwards to the deanery of St. Paul's, where old Fitz-James, then bishop of London, was his enemy, but he was protected both by Warham and by the king himself. He did in one of his sermons reflect on bosom-sermons, which Fitz-James took as a reflection on himself, for he read all his sermons. He did not recommend himself at court by strains of flattery : on the contrary, he being to preach there when the king was entering on a war, preached on Christians fighting under the banner of Christ, whom they ought to make their pattern in all the occasions of quarrel that they might have, rather than imitate a Cæsar or an Alexander. After sermon the king sent for him, and told him, he thought such preaching would dishearten his military men ; but Colet explained himself so, that the king was well satisfied with him, and said, " Let every man choose what doctor he pleased, Colet should be his doctor." He died in the year 1519.

It seems this sermon was preached in the year 1513, though it is printed as preached in the year 1511 ; for the mention that he made in it of the immunities of the clergy, and of those words " touch not mine anointed," seems to relate to the opposition that the clergy made to the act that passed in parliament in the year 1512, against the immunity of the inferior orders of the clergy. It is true, in the translation I have given, there are no such words ; but I find them in the reflections that I made on that sermon, when I intended to have printed it : so I took it for granted that the sermon was not fully printed in the book out of which I was forced to make my translation ; the copy that I had of it being mislaid

or lost. It had been but a reasonable thing for that writer either to have printed the whole sermon, or to have told the reader that only some passages were taken out of it; since the title given to it would make him think it was all printed. I could not find either the Latin sermon, or the English translation of it, that was printed near that time: and I cannot entirely depend on a late impression of the English translation; yet I will add some few passages out of it, which deserved to be published by him that picked out a few with some particular view that it seems he had. Before the first period printed by him, he has these words:—

“How much greediness and appetite of honour and dignity is seen now-a-days in clergymen! How run they, yea almost out of breath, from one benefice to another, from the less to the greater, from the lower to the higher! Who seeth not this; and who, seeing, sorroweth not?”

Before the next period, these words are to be found:—  
“What other things seek we now-a-days in the church, but fat benefices and high promotions? And it were well if we minded the duty of those when we have them. But he that hath many great benefices minds not the office of any small one. And in these our high promotions, what other things do we pass upon, but only our tithes and rents? We care not how vast our charge of souls be; how many or how great benefices we take, so they be of large value.”

In the next period, these remarkable words are omitted: “Our warfare is to pray devoutly; to read and study Scriptures diligently; to preach the word of God sincerely; to administer holy sacraments rightly; and to offer sacrifices for the people.”

A little before the next period, he has these words: “In this age we are sensible of the contradiction of lay people; but they are not so much contrary to us, as we are to ourselves. Their *contrariness* hurteth not us so much as the *contrariness* of our own evil life, which is contrary both to God and to Christ.”

After Colet had mentioned that of laying hands suddenly on none, he adds, “Here lies the original and spring-head of all our mischiefs: that the gate of ordination is too broad; the entrance too wide and open. Every man that offers himself is admitted everywhere, without putting back. Hence it is that we have such a multitude of priests, that have little learning and less piety. In my judgment it is not enough for a priest to construe a collect, to put forth a question, to answer a sophism; but an honest, a pure, and a holy life, is much more necessary: approved manners, competent learning in Holy Scriptures, some knowledge of the sacraments;

but chiefly above all things, the fear of God, and love of heavenly life."

A little after this, "Let the canons be rehearsed that command personal residence of curates (rectors) in their churches: for of this many evils grow, because all offices now-a-days are performed by vicars and parish priests; yea, and these foolish and unmeet, oftentimes wicked."

At some distance from this, but to the same purpose, he adds, "You might first sow your spiritual things, and then ye shall reap plentifully their carnal things. For truly that man is very hard and unjust, who will reap where he never did sow, and desires to gather where he never scattered."

These passages seemed proper to be added to the former, as setting forth the abuses and disorders that were then in this church. I wish I could add that they are now quite purged out, and appear no more among us. Colet was a particular friend of Erasmus, as appears by many very kind letters that passed between them.

To this account of the sense that Colet had of the state of religion at that time, I will add an account of Sir Thomas More's thoughts of religion. Those of the church of Rome look on him as one of their glories, the champion of their cause, and their martyr. He in this period wrote his *Utopia*; the first edition that I could ever see of it was at Basil, in the year 1518; for he wrote it in the year 1516; at which time it may be believed that he dressed up that ingenious fable according to his own notions. He wrote that book probably before he had heard of Luther; the Wicklevites and the Lollards being the only heretics then known in England. In that short, but extraordinary book, he gave his mind full scope, and considered mankind and religion with the freedom that became a true philosopher. By many hints it is very easy to collect what his thoughts were of religion, of the constitutions of the church, and of the clergy at that time: and therefore, though an observing reader will find these in his way, yet, having read it with great attention, when I translated it into English, I will lay together such passages as give clear indications of the sense he had of those matters.

Page the 21st\*, when he censures the enclosing of grounds, he ranks those holy men the abbots among those "who thought it not enough to live at their own ease, and to do no good to the public, but resolved to do it hurt instead of good;" which shows that he called them *holy men* in derision. This is yet more fully set forth in page 37, where he

\* The references are to the pages of my translation.

brings in Cardinal Morton's jester's advice, to send all the beggars to the Benedictines to be lay-brothers, and all the female beggars to be nuns, reckoning the friars as vagabonds that ought to be taken up and restrained : and the discourse that follows for two or three pages, gives such a ridiculous view of the want of breeding, of the folly and ill-nature of the friars, that they have taken care to strike it out of the later impressions. But as I did find it in the impression which I translated, so I have copied it all from the first edition, and have put in the Collection (No. x) that which the inquisitors have left out. From thence it is plain what opinion he had of those who were the most eminent divines and the most famed preachers at that time. This is yet plainer, page 56, in which he taxes the preachers of that age for " corrupting the Christian doctrine, and practising upon it : for they, observing that the world did not suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted his doctrine as if it had been a leaden rule to their lives, that some way or other they might agree with one another." And he does not soften this severe censure, as if it had been only the fault of a few ; but lets it go on them all, without any discrimination or limitation.

Page 83, he taxes the great company of idle priests, and of those that are called religious persons, that were in other nations ; against which he tells us in his last chapter how carefully the Utopians had provided : but it appears there, what just esteem he paid to men of that character, when they answered the dignity of their profession : for as he contracts the number of the priests in Utopia, page 186, so he exalts their dignity as high as so noble a function could deserve : yet he represents the Utopians " as allowing them to marry," page 114 ; and page 130, he exalts " a solid virtue much above all rigorous severities," which were the most admired expressions of piety and devotion in that age. He gives a perfect scheme of religious men, so much beyond the monastic orders, that it shows he was no admirer of them.

Page 152, he commends the Europeans for " observing their leagues and treaties so religiously ; and ascribes that to the good examples that popes set other princes, and to the severity with which they prosecuted such as were perfidious." This looks like respect ; but he means it all ironically : for he who had seen the reigns of Pope Alexander the Sixth and Julius the Second, the two falsest and most perfidious persons of the age, could not say this, but in the way of satire ; so that he secretly accuses both popes and princes for violating their faith, to which they were induced by dispensations from Rome. Page 192, " his putting images out

of the churches of the Utopians," gives no obscure hint of his opinion in that matter. The opinion, page 175, that he proposes, doubtfully indeed, but yet favourably, of the first converts to Christianity in Utopia, who (there being no priests among those who instructed them) were inclined to choose priests that should officiate among them, since they could not have any that were regularly ordained; adding, that they seemed resolved to do it: this shows that in cases of necessity he had a largeness of thought, far from being engaged blindfold into the humours or interests of the priests of that time; to whom this must have appeared one of the most dangerous of all heresies.

And whereas persecution and cruelty seem to be the indelible characters of popery; he, as he gives us the character of the religion of the Utopians, "that they offered not divine honours to any but to God alone," p. 173; so, p. 177, he makes it one of the maxims of the Utopians, "that no man ought to be punished for his religion:" the utmost severity practised among them being banishment, and that not for disparaging their religion, but for inflaming the people to sedition: a law being made among them, that "every man might be of what religion he pleased," p. 191. And though there were many different forms of religion among them, yet they all agreed in the main point of "worshipping the Divine Essence; so that there was nothing in their temples, in which the several persuasions among them might not agree."

"The several sects performed the rites that were peculiar to them in their private houses; nor was there any thing in the public worship that contradicted the particular ways of the several sects;" by all which he carried not only toleration, but even comprehension further than the most moderate of our divines have ever pretended to do. It is true, he represents all this in a fable of his Utopians; but this was a scene dressed up by himself, in which he was fully at liberty to frame every thing at pleasure; so here we find in this a scheme of some of the most essential parts of the Reformation. "He proposes no subjection of their priests to any head; he makes them to be chosen by the people, and consecrated by the college of priests; and he gives them no other authority but that of excluding men that were desperately wicked from joining in their worship, which was short and simple: and though every man was suffered to bring over others to his persuasion, yet he was obliged to do it by amicable and modest ways, and not to mix with these either reproaches or violence: such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery."

These were his first and coolest thoughts; and probably; if he had died at that time, he would have been reckoned among those, who, though they lived in the communion of the church of Rome, yet saw what were the errors and corruptions of that body, and only wanted fit opportunities of declaring themselves more openly for a reformation. These things were not writ by him in the heat of youth; he was then thirty-four years of age, and was at that time employed, together with Tonstall, in settling some matters of state with (the then Prince) Charles; so that he was far advanced at that time, and knew the world well. It is not easy to account for the great change that we find afterwards he was wrought up to: he not only set himself to oppose the Reformation in many treatises, that, put together, make a great volume: but when he was raised up to the chief post in the ministry, he became a persecutor even to blood; and defiled those hands, which were never polluted with bribes, by acting in his own person some of those cruelties, to which he was, no doubt, pushed on by the bloody clergy of that age and church.

He was not governed by interest, nor did he aspire so to preferment as to stick at nothing that might contribute to raise him; nor was he subject to the vanities of popularity. The integrity of his whole life, and the severity of his morals, cover him from all these suspicions. If he had been formerly corrupted by a superstitious education, it had been no extraordinary thing to see so good a man grow to be misled by the force of prejudice. But how a man who had emancipated himself, and had got into a scheme of free thoughts, could be so entirely changed, cannot be easily apprehended; nor how he came to muffle up his understanding, and deliver himself up as a property to the blind and enraged fury of the priests. It cannot indeed be accounted for, but by charging it on the intoxicating charms of that religion, that can darken the clearest understandings, and corrupt the best natures: and since they wrought this effect on Sir Thomas More, I cannot but conclude, that "if these things were done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?"

His friend Tonstall was made bishop of London by the pope's provision\*; but it was upon the king's recommendation signified by Hannibal, then his ambassador at Rome. Tonstall was sent ambassador to Spain, when Francis was a prisoner there. That king grew, as may be easily believed, impatient to be so long detained in prison: and that began

\* Reg. Tonst. fo. l.

to have such effects on his health, that the emperor, fearing it might end in his death, which would both lose the benefit he had from having him in his hands, and lay a heavy load on him through all Europe, was induced to hearken to a treaty, which he pretended he concluded chiefly in consideration of the king's mediation. The treaty was made at Madrid, much to the emperor's advantage : but because he would not trust to the faith of the treaty, Francis was obliged to bring his two sons as hostages for the observance of it. So he had his liberty upon that exchange : soon after he came back to France, and then the pope sent him an absolution in full form, from the faith and obligation of the treaty. It seems his conscience reproached him for breaking so solemn an engagement, but that was healed by the dispensation from Rome : of which the original was sent over to the king ; perhaps only to be showed the king, who upon that kept it still in his secret treasure ; where Rymer found it\*. The reason insinuated in it is, the king's being bound by it to alienate some dominions that belonged to the crown of France. For he had not yet learned a secret, discovered, or at least practised since that time, of princes declaring themselves free from the obligations of their treaties, and departing from them at their pleasure.

\* Rymer.

## BOOK II.

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*Of matters that happened during the time comprehended in the  
Second Book of the History of the Reformation.*

(1525.) I WILL repeat nothing set forth in my former work, but suppose that my reader remembers how Charles the Fifth had sworn to marry the king's daughter, when she should be of age, under pain of excommunication, and the forfeiture of 100,000*l.*: yet, when his match with Portugal was thought more for the interests of the crown, he sent over to the king, and desired a discharge of that promise. It has been said, and printed by one who lived in the time \*, and out of him by the Lord Herbert, that objections were made to this in Spain, on account of the doubtfulness of her mother's marriage. From such authors I took this too easily; but in a collection of original instructions †, I have seen that matter in a truer light.

Lee, afterwards archbishop of York, was sent ambassador to Spain, to solicit the setting Francis at liberty: and, in reckoning up the king's merits on the emperor, his instructions mention, "the king's late discharge of the emperor's obligation to marry his dearest daughter, the Princess Mary; whom, though his grace could have found in his heart to have bestowed upon the emperor, before any prince living, yet, for the more security of his succession, the furtherance of his other affairs, and to do unto him a gratuity, his grace hath liberally, benevolently, and kindly condescended unto it." There are other letters of the 12th of August, but the year is not added, which set forth the emperor's earnest desire to be with all possible diligence discharged of his obligation to marry the princess. At first the king thought fit to delay the granting it, till a general peace was fully concluded, since it had been agreed to by the treaty at Windsor; but soon after (1527), a discharge in full form under the great seal was sent over by an express to Spain: but from some hints in other papers, it seems there were secret orders

\* Hall.

† Among the MSS of the Bishop of Ely.

not to deliver it; and King Henry continued to claim the money due upon the forfeiture, as a debt still owing him. The peace was then treated, chiefly with a view to resist the Turk, and to repress heresy, that was then much spread, both through Germany and Poland.

Another original letter was writ after Francis was at liberty, setting forth, "that the nobles and courts in France would not confirm the treaty that Francis had signed to obtain his liberty; and therefore earnest persuasions were to be used to prevail with the emperor to restore the hostages, and to come into reasonable terms, to maintain the peace, and to call his army out of Italy." By these it appears, that the league against the emperor was then made, of which the king was declared the protector: but the king had not then accepted of that title. He ordered his ambassadors to propose a million of crowns for redeeming the hostages, to be paid at different times; yet they were forbid to own to the emperor, that if the offices, in which the king interposed, were not effectual, he would enter into the league.

There are in that collection some of Wolsey's letters; by one of the 17th of July he claims his pensions of 7500 ducats, upon the bishoprics of Palentia and Toledo; besides 9000 crowns a year, in recompence for his parting with the bishopric of Tournay, and the abbey of St. Martin's there; for which there was an arrear of four years due. On the 29th of September, he wrote over a severe charge, to be laid before the emperor, for the sack of Rome, the indignities put on the person of the pope, the spoiling the church of St. Peter, and other churches, and the ignominious treating the ornaments of them: all the blame was cast on the Cardinal Colonna and Hugo de Moncada, they being persuaded that it was done without the emperor's knowledge or order. He proposes the king to be mediator, as a thing agreed on by all sides: he uses in this that bold way of joining himself with the king, very often saying, "the king and I." And on the 20th of October, he presses with great earnestness the mediating a peace between France and the emperor; in all which nothing appears, either partial or revengeful, against the emperor. The true interest of England seems to be pursued in that whole negotiation.

There was then in the emperor's court a very full embassy from England: for in one or other of these letters, mention is made of the bishops of London, Worcester, and of Bath; of Dr. Lee and Sir Francis Bryan. But since the dismal fate of Rome and of Pope Clement is mentioned in these letters, I must now change the scene.

Pope Clement, as soon as he could after his imprisonment, wrote over to Wolsey an account of the miserable state he was in (Collect. No. xi), which he sent over by Sir Gregory Cassal, who saw it all, and so could give a full account of it. "The pope's only comfort and hope was in Wolsey's credit with the king, and in the king's own piety towards the church and himself, now so sadly oppressed, that he had no other hope but in the protection he expected from him." There were many other letters written by the cardinals, setting forth the miseries they were in, and that in the most doleful strains possible; all their eyes being then towards the king, as the person on whose protection they chiefly depended. Upon this Wolsey went over to France in a most splendid manner, with a prodigious and magnificent train, reckoned to consist of a thousand persons; and he had the most unusual honours done him, that the court of France could invent, to flatter his vanity. He was to conclude a treaty with Francis, for setting the pope at liberty, and to determine the alternative of the marriage of the Princess Mary, either to the king of France, or to the duke of Orleans, his second son, and to lay a scheme for a general peace. He came to Compiègne in the end of September, and from thence he wrote the first motion that was made about the divorce to the pope (Sept. 16): for the first letter that I found relating to that matter, begins with mentioning that which he wrote from Compiègne. Mr. Le Grand told me he had seen that dispatch, but he has not printed it\*.

From that place, Wolsey, with four cardinals, wrote to the pope, "setting forth the sense that they had of the calamity that he was in, and their zeal for his service, in which they hoped for good success: yet fearing lest the emperor should take occasion from his imprisonment to seize on the territories of the church, and to force both him to confirm it, and the cardinals now imprisoned with him to ratify it, which they hoped neither he nor they would do; yet, if human infirmity should so far prevail, they protested against all such alienations: they also declare, that if he should die, they would proceed to a new election, and have no regard to any election to which the imprisoned cardinals might be forced. In conclusion, they do earnestly pray, that the pope would grant them a full deputation of his authority; in the use of which they promise all zeal and fidelity; and that they would invite all the other cardinals that were at liberty to come and concur with them." This was signed by Wolsey,

\* Le Grand, tom. iii, No. 2.

and by the cardinals of Bourbon, Salviati, Lorrain, and Cardinal Prat. Wolsey wrote to the king (Collect. No. xii), expressing the concern he had for him, with relation to his great and secret affair; it seems expecting a general meeting of cardinals that was to be called together in France, which he reckoned would concur to the process that he intended to make; but apprehending that the queen might decline his jurisdiction, he would use all his endeavours to bring the king of France to agree to the emperor's demands, as far as was reasonable; hoping the emperor would abate somewhat in consideration of the king's mediation: but if that did not succeed, so that the pope was still kept a prisoner, then the cardinals must be brought to meet at Avignon, and thither he intended to go, and to spare no trouble or charge in doing the king service. When he was at Avignon, he should be within a hundred miles of Perpignan; and he would try to bring the emperor and the French king's mother thither, if the king approved of it, to treat for the pope's deliverance, and for a general peace. This is the substance of the minute of a letter writ in the cardinal's hand.

The king at this time intended to send Knight, then secretary of state, to Rome, in point of form to condole with the pope, and to prevent any application that the queen might make by the emperor's means in his great matter: so he appointed the cardinal to give him such commissions and instructions as should seem requisite, with all diligence; and he pressed the cardinal's return home, with great acknowledgments of the services he had done him (No. xiii). By this letter it appears, that the queen then understood somewhat of the king's uneasiness in his marriage. The king of France sent from Compiègne a great deputation, at the head of which Montmorency, then the great master, was put, to take the king's oath, confirming the treaties that Wolsey had made in his name (Sept. 25): one in the commission was Bellay, then bishop of Bayonne, afterwards of Paris, and cardinal.

When that was done, the king's matter, that had been hitherto more secretly managed, began to break out. Mr. Le Grand has published a letter that Pace wrote to the king (Tom. iii, No. 1), as he says, in the year 1526; but no date is added to the letter. The substance of it is, "that the letter and book, which was brought to the king the day before, was writ by him; but by the advice and help of Doctor Wakefield, who approved it, and was ready to defend every thing in it, either in a verbal disputation, or in writing. The king had told him, that some of his learned counsellors had written to him,

that Deuteronomy abrogated Leviticus; but that was certainly false; for the title of that book in Hebrew was the two first words of it: it is a compend and recapitulation of the Mosaical law; and that was all that was imported by the word Deuteronomy. He tells the king, that, after he left him, Wakefield prayed him to let him know, if the king desired to know the truth in that matter, whether it stood for him or against him. To whom Pace answered, that the king desired nothing but what became a noble and a virtuous prince: so he would do him a most acceptable thing, if he would set the plain truth before him. After that, Wakefield said, he would not meddle in the matter, unless he were commanded by the king to do it; but that when he received his commands, he would set forth such things both for and against him, that no other person in his kingdom could do the like." The letter is dated from Sion, but I have reason to believe it was written in the year 1527; for this Wakefield (who seems to have been the first person of this nation that was learned in the oriental tongues, not only in the Hebrew, the Chaldaic, and the Syriac, but in the Arabic) wrote a book for the divorce: he was at first against it, before he knew that Prince Arthur's marriage with Queen Katherine was consummated: but when he understood what grounds there were to believe that was done, he changed his mind, and wrote a book on the subject: and in his own book, he with his own hand inserts the copy of his letter to King Henry, dated from Sion, 1527; which it seems was written at the same time that Pace wrote his; for these are his words (as the author of Ath. Oxon. relates, who says he saw it), "He will defend his cause or question in all the universities of Christendom:" but adds, "that if the people should know that he, who began to defend the queen's cause, not knowing that she was carnally known of Prince Arthur, his brother, should now write against it, surely he should be stoned of them to death, or else have such a slander and obloquy raised upon him, that he would die a thousand times rather than suffer it."

He was prevailed on to print his book in Latin, with a Hebrew title\*; in which he undertook to prove, that the marrying the brother's wife, she being carnally known of him, was contrary to the decrees of holy church, utterly unlawful, and forbidden both by the law of nature and the law of God, the laws of the gospel, and the customs of the catholic and orthodox church.

(1528.) It appears from the letters writ in answer to those

\* Koster Codicis.

that Knight carried to Rome, that the pope granted all that was desired. This was never well understood till Mr. Rymer, in his diligent search, found the first original bull, with the seal in lead hanging to it: he has printed it in his 14th volume, p. 237, and therefore I shall only give a short abstract of it. It is directed to Cardinal Wolsey, and bears date the Ides of April, or the 13th day, in the year 1528. "It empowers him, together with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English bishop, to hear, examine, pronounce, and declare concerning the validity of the marriage of King Henry and Queen Katherine, and of the efficacy and validity of all apostolical dispensations in that matter, and to declare the marriage just and lawful, or unjust and unlawful, and to give a plenary sentence upon the whole matter; with licence to the parties to marry again, and to admit no appeal from them. For which end he creates Wolsey his vicegerent, to do in the premises all that he himself could do, with power to declare the issue of the first as well as of any subsequent marriage legitimate: all concludes with a *non obstante* to all general councils and apostolical constitutions."

This rare discovery was to us all a great surprise, as soon as it was known: but it does not yet appear how it came about that no use was ever made of it. I am not lawyer enough to discover whether it was that so full a deputation was thought null of itself: since by this the pope determined nothing, but left all to Wolsey; or whether Wolsey, having no mind to carry the load of the judgment on himself, made the king apprehend that it would bring a disreputation on his cause, if none but his own subjects judged it; or whether it was that Wolsey would not act in conjunction with Warham, or any under the degree of a cardinal. I leave the reasons of their not making use of the bull as a secret, as great as the bull itself was, till it was found out by Rymer. Another bull was after that desired and obtained, which bears date the 8th of June (6to *idus*) from Viterbo. This I take from the licence granted under the great seal to the legates to execute the commission of that date\*; but it seems they did not think they had the pope fast enough tied by this: and therefore they obtained from him, on the 23d of July following, a solemn promise, called in their letters *pollicitatio*, by which he promised, in the word of a pope, that he would never, neither at any person's desire, nor of his own motion, inhibit or revoke the commission he had granted to the legates to judge the matter of the king's marriage. This I did not publish in my former work, because

\* Rymer.

the Lord Herbert had published it: but since that history is like to be confined to our own nation, and this may probably go further, I put it in the Collection; and the rather, because the Lord Herbert, taking it from a copy as I do, seems in some doubt concerning it: but probably he had not seen the letter that Wolsey wrote to Gardiner, in which he mentions the pollicitation, that he had in his hands, with several other letters that mention it very frequently. The copy that I publish (Collect. Numb. xv), was taken from a transcript attested by a notary, which is the reason of the oddness of the subscription.

In the mean time Warham called such bishops as were in town to him, and proposed to them the king's scruples; which being weighed by them, a writing was drawn up to this purpose\*; that having heard the grounds of the king's scruples, relating to his marriage, they all made this answer, that the causes which gave the king the present agitation, and disturbance of conscience, were great and weighty; and that it did seem necessary to them all, for him to consult the judgment of their holy father the pope in that matter. This was signed by Warham, Tonstall, Fisher, and the bishops of Carlisle, Ely, St. Asaph, Lincoln, and Bath, on the 1st of July, 1529†. And I incline to think, that this was the paper of which Cavendish, whom I followed too implicitly in my former work, gave a wrong account, as brought out when the legates were sitting on the king's cause. There is no reason to doubt of Fisher's signing this; and Cavendish, who wrote upon memory almost thirty years after, might be mistaken in the story; for the false account that he gives of the battle of Pavia shows how little he is to be depended on. At this time the pope, in a letter to Wolsey, offered to go in person to Spain, or to any place where an interview should be agreed on, to mediate a general peace. This Wolsey wrote over to the king's ambassadors at Rome, on the 19th of December‡; and in the same letter he orders them to offer the guard to the pope in the name of the two kings: and adds, that Turenne should command that part of it which was to have their pay sent from France, and Sir Gregory Cassal that which the king was to pay.

In prosecuting the history of the divorce, I must add a great deal out of some French authors. Bellay, the Sieur de Langey, has writ memoirs of that time with great judgment, and very sincerely. I find also many letters relating to those transactions both in the *Mélanges Historiques*, and in Le Grand's third tome. These I shall follow in the series

\* Rymer.

† Life of Wolsey.

‡ Cotton Libr. Vitell. b. 11.

in which things were transacted, which will be found to give no small confirmation, as well as large additions to what I formerly published in my history. The first of these was much employed in embassies, and was well informed of the affairs of England, both his brothers being at different times employed to negotiate affairs in that court. John in particular, then bishop of Bayonne, afterwards of Paris \*; and Cardinal Le Grand, as Lord Herbert had done before, has given the relation of the answer that the emperor gave by word of mouth, and afterwards in writing, to Clarendieux, when he came with a French king at arms to denounce war in the name of the two kings to the emperor.

Jan. 27, 1528, demand was made of great debts, that the emperor owed the king; among these, the sum forfeited for his not marrying the Princess Mary was one. To that the emperor answered, that before he was married, he required the king to send her to him, which was not done: and by letters that he intercepted, he saw that the king was treating a marriage for her with the king of Scotland, long before the emperor was married. It was farther said to that herald, that a report went current, that the king designed a divorce, and upon that to marry another wife. "The emperor said, he had in his hands ample dispensations for the marriage; nor could the king go on in that design, without striking at the pope's authority; which would give great scandal, and occasion much disturbance, and give the emperor just cause of war. This would show what faith, what religion, what conscience, and what honour the king had before his eyes. He had offered his daughter to him in marriage, and was now going to get her declared a bastard; he ascribed all this to the ill offices done by the cardinal of York, who was pushed on by his ambition and avarice, because he would not order his army in Italy to force the electing him to the popedom; which, he said, both the king and the cardinal desired of him in letters that they wrote to him on that occasion: and, because he had not in that satisfied his pride, he had boasted that he would so embroil the emperor's affairs, though England should be ruined by it, that he should repent his using him so." This seems to be much aggravated; for it may be easily supposed, that the king and Wolsey might, in the letters that they wrote to the emperor at the last conclave, desire him to order his troops to draw near Rome, to keep all quiet, till, if he was chosen, he might get thither. Yet it is not probable, that they could desire so barefaced a thing as the emperor here fastened on them.

He in that, perhaps, was no truer, than when he said he had in his hands ample dispensations for the king's marriage; though it appears these were forged: for the date of the breve being the same with the bull, both bearing date the 26th of December, 1503, it was plainly false. For Rymer has printed one attestation from Rome, that the year in the breves begins on Christmas-day; so if it had been a true piece, it must have had the date of 1504. He has likewise published an authentic attestation, signed by the cardinal chamberlain, that in the register of the breves there was none to be found relating to the king's dispensation for his marriage, but one dated the 6th of July 1504, and another the 22d of February 1505.

The bishop of Bayonne\* made a bold proposition to Wolsey (Jan. 2, 1528): he thought it might be a proper method to engage the pope to depose the emperor for such enormous felony as he had committed against him; which would secure that see from all such attempts for the future. The cardinal, after a little reflection on it, swore to him that he would pursue that thought; but, it seems, it was let fall.

When Gardiner and Fox were sent to Rome, they passed through France, with letters from Wolsey to Montmorency for his assisting them †. It seems the people were expressing their uneasiness upon these steps made in order to the divorce; of which the bishop of Bayonne wrote to the court of France (May 24); which was, upon his letters, so talked of at Paris, that Wolsey reprimanded him for it; though in his own excuse he writes, that the bishop of Bath had said it more openly than he had written it.

On the 8th of June, it seems ‡, matters went not well at Rome; for Wolsey complained to the bishop of Bayonne of the pope, for not doing them justice; who had served him so well, both before his advancement, and ever since. They also apprehended, that Campegio, then named to come over as legate, who was subject to the gout, would by that pretence manage matters so as to keep them long in suspense.

At that time the sweating-sickness raged so, that the court was in dread of it §. It broke out in the legate's house, June 30; some died of it: he upon that stole away privately, without giving notice whither he went. The king made his last will, and received all the sacraments: he confessed himself every day, and received the sacrament every holy-day. The queen did the same; and so did Wolsey.

In another letter, without date ||, Bayonne gives an ac-

\* Le Grand, p. 64.

§ Ibid. p. 148.

† Ibid. p. 102.

|| Ibid. p. 164.

‡ Ibid. p. 129.

count of a free conference he had with Wolsey; who told him, "he had done many things against the opinion of all England: upon which, many took occasion to reproach him, as being wholly French; so he must proceed warily: the French would feel their loss, if his credit were lessened; therefore it was necessary that the bishop should make the king and his council here apprehend, that this alliance was not to their prejudice. The king had of late (as Bayonne had from good hands) said some terrible words to the cardinal, apprehending that he was cold in his matter. Wolsey said to him, that if God gave him the grace once to see the hatred of the two nations extinguished, and a firm friendship settled between the two kings; and that he could get the laws and customs of the nation a little changed, the succession secured, and, upon the king's second marriage, an heir male born, he would immediately retire, and serve God all the rest of his life." Here were many things to be done before his retirement: yet the bishop did believe he indeed intended, upon the first good occasion, to retire from all affairs; for he could not but see, that his credit must lessen upon the king's second marriage. He was also making haste to furnish his episcopal palaces, and to finish his colleges; and he seemed to him to prepare for a storm. Gardiner was at this time advancing the king's business all that was possible at Rome. I did, in my second volume \*, publish among the records a letter of his that was written in April after his coming to Rome. The substance of it is, "He had acquainted the pope with the secret message that the princes of Germany had sent the king, to see if that would work on his fears; for he says, the pope was a man of such a nature, that he is never resolved in any thing, but as he is compelled by some violent affection. He assures the king the pope will do nothing that may offend the emperor; nor was it reasonable for him to do it, except he would remove his see to some other place: for while he was at Rome he was in the emperor's power. By his words and manner, the pope seemed to favour the king; but he was confident he would do nothing. He believed if the cause were determined by the legates, they at Rome would be glad of it: and if the emperor should begin a suit against that, they would serve him as they now did the king, and drive off the time by delays: so he put the king on getting Campegio to judge for him, which should be a short work; and he assures him nothing was to be expected from Rome but delays. They had put the king's cause, if it should be brought to Rome, in the

\* Vol. ii, Coll. Rec. No. xxvi, p. 354.

hands of two advocates (the same that pleaded for the king afterwards in the excusatory plea). The pope would hear no disputation about his power of dispensing; but, so the pope did not decide upon that ground, he would not care whether the king's cause were decided upon it, or not: and he believed the pope was resolved to meddle no more in the king's matter, but to leave it with the legates. He desired his letter might not be showed to either of the legates. With that bearer he sent over the pope's promise, in which he had got some words to be put, that he thought favoured the king's cause, as much, and more, than if the decretal commission, that was in Campegio's hands, should be showed; so he thought the pope ought to be no more moved in that matter." The words he mentions are, *cum nos justitiam ejus causæ perpendentes; we considering the justice of his cause.* These are in the promise, or pollicitation, which I do now publish, and they prove this to be a true copy, since we have an authentic proof of the very words that seemed the greatest ground to doubt of its truth.

About a fortnight after this, Gardiner wrote another letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection (No. xv). A motion was then made at Rome for recalling the powers sent to the legates; but he did not think it was made in earnest, but only to stop the ambassadors in their other suits. The pope told them, that the emperor had advertised him that the queen would do nothing in the matter but as the king should command her; therefore he would look after the cause the more earnestly. This the pope seemed to tell them, that they should not inquire who was the queen's proctor. The ambassadors were amazed to see by Campegio's letters that were showed them, that neither he, nor Campanus, had made any promise in the pope's name to the king, but only in general terms: considering that they had mentioned the plenitude of the pope's power, which they trusted he would use in that cause. He writes he did not succeed in that which he was ordered to move, which he did indeed apprehend could not be obtained: he lays the blame on the pope, or some other, but it became not him to fasten that on any (perhaps this pointed at Wolsey); the rest relates to the bulls, probably demanded by the cardinal for his colleges: this was dated the 4th of May; he had a letter writ to him a month before this, by Anne Boleyn, in which she expresses a great sense of the service he was doing her: it seems by it, that, at his first coming to Rome, he had great hopes of success, but these were then much abated.

At this time King Henry was writing every day letters full of passion to that lady. Some way or other, they fell

into the hands of those who carried them to Rome, where they lie in the library of the Vatican. I saw them there, and knew King Henry's hand too well, not to be convinced at first sight that they were writ by him. I did not think it fit for me, to copy them out, but I prevailed with my worthy friend Dr. Fall to do it for me. They were very ill writ, the hand is scarce legible, and the French seems faulty: but since our travellers are encouraged to look on them, I gave a copy of them to the printer, to be printed apart; for I could not think it proper to put them in the Collection. Objections lay in my way, even as to this; they were trifling letters; some insinuations are not very decent, and little wit occurred in them to season them in any sort; yet they carry the characters of an honourable love, directed all to marriage; and they evidently show that there was nothing amiss, as to the main point, in their commerce. So, since those at Rome make so ill an use of them, as to pretend that they are full of defilement, and in derision call them the true original of our Reformation, all these considerations prevailed on me to suffer them to be printed apart, for I did not think it fitting that such stuff should be mixed with graver matters. So I ordered them to be printed exactly from the copy, and to take no other care about them, but to give them as I had them. But since I mention that lady, I must add some passages out of a relation made by a son of Sir Thomas Wyat's, of his father's concerns, marked on the back by a hand very like Lord Burleigh's\*. He shows how false that story must be, of his father's pretending to King Henry that he had corrupted her. He was then esquire of the body, and did continue still about his person in that post, except when he was employed in embassies abroad. This shows how incredible that fiction of Sanders was; since, if he had pretended to make any such discovery, he must have fallen either under the king's jealousy, or the queen's power; or, to avoid both, he would have withdrawn himself; and probably he would have been afterwards set up a witness to disgrace her at her trial. That relation adds that she was secretly tried in the Tower. Some of the lords declared that her defence did fully clear her; none of the women that served her were brought to witness the least circumstance against her: and all the evidence upon which she was convicted was kept so secret, that it was never known. This I know is put here out of its place, but the thread of other things led me into it: I shall have occasion to mention this paper again in Queen Mary's reign.

\* Ex M. V. Gul. Petyt.

The bishop of Bayonne writes \*, that even after Campegio came into England, both king and queen did eat at one table, and lodged in one bed (Oct. 16). The queen put on so good a countenance, that to see them together one could discern no breach between them; he tells in that letter, that the earl of Angus, who was married to the queen of Scotland, King Henry's sister, was come up, being banished out of Scotland, because the queen had taken another husband, who was a handsomer man than he was (*plus beau compagnon que luy*). In his next letter (Oct. 21) he writes †, that Wolsey said to him, that the general of the Cordeliers, that good prophet, then a cardinal, had capitulated with the pope in the emperor's name, when the pope was set at liberty. That Cordelier Cardinal was then to sail to Spain: he wished the French would set out some vessels to seize on him, and draw from him the particulars of that treaty; for they knew that, in the articles of that treaty, the reason that obstructed the king's matter would appear. Upon this, after some expostulation that the king of France did not help them in it as he might, Wolsey added, that the first project of the divorce was set on foot by himself, to create a perpetual separation between England and the house of Burgundy: and he had told the king's mother at Compiègne, that, if she lived a year to an end, she would see as great a union with them, and as great a disunion from the other, as she could desire, and bid her lay that up in her memory.

In his next he writes ‡, that both the legates had been with the king and queen. In Campegio's speech to the king, he set forth his merits upon the apostolic see with great pomp. Fox answered him decently in the king's name: the queen answered them more roundly: she spoke with respect to Campegio, but said §, "she thanked the cardinal of York for the trouble she was put to: she had always wondered at his pride and vain-glory; she abhorred his voluptuous life and abominable lewdness, and little regarded his power and tyranny: all this rose from his malice to her nephew, the emperor, whom he hated worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy his ambition, and make him pope. She blamed him both for the war in which the king was engaged, and for the trouble he put her to by this new-found doubt." The cardinal blushed, and seemed confounded: he said, "he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt; and that it was sore against his will that the marriage was brought into question; but since the pope had deputed him as a

\* Le Grand, p. 169.

‡ Ibid. p. 188.

† Ibid. p. 175.

§ Vitellus, B. 12.

judge to hear the cause, he swore upon his profession he would hear it indifferently."

On the 1st of November the bishop writes\*, that the queen had chosen for her council the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Bath, Rochester, Ely, and Exeter, with the dean of the chapel: but of these, the bishops of London and Rochester, and the dean of the chapel, were the only persons that, in their opinion, were of the queen's side. She expected an advocate, a proctor, and a counsellor from Flanders. It was not allowed her to bring any over from Spain; for there was then war between England and Spain, but the Netherlands had a neutrality granted them. "The bishop reckoned that the marriage must be condemned; for, though the pope and all the cardinals had approved it, they could not maintain it, if it was proved, as he was told it would be, that her former marriage was consummated; for, in that case, God himself had determined the matter."

On the 8th of November he writes †, "that Wolsey had asked him if he could say nothing to invalidate the pope's dispensation, and to prove the marriage unlawful, so that the pope could not dispense in that case; since nothing could unite the two kings so entirely, as the carrying on the divorce must do: he heard he was a great divine, so he prayed him to speak his mind freely. The bishop excused himself; but being very earnestly pressed, he put his thoughts in writing, referring for these to his last letter: he sent over a copy of it to Montmorency, and desired he would show it to the bishop of Bourges, who would explain it to him. Wolsey desired that the king's mother would write earnestly to Campegio in favour of the king's cause. The bishop makes great excuses for giving his opinion in the matter: he did not sign it; and he gave it only as a private person, and not as an ambassador.

On the 27th of November the bishop writes ‡, that he had been with Campegio, and had talked of the pope's dispensation. Campegio would not bear to have the pope's power brought into debate: he thought his power had no limits, and so was unwilling to let that be touched; but he was willing to hear it proved that the dispensation was ill founded. He gives in that letter a relation of the king's sending for the lord mayor of London to give the citizens an account of the scruples he had concerning his marriage: and he writes, that he had said the bishop of Tarbe was the first

\* Le Grand, p. 192.

† Ibid. p. 197.

‡ Ibid. p. 209.

person that made him entertain them ; nor does the bishop of Bayonne pretend to call the truth of that in question.

The same bishop, in his letter of the 9th of December, writes \*, “ That Anne Boleyn was then come to court, and was more waited on than the queen had been for some years : by this they prepared all people for what was to follow. The people were uneasy, and seemed disposed to revolt. It was resolved to send all the strangers out of the kingdom ; and it was reckoned there were above fifteen thousand Flemings in London. So the driving all these away would not be easily brought about : care was taken to search for arms, and to keep all quiet. Wolsey, in a great company, above a hundred persons of quality being present, reported, that the emperor had said he would drive the king out of his kingdom by his own subjects : one only of all that company expressed an indignation at it. The advocates that the queen expected from Flanders were come, but had not yet their audience.”

In one of the 20th of December the bishop writes †, “ that the king had showed him what presumptions there were of the forgery of the breve, that they pretended was in Spain ; and upon that he went through the whole matter so copiously with him, that he saw he understood it well, and indeed needed no advocate : he desired that some opinions of learned men in France might be got, and be signed by them, if it could be obtained.

By the letter of the 25th of December ‡, it appears there was an argument of more weight laid before Campegio ; for he was offered Duresme instead of Salisbury. He said to them who offered it, that the pope was about to give him a bishopric of that value in Spain ; but the emperor would not consent to it. The lawyers that came from the Netherlands had an audience of the king, in which they took great liberties : for they said to him, they wondered to see him forsake his ancient friends, and to unite himself to his mortal enemies. They were answered very sharply. They applied themselves to Campegio with respect, but neglected Wolsey ; and after that they had lodged such advices as were sent by them with the queen, they returned home.

On the 25th of January the bishop of Bayonne writes §, “ that the court, apprehending the pope was changing his measures with relation to the king’s affair, had sent Gardiner to Rome, to let the pope know, that, if he did not order

\* Le Grand. p. 230.

† Le Grand, p. 259.

‡ Le Grand, p. 245.

§ Le Grand, p. 295.

Campegio to proceed in the divorce, the king would withdraw himself from his obedience : he perceived Wolsey was in great fear ; for he saw, that if the thing was not done, the blame would be cast wholly on him, and there it would end. Sir Thomas Cheyney had some way offended him, and was for that dismissed the court ; but by Anne Boleyn's means he was brought back ; and she had upon that occasion sent Wolsey a severe message. The bishop had, in a letter\* sent him from Paris a list of the college of the cardinals, by which they reckoned fifteen of them were imperialists ; and Campegio is reckoned among these : eighteen were of the contrary party ; three had not declared themselves, but might be gained to either side ; and six were absent. This canvassing was occasioned by the pope's sickness, and it was writ as news from France, that an Englishman, passing through, and going to Spain, had reported with joy that there would be no divorce : that Campegio served the pope well ; that this was very acceptable to all the great men of England ; and that the blame of all was laid on Wolsey, whose credit with the king was sinking . that he was not at the feast of St. George, for which the king had chid him severely, he being the chancellor of the order.

In a letter of the 22d of May he writes †, “ that Wolsey was extremely uneasy. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and others, made the king believe that he did not advance his affair so much as he could : he wishes that the king of France and his mother would make the duke of Suffolk desist ; for he did not believe that he or the other duke could be able to manage the king as Wolsey had done. They at court were alarmed at the last news from Rome ; for the pope seemed inclined to recall the commission : upon which Benet was sent thither, to use either promises or threatenings, as he should see cause. They pressed the pope to declare the breve from Spain null ; but he refused to do it.” He adds, “ that in the breve lay one of the most important points of the whole matter” (probably that was, that the consummation of the former marriage was expressly affirmed in it). “ Wolsey had pressed the bishop very earnestly, to move his master to concur zealously to promote the king's cause ; upon which he pressed on Montmorency, that the king of France should send one to the pope, to let him know that he believed the king's cause was just, and that both kingdoms would withdraw from his obedience, if justice was denied on this occasion. To this were to be added, all sorts of promises when it should be done ; which Wolsey

\* P. 210.

† P. 313.

protested, such was his love to the king, he would value much more than if they made him pope. The point then to be insisted on, was to hinder the recalling the commission."

By letters of the 30th of June it appears \*, that Gardiner was returned from Rome, with the proofs of the breve's being a forgery. Campegio was then forced to delay the matter no longer. The bishop of Bayonne had pressed Campegio to it by authority from the court of France. On the 13th of July, Cassali wrote from Rome, that the pope had recalled the king's cause, at the emperor's suit.

But I come now to give an account of the proceedings of the two legates; in which I must correct the errors of all the writers of that time, whom I had too implicitly followed. I go upon sure grounds; for I have before me the original register of their proceedings, made up with such exactness, that, at the end, the register and clerk of the court do not only attest it with their hands and marks, but reckon up the number of the leaves, with the interlinings that are in every page; and every leaf is likewise signed by the clerk, all in parchment. This noble record was lent me, by my reverend and learned brother, Dr. More, bishop of Ely, who has gathered together a most invaluable treasure, both of printed books and manuscripts, beyond what one can think that the life and labour of one man could have compassed, and which he is as ready to communicate as he has been careful to collect it.

The legates sat in a room called the Parliament Chamber, near the church of the Black Friars. Their first session was on the 31st of May. The bishop of Lincoln presented to them the bull, by which the pope empowered them to try and judge the cause concerning the king and queen's marriage, whether it was good or not, and whether the issue by it was legitimate or not. The legates, after the reading of the bull, took it into their hands, and saw it was a true and untouched bull, so they took upon them to execute it: and they ordered the king and queen to be cited to appear before them on the 18th of June, and appointed that the bishop of Lincoln should cite the king, and the bishop of Bath and Wells the queen.

On the 18th, the form of the citation was brought before them, in which the bull was inserted at full length, and the two bishops certified, that they had served the citation both on the king and queen on the 15th; and Sampson, dean of the chapel, and Dr. Bell, appeared with a proxy from the king in due form; but the queen appeared personally, and

\* P. 333.

read an instrument, by which she declined the legates, as not competent judges, and adhered to an appeal she had made to the pope: upon reading this she withdrew, and though she was required to return, she had no regard to it. Upon which they pronounced her contumacious; and, on the 21st of June, they ordered the bishop of Bath and Wells to serve her with a monition and a peremptory citation, certifying, that if she did not appear, they would proceed in the cause. And on the 25th of June the bishop certified upon oath, that he had served the citation, but that the queen adhered to her protestation; so she was again judged contumacious: and as she never came more into the court, so the king was never in it. And from this it is clear, that the speeches that the historians have made for them are all plain falsities.

The next step made was, that the legates exhibited twelve articles, setting forth the whole progress of the queen's first and second marriage, and of the dispensations obtained from Rome, all grounded upon public fame; and the queen was ordered to be cited again on the 28th of June. The bishop certified upon oath, that he had served the queen with the citation; but she not appearing, was again judged contumacious, and witnesses were sworn to prove the articles. The king's answer to the articles was laid before them, in which, by his answer to the seventh, it appeared that he was married to the queen by virtue of a papal dispensation.

On the 5th of July, the king's proctors brought the bull of Pope Julius, dispensing with the impediments in the marriage, as likewise the copy of the breve, of which the original was in Spain, but attested very solemnly from thence. The legates ordered more witnesses to be sworn on the 9th of July. In another session, additional articles were offered; in which it was set forth, that impediments lay against the marriage, as being prohibited both by the divine and the ecclesiastical laws; so that it could not be maintained by the dispensations, and that they were of no force, but were null and void. Then they set forth all the objections formerly made against the bull; by which it appeared, that the pope was surprised by the false suggestions made to him, on which he had granted it; and in particular, that there was no war, nor appearance of war, between England and Spain at that time. They did also set forth the presumptions, on which they concluded that the breve was not a genuine, but a forged piece. On the 12th of July, commission was given to examine the witnesses. On the 14th, additional articles were brought in; and on the 16th of July, the king's proctors

were required to bring all instruments whatsoever, relating to the articles, before the legates; and another commission was given, to examine some absent witnesses.

On the 19th of July, publication was made of the depositions of the witnesses: by which it appears, that Warham in his examination said, he referred the matter of the lawfulness of the king's marriage to divines; but that he himself believed, that it was contrary both to the laws of God, and to the ecclesiastical laws; and that otherwise there was no need of a dispensation from the pope. He confesses there were great murmurings against the marriage; for nothing of that sort had ever been heard of in this kingdom before; and that he himself murmured against it, and thought it detestable and unnatural; and that he had expostulated with the bishop of Winchester for his advising it; but he acquiesced when the pope's dispensation was obtained. The bishop of Ely deposed, that he doubted concerning the consummation of the queen's marriage with Prince Arthur; for the queen had often, upon her conscience, denied it to him: yet many witnesses were brought to prove the consummation, some, because the prince and the queen constantly lodged in the same bed, and that Prince Arthur continued in a state of good health till the beginning of Lent: some inferred it from what they themselves had done when they were of his age. Some swore to words that he spake next morning after his marriage, not decent enough to be repeated. Other witnesses were brought to prove, that there was no war between England and Spain when the dispensation was granted; but that a free intercourse had been kept up between these nations for many years. It was likewise proved, that the matter set forth in the preamble of the bull was false, and that the breve was a forgery. On the 21st, the protestation the king had made, that he did not intend to marry the queen, was read and proved. With that the king's counsel closed their evidence, and demanded a final sentence; so the 23d of July was assigned for concluding the cause.

On that day, the king's proctor moved, that judgment should be given; but Cardinal Campegio did affirm, on the faith of a true prelate, that the harvest vacation was then begun in Rome, and that they were bound to follow the practice of the consistory: so he adjourned the court to the 28th of September.

At the end of every session, some of the men of quality then present are named; and at this time the duke of Norfolk and the bishop of Ely are only named, which seems to contradict what is commonly reported of the duke of Suffolk's being there, and of what passed between him and

Cardinal Wolsey. This record is attested by Clayberg the register, and Watkins the clerk of the court. And four years after that, on the 1st of October, anno 1533, it is also attested by Dr. Wootton; which he says he does, being required to attest it by Clayberg and Watkins. How this came to be desired, or done at that time, is that of which I can give no other account, but that this is affixed to the register. By this extract that I have made of this great record it appears, that Campegio carried on this cause with such a trifling slowness, that if the king had not thought he was sure of him, he could never have suffered such delays to be made; by which the cardinal had a colour from the vacation, then begun in the consistory in Rome, to put off the cause, on the day in which a present sentence was expected. It is very natural to think, that, as the king was much surprised, so he was offended out of measure, when he found he was treated with so much scorn and falsehood.

On the 23d of August a sad embroilment happened upon the duke of Suffolk's returning from France\*. Wolsey complained to the king that he had done him ill offices at that court. Suffolk denied it; the cardinal said he knew it by the bishop of Bayonne: upon which Suffolk came and challenged him. The bishop denied he had said it. Suffolk confessed, indeed, he had said some things to his disadvantage; but the bishop prayed him that the matter might be carried no farther. Yet he offered to deny, in Wolsey's presence, that which was charged on him. But he saw the duke of Suffolk intended to oblige him to deny it in the king's presence. The bishop, apprehending the ill effects this might have, resolved to keep out of the king's way for some time, and he hoped to avoid the being further questioned in the matter: he found both the king and Wolsey desired that he might make a journey to Paris, to get the opinions of the learned men in the king's cause. He would not undertake it, till he knew whether the king of France approved of it or not: he desired an answer might be quickly sent him; adding, that if it was not agreed to by France, it would increase the jealousies the king had of that court. He saw they designed to hold a parliament in England, and they hoped by that to make the pope feel the effects of his injustice.

By the bishop's letter of the 18th of September †, it appears that Campegio, having got his revocation, "resolved to go to court, that he might have his audience of leave; where it was thought best to dismiss him civilly: in the meanwhile,

\* P. 136.

† P. 354.

Wolsey, who seemed full of fear, pressed the bishop to get the matter to be examined by the divines : and though he disguised his fears, yet he could not quite cover them. Some had left him whom he had raised : probably this was Gardiner ; for he united himself to the duke of Norfolk in all things. The bishop of Bayonne desired leave to go over, on the pretence of his father's old age and weakness, but really to know the sense of the French divines ; and also desired that his brother, William de Bellay, might be sent to the court of England during his absence.

On the 4th of October he writes \*, “ that he saw the parliament was set to ruin Wolsey. Campegio was well treated by the king, and had good presents at parting ; and the king desired that they would use him well, as he passed through France ; and particularly that they would suffer him to resign an abbey he had there in favour of his son. He was stopped at Dover ; for it was suspected that he was carrying over Wolsey's treasure.”

On the 17th of October he describes the cardinal's fall † : “ the bishop thought it was the greatest example of fortune that could be seen : both heart and voice failed him ; he wept, and prayed that the king of France and his mother would pity him, if they found that he had been true in all that he had promised to them. His visage was quite altered ; and the disgrace was so sudden and heavy, that even his enemies pitied him. The bishop saw he would be hotly pursued, and that nothing but intercessions from France could save him : he did not pretend to continue either legate or chancellor ; he seemed ready to quit all to his shirt, so he might recover the king's favour again. He was capable of no comfort. He proposed, that the French king and his mother should write to the king to this purpose : that they heard of his disgrace, and of the design to ruin him ; that they prayed him not to proceed too suddenly : he had been a good instrument between them ; if there was just cause for it, his power might be lessened ; but that they prayed the king would not carry things to extremity. The bishop lays this before Montmorency, without presuming to give advice in it ; only he thought this could do no hurt. Whatsoever was done, must seem to be of their own motion, and not as coming from a desire of the cardinal ; for that would precipitate his ruin. It seems he had received great presents from the king's mother, of which he hoped she would say nothing that might hurt him. It was intended, as he thought, on his ruin, to destroy the state of the church, and seize on

\* P. 364.

† P. 370.

their lands, which had been openly talked at some tables. If the king of France intended to interpose in his favour, no time was to be lost. Anne Boleyn, as it was believed, had got a promise of the king, that he would not admit him to a private audience, lest that might beget some pity in him."

On the 22d of October, he wrote\*, "that all his goods were seized on, and that his spirit was quite sunk. It was not known who should have the great seal; it was believed it would no more be put into a priest's hands; but he saw Gardiner was like to have a great share in affairs†. The cardinal's goods that were seized on were valued at 500,000 crowns. More, who had been chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was made lord chancellor. The see of York was to be left in his hands; and some of his goods were to be sent back to him. The bishop did apprehend, that if the new ministry did not agree, which he believed they would not do long, he might be brought back to court again."

I have given the relation of this great transaction more particularly than was perhaps necessary; but finding so clear a thread in those letters, I thought it not improper to follow them closely; the rather, to show, that none of the papers that Mr. Le Grand has published, do in the least contradict, but rather establish all that I had written: and so punctual a relation being laid before me, by those who bore no good will to me, nor to my work, seemed an invitation to me to enlarge further than perhaps was necessary. I will end therefore all that relates to Cardinal Wolsey at once.

Upon his going to York, he behaved himself much better than he had done in the former parts of his life. In a book that was printed in the year 1536, entitled A Remedy for Sedition, writ by one that was no friend to popery, this character is given of the last part of Wolsey's life:—"None was better beloved than he, after he had been there awhile. He gave bishops a good example, how they might win men's hearts. There were few holy days but he would ride five or six miles from his house; now to this parish church, now to that; and there cause one of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people: he sat among them, and said mass before all the parish. He saw why churches were made, and began to restore them to their right and proper use. If our bishops had done so, we should have seen, that preaching the gospel is not the cause of sedition, but rather lack of preaching it. He brought his dinner with him, and bade divers of the parish to it. He inquired if there was any debate or grudge between any of them; if there were, after

\* P. 377.

† P. 379.

dinner he sent for the parties to the church, and made them all one."

I had, in my work, mentioned the concluding character that I found Cavendish gave of him, that was left out in the printed editions; which made me vouch the manuscript, from which I had it: but the last edition agreeing with that copy, I need say no more to justify my quotation, for it will be found in it.

It may seem strange, that when the bishop of Bayonne first suggested to Wolsey, that if the king's marriage was against the law of God, the pope's dispensation could be of no force, yet no inferences were made from this. All our writers give Cranmer the honour of having started that first; and they make that the foundation of his advancement. I can see no other way to reconcile all this, but that it may be supposed Wolsey, as true to the interests of the papacy, was unwilling to let it be moved in public; and that he kept this between the bishop of Bayonne and himself, without communicating it to the king. Now the cause was called away to Rome, and so a new process followed with a very slow progress: delays upon delays were granted, and yet all was precipitated in conclusion.

In the meanwhile, the king sent his questions to the faculties of law and divinity, in the several universities of Europe: and understanding that Martin de Bellay, the elder brother of the bishop of Bayonne, distinguished by the title of Sieur de Langey, had great credit in the universities, both in France, Italy, and Germany, he engaged him to procure their opinions upon the point of the unlawfulness of his marriage: who, in the view of this service, prevailed with the king to lend the king of France 150,000 crowns, being to be advanced as a part of the two millions, that he was to pay for the redemption of his son; which was to be repaid to King Henry in five years. Besides, he assigned over to him the forfeiture due by the emperor, for not marrying his daughter\*: and he sent, in a present to his godson Henry, afterwards king of France, a jewel, with some of that which was believed to be the true cross, that had been left in pawn with the king, by Philip, Charles's father, for 50,000 crowns: so ready was the king to engage the king of France into his interest at no small charge to himself.

I come next to open the transactions in the convocation that was summoned to meet on the 5th of November, 1529, two days after the opening of the parliament. At their first meeting, a reformation of abuses was proposed; and with

\* Mart. de Bellage's Memoires, p. 282.

that an inquiry was made concerning heretical books. A committee of bishops was appointed with relation to heretics. On the 19th of December secrecy was enjoined, and that was again a second time enjoined under the pain of excommunication: then the prolocutor came up, and had secret conference with the upper house. They remitted to the king the loan that they had made him; and they put an end to that work on Christmas-eve, a week after the parliament was risen.

The bishops were much offended at the translations of the the New Testament by Tindall, Joyce, and others (May 24); and proceeded severely against those who read them: yet it was not easy to put a stop to the curiosity and zeal of the people. The king came to the star-chamber, and conferred with the bishops and other learned men on this subject: the bishops said, these translations were not true, and complained of the prologues set before them. So the king commanded by a proclamation, issued and printed in June, 1530, that these translations should be called in, and promised that a new one should be made. On this occasion it is not unfit to mention what Doctor Fulk writes that he heard Miles Coverdale say, in a sermon he preached at Paul's Cross. After he had finished his translation some censured it; upon which King Henry ordered divers bishops to peruse it: after they had it long in their hands he asked their judgment of it; they said, there were many faults in it: but he asked upon that, if there were any heresies in it; they said they found none: then said the king, In God's name, let it go abroad among my people. The time is not marked when this was said, therefore I insert it here: for in the beginning of the following year, the king ordered a bible of the largest volume to be had in every church, but it does not appear to me by whom it was translated.

On the 19th of September, 1530, another proclamation was made against all who should purchase any thing from the court of Rome, contrary to the king's prerogative, or to hinder his intended purposes. The convocation was again brought together, about the 7th of January; their greatest business was to purchase their pardon: for, as the cardinal had fallen under a *premunire* by the act of the sixteenth of Richard the Third: so they were generally involved, more or less, in the same guilt: the sum was soon agreed to, with the consent of the lower house; £100,000 was to be their ransom.

On the 7th of February some of the king's counsellors and judges came and conferred with them about some words that were proposed to be put into the preamble of the bill of sub-

sidy, which were these, "The king, who is the protector, and the only supreme head of the church and clergy of England." Upon this the prolocutor and clergy were called up to confer about it: the lord chief justice, with others, came into the convocation, and conferred with the archbishop and his brethren: the next day the prolocutor desired a further time, and the archbishop assigned them one o'clock: then the archbishop had some discourse with them concerning the king's pardon. Some of the judges came and communicated to them a copy of the exceptions in the act of grace: this was in the twenty-third session: in the twenty-fourth session there was yet further talk about the king's supremacy.

The judges came and asked them whether they were agreed upon the exceptions; and added, that the king would admit of no qualifications: when these were gone, the prolocutor came up and asked yet more time; the archbishop appointed two o'clock the same day: a long debate followed. The next day the archbishop had a secret conference with the bishops, and Cromwell came and had some discourse with him; when he went away, the bishops resolved to send the bishops of Lincoln and Exeter to the king, it seems to soften him; but they came back, and reported that the king would not speak with them. The judges told them, they had no orders to settle the king's pardon till they did agree to the supremacy. They were prorogued till the afternoon, and then there was so great a variety of opinions, that no agreement was like to follow. The Lord Rochford, Anne Boleyn's father, was sent by the king with some expedients; the archbishop directed them to consider of these, and that when they were come to a resolution upon them, that they should send three or four of each house to treat with the king's council, and with the judges; but the king would admit of no treaty, and asked a clear answer. It was put off a day longer, and on the 11th of February the article was thus conceived in Latin\*, *Ecclesia et cleri Anglicani singularem protectorem et unicum et supremum dominum, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput, ipsius Majestatem recognoscimus.* In English thus, *We recognize the King's Majesty to be our only sovereign lord, the singular protector of the church and clergy of England; and, as far as is to be allowed by the law of Christ, likewise our supreme head.*

The form being thus agreed on, the archbishop offered it to the whole body; all were silent: upon which he said, Whosoever is silent seems to consent; to this one answered,

\* Rymer.

Then we are all silent. The meeting was put off till the afternoon; and then, after a long conference, all the upper house agreed to it, none excepted; Fisher is expressly named as present: and in the evening the prolocutor came and signified to the archbishop, that the lower house had also consented to it: and thus the bill of subsidy was prepared, and offered to the king on the 1st of April. Thus this matter was carried, by adding this limitation, which all parties understood according to their different notions.

Though these words of limitation had not been added, the nature of things required that they should have been supposed; since, among Christians, all authority must be understood to be limited by the laws that Christ has given: but those who adhered to their former notions, understood this headship to be only a temporal authority, even in ecclesiastical matters; and they thought that, by the laws of Christ, the secular authority ought not to meddle in ecclesiastical matters; whereas others of the new learning, as it was then called, thought that the magistrate had a full authority, even in ecclesiastical matters; but that the administration of this was so limited to the laws of the gospel, that it did not warrant him to command any thing, but what was conform to these. So that these words were equivocal, and differently understood by those who subscribed, and afterwards swore them.

It seems the king thought it was of great advantage to him to have this matter settled with any limitation; for that in time would be dropped and forgotten, as indeed it was: this, no doubt, was intended to terrify the court of Rome; since it was published over all Europe, that it went unanimously in the convocation of this province.

Tonstall was now translated to Duresme; and being a man of great probity, he could not approve of a thing in which he saw a fraudulent management, and an ill design; so he protested against it: he acknowledged the king's headship in temporal matters, but did not allow it in spirituals: but the king, who had a particular friendship for him, wrote him a letter, which, from the printed title to it, I too hastily thought was directed to the convocation at York; but it was writ only to Tonstall; and it seems it so far satisfied him, that he took the oath afterwards, without any limitation.

I shall now go through the rest of the abstract of that convocation, by which it will appear what was the spirit that prevailed among them. In the forty-ninth session, after all had agreed to the preamble of the bill of subsidy, the bishop of London laid before them a libel against the clergy: in the next session, Crome, Latimer, and Bilney, were examined

upon some articles : it does not appear whether libel was laid to their charge, or not ; only their examination following the other motion so soon gives ground to apprehend that it might be the matter under examination. In the fifty-fifth session, the king's pardon was read to them ; and it seems, exceptions being taken to some things in it, in the fifty-eighth session, the emendations that the king's council had made were read to them, in which it seems they acquiesced, for we hear no more of it.

After that there was a long conference with relation to Crome's errors ; but the matter was referred to the prolocutor and the clergy. The prolocutor had, in the forty-fifth session, complained of Tracy's Testament, but, no answer being made, he renewed his complaint in the sixty-second session, and desired that it might be condemned, and that Crome should be proceeded against ; as also that Bilney and Latimer might be cited : but, for some reasons not expressed, the archbishop thought fit to delay it. In the sixty-fourth session the prolocutor repeated his motion for condemning Tracy's Testament ; so in the sixty-sixth session, on the 23d of March, the archbishop gave judgment against it. Tracy's son was examined about it : he said it was all written in his father's own hand ; and that he had never given a copy of it to any person, except to one only. In the sixty-ninth session, the archbishop examined Lambert (alias Nicolson, who was afterwards burnt) before two notaries ; and in the seventieth session, the sentence condemning Tracy's Testament was publicly read ; and, after two other sessions, the convocation was prorogued to October.

It appears from all this, that the convocation was made up of men violently set against our Reformation. But I turn now to another scene. The king, seeing no hope left of succeeding in his suit at the court of Rome, resolved to try the faculties of divinity in the several universities : his chief reliance was upon France ; and on those three brothers formerly mentioned : he began to suspect there was some secret negotiation between the court of Rome and the king of France ; yet, though he opened this to the bishop of Bayonne \*, he did on all other occasions express an entire confidence in that king ; and the new ministry seemed zealous in the interests of France, and studied to remove all the jealousies that they apprehended Wolsey might have given of them.

At this time the bishop of Tarbe, then Cardinal Grandmont, was with the pope, and had a particular charge sent

to him to assist the English ambassadors. He wrote to the French king on the 27th of March \*, “ that he had served Boleyn, then Lord Rochford, all he could ; that he had pressed the pope to show the regard he had for the king of France, as well as to the king of England : he writes, that the pope had three several times said to him in secret, that he wished that the marriage had been already made in England, either by the legate’s dispensation, or otherwise, provided it was not done by him, nor in diminution of his authority, under the pretence of the laws of God. He also wrote that the emperor had pressed the pope to create some new cardinals upon his recommendation ; but that the pope complained, that when he was a prisoner, he had made some cardinals who were a disgrace to the college : the emperor said, he was sorry for it ; but it was not by his order. The pope said, he knew the contrary ; for he saw the instructions sent to the Cardinal Cordelier, signed by the emperor, in which they were named : so the pope refused to give the two caps that he desired.”

There was then an Italian, Joachim Sieur de Veaux †, at the court of England, who was an agent of France : he, in a letter to the king of France, March the 15th, writes ‡, that the king thought, that by his means he might have the opinion of the faculty at Paris, in his cause. On the 4th of April he writes, that the king expected no good from the pope, and seemed resolved to settle his matter at home, with the advice of his council and parliament. He looked on the pope as simoniacal, and as an ignorant man, and not fit to be the universal pastor ; and resolved not to suffer the court of Rome to have any advantage from the benefices in his kingdom, but to govern it by a provincial authority and by a patriarch ; and he hoped other kingdoms would do the same.

After some interval, the bishop of Bayonne’s letters are again continued. In one, of the 29th of December, he writes §, “ That the king was marvellously well pleased with the account his ambassadors wrote to him, of what the divines of Paris had done ; though he understands there is one Beda, a dangerous person, among them. That declaration which their divines had made, was such, that all other things were forgiven, in consideration of it.”

The next letter is from his brother William ; who writes, “ That the good answer that came from the doctors and universities of Italy, made the king wonder that those of Paris were so backward. It was suspected in England,

\* P. 399.

† P. 411.

‡ P. 418.

§ P. 421.

that the king of France, or his counsellors, had not recommended the matter effectually to them. He had a letter from one Gervais, a doctor there, who had much advanced the king's affairs, for which Montmorency had made him great acknowledgments. He showed this letter to King Henry; who, upon that, carried him to his closet where his books lay, and there he entertained him four hours: he told him, he was in such perplexity, that it was not possible for him to live longer in it."

This De Bellay was to go to Paris, to talk with the doctors; therefore he prayed Montmorency, that he might find a letter from the king, empowering him so to do, that so he might not seem to act without his orders; and he promised to manage the matter with discretion.

In a letter that the bishop of Bayonne wrote from Lusignon, on the 13th of April\*, where he was then with the French king, he says, that the matter of the divorce was entirely dispatched at Paris, as it had been before that done at Orleans, by his brother's means. But he adds, some represented to the king, that he had showed too much diligence in procuring it, as if he was serving two masters. Joachim had before that, on the 15th of February, written to the king†, that King Henry thanked him for his commands to the doctors in Paris in his matter, which he laid to heart more than all other things; and desired they would give their opinions in writing, that they might be laid before the pope.

It does not appear that the pope took any other pains to be well informed in the matter, but by consulting Cardinal Cajetan, who was then justly esteemed the learnedest man of the college. He, when he wrote commentaries upon Thomas's Sum‡, though that father of the schoolmen thought, that the laws in Leviticus, concerning the degrees of marriage that are prohibited, were moral, and of eternal obligation; Cajetan, in his commentary, declares himself to be of another mind, but takes a very odd method to prove it: for, instead of any argument to evince it, he goes only on this ground; that they cannot be moral, since the popes dispensed with them; whereas they cannot dispense with a moral law: and for that he gives an instance of the marriage of the king of Portugal; to which he adds, the present queen of England had likewise consummated her marriage with the late brother of the king of England, her husband. By which, as it appears, that they took it then

\* P. 427.

† P. 442.

‡ 2dus 2dæ. Quest. 159, art. 9.

for granted at Rome, that her first marriage with Prince Arthur was consummated, so he departed only from Aquinas's opinion, because the pope's practice of dispensing in such cases could not be justified, unless he had forsaken his master in that particular. And here he offers neither reason nor authority to maintain his opinion, but only the practice of the court of Rome. Which is, in plain words, to say, that what opinion soever is contrary to the practice of the popes, must for that reason be laid aside: for he offers no other argument, but three modern instances, of which this of the queen of England is one, of popes dispensing with those laws. But now, being required by the pope to consider the present case more particularly, he, on the 13th of March this year, gave his opinion in writing to him. Raynaldus has inserted it in his *Annals*. In it, after he had compared the laws in *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy* together, he concludes \*, " That the marrying a brother's wife was simply unlawful; but that in some circumstances it might have been good, if a much greater good should follow on such a marriage than that provided for in *Deuteronomy*, of continuing the name of a brother dead without children. Now he argues, that the reason of a provision made in a private case would be much stronger in a case of a public nature; so that a marriage being made to keep peace between two nations must be held lawful, since a dispensation was obtained for it. This was not only good in itself, but it was warranted by the apostolical authority. He confesses, that the pope cannot in the least alter or derogate from the laws of God, or of nature: but in doubtful cases, he may determine with relation to the laws of God, and of nature. He insists chiefly upon England's being delivered from a war by the marriage. He acknowledges that both councils, popes, and holy doctors, have condemned such marriages, as contrary to the laws of God and of nature; but they do not condemn them, when other circumstances accompany them, when it is not for the good of both parties, and for a common good; and therefore he justifies Pope Julius's dispensation: " who, as the same Raynaldus tells us †, did it with the view of the advantages that Spain and England would have; but chiefly, because it was hoped, that, by this conjunction of force, they would be able to depress the French.

This opinion of so great a man was sent over to King Henry, signed by himself, bearing date the 27th of January,

\* Ad. an. 1520, No. cxiv.

† Ad. an. 1503, No. xxii.

1534\* ; but this date is, perhaps, only the date of his signing that copy. It had not the effect they expected from it ; especially because it was defective in that way of writing that was then the most cried up against heretics. For he brought no authority from any ancients writer to confirm his opinion ; so that he argued from his private way of commenting on scripture, against the streams of tradition ; which was called the heretics' way of writing.

The pope made a new step on the 7th of March ; for he sent a breve to the king, setting forth a complaint made by Queen Catharine, " that King Henry intended to proceed to a second marriage ; he therefore prohibited that, under the pain of the severest censures, threatening to put the whole kingdom under an interdict ; and charged the king, in the solemnest manner, to live with the queen as formerly." This was granted at Boulogne, upon the emperor's pressing instances. This had been attempted before, but was afterwards disowned by the pope. For when the avocation was sent over to England, there was sent with it an inhibition to proceed further in the matter † : threatening censures and punishments in case of disobedience. But complaint being made of this, the pope did by a bull, dated the 5th of October, 1529, declare, that the censures threatened in the inhibition were added against his mind ; so he annuls them, and suspends the cause to the 25th of December.

In a letter that the Cardinal Grandimont wrote to Montmorency ‡, he tells him, that the emperor said he would have the matter of the marriage carried through : if it was judged unlawful, he would not support his aunt ; but if otherwise, he would support her. And when Boleyn once offered to answer him, he stopped him, and said, he was a party, and ought not to speak in the matter. The cardinal told Boleyn, he had orders from the king of France to solicit that matter as if it was his own ; but Boleyn thought it was best to look on for some time, to see how matters went ; for if the pope and the emperor should fall into new quarrels, then they might hope to be better heard.

On the 12th of June, Bellay wrote to the king a long account of his proceedings with the doctors of the Sorbonne § ; by which, it seems, what is formerly mentioned of their giving opinion in the king's favour, was only as private doctors, and not in a body as a faculty. " The young

\* Cott. Libr. Vitell, B. 14.  
; P. 454.

† Rymer, vol. 14.  
; P. 458.

princes of France were yet detained in Spain, so it was necessary to proceed with such caution, as not to irritate the emperor. He had delayed moving it for some days; but the English ambassadors were impatient. He complains, that there were few honest men in the faculty: but, apprehending the inconvenience of delaying the matter any longer, he presented the king's letters to them. The assembly was great; the bishop of Senlis, several abbots and deans, the guardians of the four mendicant orders, and many others were present; so that of a great while there had not been so numerous an assembly. The proposition was made on King Henry's part, with great advantage: an express law in the scripture was quoted; the four great doctors of the church, eight councils, and as many faculties or universities, were of his side; so, in respect to them, the king desired they would determine the matter in the doctrinal way. The emperor, on the other hand, who was likewise the king's ally, opposed the divorce, the queen of England being his aunt; for he thought himself bound to interpose on her account. So the king being pressed by two allies, who both were resolved to be governed by the laws of God and of right reason, laid the whole matter before them, who were now assembled in an extraordinary manner, and enjoined them to recommend themselves to God; and, after a mass of the Holy Ghost, to consider that which was to be laid out to them, without fear or favour; and after full consideration, to determine it as God should inspire their consciences. This was the substance of Bellay's speech. Beda spoke next: he said, they all knew how much the king studied to please the king of England. Many strangers that were of the faculty seemed to applaud this. Bellay replied, there was certainly a great friendship between the two kings: the emperor was likewise the king's ally. But they ought to have God only before their eyes, and to search for the truth. And having said that he withdrew.

"Those who spoke first, thought the king's desire was reasonable: and that, therefore, they ought to examine the matter: this could not be refused, if asked on the behalf of the meanest person. Others said, the faculty was subject to the pope, from whom they had their privileges; and since this question related to his power, they ought not to speak to it till they sent to know his mind; or at least, till they sent to know how the king approved of it, and if he would ask the pope's leave to suffer them to debate about it. Another party moved, that while their letters were dispatched to that purpose, they should proceed to examine the question, but suspend the coming to a final resolution, till an answer was brought them. They said, they thought

that they had their privileges from the king, as well as from the pope; and that it was a reflection on the pope to imagine that he would be offended, if they should examine a case, in which the conscience of a Christian was disquieted; and that even an order from the pope to the contrary ought not to restrain them from examining the matter. Upon these different opinions, the beadle began to gather their votes: whether they ought to proceed to examine the question or not. But one of the doctors rose from his place, and plucked the scroll out of the beadle's hands, and tore it in pieces; and so they all rose up in a tumult, crying out that nothing ought to be done without writing first to the king and to the pope. Thus the meeting broke up in confusion. The English ambassadors were near enough to see and hear all this. They said, they knew this was laid by Beda and his party; Bellay did not then think so, and prevailed with them not to write to England till he tried what might be done. He went to Lizet, the first president of the court of parliament, to whom the king in especial manner had recommended the managing of that affair. Lizet sent for Beda, and other his complices, and prevailed with them to meet again the next day, and to proceed according to the third opinion; which was to discuss the question provisionally, and to seal up their conclusion, and send it to the king; so next morning they met, and appointed to begin the Monday following to examine the question.

“This did not satisfy the English ambassadors; they thought this was only an artifice to gain time; and indeed they had just ground of suspicion from what several of the doctors did openly talk. Bellay therefore desired the king would write to the dean, that he would cut off impertinent digressions, and bring the matter to as speedy a conclusion as was possible; for some said they would make it last a year. Beda did give it out, that he knew that what he did was for the king's service; of this he made no secret. Bellay complaining of this to Lizet, he sent for Beda, and spake so earnestly to him, that he swore very positively, he would be so far from hindering the doctors from obeying the king's commands, that he would employ himself, as if it were for the saving of his life, to get the matter to pass without noise or scandal; but Bellay saw that the president trusted him, so he did acquiesce, though he knew that, by the noise he had already made, he had broken a promise which he had made to Montmorency. The bishop of Senlis was very sensible of the disorder of that body: it appearing that the English ambassadors did suspect the court of France was dealing doubly in the matter; the bishop of Senlis was resolved to go to the king, and to let him see how matters were

managed in that faculty, and to show him the necessity of reforming them."

At this time the duke of Norfolk wrote to Montmorency\*, that they wondered to find the faculty was so much altered, that before this time fifty-six doctors were in their opinion on the king's side, and there were only seven against him; but that in the late congregation thirty-six were against it, and twenty-two only were for it. The king of England had reason upon this to suspect some underhand dealing; therefore he hoped they would so manage the matter as to clear all suspicions.

The next letters of De Bellay † did certainly give the progress of the deliberations of the Sorbonne; but we find nothing of that in Le Grand's collection. It is somewhat strange, and may be liable to suspicion, that, after so close a series of letters concerning that affair, no letter is produced from the 12th of June to the 15th of August: thus we have no account given us of the deliberations of the Sorbonne; and yet it is not to be doubted, but that a very particular relation was written to the court of every step that was made in it. The producing no letters for these two months must leave a very heavy suspicion of unfair dealing somewhere; for the first letter of De Bellay's, that is published by him after that of the 12th of June, is of the 15th of August.

Rymer has published the original decision of the Sorbonne, on the 2d of July, 1530, but he adds *avulso sigillo*; yet after that he publishes an attestation of the notaries of the court of Paris (*Curia Parisiensis*) of the authenticalness of this original decision. The attestation of the notaries, dated the 6th of July ‡, mentions both seal and subscription, free from all blemish, and liable to no suspicion. It is probable this precaution was thought necessary, in case the messenger that was to carry it to England had fallen into the hands of any of the emperor's parties in their way to Calais, who, no doubt, would have destroyed this instrument: but this notorial attestation would have been a full proof of it; for the difficulties in obtaining it might make those who had conducted the matter think it would be no easy thing to procure a new instrument from the Sorbonne itself. How it came that the seal was pulled from the instrument itself, must be left to conjecture: perhaps it was pulled from it in Queen Mary's time.

"Bellay, in his letter of the 15th of August, writes, that he had moved Lizet to send for Beda, and to let him know

\* P. 471.

† P. 473.

‡ Rymer, vol. xiv.

the king's intentions : Beda talked as a fool, he would not say as an ill man ; but the president was possessed with a good opinion of him : the king of France had, at the earl of Wiltshire's desire, ordered an examination to be made of his behaviour ; he had also ordered the president to demand of the beadle an authentic copy of an act that Beda had once signed, but then wished he had not signed it ; but Lizet would not command the beadle to do this till he had the consent of the faculty to give it, though he had an order from the king to require it. So Bellay, having got the king's letter, went to the president and delivered it to him : he promised he would execute it, and get the authentic copy into his hands : towards the evening he went to the president to see what he had done ; he said the beadle told him he could not give it without the consent of the faculty : upon which Bellay said, that might be a rule in case a private person asked it ; but when the prince demanded it, he thought it was no just excuse. The act which was demanded was approved by the faculty, by the dean, and the students, and by all concerned in it : the beadle pretended that it might be said, that he had falsified the act ; Bellay answered, that was the reason why they desired the act ; he was present when it passed, and had minuted it ; but since Beda and his complices repented that they had signed it, and that the minute they had signed was in some places dashed and interlined, they might make new dashings and interlineations, therefore he prayed the president to command the beadle to bring him the minute that he said was conform to the original : for an hour together the president would do no more but desire the beadle to do it ; at last he commanded him, but so mildly, that the beadle did not think fit to obey him : upon which Bellay said to him, if he suffered himself to be so treated, he was unworthy of the character that he bore : this quickened Lizet so, that he commanded the beadle, all excuses set aside, to obey him. The act was brought and read, and he promised to bring him a copy of it by the next morning : the president thought that Bellay had spoken too boldly to him, and he would not let him have it, but sent it directly to the king : Lizet had that esteem for Beda, that he thought him a saint, and he would not believe him capable of the faults that he saw him guilty of, which were such, that Bellay wrote, that if he had been to be charged with them, and had a dozen of heads, he had deserved to lose them all. He writes, that Beda was not the only bad man of the faculty ; he had many companions, who seemed to desire an occasion to provoke the king to do that to them which would make them pass for martyrs among the

people. He had often heard of their wicked designs, under the hypocritical disguise of sincerity, but could not have believed the tenth part of it if he had not seen it."

Next to this we have in Le Grand's Collection \*, the letter that Lizet wrote to Montmorency of the same date, " mentioning that, according to the king's letters to him, he had procured the copy of the act, which the king of England desired: for though the bishop of Bayonne asked it of him, that he might carry it to that king, yet that not being ordered in the king's letters to him, he therefore thought it his duty to send it directly to the king himself: and as touching the examination that the king had ordered to be made of the conduct of that matter, he desired it may be delayed, till he was heard give an account of it; for that information would perhaps be a prejudice, rather than a service, to the king of England. In it he desires to know the king's pleasure, that he might follow it as carefully as was possible."

The bishop of Bayonne gives a further account of this matter: and writes, " that after the assembly of the Sorbonne was dismissed by the dean, and that the bishop of Senlis, with many abbots, and nine or ten, either generals, provincials, guardians, or priors, of the chief convents of the kingdom, and others of great rank and credit were gone, Beda and his accomplices did by their own private authority meet, and study to overturn that which had been settled in so great an assembly. He writes, that this disease was of a long continuance, and was still increasing. This company, pretending they were a capitular congregation, sent an order to the bishop of Senlis, who was gone into his diocese, and had carried the original act of the determination with him, requiring him, under the pain of disobedience, to send it to them. He wrote in answer to them, that he had orders to deliver it to none but to the king; he was resolved to obey the king's orders, and advised them to do the same: upon which, they moved to deprive him as a rebel to the faculty: he was not frightened with this, but wrote to them, that he was bound to obey the faculty as his mother, but to obey the king as his father: yet they resolved to proceed further after the feasts. In this letter he tells what pains his brother had taken to prevent the scandal that such proceedings would give, which were better hindered than punished: but he complains, that those who had authority to restrain such insolences did secretly encourage them." By which it is clear he means Lizet. The date of this letter is printed the 14th of August; but it is more probable it was the 14th of

July, some days after the determination was made : for this matter has no relation to the business of the former letter, that was written by his brother a day after this, if it is the true date.

It is plain from this, that there were two instruments : the one was the act of the determination, which, at the time of the writing this letter, was in the bishop of Senlis's hands ; the other was a minute signed by them all : to which the former letter relates, and that might have had rasures and glosses in it, which are not to be imagined could be in the authentic act ; it seems the English ambassadors desired both.

There is another letter on the 15th of August of the bishop of Bayonne's to Montmorency\* ; in which " he complains, that the faction was going to make a determination contrary to the former ; and had made an order that none of the faculty might sign against the marriage, but left it free for any to sign for it. But that the king had ordered that the determination already made should remain entire. The bishop had pressed the president to obey the king's orders : he had promised him to do it ; but Beda promised the contrary to his party. Bellay feared the king of England would suspect that the king did not act sincerely. He confessed, that, from the appearances of things, he should do so himself, if he had not seen the concern that the king was in upon this occasion. When he pressed Lizet to obey the king's orders, he spoke two or three hours to him in bad Latin (he calls it the Latin of Auvergne), but he could not understand what he meant. He says the beadle pretended there was one little fault in the act, upon which he might be accused of forgery. Upon this the bishop suspected Beda's practice more than he had done, and he had required the president to obey the king's orders, otherwise he would protest if he did not : and he secretly told him, he did say that, to justify them at their hands, whom he saw he was resolved not to offend. The president then promised him the act that night, but then delayed it till next morning at five : when he sent for it, sometimes the gate was not opened, and the key was lost ; sometimes the president was asleep ; and then it was said that he had taken physic, and that the bishop must have patience : but he understood that he had gone out by a back door to the abbey of St. Germain's ; thither he followed him, and asked for the act ; but he said he had sent it to the king. He reckons many other impertinencies that gave a mean character of Lizet."

\* P. 500.

But while this matter was transacted thus at Paris\*, though the university of Angiers had determined against the marriage, yet the faculty of divinity there did, on the 7th of May, 1530, determine, "that it was lawful for a Christian to marry his brother's widow, he dying without children, but having consummated the marriage; that such marriage was not contrary to the laws of God and of nature, and therefore the pope might, upon reasonable grounds, dispense in that case." This was the judgment of the faculty; but that university did, in a body, on that same day, decree the quite contrary†, without any mention of this opinion of the divines; so, it seems, that was kept secret.

Thus I have fully opened all that M. Le Grand has thought fit to publish concerning the divines of France. By the relation given of the proceedings in the Sorbonne, it appears, that in the opinion of the bishop of Bayonne, and his brother, that body was then much corrupted; that a few incendiaries influenced many there, so that it was far from deserving the high character that it had in the world. It is highly probable, they apprehended, that the carrying on the divorce might open a door to let in that which they called heresy into England; which, considering the heat of that time, was enough to bias them in all their deliberations.

I turn next homeward, to give a more particular account of the proceedings both in Cambridge and Oxford. I begin with the former, because it was first ended there; and I have a sure ground to go on. A worthy person found among the manuscripts of Bennet College, a manuscript of Dr. Buckmaster (Collect. No. xvi), then the vice-chancellor; in which there is a very particular relation of that affair. It was procured to that house in Queen Elizabeth's reign, by Dr. Jegon, then head of that house, and was by him given to that college: for there is nothing remaining in the registers of the university relating to it, as that learned person has informed me.

The vice-chancellor was then a fellow of Peterhouse, of which Dr. Edmonds was head, who was then a vicar and prebendary in the diocese and cathedral church of Salisbury. The whole will be found in the Collection (No. xvi). "It begins with a short introductory speech of the vice-chancellor's, upon which he read the king's letter to them. It set forth, that many of the great clerks in Christendom, both within and without the realms, had affirmed in writing, that the marrying the brother's wife, he dying without children, was forbidden both by the law of God, and by the natural

\* P. 507.

+ P. 503.

law : the king therefore, being desirous to have their minds, to whom he had showed a benevolent affection, did not doubt but they would declare the truth, in a case of such importance, both to himself and to the whole kingdom. For this end he sent Gardiner and Fox to inform them particularly of the circumstances of the matter ; and he expected their answer, under the seal of the university. The king's letter is dated the 16th of February.

“ After this was read, the vice-chancellor told them, they saw what the king desired of them. They were men of free and ingenuous tempers ; every one of their consciences would dictate to them what was most expedient. After this follows the form of the grace that was proposed and granted, that the vice-chancellor and ten doctors, and the two proctors, with seventeen masters of arts, should have full authority to determine the question proposed, and to answer it in the name of the whole university. And whatsoever two parts in three of these persons should agree in, that, without any new order, should be returned to the king, as the answer of the university : only the question was to be disputed publicly ; and the determination that they should make was to be read in the hearing of the university.

“ On the 9th of March, at a meeting of the university, the vice-chancellor told them, that the persons deputed by them had with great care and diligence examined the question, and had considered both the passages in the Scriptures, and the opinions of the interpreters ; upon which they had a public disputation, which was well known to them all ; so now, after great labours and all possible industry, they came to the determination then to be read to them. Then follows the determination ; in which they add to the question proposed to them these words, after brother's wife, she being carnally known by her former husband :” so, after above a fortnight's study or practice, this was obtained of them. The vice-chancellor came to Windsor, and on the second Sunday of Lent, after vespers, he delivered it to the king. Of this he gives an account to Dr. Edmonds, in a letter ; in which he tells him, he came to court while Latimer was preaching : the king gave him great thanks for the determination ; and was much pleased with the method in which they had managed it with such quietness. The king praised Latimer's sermon ; and he was ordered to wait on the king the next day. Dr. Butts brought twenty nobles from the king to him, and five marks to the junior proctor that came with him ; scarce enough to bear their charges, and far from the price of corruption : and gave him leave to go where he pleased. But after dinner the king came to a gallery, when Gardiner

and Fox, with the vice-chancellor, Latimer, and the proctor, were, and no more, and talked some hours with them. He was not pleased with Gardiner and Fox, because the other question, Whether the pope had power to dispense with such a marriage? was not likewise determined. But the vice-chancellor said, he believed that could not have been obtained. But the king said, he would have that determined after Easter. It appears by his letter, that there was a great outcry raised against Cambridge for that which they had done. The vice-chancellor was particularly censured for it; and he had lost a benefice that the patron had promised him, but had upon this changed his mind. Those who did not like Latimer were not pleased with his preaching.

He heard those of Oxford had appointed a select number to determine the king's question: and that Fox, when he was there, was in great danger. But a more particular account of the proceedings in that university I take from three of King Henry's letters to them, communicated to me by my learned friend Dr. Kennet; which, since they have not yet been printed, will be found in the Collection (No. xvii).

In the first letter that the king wrote to the university, he sets forth, "that, upon certain considerations moving his conscience, he had already consulted many learned men, both within the kingdom and without it; but he desired to feel the minds of those among them, who were learned in divinity, to see how they agreed with others: therefore he hoped they would sincerely and truly declare their consciences in that matter, and not give credit to misreports. He requires them, as their sovereign lord, to declare their true and just learning in that cause: therefore, in a great variety of expressions, mixing threatenings with promises, if they should not uprightly, according to divine learning, handle themselves, he leaves the declaring the particulars to the bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, to whom they were to give entire credit.

"By the second letter, the king tells them, he understood that a great part of the youth of the university did in a factious manner combine together, in opposition to the wise and learned men of that body, to have a great number of regents and non-regents to be joined in a committee of the doctors, proctors, and bachelors of divinity, for the determination of the king's question: this he believed had not been often seen, that such a number of men of small learning should be joined with so famous a sort, to stay their seniors in so weighty a cause. The king took that in very ill part, since they showed themselves more unkind and wilful than all other universities had done: he hoped they would bring

those young men into better order, otherwise they should feel what it was to provoke him so heinously.

“ By his third letter, he complains that they delayed to send him their determination. He tells them, the university of Cambridge had in a much shorter time agreed upon the manner of sending their answer under their common seal. He would have more easily borne with a delay in making the answer, if they had so far obeyed him as to put the matter in a method. He therefore, being unwilling to proceed to extremities, had sent his counsellor, Fox, to them; hoping that the heads and rulers would consider their duty in granting his request; which was only, that they would search the truth, in a cause that so nearly concerned both himself and his people. And therefore he desired that the numbers of private suffrages might not prevail against their heads, their rulers, and sage fathers; but that they would so try the opinions of the multitude, as the importance of the matter did require. Hoping that their constitution was such, that there were ways left to eschew such inconveniences, when they should happen: as he trusted they would not fail to do, and so to redeem the errors and delays that were past.” In conclusion, the matter was brought into the method set forth in my history.

Here is no threatening them, by reason of any determination they might give; but, on the contrary, all the vehemence in those letters is only with relation to the method of proceeding: and it was certainly a very irregular one, to join a great number of persons, who had not studied divinity, with men of the profession, who could only by a majority carry the point against reason and argument.

Here I shall insert some marginal notes that Dr. Creech wrote in his own book of my history, which is now in my hands. He says, that in the determination of Oxford, they added the words of the brother's wife (*ab eadem carnaliter cognitam*), that the first marriage was consummated; though this was not in the question sent to the university, by their chancellor, Archbishop Warham. He says further, that they mention the king's letter, in which it is written, that an answer was already made by the universities of Paris and Cambridge. This of Paris, though not in the king's letter, might have been written to them by their chancellor; for it has appeared, from the letters published by Le Grand, that though the decision of the Sorbonne was not made till July, yet several months before the doctors of Paris had given their opinions for the divorce. He also writes, that a letter came from their chancellor, Warham, to remove all the masters of arts out of the convocation, as unfit to de-

termine so weighty a question. Warham also, as he says, made the proposal of choosing thirty, to whom the question might be referred. In another place, he quotes the book that was published for the divorce; which affirms, that the determinations of the universities were made without any corruption. The questions were not proposed to all the universities in the same terms: for to some, as to the faculty of the canon-law at Paris, and to those of Angiers and Bourges, the consummation of the marriage is expressly asserted in it. And in the book in which the determinations of the universities are printed, those of the universities in England are not mentioned. These are all the strictures he wrote on this part of my history.

Some more particulars are given us by Rymer (tom. xiv.) concerning the determination of the foreign universities. A copy of that made at Bologna was carried to the governor; upon which five doctors swore before Crook, that they had not carried it to him: and that they had kept no copy of it. This is attested by a notary; and the clerks and notaries swore the same, and that they did not know who carried it. By this, it seems, Crook had engaged them to secrecy; and that the matter coming some way to the governor's knowledge, they took these oaths to assure him, that they had not broken their word to him.

The decree in Padua was made July the 1st, and was attested by the Podesta, and afterwards by the Doge of Venice on the 20th of September; who affirm, that eleven doctors were present; and that the determination was made with the unanimous consent of the whole body. And this is attested by notaries.

But now the scene must be removed to Rome for some time. The pope had ordered a citation to be made of the king to appear before him, to hear his cause judged. The king would not suffer any such citation to be intimated to him: so it was affixed at some churches in Flanders, at Tournay, and Bruges. The king treated this with contempt; while the emperor and his ministers were pressing the pope to proceed to censures. The king of France interposed, to obtain delays; in consideration of whom several delays were granted, and the pope said, if King Henry would proceed no further in the matter of the supremacy, he would yet grant a further delay: and whereas the French king pressed for a delay of four months, the pope said, if the king of England would own him as his judge, he would give not only the time that was asked, but a year or more.

Here I shall give an account of a long letter that the king wrote to the pope; there is no date put to it in the copy from

which I took it, but the substance of it makes me conclude, it was writ about this time. It will be found in the Collection (No. xviii).

\* " In it he complains that no regard was had, neither to his just desires, nor to the intercession of the Most Christian King: that the prayers of his nobility were not only despised, but laughed at. All this was far contrary to what he expected; and was indeed so strange, that he could scarce think the pope was capable of doing such things, as he certainly knew he was doing. The pope, against what all men thought just, refused to send judges to come to the place where the cause lay. The holy councils of old had decreed, that all causes should be determined there where they had their beginning: for this he quotes St. Cyprian among the ancients, and St. Bernard among the moderns; who were of that mind. The truth would be both sooner and more certainly found out, if examined on the place, than could possibly be at a distance. The pope had once sent legates to England, and what reason could be given why this should not be done again? But he saw the pope so devoted to the emperor, that every thing was done as he dictated. The queen's allegation, that England was a place so suspected by her that she could not expect to have justice done her in it, must be believed, against the clearest evidence possible to the contrary. The king bore with the liberties that many took who espoused her cause more than was fitting; nor did he threaten any, or grow less kind than formerly, to those who declared for the marriage; and yet the pope pretended he must give credit to this, and he offered no other reason for his not sending judges to England. This was to fasten a base reflection upon the king, and an injustice, which he must look on as a great indignity done him.

" He further complains, that the pope took all possible methods to hinder learned men from delivering their opinion in his cause; and though, after long and earnest applications, he did give leave by his breves to all persons to give their opinion in it; yet his own magistrates did, in his name, threaten those that were against the power of dispensing with the laws of God: this was particularly done at Bologna. The emperor's ministers everywhere, in contempt of the permission granted by the pope, terrified all who gave their opinion for the king; at which the pope connived, if he did not consent to it. The pope's nuncio did in France openly, and to the king himself, declare against the king's cause, as being founded neither on justice nor on reason: he still ex-

\* Among Rymer's MSS.

pected that the pope would have no regard to the prerogative of his crown, and to the laws of England, which are as ancient as the pope's laws are ; and that he will not cite him to answer out of his kingdom, nor send any inhibitions into it : for he will suffer no breach to be made on the laws during his reign. He was resolved to maintain that which was his own, as he would not invade that which belonged to another : he did not desire contention, he knew the ill effects such disputes would have : upon all which he expected the pope's answer." This had no effect on the pope, so far from it, that upon a representation made to him in Queen Katherine's name, that King Henry seemed resolved to proceed to a second marriage, the pope sent out a second breve on the 5th of January, 1531, declaring any such marriage to be null, and the issue by it to be illegitimate, denouncing the severest censures possible against all that should be any ways assisting in it, and requiring the king to live with the queen in all conjugal affection until the suit was brought to a conclusion.

Something was to be done to stop proceedings at Rome ; or upon this an immediate rupture must follow. This brought on the sending an excusator in the name of the king and kingdom, to show that the king was not bound to appear upon the citation, nor yet to send a proctor to appear in his name. Sigismund Dondalus and Michael de Conrades, two eminent advocates, were brought to Rome, to maintain the plea of the excusator. They sent over the substance of their pleadings, which was printed at London by Berthelet. The sum of it was, Capisuchi, dean of the Rota, had cited the king to Rome to answer to the queen's appeal : the chief instructions sent by Carn were, to insist on the indignity done to the king, to cite him to come out of his kingdom : but it seems that was a point that the advocates thought fit to leave to the ambassadors ; they thought it not safe for them to debate it, so they pleaded on other heads.

They insisted much on that (*de loco tuto*), that no man ought to be cited to a place where he was not in full safety. It could not be safe, neither for the king nor the kingdom, that he should go so far from it. They showed likewise, that to make a place safe, all the intermediate places through which one must pass to it, must be likewise safe. The pope therefore ought to send delegates to a safe place, either (*in partibus*) where the cause lay, or in the neighbourhood of it. It was said against them, that a cause once revived in the court of Rome could never be sent out of it : but they replied, the pope had once sent delegates into England in this cause, and upon the same reason he might do it again : in-

deed, the cause was never in the court, for the king was never in it. But it was said, the king might appear by a proctor: they answered, he was not bound to send a proxy where he was not bound to appear in person, but was hindered by a just impediment: nor was the place safe for a proxy. In a matter of conscience, such as marriage was, he could not constitute a proctor; for by the forms he was to empower him fully, and to be bound by all that he should do in his name. It is true, in a perpetual impediment, a proctor must be made; but this was not perpetual: for the pope might send delegates.

An excusator was to be admitted in the name of the king and kingdom, when the impediment was clear and lasting: they confessed if it was only probable, a proctor must be constituted. There was no danger to be apprehended in the king's dominions. The queen's oath was offered, that she could not expect justice in that case. They showed this ought not to be taken, and could not be well grounded; but was only the effect of weak fear: it appearing evidently, that not only the queen herself, but that all who declared for her, were safe in England. They did not insist on this, that the court ought to sit (*in partibus*) in the place where the cause lay: it seems they found that would not be borne at Rome: but they insisted on a court being to sit in the neighbourhood. They showed, that though the excusator's powers were not so full as to make him a proxy; yet they were not defective in that which was necessary for excusing the king's appearance, and for offering the just impediments, in order to the remanding of the matter. The book is full of the subtilties of the canon law, and of quotations from canonists.

Thus this matter was pleaded, and, by a succession of many delays, was kept on foot in the court of Rome above three years; chiefly by the interposition of Francis: for Langey tells us\*, that the king of France wrote once or twice a week to Rome, not to precipitate matters. That court, on the other hand, pressed him to prevail with King Henry not to give new provocations. He wrote to Rome from Arques in the beginning of June, 1531, and complained of citing the king to Rome: he said, learned persons had assured him that this was contrary to law, and to the privilege of kings, who could not be obliged to leave their kingdom; adding, that he would take all that was done for or against King Henry as done to himself.

There is a letter writ from the cardinal of Tournon to King Francis †, but without a date, by which it appears,

\* Melange. Hist. Lettres de Roy, p. 1.

† P. 8.

“ that the motion of an interview between the pope and the king of France was then set on foot: and he assures the king, that the pope was resolved to satisfy him at their meeting; that he would conduct King Henry’s affair so dexterously, that nothing should be spoiled: he must in point of form give way to some things that would not be acceptable to him, that so he might not seem too partial to King Henry; for whom, out of the love that he bore to King Francis, he would do all that was in his power, but desired that might not be talked of.

On the 4th of May he wrote to him, that the emperor threatened, that, if King Henry went on to do that injury to his aunt, he would make war on him by the king of Scotland: but they believed he would neither employ his purse, nor draw his sword in the quarrel. Langey reports the substance of King Henry’s letters to Francis: he complained of the pope’s citing him to answer at Rome, or to send a proxy thither. In all former times, upon such occasions, judges were sent to the place where the cause lay. Kings could not be required to go out of their dominions: he also complained of the papal exactions.

Now there were two interviews set on foot, in hopes to make up this matter, that seemed very near a breach. Francis had secretly begun a negociation with the pope for the marriage with the duke of Orleans, afterwards King Henry the Second, and the famous Katherine de Medicis: Francis, whose heart was set on getting the dutchy of Milan above all other things, hoped by this means to compass it for his second son. He likewise pretended, that, by gaining the pope entirely to his interest, he should be able to make up all matters between King Henry and him. But to lay all this matter the better, the two kings were to have an interview, first in the neighbourhood of Calais, which the bishop of Bayonne, who was now again in England, was concerting\*. King Henry pressed the doing it so that he might come back by All-Saints to hold his parliament. The bishop saw King Henry would be much pleased, if Francis would desire him to bring Anne Boleyn over with him, and if he would bring on his part the queen of Navarre. The queen of France was a Spaniard, so it was desired she might not come: he also desired that the king of France would bring his sons with him, that no imperialists might be brought, nor any of the Raillieurs (Gaudiseurs), for the nation hated that sort of people. Bayonne writes, he had sworn not to tell from whom he had this hint of Anne Bo-

\* Le Grand, p. 553.

leyn : it was no hard thing to engage Francis into any thing that looked like gallantry ; for he had writ to her a letter in his own hand, which Montmorency had sent over. At the interview of the two kings, a perpetual friendship was vowed between them : and King Henry afterwards reproached Francis for kissing the pope's foot at Marseilles, which he affirms, he promised not to do ; nor to proceed to marry his son to the pope's niece, until he gave the king of England full satisfaction ; and added, that he promised, that if the pope did proceed to final censures against Henry, he would likewise withdraw himself from his obedience ; and that both the kings would join in an appeal to a general council.

Soon after that the king returned from this interview, he married Anne Boleyn ; but so secretly, that none were present at it but her father and mother, and her brother, with the duke of Norfolk. It went generally among our historians, that Cranmer was present at the marriage ; and I reported it so in my History : but Mr. Strype saw a letter of Cranmer's to Hawkins, then the king's ambassador at the emperor's court ; in which he writes, " notwithstanding it hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm, that I married her, which was plainly false ; for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done : and many other things he reported of me, which be mere lies and tales." In the same letter, he says it was about St. Paul's day. This confirms Stow's relation. But to write with the impartial freedom of an historian : it seems, the day of the marriage was given out wrong on design. The account that Cranmer gives of it cannot be called in question. But Queen Elizabeth was born, not as I put it, on the 7th, but as Cranmer writes in another letter to Hawkins, on the 13th or 14th of September : so there not being full eight months between the marriage and birth, which would have opened a scene of raillery to the court of Rome, it seems the day of the marriage was then said to be in November. And in a matter that was so secretly managed, it was no hard thing to oblige those who were in the secret to silence. This seems to be the only way to reconcile Cranmer's letter to the reports commonly given out of the day of the marriage.

The news of this was soon carried to Rome\*. Cardinal Ghinnuccius wrote to the king, " that he had a long conversation with the pope, when the news was first brought thither. The pope resolved to take no notice of it ; but he did not know how he should be able to resist the instances

that the emperor would make. He considered well the effects that his censures would probably have. He saw, the emperor intended to put things past reconciliation ; but it was not reasonable for the pope to pass censures, when it did not appear how they could be executed. He could not do any thing prejudicial to the king, unless he resolved to lay out a vast sum of money ; which he believed he would not do, the success being so doubtful. And he concludes, that they might depend upon it, that the emperor could not easily bring the pope to pass those censures that he desired."

At this time, the third breve was published against the king on the 13th of November : but, it seems, it was for some time suppressed ; for it has a second date added to it, of the 23d of December in the year 1532 : " in which, after a long expostulation upon his taking Anne as his wife, and his putting away the queen, while the suit was yet depending ; the pope exhorts him to bring back the queen, and to put Anne away, within a month after this was brought to him ; otherwise he excommunicates both him and Anne : but the execution of this was suspended. Soon after this (1531), Benet wrote a letter to the king, all in cipher ; but the deciphering is interlined. He writes, " the pope did approve the king's cause as just and good ; and did it in a manner more openly. For that reason, he did not deliver the severe letter that the king wrote upon this breve, lest that should too much provoke him. The emperor was then at Bologna, and pressed for the speedy calling a general council ; and, among other reasons, he gave the proceeding against the king for one. The king's ambassadors urged the decree of the council of Nice, that the bishops of the province should settle all things that belong to it ; so by this, he said, the pope might put the matter out of his hands. But the pope would not hear of that. He writes further, that an old and famous man, who died lately, had left his opinion in writing, for the king's cause, with his nephew, who was in high favour with the pope. The emperor was taking pains to engage him in his interests, and had offered him a bishopric of 6000 ducats a year, likely soon to be void. The king's ambassadors had promised him, on the other hand, a great sum from the king : they, upon that, ask orders about it speedily, lest too long a delay might alienate him from the king,"

There is also a long letter, but without a date, written by one who was born in Rome, but was employed to solicit the king's cause. He told the pope, and was willing to declare it to all the cardinals in the consistory, " that, if they pro-

ceeded further in the king's cause, it would prove fatal to the see. They had already lost the Hungarians, with a great part of Germany; and would they now venture to lose England, and perhaps France with it? The king thought his marriage with Queen Anne was firm and holy, and was resolved to prosecute his cause in that court no more. The king said, he was satisfied in his own conscience; but yet, if the pope would judge for his present marriage, both he and his ministers said, it would be agreeable to him."

The cardinals of France pressed the king of France\* to use all endeavours to bring King Henry with him to the interview at Marseilles, or one fully empowered to put an end to the matter of the divorce. Langey was sent to propose it to King Henry; but that king told him, since he saw such a train of dissimulation in the pope's proceedings, and delays upon delays, that had quite disgusted him. He had now obtained a sentence in England of the nullity of his marriage, in which he acquiesced: and upon that he was married, though secretly. He was resolved to keep it secret till he saw what effects the interview had: if the pope would not do him justice, he would deliver the nation from that servitude.

He had obtained the judgment of some universities† concerning the citation to Rome (June 22, 1531). The university of Orleans gave their opinion, that he was not bound to appear at Rome, neither in person nor by proxy; and that the citation was null; but that there ought to be a delegation of judges in the place where the cause lay (June 14, 1531). Many advocates in the court of parliament of Paris gave their opinions to the same purpose (August 19, 1531). The canonists in Paris thought that the king could not be cited to go to Rome; but that judges ought to be sent to determine the matter in some safe place.

King Henry wrote to his ambassadors with the king of France, to divert him from the interview with the pope, as a thing too much to the pope's honour‡. And whereas the king of France wrote, that his chief design in it was to serve the king: he wrote upon it, that he was so sure of his nobility and commons, that he had no apprehension of any thing the pope could do. He therefore desired him to write to the cardinals of Tournon and Grandimont, and to his ambassadors at Rome, to press the admitting the excusator's plea; for that was a point in which all princes were concerned.

King Francis pretended, that the breaking off the project of the interview could not be done: it had now gone too far,

\* Langey, p. 317, 338.

† Rymer.

‡ Rymer, MS.

and his honour was engaged. He was very sorry that the excusator's plea was rejected; yet he did not despair but that all things might be yet set right; which made him still more earnest for the interview. And he was confident, if the king would come to the meeting, all would be happily made up: but since he saw no hope of prevailing with the king for that, he desired that the duke of Norfolk might be sent over, with some learned persons, who should see the good offices he would do.

The duke of Norfolk was sent over upon this, and he found the king of France at Montpellier, in the end of August, but told him, that, upon the last sentence that was given at Rome, the king looked on the pope as his enemy, and he would resent his usage of him by all possible methods. He studied to divert the interview, otherwise he said he must return immediately. King Francis answered, that the sentence was not definitive; but though he could not break the interview that was concerted by King Henry's own consent, he promised he would espouse the king's affair as his own. He pressed the duke of Norfolk so earnestly to go along with him, that once he seemed convinced that it might be of good use in the king's cause, and a memorial was given him of the method of settling it: he upon this sent the Lord Rochford to the king, to see if he would change the orders he had given him; and he stayed only a few days after he had dispatched him. But he said his orders for his return were positive; if a change of orders should come, he would quickly return; if not, he would get some learned men to be sent, to see what might be devised at Marseilles.

The king of France wrote to his ambassador with King Henry, that if the duke of Norfolk could have been allowed to go with him to Marseilles, much might have been done: and he sent with that a part of the cardinal of Tournon's last letter to him of the 17th of August, in which he wrote, "that he had spoke fully to the pope, as the king had ordered him, about the king of England's affair: the pope complained that King Henry had not only proceeded to marry, contrary to the breve he had received, but that he was still publishing laws in contempt of his see; and that Cranmer had pronounced the sentence of divorce as legate. This gave the cardinals such distaste, that they would have been highly offended with the pope, if he had done nothing upon it: he therefore advised the king to carry the duke of Norfolk with him to Marseilles: for if King Henry would but seem to repair the steps he had made in the attentates, as they called them, and do that which might save the pope's honour, he assured him, such was his love to him, that for

his sake he would do all that was desired, with all his heart. But he feared expedients would not be readily found, if the duke of Norfolk went not to Marseilles."

The king of France sent such messages to King Henry by, the duke of Norfolk, and such compliments to Queen Anne, as highly pleased them: for his ambassador wrote to him that, since the duke of Norfolk's coming, King Henry expressed his confidence and friendship for him in a very particular manner: King Henry had asked him, if he had no order to stand godfather in the king of France's name, in case the queen should be delivered of a son. He answered, he had none, but he would write to the king upon the subject. The duke of Norfolk said, he had spoke to the king of France about it; who agreed to it, that either the ambassador, or some other sent express, should do it. The child's name was to be Edward or Henry (but the birth proving a daughter, this went no further). He adds in his letter, that Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was sent to Marseilles. The king of France sent from Arles, on the 17th of September, an order for the christening.

But now the next scene is at Marseilles; where, after the ceremonies were over, the king of France set himself, as he writes, with great zeal to bring the pope to be easy in the king's matter: he protested he minded no business of his own, till he should see what could be done in the matter of the king's divorce. The pope said, he left the process at Rome; so that nothing could be done in it\*. The French ambassador wrote to his master, that King Henry charged him with this, that he himself brought over instructions, with promises that Francis would not proceed to the marriage of his son, until the king's matter was done: the ambassador denied this, and offered to show his instructions, that it might appear that no such article was in them. King Henry insisted that the French king had promised it both to himself and to the queen; and if he failed him in this, he could depend no more on his friendship. When the ambassador told the duke of Norfolk how uneasy this would be to the king of France, who had the king's concerns so much at heart, and that all the interest that he could gain in the pope would be employed in the king's service; for if he should break with the pope, that must throw him entirely into the emperor's hands: the duke of Norfolk confessed all that was true; but said, that the king's head was so embroiled with this matter, that he trusted no living man, and that both he and the queen suspected himself.

\* Mel. Hist. p. 142.

The bishop of Auxerre, the French ambassador, had wrote from Rome\* ; “that the pope would do all that they asked, and more if he durst or could : but he was so pressed by the emperor’s people, that though it was against God and reason, and the opinion even of some of the imperial cardinals, he was forced to do whatsoever cardinal Dosme demanded.” In a letter to cardinal Tournon, the bishop of Auxerre complains, that the king of England was ill used ; and in a letter to the pope’s legate in France he writes, “that the pope was disposed to grant King Henry’s desire, yet he was so pressed by the imperialists, that he expected no good from him, unless in the way of dissembling : he firmly believed he would do well if he durst : his answer to the king of France was as good as could be wished for, he hoped the effects would agree to it : Cardinal Farnese, the ancientest cardinal (afterwards Pope Paul the Third), was wholly for them : the cardinal of Ancona, next to him in seniority, was wholly imperialist. He writes, that the ambassadors had an audience of three hours of the pope, when they delivered the king of France’s letters on the king of England’s behalf : the pope saidt, he was sorry that he must determine the matter ; for he should have small thanks on both sides. The thing had been now four years in his hands, he had yet done nothing ; if he could do as he wished, he wished as they all wished : and he spake this in such a manner, that they were much mistaken if he spoke not as he thought. The pope asked them what made the king of France to be so earnest in this matter : they answered, that the two kings were so united, that they were both more touched with the affairs each of the other than with their own.”

In another letter to Montmorency, he writes, “that there was a new delay granted for four months. The pope, upon his granting it, pressed him to write to the king, to prevail with King Henry to send a proxy. He answered, he believed that would not be done unless assurance was given, that the cause should be remitted. If the matter had been then put to the vote, the ancient and learned cardinals would have judged for the king of England ; but they were few, and the number of the others was great ; so that the cause would have been quite lost.”

At the same time the cardinal of Ancona proposed to Bennet and to Cassali†, that, if a proxy were sent to Rome, they should have not only justice, but all manner of favour :

\* Mel. Hist. p. 174.

† Mel. Hist. p. 175.

‡ Cott. Libr. Vitell. B. 12.

for both the pope and the cardinals did very positively promise, that a commission should be made to delegates to hear the witnesses in England, reserving only the final sentence to the pope. Cassali was, upon this, sent to England; but his negotiation had no effect: only he seems to have known well the secret method of practising with the cardinals. For, upon his return, he met the king of France at Compeigne, with whom he had much discourse about managing the cardinals; particularly Cardinal de Monte (afterwards Pope Julius the Third). The king of France had sent forty thousand crowns, to be distributed in the court of Rome; upon which he offers some very prudent suggestions. The letter to the king from thence seemed so considerable that I have put it in the Collection (No. xix).

These were the preparations on all hands for the meeting at Marseilles; where Francis protested that he set himself so earnestly to get satisfaction to be given to Henry, that he minded no business of his own, till he should see what could be done in that. The pope said indeed, that he had left the process at Rome; but they wrote over, that they knew this was false: yet, by that, they saw the pope intended to do nothing in it. Francis indeed complained, that there was no proxy from the king sent to Marseilles: if there had been one, he said, the business had been ended. It was also reported, that the king of France had said to the duke of Norfolk, he would be the king's proxy (here, in the margin it is set down, The duke of Norfolk denies he said this)\*; but the king of France knew that the king would never constitute a proxy, that being contrary to the laws of his kingdom. The pope confessed that his cause was just: all the lawyers in France were of that mind. But the pope complained of the injury done the see by King Henry. Francis answered, The pope begun doing injuries: but King Henry moved, that, setting aside what was past, without asking reparation of either side, justice might be done him; and if it was not done, he would trouble himself no more about it.

He afterwards charged King Francis†, “that in several particulars he had not kept his promises to him. He believed, that if he had pressed the pope more, he would have yielded. It was said, King Henry was governed by his council; whereas he said he governed them, and not they him. Upon this audience, the duke of Norfolk seemed troubled that the king was so passionate: he had advised the king, but in vain, to let the annats go still to Rome.” This is put in the margin.

\* Mel. Hist. p. 19.

† Ibid.

In another memorial, set next to the former \*, and, as it seems, writ soon after it, it is said, that the emperor had sent word to the queen and her daughter not to come to Spain, till he had first got fight to be done them: and that the people were in a disposition to join with any prince that would espouse their quarrel. This is said to be the general inclination of all sorts of people: for they apprehended a change of religion, and a war that would cut off their trade with the Netherlands; so that the new queen was little beloved.

But now I must return, and set out the progress of matters that provoked the pope and court of Rome so much. I shall give first the several proceedings of the convocation.

The parliament had complained of the oath *ex officio*, by which the ordinaries obliged persons to answer to such accusations as were laid to their charge, upon oath: and as they answered, charging themselves, they were obliged either to abjure or to burn. To this they added some other grievances. When they presented them to the king, he told them he could give no answer till he heard what the clergy would say to them. They also passed acts about some points that the clergy thought belonged to them; as mortuaries, plurality of benefices, and clergymen taking farms.

The first motion made by the lower house was concerning Tracy's testament; who had left his soul to God through Jesus Christ, to whose intercession alone he trusted, without the help of any other saint: therefore he left no part of his goods to any that should pray for his soul. This touching the clergy very sensibly, they begun with it; and a commission was given for the raising his body.

In a following session, the prolocutor complained of another testament, made by one Brown, of Bristol, in the same strain. So, to prevent the spreading of such an example, it was ordered, that Tracy's body should be dug up, and burnt. In the eighty-fourth session, the house being thin, an order was made, that all the members should attend, for some constitutions were at that time to be treated of.

In the 91st session, which was in the end of February, the prolocutor came up with a motion, that those who were presented to ecclesiastical benefices should not be obliged by their bishops to give any bond, obliging them under temporal punishment to residence: but to this no answer was given, nor was any rule made against it. There had been complaints made of clerks non-residents in the former session of parliament; and it seems some bishops

thought, the surest way to stop that clamour was to take bonds for residence. And though this complaint shows the ill temper of the lower house, since they did not offer any other better remedy ; yet the upper house offering no answer to it, seems to imply their approving of it.

In the 93d session, Latimer, who had been thrice required to subscribe some articles, refused to do it : he was excommunicated, and appointed to be kept in safe custody in Lambeth. Session 96th it was resolved, that if Latimer would subscribe some of the articles, he should be absolved. Upon that he submitted, confessed his error, and subscribed all the articles except two.

In the 97th session, on the 12th of April, 1532, the archbishop proposed to them the preparing an answer to the complaints that the commons had made to the king against the proceedings in their courts.

In the 98th session, the preamble of that complaint was read by Gardiner, with an answer that he had prepared to it. Then the two clauses of the first article, with answers to them, were also read and agreed to, and sent down to the lower house. Latimer was also brought again before them, upon complaint of a letter that he had written to one Greenwood, in Cambridge.

In the 99th session, an answer to the complaint of the commons was read and agreed to, and ordered to be laid before the king ; with which he was not satisfied. Latimer being called to answer upon oath, he appealed to the king, and said he would stand to his appeal.

Peyto and Elston, two brethren of the house of the observants in Greenwich, accused Dr. Curren for a sermon preached there ; but the archbishop ordered them to be kept in custody, with the bishop of St. Asaph, till they should be dismissed.

In the 100th session, the king sent a message by Gardiner, intimating, that he remitted Latimer to the archbishop ; and upon his submission, he was received to the sacraments. This was done at the king's desire ; but some bishops protested, because this submission did not import a renunciation usual in such cases. After this, four sessions were employed in a further consideration of the answer to the complaints of the house of commons.

In the 105th session, the prolocutor brought up four draughts concerning the ecclesiastical authority, for making laws in order to the suppressing of heresy ; but declared that he did not bring them up as approved by the house ; he only offered them to the bishops, as draughts prepared by learned men. He desired they would read them, and choose

what was true out of them ; but added, that he prayed, that if they prepared any thing on the subject, it might be communicated to the lower house. Some of these are printed : I shall therefore only insert one in my Collection (No. xx), because it is the shortest of them, and yet does fully set forth their design. It was formed in the upper house, and agreed to in the lower, with two alterations. In it they promise the king, “ that for the future, such was the trust that they put in his wisdom, goodness, and zeal, and his incomparable learning, far exceeding the learning of all other princes that they had read of, that, during his natural life, they should not enact, promulge, or put in execution, any constitution to be made by them, unless the king by his royal assent did licence them so to do. And as for the constitutions already made, of which the commons complained, they would readily submit the consideration of these to the king only ; and such of these as the king should judge prejudicial and burthensome, they offered to moderate or annul them according to his judgment. Saving to themselves all the immunities and liberties granted to the church by the king and his progenitors, with all such provincial constitutions as stand with the laws of God, and holy church, and of the realm, which they prayed the king to ratify : providing that, till the king’s pleasure should be made known to them, all ordinaries might go on to execute their jurisdiction as formerly. This did not pass easily ; there was great debating upon it : but upon adding the words, during the king’s natural life, which made it a temporary law, and by adding the words, holy church, after the laws of God, which had a great extent, this form was agreed to ; but what effect this had, or whether it was offered to the king, does not appear. The alterations that were afterwards made will appear to any who compares this with the submission ; of which a particular account will be found in my history.

The bishop of London, presiding in the absence of the archbishop, told them, that the duke of Norfolk had signified to him, that the house of commons had granted the king a fifteenth, to be raised in two years : so he advised the clergy to be as ready as the laity had been to supply the king. The prolocutor was sent down with this intimation : he immediately returned back, and proposed that they should consider of an answer to be made to the king, concerning the ecclesiastical authority ; and that some might be sent to the king, to pray him that he would maintain the liberties of the church, which he and his progenitors had confirmed to them ; and they desired, that the bishops of London and

Lincoln, with some abbots, the dean of the king's chapel; and Fox, his almoner, would intercede in behalf of the clergy; which they undertook to do.

In the 106th session, which was on the 10th of May, the archbishop appointed a committee to go and treat with the bishop of Rochester at his house upon that matter. In the 107th session, the 13th of May, the archbishop appointed the chancellor of Worcester to raise Tracy's body: then they agreed to the answer they were to make to the king. In the 108th session, on the 15th of May, the writ for proroguing the convocation was brought to the archbishop: at the same time, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Oxford, the Lord Sands, Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Bullen, and Lord Rochfort, were in secret conference with the archbishops and bishops for the space of an hour; when they withdrew the prolocutor and clergy came up. The archbishop asked, how they had agreed to the schedule, which, as appears, was the form of the submission. The prolocutor told him how many were for the affirmative, how many for the negative, and how many were for putting off the three articles of the submission. The archbishop said, he expected those lords would come back to him from the king, and so sent them back to their house. These lords came back to the chapter-house, and after some discourse with the bishops they retired. After dinner the schedule was read in English, and the archbishop asked if they agreed to it; they all answered, they did agree to it; only the bishop of Bath dissented. Then he sent it down to his chancellor, to propose it to the lower house. After that, on the 15th of May, it seems the schedule was sent back by the lower house, though that is not mentioned in the abstract that we have remaining. For that day the convocation was prorogued, and the next day the archbishop delivered it to the king, as enacted and concluded by himself and others. The convocation was prorogued to the 5th of November.

And thus this great transaction was brought about in little more than a month's time: the first motion towards it being made on the 12th of April, and it was concluded on the 15th of May. It appears by their heat against Tracy's testament, and against Latimer, that they who managed the opposition that was made to it, were enemies to every thing that looked towards a reformation. It seems Fisher did not protest; for though by their sending a committee to his house, it may be supposed he was sick at that time, yet he might have sent a proxy, and ordered a dissent to be entered in his name; and that not being done, gives ground to suppose that he did not vehemently oppose this submission.

By it, all the opposition that the convocations would probably have given to every step that was made afterwards in the reformation, was so entirely restrained, that the quiet progress of that work was owing chiefly to the restraint under which the clergy put themselves by their submission: and in this the whole body of this reformed church has cheerfully acquiesced, till within these few years, that great endeavours have been used to blacken and disgrace it.

I have seen no particular account how this matter went in the convocation at York, nor how matters went there; save only that it was agreed to give a tenth. I have seen a letter of Magnus, one of the king's chaplains, who was required by Cromwell to go thither, where Dr. Lee was to meet him. There is no year added in the date of the letter; but since he mentions the last convocation, that had given a great sum of money, and owned the king to be the supreme, that fixes it to this session. He dates it from Marybone the 21st of April, as it will be seen in the Collection (No. xxi). "He was then in an ill state of health, but promises to be at York soon after the beginning of their convocation. He complains, that he had no assistance at the last meeting; and that the books, which the king had promised should be sent after him, were not sent; which made the king's cause to be the longer in treating, before it came to a good conclusion. The prelates and clergy there would not believe any report of the acts passed at London, unless they were showed them authentically, either under seal, or by the king's letters. He hopes both these things which had been neglected formerly would be now done; otherwise the clergy in those parts would not proceed to any strange acts; so he warns him that all things may be put in order.

Whatsoever it was that passed either in the one or the other convocation, the king kept it within himself for two years: for so long he was in treating terms with Rome; and if that had gone on, all this must have been given up: but when the final breach came on, which was after two years, it was ratified in parliament.

Before the next meeting Warham died. He had all along concurred in the king's proceedings, and had promoted them in convocation; yet in the last year of his life, six months before his death, on the 9th of February, 1531, he made a protestation of a singular nature, not in the house of lords, but at Lambeth; and so secretly, that mention is only made of three notaries and four witnesses present at the making of it. It is to this effect: "that what statutes soever had passed, or were to pass in this present parliament, to the prejudice of the pope or the apostolic see, or that derogated

from, or lessened the ecclesiastical authority, or the liberties of his see of Canterbury, he did not consent to them; but did disown and dissent from them. This was found in the Longueville library, and was communicated to me by Dr. Wake, the present bishop of Lincoln. I leave it with the reader to consider what construction can be made upon this; whether it was in the decline of his life put on him by his confessor about the time of Lent, as a penance for what he had done; or if he must be looked on as a deceitful man, that, while he seemed openly to concur in those things, he protested against them secretly. The instrument will be found in the Collection (No. xxii). Upon his death, the prior and convent of Christ's church of Canterbury deputed the bishop of St. Asaph to preside in the convocation. On the 20th of February, in the fourth session, the bishop of London moved that the two universities should be exempted from paying any part of the subsidy: the same was also desired for some religious orders, and it was agreed to; Gardiner only dissenting as to the exemption of the religious orders. It may reasonably be supposed, that his opposing this was in compliance with the king, who began to show an aversion both to the monks and friars; seeing they were generally in the interests of Queen Katharine; and Gardiner was the most forward in his compliances of all the clergy, Bonner only excepted, though the old leaven of popery was deep in them both.

In the 111th session, on the 26th of March, Latimer was again brought before them; and it was laid to his charge, that he had preached contrary to his promise. Gardiner inveighed severely against him; and to him all the rest agreed. When the prolocutor came up, the president spoke to him of the subsidy; then the matter of the king's marriage was brought before them. Gardiner produced some instruments which he desired them to read: they were the judgments of several universities. Some doubted if it was safe to debate a matter that was then depending before the pope; but the president put an end to that fear by producing a breve of the pope's, in which all were allowed to deliver their opinions freely in that matter; so he exhorted them to examine the questions to be put to them carefully, that they might be prepared to give their opinions about them.

In the 112th session, the president produced the original instruments of the universities of Paris, Orleans, Bologna, Padua, Bourges, and Thoulouse (Angiers and Ferrara are not named); and after much disputing, they were desired to deliver their opinions as to the consummation of the marriage. But because it was a difficult case, they asked more

time. They had till four o'clock given them; then there were yet more disputings; in conclusion, they agreed with the universities. This was first put to them; though, in the instrument made upon it, it is mentioned after that which was offered to them in the next session.

On the 2d of April, 1533\*, Cranmer being now consecrated, and present, two questions were proposed and put to the vote. The first was, "Whether the prohibition to marry the brother's wife, the former marriage being consummated, was dispensible by the pope?" Or, as it is in the minutes, "Whether it was lawful to marry the wife of a brother dying without issue; but having consummated the marriage? and if the prohibition of such a marriage was grounded on a Divine law, with which the pope could dispense or not?" There were present sixty-six divines, with the proxies of one hundred and ninety-seven absent bishops, abbots, and others: all agreed to the affirmative, except only nineteen.

The second question was, "Whether the consummation of Prince Arthur's marriage was sufficiently proved?" This belonged to the canonists; so it was referred to the bishops and clergy of that profession, being forty-four in all, of whom one had the proxy of three bishops: all these, except five or six, affirmed it: of these, the bishop of Bath and Wells was one. Of all this a public instrument was made.

In the account I formerly gave of this matter, I offered a conjecture concerning the constitution of the two houses, that deans and archdeacons, who sat in their own right, were then of the upper house; which, I see, was without any good ground. I likewise committed another error, through inadvertence: for I said, the opinions of nineteen universities were read; whereas only six were read. And the nineteen, which I added to the number of the universities, was the number of those who did not agree to the vote.

These questions were next sent to the convocation of the province of York, where there were present twenty-seven divines, who had the proxies of twenty-four who were absent: and all these, two only excepted, agreed to the first question. There were likewise forty-four canonists present, with the proxies of five or six: to them the second question was put; and all these were for the affirmative, two only excepted. The whole representative of the church of England, in the convocation of the two provinces of Canterbury and York, did in this manner give their answer to the two questions put to them; upon which Cranmer wrote

\* Rymer.

to the king on the 11th of April, complaining that the great cause of his matrimony had depended long; and upon that he desired his licence to judge it: which the king readily granted. So he gave sentence, condemning it on the 23d of May: and then the king openly owned his second marriage, for the new queen's big belly could be no longer concealed.

This was highly resented at Rome, as an open attempt upon the pope's authority; and these steps, in their style, were called the attentates: so considering the blind submission to the popes, in which the world had been kept for so many ages, it was no wonder to find the imperialists call upon the pope, almost in a tumultuary manner, to exert his authority to the full when he saw it so openly affronted. And it is very probable, that if the pope had not, with that violent passion that Italians have for the advancing their families, run into the proposition for marrying his niece to the duke of Orleans, he would have fulminated upon this occasion: but he, finding that might be broke off if he had proceeded to the utmost extremities with King Henry, was therefore resolved to prolong the time, and to delay the final sentence; otherwise the matter would have been ended much sooner than it was.

Gardiner, Bryan, and Bennet, were sent as ambassadors to the king of France, to Marseilles. Bonner was also sent thither on a more desperate service; for he was ordered to go and read the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, in the pope's own presence, at such time and in such a manner as the king's ambassadors should direct\*. Of the execution of this he gave the king a very particular account, in a letter to him, bearing date at Marseilles, the 13th of November 1533; which the reader will find in the Collection (No. xxiii), copied from the original; in it he tells the king —

“That being commanded by his ambassadors, to intimate to the pope in person, the provocations and appeals that he had made to a general council, he carried one Penniston, who it seems was a notary, with him to make an act concerning it. They came to the pope's palace on the 17th of November, in the morning. He found some difficulty in getting access; for he was told that the pope was going to hold a consistory, so that no other business was to interpose: yet he got into the pope's chamber, where the pope was with the two cardinals, de Medicis and Lorrain, the pope being apparelled in his stole to go to the consistory: the pope quickly

\* Cotton Lib. Vitell. B. 14.

observed Bonner, for he had prayed the datary to let the pope know he desired to speak with him: the datary said, it was not a proper time; but Bonner was resolved to go immediately to him; so he told the pope of it: who upon that dismissed the cardinals, and going to a window he called him to him; upon that Bonner told him the message he had from the king to read before him; making such apology first in the king's name, and then in his own, as was necessary to prepare him for it. The pope cringed in the Italian way, but said he had not time then to hear those papers; but bade him come again in the afternoon, and he would give him a full audience. When he came again, he was, after some others had their audience, called in; Penniston following him, whom the pope had not observed in the morning. So Bonner told him that it was he who had brought over his commission and orders; upon that the pope called for his datary, and for Simonetta and Capisuchi. Till they came in, the pope in discourse asked both for Gardiner and Brian, seeming not to know that they were at Marseilles; and he lamented the death of Bennet: he complained of the king's using him as he did. Bonner, on the other hand, complained of his unkind usage of the king; and that he had, contrary to his promise, advocated the cause when it was brought to the point of giving sentence: and had now retained the cause to Rome, whither the king could not come personally, nor was he bound to send a proctor: and he urged the matter very close upon the pope. He also complained that the king's cause being just, and esteemed so by the best learned men in Christendom, yet the pope kept it so long in his hands: the pope answered, that had not the queen refused the judges as suspect, and taken an oath that she expected no justice in the king's dominions, he would not have advocated the cause: but in that case, notwithstanding his promise, he was bound to do it; and the delay of the matter lay wholly at the king's door, who did not send a proctor. While Bonner was replying, the datary came in, and the pope cut him short; and commanded the datary to read the commission; which he did. The pope often interrupted the reading it, with words that expressed a high displeasure. And when the appeal was read to the next general council, to be held in a proper place, he expressed with some rage his indignation; but restrained himself, and said all that came from the king was welcome to him: but, by his gesture and manner, it appeared he was much discomposed. Yet, after that, he shewed how willing he was to call a council, but that the king seemed to put it off; he ordered the datary to read it quite through in the end,

mention being made of the archbishop of Canterbury's sentence, he spake of that with great contempt. He also observed, that the king in words expressed respect to the church, and to the apostolic see, yet he expressed none to his person. While they were thus in discourse, the king of France came to see the pope, who met him at the door. That king seemed to know nothing of the business, though Bonner believed he did know it. The pope told him what they were about; they two continued in private discourse about three quarters of an hour, and seemed very cheerful: then that king went away: the pope conducted him to the door of the antechamber. When the pope came back, he ordered the datary to read out all that remained, the pope often interrupting him as he read. When the first instrument was read to an end, Bonner offered the two appeals that the king had made to a general council; these the pope delivered to the datary, that he might read them.

“When all was read, the pope said he would consider with the cardinals what answer was to be given them; and seemed to think that the writings were to remain with them: but Bonner pressing to have them again, he said he would consider what answer he was to give to that. So the pope dismissed him, after an audience that lasted three hours. The datary told Bonner there was to be a consistory next day; after that he might come to receive his answer. On the 10th, a consistory was held; in the afternoon, the pope was long taken up with the blessing of beads, and admitting persons of quality, of both sexes, to kiss his foot. When that was over he called Bonner in, and the pope began to express his mind towards the king, that it was to do him all justice, and to please him all he could; and though it had not been so taken, yet he intended to continue in the same mind: but according to a constitution of Pope Pius, that condemned all such appeals, he rejected the king's appeal to a general council, as frivolous and unlawful. As for a general council, he would use all his diligence to have it meet, as he had formerly done: but the calling it belonged wholly to him; he said he would not restore the instruments; and told Bonner, that the datary should give him his answer in writing. Bonner went to the datary's chamber, where he found the answer already written, but not signed by him. Next day he signed it; adding the *salvo* of answering it more fully and more particularly, if it should be thought meet.

“The pope left Marseilles the next day, and went towards Rome. Bonner concludes that the French knew of their design, and were willing it should be done, two or

three days before the pope's departure; yet when it was done, they said it had spoiled all their matters, and the king's likewise." He says nothing of any threatening of bad usage to himself. The king of France, indeed, when he expostulated upon the affront done the pope, while in his house, said, that he durst not have done that in any other place: this makes it probable that the pope told him how he would have used Bonner, if he had served him with that appeal in his own territories. So, whether this came to be known afterwards from the court of France, or whether Bonner might have spread it in England, at his return, to raise the value of that piece of service, which he was capable of doing, cannot be determined. It is certain it was reported in England so, that in the answer to Sanders it is set down; and from him I took it: but I will leave it with the reader, to consider what credit may be due to it.

At the same time Cranmer hearing the pope designed to proceed against him, did, by the king's order, appeal likewise to a general council, and sent the instrument with a warrant to execute it, to Cromwell, that it might be sent to the bishop of Winchester, to get it to be intimated to the pope, in the best manner that could be thought of: he, therefore, by the king's command, sent this to him in a letter, dated the 22d of November, which will be found in the Collection (No. xxiv); but it does not appear to me what was done upon it.

I shall in the next place give an account of the instructions that the king of France sent by Bellay\*, then translated from Bayonne to Paris, whom he dispatched immediately after he came back from Marseilles, as the person in the kingdom that was the most acceptable to the king. The substance of them is, "That Francis had at the interview studied nothing so much as to advance Henry's matters: yet he heard that he complained of him as having done less than he expected, which he took much amiss. It was agreed by the two kings, that a proposition should be set on foot for the duke of Orleans' marrying the pope's niece, which had not been before thought of. The matter was so far advanced, and the interview so settled, that Francis could not afterwards put it off with honour; all being done pursuant to their first agreement at Calais. The pope promised to make no new step in King Henry's matter, if he would do the same. But King Henry did innovate in many particulars; yet, contrary to all men's expectations, he had effectually restrained the pope from showing his resentments.

\* Le Grand, p. 571.

upon it : and he was in a fair way to have engaged the pope against the emperor, if King Henry would have given him any handle for it. Once Francis hoped to have brought Henry to Marseilles ; but he judged that was not fit for him, and promised to send the duke of Norfolk in his stead : for notwithstanding the sentence passed at Rome, a remedy was proposed, if a person was sent with full powers, as was expected. When Gardiner came to Marseilles, he said he had orders to do whatsoever Francis should direct him, but indeed he brought no such powers. The pope was resolved to do all that he could advise him for Henry's satisfaction : and Francis would enter upon none of his own affairs, till that was first settled : he still waited for powers from England, but none were sent. This might have provoked Francis to have been less zealous, but it did not : instead of sending what Francis expected, there was an appeal made from the pope to a general council, which so highly provoked the pope, that what he had been labouring to do a whole week, was pulled down in one hour. It was also an injury to Francis to use the pope ill without his knowledge, when he was in his house, doing that there which they durst not have done anywhere else. This gave great joy to the Spaniards, and though the pope offered to put Leghorn, Parma, and Placentia, with other places of greater importance, into Francis's hand, yet, upon the rupture with Henry, he would treat of nothing, so he concluded the marriage, with no advantage to himself from it ; and yet for all this zeal and friendship that he had expressed to King Henry, he had no thanks, but only complaints. He saw he was disposed to suspect him in every thing, as in particular for his treating with the king of Scotland, though by so doing he had taken him wholly out of the emperor's hands. He proposes of new to King Henry, the same means that were proposed at Marseilles, in order to the reconciling him to the pope, with some other motions, which he will see are good and reasonable, and upon that all that passed would be easily repaired : he perceived plainly at Marseilles, that the king's ambassadors had no intentions to bring matters to an agreement ; and when he told them that he saw there was no intion to make up matters, they only smiled. It touched the king of France very sensibly, to see all his friendship and good offices to be so little understood and so ill requited. He was offered the duchy of Milan, if he would suffer the emperor and the pope to proceed against the king of England. But he was now to offer to King Henry, if he would reconcile himself to the pope, a league between the pope and the two kings, offensive and defensive. But if King

Henry would come into no such agreement, yet he was to assure him that he would still continue in a firm and brotherly friendship with him; and if, by reason of his marriage, and the censures that might be passed on that account, any prince should make war upon him, that he would assist him according to their treaties: and that he would so manage the king of Scotland, that he should engage him into a defensive league with him. In conclusion, he desired that some other better instruments than the bishop of Winchester might be employed, for he thought he had no good intentions, neither to the one nor the other of them."

There is some reason to suspect that these instructions are not fully set forth by Le Grand: for the best argument to persuade the king to come to terms of reconciliation, was to tell him what the pope had said to him of the justice of his cause. It is certain that Francis owned that on other occasions; this makes it highly probable that it was set forth in these instructions; so that I cannot help suspecting, that some part of them is suppressed.

At this time the king, in a letter to his ambassador that was at the emperor's court\*, after he had ordered him to lay open the falsehood of the reports that had been carried to the emperor of Queen Katherine's being ill used; and to complain of her obstinate temper, and of her insisting on her appeal to the pope, after the law was passed against all such appeals: he adds, that, as he had told the emperor's ambassador at his court, the pope had to the French king confessed that his cause was just and lawful; and that he had promised to him at Marseilles, that if the king would send a proxy, he would give sentence for him in his principal cause: which the king refused to do, looking on that as a derogation from his royal dignity. The pope, it seems, looked on his refusing to do this as a contempt, and pronounced sentence against him, notwithstanding his appeal to a general council, that had been personally intimated to him. This the king imputed to his malice, and his design to support his usurped authority.

The bishop of Paris coming to London, had very long and earnest conferences with the king†: in conclusion, the king promised, that if the pope would supersede his sentence, the king would likewise supersede the separating himself entirely from his obedience: upon that, though it was in winter, he went immediately post to Rome. At the same time the king sent a letter to his ambassadors at Rome;

\* Cotton Libr. Nero. B. 6.

† Memoirs de Bell. p. 414.

he tells them \*, “ That after the interview at Marseilles, he had heard, both by Bonner and Sir Gregory, that the pope had in a lively manner spoken to the emperor in favour of the king’s cause, and seemed more inclined than formerly to do him justice. He had proposed that the king should send a mandate, desiring his cause might be tried in an indifferent place : upon which he would send a legate and two auditors to form the process ; reserving the judgment to himself : or, that the king of France and he would concur to procure a general council, by concluding a truce for three or four years, upon which he would call one, and leave the king’s cause to be judged in it. The same overtures were made to the king by the pope’s nuncio. He pretended that Sir Gregory had made them to the pope in the king’s name ; and that the pope had agreed to them : yet the king had never sent any such orders to Sir Gregory, but rather to the contrary. Yet since the pope, in these overtures, showed better inclinations than formerly, which indeed he was out of hope of, he ordered thanks to be given him in his name. The king asked nothing in return for all the service he had done him and the see, but justice, according to the laws of God and the ordinances of the holy councils ; which, if he would now do speedily, setting aside all delays, he might be sure that he and his kingdom would be as loving to him and his see as they had been formerly accustomed to be : but for the truce, how desirous soever he was of outward quiet, yet he could not set himself to procure it, till he had first peace in his own conscience, which the pope might give him ; and then he would use his best endeavours for a general peace with the king of France ; from whom he would never separate himself. He therefore charges them to press the pope to remit the fact, to be tried within the kingdom, according to the old sanctions of general councils. If the pope would grant his desire, he would dispose all his allies to concur in the service of that see. He could not consent to let his cause be tried out of the realm ; it was contrary both to his prerogative, and to the laws of his kingdom : and by his coronation oath he was bound to maintain those. So, without the consent of his parliament, he could not agree to it ; and he was sure they would never consent to that. He hoped the pope would not compel him to do things prejudicial to the papal dignity, as it was then exercised, which, unless he were forced to it by the pope’s conduct towards him, he had no mind to do. The pope had said to Sir Gregory,

\* Rymer MSS. Collect. No. xxv.

that by their laws the pope could not dispense in such a marriage, unless there was an urgent cause pressing it: and the clearing this point, he thought, would more certainly advance the king's cause than the opinion of lawyers and divines, that the pope could not dispense with it. The emperor had said to the pope, that there was an extreme bloody war at that time between England and Spain; for the pacifying which, the dispensation allowing the marriage was granted: whereas, in the league signed by his father, and by Ferdinand and Isabella, upon which the dispensation was obtained, no such thing was pretended; the marriage was agreed to for the continuance and augmentation of their amity; and upon the account of the good qualities of the queen: it was also plainly expressed in that league, that her former marriage was consummated. So the dispensation was granted without any urgent cause. And therefore by the pope's own concession, it could not be valid: he sent to Rome an attested transcript of that league: so, if the pope would refer the judging in this matter to the church of England, and ratify the sentence given in it, he will not only acquire the obedience of us and of our people, but pacify the disputes that have been raised, to the quiet of all Christendom. He concludes, that if the pope seemed disposed to be benevolent to the king, they were not to declare all this as his final answer, but to assure him that he would study, by all honourable ways, to concur with the pope's towardly mind, if he will earnestly apply himself and persevere in such opinion as may be for the acceleration of the said cause." This is all that I can find of the submission that he offered; but how much further his promises sent by the bishop of Paris went, does not appear to me.

To quicken the court of France to interpose effectually with the pope, to bring this matter to the conclusion that all the papists of England laboured earnestly for, the duke of Norfolk wrote, on the 27th of January, a very full letter on the subject to Montmorency\*. "He was glad that the bishop of Paris was sent to Rome, with instructions expressing the entire union that was between the two kings. He wished he might succeed; for if the pope would persist in his obstinacy to favour the emperor, and to oppress the king in his most just cause, an opposition to his authority would be unavoidable; and it would give occasions to many questions, greatly to his prejudice, and against his usurpations. It began to be believed, that the pope had no authority out of Rome, any more than any other bishop has

\* Le Grand, p. 588.

out of his diocese : and that this usurped authority grew by the permission of princes, blinded by popes ; who, contrary to the laws of God, and the good of the church, had maintained it. To support this, many clear texts of Scripture were brought, with reasons founded on them : and many histories were alleged, to prove, that popes themselves were made by the emperors ; and that their authority was only suffered, but not granted, nor confirmed, by emperors or kings. Of all this, the bishops, and other doctors, had made such discoveries, that he himself and other noblemen, as well as the body of the people, were so convinced of it, that if the king would give way to it (which, if no interposition saves it, probably he will do), this present parliament will withdraw from the pope's obedience ; and then every thing that depends on it will be hated and abhorred by the whole nation : and other states and kingdoms may from thence be moved to do the same. He, out of the friendship that was between them, gave him this advertisement. He apprehended some ill effects from the readiness the king of France had expressed to favour the pope, even to the prejudice of his own authority. For he had taken a bull, to do justice in his own kingdom ; as if he had not full authority to do that without a bull. The pope and his successors might make this a precedent for usurping on the royal authority. He also complains, that though their king had promised to the earl of Rochford, that Beda, who had calumniated the king so much, and was his enemy in his just cause, should be banished not only from Paris, but out of his kingdom ; yet he was now suddenly recalled. He wishes these things may be considered in time : he does not propose that the king of France should turn the pope's enemy ; but if there came a rupture between the king and the pope, that he would not so favour the pope as to give him more boldness in executing his malice against the king or his subjects : and that they might not be deceived by his promises, as if he would enable Francis to recover his dominions in Italy, if he should be thereby engaged to lose the friendship of the king, and his allies."

This came in time to quicken the court of France : for, by a letter writ from Rome\* on the 20th of February, it appears, that the pope was at that time in great anxiety. He was pressed hard by the imperialists, on the one hand ; and he saw the danger of losing England, on the other hand. To some about him, he expressed a great inclination to be reconciled to the king : he sent secretly for some great law-

\* Cotton Lib Vitell. B. 14.

yers ; they were positive that the king's cause was just, and that his second marriage was good. But now the matter being brought to a crisis, I shall give it in the words of Du Bellay \*, who, no doubt, had his information from his brother. " King Henry, upon the remonstrances that the bishop of Paris made to him, condescended, that if the pope would supersede the sentence, till he sent judges to hear his matter, he would supersede the executing that which he was resolved to do ; which was, to separate himself entirely from obedience to the see of Rome. And the bishop of Paris offering to undertake the journey to Rome, he assured him, that when he obtained that which he went to demand there, he would immediately send him sufficient powers to confirm that which he had promised ; trusting in him, by reason of the great friendship that he had for so long a time borne him ; for he had been ambassador in his court for two years.

" It was a very severe winter ; but the bishop thought the trouble was small, so he might accomplish that which he went upon. So he came in good time to Rome, before any thing was done ; and in an audience in the consistory, he gave an account of that which he had obtained of the king of England, for the good of the church. The proposition was judged reasonable, and a time was assigned him for getting the king's answer : so he dispatched a courier to the king, with a charge to use such diligence, that he might return within the time limited.

" The day that was set for the return of the messenger being come, and the courier not come back, the imperialists pressed in consistory, that the pope should give sentence. The bishop, on the other hand, pressed both the pope in particular, and all the cardinals, that they would continue the time only for six days ; alleging that some accident might have happened to the courier ; the sea might not be passable, or the wind contrary, so that either in going or coming the courier might be delayed : and since the king had patience for six years, they might well grant him a delay for six days. He made these remonstrances in full consistory ; to which many of those who saw the clearest, and judged the best of things, condescended : but the greater number prevailed over the lesser number of those, who considered well the prejudice that was like to happen to the church by it ; and they went on with that precipitation, that they did, in one consistory, that which could not be done in three consistories ; and so the sentence was fulminated.

\* Mem. Du Bellay, p. 414, 415, 416.

“ Two days had not passed, when the courier came with the powers and declarations from the king of England ; of which the bishop had assured them. This did much confound those who had been for the precipitating the matter. They met often, to see if they could redress that which they had spoiled ; but they found no remedy. The king of England seeing with what indignity he was used, and that they showed as little regard to him as if he had been the meanest person in Christendom, did immediately withdraw himself, and his kingdom, from the obedience of the church of Rome ; and declared himself to be, under God, the head of the church of England.”

We have a further account of this transaction in the letters that M. Le Grand has published \*. On the 22d of February, Raince, the French ambassador, wrote from Rome a letter full of good hopes : and it seems the bishop of Paris wrote in the same strain ; but his letter of the 23d of March is very different from that : it was on the same day that the consistory was held. “ There were two-and-twenty cardinals present when sentence was given : by which King Henry’s marriage with Queen Katherine was declared good and valid, and the issue by it lawful. Upon hearing the news of this, he went and asked the pope about it, who told him it was true ; but that though some would have had it immediately intimated, he had delayed the ordering that till after Easter. He with the other French ambassadors made no answer to the pope, only the bishop of Paris told him he had no other business there ; so he must return home again. They did not put the pope in mind of the promises and assurances he had given them to the contrary, when they saw it was to no purpose ; and it was not easy to say such things as the occasion required : but the bishop intended to speak more plainly to the pope, when he should take his leave of him, which would be within three or four days. He adds, that for some reasons, which he would tell the French king, they were in doubt whether that which was done was not conform to a secret intention of the king’s, that was not made known to them. He apprehended, if he stayed longer there, it might give the king of England cause of suspicion : for he had by his last letters to him given him assurances, upon which perhaps he had dismissed his parliament ; for which he would be much displeas’d with the bishop. He desires the king will give advice of this with all diligence to King Henry, and then all the world would see, that the king had done all that was possible for him to do, both

\* Le Grand, p. 630, 631.

to serve his friend, and to prevent the great mischief that might follow to the church, and to all Christendom: for there was not any one thing omitted, that could have been done. The imperialists were running about the streets in great bodies, crying, Empire and Spain, as if they had got a victory; and had bonfires and discharges of cannon upon it. The Cardinals Trevulce, Rodolphe, and Priane, were not of that number; others had not behaved themselves so well as was expected. Raince, one of the ambassadors, said he would give himself to the devil, if the pope should not find a way to set all right that is now spoiled: he pressed the other ambassadors to go again to the pope for that end, it being a maxim in the canon law, that matrimonial causes are never so finally judged but that they may be reviewed: they were assured that the pope was surprised in this, as well as he had been in the first sentence passed in this matter. The pope had been all that night advising with his doctors how to find a remedy, and was in great pain about it; upon the knowledge of this they were resolved to go to him, and see if any thing was to be expected. In a post-script he tells the king, that he ought not to think it strange, if in their last letters they gave other hopes of the opinion of the cardinals than appeared now by their votes: they took what they wrote to him from what they said, which they heard, and not from their thoughts, which they could not know\*." By a letter that Pomponne Trevulce wrote from Lyons to the bishop of Auxerre, it appears, that the bishop of Paris passed through Lyons, in his return, on the 14th, two days before: "in it he gave him the same account of the final sentence that was formerly related: the bishop said to him it was not the pope's fault, for he was for a delay, and if they had granted a delay of six days, the king of England would have returned to the obedience of the apostolic see; and left his cause to be proceeded in according to justice; but the imperialists and their party in the consistory pressed the matter so, that they would admit of no delay: but when after a day the courier came, the imperialists themselves were confounded: he adds one thing, that the bishop told him of his brother the cardinal, that he pressed the delay so earnestly, that he was reproached for it, and called a Frenchman: he avowed that he was a servant to the most Christian king, and that the king of France, and his predecessors, had never done any thing but good to the apostolic see."

And now I have laid together all the proceedings in the

\* Mel. Hist. p. 117.

matters relating to the king's divorce, and his breach with the court of Rome. In opening all this, I have had a great deal of light given me, by the papers that M. Le Grand had published, and by the book that he gave me; for which, whatever other differences I may have with him, I return him in this public way my hearty thanks. There appears to have been a signal train of providence in the whole progress of this matter, that thus ended in a total rupture. The court of Rome, being overawed by the emperor, engaged itself far at first: but when the pope and the king of France were so entirely united as they knew they were, it seems they were under an infatuation from God, to carry their authority so far at a time in which they saw the king of England had a parliament to support him in his breach with Rome. It was but too visible, that the king would have given all up, if the pope would have done him but common justice. But when the matter was brought so near a total union, an entire breach followed, in the very time in which it was thought all was made up: those who favoured the Reformation saw all their hopes as it seemed blasted; but of a sudden all was revived again. This was an amazing transaction; and how little honour soever this full discovery of all the steps made in it does to the memory of King Henry, who retained his inclinations to a great deal of popery to the end of his life, yet it is much to the glory of God's providence, that made the persons most concerned to prevent and hinder the breach, to be the very persons that brought it on, and in a manner forced it.

The sentence was given at Rome on the 23d of March, on the same day in which the act of the succession to the crown of England did pass here in England: and certainly the parliament was ended before it was possible to have had the news from Rome of what passed in the consistory on the 23d of March: for it was prorogued on the 30th of March. So that if King Henry's word had been taken by the pope and the consistory, he seems to have put it out of his power to have made it good, since it is scarce possible to think, that a parliament, that had gone so far in the breach with Rome, could have been prevailed on to undo all that they had been doing for four years together.

Nothing material passed in convocation before the 31st of March, and then the actuary exhibited the answer of the lower house to this question, "Whether the bishop of Rome has any greater jurisdiction given him by God in the Holy Scriptures, within the kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop?" There were thirty-two for the nega-

tive, four for the affirmative, and one doubted. It was a thin house, and no doubt many absented themselves on design: but it does not appear how this passed in the upper house, or whether it was at all debated there: for the prelates had, by their votes in the house of lords, given their opinions already in the point. The convocation at York had the same position, no more made a question, put to them on the 5th of May: there the archbishop's presidents were deputed by him to confirm and fortify this. After they had examined it carefully, they did all unanimously, without a contrary vote, agree to it; upon which an instrument was made by the archbishop, and sent to the king, which will be found in the Collection (No. xxvi), as it was taken out of the register of York.

The king sent the same question to the university of Oxford, and had their answer. That part of the king's letter that relates to this matter, and the university's answer, were sent me, taken from the archives there, by the learned Mr. Bingham, which will be found in the Collection (No. xxvii). The king required them to examine the question sent by him to them, concerning the power and primacy of the bishop of Rome, and return their answer under the common seal, with convenient speed, according to the sincere truth. Dated from Greenwich, the 18th day of May. The answer is directed to all the sons of their mother church, and is made in the name of the bishop of Lincoln, their chancellor, and the whole convocation of all doctors, and master regents, and non-regents. "It sets forth, that whereas the king had received the complaints and petitions of his parliament, against some intolerable foreign exactions; and some controversies being raised concerning the power and authority of the bishop of Rome, the king, that he might satisfy his people, but not break in upon any thing declared in the Scriptures (which he will be always most ready to defend with his blood), had sent this question to them (setting it down in the terms in which it was proposed to the convocation). They upon this, to make all the returns of duty and obedience to the king, had brought together the whole faculty of divinity: and for many days they had searched the Scriptures, and the most approved commentators, and had collated them diligently, and had held public disputations on the matter; and at last they had all unanimously agreed, that the bishop of Rome has no greater jurisdiction given him by God, in the Holy Scriptures, in this kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop. This determination, made according to the statutes of their university, they affirm and testify as true, certain

and agreeing to the Holy Scriptures: dated on the 27th of June, 1534." Here was a long deliberation: it lasted about five weeks after the king's letter, and was a very full and clear determination of the point.

To this I shall add the fullest of all the subscriptions, instruments, and oaths, that was made, pursuant to these laws and decrees of convocation. I have seen several others to the same purpose: of which Rymer has published many instruments, all from page 487 to page 527, of ecclesiastics, regulars as well as seculars, mendicants, and Carthusians. but that from the prior and chapter of Worcester being much the fullest of them all, I shall only insert it in my Collection (No. xxviii), and leave out all the rest, that I may not weary the reader with a heavy repetition of the various forms, in which some expatiated copiously, to show their zeal for the king's authority, and against the papacy; which was looked on then as the distinguishing character of those who designed to set on a further reformation: whereas those, who did adhere to their former opinions, thought it enough barely to sign the proposition, and to take the oath prescribed by law.

There was likewise an order published, but how soon it does not appear to me; Strype says in June, 1534; it was before Queen Anne's tragical fall, directing the bidding prayers for the king, as the only and supreme head of this catholic church of England, then for Queen Anne, and then for the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to them both, our princess: and no further in the presence of the king and queen; but in all other places they were to pray for all archbishops and bishops, and for the whole clergy, and such as shall please the preacher to name of his devotion; then for all the nobility, and such as the preacher should name; then for the souls of them that were dead, and such of them as the preacher shall name. Every preacher was ordered to preach once, in the greatest audience, against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome; and he was left after that to his liberty: no preachers were in the pulpit to inveigh against, or to deprave one another: if they had occasion to complain, they were to do it to the king, or the bishop of the diocess. They were not to preach for or against purgatory, the honouring of saints, that faith only justifieth, to go on pilgrimages, or to support miracles: these things had occasioned great dissensions; but those were then well pacified. They were to preach the words of Christ, and not mix with them men's institutions, or to make God's laws and men's laws of equal authority; or to teach that any man had power to dispense with God's law. It seems there

was a sentence of excommunication with relation to the laws and liberties of the church published once a year, against all such as broke them ; this was to be no more published. The collects for the king and queen by name were to be said in all high masses ; they were likewise to justify to the people the king's last marriage, and to declare how ill the king had been used by the pope in all that matter, with the proofs of the unlawfulness of his former marriage ; and a long deduction was made of the process at Rome, and of all the artifices used by the pope, to get the king to subject himself to him, which I need not relate : it contains the substance of the whole cause, and the order of the process formerly set forth ; I have put it in the Collection (No. xxix). All that is particular in it is, that the king affirms, that a decretal bull was sent over, decreeing, that if the former marriage was proved, and if it did appear, as far as presumptions can prove it, that it was consummated, that marriage was to be held unlawful and null. This bull, after it was seen by the king, was, by the bishop of Rome's commandment, embezzled by the cardinals. He adds another particular, which I find nowhere but here ; that the pope gave out a sentence in the manner of an excommunication and interdiction of him and his realm ; of which complaint being made, as being contrary to all law and right, the fault was laid on a new officer lately come to the court ; who ought to have been punished for it, and the process was to cease : but though this was promised to the king's agents, yet it went on, and was set up in Flanders. Perhaps the words in the bishop of Paris's last letter, that the pope was surprised in the last sentence, as he had been in the first, are to be explained and applied to this. He also mentions the declarations that the pope had made to the French king and his council, of what he would gladly do for the king, allowing the justness of his cause ; and that he durst not do it at Rome, for fear of the emperor, but that he would come and do it at Marseilles ; and there he promised to that king to give judgment for the king, so he would send a proxy, which he knew before that he would not do, nor was he bound to do it.

Thus the king took care to have his cause to be fully set forth to all his own subjects : his next care was to have it rightly understood by all the princes of Europe. I have found the original instructions that he gave to Paget, then one of the clerks of the signet, whom he sent to the king of Poland, and the dukes of Pomerania and Prussia, and to the cities of Dantzic, Stetin, and Coningsburg : and it is to be supposed, that others were sent to other princes and

cities with the like instructions, though they have not come in my way. I have put them in the Collection (No. xxx). By these,

“ Their old friendship was desired to be renewed ; the rather because the king saw they were setting themselves to find out the truth of God’s word, and the justice of his laws ; and the extirpation of such corrupt errors and abuses, by which the world has been kept slaves under the yoke of the bishop of Rome, more than the Jews were under the ceremonies of Moses’s law. The king orders Paget to let them understand his great desire to promote, not only a friendship with them, but the common good of all Christendom : he orders him to give them an account of the whole progress of his cause of matrimony, with the intolerable injuries done him by the bishop of Rome, and the state in which that matter then stood. He was first to show them the justice of the king’s cause, then to open the steps in which it had been carried on. Here all the arguments against his marriage are stated, to make it appear to be contrary both to the laws of God, of nature, and of men. In this the king did not follow his own private opinion, nor that of the whole clergy of his realm ; but that of the most famous universities of Christendom : and therefore, by the consent of his whole parliament, and by the sentence of the archbishop of Canterbury, he has, for the discharge of his own conscience, and the good of his people, and that he might have a lawful successor to rule over them, separated himself from the Princess Dowager, and was then married to Queen Anne ; of whom follows a very exalted character, setting forth the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness, her chasteness, her meekness, her wisdom, her descent of noble parentage, her education in all good and lawful shows and manners, her aptness to procreation of children, with her other infinite good qualities, which were more to be esteemed than only progeny. If any should object to this second marriage, as contrary to the pope’s laws ; he asserts, that every man’s private conscience is to him the supreme court of judgment : so the king was satisfied in his own conscience, that, being enlightened by the Spirit of God, and afterwards by the means formerly set forth, he was judged to be at liberty from his former marriage, and free to contract a new one. The king also took great pains to satisfy the world, by long travel and study, with inestimable cost and charges, though he had no fruit from it all. Upon this head, Paget was to set forth the pope’s ungodly demeanour, in the whole progress of the king’s cause ; keeping

him off by delays for seven years and more. At first the pope, instead of judging the matter himself, sent a commission to England, to try it, with full powers, pretending that it could not be judged at Rome. He gave with these a decretal bull, in which he pronounced sentence, that the king might (*convolare ad secundas nuptias*) marry another wife; yet he gave the legate secret directions not to proceed by virtue of the decretal bull, nor to give sentence. He wrote a letter to the king with his own hand, in which he approved of the king's cause, and promised to the king, on the word of the pope, that he would not advocate the cause, but leave it in its due course; yet afterwards, contrary to his conscience and knowledge, he decreed several citations against the king to appear at Rome, to the subversion of the royal dignity: or to send a proxy, which cannot be justified by any colour of reason. He cites the council of Nice, Africa, and Milevi, against appeals to remote places. It was not reasonable to send original instruments, and other documents, to a distant place; nor in a matter of conscience, could a man give such power to a proxy, by which he was bound to stand to that which he should agree to: it was fit that all princes should consider what an attempt this made upon their dignity, for the pope to pretend that he could oblige them to abandon their kingdoms, and come and appear before him; by which he might depose kings, or rule them according to his own pleasure. So that all this was not only unjust, but null of itself. Dr. Karn being then at Rome as the king's subject, he offered a plea excusatory; yet this was not regarded by the dean of the Rota, who in that acted as he was directed by the pope: pretending he had no powers from the king, which by law was not necessary for an excusator. Karn had appealed to the pope: to this Capisucchi gave an ambiguous answer, promising to give a more determinate one afterwards, which yet he never did; but upon a second appeal the cause was brought into the consistory, and there it was judged that Karn could not be heard, unless he had a proxy from the king; and when Karn objected that such proceeding was against law, the pope answered, that he might judge all things according to his own conscience; and so they resolved to proceed in the main cause. At that time the king's ambassadors at Rome showed the pope the determination of the universities of Paris and Orleans, with the opinions of the most learned men in France and Italy, condemning the pope's proceedings as unjust and null; the words of their opinion being inserted in the instructions: yet the pope still went on, and sent out slanderous breves against the king, and designed to

excommunicate him. To prevent that the king did order a provocation and appeal to be made from the pope to a general council, and caused it to be intimated to the pope, but he would not admit it; and pretended, that, by a bull of Pope Pius's, that was condemned: and that he was superior to all general councils. He rejected it arrogantly, saying, they were heretics and traitors to his person who would appeal from him to any general council. It appeared evidently that the pope, for the defence of his own glory and ambition, regarded not what injuries he did to Christian princes: so they were all obliged now to be on their guard, against such invasions of their authority. For these reasons the king was resolved to reduce that exorbitant power which the pope had assumed within due limits; so that in his dominions he shall exercise no other jurisdiction than what is granted to him by express words of Scripture. Paget was to open all these things to those princes and states, desiring that they would adhere to the king in this matter, till it should come to be treated of in a general council: and in the mean time to give him their best assistance and advice, especially in some articles, of which a schedule was to be given him, signed with the king's hand, which he was to communicate to them as he should find it convenient. They related to some abuses and customs which seemed necessary to be reformed: and if they would propose any other, Paget was to receive their mind, and to assure them, that the king, as he desired their assistance in his causes and quarrels, so he would kindly admit of whatsoever they should propose; and would endeavour to extirpate all abuses against God's word and laws: and to do all that lay in him for the reformation thereof, for the maintenance of God's word, the faith of Christ, and the welfare of Christendom."

But because the king did not know what the mind of those princes might be, nor how far they were devoted to the pope, Paget was to try to find out their inclinations, before he should deliver the king's letters to them; and so to proceed according to his discretion, to deliver or not to deliver his letters, or to show his instructions to them. What followed upon this, and how it was executed, does not appear.

The judicious and diligent Sechendorf, in his history of Lutheranism\*, gives an account of a negociation of Paget's, two years before this. Cranmer, who was then the king's ambassador at the emperor's court, met with John Frederick, elector of Saxony, at Noremberg, who had secretly left the

\* I. iii, s. 6. Par. 16. Add.

diet of Ratisbon; and there he delivered letters from the king, both to the elector, to the duke of Lunenburg, and to the prince of Anhalt; which contained only a general offer of friendship. Cranmer came the next day to the elector, who had two of his ministers about him; and asked him many questions concerning their agreement with the state of religion, the Turkish war, and the church-lands, which (as they heard) they had seized on. He said great things of the king, and of the aid he had offered the emperor against the Turk, in conjunction with the French king. He asked where Paget was; whom the king had sent to the elector. General answers were made to all his questions; and for Paget, he had been with the elector the former year. This passed on to the 15th of July, 1532. Four days after this he came privately to Spalatin, one of the elector's secretaries, and assured him, that both the king and the French king would assist the elector and his allies in the matter of religion. In August after that Paget came to the elector, who proposed many things to him concerning religion; but the princes had then come to an agreement with the emperor; so they could enter into no treaty at that time. Only John Frederick did, in a writing under his own hand, offer the scheme of that which was afterwards proposed in their name to the king.

All these negociations were set on foot, pursuant to a paper of advices offered to the king by Cromwell; in which there are divers marginal notes writ in the king's own hand, which will be found in the Collection (No. xxxi). First, "all the bishops were to be sent for, especially those nearest the court; to examine them, whether they can prove that the pope is above the general council, or the council above him; and whether, by the law of God, he has any authority in England? Next, they are to be charged to preach this to the people: and to show that the pope's authority was an usurpation, grown up by the sufferance of princes. This ought to be preached continually at Paul's Cross; and the bishop of London was to suffer none to preach there but those who will set this forth. The same order was to be given to all other bishops, and to the rulers of the four orders of friars, particularly to the friar observants, and to all abbots and priors. The king's appeal was also to be set up on every church-door in England, that so none may pretend ignorance; as also the act against appeals to Rome. It was also proposed, that copies of the king's appeal might be sent to other realms, particularly to Flanders. A letter was also proposed, complaining of all the injuries done the king by the pope; to be written to him by all the

lords spiritual and temporal. The king writes on the margin, *Not yet done; nor can it well be done before the parliament.* To send spies into Scotland, to see what practices were there: on the margin the king's orders; *Letters to be written to the Lord Ducres, the Duke of Norfolk, and Sir Thomas Clifford.* To send to the kings of Poland and Hungary, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, the landgrave of Hesse, and the three ecclesiastical electors: on the margin the king writes, *In the King's arbitrement.* This, it seems, gave the occasion of sending Paget. The like proposed for the Hans Towns: on the margin, in the king's hand, *To know this of the king.* To remember the merchant adventurers, chiefly those of Brabant; on the margin, *This is already done.* Then it is proposed, that an order be given for establishing the princess dowager's house, and the Lady Mary's, and for my lady princess's house: this was Elizabeth's. To this, on the margin, it is written by the king, *The order is taken."*

In June, in the year 1535, after the parliament had settled every thing demanded of them, the king published a circular letter, which will be found in the Collection (No. xxxii), taken from the original. "In which, after he had set forth that both clergy and temporalty had abolished the bishop of Rome's usurpations, and had united to the crown the dignity of supreme head in earth of the church of England; which was also approved in convocation, and confirmed by their oaths and subscriptions: he adds, that, considering what quiet would follow in the nation, if the bishops and clergy would sincerely, and without dissimulation, publish the many and great abuses of the pope's usurpation; he had sent letters to all bishops, charging them, not only in their own persons, but by their chaplains, to preach the true and sincere word of God to the people, and to give warning, to all ecclesiastical persons to do the same; and to cause the pope's name to be rased out of all the books of Divine service. He had also required the justices of peace to examine whether the bishops and clergy did this sincerely; or whether they did it coldly, or feignedly; or used any addition or gloss to it. Upon all this, the king requires them, at their assizes and sessions, to make diligent search, whether the bishops and clergy do their duty sincerely. Likewise, at their meetings, they were to set the same forth to the people; and also declare the treasons committed by the bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More, who by divers secret practices intended to breed among the people most mischievous opinions; for which they, with some others, had suffered as they deserved. He requires them, if

they found any fault or dissimulation in any person, that they should immediately signify it to the king and his council, as that which was of the greatest moment to the quiet of the kingdom; threatening such punishment of those who were negligent in this, as would make them examples to all others; and he charges them upon their allegiance to obey all this punctually.

But it seems this had not the effect that was expected; therefore, in April after this, a new letter or proclamation was writ to some of the nobility (Collect. No. xxxiii), setting forth that he had heard that some, both regulars and seculars, did secretly extol the authority of the bishop of Rome, praying for him in the pulpit, and making him a God, preferring his power and laws to God's most holy laws. The king therefore, out of desire to maintain unity and quiet among his people, and to bring them to the knowledge of the truth, and to be no more blinded with superstition and false doctrine, required them, that where-soever they found any person spreading such pernicious doctrines, to the exaltation of the bishop of Rome, to cause them to be apprehended and put in prison without bail or mainprise.

Among the bishops all were not equally honest nor zealous. Lee, archbishop of York, and Gardiner, were those in whom the old leaven had the deepest root: so the king being informed that Lee, though he had given in his profession, subscribed and sealed by him, yet did not his duty in his diocess and province, neither in teaching himself, nor causing others to teach the people, conform to what was settled both in convocation and parliament, sent him orders both to preach these things, and to order all other ecclesiastical persons in his province to do the same: upon this he wrote a long vindication of himself in June, 1535, which will be found in the Collection (No. xxxiv).

“He sets forth in it the complaints that the king signified had been made of him, with the orders that he had received from the king, and then sets out his own conduct. He acknowledges he had received, at the end of the last parliament, a book sent from the archbishop of Canterbury, as a book of orders for preaching (probably that which is the 28th paper in the Collection.) Upon his receiving it, he went on Sunday next to York, and there he set forth the cause of the king's marriage, and the rejecting the pope's authority, very fully; and that this might be done the more publicly, he had caused it to be published at York the Sunday before that he would be there, and so took care to have a full audience: so that there was a great multitude there. His

text was, 'I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come;' and he so declared the king's matters, that all seemed satisfied. It is true he did not touch the title of the king as the supreme head, for there was no order given as to that, for it was thus only ordered to have it named in the prayer. It is true he did not use to bid prayers, for the greater haste to utter his matter. But upon the receipt of that book, he commanded his officers to make out a great number of them, to be sent to every preacher in his diocess; and by all that he ever heard, every one of his curates followed that book, and had done their duty in every particular enjoined in it: he took care that all who preached in their churches should follow the rules prescribed in it. He also sent a book to every house of friars. And for the religious, when any such person came to him, naming particularly the Carthusians and the Observants, for counsel, he told them what he had done himself, and advised them to do the same. On Good-Friday last, he had ordered the collect for the pope to be left out; and also the mentioning him in other parts of the service: he desired the king would examine these things, and he would find he was not so much in fault as he imputed it to him. He had been hitherto open and plain, and had never deceived the king. He had also sent letters to the bishops of Duresme and Carlisle, pursuant to the letters that he had from the king; and had charged his archdeacons to see that all obedience might be given to the king's orders. He had since he received the king's last letters, on the Sunday following, declared to the people every thing comprised in them. He refers himself to Magnus and Lawson, two of the king's chaplains, who heard him, to make report of what they thought of it. Whatever he promised to the king he would fulfil it: and he had done every thing as the king commanded, and would still do it, so God were not offended by it. He besought the king not to believe any complaints of him till he have heard his answer. Some thought it was a high sacrifice, when they could bring such a poor priest as he was under the king's displeasure; but he trusted God would continue in him a gracious mind to his priests and chaplains, and that he would give their enemies, who studied to provoke him against them, better minds for the future."

I have no particulars to add to the relation I gave of the sufferings of Fisher and More. There are heavy things laid to their charge; but, except Fisher's being too much concerned in the business of the Nun of Kent, which was without doubt managed with a design to raise a rebellion in the nation, I do not find any other thing laid to his charge:

and it does not at all appear that More gave any credit or countenance to that matter. Yet I have seen that often affirmed. In our own days, when things have happened both together, though the one did not by any sort of proof appear to be connected with the other, yet they have been represented as done in concert: so the conspiracy of the Nun, and those who managed that imposture, was given out, both at home and abroad, as having its rise from Fisher, who indeed knew of it, and seemed to give credit to it; and from More, though he had no share at all in it.

The king of France was not satisfied with this way of proceeding: he thought it too violent, and that it did put things past all possibility of a reconciliation. He had answered for the king to the pope at Marseilles, and he was in such a concern for him, that the wrong steps he made reflected on himself. He told the king's ambassador, that he advised the banishing of all such offenders, rather than the putting them to death. That king confessed there had been extreme executions and cruelty lately exercised in his own kingdom: but he was now putting a stop to it, and resolved to call home all those that had fled out of his kingdom. He had seen a relation of More's sufferings, by which it appeared that he exhorted his daughter to all duty and respect to the king, which made the proceedings against such a man to be the more censured.

The ambassadors wrote this to the king soon after More's death\*. The king wrote on the 23d of August, an answer from Thornbury to this purpose: "If the king of France answered for the king, and had justified his cause, he had done what was just and suitable to their friendship: the conspiracies of Fisher and More to sow sedition, and to raise wars, both within and without the kingdom, were manifestly proved to their face: so that they could not avoid nor deny it. The relation he had seen concerning More's talk with his daughter at his death was a forged story: the king took it in ill part that King Francis should so lightly give ear and credit to such vain tales. This ungrateful behaviour showed that the king of France had not that integrity of heart that the king deserved, and might expect from him. Then follows a vindication of the laws lately made, which indeed were only laws revived. The banishing of traitors was no ways convenient: that was to send them in places where they might more safely and conveniently execute their conspiracies. Upon all which the ambassador was ordered to expostulate plainly, but dis-

\* Collec. Numb. xxxv; Rymer MSS.

creetly, both with the king, and with the great master. There appears a strain of coldness in the whole intercourse between the two courts of France and England, even from the interview at Marseilles to this time."

Pope Clement was now dead, with whom the king of France was more closely united: and he found the king's friendship was yet so necessary to him, that he resolved to remove all jealousies: so to give the king a full assurance of his firmness to him, he sent him a solemn engagement to adhere to him. It is true I have seen only a copy of this; but it is minuted on the back by Cromwell's hand, and is fairly writ out. There is no date set to it, but it was during Queen Anne's life, and after Pope Clement's death, so probably it was sent over about this time. It will be found in the Collection (No. xxxvi).

It begins thus, "That both friendship and piety did require, that he should employ his whole strength and authority to maintain the justice of his dearest friend. The king of England, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and, under God, supreme head of the church of England, had, by a dispensation granted by Pope Julius, contracted a marriage in fact with Katherine of Spain, relict of the king's elder brother Arthur, and had one daughter yet living of that marriage: that king, upon great and weighty reasons well known to King Francis, had withdrawn himself from that marriage; and had lawfully and rightfully married Anne, now his queen, of whom he hath issue the Princess Elizabeth: and a debate had arisen concerning the dispensation, and the first marriage, and the legitimacy of the issue by it; in which King Francis, by many arguments, did perceive, that the pope himself had not a due regard to equity; and that what by the iniquity of the times, what by ill practice against all law and right, many things were done. The king therefore consulted the men of the greatest integrity in his kingdom, and the most learned both in divinity and in the laws of the church; whom he charged to make a report to him according to their consciences, as in the sight of God, having first conferred among themselves fully upon the whole matter: he does therefore, upon all their unanimous opinion, clearly perceive, that the dispensation granted by the pope was in itself null, both by reason of the surprise put on him by the grounds pretended in it for obtaining it, but chiefly because the pope could not dispense in that case; since such marriages are contrary to the laws of God and of nature: for the pope has no authority to dispense in that case; so that the marriage between King Henry and Queen Katherine was incestuous and null, as

contrary to the laws of God and man : and by consequence the Lady Mary, born of that marriage, was illegitimate. And further, that the marriage the king has contracted with Anne, now his queen, was holy, lawful, and good ? and that Elizabeth, born of that marriage, and all the other issue that might come of it, was lawful, and ought so to be esteemed. He adds, that many of the cardinals, naming particularly the late Cardinal of Ancona, and even the late Pope Clement himself, did declare their own positive opinion to himself personally at Marseilles, and frequently to his ambassadors, that the dispensation granted by Pope Julius, upon which the first marriage was made, was null and void : and the pope would have declared this by a final and definitive sentence, if private affections and human regards had not stood in his way. All which that king did solemnly declare. He therefore, looking on that dispensation as null and void, and by consequence on the marriage contracted by that authority as unlawful and incestuous, and on the Lady Mary as incapable to succeed, being born in it, did judge and affirm, that the marriage with Queen Anne, and the issue come, or to come from it, was lawful and valid ; and that the just right of succeeding to the crown was vested in the issue of that marriage : and that all judgments and censures, either by the late Pope Clement or by any other judge, that were made and published, or that might hereafter be made or published, were and are null and void, unjust and unlawful : and he promised, on the word and faith of a king, and under the forfeiture of all his goods, and of all the goods of his subjects, in the form of a contract of guaranty, both for himself and his heirs successors, that he, at all times, and in all places, particularly in all synods or general councils, and before all persons, and against all men whatsoever that should oppose it, of what rank or condition soever they might be, he would both by himself, and by his subjects, maintain and defend it, and (if need were) justify it, by a strong hand, and with all his forces. Nor would he ever, for the future, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, go against it, or so much as attempt it, nor suffer it to be attempted by any other, as much as in him lay."

Here was as positive an assurance as could be put in words. And though princes have in former times, as well as in our own days, made bold with their promises and treaties ; and have very easily thrown them off, or broke through them, without any appearance of great remorse or shame ; yet it must be confessed, that Francis did never, even in the war that he afterwards had with King Henry, depart from or falsify this engagement.

### BOOK III.

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*Of what happened during the Time comprehended in the Third Book of the History of the Reformation; from the Year 1535, to King Henry's Death, anno 1546-7.*

KING HENRY seemed not a little pleased with his title of the supreme head of the church of England; of which it was enacted, in the session of parliament that sat after the breach was made with Rome, that it should be for ever joined to the other titles of the crown, and be reckoned one of them. He ordered an office for all ecclesiastical matters, and a seal to be cut; which, in an inhibition sent to the archbishop, in order to a royal visitation of the whole clergy of all England, is, for aught I know, first mentioned. It is dated the 18th of September, 1535; and, at the end, these words are added; "Under our seal, that we use in ecclesiastical matters, which we have ordered to be hereunto appended."

The archbishop of Canterbury's title was also in convocation ordered to be altered: instead of the title of legate of the apostolic see, he was to be designed metropolitan and primate. This last was one of his ancient titles. In that session, there was some discourse concerning heresy, and of some English books; in particular of Tindal's books. And there was a book laid before them, with the title of a Primer; of which there is no other account given, but that, from the rubrics of it, they suspected it was a book not fit to be published. This, it seems, produced a petition to the king, that he would command all heretical books to be called in, within a time limited; and that he would appoint the Scripture to be translated in the vulgar tongue; but that though the laity might read it, yet they were to be required not to dispute concerning the catholic faith.

It is very probable, that a breach was upon this occasion begun between Cranmer and Gardiner. The sharpness against heresy was probably supported by Gardiner, as the motion for the translation of the Bible was by Cranmer. But when Cranmer, in order to an archiepiscopal visitation of the whole province, having obtained the king's licence for it on

the 28th of April, sent out his inhibition, according to form, to the ordinaries during the visitation; upon this, Gardiner complained to the king of it, for two reasons. He thought the title of primate of England did derogate from the king's power. The other was, that since his diocese had been visited within five years last past, and was now to pay for ever tenths to the king, it ought not to be charged with this visitation. Of this Cromwell gave Cranmer notice. He, on the 12th of May, wrote a vindication of himself, which will be found in the Collection (No. xxxvii).

“He believed that Gardiner (who wanted neither law, invention, nor craft, to set out his matters to the best advantage) studied to value himself upon his zeal for the king's supremacy, that so he might seem more concerned for that than for himself. Cranmer laid himself and all his titles at the king's feet: but he wrote, Why did not Gardiner move this sooner? For he had received his monition on the 20th of April. The pope did not think it lessened his supremacy, that he had many primates under him: no more did his title lessen the king's supremacy. Gardiner knew well, that if the pope had thought those subaltern dignities had weakened his supreme one; he would have got all the bishops to be put on the level; there being many contentions concerning jurisdiction in the court of Rome. But if all the bishops of the kingdom set no higher value on their styles and titles than he did, the king should do in those matters what he pleased. For if he thought that his style was in any sort against the king's authority, he would beg leave to lay it down. He felt in his heart, that he had no sort of regard to his style or title, further than as it was for the setting forth of God's word and will; but he would not leave any just thing at the pleasure of the bishop of Winchester, he being no otherwise affectionate to him than he was. In the apostles' days there was a Diotrophes, who loved the pre-eminence; and he had more successors than all the other apostles; from whom all glorious titles and much pomp was come into the church. He wished that he and all his brethren might leave all their styles, and call themselves only the apostles of Jesus Christ; so that they took not the name vainly, but were such indeed; and did order their diocesses, so that not parchment, lead, or wax, but the conversion of their people, might be the seals of their office; as St. Paul said the Corinthians were to him.” He answers the other part very fully; but that will be found in the letter itself; it not being of that importance to deserve that any abstract should be made of it.

It was soon observed that there was a great faction

formed against any reformation in doctrine or worship, and that those who favoured and promoted it were ill used by the greater part of the bishops: of which I shall give one instance, and by it one may judge of the rest; for I have seen many complaints to the same purpose. Barlow was, by Queen Anne's favour, made prior of Haverford-West, in Pembrokeshire. He set himself to preach the pure gospel there, and found many were very desirous to hear it; but he was in danger of his life daily by reason of it: and an accusation being brought against him by a black friar there, set on by Rawlins, then bishop of St. David's, who both rewarded him for it, and recommended him to the arches; for Barlow had appealed to the king; he owns, that, by Cromwell's favour, their designs against him were defeated; but he having sent a servant home about business, the bishop's officers cited him to their courts, and ransacked his house, where they found an English Testament, with an exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, and of some other parts of the New Testament. Upon this they clamoured against him as a heretic for it. They charged the mayor of the town to put him and some others in prison, seeking by all means to find witnesses against them; but none appearing, they were forced to let them go, but valued themselves upon this their zeal against heresy. He sets forth the danger that all were in, who desired to live according to the laws of God, as became faithful subjects: for in that multitude of monks, friars, and secular priests, that was then in those parts, there was not one that sincerely preached the word of God, and very few that favoured it. He complains of the enormous vices, fraudulent exactions, and heathenish idolatry, that were shamefully supported under the clergy's jurisdiction; of which he offered to make full proof, if it should be demanded and received: but that being done, he desired leave to remove from thence; for he could neither go home, nor stay there safely, without a special protection. This letter will be found in the Collection (No. xxxviii).

Barlow was that year made bishop of St. Asaph, and the year after was translated to St. David's, and was after that removed to Wells, but driven out by Queen Mary, and was made bishop of Chichester by Queen Elizabeth, in which he lived ten years.

The secret opposition that the bishops gave to the steps made towards a reformation, obliged Cromwell to send many agents, in whom he trusted, up and down the nation, to observe all men's tempers and behaviour. Leigh, among others, being sent to York, did (in January) enjoin the archbishop,

by an order from the king, to preach the word of God, and to set forth the king's prerogative. He also enjoined him, to bring up to the king all the foundations of his see, and all commissions granted to it. In these, he did not doubt but they would find many things fit to be reformed: and he advised, that every bishop might be so ordered, that their dioceses might be better instructed and edified. That would establish them in their fidelity to the king, and to his succession: but the jurisdictions might be augmented, or diminished, as should seem convenient. This letter, which will be found in the Collection (No. xxxix), opens a design that I find often mentioned, of calling in all the pope's bulls, and all the charters belonging to the several sees, and regulating them all. But, perhaps, the first design being the suppressing the monasteries, it was not thought fit to alarm the secular clergy till that was once done. yet the order for sending up all bulls was at the same time generally executed. There is a letter of Tonstall's, writ soon after this to Cromwell, put in the Collection (No. xl), in which he mentions the king's letters to all the bishops, to come up immediately after the feast of the purification, with all the bulls they had obtained from Rome, at any time. But the king, considering that Tonstall had gone down but late, ordered Dr. Layton to write to him, that he needed not come up; but advised, that he should write to the king, that he was ready to do as other bishops did, and to deliver up all such bulls as the king desired of him. Layton wrote to him that Cromwell, as his friend, had assured the king that he would do it.

In answer to this, Tonstall thanked him for his kindness on that and on many other occasions. "He did not understand to what intent these bulls were called for (and it seems he apprehended it was to have all the bishops give up their right to their bishoprics), yet he had sent them all up to be delivered at the king's pleasure: he adds, that he hoped by this demand the king did not intend to make him leave his bishopric, and both to turn him out of his living, and to ruin all his servants that had their living only by him; in which he wrote he could not be thought either ambitious or unreasonable: so he desired to know what the king's pleasure was, not doubting but that the king would use him as well as he used the other bishops in the kingdom, since as he had obtained these bulls by him, he had renounced every thing in them that was contrary to his prerogative. He had but five bulls, for the rest were delivered to those to whom they were addressed: so he commits himself to the king's good-

ness, and to Cromwell's favour\*." Dating his letter from Aukland, the 29th of January, which must be in the year 1535-6.

Tonstall might be under more than ordinary apprehensions of some effect of the king's displeasure; for, as he had opposed the declaring him to be the supreme head in the convocation of York, so he had stuck firmly to the asserting the lawfulness of the king's marriage to Queen Katherine. Before the meeting of the parliament, in which that matter was determined, he, with the proxy that he sent to the bishop of Ely, wrote him a letter, of which Mr. Richard Jones saw the original, which he has inserted in his voluminous Collections, that are in the Bodleian Library; in which these words are, after he had told him that he had given him full power to consent or dissent from every thing that was to be proposed. He adds,

"Yet nevertheless I beseech you, if any thing harmful or prejudicial in any point to the marriage between the king's highness and the queen's grace shall be proposed, wherein our voices shall be demanded; in your own name say what you will, and what God putteth in your mind: but I desire you, and on God's behalf I require you, never in my name to consent to any such thing proposed, either harmful or prejudicial to the marriage aforesaid; but expressly to dissent unto the same: and for your discharge on that behalf, ye may show, when you think it requisite, this my particular declaration of my mind, made unto you therein, and what I have willed and required you to do in my name in this point, praying your lordship not to do otherwise in my name, as my similar trust is in you that ye will not." Dated from Aukland in January, but neither day nor year is mentioned.

(1536.) The session of parliament in which the act of the succession passed, by which the king's marriage with Queen Katherine was condemned, meeting in January, this letter seems to be written before that session; and yet no opposition was made to that act in the house of lords, either by the bishop of Ely, or by the bishop of Bath, whom he had made his second proxy, as appears by the same letter, in which he is also named. The act passed so soon, that it was read the first time on the 20th of March, and passed on the 23d in the house of lords, without either dissent or protest. It is also certain that Tonstall afterwards took the oath enjoined by that act. But how these bishops came to be

\* Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.

silent upon that occasion, being so solemnly required to do otherwise by Tonstall, and how he himself came to change, and to take the oath, is that of which I can give no account. It is certain King Henry had a very particular regard for him; but yet by this letter it appears, that he had some fears of a severity aimed at himself: but he was afterwards in all things very compliant, even to the end of King Edward's reign\*.

There came up, from all parts of the kingdom, many complaints of the ill behaviour and bad practices of the monks and friars: of the last chiefly, for the mendicant order being always abroad begging, they had many more occasions to show themselves: and though the monks had not those occasions to be in all public places, yet it was very visible that they were secretly disposing the people to a revolt. So it was resolved to proceed against them all by degrees: and after the visitations and injunctions, which had no great effect, they began with the smaller houses, that were not above 200*l.* a year: this swept away at once all the mendicants, who were the most industrious, and by consequence the most dangerous.

The archbishop of York was much suspected; and if many apologies look like intimations of some guilt, he had a great deal; for he took many occasions to justify himself. Upon the act for taking all the lesser monasteries into the king's hands, he expressed great zeal in serving the king, which appears in a letter of his to Cromwell in April 1536 (Collect. No. xli). He gave a strict commandment to his archdeacons to warn all in the monasteries within the act, not to embezzle or convey away any thing belonging to the house: and if they had done any such thing, to restore it. He ordered them to give warning to all others not to meddle with any such goods. He had also warned the mayor of York and his brethren, and the master of the mint there, to receive none of the goods or plate of these monasteries: having thus expressed his care in that matter, he made an earnest suit for two places that were of the patronage of his see. The one was St. Oswald's, which was a free chapel; the prior was removeable at the archbishop's pleasure, and he might put secular priests in it if he pleased. The other was Hexham, upon the borders of Scotland, which was once an episcopal see; and there not being a house between Scotland and that lordship, if that house should go down, there would be a great waste that would run far into the country: whether he obtained these suits or not does not appear to

\* Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.

me : after that he adds, that he had given order, that no preachers should be suffered that preached novelties, and did sow seeds of dissension : some, after that they were forbid to preach, did go on, and preach still : he had ordered process against them ; some of them said they would get the king's licence : if that were done, he must be silent ; but he hoped Cromwell would hinder that, and give him notice if they had obtained the king's licence. some said they had the archbishop of Canterbury's licence ; but none of these should be obeyed there, none but the king's licences and his.

Upon the many complaints of preachers of all sorts, King Henry wrote a circular letter\* to all the bishops on the 12th of July, letting them know, that, considering the diversity of opinion in matters of religion, he had appointed the convocation to set forth certain articles of religion, most catholic ; but to prevent all distraction in the minds of his people, he ordered, that, till that was published, no sermons should be preached till Michaelmas ; unless by the bishop, or in his presence, or in his cathedral, where he is to take care to furnish such as he can answer for : every bishop is therefore required to call in all his licences for preaching, and to publish this in the king's name. He is also required to imprison all those who acted against this order : and not to suffer any private conventicles or disputations about these matters : to this is added a direction for the bidding of prayers ; that they should pray for departed souls, that God would grant them the fruition of his presence : and a strict charge is laid on curates, that when the articles of religion shall be sent them, they should read them to their people, without adding or diminishing ; excepting only such to whom he shall under his seal give power to explain them.

The blind bishop of Norwich, Nix, was condemned in a *premunire*, and put out of the king's protection, for breaking through a custom that the town of Thetford had enjoyed past all memory, that no inhabitant of that town could be brought into any ecclesiastical court, but before the dean of that town ; yet that old and vicious bishop cited the mayor before him, and charged him, under the pain of excommunication, not to admit of that custom. Upon this judgment was given in the temporal courts against the bishop ; but he was now received into the king's protection. In the pardon mention is made of his being convicted upon the statute of provisors. Stokesley, bishop of London, was charged with the breach of the same statute, for which he took out a pardon.

\* Reg. Heref. Fox, fol. 6.

During these years Cromwell carried no higher character than that of secretary of state \* ; but all applications were made to him in ecclesiastical matters: so, whether this was only by reason of his credit with the king, or if he was then made vicar-general, does not appear to me. But as the king took care to keep all things quiet at home, so he set himself to cultivate a particular friendship with the princes of the empire of the Augsburg confession; hoping by their means to be able to give the emperor a powerful diversion, if he should go about to execute the pope's censures. The king of France had been for some time endeavouring to beget a confidence of himself in the minds of those princes; pretending that he was neither for the Divine nor the unbounded authority that the popes had assumed; but only he thought it was reasonable to allow them a primacy in the church, and to set limits to that. Langey was the person most employed in the managing of this matter. But when the king came to understand, that the king of France had sent for Melancthon, being then at Langley, he ordered the duke of Norfolk and the Lord Rochford to write to Cromwell, commanding him to dispatch Barnes immediately to Germany, and to use such diligence, that, if it were possible, he might meet Melancthon before he was gone into France, and to dissuade his going thither, since the French king was then persecuting those who did not submit to the pope's usurped authority: he was to use all possible arguments to divert him from going, and to persuade him all he could to come over to England; showing him the conformity of the king's opinions with his own, and setting forth the king's noble and generous temper: but if he was gone into France, Barnes was to go on to the princes of Germany, and Cromwell was to send a messenger with him, to be sent back with an account of the state of matters among them. He was to engage the princes to continue firm in the denial of the pope's authority, in which their honour was deeply concerned; and they might depend upon the king in that matter, who had proceeded in it with the advice of the most part of the great and famous clerks in Christendom, from which he would never vary, nor alter his proceedings. Barnes was to carry over a book written on that subject, and some sermons of the bishop's, and to put the princes on their guard as to the French king; for he assured them that both he and his council were altogether papists.

Barnes was likewise directed to send Hains (afterwards dean of Exeter) and Christopher Mount (an honest German,

\* Rymer.

who was long employed by the crown of England) to Sir John Wallop, the king's ambassador in France, on pretence that they went as his friends to visit him. If Melancthon was in France, they were to go secretly to him, to dissuade his stay long there; or his altering his opinion in any particular. Some copies of the book, and the sermons, were to be carried by them to France. If it were true that the king of France was so set to maintain the pope's supremacy, Wallop was to represent to him how contrary that was to his honour, to subject himself to the pope, and to persuade others to do the same; and to charge him that he would remember his promise to maintain the king's cause and proceedings; and since the king did not move the subjects of any other prince, why should the French king study to draw the Germans from their opinion in that matter, which the king thought himself much concerned in, since it was so much against the king's interest and his own promise. Wallop was to use all means to incline him rather to be of the king's opinion. They also ordered Cromwell to write to the bishop of Aberdeen, that the king took it very unkindly, that his nephew the king of Scotland was suing to marry the duke of Vendome's daughter without his advice; he had proposed it to him before, and then he would not hearken to it. This negligence the king imputed to that bishop, and to the rest of the Scottish council: the letter concludes, "that Barnes should not be stayed for further instructions from the bishop of Canterbury. These should be sent afterwards by the almoner, Fox." This letter will be found in the Collection (No. xlii).

This came soon enough to stop Melancthon's journey to France. The great master and the admiral of France did not think of any thing with relation to Germany, but of a civil league to embroil the emperor's affairs. They were against meddling in points of religion; and so were against Melancthon's coming to France. They were afraid that the French divines and he would not agree; and that might alienate the German princes yet more from the court of France\*. Hains and Mount wrote this over from Rheims, on the 8th of August, 1535. It is true, Langey was sent to bring him, hoping to meet him at Wirtemberg, but he was not come thither; only the heads of their doctrine were sent to him. With these he came back to France. The king's divines made some emendations, which Langey said to Mount he believed the Germans would submit to; and so he was sent back with a gold chain, and letters to

\* Paper office.

bring Melancthon and six other eminent German divines with him. Of this, Mount gave the advice the 7th of September in that year.

This whole matter came to nothing: for Francis's sister, the queen of Navarre, was the person who pressed him chiefly to it; hoping by this once to engage him in some point of doctrine, which, as she hoped, might draw on a rupture with Rome; but his minister diverted him from all thoughts of engaging in doctrinal matters; and they put him on entering into a league with the princes of the empire, only with relation to their temporal concerns. Nor were the German princes willing to depart in a tittle from the Augsburg confession, or enter upon new treaties about points that were settled already among them; which might give occasion to new divisions among themselves. And no doubt the king's interposing in the matter with such earnestness had great weight with them; so he was delivered from the alarm that this gave him. But to go on with the king's affairs in Germany.

Fox with Heath (on whom Melancthon set a high value) was sent soon after Barnes to negotiate with the Germans\*. He had many conferences with some of their divines, and entered into a large treaty about several articles of religion with those of Wirtemberg, which lasted three months, to the elector's great charge, and the uneasiness of the Germans.

Melancthon had dedicated his Commentary on the Epistles to the king; who sent him (upon it) a present of two hundred crowns, and wrote a letter to him full of particular expressions of esteem, and assurances that he would always assist him in those his pious labours; dated from Winchester, the first of October, 1535. Fox seemed to assure them, that the king would agree with them in all things; and told them, that the king had already abolished the popish superstitions, which he called the Babylonish tyranny; calling the pope Antichrist. They of Wirtemberg insisted on the abuses of the mass, and on the marriage of the clergy; and took notice that the king had only taken away some smaller abuses, while the greatest were still kept up. So that Melancthon wrote on the margin of their paper, at this part of it, in Greek, *Nothing sound*. All this was sent over to the king; but did not at all please him. For, in an answer written by Cromwell, these words are part of it, "The king knowing himself to be the learnedest prince in Europe, he thought it became not him to submit to them;

\* Seck. l. iii, § 13, par. 39.

but he expected they should submit to him. They, on the other hand, saw the great advantage of his protection and assistance; so that they brought Luther to make an humble submission to him, asking him pardon for the manner of his writing against him; which I find intimated, though it never came in my way. They studied also to gain both upon his vanity, offering him the title of Defender or Protector of their league, and on his interest, by entering into a close confederacy with him.

It was an opinion common enough in that time, that the emperor was the sovereign of Germany. Gardiner, in several of his letters, seemed to be of that mind: and upon that account he endeavoured to possess the king with a prejudice against his treating with them, that it was to animate subjects to revolt against their prince: whereas, by the constitution and laws of the empire, the princes had secured to themselves the right of coining, fortifying, and entering into treaties, not only with one another, but with foreign princes, for their defence. A homage was indeed due to the emperor; and a much greater submission was due to the diet of the empire: but the princes were sovereigns in their own territories, as the Hanse Towns were free states. Fox pressed them to approve of all that the king had done in the matter of his divorce, and of his second marriage. To which they gave the answer that I had inserted in my History, among the transactions of the year 1530: but the noble Seckendorf shows, that it was sent in the year 1536. In their answer, as they excused themselves from giving their opinion in that matter, till they were better informed, they added (which it seems was suppressed by Fox), "Though we do agree with the ambassadors, that the law against marrying the brother's wife ought to be kept; yet we are in doubt, whether a dispensation might not take place in this case; which the ambassadors denied. For that law cannot oblige us more strictly than it did the Jews: and if a dispensation was admitted to them, we think the bond of matrimony is stronger." Luther was vehemently against the infamy put on the issue of the marriage. He thought, the Lady Mary was cruelly dealt with, when she was declared a bastard. Upon Queen Katherine's death, they earnestly pressed the restoring her to her former honour. So true were they to that which was their principle, without regarding the great advantage they saw might come to them from the protection of so great a king.

His ambassadors at that time gave these princes an advertisement of great importance to them, that was written over to the king by Wiat, then his ambassador in Spain;

that the emperor had, in a passionate discourse with him, called both the elector and the landgrave his enemies, and rebels. The truth was, the elector did not entirely depend on all that Fox said to him. He thought the king had only a political design in all this negotiation; intending to bring them into a dependence on himself, without any sincere intentions with relation to religion. So he being resolved to adhere firmly to the Augsburg confession, and seeing no appearance of the king's agreeing to it, he was very cold in the prosecution of this negotiation. But the princes and states of that confession met at this time at Smalcald, and settled the famous Smalcaldick league; of which the king's ambassadors sent him an authentic copy, with a translation of it in English; which the reader will find in the Collection (No. xliii).

“By it, John Frederick, elector of Saxony, with his brother Ernest; Philip, Ernest, and Francis, dukes of Brunswick; Ulric, duke of Wirtemberg; Philip, landgrave of Hesse; the dukes of Pomeran; four brothers, princes of Anhalt; two brothers, counts of Mansfield; the deputies of twenty-one free towns;” which are not named in any order, for Hamburg and Lubeck are the last save one: but, to avoid disputes, they were named in the order in which they came, and produced their powers. “All these did, on behalf of themselves and their heirs, seeing the dangers of that time, and that many went about to disturb those who suffered the sincere doctrine of the gospel to be preached in their territories; and who, abolishing all abuses, settled such ceremonies as were agreeable to the word of God: from which their enemies studied to divert them by force and violence; and since it was the magistrate's duty to suffer the sincere word of God to be preached to his subjects, and to provide that they be not violently deprived of it; therefore, that they might provide for the defence of themselves and their people, which is permitted to every man, not only by the law of nature but also by the written laws, they entered into a Christian, lawful, and friendly league: by which they bound themselves to favour all of their body, and to warn them of any imminent danger; and not to give their enemies passage through their territories. This was only for their own defence, and not to move any war. So if any of them should be violently assaulted for the cause of religion, or on any pretence, in which the rest should judge that religion was the true motive, the rest of the confederacy were bound, with all their force and power, to defend him who was so assaulted, in such a manner, as for the circumstances of the time shall

be adjudged; and none of them might make any agreement or truce without the consent of the rest. And that it might not be understood that this was any prejudice to the emperor their lord, or to any part of the empire, they declare that it was only intended to withstand wrongful violence. They also resolved to receive all into this confederacy who received the Augsburg confession, and desired to be joined to it. And whereas the confederacy, made six years before, was to determine on the Sunday *Invocavit* of the following year; in which the princes of Wirtemberg, Pomeran, and Anhalt, and six of the cities, were not comprehended; they received them into this confederacy; which was to last for ten years after the Sunday *Invocavit*: and if any war should be begun, but not finished within these ten years, yet it shall be continued till the war is brought to an end; but at the end of the ten years it shall be lawful to the confederates to prolong it further. And they gave their faith to one another, to observe this religiously, and set their seals to it."

On the same day the king's answer was offered to the demands the princes had made; both which are in the Paper-office; and both will be found in the Collection (No. xlv). Their demands were, "That the king would set forth the true doctrine of Christ, according to the Augsburg confession; and that he would defend that doctrine at the next general council, if it be pious, catholic, free, and truly Christian: and that neither the king, nor the princes and states of that union, should, without mutual consent, agree to any indiction of a general council made by the bishop of Rome; but that if such a council should be called, as they had desired in their answer to Vergerius, the pope's ambassador, it should not be refused: and that if a council shall be celebrated, to which the king and these princes do not agree, they shall (to their power) oppose it: and that they will make protestations against it, that they will not obey any constitution made in it, nor suffer any decrees made in it to be obeyed; but will esteem them null and void, and will make their bishops and preachers declare that to their people. That the king will associate himself to the league, and accept the name of the defender, or protector of it. That they will never suffer the monarchy of the bishop of Rome to take place; nor grant that it is expedient, that he should have pre-eminence before all other bishops, or have any jurisdiction in the dominions of the king, and of the princes. That upon these grounds they enter into a league with one another. And in case of any war, either for the cause of religion, or any other cause whatsoever, that

they should not assist those who begin any such war. That the king shall lay down one hundred thousand crowns, which it shall be lawful to the confederates to make use of, as a moiety of that which they themselves shall contribute : and if need be, in any cause of urgent necessity, to contribute two hundred thousand crowns ; they, joining as much of their own money to it. And if the war shall end sooner than that all the money is employed in it, what remains shall be restored to the king. And they assured him, that they should not convert this money to any other use, but to the defence of the cause of religion, together with their own money. And since the king's ambassadors were to remain some time in Germany, disputing with their learned men about some points ; they desire that they may know the king's mind, and that he will signify it to the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse. And then the princes will send their ambassadors, and a learned man with them, to confer with the king about the articles of doctrine, and the ceremonies of the church."

To these the king sent two different answers, one after another. The first, that will be found in the Collection (No. xlv), was, "that the king intended to set forth the true doctrine of Christ, which he was ready to defend with life and goods : but that he being reckoned somewhat learned, and having many learned men in his kingdom, he could not think it meet to accept at any creature's hand what should be his faith, or his kingdom's ; the only ground of which was in Scripture ; with which he desired they would not be grieved : but that they would send over some of their learned men to confer with him and his learned men, to the intent that they might have a perfect union in faith : he would also join with them in all general councils, that were catholic, free, and held in a safe place for the defence of the true doctrine of the gospel ; and as for ceremonies, there may be such a diversity in these used through the whole world, that he thought that ought to be left to the governors of the several dominions, who know best what is convenient for themselves : he agreed that neither he nor they should accept of the indiction of a general council, but by all their mutual consent ; but that if such a free council may be held in a safe place, it shall not be refused. The king did not think fit to accept the title offered by them till first they should be thoroughly agreed upon the articles of doctrine : but that being done, he would thankfully accept of it. To that of a defensive league, he added one clause, that they should not suffer any of their subjects to serve those who set on them in any such war : he

thought it not reasonable that he should bear any share of the wars already past (which it seems was secretly mentioned, though not expressed in their demands), but for the future he was willing to contribute one hundred thousand crowns, as they desire. Upon further considering their demands, the king sent a second and fuller answer, which will likewise be found in the Collection (No. xlvi).

“ It begins with very tender expressions of the sense the king had of their benevolence to him, and of their constancy in adhering to the truth of the gospel ; he acknowledges the goodness of God in giving them such steadfastness and strength. Their wondrous virtues had so ravished the king, that he was determined to continue in a correspondence of love with them on all occasions.” Then follow some explanations of the former memorial, but not very important, nor differing much from it ; only he lets them know, “ that it was not for any private necessity of his own, that he was moved to join in league with them ; for by the death of a woman all calumnies were extinct (this is meant of Queen Anne), so that neither the pope nor the emperor, nor any other prince, had then any quarrel with him : yet, that they might know his good affection to them, he would contribute the sum they desired, and upon the terms they proposed : only on his part he demanded of them, that in case any prince invaded his dominions on the account of religion, that they would furnish him, at their expense, with five hundred horsemen completely armed, or ten ships well arrayed for war, to serve for four months ; and that it should be at the king’s choice whether horse or ships : and that they should retain at the king’s charge such a number of horse and foot as the king should need, not exceeding the number of two hundred horse, and five thousand foot, or instead of the foot, twelve ships in order, with all things necessary ; which the king might keep in his service, as long as he pleased : and last of all, that the confederates will promise in all councils, and everywhere else, to promote and defend the opinion that Dr. Martin (so they named Luther), Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, and Melancthon had of his marriage.” This negotiation sunk to a great degree upon Queen Anne’s tragical fall ; and as the king thought they were no more necessary to him, so they saw his intractable humour, and had no hope of succeeding with him, unless they would have allowed him a dictatorship in matters of religion ; yet, to end all this negotiation at once

The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse wrote a letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection

(No. xlvii), taken from the original, occasioned by Pope Paul the Third's summoning " a general council to meet at Mantua on the 23d of May, upon which the emperor had sent messengers to them, to give them notice of it, and to require them to come to it, either in person, or by their proctors : but though they had always desired a council for the reforming of those abuses that had continued so long, by the negligence or corruption of popes and prelates ; yet, in this bull, the pope clearly insinuates that he will not suffer the restoring of true doctrine, or the correcting of abuses to be treated of, but that their doctrine, without any examination, was to be condemned with infamy : he also endeavoured to oblige all, by the receiving of his bull, without taking cognizance of the matter, to extirpate and destroy the doctrine they professed ; so that if they had accepted the bull, they had seemed to be involved in that design. They therefore told the emperor's minister, that they looked on that bull as unjust and pernicious ; and they desired he would let the emperor know that they could not accept of it. They did not doubt but the pope, or his party about the king, would upon this occasion pretend that the pope had done his duty, and would study to load them with ill characters : so they thought it necessary to justify themselves to the king and other princes on this occasion.

" They sent over with this a full vindication of their proceedings, which they desired the king would read, and that he would consider, not only the present danger of the Germans, but the common concern of the whole church, in which it was visible that all good discipline was lost, and that great and worthy men had wished and desired that some received abuses, that could not be denied, might be amended : therefore they recommend the cause of the church, and their own cause, to his care." This is dated the 25th of March, 1537.

I have in my other work given an account of the ambassadors whom they sent into England, of the representations they made, and of a full paper that they offered to the king : to all which I have nothing now to add, but that I have found a letter of Cranmer's to Cromwell, which I have put in the Collection (No. xlvi), in which he complains of the backwardness of the bishops. The ambassadors had been desired to tarry one month, that their book might be considered ; but though he moved them to treat about it, as they had done upon other articles, they answered him they knew the king had taken it on himself to answer them ; and that a book to that end was already devised by him : therefore they would not meddle with the abuses complained of.

The bishops desired that the archbishop would go on to treat of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction, in which they knew certainly that the Germans would not agree with them, except only in matrimony. "He saw the bishops were seeking an occasion to break the concord; and that nothing would be done, unless there came a special command from the king. They saw they could not defend the abuses, and yet they would not yield that point. He complains likewise, that the ambassadors were very ill lodged: multitudes of rats were running in their chambers day and night, and their kitchen was so near their parlour, that the smell was offensive to all that came to them. He wishes that a more convenient house might be offered them."

It is true, the king used them with a particular civility, and spoke to them before all his court in a most obliging manner; and often wished that Melancthon might be sent over to him. Cranmer and Cromwell used them with all possible kindness. Cranmer wrote often by them to the elector, exhorting him to continue firm and zealous for the truth and purity of the Gospel: but, under all the shows of the king's favour, they understood that his heart was turned from them. He wrote, when he dismissed them, to the elector, in terms full of esteem for their ambassadors: "Not doubting but good effects would follow on this beginning of conferences with them; but the matter being of the greatest importance, it ought to be very maturely considered\*. He again desired that Melancthon might be sent over to him, that he might treat with him, promising that he would apply himself wholly to what became a Christian prince to pursue." Dated the 1st of October, 1538. During this embassy there was an anabaptist seized by the landgrave of Hesse; in whose papers they found that he had some followers in England, that he had hopes of great success there; and was designing to go thither, but he said he was forbidden by the Spirit: upon this they wrote an account of all they found to the king, and gave him a description of the anabaptists of Germany. They were much spread through Frisia and Westphalia, and in the Netherlands; chiefly in those places where none of their preachers were tolerated. The not baptizing infants was the known character of the party; but with this they were for a community of goods: they condemned all magistracy, and all punishing of crimes, which they thought was a revenge, forbidden by Christ; they condemned all

\* Seck. l. iii, par. 66.

oaths, and were against all order and government. They seemed to be Manicheans in religion: they despised the Scriptures, and pretended to particular illuminations; and allowed both polygamy and divorce at a man's pleasure; and wheresoever their numbers increased, they broke out into sedition and rebellion. They wrote all this to the king in a letter, that by the style is believed to be penned by Melancthon, both to let him see how far they themselves were from favouring such corruptions, and to put the king on his guard against them.

Here ends this negotiation, for I find no mark of any further commerce between them; and though this run cut far beyond the year 1535, in which it was begun, yet I thought it best to lay it all together, and so to dismiss it. The unlooked-for accidents that happened in England had wrought much on the king's temper; his own inclinations were still biassing him to adhere to the old opinions and practices; and the popish party watched and improved all advantages, of which a very signal one happened soon to their great joy.

Queen Katherine, or as she was called the princess dowager, died first. I have nothing to add concerning her, but that I fell on a report of a conversation that Sir Edmund Bedingfield and Mr. Tyrrel had with her\*; in which she solemnly protested to them, that Prince Arthur never knew her carnally, and insisted much on it; and said many others were assured of it. But, on the contrary, Bedingfield urged very fully all the probabilities that were to the contrary: and said, that whatever she said on that subject, it was little believed, and it seemed not credible. The tragedy of Queen Anne followed soon after this; it broke out on the 1st of May, 1536, but it seems it was concerted before, for a parliament was summoned, at least the writs were tested the 27th of April before.

There is a long account of her sufferings given by Meteren\*, in that excellent history that he wrote of the wars in the Netherlands, which he took from a full relation of it, given by a French gentleman, Crispin, who was then in London, and, as Meteren relates the matter, wrote without partiality. He begins it thus. "There was a gentleman who blamed his sister for some lightness that appeared in her behaviour: she said the queen did more than she did; for she admitted some of her court to come into her chamber at undue hours: and named the Lord Rochford, Norris,

\* Cott. Libr. Otho. C. 10.

† Meteren, *Hist. des Pays bas*, l. i, F. 2.

Weston, Brereton, and Smeton the musician : and she said to her brother that Smeton could tell much more :” all this was carried to the king.

When the matter broke out on the 1st of May, the king, who loved Norris, sent for him, and said, if he would confess those things with which the queen was charged, he should neither suffer in his person, nor his estate, nor so much as be put in prison : but if he did not confess, and were found guilty, he should suffer the extremity of the law. Norris answered, he would much rather die than be guilty of such falsehood ; that it was all false, which he was ready to justify in a combat against any person whatsoever : so he was sent with the rest to the Tower. The confession of Smeton was all that was brought against the queen ; he, as was believed, was prevailed on to accuse her : yet he was condemned contrary to the promise that had been made him ; but it was pretended that his crime was, that he had told his suspicions to others, and not to the king : and when it was alleged, that one witness was not sufficient, it was answered that it was sufficient. He adds, that the queen was tried in the Tower ; and that she defended her honour and modesty in such a way as to soften the king (for she knew his temper), by such humble deportment, to favour her daughter. She was brought to her trial without having any advocate allowed her ; having none but her maids about her. A chair was set for her, and she looked to all her judges with a cheerful countenance, as she made her courtesy to them, without any fear : she behaved herself as if she had been still queen : she spoke not much in her own defence ; but the modesty of her countenance pleaded her innocence, much more than her defence that she made ; so that all who saw or heard her believed her innocent. Both the magistrates of London, and several others who were there, said, they saw no evidence against her ; only it appeared that they were resolved to be rid of her.

She was made to lay aside all the characters of her dignity, which she did willingly ; but still protested her innocence. When she heard the sentence, that she was to be beheaded, or burnt, she was not terrified, but lifted up her hands to God, and said, “ O Father ! O Creator ! Thou, who art the way, the truth, and the life ; thou knowest that I have not deserved this death.” And turning herself to her judges (her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, being the lord-high-steward) she said, “ My lords, I will not say that your sentence is unjust ; nor presume that my opinion ought to be preferred to the judgment of you all. I believe you have reasons, and occasions of suspicion and jealousy, upon

which you have condemned me : but they must be other than those that have been produced here in court ; for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations ; so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have been always a faithful and loyal wife to the king. I have not perhaps, at all times, showed him that humility and reverence, that his goodness to me, and the honour to which he raised me, did deserve. I confess I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength nor discretion enough to manage : but God knows, and is my witness, that I never failed otherwise towards him ; and I shall never confess any other, at the hour of my death. Do not think that I say this on design to prolong my life ; God has taught me to know how to die : and he will fortify my faith. Do not think that I am so carried in my mind, as not to lay the honour of my chastity to heart, of which I should make small account now in my extremity, if I had not maintained it my whole life long, as much as ever queen did. I know these my last words will signify nothing, but to justify my honour and my chastity. As for my brother, and those others who are unjustly condemned, I would willingly suffer many deaths to deliver them : but since I see it so pleases the king, I must willingly bear with their death ; and shall accompany them in death with this assurance, that I shall lead an endless life with them in peace." She said all this, and a great deal more ; and then, with a modest air she rose up and took leave of them all. Her brother and the other gentlemen were executed first : " He exhorted those who suffered with him to die without fear ; and said to those that were about him, that he came to die, since it was the king's pleasure that it should be so. He exhorted all persons not to trust to courts, states, and kings, but in God only. He had deserved a heavier punishment for his other sins ; but not from the king, whom he had never offended. Yet he prayed God to give him a long and a good life. With him all the rest suffered a death, which they had no way deserved. Mark Smeton only confessed, he had deserved well to die : which gave occasion to many reflections."

"When the queen heard how her brother and the other gentlemen had suffered, and had sealed her innocence with their own blood, but that Mark had confessed he deserved to die ; she broke out into some passion, and said, Has he not then cleared me of that public shame he has brought me to ? Alas ! I fear his soul suffers for it, and that he is now punished for his false accusation. But for my brother, and those others, I doubt not but they are now in the

presence of that great King, before whom I am to be to-morrow."

It seems, that gentleman knew nothing of the judgment that passed at Lambeth, annulling the marriage; for it was transacted secretly. It could have no foundation or colour but from that story mentioned in Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, of the Lord Percy's addresses to her. He was now examined upon that: but it will appear from his letter to Cromwell, that he solemnly purged both himself and her from any precontract, being examined upon oath by the two archbishops; and that he received the sacrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk, and some of the king's council that were learned in the spiritual law; assuring them by his oath, and by the sacrament that he had received, and intended to receive, that there was never any contract, or promise of marriage, between her and him. This he wrote on the 13th of May, four days before the queen's execution; which will be found in the Collection (No. xlix).

This shows plainly, that she was prevailed on, between fear and hope, to confess a precontract, the person not being named.

The French gentleman gives the same account of the manner of her death, and of her speech, that all the other writers of that time do. "When she was brought to the place of execution, within the Tower, he says, her looks were cheerful; and she never appeared more beautiful than at that time. She said to those about her, Be not sorry to see me die thus; but pardon me from your hearts, that I have not expressed to all about me that mildness that became me; and that I have not done that good that was in my power to do. She prayed for those who were the procurers of her death. Then, with the aid of her maids, she undressed her neck with great courage, and so ended her days."

This long recital I have translated out of Meteren; for I do not find it taken notice of by any of our writers. I leave it thus, without any other reflections upon it, but that it seems all over credible.

Thevet, a Franciscan friar, who, for seventeen or eighteen years, had wandered up and down Europe, to prepare materials for his *Cosmography* (which he published in the year 1563), says \*, that many English gentlemen assured him, that King Henry expressed great repentance of his sins, being at the point of death; and, among other things, of the injury and the crime committed against Queen Anne Boleyn, who

\* *Cosmog.* l. 16.

was falsely accused, and convicted of that which was laid to her charge. It is true, Thuanus has very much disgraced that writer as a vain and ignorant plagiarist; but he having been of the order that suffered so much for their adhering to Queen Katherine, is not to be suspected of partiality for Queen Anne. We must leave those secrets to the great day.

It may be easily believed, that both the pope and the emperor, as they were glad to be freed from the obligation they seemed to be under to protect Queen Katherine, so Queen Anne's fall gave them a great deal of ill-natured joy. The pope, upon the first news of her disgrace, sent for Cassali, expressing a great deal of pleasure upon the queen's imprisonment; and at the same time spoke very honourably of the king. "He hoped, upon these emergents, all matters would be brought to a good agreement; and that the king would reconcile himself to the see, by which he would become the arbiter of all Europe. He told Cassali, that he knew how good an instrument he was in Pope Clement's time; and what pains he took, both with the pope and the emperor, to prevent the breach. He added, that the naming of Fisher to be a cardinal was so pressed on him, that he could not decline it. He desired Cassali would try how any messenger that he might send to the king would be received: for, as soon as he knew that, he would send one immediately." Of all this, Cassali wrote an account to the king.

At the same time, Pace gave him an account\* of a long conversation he had with the emperor on the same subject: for he was then the king's ambassador in that court. "The emperor excused his adhering to his aunt, whom he could not in honour forsake; but, at the same time, he said, he abhorred the pope's bull for deposing the king; and he was so far from any thoughts of executing it, that he commanded it to be suppressed in his dominions: nor did he encourage, as was suspected, the king of Scotland to undertake to execute it. He imputed the breach that had been made between him and the king to the French king; who, he said, was like an eel in a man's hand, ready to forsake him, and even to renounce God, who, he believed, had given him over to a reprobate mind. He was resolved now to return to his old friendship with the king, and he would not hearken to intimations given him by the agent of France, that the king had poisoned his aunt. He pressed him to legitimize the Princess Mary. He might do that, without owning the lawfulness of the marriage; which was a point, in which he would stir no more. She was born in a marriage in fact, and *bona fide*; and in many cases in which

\* Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14.

marriages had been dissolved, yet the legitimacy of the issue was often secured."

Of all this Pace gave the king an account \* ; and pressed, with some vehemence, the legitimating the princess. The emperor was then going to Rome ; so King Henry intended to join Cassali with Pace, in his embassy to the emperor. Pace begged that might not be done ; expressing a great aversion to him, as being a base and a perverse man. It is plain Pace pressed the king much to think of being reconciled to the pope. Cardinal Ghinucci offered his service again to the king with expressions full of zeal. Grandvill also entered with Cassali upon the same subject ; but Cassali wrote to the king, that he did not at all meddle in that matter. The emperor went to Rome, and Pace followed him thither. The king sent a dispatch to Pace, which will be found in the Collection (No. 1), telling him of the motion that the emperor's ambassador made to him for returning to the old friendship with their master ; they also made him some overtures in order to it. First, the emperor would be a mean to reconcile him to the bishop of Rome ; he also hoped, that the king would contribute towards the war against the Turk ; and that since there was an old defensive league between them, and since it seemed that the French king intended to invade the duchy of Milan, he expected the king would assist him, according to that league."

To all this the king answered, "That the interruption of their friendship proceeded from the emperor, who had made him ill returns for the services he had done him. For he pretends he made him first king of Spain, and then emperor. When the empire was at his disposition, he had furnished him with money ; so that he ought to thank the king only for all the honour he was advanced to : but in lieu of that, he had showed great ingratitude to the king, and had not only contemned his friendship, but had set on all the ill usage he had met with from the bishop of Rome ; which, as he understood, he owed chiefly to him : yet such was the king's zeal for concord among Christian princes, and such was his nature, that he could continue his displeasure against no man, when the cause of it was once removed : so, if the emperor would desire him to forget all that was passed, and would purge himself of all particular unkindness to him, he would be willing to return to their old friendship : but he having received the injuries, would not sue for a reconciliation, nor treat upon the foot of the old leagues between them, till the reconciliation should

\* Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14.

be first made, and that without any conditions: when that was done, he would answer all his reasonable desires.

“But as for the bishop of Rome, he had not proceeded on such slight grounds, that he could in any sort depart from what he had done; having founded himself on the laws of God, of nature, and honesty, with the concurrence of his parliament. There was a motion made to him from that bishop for a reconciliation, which he had not yet embraced, nor would he suffer it to be compassed by any other means; and therefore he would not take it in good part, if the emperor would insist in that matter, for the satisfaction of the bishop of Rome, that was his enemy; or move him to alter that, which was already determined against his authority. When there was a general peace among Christian princes, he would not be wanting to give an aid against the Turk; but till the friendship between the emperor and him was quite made up, he would treat of nothing with relation to the king of France: when that was done, he would be a mediator between them. This was the answer given to the emperor’s ambassador; which was communicated to Pace, that, in case he had any discourse with the emperor on the subject, he should seem only to have a general knowledge of the matter, but should talk with him suitably to these grounds; encouraging the emperor to pursue what he had begun, and extolling the king’s nature and courage, with his inclination to satisfy his friends, when he was not too much pressed: that would hurt and stop good purposes: and he orders him to speak with Grandvill of it, of whom it seems he had a good opinion, and that he should represent to the emperor the advantage that would follow on the renewing their old friendship, but not to clog it with conditions; for whatever the king might be afterwards brought to upon their friendship, when made up, the king would not suffer it to be loaded with them; for the king had suffered the injury: but he was ordered to say all this as of himself, and Pace was ordered to go to court and put himself in Grandvill’s way, that he might have occasion to enter upon these subjects with him.” Thus that matter was put in a method; so that in a little time the friendship seemed to be entirely made up.

The king would never hearken to a reconciliation with the pope. On the contrary, he went on in his design of reforming matters in England. In the convocation, in the year 1536, Cromwell came and demanded a place as the king’s vicar-general; the archbishop assigned him the place next above himself. On the 21st of June, the archbishop laid before the house the sentence definitive of the nullity

of the king's marriage with Queen Anne, which Cromwell desired they would approve; it was approved in the upper house, and sent down to the lower, in which it was also approved. On the 23d of June, the prolocutor with the clergy offered a book to the upper house, in which they set forth a collection of many ill doctrines that were publicly preached within the province. On the 28th of June, the confirmation of the decree concerning the king's last marriage was subscribed by both houses. On the 11th of July, the book concerning the articles of faith and the ceremonies was brought in by the bishop of Hereford, and was signed by both houses. These were also signed by the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Duresme. On the 20th of July, the bishop of Hereford brought another book, containing the reasons why the king ought not to appear in a council, summoned by the pope to meet at Mantua: this was likewise agreed to, and subscribed by both houses. I have nothing new to add to the account I have given in my History of the other proceedings in matters of religion this year; in which no convocation sat at York. There are several draughts of these articles that are in several places corrected by the king's own hand; some of the corrections are very long and very material: of these only it was that I meant, and not of the engrossed and signed articles themselves, when I said they were corrected by the king, as I have been misunderstood.

By these steps it appearing clearly that the king had no thoughts of a reconciliation with Rome, the pope on his part resolved to create him as much trouble as he could. Pole had been sent over from England to Paris, while the suit of divorce was in dependence; he was particularly recommended by the bishop of Bayonne, in one of his letters to Montmorency, as a person of great hopes, and much favoured by the king. He came after that to England; for he tells himself that he was in England, while the point of the supreme headship was in debate. He says he was then absent, which shows that at that time he was contented to be silent in his opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppose what was doing. He was afterwards suffered to go and settle at Padua, where the gravity of his deportment, that was above his age, and the sweetness of his temper, made him be very much considered. He was still supported from England; whether only out of his deanery of Exeter, or by any farther special bounty of the king's, is not certain. In several letters from Padua, he acknowledges the king's bounty and favour to him, and in one he desires a further supply. He, being commanded by the king to do it, wrote over his opinion concerning his marriage. The king sent it to Cranmer before his being sent out of England; for that faithful and

diligent searcher into the transactions of those times, Mr. Strype, has published the letter that he wrote upon it; the year is not added, but the date being the 13th of June, it must be before he was sent out of England, this being writ before he was consecrated; for he subscribes Cranmer, and upon his return he was consecrated long before June. It is written to the earl of Wiltshire: he mentions Pole's book, and commends both the wit and eloquence of it very highly: he thinks, if it should come abroad, it would not be possible to stand against it. Pole's chief design in it was to persuade the king to submit the matter wholly to the pope. In it, "He set forth the trouble that might follow upon the diversity of titles to the crown, of which the wars upon the titles of Lancaster and York had given them a sad warning. All that was now healed, and therefore care should be taken not to return to the like misery. He could never agree to the divorce, which must destroy the princess's title, and accuse the king of living so long in a course of incest, against the law of God and of nature. This would increase the hatred the people began to bear to priests, if it should appear that they had so long approved that which is found now to be unlawful. As for the opinions of the universities, it was known they were often led by affections; and that they were brought over with great difficulty to declare for the king: but he sets in opposition to them, the king's father and his council, the queen's father and his council, and the pope and his council: it could not be expected that the pope would condemn the act of his predecessor, or consent to the abridging his own power, and do that which would raise sedition in many kingdoms, particularly in Portugal. He next shows the emperor's power, and the weakness of France, that the prohibiting our trade to the Netherlands would be very ruinous, and that the French were never to be trusted: they never kept their leagues with us; for neither do they love us, nor do we love them: and if they find their aid necessary to England, they will charge it with intolerable conditions." This is the substance of that letter. So that at this time Pole wrote only to persuade the king, by political considerations, to submit wholly to the pope's judgment. The matter rested thus for some time: but when the breach was made, and all was past reconciling, then Cromwell wrote to him by the king's order, to declare his opinion with relation to the king's proceedings. Upon this reason only he wrote his book, as he set forth in a paper of instructions given to one to be showed to the king, which will be found in the Collection (No. li). In which he writes, "That he thinks if it had not been for that, he had never meddled in

the matter, seeing so little hope of success ; and that he had reason to think, that what he should write would not be acceptable. They had sent unto him from England the books written on the contrary part : but he said he found many things suppressed in these ; and all the colours that could be invented were set upon untrue opinions. Besides, what had followed was grievous, both in the sight of God, and in the judgment of the rest of Christendom : and he, apprehending yet worse effects, both with relation to the king's honour and the quiet of his realm, did upon that resolve to employ all the wit and learning that God had given him, to set forth the truth, and to show the consequences of those ill opinions. He hoped, that what he wrote on the subject would fully satisfy all that would examine it. This he did, in hopes that the king, whom God had suffered to be carried away from those opinions that he had the honour formerly to maintain, would yet, by the goodness of God, be recovered out of the evil way he was then in.

“ There were great instances of such cases in Scripture, in the stories of David and Solomon ; the last particularly, who, notwithstanding the gift of wisdom that he had from God, yet fell into idolatry. So, though the king was not fallen from the true doctrine of Christ, yet as David, when in a state of sin, was, by a prophet sent to him from God, brought to true repentance, and restored to the favour of God, he hoped he might, by the grace of God, be an instrument to bring the king to a better sense of things. Therefore, as he set himself to study the matter, so he prayed earnestly to God to manifest the truth to him : in which he hoped God had heard his prayer ; so he looked for good success : and that he might make the king apprehend the danger he was in, both from his own people, who hated innovations in religion, and from other princes, to whose honour it belongs to defend the laws of the church against all other princes who impugn them, and to make the king more apprehensive of this, he had as in his own person brought out all such reasons as might provoke people or princes against him, since he was departing from the course in which he had begun. These reasons, if read apart, without considering the purpose he proposed, of representing to the king the danger to which he was exposing himself, might make one think, from his vehemence of style in that argument, that he was the king's greatest enemy ; but the reading the whole book would show what his intent in it all was. The book was too long for the king to read : he desired, therefore, that he would order some learned and grave man to read it, and to declare his judgment upon it, he being bound with

an oath of fidelity, first to God, and then to the king, to do it without affection on either part. He named particularly Tonstall, bishop of Duresme, whom he esteemed both for learning and fidelity to the king, above any other he knew. After Tonstall had first examined it, the king may refer the further examination of it to such other persons as he may think fit; he was likewise resolved that his book should never come abroad, till the king had seen it.

“ In these instructions, he mentions that he had sent another book to the king concerning his marriage: but in that he was disappointed of his intent, as the bearer might inform him, who knew the whole matter. And since God had detected her, who had been the occasion of all the errors the king had been led into, it was the hope of all who loved him, that he would now come to himself, and take that discovery as a favourable admonition of God, to consider better the opinion of those who dissented from that marriage, as seeing the great dishonour and danger likely to follow on it: he wished the king would look on that as a warning to return to the unity of the church: he was sensible nothing but the hand of God could work a change in the king's mind; and when that should be done, it would be one of the greatest miracles that the world had seen for some ages; with the most signal characters of God's favour to him, which would deliver him out of those very great dangers that must follow upon the meeting of a general council: whereas, if he should return to the unity of the church, no prince would appear in that assembly with more honour than would be paid to him if he should return: even his fall would prove a great blessing to the church, and tend to the reformation of the whole, and to the manifestation of the honour of God. It would then appear that God had suffered him to fall, to make him rise with more honour, to the greater wealth, not only of his own realm, but of the whole church besides.” With these instructions he sent a private letter to Tonstall, from Venice, dated Corpus Christi eve.

When his book against the divorce came first to England, he was written to in the king's name, to come over and explain some things in it: but he excused himself; he pretended the love of retirement, and of the noble company with whom he lived, in an easy and learned friendship there. Eloquence seems to be that which he turned his mind most to; for in every thing he wrote, there is much more of declamation than of argument.

Tonstall being thus provoked by Pole, and commanded by the king, wrote a full and solid answer to him, on the 13th of July, 1536, which will be found in the Collection (No. lii).

“ He acknowledged he had received his letter, as the king has received his book ; in which he desired that the reading of it might be first put upon him : he had read both his letter and his long book, and was truly grieved as he read it ; seeing both the vehemence of his style, and that he misrepresented the whole matter, as if the king was separated from the church. He wished he had rather written his opinion privately, in a letter to the king, which might have been read by himself, and not have enlarged himself into so great a book, which must be communicated and seen of others. What stupidity was it to send so long a book so great a way, by one who might have miscarried in it ; and so the book might have fallen into the hands of those, who would have published it to the slander of the king and the kingdom ; but most of all to his own ; for his ingratitude to the king, who had bred him up to that learning, which was now used against him ; in whose defence he ought to have spent both life and learning : he advised him to burn all that he had written on that subject. There appeared a strain of bitterness in his whole book that was very unbecoming him. He then comes to the argument, to show that the king, by the title of the supreme head, did not separate himself, nor his church, from the unity of the whole body. The king did not take upon him the office belonging to spiritual men, the cure of souls ; nor that which belongs to the priesthood, to preach the word of God, and to minister the sacraments. He knew what belonged to his own office as king, and what belonged to the priest’s office : no prince esteemed spiritual men, that were given to learning and virtue, more than he did. His only design was, to see the laws of God sincerely preached, and Christ’s faith (without blot) observed in his kingdom ; and to reduce his church out of the captivity of foreign powers (formerly usurped), into the state in which all the churches of God were at the beginning ; and to put away all the usurpations that the bishops of Rome had, by undue means, still increased, to their own gain, but to the impoverishing of the kingdom. By this he only reduced things to the state that is most conformable to the ancient decrees of the church, which the bishops of Rome solemnly promise to observe at their creation ; naming the eight general councils ; and yet any one, who considers to what a state the bishop of Rome had brought this church, would soon see the diversity between the one and the other. At Venice he might see these in Greek, and they were already published in Latin : by which it appears, that the bishop of Rome had then no such monarchy as they have usurped of late.

“ If the places of Scripture which he quoted did prove it, then the council of Nice did err, which decreed the contrary; as the canons of the apostles did appoint, that the ordinations of priests and bishops should be made in the diocess, or at most in the province where the parties dwelt. These canons Damascen reckoned Holy Scriptures. Nor can it be thought that the four general councils would have acted as they did, if they had understood those passages of Scripture as he did: for above a thousand years after Christ, the customs were very contrary to those now used by the bishop of Rome: when the blood of Christ and of the martyrs were yet fresh, the Scriptures were then best understood, and the customs then used in the church must be better than those that through ambition and covetousness had crept in since. Light and darkness may be as well reconciled, as the worldly authority in temporal things now usurped can be proved from St. Peter's primacy, in preaching the word of God. He refers him to Cardinal Cusa's second book, in which he will find this well opened.

“ The king, going to reform his realm, and to reduce things to the state in which they were some ages ago, did not change, but establish those laws, which the pope professes to observe. If other princes did not follow him in this, that ought not to hinder him from doing his duty: of which he did not doubt to be able to convince him, if he had but one day's discourse with him, unless he were totally addicted to the contrary opinion. Pole wrote in his letter, that he thought the king's subjects were offended at the abolishing the pope's usurpations: but Tonstall assured him, that in this he was deceived: for they all perceived the profit that the kingdom had by it; since the money, that was before carried over to Rome, was now kept within the kingdom. That was become a very heavy burthen, and was daily increasing: so that if the king would go about to restore that abolished authority, he would find it more difficult to bring it about, than any thing he had ever yet attempted in his parliament. Pole had in his letter blamed Tonstall, for fainting in his heart, and not dying for the authority of the bishop of Rome. He assures him, that, from the time that he understood the progress of Christ's church from the beginning, and had read ecclesiastical history, he never thought to shed one drop of blood in that cause. None of those who had advantage by that authority would have lost one penny of it to have saved his life. He would do what in him lay to cool that indignation, which his book had raised in the king. He desired him not to fancy (from what he saw in Italy, or in other places), that it was

so from the beginning. The councils would show him how that dignity was given to the bishops of Rome. The emperors called those councils; and the dignity that was given him was, because he was bishop of the chief city of the empire, and not for the sake of Peter and Paul. The second place was given to the patriarchs of Constantinople; because it was called New Rome, and so was preferred to Antioch, where St. Peter was bishop, and where the name Christian first began; and it was set before Alexandria, and likewise before Jerusalem, where Christ himself preached, and the whole college of the apostles after him, and where James (the brother of our Lord) was the first bishop. That church was called the mother of all the churches. It was also set before Ephesus, where St. John wrote his Gospel and died. To all these, Constantinople was preferred: and yet this was fully settled in the council of Chalcedon, where six hundred and thirty bishops met. If he read the Greek fathers, Basil, Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and Damascen, he would find no mention of the monarchy of the bishop of Rome. He desired him to search further into this matter, and he would find, that the old fathers knew nothing of the pope's late pretensions and usurpations. He wished, therefore, that he would examine these matters more carefully, which had been searched to the bottom in England. The learned men here thought they were happily delivered from that captivity, to which he endeavours to bring them back. He tells him, how much all his family and kindred would be troubled, to see him so much engaged against his king and his country; whom he might comfort, if he would follow the establishment of the whole church of God from the beginning, and leave the supporting of those usurpations. He refers him to Gregory the Great, who wrote against the bishop of Constantinople, pretending to the like monarchy. St. Cyprian writes, that all the apostles were of equal dignity and authority; which is also affirmed by the third council of Ephesus. He begged him not to trust too much to himself, but to search further, and not to fancy he had found out the matter already. He prayed him to burn all his papers; and then he hoped he should prevail with the king to keep that which he had sent him secret. He concludes all with some very kind expressions."

This I have abstracted the more fully, for the honour of Tonstall's memory; who was a generous and good-natured, as well as a very learned man. Pole, who was then a cardinal, wrote no answer to this, that I could find; but he wrote a long letter, either to Tonstall, or to Cromwell, in May 1537, which will be found in the Collection (No. liii),

“ He begins it with protestations of his affection to the king, though the king had taken such methods to destroy him, as the like had not been known in Christendom, against any who bore the person that he did at that time ; yet he still maintained a deep affection to him. He knew well all that the king had designed against him ; which, if he bore the king a small degree of love, would be enough to extinguish it. He saw what he did for the best was taken in the worst part. He did not think it possible that the king should conceive such indignation against him, as to break through all laws to have him in his hands, and to disturb the whole commerce of nations, rather than not have his person in his power. But he still adhered to his former principles, and maintained his former temper towards the king.

“ Upon his arrival in France, he was ashamed to hear, that he coming thither in the quality of an ambassador and legate, one prince should desire of another to betray him, and deliver him into the king’s ambassador’s hands. He himself was so little disturbed at it, when he first heard of it, that he said upon it (to those who were about him), that he never felt himself in full possession of being a cardinal till then ; since he was now persecuted by him, whose good he most earnestly desired. Whatever religion men are of, if they would observe the law of nations, the law of nature alone would show how abominable it was to grant such a request ; and it was no less to desire it. So that if he had the least spark of an alienation from the king in him, such proceedings would blow it up into a fire. He might, upon this, be justly tempted to give over all commerce with the king, and to procure (by all honest ways) the means to repay this malignity, by doing him the utmost damage he could devise : but he did not, for that, abstain from trying to do all he could for the king’s honour and wealth. He acknowledges, that the bishop of Verona was sent by him to the court of France, to intimate, that the pope (for the common good of Christendom) had committed some affairs to him, to treat with the king. That bishop passed through Abbeville, when the bishop of Winchester and Mr. Brian were there : so he could not but wonder at the king’s acting towards him : the whole design of his legation being for the king’s honour. Upon which, that bishop desired to confer with the king’s ambassadors, that he might declare to them the whole truth of the matter, which was made known to them. They, it is true, had no communication with him ; but they sent their secretary, after the bishop had declared the effect of his legation, as far as it related to the king, to him.

“ It seemed visible to all, that the king (in what he had done against him) was abused by false reports, and by the false conjectures of some ; so it was hoped, that the matter being once cleared, the king would have changed his mind. All this he understood from the bishop of Verona, at his return ; and he readily believed it. That bishop had been the king’s true servant, and had showed (when he was in a capacity to serve him) the sincere love that he bore him. He had been also Pole’s particular acquaintance, ever since he came out of England. He would have been ready, if the king had consented to it, to have gone and given the king full satisfaction in all things. For the chief reason of his being sent into France was, the pope’s intending to gain the king, knowing the friendship that was between him and the French king : so the bishop of Verona was thought the fittest person to be first employed, who had great merits on both kings, for the services he did them when he was in office : and being esteemed the best bishop in Italy, it was designed that he should accompany Pole, as well as he was sent before to prepare matters for his coming ; which he, out of his zeal to do God and the king service, undertook very willingly ; and resolved to try how he could get access to the king’s person : so now, having fully explained himself, he hoped it would not be thought possible, that he had those designs, of which the king’s proceeding against him showed he suspected him (which was, that he came on purpose to animate the people to rebel).

“ Upon his first coming to Rome, he acquainted the king with the design for which he was called thither : and he had acquainted him with the cause of his legation. These were not the methods of those who intended to rebel. He had then procured a suspension, in sending forth the censures, which at that time might have caused the king more trouble : and he sent his servant purposely, with the offer of his assistance, animating the chief of his kindred to be constant in the king’s service. If any had been at Rome, in the king’s pay, to do him service, they could not have done more than he did ; so that some began to reflect on him, because he would not consent to divers things that would have been uneasy to him : and particularly, because he had the censures in his hand, which were instantly called for by those who had authority to command : yet they never came into their sight, nor hands : and to that hour he had suppressed them. He would go no further in justifying himself, if what he had already done, and what the bishop of Verona had said, did not do it ; he would take no more pains to clear himself : he rather thought he had been

faulty in his negligence in these matters. But there was nothing now left to him, but to pray for the king."

This letter is dated from Cambray; for upon the king's message to the French king, to demand him to be delivered into his hands, Francis could in no sort hearken to that, but he sent to him not to come to his court, but to go with all convenient haste out of his dominions: so he retired to Cambray, as being then a peculiar sovereignty. The king had a spy, one Throckmorton, secretly about Pole, who gave him an account of all his motions: but, by what appears in his letters, he was faithfuller to Pole than to the king. He wrote over, that his book was not then printed, though he had been much pressed to print it by those at Rome; but he thought that would hinder the design he went on: he believed, indeed, that upon his returning thither he would print it. He tells him, that he had procured the suspensions of the pope's censures, to try if it was possible to bring about a reconciliation between the pope and the king: and he adds, that many wondered to see the king so set against him, and that he did not rather endeavour to gain him. He intended to have stayed some time in Flanders, but the regent sent him word that it could not be suffered. He went from thence and stayed at Leige, where he was on the 20th of August; for the last of Throckmorton's letters is dated from thence. He writes, that the pope had called him back, having named him to be his legate to the council that he had summoned to meet the 1st of November; though it did not meet for some years after this.

The king's indignation upon his advancement, and for his book, carried him to a great many excesses, and to many acts of injustice and cruelty; which are not the least among the great blemishes of that reign. Wyat was then the king's ambassador at the emperor's court; and by his letters to the king, it seems an entire confidence was then settled with the emperor. The king pressed him much not to suffer the pope to call a council, but to call one by his own authority, as the Roman emperors had called the first general councils; and he proposed Cambray as a proper place for one: but he saw he was not like to succeed in that, so he only insisted on a promise that the emperor had made, that nothing should be done in the council, whensoever it should meet, against him or his kingdom.

The king was at this time under much uneasiness, for he sent both Bonner and Hains over to the emperor's court in conjunction: the one seems to have been chosen to talk with those who were still papistical; and the other had great cre-

dit with the protestants. Our merchants in the emperor's dominions were threatened by the inquisition, for owning the king as supreme head of this church. Upon this Wyat complained to the emperor. But though that prince vindicated the inquisitors, he promised to give such order, that they should not be disquieted on that account: and when Pole applied himself to the emperor, for leave to affix the pope's bull against the king in his dominions, he would not consent to it.

I cannot add much to what I wrote formerly, with relation to the suppression of the monasteries. There are many letters setting forth their vices and lewdness, and their robberies, and other ill practices; and now that the design against them was apparent, many run beyond sea with their plate and jewels: but I must not conceal, that the visitors give a great character of the abbess and nuns of Pollesworth in Warwickshire. Dr. London, that was afterwards not only a persecutor of protestants, but a suborner of false witnesses against them, was now zealous even to officiousness in suppressing the monasteries. In the first commission that the visitors had, there was no order for the removing shrines; yet he, in his zeal, exceeding his commission, had done it; upon which, Leighton, Legh, and others, desired that a commission for that end might be sent after them, of the same date with their other commissions. He also studied to frighten the abbess of Godstow into a resignation. She was particularly in Cromwell's favour; so she wrote a plain honest letter to him, complaining of "London's violence, of his artifices to bring them to surrender their house, and of the great charge he put them to: she writes, that she did not hear that any of the king's subjects had been so handled: she insists on her care to maintain the honour of God, and all truth and obedience to the king; therefore she was positively resolved not to surrender her house, but would be ready to do it whensoever the king's command or his should come to her, and not till then." The great character I gave of that abbess and of her house in my former work, made me resolve to put this letter in the Collection (No. liv).

The discovery of the cheats in images, and counterfeits in relics, contributed not a little to their disgrace. Among these, that of Boxley in Kent was one of the most enormous. Among the papers that were sent me from Zurick, there is a letter written by the minister of Maidstone to Bullinger, that describes such an image, if it is not the same, so particularly, that I have put it in the Collection (No. lv). He calls it the dagon of Ashdod, or the Babylonish Bel.

It was a crucifix that sometimes moved the head, the eyes, and did bend the whole body to express the receiving of prayers; and other gestures were at other times made to signify the rejecting them: great offerings were made to so wonderful an image. One Partridge suspected the fraud, and, removing the image, he saw the whole imposture evidently. There were several springs within it, by which all these motions were made. This was brought to Maidstone, and exposed to all the people there; from thence it was carried to London, and was showed to the king and all his court, and in their sight all the motions were performed. The king's council ordered a sermon to be preached at Paul's, by the bishop of Rochester, where this imposture was fully discovered; and after sermon it was burned.

Upon the birth of Prince Edward, matters had a better face: here was an undoubted heir born to the crown: it is true, the death of his mother did abate much of the joy, that such a birth would have gived otherwise: for as she was of all the king's wives much the best beloved by him, so she was a person of that humble and sweet temper, that she was universally beloved on that account: she had no occasion given her to appear much in business, so she had no share of the hatred raised by the king's proceedings cast on her. I fell into a mistake from a letter of Queen Elizabeth's, directed to a big-bellied queen, which I thought belonged to her; but I am now convinced of my error, for it was no doubt written to Queen Katherine, when, after King Henry's death, she was with child by the Lord Seymour. Upon Queen Jane's death, Tonstall, being then at York, wrote a consolatory letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection (No. lvi). It runs upon the common topics of affliction, with many good applications of passages of Scripture, and seems chiefly meant to calm and cheer up the king's spirit. But the truth is, King Henry had so many gross faults about him, that it had been more for Tonstall's honour, and better suited to his character, if he had given hints to awaken the king's conscience, and to call upon him to examine his ways, while he had that load upon his mind: either Tonstall did not think him so faulty as certainly he was, or he was very faulty himself, in being so wanting to his duty upon so great an occasion.

But I go on to more public concerns. The king had by the Lord Cromwell sent injunctions to his clergy in the year 1536, as he did afterwards in the year 1538\*, which I have printed in my former work. There was also a circular letter written to the bishops; that to the

\* Reg. Heref. Fox, fol. 9.

bishop of Hereford is dated on the 20th of July, 1536, requiring them to execute an order abrogating some holy-days : the numbers of them were so excessively great, and by the people's devotion, or rather superstition, were like to increase more and more, which occasioned much sloth and idleness, and great loss to the public in time of harvest. It sets forth that the king, with the advice of the convocation, had settled rules in this matter. The feast of the dedication of churches was to be held every year, on the first Sunday in October ; but the feast of the patron of the church was to be no more observed. All the feasts from the 1st of July to the 29th of September, and all feasts in term-time, were not to be observed any more as holy-days, except the feasts of the apostles, of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of St. George, and those days in which the judges did not use to sit ; but the four quarter-days were still to be offering days. These are all the public injunctions set out about this time. But after the first of these, I find the bishops sent likewise injunctions to their clergy round their dioceses, of which a copy printed at that time was given me by my worthy friend Mr. Tate, minister of Burnham. The first was by Lee, archbishop of York, which will be found in the Collection (No. lvii).

“ He begins with the abolishing of the bishop of Rome's authority, and the declaring the king to be supreme head of the church of England, as well spiritual as temporal. He requires his clergy to provide a New Testament, in English or Latin, within forty days, and to read daily in it two chapters before noon, and two in the afternoon, and to study to understand it : he requires them also to study the book to be set forth by the king, of the Institution of a Christian Man. They were to procure it as soon as it should be published, that they might read two chapters a day in it, and be able to explain it to their people. All curates and heads of religious houses were required to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria in English, and at other parts of the service the Creed and the Ten Commandments, also in English, and to make the people repeat these after them : and none were to be admitted to the sacrament at Easter that could not repeat them. All parishes were required within forty days to provide a great Bible in English, to be chained to some open place in the church, that so all persons might resort to it, and read it for their instruction. Priests were forbidden to haunt taverns or ale-houses, except on necessary occasions. The clergy that did belong to any one church were required to eat together, if they might, and not to play at prohibited games, as cards and dice. They must discourage none from reading the Scriptures, exhorting them

to do it in the spirit of meekness, to be edified by it: they were required to read to their people the Gospel and Epistle in English. Rules are set for the frequent use of sermons, proportioned to the value of their livings: generally four sermons were to be preached every year, one in a quarter. None were to preach but such as had licence from the king or the archbishop; nor were they to worship any image, or kneel or offer any lights or gifts to it: but they might have lights in the rood-loft, and before the sacrament, and at the sepulchre at Easter. They were to teach the people that images are only as books to stir them up to follow the saints; and though they see God the Father represented as an old man, they were not to think that he has a body, or is like a man. All images to which any resort is used are to be taken away. They are to teach the people, that God is not pleased with the works done for the traditions of men, when works commanded by God are left undone: that we are only saved by the mercy of God and the merits of Christ; that our good works have their virtue only from thence. They were to teach the midwives the form of baptism. They were to teach the people to make no private contracts of marriage, nor to force their children to marry against their wills; and to open to their people often the two great commandments of Christ, To love God and our neighbour, and to live in love with all people, avoiding dissension."

The rest relate to the matters set out in the king's injunctions.

There were about the same time injunctions given by Sampson, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, for his diocess, which will be found in the Collection (No. lviii). He begins with a charge to his clergy, "to instruct the people concerning the king's being the supreme head of the church of England, by the word of God; and that the authority used by the bishop of Rome was an usurpation: then he charges them to procure by the next Whitsuntide a whole Bible in Latin, and also one in English; and to lay it in the church, that every man may read in it. Then, with relation to the reading the Scriptures, and the having sermons every quarter, he gives the same charge that Lee gave. As to their sermons, he charges them that they be preached purely, sincerely, and according to the true Scriptures of God. He next requires them in the king's name, and as his minister, to teach the people to say the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave, and the Creed, in English: and that four times in every quarter they declare the seven deadly sins, and the Ten Commandments. And because some out of neglect of their curates, and to hide their lewd living, used in Lent to go to confession to friars, or other religious houses; he orders

that no testimonial from them shall be sufficient to admit one to the sacrament, called by him *God's board*, till they confess to their own curates, unless, upon some urgent considerations of conscience, that he or his deputies should grant a special licence for it: that on holy-days, and in time of Divine service, none should go to ale-houses or taverns, nor be received in them: and that the clergy should go in such decent apparel, that it might be known that they were of the clergy.

The last of the injunctions in that book was given by Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, for his diocess, which will be found in the Collection (No. lix); they are said to be given out from the authority given him by God and the king.

“ He begins with provision about non-residents and their curates; in particular, that no French or Irish priest that could not perfectly speak the English tongue should serve as curates. They were at high mass to read the Gospel and Epistle in the English tongue, and to set out the king's supremacy and the usurpations of the bishop of Rome: the same rules are given about sermons as in the former, with this addition, that no friar, nor any person in a religious habit, be suffered to perform any service in the church: as for reading the New Testament, the clergy are only required to read one chapter every day, and that every person having a cure of souls should be able to repeat without book the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, with the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, and the Acts of the Apostles, and the Canonical Epistles: so that every fortnight they should learn one chapter without book, and keep it still in their memory: and that the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy should be read every quarter instead of the general sentence. He gave the same orders that the others gave about images, pilgrimages, and other superstitious observances, and for teaching the people the elements of religion in English; only he does not join the Ave-Maria with the Lord's Prayer, as the others did: he requires the curates to exhort the people to beware of swearing and blaspheming the name of God, or of Christ's precious body and blood, and of many other sins then commonly practised: he dispensed with all lights before images, and requires that every church should be furnished with a Bible: he complains of the practice of putting false relics on the people, naming stinking boots, mucky combs, ragged rockets, rotten girdles, locks of hair, gobbets of wood as parcels of the holy cross, of which he had perfect knowledge; besides the shameful abuse of such as were perhaps true relics: he prays and commands them, by the authority he had under God and

the king, to bring all these to him, with the writings relating to them, that he might examine them, promising to restore such as were found to be true relics, with an instruction how they ought to be used: he also orders, that the Ave and pardon-bell, that was wont to be tolled three times a day, should be no more tolled."

(1538.) These are all the injunctions set out by bishops that have fallen into my hands. I find nothing to add with relation to the dissolution both of the smaller and the greater monasteries, nor of the several risings that were in different parts of the kingdom; only I find a letter of Gresham, then lord mayor of London; I suppose he was the father of him who was the famed benefactor to the city; but by the letter, which will be found in the Collection (No. lx), his father was the occasion of procuring them a much greater benefaction. He begun his letter with a high commendation of the king, who, as he writes, "seemed to be the chosen vessel of God, by whom the true word of God was to be set forth, and who was to reform all enormities. This encouraged him, being then the mayor of the city of London, to inform him, for the comfort of the sick, aged, and impotent persons, that there were three hospitals near or within the city, that of St. George, St. Bartholomew, and St. Thomas, and the new abbey on Tower Hill, founded and endowed with great possessions, only for the helping the poor and impotent, who were not able to help themselves; and not for the maintenance of canons, priests, and monks to live in pleasure, not regarding the poor who were lying in every street, offending all that passed by them: he therefore prayed the king, for the relief of Christ's true images, to give order that the mayor of London and the aldermen may from thenceforth have the disposition and rule, both of the lands belonging to those hospitals, and of the governors and ministers which shall be in any of them. And then the king would perceive, that whereas now there was a small number of canons, priests, and monks in them, for their own profit only; that then a great number of poor and indigent persons should be maintained in them, and also freely healed of their infirmities: and there should be physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, with salaries, to attend upon them: and those who were not able to labour should be relieved, and sturdy beggars, not willing to labour, should be punished. In doing this, the king would be more charitable to the poor than his progenitor Edgar, the founder of so many monasteries, or Henry the Third, the renewer of Westminster, or Edward the Third, the founder of the new abbey; or than Henry the Fifth, the founder of Sion and Shene: and he would carry the name of the protector and defender of the poor."

How soon after this these hospitals were put under the government of the lord mayor and aldermen of London, will be found in the history of the city. But I thought this letter was worth remembering, since probably it gave the rise to the putting those endowments in such hands, in which, to the wonder of all the world, we see such a noble order and management, and such an overflowing of charity, that not only all their revenues are with the exactest management possible applied wholly to the use for which they were designed; but that the particular bounties of those whom God has blessed in the city, that are annually given to them, do far exceed their stated revenues: of which there are yearly accounts published in Easter week; and which no doubt do bring down great blessings on the city, and on all its concerns.

The state of matters began to turn about this time. The king seemed to think that his subjects owed an entire resignation of their reasons and consciences to him; and as he was highly offended with those who still adhered to the papal authority, so he could not bear the haste that some were making to a further reformation, before or beyond his allowance. So in the end of the year 1538 he set out a proclamation, on the 16th of November.

In it he prohibits the importing of all foreign books, or the printing of any at home without licence, and the printing any parts of Scripture, till they were examined by the king and his council, or by the bishop of the diocess: he condemns all the books of the anabaptists and sacramentaries; and appoints those to be punished who vented them: he requires that none may argue against the presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the pain of death, and of the loss of their goods; and orders all to be punished who did issue any rites or ceremonies not then abolished: yet he orders them to be observed without superstition, only as remembrances, and not to repose in them a trust of salvation by observing them. He requires that all married priests should no more minister the sacrament, but be deprived, with further punishment or imprisonment at the king's pleasure. What follows after this will be found in the Collection (No. lxi); for the whole did not seem so important as to be all set down, it being very long. "The king, considering the several superstitions and abuses which had crept into the hearts of many of his unlearned subjects, and the strife and contention which did grow among them, had often commanded his bishops and clergy to preach plainly and sincerely, and to set forth the true meaning of the sacramentals and ceremonies, that they might be quietly used for such purposes as they were at first intended; but he was in-

formed that this had not been executed according to his expectation: therefore he requires all his archbishops and bishops, that in their own persons they will preach with more diligence, and set forth to the people the word of God sincerely and purely; declaring the difference between the things commanded by God, and those rites and ceremonies commanded only by a lower authority, that they may come to the true knowledge of a lively faith in God, and obedience to the king, with love and charity to their neighbours. They were to require all their clergy to do the same, and to exhort the people to read and hear with simplicity; and without arrogance, avoiding all strife and contention, under the pain of being punished at the king's pleasure."

To this he adds, "that it appearing clearly that Thomas Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, did stubbornly withstand the laws established against the enormities of the clergy, by King Henry the Second, and had fled out of the realm into France, and to the bishop of Rome, to procure the abrogating of these laws; from which there arose great troubles in the kingdom. His death, which they untruly called his martyrdom, happened upon a rescue made by him, upon which he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen who counselled him to leave his stubbornness, and not to stir up the people who were risen for that rescue: he called one of them bawd, and pulled Tracy by the bosom almost down to the pavement of the church. Upon this fray one of the company struck him, and in the throng he was slain. He was canonized by the bishop of Rome, because he had been a champion to maintain his usurped authority, and a defender of the iniquity of the clergy. The king, with the advice of his council, did find there was nothing of sanctity in the life or exterior conversation of Becket, but that he rather ought to be esteemed a rebel and a traitor; therefore he commands that he shall be no more esteemed, nor called a saint, that his images shall be everywhere put down, and that the days used for his festival shall be no more observed, nor any part of that service be read, but that it shall be razed out of all books. Adding, that the other festivals already abrogated should be no more solemnized, and that his subjects shall be no more blindly abused to commit idolatry, as they had been in time past." I will leave it to our historians to compare the account here given of Becket's death with the legends, and to examine which of them is the truest.

Soon after this, the king, understanding that very malicious reports were spread about the country, poisoning people's minds with relation to every thing that the king

did ; saying they would be made pay for every thing they should eat, and that the register of births and weddings was ordered for this end, that the king might know the numbers of his people, and make levies ; and send, or rather sell them to foreign service : he sent, in December following, a circular letter to all the justices of England, which will be found in the Collection (No. lxii) ; in which, after he had set forth his good intentions for the wealth and happiness of his people, he added, “ that he hoped that all the maintainers of the bishop of Rome’s authority should have been searched for and brought to justice ; and that all the inventors and spreaders of false reports to put the people in fear, and so to stir them up to sedition, should have been apprehended and punished ; and that vagabonds and beggars should have been corrected according to the letters he had formerly written to them. The king understood that sundry of them had done their duty so well, that there had been no disquiet till of late, that some malicious persons had by lies and false rumours studied to seduce the people ; and that among these, some vicars and curates were the chief, who endeavoured to bring the people again into darkness ; and they did so confusedly read the word of God and the king’s injunctions, that none could understand the true meaning of them : they studied to wrest the king’s intentions in them to a false sense. For whereas the king had ordered registers to be kept for showing lineal descents, and the rights of inheritance ; and to distinguish legitimate issue from bastardy, or whether a person was born a subject or not ; they went about saying that the king intended to make new examinations of christenings, weddings, and buryings, and to take away the liberties of the kingdom ; for preserving which, they pretended, Thomas Becket died : whereas his opposition was only to the punishing of the offences of the clergy, that they should not be justified by the courts and laws of the land, but only at the bishop’s pleasure ; and here the same account is given of Becket that was in the former proclamation. Becket contended with the archbishop of York, and pretended, that, when he was out of the realm, the king could not be crowned by any other bishop, but that it must be stayed till he returned. These detestable liberties were all that he stood for, and not of the commonwealth of the realm. To these lies they added many other seditious devices, by which the people were stirred up to sedition and insurrection, to their utter ruin and destruction, if God had not both enabled him by force to subdue them, and afterwards moved him mercifully to pardon them. The king therefore required them, in their several precincts, to find out such vicars and curates as did

not truly declare the injunctions, and did confusedly mumble the word of God, pretending that they were compelled to read them; but telling their people to do as they did, and live as their fathers had done, for the old fashion was the best. They were also required to search out all the spreaders of seditious tales, and to apprehend and keep them in prison till the justices came about to try them, or till the king's pleasure was known. The justices of the peace are very earnestly pressed to do their duty diligently, and to take care likewise that the injunctions and laws against the anabaptists and sacramentaries be duly executed." Dated from Hampton-court in December, in the 30th year of his reign.

(1539.) Among the letters sent me from Zurick, I find one written to Bullinger on the 8th of March, in the year 1539, by Butler, Elliot, Partridge, and Traheron, who had studied for some time under him, and were then entertained either by the king, or by Cromwell. They write, "that many of the popish ceremonies were still tolerated; but that new significations were put on them: such as, that the *holy water* did put us in mind of the blood of Christ, that cleansed us from all defilement: the *pax* was carried about to represent our reconciliation to God through Christ. Things that were visible were thought fit to be preserved to prevent commotions. This correction quieted some: but though these rites were ordered to be kept up till the king should think fit to alter them, yet some preached freely against them, even before the king.

"They write of the executions of the marquis of Exeter, the Lord Montague, and Sir Edward Nevil, who (they add) was a very brave, but a very vicious man. Sir Nic. Cary, who had been before a zealous papist, when he came to suffer, exhorted all people to read the Scriptures carefully. He acknowledged that the judgments of God came justly upon him, for the hatred that he formerly bore to the gospel. The king was threatened with a war, in which the emperor, the French, and the Scots, would attack him on all hands; but he seemed to despise it, and said, He should not sleep the less quietly for all these alarms. The day after those tidings were brought him, he said to his counsellors, that he found himself moved in his conscience to promote the word of God more than ever. Other news came at the same time, which might perhaps raise his zeal, that three English merchants were burnt in Spain; and that an indulgence was proclaimed to every man that should kill an English heretic. Cranmer was then very busy, instructing the people, and preparing English prayers, to be used instead of the Litany."

I can go no further on these subjects; but must refer to my History for the prosecution of these matters.

The foundation of the new bishoprics was now settled. Rymer has given us the charters by which they were founded and endowed\*. The new modelling of some cathedrals was next taken care of. I have found the project that Cromwell sent to Cranmer for the church of Canterbury. It was to consist of a provost, twelve prebendaries, six preachers, three readers, one of humanity and of Greek, another of divinity and of Hebrew, and another of humanity and divinity in Latin, a reader of civil law, another of physic; twenty students in divinity, ten to be kept at Oxford, and as many at Cambridge: sixty scholars were to be taught grammar and logic, with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; for these a schoolmaster and an usher were to have salaries. Besides these, there were eight petty canons, twelve singing men, ten choristers, a master of the children, a gospeller, an epistler, and two sacristans; two butlers, two cooks, a caterer, two porters, twelve poor men, a steward, and an auditor; in all one hundred and sixty-two persons, with the salaries for every one of these; together with an allowance for an annual distribution of 100*l.* for the poor, and as much for reparations; and 40*l.* for mending the highways: in all amounting to about 1900*l.* a year. This I have put in the Collection (No. lxiii), together with the letter that Cranmer wrote to Cromwell after he had considered of it (No. lxiv); though perhaps this will sharpen some men's spirits that are of late much set to decry him, as much as any of his other opinions may have done; but a true historian that intends to glean all that he could find relating to those transactions, must neither alter nor suppress things, but set them out as he finds them.

“ He proposes the altering the prebendaries to somewhat more useful: for, by all the experience that he had, the prebendaries had spent their time in much idleness, and their substance in superfluous living; so he thought it was not a state to be maintained. Commonly they were neither learned, nor given to teach others, but only good vianders: they look to be the chief, and to bear the whole rule; and, by their ill example, the younger sort grew idle and corrupt. The state of prebendaries hath been so excessively abused, that when learned men have been advanced to that post, they desisted from their studies, and from all godly exercises of preaching and teaching: therefore he wished the very name of a prebendary might be struck out of the king's foundations. The first beginning of them was good, so was that of religious

\* Tom. 14, from p. 717 to p. 736, and from p. 748 to p. 758.

men; but both were gone off from their first estate; so, since the one is put down, it were no great matter if both should perish together. For, to say the truth, it is an estate which St. Paul did not find in the church of Christ; and he thought it would stand better with the maintenance of the Christian religion, that there were in their stead twenty divines, at 10*l.* a-piece, and as many students of the tongues, and of French, at ten marks a-piece. And indeed, if there was not such a number there resident, he did not see for what use there were so many lectures to be read; for the prebendaries could not attend, for the making of good cheer; and the children in grammar were to be otherwise employed. He, in particular, recommends Doctor Crome to be dean."

But I leave this invidious subject to turn now to a very melancholy strain. The king had thrown off all commerce with the Lutherans in Germany; and seemed now to think himself secure in the emperor's friendship: yet he did not break with France; though on many occasions he complained, both of the ingratitude and inconstancy of that king. The duchy of Milan seemed to be the object of all his designs; and he was always turned, as the prospect of that seemed to come in view, or to go out of sight. All the king's old ministers still kept up his zeal for his admired book of the sacraments, most particularly for that article of transubstantiation; so that the popish party prevailed with him to resolve on setting up the Six Articles, which (they said) would quiet all men's minds, when they saw him maintain that, and the other articles, with learning and zeal. It is certain he had read a great deal, and heard and talked a great deal more of those subjects; so that he seems to have made himself a master of the whole body of divinity. I have seen many chapters of the Necessary Erudition of a Christian much altered by him, and in many places so interlined with his hand, that it is not without some difficulty that they can be read; for he wrote very ill.

Upon the carrying the Six Articles, the popish party were much exalted. This appears by the end of a letter, written to the ambassadors abroad; which will be found in the Collection (No. lxxv). It sets forth, "how the king had showed himself in that parliament so wise, learned, and catholic, that no prince ever did the like: so it was no more doubted but the act would pass. The bishops of Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Rochester, and St. David's, defended the contrary side: yet, in the end, the king confounded them. The bishops of York, Duresme, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwich, and Carlisle, showed themselves

honest and learned men: he writes as one of the peers, for he adds, We of the temporalty have been all of one opinion. The lord chancellor and the lord privy-seal had been of their side. Cranmer and all the bishops came over; only he adds, that Shaxton continued a lewd fool. For this victory, he writes that all England had reason to bless God."

Cromwell, though he complied with the king's humour, yet he studied to gain upon him, and to fix him in an alliance that should certainly separate him from the emperor, and engage him again into a closer correspondence with France, on design to support the princes of Germany against the emperor, whose uneasiness under the laws and liberties of the empire began to be suspected: and all the popish party depended wholly on him. I did in my second volume publish a commission to Cromwell\*, thinking it was that which constituted him the king's vicegerent, which I, upon reading the beginning of it, took to be so, but that was one of the effects of the haste in which I wrote that work: it does indeed in the preamble set forth, "that the king was then in some sort to exercise that supreme authority he had over the church of England, under Christ; since they who pretended that that authority ought to be lodged with them, did pursue their own private gains more than the public good; and had brought matters, by the negligence of their officers, and their own ill example, to such a state, that it might be feared, that Christ would not now own his own spouse. Therefore, since the supreme authority over all persons, without any difference, was given him from Heaven, he was bound (as much as he could) to cleanse the church from all briars, and to sow the seeds of virtue in it. Those who before exercised this authority, thinking themselves above all censure, had (by their own bad examples) laid stumbling-blocks before the people. He therefore, designing a general reformation of his kingdom and church, resolved to begin with the fountains; for they being cleansed, the streams would run clear: but since he could not be personally present everywhere, he had deputed Thomas Cromwell, his principal secretary, and master of the rolls, to be in all ecclesiastical causes his vicegerent and vicar-general; with a power to name others, to be authorized under the great seal. But he being so employed in the public affairs of the kingdom, that he could not personally discharge that trust; therefore he deputed A, B, C, D, to execute that trust. The king being pleased with this deputation, did likewise empower them to visit all churches, both metropolitanical, cathe-

\* Vol. II, Coll. Rec. Book II, No. xxix, p. 303.

dral, and collegiate churches, hospitals, and monasteries, and all other places, exempt or not exempt, to correct and punish what was amiss in them, by censures of suspension and deprivation, to give them statutes and injunctions in the king's name, and to hold synods, chapters, or convocations, summoning all persons concerned to appear before them, and presiding in them, giving them such rules as they shall judge convenient. calling such causes as they shall think fit from the ecclesiastical courts, to be judged by them; and to force obedience, both by ecclesiastical censures and fines, and other temporal punishments:" with several other clauses, of a very extended and comprehensive nature. How far this was put in practice, does not fully appear to me. It certainly struck so deep into the whole ecclesiastical constitution, that it could not be easily borne. But the clergy had lost their reputation and credit; so that every invasion that was made on them, and on their courts, seemed to be at this time acceptable to the nation; one extreme very naturally producing another: for all did acquiesce tamely, in submitting to a power that was now in high exaltation, and that treated those that stood in its way, not only with the utmost indignation, but with the most rigorous severity.

But to return to Cromwell. He, in concurrence with the court of France, carried matters so, that the marriage with Anne of Cleve was made up: this occasioned one of the most unjustifiable steps in all that reign. Among the papers that were sent me from Zurick, there is a long and particular account of many passages in this matter, with some other important transactions of this year, writ by one Richard Hill, who writes very sensibly, and very piously; and he, being zealous for a further reformation, went out of England as a man concerned in trade, which he pursued only as a just excuse to get out of the way: but before he went over, he wrote a long account to Bullinger of the affairs in England: he tells him, "that before Whitsunday three persons were burned in Southwark, because they had not received the sacrament at Easter, and had denied transubstantiation. There was after that one Collins, a crazed man, likewise burned, all by Gardiner's procurement." A little before Midsummer it began to be whispered about, that the king intended a divorce with Anne, who had been married to him above five months. It was observed that the king was much taken with a young person, a niece of the duke of Norfolk's (whom he afterwards married); Gardiner took care to bring them together to his palace, where they dined once, and had some meetings and entertainments there.

This went on some time before there was any talk of the divorce: it was indeed believed that there was an ill commerce between them. Cromwell was newly made earl of Essex: Bouchier, in whom that line was extinct, who had been a severe persecutor, falling from his horse, and breaking his neck, died without being able to speak one word. The king gave Cromwell not only his title, but all that fell to the crown, by his dying without heirs: yet he enjoyed not this long; for in the beginning of June he was sent to the Tower. He did not know the secret cause of his fall; it was generally believed it was because he did not flatter the king enough; and that he was against the divorce, as thinking it would neither be for the king's honour, nor the good of the kingdom. Some suspected that his late advancement, and great grants the king had given him, was an artifice to make people conclude, when they saw him disgraced after such high favour, that certainly some very black thing was discovered: and it was also thought, that the king restored to his son (who was so weak, that he was thought almost a fool) much of his father's estate and goods (as he made him a baron in December, after his father's death), on design to make the father more silent, for fear of provoking the king to take from him what he had then given him. Here I stop the prosecuting the rest of the letter, till I have added somewhat more concerning Cromwell.

He had many offices in his person; for besides that he was lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, and lord privy-seal, he was lord chamberlain, and chancellor of the exchequer. Rymer (t. xiv) has published the grants that the king made of those offices, in which it is said that they were void upon his attainder; but, which was more, he was the chief minister, and had the king's confidence for ten years together, almost as entirely as Cardinal Wolsey had it formerly. Mount had been sent to Germany to press a closer league defensive against the pope, and any council that he might summon: when the princes did object the act of the Six Articles, and the severities upon it, he confessed to one of the elector's ministers, that the king was not sincere in the point of religion: he had therefore proposed a double marriage of the king with Anne of Cleve, and of the duke of Cleve with the Lady Mary; for he said, the king was much governed by his wives. The elector of Saxony, who had married the other sister of Cleve, had conceived so bad an opinion of the king, that he expressed no heartiness, neither in the marriage, nor in any alliance with England: but he yielded to the importunities of others,

who thought the prospect of the advantage from such an alliance was great.

There are great remains that show how exact a minister Cromwell was\*; there are laid together many remembrances of things that he was to lay before the king: they are too short to give any great light into affairs; yet I will mention some of them. In one, he mentions the abbots of Glastonbury and Reading, who were then prisoners, and were examined. The witnesses, with the council, were ordered to be sent to Berkshire and Somersetshire. Mention is made of their accomplices, who were to be tried, and to suffer with them. To this I must add, that in one of the Zurick letters it is written to Bullinger, that three of the richest abbots in England had suffered for a conspiracy, into which they had entered, for restoring the pope's authority in England.

The learned Dr. Tanner has sent me the copy of a letter, that three visitors wrote to Cromwell from Glassenbury, concerning that abbot, on the 22d of September, but they do not add the year. It will be found in the Collection (No. lxvi), signed by Richard Pollard, Thomas Moyle, and Richard Layton. "They give him an account of their examining the abbot upon certain articles. He did not seem to answer them clearly, so they desired him to call to his memory the things which he then seemed to have forgot. They searched his study, and found in it a written book against the king's divorce. They found also pardons, copies of bulls, and a printed Life of Thomas Becket; but found no letter that was material. They examined him a second time upon the articles that Cromwell had given them; and sent up his answer, signed by him, to court: in which they write, that his cankered and traitorous heart against the king and his succession did appear; so with very fair words they sent him to the Tower. They found he was but a weak man, and sickly. Having sent him away, they examined the state of that monastery: they found in it above 300*l.* in cash, but had not the certainty of the rest of their plate; only they found a fair gold chalice, with other plate, hid by the abbot, that had not been seen by the former visitors; of which, they think, the abbot intended to have made his own advantage. They write, that the house was the noblest they had ever seen of that sort: they thought it fit for the king, and for none else." This I set down the more particularly, to demonstrate the falsity of the extravagant account that Sanders gives of

\* Cott. Libr. Titus, B. 1.

that matter, as if it had been without notice given, that the abbot was seized on, tried, and executed, all of a sudden. But to return to Cromwell.

In another note, he mentions the determinations made by Day, Heath, and Thirleby, of the ten commandments, of justification, and of purgatory. Another is about Fisher and More. The judges' opinion was asked concerning More and the Nun. Another is, whether the bishop of Rochester, and the monk who wrote the letter as from heaven, should be sent for? In another, that Bocking printed the Nun's book, and took away five hundred copies, but left two hundred with the printer. In another, he proposed to send Barnes for Melancthon. In another, he asks who shall be prolocutor in the convocation. In another, he proposes the making Lady Mary a considerable match for some foreign prince, the duke of Orleans, or some other. This is all that I could gather, out of a vast number of those notes, which he took of matters to move the king in.

Upon Cromwell's imprisonment, the comptroller was sent to him, and he ordered him to write to the king, what he thought meet to be written concerning his present condition: and, it seems, with some intimations of hope. Upon that, Cromwell wrote a long letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection (No. lxxvii). "He begins it with great thanks to the king, for what the comptroller had said to him. He was accused of treason; but he protests, he never once thought to do that which should displease him, much less to commit so high an offence. The king knew his accusers: he prayed God to forgive them. He had ever loved the king and all his proceedings: he prays God to confound him, if he had ever a thought to the contrary. He had laboured much to make the king a great and a happy prince, and acknowledges his great obligations to the king. So he writes, that if he had been capable to be a traitor, the greatest punishment was too little for him. He never spoke with the chancellor of the augmentations (Baker) and Throckmorton together but once: but he is sure he never spoke of any such matter" (as, it seems, was informed against him). "The king knew what a man Throckmorton was, with relation to all his proceedings; and what an enemy Baker was to him, God and he knew. The king knew what he had been towards him. It seems the king had advertised him of them; but God, who had delivered Susan when falsely accused, could deliver him. He trusted only in God and in the king. In all his service he had only considered the king; but did not know

that he had done injustice to any person : yet he had not done his duty in all things, therefore he asked mercy. If he had heard of conventicles, or other offences, he had for the most part revealed them, and made them to be punished, but not out of malice. He had meddled in so many things, that he could not answer them all ; but of this he was sure, that he had never willingly offended : and wherein he had offended, he humbly begged pardon. The comptroller told him, that fourteen days ago the king had committed a great secret to him, which he had revealed : he remembered well the matter, but he had never revealed it. For, after the king had told him what it was that he disliked in the queen ; he told the king, that she often desired to speak with him, but he durst not : yet the king bade him go to her, and be plain with her in declaring his mind. Upon which, he spake privately with her lord chamberlain, desiring him, not naming the king, to deal with the queen to behave herself more pleasantly towards the king, hoping thereby to have had some faults amended. And when some of her council came to him, for licence to the stranger maids to depart, he did then require them to advise the queen to use all pleasantness with the king. Both these words were spoken, before the king had trusted the secret to him, on design that she might render herself more agreeable to the king : but after the king had trusted that secret to him (which it seems was his design to have the marriage dissolved), he never spoke of it but to the lord admiral, and that was by the king's order on Sunday last, who was very willing to seek remedy for the king's comfort. He protests he was ready to die to procure the king comfort. He wishes he were in hell if it were not true. This was all he had done (it seems the king thought the change in the queen's deportment towards him was the effect of his discovering the secret of the kings purpose, and in order to prevent it) ; but for this he humbly begs pardon. He understood that it was charged upon him, that he had more retainers about him than the laws allowed : he never retained any, except his household servants, but against his will. He had been pressed by many, who said they were his friends ; he had retained their children and friends, not as retainers, for their fathers and friends promised to maintain them : in this, God knows, he had no ill intent, but begs pardon if he has offended (for that was represented as the gathering a force about him to defend himself). He concludes, he had not behaved himself towards God and the king as he ought to have done : and as he was continually calling on God for mercy, for offences committed against him, so he begs the king's pardon for his offences against him,

which were never wilful ; and he assures him he had never a thought of treason against him, either in word or deed : and he continued to pray for him and the prince, ending, indeed, with too abject a meanness."

These were all the particulars that were charged on him upon his first imprisonment : other matters were afterwards added to throw the more load on him ; but it seems they were not so much as thought on or mentioned at first. But now I return to the letter writ to Zurich. Hill adds, that they heard they once designed to burn Cromwell as a heretic, and that these considerations made him confess that he had offended the king. What he said that way at his execution was pronounced coldly by him : upon that the writer runs out very copiously, and acknowledges that their sins had provoked God to bring upon them that great change that they saw in affairs. They had wholly trusted to the learning of some, and to the conduct of others : but God, by the taking those away, was calling on them to turn sincerely to him, to trust entirely in him, and to repent with their whole heart. There was at that time a great want of sincere labourers, so that from east to west, and from south to north, there was scarce one faithful and sincere preacher of the gospel to be found.

The act of dissolving the king's marriage did set forth, that some doubts were raised concerning the king's marriage, which, as he writes, was manifestly false, for nobody thought of any doubtfulness in it : nor did they pray, as is in the act, that it might be inquired into : for nobody spake of it till the king was resolved to part with the queen, that he might be married to Mrs. Howard, whom in his bad Latin he calls *parvissima puella*, a very little girl. The archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the bishops judged she was yet a virgin, which none that knew the man could believe. Here again I must leave my letter.

There had been no convocation for two years, for the Institution of a Christian Man was prepared by a commission, given to some bishops of both provinces, and to some archdeacons, but no deans were summoned with them : a convocation sat in both provinces in May, in the year 1539, to which abbots and priors were summoned ; but though there were eight abbots and nine priors in Exeter diocess, yet the return from thence says, there were none in the diocess. I do not know how to reconcile that with the abbot of Tavistock's sitting in the house of lords, as appears by the Journals of that parliament.

Upon this occasion there was a particular summons for

both provinces to meet in a national synod, to judge of the king's marriage. When I wrote of this in my History, I did not at all reflect on the doctrine of the church of Rome, that makes marriage a sacrament, in which the two parties are ministers, who transfer their persons to one another: and according to the doctrine of the necessity of the intention in him that ministers the sacrament, how vile soever this decision in the matter of the king's marriage may seem to be, yet it was a just consequence from that doctrine; for without a true, free, and inward intention, which the king affirmed he had not, the marriage could be no sacrament: so that the heaviest part of the shame of that decision falls indeed on that doctrine. When the news came to France of the king's dissolving his marriage with Anne of Cleve, King Francis himself asked the ambassadors upon what grounds it went: the cardinal of Ferrara did also send one to ask what was alleged for it by divines and lawyers. Wallop and others were then the ambassadors from England at the court: they sent to the council an account of this\*; and Wallop wrote over to know what he should say upon the subject. The answer which the council wrote to him was, that the queen herself affirmed, her person had not been touched by King Henry: that a learned convocation had judged the matter: that the bishops of Duresme, Winchester, and Bath, were known to be great and learned clerks, who would do nothing but upon just and good grounds; so that all persons ought to be satisfied with these proceedings, as she herself was. And here this matter ended, to the great reproach of that body, that went so hastily and so unanimously into that scandalous decision.

But to return to my Zurich letter. After he had related the manner of that judgment of those called spiritual, who indeed were very carnal, he mentions the exceptions in the act of pardon; for, besides particular exceptions, all anabaptists and sacramentaries were excepted, and all those that affirmed there was a fate upon men, by which the day of their death was unalterably determined.

There was at this time a great design against Dr. Crome, whom Cranmer had recommended to be dean of Canterbury, in these words: "I know no man more meet for the dean's room in England than Dr. Crome, who, by his sincere learning, godly conversation, and good example of living, with his great soberness, hath done unto the king's majesty as good service, I dare say, as any priest in England; and yet his grace daily remembereth all others that do him service,

\* Paper-office.

this man only excepted, who never had yet, besides his gracious favour, any promotion at his hands. Wherefore, if it please his majesty to put him in the dean's room, I do not doubt but that he should be a light to all the deans and ministers of colleges in this realm: for I know that when he was but a president of a college in Cambridge, his house was better ordered than all the houses in Cambridge besides." Certainly this good opinion that Cranmer had of him, made him, in the state in which things were at this time, to be the worse thought of, and the more watched: so, when he heard that he was to be searched for, he went to the king, and on his knees begged he would put a stop to the severities then on foot, and that he would set many then in prison, on the account of religion, at liberty: the king had such a regard for him, that, upon this, he ordered a stop to be put to further prosecutions: and he set those at liberty who were then in prison, they giving bail to appear when they should be called for. The king seemed to think, that, by this small favour, after some severities, people would be more quiet and more obedient. But after the parliament was dissolved, six persons suffered. Three of these were popish priests, who suffered as traitors for denying the king's supremacy: and Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerom, were the other three. They were tied to one stake, and suffered without crying out, but were quiet and patient as if they had felt no pain. He could never hear any reason given for this their suffering, unless it was to please the clergy: they were not condemned by any form of law. They had been so cautious ever since the act of the Six Articles passed, that they had not opened their mouths in opposition to them in public: and by the act all offences done before it had passed were pardoned. Barnes himself said, at the place of execution, that he did not know for what cause he was brought thither to be burnt; for they were attainted by act of parliament, without being brought to make their answers.

The bishop of Chichester, Sampson, though a man compliant in all things, and Dr. Wilson, were exempted out of the general pardon, for no other crime, as he heard, but that Abel, who suffered for denying the king's supremacy, being in the greatest extremity of want and misery in prison, where, it was said, he was almost eat up by vermin, they had sent him some alms. From this Hill goes on to give an account of Crome, whose constant way had been, when he saw a storm rising, to preach with more zeal than ordinary against the prevailing corruption: so on Christmas-day, his enemies, that were watching to find matter to accuse him,

framed some articles, which they carried to the king against him: he had condemned in his sermon all masses for the dead; and said, "if they were profitable to the dead, the king and parliament had done wrong in destroying the monasteries endowed for that end: he also said, that to pray to the saints, only to pray for us, was a practice neither necessary nor useful: he added, You call us the seditious preachers of a new doctrine, but it is you are the seditious persons, who maintain the superstitious traditions of men, and will not hear the word of God himself. The church of Christ will ever suffer persecution, as it has done of late among us."

These and some other complaints being carried to the king, Crome was commanded to answer them: he in his answer explained and justified all he had said. The king had no mind to carry matters further against so eminent a man; so he passed a sentence, in which he set forth, that Crome had confessed the articles objected to him: but the king, out of his clemency, intending to quiet his people, appointed Crome to preach at St. Paul's, and there to repeat all the articles objected to him, and then to read the judgment that the king gave in the matter: and it concluded, that if ever he fell into the like offence again, he was to suffer according to law: the king's judgment was, "that private masses were sacrifices, profitable both to the living and to the dead, but yet that the king's majesty, with his parliament, had justly abolished monasteries." Upon this Crome preached, and, at the end of his sermon, he told the people, he had received an order from the king to be read to them; which he read, but said not one word upon it; and with a short prayer dismissed the congregation: whereas the king expected that he should have applauded his judgment, and extolled his favour to himself, as Dr. Barnes and his two companions were unhappily prevailed on to do, and yet were burned afterwards. Hill was therefore afraid that Crome might be brought into further trouble. There was an order sent to him from the king to preach no more, as he had before forbidden both Latimer and Shaxton to preach any more. They were not excluded from the general pardon; but were still prohibited to preach: and when they were set at liberty, they were required not to come within ten miles of either of the universities, or the city of London, or the dioceses in which they had been bishops. Thus, says he, faithful shepherds were driven from their flocks, and ravenous wolves were sent in their stead. He concludes, hoping that God would not suffer them to be long oppressed by such tyranny. Thus I have given a very par-

ticular account of that long letter, writ with much good sense and piety, but in very bad Latin; therefore I do not put it into the Collection.

Sampson, though he fell into this disgrace for an act of Christian pity, yet hitherto had showed a very entire compliance with all that had been done: he had published an explanation on the first fifty Psalms, which he dedicated to the king: in which, as he extolled his proceedings, so he run out into a severe invective against the bishop of Rome, and the usurpations and corruptions favoured by that see; and he reflected severely on Pole. Pole's old friend Tostall did also, in a sermon at St. Paul's, on Palm Sunday, in his grave way, set forth his unnatural ingratitude. But now the popish party, upon Cromwell's fall, and the exaltation of the duke of Norfolk by the king's marrying his niece, broke out into their usual violence; and they were, as we may reasonably believe, set on to it by Bonner, who, upon Stokesly's death a year before, had been brought to London, and immediately upon Cromwell's disgrace changed sides; and from having acted a forced part with heat enough, now came to act that which was natural to him.

There were so many informations brought in the city of London, that a jury, sitting in Mercer's Chapel, presented five hundred persons to be tried upon the statute of the Six Articles; which, as may be easily imagined, put the city under great apprehensions: but Audley, the lord chancellor, represented to the king, that this was done out of malice: so they were all dismissed, some say pardoned. Informations came against papists on the other side: a letter was sent from the council to Cranmer, to send Dr. Benger to the Tower. Two of Bonner's chaplains were, by order of council, sent to the archbishop, to be examined by him. A vicar was brought out of Wiltshire, out of whose offices Thomas Becket's name was not yet rased: but he was dismissed; for it was believed to be the effect only of negligence, and not of any ill principles. There was a letter of Melancthon's, against the king's proceedings, printed in English (perhaps it was that which I published in the *Addenda* to my first volume). Goodrick bishop of Ely's chaplain and servant were examined, and his house was searched for it. Many were brought into trouble for words concerning the king and his proceedings. Poor Marbeck, of Windsor, was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. Many printers were prosecuted, for bringing English books into the kingdom, against the king's proceedings. In one council-day (for all these particulars are taken out of the council-books), five-and-twenty booksellers were examined, as

to all books, more particularly English books, that they had sold these last three years. Hains, the dean of Exeter, was oft before the council; but particulars are not mentioned. Articles were brought against him, and they were referred to the king's learned council. The bishops of Ely, Sarum, Rochester, and Westminster, were appointed to examine him, and to proceed with all diligence. He was also sent to the Fleet, for "lewd and seditious preaching" (the words in the council-book), and sowing many erroneous opinions; but, after a good lesson and exhortation, with a declaration of the king's mercy and goodness towards him, he was dismissed, under a recognizance of 500 marks, to appear (if called for) any time within five months, to answer to such things as should be laid against him.

On the 4th of May, 1542, an entry is made, Cranmer being present, that it was thought good, if the king's highness shall be so content, that a general commission shall be sent to Kent, with certain special articles; and generally that all abuses and enormities of religion were to be examined. This was laid on design to ruin Cranmer; but there is no other entry made in the council-book, relating to this matter; unless this was a consequence of it, that, on the 27th of June, Hards, of Canterbury, a prisoner for a seditious libel, was, after a good exhortation, dismissed. And this is all the light that the only council-book of that reign, for two years, affords as to those matters. Mr. Strype has helped us to more light.

While Cranmer was visiting his diocess, there were many presentments made of a very different nature. Some were presented for adhering still to the old superstitions condemned by the king, and for insinuations in favour of the pope's authority. Others, again, were, on the other hand, presented for doctrines, either contrary to the Six Articles, or to the rites still practised. This created a great confusion through that whole country; and the blame of all was cast on Cranmer, by his enemies; as if he favoured and encouraged that, which was called the new learning, too much.

A plot was contrived, chiefly by Gardiner's means, with the assistance of Dr. London, and of Thornden (suffragan of Dover, and prebendary of Canterbury), who had lived in Cranmer's house, and had all his preferment by his favour. Several others engaged in it, who had all been raised by him, and had pretended zeal for the Gospel; but upon Cromwell's fall they reckoned, that if they could send Cranmer after him, they would effectually crush all designs of a further reformation.

They resolved to begin with some of the prebendaries and preachers. Many articles were gathered out of their sermons and private discourses, all terminating in the archbishop; who, as was said, showed so partial a favour to the men of the new learning, and dealt so harshly and severely with the others, that he was represented to be the principal cause of all the heat and divisions that were in Canterbury, and in the other parts of Kent. These articles went through many hands; but it was not easy to prevail with a proper person to present them. The steps made in the matter are copiously set forth by Mr. Strype. At last they came into the king's hands; and he, upon that, passing by Lambeth, where the archbishop stood, in respect to him as he passed by, called him into his barge; and told him he had now discovered who was the greatest heretic in Kent. With that he showed him the articles against himself and his chaplains. The archbishop knew the falsehood of many particulars: so he prayed the king to send a commission to examine the matter. The king said, he would give him a commission, but to none else. He answered, it would not seem decent to appoint him to examine articles exhibited against himself. The king said, he knew his integrity, and would trust it to no other person; nor would he name above one (though pressed to it) that should be joined in commission with him; and he even then seemed persuaded it was a contrivance of Gardiner's to ruin him.

The archbishop went down himself into Kent; and then the conspirators, seeing the king's favour to him, were struck with fear: some of them wept and begged pardon, and were put in prison: but the rest of the commission, in whose hands the archbishop left the matter, being secretly favourers of that party, proceeded faintly; so it was writ to court, that unless Dr. Leigh were sent down, who was well practised in examinations, the conspiracy would never be found out. He was upon that sent down; and he ordered a search to be made at one and the same time of all suspected places; and so he discovered the whole train. Some of the archbishop's domestics, Thornden in particular, were among the chief of the informers. He charged them with it. They, on their knees, confessed their faults, with many tears. He, who was gentle even to excess, said he did forgive them, and prayed God to forgive them, and to make them better men. After that he was never observed to change his countenance, or alter his behaviour towards them. He expressed the like readiness to pardon all the rest: many were imprisoned upon these examinations; but the parliament granting a subsidy, a general pardon set them all at liberty;

which otherwise the archbishop was resolved to have procured to them. This relation differs in several particulars from the account that I gave of it in my History; but this seems to be the exacter and the better vouched, and therefore I acquiesce in it. Another instance is given by the same writer of the king's zeal for Cranmer. Sir John Gostwick, knight for Bedfordshire, did, in the house of commons, charge him for preaching heresy against the sacrament of the altar, both at Feversham and Canterbury: the king hearing of this, did, in his rough way, threaten Gostwick calling him *varlet*, and charged him to go and ask Cranmer pardon, otherwise he should feel the effects of his displeasure. The king said, if he had been a Kentish man, he might have had some more shadow for accusing him; but being of Bedfordshire, he could have none. Gostwick, terrified with this message, made his submission to Cranmer, who mildly forgave him, and went to the king and moved him for his favour, which he did not obtain without some difficulty.

It appears plainly that the king acted as if he had a mind to be thought infallible\*; and that his subjects were bound to believe as much as he thought fit to open to them, and neither more nor less. He went on this year, before he took his progress, in finishing "The necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man." A great part of it was corrected by his own hand, particularly in that article of the Creed, *the catholic church*, where there are severe reflections added on the bishops of Rome†. Here I found likewise some more of the answers made to the seventeen queries upon the matter of the sacraments that I published in my first volume. I set them out again in my Collection (No. lxxviii); that by these the reader may better understand the two following papers that I print separately; and not intermixed with one another, as I did before, which I thought to be an ease to the reader; but since that was made a great offence, I will do it no more. One of these is only an answer to the queries: the writer of the first is not named, it is probably Tonstall's; he is plainly of the same side with the archbishop of York. It will be found in the Collection (No. lxxix), as also another paper (No. lxx), with several marginal notes in the king's hand, by which it appears that the king was much shaken from his former notions: he asked for Scripture in several particulars, that could not easily be brought. On the margin, Cranmer and Barlow are often named; but I do not understand with

\* Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.      † Collect. No. xxxii, vol. i, Refor.

what view it was that they and no other (except Coxon) are named. Over against the 15th article their names are set down in this order: York, Duresme, Carlisle, Corren, Simon, Oglethorp, Edgeworth, Day, Redman, Robinson, Winchester; and a little below, Canterbury, Hereford, Rochester, Davys (I suppose St. David's), Westminster, Layton, Tresham, Cox, Crayford; these are writ in a hand that I do not know, but not in the same hand. It seems those lists were made with relation to the different parties in which they stood. The book thus carefully examined was finished and published.

The king went in progress with his queen, who began to have a great influence on him; and, on what reason I do not know, she withdrew from her uncle, and became his enemy: but before the king's return, her ill life came to be discovered, which ended fatally to her. It is scarce worth the reader's while to say any more of a matter that is so universally acknowledged; but having found an original account subscribed by herself, of one of her examinations, I have put it in the Collection (No. lxxi). It appears, there was a particular view in the archbishop of Canterbury's examining her, to draw from her all the discoveries they could make to fasten a precontract with Dereham on her. Many trifling stories relating to that being suggested, she was examined to them all: but though she confesses a lewd commerce with Dereham, she positively denied every thing that could infer a precontract; nor did she confess any thing of that sort done after the king married her; which she still denied very positively, even to the last. On the 15th of December letters were written to the king's ambassadors abroad, that contain a severe account of the lewd and naughty behaviour and lightness of her lately reputed for queen (I give the words of the letter), at which the king was much troubled\*.

Upon her disgrace there was a new negotiation proposed with the protestant princes of Germany. Mount was again sent over to excuse, as well as he could, the divorce with Anne of Cleve. He said, she was treated nobly and kindly in all respects by the king. He renewed the proposition for a league, with relation to their common interests; but they still stood upon this, that they could enter into no alliance with him, unless they agreed in religion, insisting particularly on private masses, the denying the chalice, and the celibate of the clergy; upon which a conference was proposed in Gelderland, or at Hamburgh, or Breme. The king

\* Paper-office. Secken, lib. iii, p. 78.

in answer to this wrote, that he would carefully examine all that they laid before him: he expressed great regard to the elector, but complained that some of his learned men had written virulently against him, and misrepresented his proceedings. Cranmer likewise wrote to the elector, and set forth the great things the king had already done in abolishing the pope's authority, the monastic state, and the idolatrous worship of images: he desired they would not be uneasy, though the king in some things differed still from them. He was very learned himself, and had learned men about him: he was quick of apprehension, had a sound judgment, and firm in what he once resolved on: and he hoped the propositions they had sent over would be well considered.

Lord William Howard, the late queen's uncle, was then ambassador in France: he tells in one of his letters, that the admiral was restored to favour, chiefly by the means of Madame d'Estampes, whose credit with that king is well known. There were reports that the emperor and the French king were in a treaty, and that, in conclusion, they would join to make war on the king: this was charged on the French, but solemnly disowned by that king. It appears, the proposition for marrying the Lady Mary to the duke of Orleans was then begun: great exceptions were taken to her being declared a bastard; but it was promised, that when all other things were agreed to, she should be declared legitimate. Upon Queen Katharine Howard's disgrace, Lord William was recalled, and Paget was sent over in his room.

(1542.) There is in the Paper-office an original letter of Paget's to the king, that gives an account of his conversation with the admiral, who was then in high favour, Montmorency being in disgrace. It is very long, but it contains so many important passages, that I have put it in the Collection (No. lxxii), and shall here give an abstract of it. It is dated from Chablais, the 22d of April, in the year 1542.

“ He gave the admiral an account of his instructions, and of what both the king and his council had ordered him to say: he perceived the admiral sighed and crossed himself often; and said, in his answer to him, that he saw the king of France resolved to enter into some confederacy: he desired it might be with the king, and would think of no other prince till the king refused him: he thought both the kings were by their interests obliged to stick to one another, though the marriage had never been spoke of: it is true, that would fix and strengthen it. But he thought 200,000 crowns was a very mean offer, for such a king's daughter, to such a

prince; 400,000 or 500,000 crowns was nothing to the king. The duke of Orleans was a prince of great courage, and did aspire to great things. So mean an offer would quite discourage them. The daughter of Portugal was offered with 400,000 ducats, together with the interest of it since her father's death, which was almost as much more. At the first motion of the matter, it was answered, The man must desire the woman: now he does desire her, and you offer nothing; with this he sighed. Paget answered, and fully set out the personal love that he knew his master had for the French king: that none of the occasions of suspicion that had been given could alienate him from it: and he reckoned up many of these: he acknowledged there were great hopes of the duke of Orleans, but he studied to show that the offer was not unreasonable, all things considered. Lewis the Twelfth had but 300,000 crowns with the king's sister, and the king of Scots had with the other but 100,000 crowns: but he said, besides the 200,000 crowns which he offered to give, they will also forgive 800,000 crowns that France owed the king, and discharge the 100,000 crowns yearly pension. To this the admiral replied, he counted the forgiving the 800,000 crowns for nothing: and for the annual pension they would be at as much charge to maintain her and her court. Paget said, the 800,000 crowns was a just debt, lent in an extreme necessity; and because it had been long owing, and often respited, must that pass for nothing? So he bade him ask reasonably, or offer what was proper reciprocally for it. The admiral said, the king was rich; and what was 800,000 crowns to him, which they were not able to pay? So the admiral said, he wished the thing had never been spoke of: he fell next to turn the motion to the Lady Elizaabeth, and he proposed a league offensive and defensive against the emperor: and that whatever should be got from the emperor, should be the king's in lieu of the pension during life. He knew the emperor was practising with the king, as he was at the same time with them. Bonner was then sent ambassador to Spain, and had carried over from the king to the emperor three horses of value. The emperor might say what he will in the way of practice: but he knew he would never unite with the king, except he would return to the pope: for so the nuncio told the chancellor, and the chancellor told it to the queen of Navarre, who fell out with him upon that occasion. She told him he was ill enough before; but now, since he had the mark of the beast (for he was lately made a priest), he grew worse and worse: the emperor's design was only to divide them. He offered to them, that the duke of Orleans should be king of

Naples, and to give Flanders to the crown of France : but in lieu of that he asked the renunciation of Milan and Navarre, and the restoring of Piedmont and Savoy : but by this the father and son being so far separate, the emperor would soon drive the duke of Orleans out of Naples. He was also studying to gain the duke of Cleve, and to restore him Guelder quietly, provided that he and his wife would renounce Navarre : but he concluded, that they knew the emperor did nothing but practise : they knew he offered to the king to reconcile him to the pope, without any breach of his honour, for it should be at the pope's suit. Paget said, he knew nothing of all that, but believed it would be hard to reconcile him to the bishop of Rome, for virtue and vice cannot stand together in one predicament. Call ye him vice? said the admiral ; he is the very devil, and I trust to see his confusion : every thing must have a time, and a beginning. But when begin you? said Paget. The admiral answered, Before it be long ; the king will give all the abbeyes to his lay-gentlemen, and so by little and little overthrow him altogether : why may not we have a patriarch in France? This the pope's legate began to perceive ; and though they talked of a general council, he believed the pope would as soon be hanged as call one. Paget said, he would be glad to see them once begin to do somewhat. Ah, said the admiral, I'm ill matched : he wished the entire union of the two kings ; and if an interview might be between them, it would be the happiest thing could befall Christendom : but he believed some of the king's council leaned too much to the emperor, and proposed several advantages from it. He said, the emperor cared not if father, friend, and all the world, should sink, so his insatiable desires might be satisfied. He suffered two of his brothers-in-law to perish for want of 50,000 crowns : first the king of Hungary, and then the king of Denmark ; whom he might have restored, if he would have given him 10,000 crowns. He was then low enough, and they would do well to fall on him, now that he was so low, before he took breath : so he pressed Paget to put matters on heartily with the king : he thought it an unreasonable thing for the emperor and his brother to ask aid against the Turk, to defend their own dominions, when they kept the king's dominions from him. Paget gave the king an account of all this conversation very particularly, with an humble submission to him, if in any thing he had gone too far. The court of France believed the emperor was treating with the king for the marriage of the Lady Mary, and that for that end Bonner was sent to Spain ; who was looked on as a man thoroughly imperial. After Paget had ended his letter, written on the 19th of April, he adds a long postscript on

the 22d, for the admiral had entered into farther discourse with him the next day. He told him how sorry he was to see all his hopes blasted. He could not sleep all night for it. They had letters from their ambassadors in England, and were amazed to find that a king who was so rich stood for so small a matter. The pope had offered the duke of Guise's son 200,000 crowns with his niece: he said he was much troubled at all this: all that were about the king his master were not of one mind; and he had been reproached for beginning this matter. They knew the falsehood and the lies of the pope and the emperor well enough: he wished they would consider well what the effects of an entire friendship with the king of France might be: the French could do no more than they could do: within two years they would owe the king 100,000 crowns, besides the 100,000 crowns during the king's life, and 50,000 crowns for ever after that: but he said in those treaties many things ought to be done for their own defence: at this he was called away by the king, but came afterwards to Paget: he said, it was not 100,000 nor 200,000 crowns could enrich the one or impoverish the other king: so he added, we ask your daughter, and you shall have our son; but desired that they might carry the matter further into a league, to make war on the emperor, defensive, for all their territories.

“ He proposed that the king should send ten thousand foot and two thousand horse into Flanders, and to pay five thousand Germans: and the French king should furnish the same number of foot and of Germans, and three thousand horse, and an equal number of ships on both sides; and the king of France should in some other places fall into the emperor's dominions, at an expense of 200,000 crowns a month. What a thing, said he, would it be to the king to have Gravelin, Dunkirk, and all those quarters joining to Calais! Paget answered, they might spend all their money, and catch nothing: and he did not see what ground of quarrel his master had with the emperor; upon which the admiral replied, Does not he owe you money? Hath not he broken his leagues with you in many particulars? Did not he provoke us to join with the pope and him, to drive your master out of his kingdom? And hath he not now put the pope on offering a council to sit at Mantua, Verona, Cambrai, or Mets (this last place was lately named), all on design to ruin you? A pestilence take him, said he, false dissembler that he is! If he had you at such an advantage, as you now have him, you should feel it: and he run out largely, both against the bishop of Rome and the emperor: he desired the war might begin that year, the emperor being so low, that for all his millions, he had not a penny.”

On all this the admiral seemed wonderfully set; Paget excused himself from entering further into these matters, and desired that they might be proposed to the king by the French ambassador then at London \* ; yet, being pressed by the admiral, he promised to lay all before the king, and he did it very fully, but with many excuses and much submission. The king's council writ a short answer to this long letter : they expressed their confidence in the admiral, with great acknowledgments for his affection to the king ; but they seemed to suspect the king of France, that all his professions were only to get money from the king. Two hundred thousand crowns seemed nothing when they were willing to forgive him a million : but by this letter it seems the French ambassadors did still insist on 600,000 crowns to be paid down : so this matter was let fall. But to say all that relates to the duke of Orleans at once —

(1543.) Mr. Le Vassor has published instructions, of which a collated copy was found among Cardinal Granville's papers. It is a question that cannot be answered how he came by it ; whether the original was taken with the landgrave of Hesse, or by what other way, is not certain : it bears date at Rheims, the 8th of September 1543. " It expresses the great desire that he had, that the holy gospel might be preached in the whole kingdom of France : but the respect that he owed to the king his father, and to the dauphin his brother, made that he did not order it to be preached freely in his duchy of Orleans, that being under their obedience. But he sent to the duke of Saxony, to the landgrave of Hesse, and the other protestant princes, to assure them, that he was resolved, and promised it expressly to them, that he would order that the gospel should be preached in the duchy of Luxemburgh, and in all other places that should belong to him by the right of war : he desired to be received into their alliance, and to a league offensive and defensive with them. He desired earnestly that they would grant this request, not to be aided by them against any prince, but only on the account of the Christian religion, of which he desired the increase above all things ; that by these means light may be spread into other dominions, and into the kingdom of France, when the king his father should see him so allied to those princes, which will be the cause of making him declare the good zeal he has to that matter ; and will be able always to excuse it to him, and to defend it against all his enemies. He desires, therefore, that as soon as he shall give order that the gospel shall be preached in the duchy of Luxemburgh, this league and

\* Paper-office.

alliance may begin : he hopes this will not be delayed, from the opinion that they may have, that he cannot quickly show what power he has to support the love he bears to this cause ; he hopes in a little time to show, if it pleases God, some good effect of it : and he offers at present, not only all his own force, but the whole force of the king his father, who has given him authority to employ it in every thing that he shall judge to be good for them, and in every thing that may concern their welfare, their profit, and freedom."

It is impossible to read this, and to doubt either of his being sincerely a protestant, or at least that he was willing to profess it openly : and it can as little be doubted, that in this he had his father's leave to do what he did. The retaking of Luxemburgh put an end to this proposition : but, it seems, the emperor apprehended that the heat of this young prince might grow uneasy to him : therefore he took all methods to satisfy his ambition. For, on the 18th of December 1544, the ambassadors at the emperor's court write over, that he was treating a match between his own eldest daughter and the duke of Orleans ; and that he offered to give with her the ancient inheritance of the house of Burgundy, the two Burgundies, and the Netherlands : or, if he would marry his brother Ferdinand's second daughter, to give the duchy of Milan with her. They also mention, in April thereafter, that he came to the emperor, and stayed some days with him at Antwerp, and then went back. On this they all concluded, that the treaty was like to go on, but do not mention which of the two ladies he liked best ; for there could be no comparison made between what was offered with them. But all the negotiation, and all the hopes of that prince, vanished on the 11th of September 1545 ; for Karn, the king's ambassador in Flanders, writ over, that on that day he died of the plague.

I come next to put together all that I find in the minutes of convocation during this reign. The Necessary Erudition was never brought in convocation ; but it was treated by some bishops and divines, of both provinces, and published by the king's authority. It seems, when the doctrine was thus settled, there was a design to carry on the Reformation further. There was a convocation held in January 1541 ; in the second session of which, the archbishop delivered them a message from the king, that it was his pleasure that they should consult concerning the reforming our errors. And he delivered some books to them, to be examined by them : it does not appear what sort of books or errors those were ; whether of papists, sacramentaries, or of anabaptists ; for of this last sort some had crept into Eng-

land. The business of Munster had made that name so odious, that three years before this, in October 1538, there was a commission sent to Cranmer, Stokesly, Sampson, and some others, to inquire after anabaptists, to proceed against them, to restore the penitent, to burn their books, and to deliver the obstinate to the secular arm: but I have not seen what proceedings there were upon this.

In October 1545, there was an order of council published to take away shrines and images: several commissions were granted for executing this; in some, they add bones to images. The archbishop did likewise move the convocation, in the king's name, to make laws against simony, and to prepare a book of homilies, and a new translation of the Bible: for, it seems, complaints were made of the translation then printed and set up in churches. The several books of the Bible were parcelled out, and assigned to several bishops to translate them. This came to nothing during this reign; but this same method was followed in Queen Elizabeth's time. In the fifth session, the persons were named for this translation. Cranmer had, some few years before this, parcelled out an old translation of the New Testament to several bishops and divines, to be revised and corrected by them: but it was then much opposed. The Acts of the Apostles was assigned to Stokesly; but he sent in no return upon it: so the archbishop sent to him for it. His answer was sullen\*: "He wondered what the archbishop meant, thus to abuse the people, by giving them liberty to read the Scripture, which did nothing but infect them with heresy. He had not looked on his portion, and never would: so he sent back the book, saying, He would never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error. Notwithstanding this, Cranmer had published a more correct New Testament in English; which is referred to in the injunctions that were formerly mentioned, but now he designed a new translation of the whole Bible. In the sixth session, which was on the 17th of February, a statute against simony was treated of: there was also some discourse about the translating the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue: and it was considered, how some words in them ought to be translated; but what these were is not mentioned: only, it seems, there was a design to find faults in every thing that Cranmer had done.

(1544.) On the 24th of February, several matters were treated of; that in particular is named, that none should let leases beyond the term of twenty-one years. They treated

\* Memor. of Cranmer, Strype, ch. 8.

about many of the rituals, and of Thomas Becket, and of the adorning of images, and about reforming some scandalous comedies. On the 3d of March, the archbishop told them from the king, that it was his pleasure that the translation of the Bible should be revised by the two universities. But all the bishops, except Ely and St. David's, protested against this; and, it seems, they insisted much upon trifles. For they treated of this, whether, in the translation of the Bible, *the Lord* or *our Lord*, should be the constant form. On the same day, the lord chancellor exhibited to them an act, allowing that the bishops' chancellors might marry. To this the bishops dissented. Some other matters were proposed; but all was referred to the king, upon the convocation's being assembled on the 16th of Feb. 1542. Some homilies were offered on different subjects, but nothing is marked concerning them. The archbishop also told them, that the king would have the books of the several offices used in churches to be examined and corrected. In particular, that, both at matins and vespers, one chapter of the New Testament should be read in every parish. Some petitions were offered by the clergy: the first was, for making a body of the ecclesiastical laws. Of this we hear no more in this reign: but we are assured, that there was a digested body of them prepared; probably it was very near the same that was also prepared in King Edward's time. Cranmer, in a letter that he wrote to the king out of Kent, on the 24th of January, 1545-6, which I did put in my second volume\*, tells him, "that, according to his commands, he had sent for the bishop of Worcester (Heath), to let him know, that the king's pleasure was, to have the names of such persons sent him, as he had formerly appointed to make ecclesiastical laws for the realms." The bishop promised with all speed to inquire out their names, and the book which they made, and to bring both the names and the book to the king; which, he writes, he had done before that time. By this it appears, that persons had been named for that; and that a commission was granted, pursuant to which the work had been prepared: for things of this kind were never neglected by Cranmer. It seems, it had been done some years before, so that it was almost forgotten; but now, in one of King Henry's lucid intervals, it was prepared, as Mr. Strype has published. But how it came to pass that no further progress was made during this reign, in so important and so necessary a work, is not easily to be accounted for; since it must have contributed much to

\* 2d vol. Coll. of Rec: No: xi.

the exaltation of the king's supremacy, to have all the ecclesiastical courts governed by a code authorised by him. In the convocation, in the year 1543, we have only this short word, That on the 29th of April the archbishop treated of the sacraments, and, on the next day, on the article of free-will. This is all that I could gather from the copy of the minutes of the convocations, which was communicated to me by my most learned and worthy brother, the lord bishop of London, who assured me it was collated exactly with the only ancient copy that remains, to give us light into the proceedings in the convocations of those times.

It does not appear to me what removed Bell, bishop of Worcester, to resign his bishopric. Rymer has printed his resignation\* ; in which it is said, that he did it simply of his own accord. He lived till the year 1556, as his tombstone in Clerkenwell-church informs us. Whether he inclined to a further reformation, and so withdrew at the time ; or whether the old leaven yet remaining with him made it uneasy for him to comply, does not appear : if his motives had been of the former sort, it may be supposed he would have been thought of in King Edward's time ; and if of the latter, then in Queen Mary's reign he might again have appeared ; so I must leave it in the dark what his true motive was.

Audley, who had been lord chancellor from the time that Sir Thomas More left that post, fell sick in the year 1544, and sent the great seal to the king, by Sir Edward North and Sir Thomas Bland. The king delivered it to the Lord Wriothesly, and made him lord-keeper during the Lord Audley's infirmity †, with authority to do every thing that the lord chancellor might do ; and the duke of Norfolk tendered him the oaths. It seems, there was such a regard, had to the Lord Audley, that, as long as he lived, the title of lord chancellor was not given with the seals ; but, upon his death, Wriothesly was made lord chancellor. This seems to be the first instance of a lord-keeper, with the full authority of a lord chancellor.

I have not now before me such a thread of matters as to carry me regularly through the remaining years of this reign ; and, therefore, hereafter I only give such passages as I have gathered, without knitting them together in exact series. The breach between England and France was driven on by the emperor's means, and promoted by all the popish party. So the king, to prevent all mischief from Scotland, during this war with France, entered into an agreement with the

\* Rymer. to. 15.

† Rymer, ib.

earls of Lenox and Glencairn, and the elect bishop of Caithness, brother to the earl of Lenox, in May 1544\*. The articles are published. They promised, "that they should cause the word of God to be truly taught in their countries. 2dly, They should continue the king's faithful friends. 3dly, They should take care that the queen be not secretly carried away. 4thly, They should assist the king to seize on some castles on the borders." And they delivered the elect bishop of Caithness to the king, as a hostage for their observing these things. On the other hand, "the king engaged to send armies to Scotland, both by sea and land; and to make the earl of Lenox (written in this Levinax), as soon as he could, governor of Scotland: and that he should bestow his niece, Lady Margaret Dowglas, on him." There was a fuller agreement made with them, with more particulars in it, on the 26th of June; and a pension of 250*l.* was assigned to the earl of Glencairn, and 125*l.* to his son, both during life. Those in the castle of St. Andrew's were also taken into the king's protection. And they promised to promote the marriage, and the king's interest, and to deliver up the castle when demanded. There were also private agreements made with Norman Lesly, Kircaldy of the Grange, and some others, all to be found in Rymer.

The often-cited Seckendorf tells us †, that at this time they in Germany began to have greater hopes of the king than ever. Mount was again sent to offer an alliance with him. He excused all the late proceedings. He said, Cromwell had rashly said, "that he hoped to see the time, that he should strike a dagger into the heart of him that should oppose the Reformation;" which his judges thought was meant of the king. He said, Barnes had indiscreetly provoked the bishop of Winchester. He also blamed their ambassadors for entering into disputes in writing with the king. He believed Melancthon and Bucer would have managed that matter with more success. Bucer seconded Mount's motions, and magnified what the king had already done; though there was no complete reformation yet effected.

This did not move the elector: he looked on the king as an enemy to their doctrine. His whole design in what he had done was, to make himself the head of the church, to which he was not called of God. His government was tyrannical, and his life flagitious; so he looked for no good from him. The king of France moved him to undertake a mediation between him and the king, but the elector referred that to a general meeting of those who were engaged in the

\* Rymer.

† Tom. 15. Seck. 1. lii, p. 121.

common Smalcaldic league. The princes of Germany having their chief dependence on the kings of France and England, saw how much they were weakened and exposed to the emperor, by the war which was going on between those two kings; so they sent some empowered by them to try if it was possible to prevent that war, and to mediate a reconciliation between them. To these, when they delivered their message to the king, he complained of the injustice and wilfulness of the French king. He thought their interposition could have no effect, and he used these words in an answer to their memorial, "We give them well to understand, that we do both repose an ampler and a fuller confidence in them than the French king either doth or will do."

De Bellay, who, being oft employed, understood those matters well, tells us, that the emperor and King Henry had agreed to join their armies, and to march directly into France\*. He tells in another place†, that if King Henry had followed the opinion of his council, which was for his landing in Normandy with thirty thousand men, he would have carried that whole duchy; and he ascribes his error in that matter to the providence of God, that protected France from so great a danger. The emperor had proposed to the king, that upon the junction of their two armies they should march straight to Paris; for they reckoned that both their armies would have amounted to ninety thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. But after the emperor had drawn the king into his measures, he went on taking some towns, pursuing his own ends, and then made his own peace with France, and left the king engaged in the war. So the king finding the emperor's main army was not like to join him, some bodies out of the Netherlands only coming to act in conjunction with him; upon that he sent the duke of Norfolk to besiege Montrevel, and he himself sat down before Bulloigne. Marshal Bies, governor of Bulloigne, apprehending the importance of Montrevel, carried a considerable part of the garrison of Bulloigne with him, and threw himself into Montrevel: by this means he left Bulloigne weak, and in ill hands. In the mean time the emperor took Luxembourg, and some other places; so all the project with which he had amused the king vanished, and a peace was struck up between him and the king of France.

The French sent an army to raise the siege of Montrevel; and they were moving so as to get between the duke of Norfolk and the king's army. Upon which the duke of

\* P. 1094.

† P. 1115.

Norfolk raised the siege: but Bulloigne was taken; and that small conquest was out of measure magnified by those who saw their own advantage in flattering their master, though at a vast charge he had gained a place scarce worth keeping.

The emperor had that address, and he had so strong a party about the king, that even all this was excused, and the intercourse between the two courts was not discontinued.

In one point the emperor was necessary to the king, and he kept his word to him. It is certain the king had apprehensions of the council that was now sitting at Trent, and the more because Pole was one of the legates sent to preside in it; who, as he had reason to apprehend, would study to engage the council to confirm the pope's censure thundered out against the king; and it was believed he was named legate for that end. The king of France had offered to Gardiner, that, if the king would join with him, he would suffer no council to meet, but as the king should consent to it. But his fluctuating temper was so well known, that the king trusted in this particular more to the emperor, whose interest in that council he knew must be great; and the emperor had promised that the council should not at all intermeddle with the matter between the pope and the king. The effect showed he was true in this particular.

The king finding himself so disappointed, and indeed abandoned by the emperor, sent the earl of Hartford, with Gardiner, to him, to expostulate with him. A letter of the king's was sent by them to the emperor, written in a very severe strain, charging him with perfidy. The emperor either had the gout, or pretended to have it, so that he could not be spoke with. His chief ministers at that time, who were Grandville, and his son the bishop of Arras, delayed them from day to day, and discovered much chicane, as they wrote\*; upon which they grew so uneasy, that at last they demanded a positive answer; and then these ministers told them, that the emperor could not carry on the war longer against France: but he offered to mediate a peace between England and France. After that they complain that they saw the pretence of mediation was managed deceitfully; for the emperor's design upon Germany being now ready, he apprehended those two kings, if not engaged in war one with another, would support the princes of the empire, and not suffer the emperor, under the pretence of a religious war, to make himself master of Germany. There-

\* Paper-office.

fore he studied to keep up the war between France and England. I find Maurice of Saxony was this year, during the emperor's war with France, in his court. Whether he was then mediating or treating about his perfidious abandoning the elector and the other princes of the Smalcaldic league, I know not.

(1545.) Before the king went out of England, a great step was made towards the reforming the public offices. A form of procession in the English tongue was set out by the king's authority, and a mandate was sent to Bonner to publish it. The title of it was, "An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by his majesty and his clergy to be read to the people;" also, "A Litany, with suffrages, to be said, or sung, in the time of the processions." In the Litany they did still invoke the blessed Virgin, the angels and archangels, and all holy orders of blessed spirits, all holy patriarchs and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven, to pray for them. After the word conspiracy, this is added, "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities." The rest of the Litany is the same that we still use, only some more collects are put at the end, and the whole is called a prayer of procession. To this are added some exercises of devotion, called Psalms, which are collected out of several parts of Scripture, but chiefly the Psalms: they are well collected; and the whole composition, as there is nothing that approaches to popery in it, so it is a serious and well-digested course of devotion. There follows a paraphrase on the Lord's prayer: on the fourth petition, there are expressions that seem to come near a true sense of the presence of Christ in the sacrament; for by *daily bread*, as some of the ancients thought, the sacrament of the eucharist is understood, which is thus expressed, "The lively bread of the blessed body of our Saviour Jesu Christ, and the sacred cup of the precious and blessed blood which was shed for us on the cross." This agrees with our present sense, that Christ is present; not as he is now in heaven, but as he was on the cross. And that being a thing past, he can only be present in a type and a memorial. The preface is an exhortation to prayer, in which these remarkable words will be found: "It is very convenient, and much acceptable to God, that you should use your private prayer in your mother-tongue; that you, understanding what you ask of God, may more earnestly and fervently desire the same, your hearts and minds agreeing to your mouth and words." This is indeed all over of a pious and noble strain, and, except the invocation of the saints and angels, it is an unexceptionable

composition. At the same time, Katharine Parr, whom the king had lately married, collected some prayers and meditations, "wherein the mind is stirred patiently to suffer all affliction here, to set at nought the vain prosperity of this world, and always to long for the everlasting felicity;" which were printed in the year 1545.

But so apt was the king, whether from some old and inherent opinions that still stuck with him, or from the practices of those who knew how to flatter him suitably to his notions, to go backward and forward in matters of religion; that though on the 15th of October, 1545, he ordered a mandate to be sent to Bonner, to publish the English procession ordained by him, which was executed the day following; yet on the 24th of that month there was a letter written to Cranmer, declaring the king's pleasure for the setting up an image that had been taken down by his injunctions; ordering him at the same time to abolish the use of holy water, about St. John's tide, and to take down an image called *Our Lady of Pity in the Pew*, for the idolatry that was committed about it. At this time it was discovered that great indulgences, with all such-like favours, were sent from Rome to Ireland; so that generally in that kingdom the king's supremacy was rejected, and yet at the same time it appears that many were put in prison for denying the presence in the sacrament: and a proclamation was set out, both against Tindall's New Testament, and Coverdale's.

Thirleby, bishop of Westminster, was sent ambassador to the emperor; and afterwards Secretary Petre was sent to the same court. Mount continued likewise to be employed, but without a character: he seems to have been both honest and zealous; and in many letters, writ both in the year 1545 and 1546, he warned the king of the emperor's designs to extirpate Lutheranism, and to force the whole empire to submit to the pope and the council, then sitting at Trent. The German princes sent over a vehement application to the king, to consider the case of Herman, bishop of Colen, praying him to protect him, and to intercede for him. They gave a great character of the man, of which Mount makes mention in his letters; but I do not find that the king interposed in that matter. The emperor seemed to enter into great confidences with Thirleby, and either imposed on him, or found him easily wrought on: he told him that the king of France was making great levies in Switzerland, and he was well assured that they were not designed against himself; so he warned the king to be on his guard. This being inquired into, was not only denied by the court of France,

but was found to be false \*, and was looked on as an artifice of the emperor's to keep up a jealousy between those two courts. By such practices he prevailed on Thirleby to assure the king, that the emperor did not design to enslave Germany, but only to repress the insolence of some princes, and to give justice a free course : all the news he wrote from thence did run in this strain ; so that Germany was fatally abandoned by both kings. Yet still the king sent over to the emperor repeated complaints of the ill-treatment his subjects met with in Spain from inquisitors ; and that in many courts justice was refused to be done them, upon this pretence, that the king and all who adhered to him were declared heretics, and as such they were excommunicated by the pope, and so were not to be admitted to sue in judicatories : these were sent over to Thirleby, but I do not see what was done upon all those representations.

The last message the king sent to the Germans was in the year 1546, by Mount, with whom one Butler was joined : the German princes, in general terms, prayed the king to insist on rejecting the council of Trent, assuring him that the pope would suffer no reformation to be made. This letter was agreed to by the greater number of the princes of the union, only the elector of Saxony had conceived great prejudices against the king. He said, " he was an impious man, with whom he desired to have no commerce : he was no better than the pope, whose yoke he had thrown off only for his own ends : and that he intended out of the two religions to make a third, only for enriching himself ; having condemned the principal points of their doctrine in his parliament."

I find at this time a secret disgust the emperor was in towards his brother Ferdinand ; upon which Ferdinand sent a message to the king, setting forth the just claim he had to his father's succession in Spain ; since, by the agreement of the marriage between Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabel of Castile, a special provision was made, that whensoever there was a second son issuing from that marriage, the kingdom of Arragon, and all that belonged to it, should be again separated from Castile. He also pretended, that he ought to have had a larger share in the succession of the house of Burgundy ; and that instead of those rich provinces, he was forced to accept of Austria, and the princes about it, which lay exposed to the Turks, and were loaded with great debts, contracted by his grandfather Maximilian. To this the king sent an answer secretly, and ordered the person (who he was, does not appear ; but I think it was Mount), that

\* Paper Office.

carried it, to insist on the discourse of his pretensions to the Netherlands, which were then vastly rich. He was particularly required to observe Ferdinand's behaviour, and all that he said on that subject: and it seems that our court, being then in a good understanding with the court of France, communicated the matter to Francis: for he wrote, soon after that, a letter to Ferdinand, encouraging him to stand on his claim, and promising him his assistance to support his pretensions on the emperor. But Ferdinand, not being inclined to trust the court of France with this secret, sent the letter to the emperor: so I see no more of that matter.

The last transaction of importance in this reign was the fall of the duke of Norfolk, and of the earl of Surrey his son. I find in the council-book, in the year 1543, that the earl was accused for eating flesh in Lent, without licence; and for walking about the streets in the night, throwing stones against windows, for which he was sent to the Fleet. In another letter, he is complained of for riotous living. Towards the end of the year 1546, both he and his father were put in prison; and it seems the council wrote to all the king's ambassadors beyond sea an account of this, much aggravated, as the discovery of some very dangerous conspiracy; which they were to represent to those princes in very black characters. I put in the Collection (No. lxxiii) an account given by Thirleby of what he did upon it. The letter is long; but I only copy out that which relates to this pretended discovery: dated from Hailbron, on Christmas-day, 1546.

“ He understood, by the council's letters to him, what ungracious and ungrateful persons they were found to be. He professes, he ever loved the father, for he thought him a true servant to the king: he says, he was amazed at the matter, and did not know what to say. God had not only on this occasion, but on many others, put a stop to treasonable designs against the king, who (next to God) was the chief comfort of all good men: he enlarges much on the subject, in the style of a true courtier. The messenger brought him the council's letters, written on the 15th of December, on Christmas-eve; in which he saw the malicious purpose of these two ungracious men: so, according to his orders, he went immediately to demand audience of the emperor; but the emperor intended to repose himself for three or four days, and so had refused audience to the nuncio, and to all other ambassadors; but he said, he would send a secretary, to whom he might communicate his business. Joyce, his secretary, coming to him, he set forth the matter as pompously as the council had represented it to him. In particu-

lar, he spoke of the haughtiness of the earl of Surrey; of all which the secretary promised to make report to the emperor, and likewise to write an account of it to Granville. Thirleby excuses himself that he durst not write of this matter to the king: he thought it would renew in him the memory of the ingratitude of these persons, which must wound a noble heart."

After so black a representation, great matters might be expected: but I have met with an original letter of the duke of Norfolk's to the lords of the council (Collect. No. lxxiv), writ indeed in so bad a hand, that the reading it was almost as hard as deciphering. It gives a very different account of that matter, at least with relation to the father. He writes, "that the lord great chamberlain, and the secretary of state, had examined him upon divers particulars: the first was, Whether he had a cipher with any man? he said, he had never a cipher with any man, but such as he had for the king's affairs, when he was in his service. And he does not remember that ever he wrote in cipher, except when he was in France, with the lord great master that now is, and the Lord Rochford: nor does he remember whether he wrote any letters then or not; but these two lords signed whatsoever he wrote. He heard, that a letter of his was found among bishop Fox's papers, which being showed to the bishop of Duresme, he advised to throw it into the fire. He was examined upon this: he did remember the matter of it was, the setting forth the talk of the northern people, after the time of the commotions; but that it was against Cromwell and not at all against the king (so far did they go back, to find matter to be laid to his charge): but whether this was in cipher, or not, he did not remember. He was next asked, if any person had said to him, that if the king, the emperor, and the French king came to a good peace, whether the bishop of Rome would break that by his dispensation; and whether he inclined that way. He did not remember he had ever heard any man speak to that purpose: but, for his own part, if he had twenty lives, he would rather spend them all, than that the bishop of Rome should have any power in this kingdom again. He had read much history, and knew well how his usurpation began and increased: and both to English, French, and Scots, he has upon all occasions spoken vehemently against it. He was also asked, if he knew any thing of a letter from Gardiner and Knevet, the king's ambassadors at the emperor's court, of a motion made to them for a reconciliation with that bishop, which was brought to the king at Dover, he being then there.

“ In answer to this he writes, he had never been with the king at Dover since the duke of Richmond died : but for any such overture, he had never heard any thing of it ; nor did any person ever mention it to him. It had been said in council, when Sir Francis Bryan was like to have died, as a thing reported by him, that the bishop of Winchester had said, he could devise a way to set all things right between the king and the bishop of Rome. Upon which, as he remembers, Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to Sir Francis, to ask the truth of that, but Sir Francis denied it ; and this was all that ever he heard of any such overture. It seems these were all the questions that were put to him ; to which those were his answers. He therefore prayed the lords to intercede with the king, that his accusers might be brought face to face, to say what they had against him : and he did not doubt, but it should appear he was falsely accused. He desired to have no more favour than Cromwell had ; he himself being present when Cromwell was examined. He adds, Cromwell was a false man ; but he was a true, poor gentleman : he did believe some false man had laid some great thing to his charge. He desired, if he might not see his accusers, that he might at least know what the matters were ; and if he did not answer truly to every point, he desired not to live an hour longer.

“ He had always been pursued by great enemies about the king ; so that his fidelity was tried like gold. If he knew wherein he had offended, he would freely confess it. On Tuesday, in the last Whitsun-week, he moved the king, that a marriage might be made between his daughter (the duchess of Richmond) and Sir Thomas Seymour ; and that his son Surrey’s children might, by cross-marriages, be allied to my lord great chamberlain’s children (the earl of Hertford). He appealed to the king, whether his intention in these motions did not appear to be honest. He next reckons up his enemies : Cardinal Wolsey confessed to him at Asher, that he had studied for fourteen years how to destroy him, set on to it by the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, and the Lord Sandys, who often told him, that if he did not put him out of the way, he would undo him. When the marquis of Exeter suffered, Cromwell examined his wife more strictly concerning him than all other men ; of which she sent him word by her brother, the Lord Mountjoy : and Cromwell had often said to himself, that he was a happy man that his wife knew nothing against him, otherwise she would undo him. The late duke of Buckingham, at the bar, where his father sat lord high steward, said, that he himself was the person in the world whom he had hated most,

thinking he had done him ill offices with the king: but he said, he then saw the contrary. Rice, that married his sister, often said, he wished he could find the means to thrust his dagger in him. It was well known to many ladies in the court, how much both his nieces, whom it pleased the king to marry, had hated him: he had discovered to the king that for which his mother-in-law was attainted of misprision of treason. He had always served the king faithfully, but had of late received greater favours of him than in times past: what could therefore move him to be now false to him? 'A poor man, as I am, yet I am his own near kinsman. Alas! alas! my lords (writes he), that ever it should be thought any untruth to be in me.' He prays them to lay this before the king, and jointly to beseech him, to grant the desires contained in it. So he ends it with such submissions, as he hoped might mollify the king."

Here I must add a small correction, because I promised it to the late Sir Robert Southwell, for whose great worth and virtues I had that esteem which he well deserved. Sir Richard Southwell was concerned in the evidence against the duke of Norfolk: he gave me a memorandum, which I promised to remember when I reviewed my History. There were two brothers, Sir Richard and Sir Robert, who were often confounded, an R serving for both their christened names. Sir Richard was a privy-counsellor to Henry the Eighth, King Edward, and Queen Mary: the second brother, Sir Robert, was master of the rolls in the time of Henry the Eighth, and in the beginning of Edward the Sixth. I had confounded these, and in two several places called Sir Richard master of the rolls.

I have now set forth all that I find concerning the duke of Norfolk; by which it appears that he was designed to be destroyed only upon suspicion: and his enemies were put on running far back to old stories, to find some colours to justify so black a prosecution. This was the last act of the king's reign; which, happily for the old duke, was not finished, when the king's death prevented the execution.

Thus I have gone over all those passages in this reign, that have fallen in my way, since I wrote my History. I have so carefully avoided repeating any thing that was in my former work, that I have, perhaps, not made it clear enough, into what parts of it every thing here related ought to be taken in. Nor have I put in my Collection any of those papers that either the Lord Herbert or Mr. Strype had published, one or two only excepted in each of them; but these I put in it, both because I copied them from the originals when I did not reflect on their being published by

those writers, and because they seemed of great importance to the parts of my History to which they belonged. Some of these being very short, and the others not long, I thought the inserting them made my Collection more complete. I would not lessen the value of books, to which I have been too much beholden, to make so ill a return; to the last especially, from whose works I have taken that which seemed necessary, to make the history as full as might be, but refer my reader to such vouchers as he will find in them.

And now, having ended what I have to say of King Henry, I will add a few reflections on him, and on his reign. He had certainly a greater measure of knowledge in learning, more particularly in divinity, than most princes of that or of any age; that gave occasion to those excessive flatteries, which in a great measure corrupted his temper and disfigured his whole government. It is deeply rooted in the nature of man to love to be flattered; because self-love makes men their own flatterers, and so they do too easily take down the flatteries that are offered them by others; who, when they expect advantages by it, are too ready to give this incense to their vanity, according to the returns that they expect from it.

Few are so honest and disinterested in their friendship, as to consider the real good of others; but choose rather to comply with their humour and vanity. And since princes have most to give, flattery (too common to all places) is the natural growth of courts; in which, if there are some few so unfashioned to those places, as to seek the real good and honour of the prince, by the plain methods of blunt honesty, which may carry them to contradict a mistaken prince, to show him his errors, and with a true firmness of courage, to try to work even against the grain; while they pursue that, which, though it is the real advantage and honour of the prince, yet it is not agreeable to some weak or perverse humour in him: these are soon overtopped by a multitude of flatterers, who will find it an easy work to undermine such faithful ministers; because their own candour and fidelity make them use none of the arts of a countermine. Thus the flattered prince easily goes into the hands of those who humour and please him most, without regarding either the true honour of the master, or the good of the community.

If weak princes, of a small measure of knowledge and a low capacity, fall into such hands, the government will dwindle into an inactive languishing; which will make them a prey to all about them, and expose them to universal contempt both at home and abroad: while the flatterers make their own advantages the chief measure of the govern-

ment; and do so besiege the abused and deluded prince, that he fancies he is the wonder and delight of the world, when he is under the last degrees of the scorn of the worst, and of the pity of the best of his people.

But if these flatterers gain the ascendant over princes of genius and capacity, they put them on great designs, under the false representations of conquests and glory; they engage them either to make or break leagues at pleasure, to enter upon hostilities without any previous steps or declarations of war, to ruin their own people for supporting those wars that are carried on with all the methods both of barbarity and perfidy; while a studied luxury and vanity at home is kept up, to amuse and blind the ignorant beholders, with a false show of lustre and magnificence.

This had too deep a root in King Henry, and was too long flattered by Cardinal Wolsey, to be ever afterwards brought into due bounds and just measures; yet Wolsey pursued the true maxims of England, of maintaining the balance during his ministry. Our trade lay then so entirely in the Netherlands, without our seeming to think of carrying it further, that it was necessary to maintain a good correspondence with those provinces: and Charles's dominions were so widely scattered, that, till Francis was taken prisoner, it was visibly the interest of England to continue still jealous of France, and to favour Charles. But the taking of Francis the First changed the scene; France was then to be supported. It was also so exhausted, and Charles's revenue was so increased, that without great sums both lent him, and expended by England, all must have sunk under Charles's power, if England had not held the balance.

It was also a masterpiece in Wolsey to engage the king to own that the book against Luther was written by him, in which the secret of those, who, no doubt, had the greatest share in composing it, was so closely laid, that it never broke out. Seckendorf tells us, that Luther believed it was writ by Lee, who was a zealous Thomist, and had been engaged in disputes with Erasmus, and was afterwards made archbishop of York. If any of those who still adhered to the old doctrines had been concerned in writing it, probably when they saw King Henry depart from so many points treated of in it, they would have gone beyond sea, and have robbed him of that false honour and those excessive praises which that book had procured him. It is plain More wrote it not: for the king having showed it him before it was published, he (as he mentions in one of his letters to Cromwell) told the king, that he had raised the papacy so high, that it might be objected to him, if he should happen

to have any dispute with the pope, as was often between princes and popes : and it will be found in the remarks on the former volumes, that he in another letter says he was a sorter of that book. This seems to relate only to the digesting it into method and order.

How far King Henry was sincere in pretending scruples of conscience, with relation to his first marriage, can only be known to God. His suit of divorce was managed at a vast expense, in a course of many years ; in all which time, how strong soever his passion was for Anne Boleyn, yet her being with child so soon after their marriage is a clear evidence that till then they had no unlawful commerce. It does not appear that Wolsey deserved his disgrace, unless it was, that by the commission given to the two legates, they were empowered to act conjunctly or severally : so that, though Campegio refused to concur, he might have given sentence legally, yet he being trusted by the pope, his acting according to instructions did not deserve so severe a correction : and had any material discovery been made to render Wolsey criminal, it may be reasonably supposed it would have been published.

The new flatterers falling in with the king's passion, outdid and ruined Wolsey. More was the glory of the age, and his advancement was the king's honour more than his own, who was a true Christian philosopher. He thought the cause of the king's divorce was just, and as long as it was prosecuted at the court of Rome, so long he favoured it : but when he saw that a breach with that court was like to follow, he left the great post he was in, with a superior greatness of mind. It was a fall great enough, to retire from that into a private state of life : but the carrying matters so far against him as the king did, was one of the justest reproaches of that reign. More's superstition seems indeed contemptible, but the constancy of his mind was truly wonderful.

Cromwell's ministry was in a constant course of flattery and submission, but by that he did great things, that amaze one, who has considered them well. The setting up the king's supremacy, instead of the usurpations of the papacy, and the rooting out the monastic state in England, considering the wealth, the numbers, and the zeal, of the monks and friars in all the parts of the kingdom, as it was a very bold undertaking, so it was executed with great method, and performed in so short a time, and with so few of the convulsions that might have been expected, that all this shows what a master he was, that could bring such a design to be finished in so few years, with so little trouble or danger.

But in conclusion, an unfortunate marriage to which he advised the king not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to destroy what he himself had brought about, was, no doubt, backward in the design of breaking it when the king had told him of it: and then, upon no other visible ground, but because Anne of Cleve grew more obliging to the king than she was formerly, the king suspected that Cromwell had betrayed his secret, and had engaged her to a softer deportment, on design to prevent the divorce; and did upon that disgrace and destroy him.

The duke of Norfolk was never till Cromwell's fall the first in favour; but he had still kept his post by perpetual submission and flattery. He was sacrificed at last to the king's jealousy, fearing that he might be too great in his son's infancy; and, being considered as the head of the popish party, might engage in an uneasy competition with the Seymours, during the minority of his son: for the points he was at first examined on were of an old date, of no consequence, and supported by no proof.

When the king first threw off the pope's yoke, the Reformers offered him in their turn all the flatteries they could decently give: and if they could have had the patience to go no further than he was willing to parcel out a reformation to them, he had perhaps gone further in it: but he seemed to think, that as it was pretended in popery, that infallibility was to go along with the supremacy, therefore those who had yielded to the one ought likewise to submit to the other; he turned against them when he saw that their complaisance did not go so far: and upon that, the adherers to the old opinions returned to their old flatteries, and for some time seemed to have brought him quite back to them; which probably might have wrought more powerfully, but that he found the old leaven of the papacy was still working in them; so that he was all the while fluctuating; sometimes making steps to a reformation, but then returning back to his old notions. One thing probably wrought much on him. It has appeared, that he had great apprehensions of the council that was to meet at Trent, and that the emperor's engagements to restrain the council from proceeding in his matter, was the main article of the new friendship made up between them: and it may be very reasonably supposed, that the emperor represented to him, that nothing could secure that matter so certainly as his not proceeding to any further innovations in religion: more particularly his adhering firmly to the received doctrine of Christ's presence in the sacrament, and the other articles set forth by him: this agreeing with his own opinion, had, as may be well

imagined, no small share in the change of his conduct at that time.

The dextrous application of flattery had generally a powerful effect on him : but whatsoever he was, and how great soever his pride and vanity, and his other faults were, he was a great instrument in the hand of Providence for many good ends : he first opened the door to let light in upon the nation : he delivered it from the yoke of blind and implicit obedience : he put the Scriptures in the hands of the people, and took away the terror they were formerly under by the cruelty of the ecclesiastical courts : he declared this church to be an entire and perfect body within itself, with full authority to decree and regulate all things, without any dependence on any foreign power : and he did so unite the supreme headship over this church to the imperial crown of this realm, that it seemed a just consequence that was made by some in a popish reign, that he who would not own that this supremacy was in him, did by that renounce the crown, of which that title was made so essential a part, that they could no more be separated.

He attacked popery in its strongholds—the monasteries—and destroyed them all ; and thus he opened the way to all that came after, even down to our days : so that while we see the folly and weakness of man in all his personal failings, which were very many and very enormous, we at the same time see both the justice, the wisdom, and the goodness of God, in making him, who was once the pride and glory of popery, become its scourge and destruction ; and in directing his pride and passion so as to bring about, under the dread of his unrelenting temper, a change, that a milder reign could not have compassed without great convulsions and much confusion : above all the rest, we ought to adore the goodness of God, in rescuing us by his means from idolatry and superstition ; from the vain and pompous shows in which the worship of God was dressed up, so as to vie with heathenism itself, into a simplicity of believing, and a purity of worship, conform to the nature and attributes of God, and the doctrine and example of the Son of God.

May we ever value this as we ought ; and may we, in our tempers and lives, so express the beauty of this holy religion, that it may ever shine among us, and may shine out from us, to all round about us ; and then we may hope that God will preserve it to us, and to posterity after us, for ever.

## BOOK IV.

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*Of what happened during the reign of King Edward the Sixth,  
from the year 1547 to the year 1553.*

I HAD such copious materials when I wrote of this king, partly from the original council-book, for the two first years of that reign, but chiefly from the Journal writ in that king's own hand, that I shall not be able to offer the reader so many new things in this as I did in the former, and as I may be able to do in the succeeding reign. Some gleanings I have, which I hope will not be unacceptable.

I begin with acknowledging a great error committed in copying out a letter of Luther's, that I found among Bucer's Collections. The noble Seckendorf was the first that admonished me of this; but with a modesty suitable to so great a man: without that rancour in which some among ourselves have vented their ill-nature against me. I took the sure method to confess my error, and to procure an exact collated copy of that paper, from that learned body, to whose library it belongs; which will be found in the Collection (No. i). It is an original in Luther's own hand; but it could not have been easily read, if Bucer had not writ out a copy of it, which is bound up in the same volume with the original. It was an instruction that Luther gave to Melancthon, when he went into Hesse, in the year 1534, to meet and treat with Bucer upon that fatal difference, concerning the manner of the presence in the sacrament. "In which it appears, that Luther was so far from departing from his opinion, that he plainly says, he could not communicate with those of the Zainglian persuasion; but he would willingly tolerate them, in hope that in time they might come to communicate together. And as for a political agreement, he does not think the diversity of religion ought to hinder that, no more than it was a bar to marriage or commerce, which may be among those of different religions." And now I have, I hope, delivered myself from all the censures to which the wrong publishing of that paper had exposed me.

I should next enter into the historical passages of King Edward's reign ; but a great discovery, made with relation to the most important foreign transaction that happened both in King Henry and King Edward's reign (I mean the council of Trent, the first session of which was in the former reign, and the second in this), has given me an opportunity of acquainting the world with many extraordinary passages relating to it.

There was a large parcel of original letters writ to Granville, then bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, and the chief minister of Charles the emperor, that, when he left the Netherlands, were in the hands of some of his secretaries, and were not carried away by him. About fifty years after that, Mr. William Trumball, then King James the First's envoy at Brussels, grandfather to Sir William Trumball (a person eminently distinguished by his learning and zeal for religion, as well as by the embassies and other great employments he has so worthily borne), got these into his hands ; no doubt under the promise of absolute secrecy, during the lives of those who had them ; since, if they had been then published, it might have been easily traced from whence they must have come ; which would have been fatal to those who had parted with them, in a court so bigotted as was that of Albert and Isabella. I have read over the whole series of that worthy gentleman's own letters to King James the First, and saw so much honesty and zeal running through them all, that, it seems, nothing under some sacred tie could have obliged both father and son to keep such a treasure so secret from all the world, especially Padro Paulo's History coming out at that time in London ; to which these letters, as far as they went, which is from the 7th of October 1551, to the last of February 1551-2, would have given an authentic confirmation. I have been trusted by the noble owner with the perusal of them. It is impossible to doubt of their being originals : the subscriptions and seals of most of them are still entire.

These were by Sir William deposited in Bishop Stillingfleet's hands, when he was sent to his foreign employments ; that such use might be made of them, when he found a person that was master of the Spanish tongue, as the importance of the discovery might deserve. Soon after that, my very worthy friend, Dr. Geddes, returned from Lisbon, after he had been above ten years preacher to the English factory there ; and since he is lately dead, I hope I shall be forgiven to take the liberty of saying somewhat concerning him. He was a learned and a wise man. He had a true notion of popery as a political combination, managed by

falsehood and cruelty, to establish a temporal empire in the person of the popes. All his thoughts and studies were chiefly employed in detecting this; of which he has given many useful and curious essays in the treatises he wrote, which are all highly valuable. When Bishop Stillingfleet understood that he was master of the Spanish tongue, he put all these papers in his hands. He translated them into English, intending to print the originals in Spanish with them; but none of our printers would undertake that; they reckoning, that where the vent of the book might be looked for, which must be in Spain and Italy, they were sure it would not be suffered to be sold: he was therefore forced to print the translation in English, without printing the originals.

Since that time, that learned and judicious Frenchman, Monsieur le Vassor, has published a translation of them in French, with many curious reflections: but though he found that a complete edition of the letters in Spanish was a thing that the booksellers in Holland would not undertake, yet he has helped that all he could, by giving the parts of the letters that were the most critical and the most important, in Spanish. Both these books are highly valuable. The chief writer of those letters, Vargas, was a man not only very learned, but of a superior genius to most of that age, as appears both by the letters themselves, and by the great posts he went through. He was specially employed by the emperor, both in the session that was held in the former reign, and in that which sat in this reign; to which only these letters do relate. He was the chief of the council that the emperor's ambassadors had in matters in which either divinity or canon-law (the last being his particular profession) were necessary; and such a value was set on him, that the emperor sent him ambassador to the republic of Venice. And when the last session was held by Pope Pius the Fourth, Philip sent him ambassador to Rome, as the person that understood best how to manage that court, with relation to the session of the council.

I think it may give the reader a just idea of that council, both of the fraud and insolence of the legate, and of the method in which matters were carried there, to see some of the more signal passages in those letters; that it may both give him true impressions of what was transacted there, and may move him to have recourse to the letters themselves. (Oct. 7.) "He sets forth how much [the pope and his ministers dreaded the coming of the protestants to the council: he can plainly perceive that they are not themselves, nor in a condition to treat about any business,

when they are brought to touch on that point. These may, to their mortification, deliver their minds freely against abuses and some other things. Whosoever offers any thing that is not grateful to the legate, or that doth not suit exactly with some people's prepossessions; he is reported to have spoke ill, and to think worse; and to have taken what he said out of I do not know whom. There are several matters, which the legate ought to treat with more deliberation than he hath hitherto handled things: I pray God give him grace to understand this.

"In the next letter, without date, mention is made of a letter that the emperor wrote to the pope; in which he did assure him, that nothing should be done in the council, but that which he had a mind should be done in it: and that he would oblige the prelates to hold their tongues, and to let things pass without any opposition. The copy of this being shown the ambassador, he was astonished at it; but Vargas said, it was not to be understood literally (in the original it is *judaically* \*) it was only writ to bring the pope to grant the bull; but that it was not intended by it that the pope should be suffered to do such things as would bring all to ruin, but only to do such things as are reasonable. He adds in Latin, that the liberty the pope took was not only a disease and sickness of mind, but was really grown to a fury and a madness." Here the *spirit* of the promise is set up against the *letter*; and a strict adhering to words is counted a part of the yoke of Judaism; from which some most Christian princes have thought fit, on many occasions, to emancipate themselves.

In another letter (Oct. 12), he sets forth the behaviour of the prelates: "The legate never so much as acquaints them with the matter; all things appearing well to them at first sight; and who, knowing nothing of matters until they are just ready to be pronounced, pass them without any more ado. I am willing to let you know how things are carried there; and what the pope's aims are, who seeks to authorize all his own pretensions by the council. There are several other things I am not at all satisfied with, which were carried here with the same sleight that Pope Paul made use of. And is not this a blessed beginning of a council! As to the canons of reformation, they are of so trivial a nature, that several were ashamed to hear them; and had they not been wrapped up in good language together, they would have appeared to the world to be what they are."

In another letter (Oct. 28), he writes, "I cannot see how

\* Judaicè.

either catholics or heretics can be satisfied with what is done here. All that is done here is done by the way of Rome: for the legate, though it were necessary to save the world from sinking, will not depart one tittle from the orders he receives from thence; nor indeed from any thing that he has once resolved on."

In another (Nov. 12), he writes, "As for the legate, he goes on still in his old way, consuming of time to the last hour in disputations and congregations concerning doctrines; and will at last produce something in a hurry, in false colours, that may look plausible: by which means they have no time to read, and much less to understand what they are about. Words or persuasions do signify but very little in this place; and, I suppose, they are not of much greater force at Rome. By what I can perceive, both God and his majesty are like to be very much dishonoured by what will be done here. And if things should go on thus, and be brought to such an issue as the pope and his ministers aim at and give out, the church will be left in a much worse condition than she was in before. I pray God, the pope may be prevailed on to alter his measures: though I shall reckon it a miracle if he is; and shall thank God for it as such."

In another (Nov. 26), he writes, "There are not words to express the pride, the disrespect, and shamelessness, wherewith the legate proceeds. The success and end of this synod, if God by a miracle does not prevent it, will be such as I have foretold. I say, by a miracle; because it is not to be done by any human means: so that his majesty does but tire himself in vain, in negotiating with the pope and his ministers. The legate has hammered out such an infamous reformation (for it deserves no better epithet) as must make us a jest to the world. The prelates that are here resent it highly: many of them reckoning that they wound their consciences by holding their tongues, and by suffering things to be carried thus."

Upon the point of collating to benefices he writes, "We ought to put them to show what right the pope has to collate to any benefice whatsoever: I will undertake to demonstrate, from the principles and foundations of the law of God, and of nature, and of men, and from the ancient usage of the church, and from good policy, that he has no manner of right to it: and all this without doing injury to his dignity, and the plentitude of his power. He advises the leaving those matters to a better time, in which God will purge the sons of Levi: which purgation must come, and that with a

severe scourge ; it being impossible that a thing so violent, and so fraught with abuses, should hold long : the whole nerve of ecclesiastical discipline being broke, and the goods of the church made a perfect trade and merchandize."

Speaking of general councils, he writes, " This, which is now sitting here, will totally undeceive the world, so as to convince it, that by reason of the opposition and industry of the popes to engross all to themselves, nothing of reformation is ever to be expected from a general council. I would not have things, wherein the pope and his court have such great interest and pretensions, to be decided or handled here : since it cannot be done but to our great prejudice, and to the great detriment of the whole church ; which at present has neither strength nor courage to resist ; and if God do not remedy it, I do not see when it will."

Speaking of exemptions, he writes, " The canonists have made strange work ; having made many jests, as well as falsehoods, to pass for current truths. When I speak of the canonists, I speak as a thief of the family, being sensible of the abuses which have been authorized by them in the church. The exemption of chapters ought to have been quite taken away, that so there might be something of order and discipline, and that they who are the head should not be made the feet. It troubles me to see how those matters are managed and determined here ; the legate doing whatever he had a mind to, without either numbering or weighing the opinions of the divines and prelates ; hurrying and reserving the substance of things, which ought to have been well weighed and digested, to the last minute : the major part not knowing what they are doing. I mean, before the fact : for believing that Christ will not suffer them to err in their determinations, I shall bow down my head to them, and believe all the matters of faith that shall be decided by them : I pray God every body else may do the same. The taking no care to reform innumerable abuses has destroyed so many provinces and kingdoms ; and it is justly to be feared, that what is done in this council may endanger the destroying of the rest. I must tell you further, that this council drawing so near an end is what all people rejoice at here exceedingly ; there being a great many who wish it never had met ; and for my own part, I would to God it had never been called ; for I am mistaken if it do not leave things worse than it found them."

In another of the same date, if there is no error in writing, " he complains that the decree of the doctrine was not finished till the night before the session : so that many

bishops gave their *placet* to what they neither did nor could understand. The divines of Louvaine and Cologne, and some Spanish divines, being much dissatisfied with several of those matters, have publicly declared they were so. This is a very bad business: and should things of this nature come once to be so public, it must totally ruin the credit of all that has been done, or shall be done hereafter; and must hinder the council from being ever received, either in Flanders or in Germany. The bishop of Verdun, speaking to the canons of reformation, said, they would be unprofitable, and unworthy of the synod, calling it a *pretended reformation*: the legate fell upon him with very rude language, calling him a boy, an impudent raw man, with many other hard names: nor would he suffer him to speak a word in his own defence, telling him with great heat, he knew how to have him chastised. It is really a matter of amazement to see how things appertaining to God are handled here; and that there should not be one to contend for him, or any that have the courage to speak in his behalf; but that we should be all dumb dogs that cannot bark."

In another (Nov. 28) he writes, "that the legate himself wished that the decrees were corrected as to some particulars: and in another without date, he tells how the divines were employed in correcting them." This secret was never heard of before: Father Paul knew nothing of it. A decree after it had passed in council was thus secretly corrected by divines; so the infallibility was removed from the council, and lodged with the divines.

In another (Dec. 19) he writes, "It would have been a happy thing that this council had never met; which is no more that what I have often wished and declared: by reason of the many mischiefs it has already done and is still doing. It is to little purpose, either in this or any following age, to hope for any thing of a reformation from a general council; or to see any better order therein than is in this. He supposes the emperor will still continue to solicit the pope, that things may not be carried there at such a scandalous rate as they have been hitherto: and that he will take care that no occasion be given to the council for to disperse itself, upon the prelates speaking their mind freely: or denying their consent to such matters as are not convenient; which is a thing that may very justly be feared.

In another (Jan. 10) he writes, "This synod must end tumultuously and ingloriously." In another (Jan. 19) he writes, "that it was an astonishing thing, that the legate had foisted in several passages into the doctrine of orders, which must of necessity ruin all. By the brutal violences,

pretensions, and obstinacy, of the legate, things are running into such a state as must in the end, if I am not mistaken, make both himself and the whole earth to tremble: or if it does not make him tremble, it must be because he is given over to a reprobate sense: as in truth he seems to be abundantly in every thing that he does."

In another (Jan. 20) he writes, "All they drive at, is to get the pope's pretensions established under the doctrine of order; and so, instead of healing, to destroy and ruin all; those being matters which were never so much as proposed or disputed in the council: neither is it fitting, as things stand here, that they, or any thing else of the same nature, should be meddled with in this synod."

He enlarges on the authority of bishops being derived from Christ, "though subjected to the pope; and he writes, that upon this bottom only, the hierarchy of the church can be established: to settle it on any other, is in effect to confound and destroy it. Nevertheless, the pope if he could carry this point, though all things else were ruined, and whatever was done in the ancient church condemned, would find his own account in it: for after that there would be no possibility of ever having any thing redressed." The decree of order, on which the legate had set his heart, is set down at the end of this letter, the translation of it into English runs thus:—

"This may be called the new Jerusalem, that comes down from heaven; which was, by the most exactly regulated policy of the old Jerusalem, shadowed only as a pattern to represent the heavenly Jerusalem: for as she had many different orders, under one chief governor, so the visible church of Christ has his chief vicar; for he is the only and supreme head in earth, by whose dispensation offices are distributed so to all the other members, that in the several orders and stations in which they are placed, they may execute their functions to the good of the whole church with the greatest peace and union. A deputation of twenty was named to consider of this. The legate and the two presidents making three of that number; it was severely attacked by the bishop of Guadix."

In his last letter (the last of February) he writes, "that the legates would one way or other bring about the dissolution of the synod; which will be certainly done, if they can but get the said clauses determined; because in them they will have gained all that they desire: and after that they will never stand in need of any more councils for to serve their pretensions. And in case they should not be able to carry those points, they will then, to rid themselves of this

yoke that is upon their neck, and of the fears they will be under, when they shall find that they are not able to bring the synod to do all the mischief to the church, and to the authority of the present and all future general councils, that the pope and his ministers would have them do, they will then perplex and confound all."

These are very clear discoveries of the zeal and indignation which possessed this great statesman during this whole session: he shows also the opinion he had of the former session under Pope Paul (in which he had likewise assisted), in the directions he gives concerning the government of a council, and of the office of an ambassador, which he drew up before the council was re-assembled, in this his second session; in which these words are:—

"In the whole conduct of this council of Trent there does not appear the least footsteps of any of the forementioned essentials of a general council: on the contrary, the most pernicious and effectual methods that can be contrived, have been taken to destroy liberty totally, and to rob councils of that authority, which, in case of great storms, used to be the sheet-anchor of the church, by which means they have cut off all hope of ever having any abuses that infest the church redressed, to the great disparagement of all past as well as future councils, from which no good is ever to be expected.

"The conduct of this council has been of pernicious consequence; in which, under the title of directing it, the pope's legates have so managed matters, that nothing but what they have a mind to can be proposed, discussed, or defined therein; and that too after such a manner as they would have it: all the liberty that is here being only imaginary; so that their naming it is nothing but cheat and banter: which is so notorious, that several of the prelates even among the pope's pensioners have not the face to deny it. The clause that they have inserted into the canons of reformation, which is, 'saving in all things the authority of the apostolical see,' is telling the world, in plain terms, that what the pope does not like shall signify nothing. He writes of certain methods that the legates have used in negotiating with the people to change their minds: this they have done so often, that it is now taken notice of by every body: neither can there be any course more pernicious or destructive of the liberty of the council. The legates many times, when they proposed a thing, declared their opinion of it first. Nay, in the middle of voting, when they observed any prelate not to vote as they would have him, they have taken upon themselves to speak to it before another was suffered to vote, doing it sometimes with soft words, and at

other times with harsher; letting others to understand thereby how they would have them vote; many times railing at the prelates and exposing them to scorn, and using such methods as would make one's heart bleed to hear of, much more to see.

“The common method was, the legates assembled the prelates in a general congregation the night before the session was to be held. Then they read the decrees to them, as they and their friends had been pleased to form them. By which means, and by their not being understood by a great many prelates, some not having the courage to speak their minds, and others being quite tired out with the length of the congregation, the decrees were passed. We, who saw and observed all these doings, cannot but lament both our own condition and the lost authority of councils.

“He shows the legates' drift was to canonize all the abuses of the court of Rome: so they never suffered them to be treated of freely, but managed them like the compounding of a law-suit: in all which courses, it is certain the Holy Ghost did not assist: they striving still to authorize abuses, and giving the world to understand that the pope is gracious in granting them any thing, as if all were his own: taking abuses, though never so pernicious, and splitting them as they thought good; by which artifice, that part of the abuse which was approved of by the synod, becomes perpetual; and for the part that was reprobated, they will, according to their custom, find ways to defeat its condemnation.

“There is nothing that can be so much as put to the vote, without the consent of the legates; who, notwithstanding that they are (by reason of the great number of pensioners which the pope has here) always sure of a majority, do nevertheless make use of strange tricks in their conduct of the council. Besides, by having made their own creatures the secretaries, notaries, and all the other officers of the council, they have made it thereby a body, without any thing of soul or strength in it: whereas all those officers ought to have been appointed by the council, and especially the notaries.

“This is the course that has been hitherto taken in the council of Trent, which is employed rather in struggling with the pope and his legates, who seek to engross all to themselves, than in reforming and remedying the evils under which the church groans. I pray God it do not increase them by the course it takes, by artifice and dissimulation, to reduce the whole synod to the will of the pope.—It may be truly said, we are in a convention of bishops, but not in a council.—It would have been much better not to have

celebrated a council at this time, but to have waited till God had put the Christian commonwealth in a better disposition;—rather than to have celebrated one after this manner, with so little fruit, to the great sorrow of catholics, the scorn of heretics, and the prejudice of the present and of all future councils.” So much may serve to show the sense that Vargas had of the first as well of the second session of the council of Trent.

Malvenda, one of the emperor’s divines that was there, complains in one letter (Oct. 12), “that the decrees, but especially the matters of doctrine, were communicated to them very late. So that, notwithstanding the substance of these decrees may be sound, which it is well if it is, nevertheless, considering that they are to correct them upon a bare hearing them read, on the eve of a session, that must in my opinion hinder them from having that authority and majesty which such matters do use to have. I pray God give them grace to mend this.—He confesses, it was not fit any thing should be done without the pope’s consent: yet that ought to be managed with all possible secrecy, in order to prevent the Lutherans, if they should come to know it, from reflecting on the liberty of the council, and the freedom that the prelates ought to have; who might safely enjoy more, without having any thing pass to the prejudice of his Holiness.”

In another (Nov. 22) he writes, “As there will not want those that write of this council, so, for my own part, I pray God it may not do more harm than good, and especially to the Germans that are here: who, seeing how little liberty it enjoys, and how much it is under the dominion of the legate, cannot possibly have that respect and esteem for it as is convenient.”

There are some letters from the bishop of Oren, written in the same strain. In one (Octob. 12) he writes, “that for what concerns a reformation, the emperor must set himself about it in earnest, both with the pope and the fathers; for if he does it not, we shall have our wounds only skinned over, but shall have the rotten core left, to the corrupting of all quickly again.—The prelates here are all very much troubled to see with how ill a grace people that say any thing of a reformation are heard.” In another (Nov. 28) he writes, “They discover here little or no inclination for to do any thing that deserves the name of a true reformation. Several things might be done that would be of great advantage to the people, and would be no prejudice to his Holiness, or to his court. May God remedy things! under whom, unless his majesty and your lordship labour very

hard, there will be no remedy left for the church. In a postscript, he tells the same story that Vargas had told, of the legate's treating the bishop of Verdun so ill, for his calling the reformation offered, a *pretended reformation*: and he commanded him to be silent when he was about to say somewhat in his own justification. The bishop answered, that at this rate there was no liberty; and having obtained leave of the emperor, by whom he was sent thither, he would be gone. The legate told him he should not go, but should do what he commanded him.—He writes, that it was a great reproach to the bishops, from whom the world expected canons of reformation, that in truth they could give them nothing but what the legate pleases.—It were just with the people, if we do not treat about their interest more in earnest than we have done hitherto, for to stone us when we return home."

I have set all this out so copiously, that it may appear from what those, who were far from being in any sort favourers of the Reformation, who were in Trent, and were let into the secret of affairs, wrote of the council to the emperor's chief minister, how little not only of liberty, but even of common decency, there appeared in the whole conduct of that council.

This digression is, I hope, an acceptable entertainment to the reader; and it must entirely free every considering person from a vulgar but weak prejudice, infused into many by practising missionaries, which was objected to myself by a great prince, that no nation ought to have reformed itself, in a separation from the rest of the church: but that there ought to have been a general acquiescing in such things as were commonly received, till by a joint concurrence of other churches the Reformation might have been agreed and settled in a general council. These letters do so effectually discover the vanity of this conceit, that at first sight it evidently appears, that even those abuses and corruptions that could not be justified, yet could not be effectually reformed at Trent; and that every thing was carried there, partly by the artifices of the legates, and partly by the many poor Italian prelates, who were all pensioners of the court of Rome: so that no abuse, how gross or crying soever, could be amended, but as the popes for their own ends thought fit to give it up. This appears so evidently in the letters, out of which I have drawn this abstract, that I hope any prejudice formed upon the prospect of an universal reformation is by it entirely removed. I turn next to the affairs of England.

The earl of Hertford, advanced to be duke of Somerset,

depended much on Paget's advices. He told him, on the day that King Henry died, that he desired his friendship; and promised to him, that he would have a great regard to his advice. But though Paget put him oft in mind of this, he forgot it too soon. His great success in his first expedition to Scotland was a particular happiness to him, and might have established him; but his quarrelling so soon with his brother was fatal to them both.

Thirlby was still ambassador at the emperor's court: he studied to make his court to the protector, and wrote him a very hearty congratulation upon his exaltation; and added, that the bishop of Arras seemed likewise to rejoice at it. At the same time, he warned him of the designs of the French against England. He gave him a long account of the *Interim*, in which he writes, that Malvenda had secretly a great hand: he himself seems to approve of it; and says, that it was as high an act of supremacy as any in all King Henry's reign; for by it, not only many of the doctrines of popery had mollifying senses put on them, different from what was commonly received, but the sacrament was allowed to be given in both kinds, and the married priests were suffered to officiate. It is true, all was softened by this, that it was only a prudent connivance in the *Interim* till the council should be re-assembled to bring all matters to a final settlement.

The protector either mistrusted Thirlby, or he called him home to assist Cranmer in carrying on the Reformation. He sent Sir Philip Hobbey in his stead. He was a man marked in King Henry's time as a favourer of the preachers of the *new learning*, as they were then called. There was one Parson, a clerk, known to have evil opinions (so it is entered in a part of the council-book for the year 1543), touching the sacrament of the altar; who was maintained by Weldon, one of the masters of the household, and by Hobbey, then a gentleman-usher, for which they were both sent to the Fleet; but they were soon after discharged.

Hobbey was therefore sent over ambassador, as a person on whose advices the government here might depend, with relation to the affairs of Germany. I have seen a volume of the letters writ to him by the protector and council, with copies of the answers that he wrote.

His first dispatch mentioned a particular dispute between the emperor and his confessor. The confessor refused to give him absolution, unless he would recall the decree of the *Interim*; and, instead of favouring heresy, would with the sword extirpate heretics. The emperor said, he was satisfied with what he had done in the matter of the *Interim*, and that he would do no more against the Lutherans: if the friar

would not give him absolution, others would be found who would do it. So the friar left him.

At that time a proposition of a marriage for the Lady Mary was made by the emperor, who seemed to apprehend that she was not safe in England. It was with the brother of the king of Portugal. He was called at first the prince of Portugal; and it was then hearkened to: but when the council understood he was the king's brother, they did not think fit to entertain it. And in the same letter mention is made of Geoffrey Pole, who was then beyond sea, and desired a pardon: the council wrote, that he was included in the last act of pardon; yet, since he desired it, they offer him a special pardon. This letter is signed T. Cant., Wiltshire, Northampton, Wentworth, T. Ely, T. Cheyne, A. Wyngfield, Herbert, N. Walton, J. Gage.

The next dispatch to him has a particular account of two persons, whom the king of France had corrupted to betray one of their forts to him. The king of France had said to their ambassador, *Par la foy de gentilhomme*, by the faith of a gentleman, he would make no war, without giving warning first. This he promised on the 20th of July; yet hearing of the commotions that were in England, he began hostilities against Bulloigne within three or four days after. This is signed E. Somerset, T. Cant., R. Ryche Can., W. St. John's, W. Paget, W. Petre, J. Smith, E. Watton. So long ago did it appear, that the *bona fide* of that court was not a thing to be much relied on. I would have printed these letters, if they were in my power: but having had the originals in my hands about thirty years ago, I did not then copy them out, but contented myself with taking extracts out of them, to which I shall upon other occasions have recourse.

As for the progress in the Reformation at home, Cranmer was delivered from too deep a subjection, in which he had lived to King Henry. The load of great obligations is a weight on a generous mind: the hope he had of gaining on the king, to carry him to a further reformation, did, no doubt, carry him too far in his compliances to him. He did perhaps satisfy himself, as I have reason to believe many in the Roman communion do to this day, that he did not in his mind, or with his thoughts, go along in those devotions that they cannot but think unlawful; but what through a fearfulness of temper, or an ill-managed modesty, they do not depart from established practices, even though they think them unlawful. The compliances that we find in the apostles, particularly in St. Paul himself, the apostle of the Gentiles, in order to the gaining the Jews, might all meet together, to carry him too far in his submissions to King Henry. This can neither be denied nor justified; but the

censures passed on it may be much softened when all these things are laid together. Now he was delivered from that servitude, so he resolved to set about a further reformation with much zeal, though perhaps still with too great caution. He studied if it was possible to gain upon Gardiner: he had reason to believe, from his forwardness in complying with King Henry, that he had no great scrupulosity in his own thoughts; so he tried to draw him to assist, at least not to oppose the steps that were to be made; and judging that it was necessary to give the people due instruction, to carry them to a further measure of knowledge, he set about the preparing a book of Homilies to be read in churches: and to give some more light into the meaning of the New Testament, he chose Erasmus's Paraphrase as the most unexceptionable book that could be thought on: since he had been so much favoured in England; and as he had written against Luther, so he lived and died in the Roman communion.

Cranmer communicated his designs, with the draught of the Homilies, to Gardiner; but he was resolved to set himself at the head of the popish party: he had no doubt great resentments, because he was left out of the council, which he imputed to the Seymours. Cranmer tried if the offer of bringing him to sit at that board could overcome these; yet all was in vain. He insisted at first on this, that during the king's minority it was fit to keep all things quiet, and not to endanger the public peace by venturing on new changes. He pressed the archbishop with the only thing that he could not well answer; which was, that he had concurred in setting forth the late king's book of a necessary doctrine: Gardiner wrote, that he was confident Cranmer was a better man than to do any such thing against his conscience upon any king's account; and if his conscience agreed to that book, which he himself had so recommended, he wished things might be left to rest there. Cranmer pressed him again and again in this matter, but he was intractable. In particular he excepted to the homily of justification, which was thought to be of Cranmer's own composing: because justification was ascribed to faith only, in which he thought charity had likewise its influence; and that without it faith was dead, and a dead thing could not be the cause of justification. But the archbishop showed him his design in that was only to set forth the freedom of God's mercy, which we relying on, had by that the application of it to ourselves; not meaning that justifying faith was ever without charity; for even faith did not justify as a meritorious condition, but only as it was an instrument applying God's mercy to sinners. Upon this there was perhaps too much of subtilty on both

sides. As for Erasmus's Paraphrase, Gardiner excepted to it as being in many things contrary to the Homilies: so he thought, since they agreed so little together, they ought not to be joined and recommended by the same injunctions: to this it was said, that the Paraphrase was a good and useful book, though in some particulars the Homilies differed from it.

But as they had the perverseness of the popish party to deal with, so it was not easy to restrain their own side. Those whose heat could not be well managed, were apt to break out into great disorders; some insulting the priests as they were officiating, others talking irreverently of the sacrament; some defining the manner of the presence, and others asserting the impossibility of it, as it was explained. These disorders gave occasion to two proclamations this year; the first was on the 12th of November, against insolence towards priests, such as the reviling them, tossing them, and taking their caps and tippets violently from them: the other was on the 27th of December, against irreverent talkers of the sacrament, and against those who in their sermons went to define the manner, the nature and fashion, and the possibility or impossibility, of the presence. The visitors went about with their injunctions. They are registered in the books of the dean and chapter of York; where the visitation was held in September. It came not to Winchester till October, for the monition concerning it was made on the 7th of October. Whether the slowness of the visitors coming thither was occasioned by any secret practice with Gardiner, and upon the hopes of gaining him or not, I cannot tell. He, it seems, had before that refused to receive or obey the injunctions; for which he was put in the Fleet: and when he wrote his letter to the protector, complaining of the proceedings against him, he had been then seven weeks there.

I can say nothing new of the parliament that sat this year. When the convocation was opened on the 5th of November, the archbishop told them, that it was with the king and the lords' consent, that the prelates and clergy should consult together about settling the Christian religion right, and delivering it to the people. He sent them to choose their prolocutor, and to present him the Friday following. It is set down in the minutes, that the lower house consulted how they might be joined to the lower house of parliament; and about the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws. On the 9th of December some were appointed to know if the archbishop had obtained licence (in the minutes called indemnity or immunity) for them to treat of matters of religion. In the

fifth session, on the last of November, the prolocutor exhibited an order given him by the archbishop for receiving the communion in both kinds, to which, in the next session, they agreed, no man speaking against it. Sixty-four agreed to this; Polydore Virgil and Weston being two of them. And in the eighth session, on the 17th of December, a proposition was offered to them, in these words: "That all such canons, laws, statutes, decrees, usages, and customs, heretofore made or used, that forbid any person to contract matrimony, or condemn matrimony already contracted, by any person, for any vow or promise of priesthood, chastity, or widowhood, shall from henceforth cease, be utterly void, and of none effect." Here it was that Redman's opinion was read, which I had in my History put as read the following year. This proposition went to all monastic vows, as well as to the marriage of priests. The proposition was subscribed by fifty-three, who were for the affirmative; only twenty-two were for the negative: after which a committee was named to draw the form of an act for the marriage of priests. But all that is in the often-cited minutes as to this matter, is, "*Item*, propounded for the marriage of priests;" and to it is added, "and that the ecclesiastical laws should be promulgated:" there is no more in the minutes of the convocations during this reign.

Strype adds to this a particular remark out of the Defence of the Priests' Marriage, that divers of those who were for the affirmative did never marry; and that some of those who were for the negative yet did afterwards marry. Cranmer went on gathering authorities out of Scripture and the fathers against unwritten traditions: he wrote a book on this subject in Latin; but in Queen Mary's time it was translated into English, and published by an English exile beyond sea. He took a special care to furnish Canterbury with good preachers: but though their labours were not quite without success, yet superstition had too deep a root there to be easily subdued: and in the universities, the old doctrines were so obstinately persisted in, that when some in Cambridge offered to examine the mass by the Scriptures and the fathers, and to have a disputation upon it, the vice-chancellor did forbid it. The archbishop had procured a confirmation of their privileges, of Cambridge at least; for Strype only mentions that: the mildness he expressed towards all who opposed him, even with insolence, was remarkable: when one who thought he carried this too far, told him, that if ever it came to the turn of his enemies, they would show him no such favour, he answered, Well, if God so provide, we must abide it.

I did, in the account of the arguments against transubstantiation, mention a letter of St. Chrysostom's to Cesarius, of which Peter Martyr brought over a copy in Latin to England. Since that time the popish clergy were sensible, that by that letter it appeared plainly, that St. Chrysostom did believe that the substance of bread and wine remained still in the sacrament; as the human nature remained in the person of Christ: so that by this, all the other high figures used by that father must be understood so as to reconcile them to this letter: therefore they have used all possible endeavours to suppress it. When the learned bigot had brought a copy of it from Florence to France, and printed it with other things relating to that father, they ordered it to be cut out in such a manner, that in the printed book it appeared that some leaves were cut out; yet one copy of it was brought to the present learned and pious bishop of Lincoln, then chaplain to our ambassador at Paris, who first printed it here in England; as the learned Le Moyne, having another copy sent to him, printed it about the same time in Holland.

I have nothing to add concerning the tumults of the year 1549, but that the popish clergy were generally at the head of the rebels. Many of these were priests that had complied and subscribed the new book; some of them were killed in every skirmish, and very few of the clergy showed much zeal against them: so that the earl of Bedford could have none but Miles Coverdale to go along with the force that he carried into Devonshire to subdue them.

Upon some information, that the Lady Mary's servants were active in assisting those commotions, the protector and council wrote to her on the 17th: that letter being delivered to her on the 20th of July, she presently wrote an answer, which I had from Sir William Cook, and it will be found in the Collection (No. ii). In it, "she expresses her dislike of those revolts. A chaplain of her's in Devonshire had been named, but she writes she had not one chaplain in those parts. Another that was named lived constantly in her house: she justifies all her servants that had been named; and assured them, that all of her household were true subjects to the king. The council had likewise charged her, that her proceedings in matters of religion had given the rebels great courage: which, she wrote, appeared to be untrue; since the rebels in her neighbourhood touched upon no point of religion. She prayed God, that their new alterations, and unlawful liberties, might not rather be the occasion of such assemblies. As for Devonshire, she had neither lands nor acquaintance in those parts."

In the suppressing these tumults, the protector did visibly espouse the people's interest, and blamed the lords for their inclosures, and the other oppressions that had, as he said, occasioned all those disorders. By this he came to be universally beloved by the people; but trusting to that, he began to take too much upon him: and was so wedded to his own thoughts, that he often opposed the whole council. Upon which Paget wrote him a long letter, in which, as a faithful friend, he set before him his errors; chiefly his wilfulness, and his affecting popularity too much. He desired to be dismissed the council; for while he was there, he was resolved to deliver his opinion according to his reason, and not seek to please another: he had offered him faithful advices, and warned him of the cloud that he saw gathering against him. This he wrote on the 6th of July, some months before it broke out\*: it seems the protector took this freedom well from him, for he continued firm to him to the last. His brother the Lord Seymour's fall lay heavy on him: though that lord had almost compassed another design, of marrying the Lady Elizabeth; so I find it in the council's letter to Hobbey of the 18th of January, 1548-9.

As for the other matter with which he was loaded, the entertaining some German troops, I find among Sir Philip Hobbey's letters a great many orders and letters, signed by the whole council, as well as by the protector, which show that they all concurred in that matter. The true secret of it on both sides was this: the bulk of the people of England was still possessed with the old superstition to such a degree, that it was visible they could not be depended on, in any matter that related to the alterations that were made, or were designed to be made: whereas the Germans were full of zeal on the other side; so that they might well be trusted to: and the princes of Germany, who were then kept under by the emperor, so that they neither durst nor could keep their troops at home, but hoped they might at some better time have an occasion to use them, were willing to put them in the hands of the present government of England. Howsoever, this had an odious name put on it, and was called a ruling by strangers: so that it very much shook the duke of Somerset's popularity; for though it could not be denied, that all the council had concurred with him in it, yet the load and blame of all were laid on him.

The popish party was very active in procuring the change of measures that followed. The council wrote over to the emperor, to let him know that the necessity of their affairs

\* Cott. Libr. Titus, D. 3.

was like to force them to treat for the delivering up of Bulloigne to the French ; though this was a secret not yet communicated to the whole privy council.

Bonner's being removed was not much resented, neither at home nor abroad. He was a brutal man, few either loved or esteemed him : and Ridley, who came to succeed him, was the most generally esteemed man of all the Reformers. One thing that made it more acceptable to those who favoured the Reformation, was the suppressing the bishopric of Westminster, and the removing Thirlby to Norwich, where it was thought he could do less mischief than where he was : for though he complied as soon as any change was made, yet he secretly opposed every thing while it was safe to do it. He had a soft and an insinuating way with him ; which, as was thought, prevailed too much even on Cranmer himself. But Gardiner was a dexterous man, and much more esteemed, though as little beloved as Bonner was : so the falling on him gave a greater alarm to the whole party. He, who was so well known both in the emperor's court and in the French court, sent over tragical accounts of the usage he met with. This was writ over hither by our ambassador at the court of France : upon which a very severe character of him is given in a letter signed E. Somerset, T. Cant., R. Rich, C. W. Wiltshire, J. Warwick, J. Bedford, W. Northampton, G. Clinton, W. Petre, W. Cecyl. In it they gave an account of the proceedings against him ; and add, " He had showed not only a wilful pride, but a cankered heart, guilty of open and shameful lies ; by which impudent falsehood he showed himself most unworthy to be a bishop, whatsoever strangers may think of him. For religion, he is as far from any piety or fashion of a good bishop, as a player of a bishop in a comedy is from a good bishop indeed."

Whether the protector designed any thing against the constitution of the church, or at least to swallow up the great endowments that were not yet devoured, I cannot tell. But there is an advice in one of Hobbey's letters, dexterously enough proposed, that gives reason to suspect, this might be on design to broach a business that was to be so cunningly proposed : and Hobbey being a confident of the protector's, he may be supposed to have written as he was directed by him. He wrote it in September 1548. He tells the council, " that the protestants of Germany hoped that the king, seeing that the late wars in Germany happened chiefly by the bishops continuing in their princely and lordly estate, would, for preventing the like, appoint the godly bishops an honest and competent living, sufficient for their mainte-

nance, taking from them the rest of those worldly possessions and dignities, and thereby avoid the vain glory that letteth them truly and sincerely to do their office, and preach the gospel and word of Christ. On the other side he wrote, The papists say they doubt not but my lords the bishops, being a great number of stout and well learned men, will well enough weigh against their adversaries, and maintain still their whole estate: which coming to pass, they have good hope, that in time these princely pillars will well enough resist this fury, and bring all things again into the old order.

I have no particulars to add concerning the protector's fall, and the new scene; but that soon after, when it appeared that the papists were not like to be more favourably dealt with than they were under the duke of Somerset, the bishop of Arras did expostulate upon it with Hobbey. He said, they had been assisting to the pulling down of the duke of Somerset, and that hopes of better usage had been given them; yet things went worse with them than before. Upon that he fell to rail at Bucer, and said, he believed he inflamed matters in England as much as he had done in the empire. For at this time many were forced to come to England for shelter, the chief of whom were Bucer, Fagius, Peter Martyr, and Bernardine Ochinus; all these were entertained by Cranmer, till he got good provisions to be made for them in the universities, which were now most violently set against every step that was made towards a reformation. Hobbey came over to England, and tried what service he could do to his friend the duke of Somerset; but the faction was grown too strong to be withstood. Upon his submission, the matter went for some time very high against him and his friends. On the 13th of October\*, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynne, and Edward Wolfe, called adherents to the duke of Somerset, and the principal instruments of his ill government, were sent to the Tower; and on the 14th he himself was sent thither. No more mention is made of them till the 6th of February, that the duke of Somerset was set at liberty; but bound in a recognizance of 10,000*l.* not to go above four miles from Sheen, or Sion, nor to come into the king's presence, unless he was called for by the king and his council. And when he knew that the king was to come within four miles of these houses, he was to withdraw from them. Yet, it seems, his enemies were still in some apprehension of him, and probably some messages went between him and his friends in the Tower. For, on the 18th of February, they were all made close pri-

\* Council-book.

soners, and their servants were not suffered to attend upon them. But it seems, upon examination, this was found not to be of a criminal nature; so, on the 22d, they were dismissed upon their recognizances. And, upon the 10th of April, the duke of Somerset was again brought to the council board, being that day sworn of the privy council.

On the 20th of April, Hobbey being sent back to the emperor's court, had orders to try if the proposition for a marriage of the Lady Mary to the prince of Portugal might be set again on foot. And in excuse for its being rejected before, he had orders to say, that few of the council had been made acquainted with it: he was desired therefore to inquire what that prince's estate was. Whether this flowed from the earl of Warwick's ambitious designs, which might make him wish to have her sent away far out of England; or if it flowed from the uneasiness the council was in, by reason of her persisting in the old way of religion, I cannot determine. Hobbey had also orders to represent to the emperor, that they had hitherto connived at her mass, in hopes that she would by that connivance be moved to conform herself to the laws. Diversity of rites in matters of religion ought not to be suffered. The laws were so strict, that no licence could be granted in opposition to them. Yet they were resolved to connive a little longer, though she abused the king's favour; for she kept, as it were, an open church, not only for her servants, but for all her neighbours. They therefore wished that the emperor would give her good advice in this matter. The letter was signed by Cranmer, by the earls of Wiltshire and Warwick, the marquis of Northampton, the Lord Wentworth, and Paget, Petre, Herbert, Darcy, and Mason. To all this it seems the emperor had little regard; for not long after that, the ambassador wrote over, that, by the emperor's command, an order was served on him, not to have the English service in his house. The council looked on this as contrary to the privileges of ambassadors, by the law of nations. So they ordered, that the emperor's ambassador should not have mass in his house, and gave him notice of it. When the emperor knew this, he complained of it as a high violation of the dignity of that character. But the council-books show that they stood firm, and would not recall their order till the emperor recalled his order against the new service in the English ambassador's house. What further proceedings were of either side in this matter does not appear to me. I find by the council-books, that the carrying on the Reformation was cordially espoused, and pursued at that board.

Gardiner had been long a prisoner; and his being detained

in the Tower, no proceedings being had against him, occasioned a great outcry. So, on the 8th of June 1550, it was resolved to send some to him, to see if he repented of his former obstinacy, and would apply himself to advance the king's proceedings; upon which the king would receive him into favour, and all past errors should be forgiven. So the duke of Somerset, and others, were sent to him. They made report, on the 10th of June, that he desired to see the book of the king's proceedings, and then he would make a full answer. He seemed to them in all things willing to conform himself to it, promising, that if he found any thing in it against his conscience, he would open it to none but to the council. So the book was sent him; and he was allowed the liberty of the gallery and gardens in the Tower, when the duke of Norfolk was not in them. On the 13th of June the lieutenant of the Tower reported, that he had given back the king's book; and that he said, he would make no answer to it till he was set at liberty, and that then he would speak his conscience. So the lords, who had been with him, were appointed to go to him again. The matter rested till the 8th of July.

In an imperfect book of the minutes of the council that I have by me, it is set down, that Gardiner did at last subscribe six articles. The two first appear not. The third is, "that the book of Common Prayer was a godly and Christian book, to be allowed and observed by all the king's true subjects. 4th. That the king, in his young and tender age, was a full and entire king. And that the subjects were bound to obey the statutes, proclamations, and commands, set forth in this age, as well as if he were thirty or forty years old. 5th. That the statute of the Six Articles was, for just causes, repealed by the authority of parliament. 6th. That the king, and his successors, had full authority in the churches of England and Ireland to reform and correct errors and abuses, and to alter rites and ceremonies ecclesiastical, as shall seem most convenient for the edification of his people, so that the alteration is not contrary to the Scriptures and the laws of God." To all this he subscribed his name: but no date is added to those minutes. But it is entered, that he did it in the presence of the council, who also subscribed as witnesses to it. Their names are, E. Somerset, W. Wiltshire, J. Warwick, J. Bedford, W. Northampton, E. Clinton, G. Cobham, W. Paget, W. Herbert, W. Petre, E. North. It was resolved to carry his submissions further; so twenty new articles were drawn up, in which, "the obligation to celibacy, and all the vows made by the monks, all images, relics, and pilgrimages, are condemned. It is affirmed,

that the Scriptures ought to be read by all: that the mass was full of abuse and superstition, and was justly taken away: that the eucharist ought to be received in both kinds: that private masses were not agreeable to Scripture: that the sacrament ought not to be adored: that the book of Homilies was godly and wholesome: that the book of ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons, ought to be received and approved by all: and that the lesser orders were not necessary. That the Scriptures contained all things necessary to salvation: and that Erasmus's Paraphrase was, upon good and godly considerations, ordered by the king to be put in all churches."

But to this a preface was added, setting forth, "that whereas he had been suspected as favouring the bishop of Rome's authority, and that he did not approve of the king's proceedings, in altering some rites in religion: upon which he had been brought before the council, and admonished; and was ordered to preach, declaring himself in those things. But though he promised to do it, he had not done this as he ought to have done; by which he had not only incurred the king's displeasure, but divers of the king's subjects were encouraged by his example (as the king's council was certainly informed) to repine at his majesty's proceedings; for which he was very sorry, and confessed that he had been condignly punished. And he thanked the king for his clemency, treating him not with rigour, but mercy. And, that it might appear how little he did repine at his highness's doings, which in religion were most godly, and to the commonwealth most prudent; he did, therefore, of his own will, and without any compulsion, subscribe the following articles." But on the margin of the minutes the bishop's answer to this is thus set down: "I cannot in my conscience confess the preface: knowing myself to be of that sort I am indeed, and ever have been ———." The rest is torn out. On the 15th of July it is entered, that report was made by those who were sent to him, that he said he had never offended the king. So he prayed that he might be brought to his trial, in which he asked no mercy, but only justice. When he had passed his trial and was released, it should then appear what he would do with relation to the articles: but it was not reasonable that he should subscribe them while he was yet in prison.

Some of the privy-counsellors were sent again to him, and they were ordered to carry with them a divine and a temporal lawyer; so they took with them Ridley, bishop of London, and Mr. Goodrick: his answer was to the same purpose; and was next council-day reported. Upon which he was

brought before the council, and required to subscribe the paper ; but he still refusing to do it, the sentence of sequestration was read, with a denunciation of deprivation if he did not conform within three months : nevertheless (it is added in the council-book) upon divers good considerations, and especially upon hope that within that time he might be yet reconciled, it was agreed, that the said bishop's house and servants should be maintained in their present estate until the time that this intimation should expire : and the matter in the mean time was to be kept private. These are all the additional passages taken from the council-book relating to Gardiner.

These steps, in which the Reformation was advancing but slowly, occasioned great distractions over most parts of the kingdom : while those who adhered to the old practices and doctrines preached severely against all innovations, and others as severely against all corruptions and abuses. The ill effects of these contradictory sermons had given occasion to a proclamation on the 24th of April, 1550, prohibiting all preaching, except by persons licensed by the king or the archbishop of Canterbury : and the disorders occasioned by men's divorcing their wives, or marrying more wives than one, were likewise ordered to be proceeded against by the same proclamation. On the 9th of August there came out another proclamation, prohibiting all plays till Allhallontide ; what the reason of this last was does not appear. That against all preaching was much censured. It was represented, that by reason of the proclamation against preaching, the people were running into great ignorance and dissoluteness. So letters were ordered to be written to the bishops of Duresme and Ely ; and eight days after to the bishop of Lincoln, and other bishops, to appoint their chaplains, and others, by their discretion, to preach in their dioceses, notwithstanding the proclamation against preaching. There was also an order made in council, that some bishops and other learned men should devise an order for the creation of bishops and priests. I use the words in the council-book. Twelve were appointed to prepare it. Heath, bishop of Worcester, was one of them. It seems there was a digested form already prepared, probably by Cranmer, for that service : for the order was made on the 2d of February, and on the 28th it was brought to the council, signed by eleven of the number, Heath only refusing to sign it. He said, as it is entered in the council-book, that all that is contained in the book was good and godly ; he also said he would obey it ; but added, that he would not sign it. The matter was respited for some days, and great pains were taken by

Cranmer and others, to persuade him to sign it; but he still refusing it (as the council-book has it) obstinately, he was on the 4th of March sent to the Fleet. He was in September called again before the council, and required to subscribe the book: and divers learned men argued to persuade him, that the book was expedient and allowable: his obstinacy was charged on him, for which they said he had deserved a longer imprisonment: but he might still recover the king's favour if he would subscribe it. He acknowledged he had been very gently used, rather like a son than a subject. he insisted on what he had formerly said, that he would not disobey the order set forth in the book: every one in the council took pains on him; for it seemed a contradiction to say he would obey it, and not subscribe it. He was offered more time for conferences. He said, he knew he could never be of another mind; adding, that there were other things to which he would not consent, as to take down altars, and to set up instead of them tables. The matter ended with a charge given him to subscribe under the pain of deprivation. At this time two entries made in the council-books, show the good effects of Latimer's zealous preaching. On the 10th of March he brought in 104*l.* recovered of one who had concealed it from the king: and a little after 363*l.* of the king's money: of which, for his attendance in Lent, 50*l.* was allowed to him. I find there was in this reign, as in the former, a peculiar seal for ecclesiastical matters, which was in Secretary Petre's keeping: many took out licences under this seal, for eating meat in Lent; some only for a man and his wife; and some for four, six, or ten, that did eat with them; and some for as many as should come to their house. Licences of another nature I find were often taken out for keeping a number of retainers above what was allowed by the statute.

All endeavours were too weak to overcome the aversion that the people had to the steps that were made towards a reformation. Dr. Cox, the king's almoner and preceptor, was sent to Sussex, to preach and instruct the people there, who were much disturbed (as the council-book has it) by the seditious preaching of Day, bishop of Chichester, and others. Day denied this: so an order was made in council, that he should bring in writing that which he had preached. The duke of Somerset reported to the council, that Day had been with him, and owned that he had received the order that the council had made for the taking down of altars, and setting tables in their stead: but answered, that he could not in conscience obey it: this seemed indeed unaccountable; but he insisted that he could not in conscience

obey it, and prayed to be excused. Upon that he was summoned to appear before the council, and there he said, he could not conform himself to their order : for he thought he followed in that both the Scriptures, and the doctors, and fathers of the church : and that he did not perceive any strength in the six reasons, given by the bishop of London, to justify the change. He quoted a passage in Isaiah, which the archbishop, with the bishop of London, and the rest of the council, thought not at all to the purpose : so he was ordered to confer with the archbishop, and the bishops of Ely and London, and to appear before them on the 4th of December. When he was again before the council, he entered into a dispute with the archbishop and the bishop of Ely. They pressed him to give his reasons for being so positive ; he insisted on those words in the Epistle to the Hebrews, " We have an altar : " and though they thought it was clear, that by the altar Christ himself was meant, yet that did not satisfy him : they also showed him from Origen, that the Christians in those days had no altars : he might call the table an altar if he pleased : so the ancient writers did ; but all this had no effect on him. A few more days were given him to consider of the matter : he positively answered, he could not obey their order with a good conscience : and, rather than do it, he was resolved to suffer the loss of all he had. Two days more were given him : but he was still firm. So on the 11th of December, 1550, he was sent to the Fleet. Further proceedings against him were stopped for many months ; in which time it is said that the king himself wrote to him : but all was in vain. So in September, 1551, a commission was given to judge him ; and on the 14th of October it seems both Heath and he were deprived : for then an order passed in council for seizing the temporalities of both their bishoprics. Letters were written in June 1552 concerning them, to the bishops of Ely and London : the former was to receive Day, and the latter Heath, and to use them as in Christian charity should be most seemly. It seems that both Heath and Day saw the change of doctrine that was preparing, with relation to the sacrament : so they were willing to lay hold on the first colour to break off from any further compliances : for the points they stood upon did not seem of such importance as to suffer deprivation and imprisonment for them.

There was at that time a very scandalous venality of all offices and employments, which was so much talked of at the court of France, that the ambassador whom the king had there wrote over an account of it ; and it was said, that whereas King Henry had by his endowments made some restitution, yet, for all the wealth they had seized on in

chantries and collegiate churches, no schools nor hospitals were yet endowed. Here a very memorable passage in Ridley's life deserves to be remembered: He wrote to Cheek, that he being to give Grindal a prebend in St. Paul's, had received a letter from the council to stop collation: for the king was to keep that prebend for the furniture of his stable. "Alas! Sir (he writes), this is a heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of the gospel? Speak, Mr. Cheek, speak, for God's sake, in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think you may do any good withal: and if you will not speak, then I beseech you let this my letter speak." There was nothing that opened all men's mouths more than a complaint entered in the council-book, made by one Norman, against the archbishop of York, that he took his wife and kept her from him. The council gave such credit to this, that as a letter was written to that archbishop not to come to parliament, so they ordered a letter to be written to Sir Thomas Gargrave and Mr. Chaloner to examine the matter. What they did, or what report they made, does not appear to me. Holgate, during all the time he was archbishop of York, was more set on enriching himself than on any thing else. He seemed heartily to concur in the Reformation, but he was looked on as a reproach to it, rather than a promoter of it. This might have a share in the censure, that, as was reported, King Henry passed on the bishops in that time; "some for sloth, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for popery, are unfit for discipline and government." At this time the anabaptists were again inquired after, and a commission was granted to Cranmer, Thirleby, Cox, and Sir Thomas Smith, to inquire after them, and to judge them.

Now Gardiner's business was brought to a conclusion. On the 23d of November, a committee of the council was appointed to consider how to proceed further against him: on the 14th of December an order was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower to carry him to Lambeth on the 16th, and after that as often as they required him. The commission to try him was directed to Cranmer, and others: he desired counsel; it was granted; and his lawyers had free access to him. On the 19th of January his servants moved in council, that some of that board might be sworn as his witnesses: they said they would answer upon their honour, but would not be sworn: and on the 15th of February, the last mention made of him in the council-book is in these words: "Forasmuch as the bishop had at all times, before the judges of his cause, used himself unreverently to the king's majesty, and very slanderously towards his council; and especially yesterday, being the day of the judgment given against him, he called

the judges heretics and sacramentaries; these being there as the king's commissioners, and of his highness's council, it was ordered that he should be removed from his present lodging into a meaner one in the Tower, and have but one servant to wait on him: that his books and papers should be taken from him, and that from henceforth he should have neither pen, ink, nor paper given him, but be sequestered from all conference, and from all means that may serve him to practise any ways." Here was severity upon severity, which, as it raised him to be depended on as the head of the popish party, so it must have recommended him to the compassions of all equitable people.

Whether these hard orders were rigorously executed or not, does not appear to me. I find in a letter of Hooper's to Bullinger, one circumstance relating to Gardiner: it is without date. In it, as he tells him that Crome did with zeal oppose their doctrine concerning the sacrament; but commends him as a person of great learning, and a man of a most holy life; he tells him also, that Gardiner had a month before sent him a challenge to a public disputation upon that head; promising, that if he did not clearly carry away the victory, he would submit himself to the laws, and would willingly suffer the cruellest hardships. Hooper accepted the challenge, and a day was set for them to dispute; but when the day came near, Gardiner said, he must be first set at liberty: so all this show of a readiness to maintain the old doctrine vanished to nothing. Concerning the king, Hooper writes in that same letter, that these thousand years, there had not been any person of his age, who had such a mixture both of piety and learning, with so true a judgment, as appeared in him. If he lived, and went on suitably to these beginnings, he would be the wonder and terror of the world. He took notes of all the sermons he heard; and after dinner he asked the young persons that were bred up with him, an account of what they remembered of the sermon; and went over the whole matter with them. He wrote further in this letter, that then they were every day expecting that the duke of Somerset should be again called to sit in the council.

Poinet, bishop of Rochester, was translated to Winchester, being nominated to it the 8th of March: and on the 5th of April he took his oath of homage. While he was bishop of Rochester he had no house to live in, so he kept his benefice in London. But it is entered in the council-book, that no bishop after him was to have any benefice besides his bishopric.

A new scene of contention was at this time very un-

happily opened. Hooper, a zealous, a pious, and a learned man, had gone out of England in the latter years of King Henry's reign; and had lived at Zurick, at a time when all Germany was in a flame on the account of the *Interim*. Upon that a great question arose among the Germans concerning the use of things in themselves indifferent. For a great part of the design of the *Interim* was, to keep up the exterior face of things, as it had been in popery, with the softenings of some other senses put on them. It was said, "If things were indifferent in themselves, it was lawful, and that it became the subjects' duty to obey them when commanded." Many thought that Melancthon himself went in that matter too far. It was visible, the design in it was, to make the people think the difference was not great between that and popery: so the rites were ordered to be kept up on purpose to make it easy to draw the people over to popery. Out of this another question arose; Whether it was lawful to obey in indifferent things, when it was certain they were enjoined with an ill design? Some said, the designs of legislators were not to be inquired into, nor judged: and whatever they were, the subjects were still bound to obey. This created a vast distraction in Germany, while some obeyed the *Interim*, but many more were firm to their principles, and were turned out of all for their disobedience. Those who submitted were for the most part Lutherans, and carried the name of Adiaphorists, from the Greek word that signifies things indifferent. The reformed were generally firmer. Those of Switzerland, particularly at Zurick, had at this time great apprehensions of a design of introducing popery, by keeping up an exterior that resembled it. Of this I find a very late instance, the year before this, in a letter that Mount wrote from Strasburg, on the 18th of February 1548, to Musculus, which will be found in the Collection (No. iii).

"When he left Augsburg, there were no changes then begun there; but they expected every day when the new superstitious practices were to be set up. One of the ministers told him, that the magistrates had desired the ministers not to forsake them in that time of distress. They promised that they would give them timely notice when those rites were to be brought in among them. They prayed them likewise to recommend the *Interim* in the softest manner, and with the best colours they could. This was refused by the greater number of them; who said, they could never approve that which was by an unanimous consent condemned. He did not doubt, but they had heard what was done in Saxony. He wishes the German courage and firm-

ness might now appear: that if they could not act with their usual courage, they might at least show their courage in suffering. The duke of Deux-Ponts had left Augsburg; and said, the publishing the *Interim* did not belong to him, but to the bishops. Those of Breme had such a heavy composition laid on them by the emperor, that they said it was not in their power to comply with it, though they had a mind to it. So it was thought, this was done on design to take their town, as a convenient post for a garrisoned place, to keep that country in order. He concludes, desiring to know what agreement there was, as to these matters, in the Helvetic churches." They were, indeed, much inflamed on this occasion; and very zealous against any compliance with the *Interim*, or the use of the rites prescribed by it: so Hooper came from Zurick, in the heat of this debate, and with this tincture upon his mind.

When he came to Brussels, on the 20th of April 1549, he wrote a letter to Bullinger, that is in the Collection (No. iv). "He sets forth in it, very tragically, the misery of the Netherlands, under the violent oppressions of the Spaniards. Complaints were heard in all places, of rapes, adulteries, robberies, and other insolences, every day committed by them: so that a hostess of a public-house said to him, 'If she could but carry her children in her arms with her, she would choose to go and beg from door to door, rather than suffer their brutalities every day, as they were forced to do.' He hoped this would be a warning, to put others on their guard.

"The emperor came seldom out of his chamber. Hooper had been at the duke of Saxony's house, who had about thirty of his servants still attending on him; he designed to have talked with Hooper, but the Spaniards hindered it. He had no hope of obtaining his liberty, though his health was much broken: but he continued firm in his religion, and did not despair of things, but hoped religion would be again revived. The landgrave was kept at Oudenard. He was both uneasy and inconstant. Sometimes he was ready to submit to the emperor, and to go to mass: at other times he railed at the emperor and at the *Interim* (Hooper was entertained by Hobby, the English ambassador, from whom probably he heard these things); he prayed God to pity him, for he suffered justly for his treachery. The pope's legate was there, and preached all that Lent in his own court.

"The pope and the emperor were then in very ill terms. The pope pressed the emperor to own the council at Bologna; for he was afraid to let it sit again in Trent: but the emperor was as positive for their coming back to

Trent; and said roundly, he would break with the pope, if that were not done. The ambassador told him, that if the emperor's confessor were to any degree right set, there might be good hope of the emperor: but both he, and all his ministers, were strangely governed, and in a manner driven by the confessor. About seven months before this, he had left the emperor, because he would not be more severe, and would not restore popery entirely in Germany. The emperor had offered him a bishopric in Spain worth twenty thousand crowns: but he refused it, and said, he would be tied to the church, but not to him, unless he would serve the church with more zeal. The emperor seemed to design to break the peace of Switzerland, and Hooper understood that some of Lucern were then hanging on at court, probably with no good design. He wishes they would fear God, lead holy lives, and fight bravely: and so they might expect to be protected by God: yet he understood that the emperor was troubled that he had meddled so much as he had done in matters of religion in Germany: he found that was like to cross his other designs, which might have succeeded better if he had left that matter more at liberty. His army lay then near Bremen, but was undertaking nothing. The cities there had furnished themselves with stores and provisions for five years; and were making no submissions." This account I thought no digression from my chief design in writing, since this intelligence came no doubt from the ambassador. Upon Hooper's coming to England he applied himself much to preaching, and to the explaining the Scriptures. He was much followed, and all churches were crowded where he preached. He went through the Epistle to Titus, and ten chapters of the Gospel of St. John: his fame came to court. Poinet and he were ordered to preach all the Lent at court; Hooper on Wednesdays, and Poinet on Fridays: he was also sent to preach both in Kent and Essex. At this time Bullinger wrote to the king, and sent with it a book that he dedicated to him, which was presented to the king by the marquis of Northampton; for an order was made, that none but privy-counsellors might bring books or papers to the king. The king said to Hooper, that he had read the letter, and would read Bullinger's book: and spoke to the marquis of a present to be sent him: but Hooper told him, he never took any; besides that it was forbidden by the laws of Zurick. Hooper, in his letter to Bullinger, on the 8th of February, 1550, says, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln, and

Bath, were sincerely set on advancing the purity of doctrine, agreeing in all things with the Helvetic churches. He commends particularly the marquis of Dorchester, afterwards duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northumberland, who at that time put on such a show of zeal, that Hooper calls him a most holy instrument, and the best affected to the word of God. He writes of Cranmer, that he wishes he were not too feeble. He was at London when the council divided from the duke of Somerset, but had not meddled in that matter: and he says not a word of it, but that he blesses God the duke of Somerset was to be set at liberty. In June he was named to be bishop of Gloucester; for he gives an account of it in a letter to Bullinger, on the 29th of June. He declined it, as he writes, both for the oath, which he says was foul and impious\*, and by reason of the Aaronical habits. The king asked what his reasons were: he told them very freely to him. He says of him, that the world never saw such a prince as he was, for his age. He likewise says, the Lady Elizabeth, his sister, was wonderfully zealous, and very knowing: she read both Greek and Latin; and few could maintain an argument against her, particularly in matters of religion.

Among the letters sent me from Zurick, I find some written upon the occasion of the difficulty that was made in Hooper's business, to Bullinger and Gualter, pressing them very earnestly to write to the king, to let fall all the ceremonies: they tell them, that Ridley, though he stood upon the forms of the law, yet was very earnest to have Hooper made a bishop. They seem also to reflect on the bishops, for their earnestness in that matter, as if they were ashamed to have that to be blamed to which they themselves had submitted: and they reflect on Bucer for supporting the matter too much. Those of Zurick were more discreet and modest than to interpose in such a manner. It would have been too great a presumption in them, to have made any such application; but, it seems, Bullinger wrote about it to the king's preceptor, Cox. I have not found his letter: but I find, by Cox's letter to him, that he himself was for proceeding easily in this matter. He wrote to him in May, in these words: "I think all things in the church ought to be pure and simple, removed at the greatest distance from the pomps and elements of this world. But, in this our church, what can I do in so low a station? I can only endeavour to persuade our bishops to be of the same

\* *Fœdum et impium.*

mind with myself. This I wish truly, and I commit to God the care and conduct of his own work." Of the king he writes, "Believe me, there appears in him an incredible beginning of learning, with a zeal for religion, and a judgment in affairs almost already ripe." Traheron, at the same time, writes of him, "We are training up a prince, that gives the greatest hopes of being a most glorious defender of the faith, even to a miracle. For, if God is not so provoked by our sins, as to take him too early from us, we do not doubt, but that England shall again give the world another Constantine, or rather one much better than he was."

This matter took up much time, and was managed with more heat than might have been expected; considering the circumstances of that reign: he, being named to be bishop of Gloucester, was recommended by Dudley to Cranmer, that he would not charge him with an oath that was (as is expressed) burdenous to his conscience. This was the oath of supremacy. He next desired to be excused from accepting the bishopric, or from the ceremonies used in the consecration; upon which the king writ to Cranmer in August, freeing him from all dangers and penalties that he might incur by omitting those rites, but left the matter to the archbishop's discretion, without any persuasion or command to omit them. The archbishop did not think fit upon that letter to act against the laws: there were several conferences between Ridley and Hooper, not without heat: Hooper maintaining, that if it was not lawful, yet it was highly inexpedient, to use those ceremonies. The council, apprehending the ill effects of controversies between men of the same profession, sent for Hooper, and wished him to let this opposition of his fall. He desired leave to put his reasons in writing; that was granted him: and when he offered his reasons, they were communicated to Ridley. I gave an account in my former work how honestly and modestly both Bucer and Peter Martyr behaved themselves on this occasion. Peter Martyr mentions Hooper's unseasonable and bitter sermons, which it seems his heat carried him to; and probably that was the reason that moved the council to command him to keep his house, unless it were to go to the archbishop of Canterbury; or to the bishops of Ely, London, or Lincoln, for the satisfaction of his conscience, and not to preach or read, until he had further licence. But he did not obey this order: he writ a book on the subject, and printed it. This gave more distaste. He also went about and complained of the council, for which, being called before the board, he was committed to the archbishop's cus-

tody, to be reformed by him, or to be further punished. The archbishop represented that he could in no sort work upon him, but that he declared himself for another way of ordination : upon that he was on the 27th of January committed to the Fleet.

Micronius, a minister of the German church at London, in a letter to Bullinger on the 28th of August 1550, tells him, that the exception that Hooper had to the oath of supremacy, was, because the form was, by God, by the saints, and by the Holy Gospels. This he thought impious ; and when he was before the council, the king being present, he argued that God only ought to be appealed to in an oath, for he only knew the thoughts of men. The king was so fully convinced by this, that with his own pen he struck these words out of the oath, saying, that no creature was to be appealed to in an oath. This being cleared, no scruple remained but with relation to the habits. The king and council were inclined to order him to be dispensed with as to these. But Ridley prevailed with the king not to dispense in that matter. The thing was indifferent, and therefore the law ought to be obeyed. This had such an effect, that all Hooper's exceptions were after that heard with great prejudice. Micronius was on Hooper's side, as well as Alasco. Ridley had opposed the settling the German church in a different way from the rites of the church of England : but Alasco had prevailed to obtain an entire liberty for them to continue in the same forms of worship and government in which they had been constituted beyond sea, in which he had been assisted by Cranmer. It is added in that letter, that it was believed that the emperor had sent one over to carry away the Lady Mary secretly, but the design was discovered and defeated. To explain this matter of the oath, I shall insert in the Collection (No. v) the oath of the bishops, as it was practised in King Henry's reign, and continued to be used to that time, which is on record, and is among Mr. Rymer's manuscripts. Hooper's matter hung in suspense nine whole months ; in which time he seemed positively resolved not to yield, not without severe and indecent reflections on those who used the habits. Cranmer expressed a willingness to have yielded to him ; but Ridley and Godrick stood firm to the law : while many reflected on them, as insisting too much on a thing practised by themselves, as if vain-glory and self-love had been their chief motives : they said, they wished that distinction of habits was abolished, but they thought the breaking through laws was so bad a precedent, and might have such ill consequences, that they could not consent to it. Bucer and

Peter Martyr expressed their dislike of the habits, but thought the thing was of itself indifferent; so they blamed him for insisting so much on it. Alasco, on the other hand, encouraged him to continue in his refusal to submit to the laws in that matter: in conclusion, he was prevailed on to submit, and was consecrated. This was written to Bullinger by one of the ministers of the German church. His standing out so long, and yielding in the end, lost him much of the popularity, that, to speak freely, he seemed to be too fond of; yet his great labours in his diocess, and his patience and constancy during his imprisonment, and in his last most extreme sufferings, made all good people willing to forget what was amiss, and to return to a just esteem of what was so truly valuable in him.

In conclusion, he submitted, and was consecrated according to the established form, and went into his diocess, which he found overrun with ignorance and superstition: he applied himself to his duty with great and indefatigable industry; preaching often twice, sometimes thrice in a day, to instruct the people and to reform the clergy. He did earnestly wish that the articles of religion, which he knew were under consideration, might be quickly published. He found the greatest opposition in his diocess rose from the prebendaries of his church. Of this he made great complaints, as indeed all the bishops that were well affected to the Reformation found the greatest opposition in their cathedrals; though none of them expressed it so severely as Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, who wrote to a lord desiring that he might have leave to defend himself against those "high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous canons," who for private revenge were set against him: yet, on the other hand, there were great complaints made of his behaviour in his diocess, as both indiscreet and contentious. A petition was sent up to the council, in the name of the inhabitants of his diocess, against him, complaining of his insatiable covetousness, and his daily vexing his poor tenants and clergy without cause; and, indeed, his firmness and sufferings afterwards raised his character more than his conduct in his diocess had done.

The last and the most eminent of all the popish clergy that fell in trouble during this reign, was Tonstall, bishop of Duresme. He was a generous and well tempered man, learned far above the common rate. He retained his old opinion concerning the presence in the sacrament; but he had hitherto submitted, and gone along in all that was done. He had no heat, nor a spirit of opposition in his temper, yet his opinion was known. The true account of his matter has

been taken out of the council-book, which has come to light since I wrote my history. One Ninian Mainvil charged him as consenting to a conspiracy in the North, for raising a rebellion there; to this the bishop answered, and Mainvil made replication. The council-book only refers to these, and gives no account of the bishop's answer. Mainvil had a letter of the bishop's, which was his main evidence, upon which the issue of the trial depended: but that was then wanted; and, as appeared afterwards, the letter was put in the duke of Somerset's hands, and he still kept it, but whether he did it out of kindness to him, or to have this as a check to overawe Tonstall, does not appear.

This letter was found among the duke of Somerset's papers, after his last apprehension: upon which Tonstall was sent for, and his letter was produced against him. He could not deny it to be of his own hand; and not being able to make any further answer, he was on the 20th of December sent to the Tower. Whitehead, dean of Duresme, and Handmarsh, Tonstall's chancellor, were accused of the same crime by Mainvil. The dean's death put an end to his trouble, but Tonstall lay in the Tower till Queen Mary set him at liberty: and there, in the 77th year of his age, he wrote his book asserting the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. It seems the evidence against Tonstall did not at all amount to a consent to a conspiracy; for he was only charged with misprision of treason; whereas the consenting to it would have been carried further, to high treason itself; but even that must have been by a stretch of his words; since, if his letter had imported that, Cranmer could not have opposed, much less have protested against, the bill attainting him for misprision, if the evidence had been clear. This is confirmed by the opposition made in the house of commons, where the bill fell. So, since the parliament would not attain him, a commission was issued out some months after: and on the 22d of September, 1552, a letter was written to the lord chief justice, signifying to him, that there was a commission addressed to him, and to some others, for determining the bishop of Duresme's case, with eight letters, and other writings touching the same, which he is required to consider and to hear, and to give order in the matter as soon as the rest of his colleagues were brought together. He was brought before these commissioners. He desired counsel, and time convenient to make his answer. Both were denied him, as is set forth in the sentence that reversed this. He was charged as a conspirator against the king and the realm. The commission empowered them to proceed against him

for all offences, both according to the ecclesiastical and the temporal laws. He made divers protestations against the several steps of their proceedings: and at last he appealed from them to the king. The commissioners on the 11th of October deprived him of his bishopric; but did not attain him of misprision of treason; for the judgment in that case must have been the forfeiture of his goods, and imprisonment for life; but he was, by order of council on the 31st of October, to receive money for his necessities, remaining prisoner in the Tower till further order should be given touching the money and goods lately appertaining to him.

This was one of the violent effects of the duke of Northumberland's ambition, who was all this while a concealed papist, as himself declared at his execution. I have laid all these things relating to the deprivation of the bishops that opposed the Reformation together, to give a full view of that matter. But now I must look back to some matters that happened while these proceedings went on. There was an information brought to the council of some at Bocking, who were irregular in the worship of God, who thought that to stand or to kneel at prayer, or to be covered or bare-headed, was not material, and that the heart only was necessary: when they were brought before the council, they confessed that they met together sometimes to confer about the Scriptures, and that they had refused to receive the communion above two years, as was judged upon very superstitious and erroneous principles (so it is entered in the council-book); with divers other evil opinions, worthy of great punishment. Five of them were sent to prison, and seven gave bonds to appear when called for. They were required to resort to their ordinaries, if they had any doubt in religion, for resolution from them. These were probably some of the anabaptists, though that is not objected to them.

The great point, that was then most canvassed in the universities, was the presence in the sacrament. Concerning this, I have, among the papers sent me from Zurick, a letter of Peter Martyr's to his friend Bullinger, dated from Oxford, the 1st of June 1550, which will be found in the Collection (No. vi). "He excuses himself for his slowness in answering his letters, by reason of the constant labours he was engaged in. For, besides his daily exposition of St. Paul, which might claim his whole time, there was a new load brought on him. He was commanded, by an order from the king, to be present at the public disputations upon theological matters; which were held once a fortnight. And in the col-

lege in which he was placed, there was a disputation, where he was appointed to be present, and to moderate. He was in a perpetual struggle with most obstinate adversaries. The business of religion did not go on with the zeal and success to be wished for: yet it made a better progress than he had expected four months before. The number of their adversaries was great: they had few preachers on their side; and many of those who professed the gospel were guilty of gross vices. Some, by a human policy, were for purging religion, but for altering outward things as little as might be. They, being secular men, apprehended, that upon a more visible change, such disorders would follow as might prove fatal: whereas it was evident, that the innumerable corruptions, abuses, and superstitions, that had overrun the church, were such, that it was impossible to reform it without bringing matters back to those pure fountains, and to the first sound principles of religion. The devil studied to undermine those good designs, by keeping up still many relics of popery, that by these the memory of the old abuses might be preserved, and the return to them rendered easier. On the other hand, they had this great comfort, that they had a holy king, full of fervent zeal for true religion. He writes, that he speaks in all this tender age with that learning, that prudence, and that gravity, that it amazes all people who hear it: therefore they were all bound to pray God earnestly, to preserve him long for the good of the church. There were several of the nobility well inclined, and some bishops not of the worst sort, among whom the archbishop of Canterbury was the standard-bearer. Hooper was lately made a bishop, to the joy of all good men; who was to pass through Oxford, in his way to his diocess. He believed that he himself had given Bullinger an account of his being made a bishop, otherwise he would have wrote it. He also commends Coverdale's labours in Devonshire: and adds, that if they could find many such men, it were a great happiness. Alasco being forced to leave Friezeland, by reason of the *Interim*, was then about the settling his congregation in London. He was at that time in the archbishop's house. The peace with France gave them some hopes. All were under great apprehensions, from the pope's designs of bringing his council again together: but they must still trust in God. And after somewhat of their private concerns, he desires his prayers for the progress of God's word in this kingdom.

“ He also, in a letter written on the 6th of August 1551, laments the death of the young duke of Suffolk, looking on him as the most promising of all the youth in the nation,

next to the king himself." After some more on that subject, he adds this sad word, "*There is no end put to our sins, nor any measure in sinning* \*." He commends Hooper's labours in his diocess mightily, and wishes that there were many more such bishops as he was."

Upon the death of the two young dukes of Suffolk, Grey, marquis of Dorchester, was made duke of Suffolk. He had married their sister, but had no sons by her. He had three daughters, of whom the eldest, Lady Jane, was esteemed the wonder of the age. She had a sweetness in her temper, as well as a strength of mind, that charmed all who saw her. She had a great aptness to learn languages, and an earnest desire to acquire knowledge. Her father found out a very extraordinary person to give her the first impressions; Ailmer, who was afterwards, in Queen Elizabeth's time, advanced to be bishop of London. Under his care she made an amazing progress. He found, it seems, some difficulty in bringing her to throw off the vanities of dress and to use a greater simplicity in it. So on the 23d of December, 1552, he wrote to Bullinger, "that the Lady Elizabeth was a pattern to all in the modesty of her dress; and yet nobody was prevailed on by such an illustrious example to follow it; and, in all this light of the gospel, to abstain from wearing gold, or gems, or plating of hair. He was particularly charged with the education of Lady Jane Grey, whom he calls his scholar: but, it seems, he could not prevail in this particular; so he desires Bullinger to write his thoughts to her on that head."

There was nothing done for almost two whole years, pursuant to the act passed in November, 1549, for making a new body of ecclesiastical laws; concerning which it is not easy to guess what was the clause in it that gave the bishops so much offence, that the greatest part of the bench protested against it. For both the archbishops and the bishops of Ely, Duresme, Worcester, Westminster, Chichester, Lincoln, Rochester, and St. David's, joined in the protestation. There were only two clauses that I can imagine could give them this disgust. One is, that only four bishops and four common lawyers were made necessary to be of the number of the thirty-two persons. The other might be, the limitation of the time to three years: though that seems designed to make the act have its effect in a little time. Two years were almost ended, before any steps were made towards the execution of it. On the 6th of October, 1551, the council wrote to the lord chancellor to make out a commission

\* *Peccatis neque finis neq; modus imponitur.*

for thirty-two persons to reform the ecclesiastical laws. These were, the archbishops, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Exeter, Gloucester, Bath, and Rochester. The eight divines were, Taylor, Cox, Parker, Latimer, Cook, Peter Martyr, Cheek, John Alasco. The eight civilians were, Peter, Cecyl, Smith, Taylor of Hadley, May, Trayhern, Lyell, Skinner. The eight common lawyers were Hales, Bromley, Goodrick, Gosnald, Stamford, Caryl, Lucas, Brook.

This, it seems, brought Peter Martyr from Oxford to London in March, 1552. And on the 8th of that month, he wrote to Bullinger from Lambeth, being lodged with the archbishop. He tells him, "that the king did earnestly press the bishops, that since the papal authority was cast out of this church, the ecclesiastical laws might be so reformed, that none of the papal decrees might continue to be of any authority in the bishops' courts; and that another body of laws ought to be compiled for them. He had therefore appointed two-and-thirty persons to set about it, of which number he himself was one. He says, the greater number of them were persons both eminently learned and truly pious: in this he desires both their advices and their prayers. This work must be so prepared as to receive a confirmation in parliament; in which he foresaw some difficulties." It seems that this number was thought too great to bring any thing to a good conclusion, or these persons had not all the same views: for soon after, on the 9th of November after this, a new commission was ordered to be made out to eight persons for preparing the same work\*. These were, the archbishop, the bishop of Ely, Doctor Cox, Peter Martyr, Taylor, May, Lucas, Goodrick. Strype tells us, he saw the digest of the ecclesiastical laws written out by the archbishop's secretary: the title being prefixed to each chapter, with an index of the chapters in the archbishop's own hand. In many places there are corrections and additions in his hand, and some lines are scored out: some of them were also revised by Peter Martyr: the seventh chapter in the title *de Præscriptionibus* is all written by Peter Martyr. Several chapters are added to the first draught, which is probably that which was prepared in King Henry's time. There was a later and more perfect draught of this work prepared for King Edward, which coming into Fox's hands, he printed it in the year 1571: the differences between the two draughts, as Mr. Strype assures us, are not very material. But all this was brought to no conclusion.

\* Life of Cranmer, b. i, c. 30.

I find somewhat to be added concerning the duke of Somerset's tragical death, in a letter that one John ab Ulmis, a Switzer, then in England, wrote from Oxford, the 4th of December, 1552, to Bullinger. That the duke of Somerset was censured, as having been too gentle to the Lady Mary, in conniving at her mass. But when he proposed the doing that in council, the earl of Warwick answered, "The mass is either of God or of the devil. If it is of God, we ought all to go to it. If it is of the devil, why should it be connived at in any person?" Yet still the gentleness of the duke of Somerset made him suffer it to go on. But now, he adds, since the earl of Warwick had the greatest share in the government, he had put her priests in prison, and had given strict orders to suffer no mass to be said in her house.

He tells one remarkable particular in the duke of Somerset's trial: "That after he was found guilty of the conspiracy against the earl of Warwick (upon which the people expressed a great concern), the earl of Warwick addressed himself to the duke, and told him, That now, since by the law he was adjudged to die, he, as he had saved him formerly, so he would not now be wanting to serve him, how little soever he expected it from him. He desired him, therefore, to fly to the king's mercy, in which he promised he would faithfully serve him. Upon this the duke did petition the king; and it was hoped that he would reconcile those two great men, and that by this means the duke of Somerset should be preserved."

It seems there was some treaty about his pardon. For though he was condemned on the 1st of December, he was not executed till the 22d of January. What made it to be respited so long, and yet executed at last, does not appear. It is probable it was from a management of the duke of Northumberland's, who, by the delay, did seem to act in his favour, that so he might be covered from the popular odium, which he saw his death was like to bring upon him; and, at the same time, by the means of some who had credit with the king, he possessed him with so bad an opinion of the duke of Somerset, that he, looking on him as an implacable man, capable of black designs, resolved to let the sentence be executed upon him.

In the same letter he gives an instance of Hooper's impartial zeal in the discharge of his function in his diocess: that, while he was censuring some inferior people for their scandalous life, one said to him, "We poor people must do penance for these things, while great and rich men, as guilty as we, are overlooked. Upon that, he said, Name any per-

son, how great soever, that was guilty of adultery, so that it should be proved against him, and he would leave himself in their hands, to be used by them as they pleased, if he did not proceed equally against all. So, in a few days, Sir Anthony Kingston, a great man in those parts, being accused of adultery, he cited him into his court: he, for some time, refused to appear. At last he came; and when the bishop was charging his sin severely upon him, he gave him very foul language, and at last fell to beat him. This was presently followed so severely, that he was fined in 500*l.* and forced to submit to do penance."

This raised the bishop's character, as it contributed not a little to establish his authority in his diocess. He set himself to his duty there with so much zeal, that his wife, who was a German, wrote to Bullinger, praying him to write to her husband to take a little more care of himself: for he preached commonly thrice, sometimes four times in one day. The crowds of those who came constantly to hear him, made him look on them as persons that were hungering for the word of life. So she, apprehending that his zeal made him labour beyond his strength, studied to get others to put some stop to that, which, it seems, she could not prevail with him so far as to restrain.

About this time, the bishops and divines were employed in the review of the Common Prayer; but I have met with nothing new with relation to that matter, save that, on the 6th of May, 1551, there was an order of council for preserving peace sent to all the cathedrals, at least to that of Exeter, for it is in that register. And on the 18th of January there was a commission issued out for the repressing of heresy, and for observing the Common Prayer. And on the 27th of October, 1552, the council-book mentions also a letter written to the lord chancellor, to add, in the edition of the new Common Prayer Book, a declaration, touching kneeling at the receiving the communion.

It remains that I give the best account I can of the Articles of Religion. It seemed to be a great want that this was so long delayed, since the old doctrine had still the legal authority of its side. One reason of delaying the publishing them probably was, that the king, in whose name and by whose authority they were to be published, might be so far advanced in years, and out of the time of pupillage, that they might have the more credit, and be of the more weight. For though it was a point settled in law, that the king's authority was at all ages the same, yet the world would still make a difference in their regard to things passed

while he was a child, and those things authorized by him when he was in the sixteenth year of his age.

The first impression of these Articles appeared with a title apt to make one think they had been agreed on in the convocation. It runs thus in English, "Articles which were agreed to in the synod of London, in the year 1552, by the Bishops and other Godly and Learned Men, to root out the Discord of Opinions, and establish the Agreement of true Religion." But there is reason to believe that no such articles were offered to the convocation. Weston objected afterwards to Cranmer, that he had set forth a catechism in the name of the synod of London; and yet, said he, there be fifty, which, witnessing that they were of the number of the convocation, never heard one word of this Catechism. And in a long and much-laboured sermon of Brooks, preached at St. Paul's Cross in November 1553, there is an intimation that makes it indeed probable, that the Articles were brought into the upper house of convocation. For when he complains that they were set forth as allowed by the clergy, he adds, Whereas the convocation, without all doubt (for the lower house at least), was never made privy thereto. That reserve seems to make it probable that they were brought into the upper house. In the first impression of the Articles, the Catechism is printed first before the Articles. So this is to be understood of that whole book, which is indeed a very small one.

When this was objected to Cranmer, he answered, "I was ignorant of the setting to of that title; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it. Therefore, when I complained thereof to the council, it was answered by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of the convocation." In the interrogatories that were afterwards exhibited to him, in order to his final censure, the seventh ends thus, "That he did compile and caused to be set abroad divers books." The last part of his answer to that was, "As for the Catechism, the book of Articles, with the other book against Winchester, he grants the same to be his doings."

It is true, in the first convocation under Queen Mary, when the prolocutor charged Philpot with this, that a Catechism was put forth without their consent, he answered on the sudden, that the house had granted an authority to make ecclesiastical laws to certain persons to be appointed by the king's majesty. And what was set forth by them might be well said to be done in the synod of London, although the house had no notice thereof before the promulgation. But

Weston also said, "That the Catechism beareth the title of the last synod before this, although many of them who were then present were never made privy thereof in setting it forth." So that both Weston and Philpot agree that the book was never brought before the convocation. In this matter, Philpot, as he could not deny the fact, so he made use of the best answer that then occurred to him, without considering that the convocation had not agreed to any such deputation of thirty-two persons. For that was settled by an act of parliament; nor did the deputation relate to matters of doctrine, but only to the canons and proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts. For, as it was a revival of the acts passed in King Henry's time, so it run in the same strain with them. These evidences make it plain that the Articles of Religion did not pass in convocation. We have Cranmer's own word for it, that he drew them; and that he, who was always plain and sincere, did not approve of that deceitful title, that was prefixed to them to impose upon the unwary vulgar. He also owns that they were his doings. One reason, that may seem probable for his not offering them to the convocation, might be, that he had observed, that many made a difference between obeying orders already made, and the consenting beforehand to the making of them: a greater degree of authority and evidence seemed necessary for the one than for the other. Besides, that the offering things to debate, while it was free to argue on either side of the question, might carry some to engage themselves so far, that they could not after that submit with any decency. This, as far as I can judge, seems to be Cranmer's reason for not offering the articles to be debated and passed in convocation.

But now that they were to be published with authority, that was to be done in the king's name. So a very few days before the king's death, he sent a mandate to Cranmer to publish the Articles, and to cause them to be subscribed. This was done pursuant to the archbishop's motion to the king and council; for he had desired, "That all bishops might have authority from him to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe the said Articles. And he trusted that such a concord and quietness in religion should shortly follow thereon, as else is not to be looked for in many years. God shall thereby be glorified, his truth shall be advanced, and your lordships (for he writes it to the privy council) shall be rewarded of him, as the setters forward of his true word and gospel." Dated from Ford, the 24th of November. It seems they were prepared some time before

that ; for on the 20th of October, in the year 1552, the council had written to the six preachers, Harley, Bell, Horn, Grindall, Pern, and Knox, to consider of some articles then offered to be subscribed by all preachers, which can be no other than these Articles. But as this matter was long delayed formerly, so, when it was now ordered, it was sent about with all the diligence that so important a work required. The king also directed his orders to all the archbishop's officers, enjoining them to cause all rectors, vicars, or those in any ecclesiastical employments, to appear before the archbishop, to obey and do, on the king's part, as shall be signified to them.

The mandate that upon this was sent out by the archbishop's officers, which is in the Collection (No. vii), though it is in the king's name, yet was issued out by Cranmer himself, in execution of the mandate ; it is mentioned in it, that it was sent to him by the king. It was thus put in the king's name, pursuant to the act passed in the beginning of this reign, that all process in the ecclesiastical courts should be in the king's name : but its being tested by the archbishop, shows it was the act of his court. For though there is an exception in that act for the archbishops, yet that only related to what they should act in their provinces as metropolitans, but not to their proceedings in their particular dioceses ; in which it seems they were put on the same foot with the other bishops. The king's mandate to himself is not in any record that I was able to find out. After the mandate, the execution of it by his officers was certified to him on the 22d of June, which is in his register, and is added in the Collection to the mandate. But probably the time given them run further than the king's life : for nothing further appears to have been done upon it. The clergy of the city of London (probably only his peculiars) appeared before him, and he exhorted them to subscribe the Articles : no mention is made of any one's refusing to do it ; but he compelled none to subscribe, which he affirmed in his answer to an interrogatory put to him by Queen Mary's commissioners ; for he said that he compelled none, but exhorted such to subscribe as were willing to do it before they did it. It came to Norwich, where Thirlby was bishop, who complied readily with every thing that he was required to do, though, by his sudden turn, and his employments in the next reign, it appears that he acted at least against his heart, if not against his conscience.

The mandate for Norwich, which will be found in the Collection (No. viii), bears date the 9th of June, in the 7th year of this reign : and it is not to be doubted, but that the

like mandates were directed to all the bishops, though they do not appear upon record. "It sets forth, that whereas, after a long time of darkness, the light was now revealed, to the inestimable benefit of the nation, the king thought it his duty to have a uniform profession, doctrine, and preaching, for the evading dangerous opinions and errors; and therefore he sent him certain articles, gathered with great judgment, of the greatest part of the learned bishops of the kingdom, and sundry others of the clergy; which he required and exhorted him to sign, and in his preaching to observe, and to cause them to be subscribed by all others, who do or shall preach or read within his diocess: and if any shall not only refuse to subscribe, but shall preach contrary to them, he is required to give notice of it to the king and his council, that further order may be given in the matter. And for such persons as came to be admitted to any benefice or cure, he was to confer with them on these articles, and to cause them to subscribe them, otherwise not to admit them to any such benefice, to which they were presented. But if the person was ignorant, and did not understand them, pains were to be taken on him to instruct him; and six weeks time might be given him to examine them by the Scriptures; but at the end of six weeks, if he did not subscribe them, he was to be rejected. Then follows an order for him to receive the Catechism, and to give it to all masters of schools, that it may be taught in them all; and he is required to make report to the archbishop of the province, of the obedience given to these orders." This order was so readily executed, that about fifty of the clergy subscribed it. This instrument was examined, and sent to me by Dr. Tanner, the learned chancellor of Norwich.

But besides the evidence that appears from the registers of Canterbury and Norwich, I have a further proof that the Articles of Religion were only promulgated by the king's authority, in an injunction sent to the university of Cambridge, signed by the bishop of Ely, Sir Jo. Cheek, Mayo, and Wendy, who were the visitors of the university, bearing date the 1st of June, 1553, directed to all the regents and non-regents, setting forth, that great and long pains had been taken by the king's authority, and the judgments of good and learned men, concerning some articles described according to the title with which they are printed: these being promulgated by the king's authority, and delivered to all the bishops for the better government of their diocesses, they did commend them to them, and by their visitatorial authority they do enjoin, that all doctors and bachelors of divinity, and all doctors of arts, should publicly before their

creation swear to them, and subscribe them; and such as refuse to do it, are to be denied their degree. To this is added the form of the oath to be taken. The injunction will be found in the Collection (No. ix).

Thus it appears, by a variety of evidences, that these articles were not passed in convocation, nor so much as offered to it. And as far as can be judged from Cranmer's proceedings, he intended to put the government of the church in another method, different from the common way of convocation; and to set up provincial synods of bishops, to be called as the archbishop saw cause, he having first obtained the king's licence for it. This appears by the 18th chapter of the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws, prepared by him, in which it is plain that these provincial synods were to be composed only of the bishops of the province. The convocations now in use, by a long prescription, in which deans, archdeacons, and cathedrals, have an interest, far superior in number to those elected to represent the clergy, can in no sort pretend to be more than a part of our civil constitution; and have no foundation, either in any warrant from Scripture, or from the first ages of the church; but did arise out of that second model of the church, set out by Charles the Great, and formed according to the feudal law; by which a right of giving subsidies was vested in all who were possessed of such tenures as qualified them to contribute towards the supporting of the state.

As for the Catechism, it was printed with a preface prefixed to it in the king's name, bearing date the 24th of May, about seven weeks before his death; in which he sets forth, that it was drawn by a pious and learned man (supposed to be Bishop Poinet), and was given to be revised by some bishops and other learned men: he therefore commands all schoolmasters to teach it.

I come now to set forth the dismal overturning of all that had been done now in a course of twenty years. King Edward was for some months under a visible decay; his thoughts were much possessed with the apprehensions of the danger religion must be in if his sister Mary should succeed him. This set him on contriving a design to hinder that. He seemed to be against all females' succession to the crown. I have put in the Collection (No. x) a paper that I copied out of a manuscript of the late Mr. Petyt's, all written in that king's own hand, with this title, *My device for the succession*. "By it the crown was to go to the issue male of his own body, or if he had only female issue, to the issue male coming of the issue female, next to the issue male of the Lady Frances; then in succession to her three daughters,

and to their issue male; and if they had only female issue, to the first issue male of any of her daughters. The heir male after eighteen was to enter upon the government; but his mother was to govern till he was of that age, with the advice of six of that council of twenty persons, which he should name by his last will; but if the mother of the issue male should not be eighteen, then the realm was to be governed by the council, provided that after the issue male was of the age of fourteen, all matters of importance should be opened to him. If at his death there was no issue male, the Lady Frances was to be governess-regent; and after her life, her three daughters were to be governesses in succession, till an heir male was born; and then the mother of that heir male was to be governess. If four of the council should die, the governess was ordered, within a month, to summon the whole council, to choose four in their stead, in which the governess was to have three voices. But after the death of the governess, the council was to choose the new counsellors till the king was fourteen, and then he was to choose them, but by their advice."

It may seem by this, that the king designed this some time before his death, while he thought that he himself might have issue: but he was prevailed on to change a great deal of this scheme, especially those clauses that kept the crown as in an abeyance, till an issue male should be born; which would have totally changed the government: so he departed from these clauses.

This was afterwards put in another form by the judges; and that scheme which they prepared was, in six several places, superscribed by the king's hand. Probably it consisted of so many pages. I never saw that paper; but I have put in the Collection (No. xi) the paper that was subscribed by twenty-four counsellors and judges: in which they set forth, "that they had often heard the king's earnest desire touching the limitation of the succession to the crown, and had seen his device written in his own hand; and after that was copied out, and delivered to judges and other learned men, they did sign with their hands, seal with their seals, and promise by their oaths and honours to observe every article in that writing, and all such other matter as the king should by his last will declare, touching the limitation of the crown; and never to vary from it, but to defend and maintain it to the utmost of their power. And they also promised, that they would prosecute any of their number, or any other, that should depart from it, and do their uttermost to see them severely punished."

I gave an account in my History of the opposition that

Cranmer made to this ; but Mr. Strype has discovered more particulars concerning it. He tells us, " that he argued with the king himself once about it, in the hearing of the marquis of Northampton, and the Lord Darcy. He desired leave to speak to the king alone about it, that so he might be more free with him ; but that was not allowed him. He hoped if he had obtained that liberty, he should have diverted the king from it. He argued against it in council, and pleaded that the Lady Mary was legitimate : but some lawyers were prevailed on to say, that the king being in possession of the crown, might dispose of it as he pleased. He stood firm, and said, that he could not subscribe it without perjury, having sworn to the observance of King Henry's will. Some counsellors said, they had sworn to that will as well as he, and that they had consciences as well as he. He said every man was to answer to God for his own deeds, and not for other men's : he did not take upon him to judge any man's conscience but his own. He spake with the judges about the matter ; and they agreed that the king might settle the succession, notwithstanding King Henry's will ; yet he remained still unsatisfied, till the king himself required him to set his hand to his will, saying, he hoped he alone would not stand out, and be more repugnant to his will than all the rest of the council were. This made a great impression on him ; it grieved him much : but such was the love that he bore to the king, that in conclusion he yielded, and signed it."

A little before the king's death, a very extraordinary thing happened in Ireland. I had told in my former work, that Goodacre and Bale were sent over to promote the reformation in Ireland. The former was made primate of Armagh ; of whose death there is a report that has been all along believed by his posterity. A reverend and worthy clergyman of Hampshire, not far from Salisbury (who is the fourth in descent from that primate, they having been all clergymen but one), told me he had it from his grandfather, who was the primate's grandson. " That he being invited to a popish lord's house, a monk there drank to him in a poisoned liquor, on design to poison him, of which they both died." This I set down from the venerable person's own mouth, as a thing known and believed in the family.

I have no particulars to add, neither concerning the death nor the character of that good prince, King Edward ; whose untimely end was looked on by all people as a just judgment of God, upon those who pretended to love and promote a reformation, but whose impious and flagitious lives were a reproach to it. The open lewdness in which many lived,

without shame or remorse, gave great occasion to their adversaries to say, they were in the right to assert justification by faith without works; since they were, as to every good work, reprobate. Their gross and insatiable scrambling after the goods and wealth, that had been dedicated with good designs, though to superstitious uses, without applying any part of it to the promoting the gospel, the instructing the youth, and relieving the poor, made all people conclude that it was for robbery, and not for reformation, that their zeal made them so active.

I will here give an eminent instance of fraudulent proceedings in the beginning of this reign; of which the present learned and zealous dean of Norwich was pleased to send me a copious account out of their registers. The prior, when inducted into that dignity, took an oath not to alienate any of their lands; which was confirmed by injunctions exhibited to the convent in the royal visitation. But the king, upon certain reasons suggested by the prior and convent, and approved by him, did dispense with that oath; so that, notwithstanding the oath, they were left at liberty to alienate some lands set forth in the instrument dated the 1st of April, 1538, countersigned by Cromwell. A month after that, on the 2d of May that year, the church was converted from a prior and convent to a dean and chapter; and the last prior was made the first dean of the church.

But on the 26th of May, 1547, in the beginning of King Edward's reign, a letter was sent to that church, signed by the duke of Somerset, Rich the lord chancellor, and six other privy counsellors; pretending, that they designed the advancement of God's glory, and the truest intent of the late king's determination: by which Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Roger Townshend, and Sir William Paston, were authorized to receive a full surrender of the whole chapter; assuring both the dean, and every one of the prebendaries, that there should be no alteration made in their yearly profits; and that there should be a just contentation given to the residue of the ministers there. A commission was granted on the 27th to these persons, to take the surrender, with articles and instructions annexed to it: which, because probably many others were of the same sort, are put in the Collection (No. xii). But for all this appearance of fair dealing, it being pretended that this was only designed that the king should be founder, and that the church should lose nothing by the surrender; yet, when they had made the surrender, in the hope of new letters-patents, they could not obtain them: and lands, to the value of 200*l.* a year, were taken from them. Upon which that corporation tried, in Queen Mary's time, to get a bill to pass, to restore them

to the state they were in before they were prevailed on to make the surrender. But the bill did not pass. Perhaps it might be suggested, that it would alarm the nation too much, if any alienation of church-lands, how fraudulently soever obtained, were meddled with. I give this as a well-attested instance; by which it may appear, how things of this kind were obtained and managed, chiefly in the beginning of this reign. For I am not so much set on justifying every thing that was done in this reign, as another voluminous writer is\* on condemning almost every thing done in it, with a particular virulence against the memory of that pious prince. This, from one of another communion, is that which might have been expected; but it is a little singular, when it comes from one who says he is of our church.

The irregular and immoral lives of many of the professors of the gospel, gave their enemies great advantages to say, they run away from confession, penance, fasting, and prayers, only that they might be under no restraint, but indulge themselves in a licentious and dissolute course of life. By these things, that were but too visible in some of the more eminent among them, the people were much alienated from them: and as much as they were formerly prejudiced against popery, they grew to have kinder thoughts of it, and to look on all the changes that had been made, as designs to enrich some vicious courtiers; and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedness upon the nation. Some of the clergy that promoted the reformation were not without very visible blemishes: some indiscretions, both in their marriages and in their behaviour, contributed not a little to raise a general aversion to them.

It is true, there were great and shining lights among them, whose exemplary deportment, continual labours, fervent charity, and constant zeal, both during their lives and at their deaths, kept up the credit of that work, as much as it was disgraced by others: but they were few in comparison of the many bad, and those of the clergy, in whom the old leaven had still a deep root, though they complied in every thing that was imposed on them; seeing that they had lost those perquisites of masses, and other practices, which brought them their chief gains, and saw nothing came in lieu of them for their subsistence; they, who in their hearts hated all that they were forced to profess outwardly, did secretly possess such as were influenced by them with an abhorrence of all that was done; and they disposed the nation to be ready to throw it all off.

That which was above all was, that God was highly dishonoured by men who pretended zeal for his glory, but with

\* Coll. Eccl. Hist. p. 332. col. 2.

their works dishonoured him. They talked of the purity of the gospel, while they were wallowing in all sensuality and uncleanness: pretending to put all their confidence in the merits and sufferings of Christ, while they were crucifying him afresh, and putting him to open shame. In such lamentations as these, I find the good men of that time did often vent their sorrows, in their letters to one another, and break out into severe reflections on them. Some did it afterwards abroad in their exile, and others at home in their sufferings. Their only human hope was in the king himself; in whom there appeared such a progress, both in knowledge and zeal, that they expected to see him complete the reformation, and redress those crying abuses, in which the men in power found their account too evidently to expect a remedy from them. They were men, in whose hands things grew every day worse and worse; and whose arrogance and other disorders our chief reformers were forced in some measure to connive at, that they might not provoke them to retard a work that could in no wise be carried on without their countenance and authority; though they saw the prejudice it brought upon them, to be obliged to apply to and to make use of such tools, with which the righteous souls of our best reformers were much grieved. They were engaged with men that were ready to pull down, especially when any thing was to be got by it; but were as backward in building up, as they were forward in plucking down. So that they seemed to design to leave all in a great ruin. These were great hindrances to the progress of the Reformation, as they were both the burthen and the shame of our reformers.

I thought it not amiss to open this as fully as I found it lying before me; and I hope the reader will not only consider this as a part of the history of a former age, but as an admonition to us in the present. If we fall under the disorders and corruptions that then reigned, why should not we expect such a calamity as overtook and overwhelmed them? We may justly look for worse, since we have the advantages of much more light, and many more blessings, as well as many alarming terrors, which have all gone over us without those dismal convulsions that we might have looked for: and they have as easily slipped out of our thoughts, as if we had never seen or felt them. To the viciousness of life, and the open immoralities and neglect of religion, that were the sins of the former age, many among us have added a studied impiety, and a laboured opposition to all revealed religion; which some have owned in so barefaced a manner, that perhaps no age of the world can show any thing like it. If others with secular views have declaimed against this,

and put on some show of zeal, how much more of party than of true religion has appeared in it. The divided parties among us have showed little true regard to religion, and to a course of virtue and piety, which can only give both strength and honour to a church; and this does too plainly appear in many, who talk the most of it, or for it.

Have we of the clergy made the steps that became us, and that were designed in the former age, for throwing out abuses, for regulating the courts, and restoring discipline? While we have, for above one hundred and fifty years, expressed once a year a faint wish that the primitive discipline were again restored, and yet have not made one step toward it. What a venality of the advowsons to livings do we hear of: and at best the disposing of them goes generally by secular regards, by importunities, obligations, or friendship: and above all, how few of those that labour in the gospel do labour indeed, and give themselves wholly to it? How much of their time and zeal is employed in things that do not deserve it so well as the watching over, the instructing, and the building up their flock in their most holy faith? How few do fast and pray, and study to prepare themselves and their people for the evil day, that seems much nearer us than the greatest part are willing to apprehend; that so we may by our intercessions deliver our church and nation from that which is ready to swallow us up; or at least be so fortified and assisted, that we ourselves, and others, by what they see in us, may glorify God in that day of visitation!

I shall conclude this book with one reflection, that may make us hope that the Reformation was under a particular and watchful care of Providence: when the light seemed almost extinguished in one place, it broke out in another; by which, as it was still kept shining somewhere, so there was a sanctuary opened, to which those, who were forced to fly from one place, might in their flight find a covert in another from the storm. In the beginning of this reign, by the breaking of the Smalcaldic league, by the taking of the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, and by the *Interim*, the Reformation seemed to be near extinguished in Germany. In this church it was at that time advanced; and we kindly then received those who were forced to fly hither for shelter. And now, in the year before the death of this good king, there was not only a revival, but a lasting settlement procured in Germany to the Reformation there: so that those who fled from hence found a safe and kind harbour in all the places of the empire, to which they were driven by the storm and tempest that arose here. Of which I go next to gather up such gleanings as have come in my way.

## BOOK V.

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*Of what happened during Queen Mary's Reign, from the year 1553 to the year 1558.*

As soon as the queen came to the Tower of London, she sent for the lord mayor and the aldermen of the city, and told them, "that though her own conscience was stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel or strain other peoples' consciences, otherwise than God shall, as she trusteth, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth." These soft words were not long remembered: of the progress of the severities in her reign, I have a very authentical account before me, in the original council book, that begins on the 17th of August 1553, and goes to the end of the year 1557: but from that to her death I have not so sure a thread. The book begins with orders for letters to be written to Coverdale and Hooper for their undelayed repair to the court: and a complaint being made of a sermon preached by Fisher, parson of Amersham, he was ordered to appear the next day, and to bring the notes of his sermon with him. A parliament was summoned to meet in November. On the 14th of August the writ for the convocation was directed to Cranmer. A letter was soon after written by the queen and council to the bishop of Norwich, to suffer none to preach without a special licence; the same order was intimated to the lord mayor of London; and the same was no doubt universally both ordered and executed.

On the 20th of August there was an order for guards to defend the preacher at St. Paul's Cross, occasioned by what had happened to Bourn: it seems few came to hear the sermons, for the lord mayor was ordered "to make the ancients of the companies resort to the sermons, lest the preacher should be discouraged by a small audience." On the 23d of August, Gardiner was declared lord chancellor. Here I shall set down the appointments of the lord chancellor as they were settled at that time:—there was a privy seal

given for wages and diets, and for the masters in chancery, for 542*l.* 15*s.* yearly: 50*l.* was ordered for attending on the star-chamber every term: and besides that, a salary was given of 300*l.* and 64*l.* for twelve tuns of wine, and 16*l.* for wax\*. All these were granted the 21st of September, but were to commence from the 23d of August. On the 24th of August there was an order sent to the keeper of Newgate to receive and keep John Melvil, a Scot, and a very seditious preacher; so he was called in the warrant. On the same day a letter was written to the mayor of Canterbury, to set Panton, vicar of St. Dunstan's, and one Burden, on the pillory, for seditious words against the queen; and to take bonds at their discretion for their good abearing. On the 26th of August, a letter was writ to the mayor of Coventry to apprehend Symonds, a vicar there, and to send him up with such matter as can be procured to charge him with: "and to punish at their discretion such slanderous talkers, as by his lewd preaching have had dissolute and seditious talk."

Here is a great deal of heat in ten days' time. Cranmer was called before the council in the beginning of August; probably on the account of his signing King Edward's will, and acting upon it: but since so many of those who had signed it were then at the council-board, they were perhaps ashamed to proceed further against him, who had opposed it so much. He had for that time only a severe reprimand, and was commanded to keep his house. He was brought again before some of the queen's commissioners, being cited to appear, and to bring the inventory of his goods with him. He brought it, but no further proceedings against him are mentioned at that time. On the 29th of August, Hooper appeared before the council: on the 1st of September he was sent to the Fleet, no regard being had to the active zeal that he had expressed in asserting the queen's right, and against the Lady Jane; so sincerely did he follow the dictates of his conscience, when he could not but see what consequences it was like to have. On the 2d, order was given that his servant might attend on him. On the 31st of August, Coverdale appeared before them, and in respect that he was a foreigner, he was ordered to attend till further order. On the 2d of September, Sanders, vicar in Coventry, appeared before the council, and a letter was written to the mayor of Leicester to bring up their vicar: on the 4th of September, Latimer was summoned to appear, and a letter was written to the mayor of Coventry to set Symonds at

\* Rymer MSS.

liberty, upon his repentance, for a wish he had uttered, wishing they were hanged that said mass; if he refused to do that, the mayor was to give notice of it.

On the 5th of September a letter was written to Sir John Sidenham, to let the strangers depart, and to give them a passport. This related to the congregation of the foreigners, that had settled in order to set up a manufacture at Glastonbury. On the 10th of September a letter of thanks was ordered for the gentlemen of Cornwall, for their honest proceeding in electing knights for the parliament: it seems there was some debate about it with the sheriff: for a letter was written to him to accept of the election; and not to trouble the county for any alteration. On the 13th of September it is entered, that Latimer, for his seditious demeanour, should be close prisoner in the Tower, with a servant to attend him. On the same day Cranmer was ordered to appear the next day at the star chamber. On the 14th in the star chamber, Cranmer, as well for his treason against the queen, as for spreading seditious bills moving tumults, to the disquieting the present state, was sent to the Tower, and referred to justice. There are several orders made for restoring all chalices to churches, together with all other goods belonging to them, though they had been sent into the great wardrobe. On the 4th of October the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower for divers offences; and Horn, the dean of Duresme, was summoned again and again, but he thought fit to go beyond sea. Nothing gave more offence than the promoting petitions for retaining the doctrine and service settled in King Edward's time. Those of Maidstone were charged with it; and this is on several occasions mentioned in the council book. But as the government was thus set to overthrow all that had been done in King Edward's time; so the fierceness of the popish party made them on many occasions outrun the government: some of the clergy continued to perform the daily worship, and to celebrate the sacrament; more they durst not do in public, all preaching being forbidden. The people that favoured the Reformation frequented the service with great devotion and zeal, for all saw what was coming on them: and so they studied to prepare themselves for it. Some of the ruder multitudes came into their churches, and disturbed them while they were at their devotions: they insulted the ministers, and laughed at their worship; and there were everywhere informers with false stories, to charge the more zealous preachers: in many places the people broke in violently into churches, and set up altars, and the mass in them, before the parliament met to change the laws.

The duke of Northumberland showed that abjectness of mind, that might have been expected from so insolent a man, loaded with so much guilt. He begged his life with all possible meanness, "that he might do penance all the days of his life, if it were in a mouse-hole." He went to mass in the Tower, and received the sacrament in the popish manner. He sent for Gardiner, and asked him if there was no hope for him to live and do penance for his sins. The bishop said, his offence was great, and he would do well to provide for the worst; especially to see that he stood well with God in matters of conscience and religion: for, to speak plainly, he said, he thought he must die. The duke desired he might have a learned priest sent him, for his confession and spiritual comfort. "For religion, he said, he could be of no other but of his: he never was of any other indeed: he complied in King Edward's days only out of ambition, for which he prayed God to forgive him, and he promised that he would declare that at his death." The bishop shed many tears, and seemed to be troubled for him: and as he reported himself, he pressed the queen so much, that he had almost gained her consent for his life. But the emperor, who was then designing the marriage, that took effect afterwards, saw what a struggle there might be against that, and what mischief such a man might afterwards do; so he wrote his advice for his death positively to the queen; and he was executed, and died as he had lived.

Gates and Palmer, who suffered with him, had tried how far the going to mass, and receiving the sacrament in the popish way, could save them: but when they were brought to suffer, Gates confessed, "that he had lived as viciously as any in the world. He was a great reader of the Scriptures, but no man followed them less; he read them only to dispute. He exhorted people to consider how they read God's holy word, otherwise it would be but poison to them. Palmer thanked God for his affliction, and said, he had learned more in one dark corner of the Tower, than he had ever learned formerly: he had there come to see God in his works, and in his mercies; and had seen himself a mass of sin, and of all vileness the vilest." He seemed not daunted with the fear of death, though he saw two die before him, and the bloody axe coming to finish the business on himself. I find nothing new with relation to the session of parliament.

The writ upon which the convocation was summoned was directed to Cranmer, but executed by Bonner, bishop of London. Weston was chosen prolocutor: and the queen sent a message to them, to dispute about religion. I gave

formerly an account of that disputation, and can add little to it. The minutes tell us, that Philips, who was one of the five that refused to subscribe, did, on the 30th of April, recant, and subscribe. It is, indeed, of little consequence, to inquire into the proceedings of the convocation during this reign, in which all the old notions of popery were taken up, even before they were enacted; though both this convocation and the next were summoned by the queen's writ, with the title of supreme head of the church.

There was at this time an infamous slander set about, of the queen's being with child by Gardiner. The queen's whole life being innocent as to all such things, that might have made them to despise such a report, rather than to trace it up: besides, Gardiner's great age made that none could believe it. But the earl of Sussex, in his officious zeal, pursued it through eight or ten hands: and one at last was indicted for having reported it\*; though such an absurd lie had, perhaps, been better neglected, than so minutely inquired into. In the same letter that mentions this, the earl of Sussex gives an account of examinations, touching a design for an insurrection, upon the arrival of the prince of Spain.

The emperor had, on the 21st of December, signed a commission, empowering the count of Egmond, and others, to treat a marriage between his son and the queen. Upon their coming to England, the queen gave a commission, on the 1st of January (1554), to the lord chancellor, and others, to treat with them. And Prince Philip of Spain did, on the 28th of April, send from Valladolid full powers to the same effect. That which quickened the treaty was, an account of a vast treasure that was come with the fleet from the West Indies to Seville; reckoned to have brought over five millions, as Mason wrote from Brussels. He does not denominate the millions, whether pounds or crowns. He wishes the half were true. It was necessary to have a great treasure in view: for though I never found any hint of the corrupting of parliament-men before this time, yet there was now an extraordinary occasion for it; and they saw where only the treasure to furnish it could be had. A concurrence of many circumstances seemed to determine all things for this marriage. Every thing was agreed to: the conditions seemed to be of great advantage to the nation. In this treaty of marriage, if Cæsar Campana (who wrote Philip's life very copiously) was well informed, Philip himself was extremely disgusted at it†: for he desired to be married to

\* MSS. Petyt.

† Part iii, Book vi.

a wife more suitable to his own age. He adds another particular, "that the nation showed such an aversion to it, that the count of Egmond, with the others sent over to treat about it, saw themselves in such danger, that they were forced to fly away, that they might avoid it; and a parliament was to be called, to approve of the conditions of the treaty."

Sir Thomas Wiat was a man that had been oft employed in embassies, particularly in Spain; where he had made such observations upon the subtilty and cruelty of the Spaniards, and of the treatment that such kingdoms and provinces met with, that came under their yoke, that he could not look on the misery that his country was like to fall under without a just concern about it. He was the duke of Northumberland's kinsman, yet he would not join in Lady Jane's business: and before he knew that any others had done it, he proclaimed the queen at Maidstone; but he did not, upon that, run to her for thanks, as others did: yet the queen was so sensible of his loyalty and zeal for her, that she sent her thanks to him by the earl of Arundel; to whom he appealed, as to this particular, when he was under examination in the Tower. He had obtained a pass to go beyond sea; but his lady being with child, he stayed to see the end of that. Nothing set him on to raise the country as he did, but his love and zeal for the public. He never pretended that religion was his motive; many papists joined with him. When he passed by Charing-Cross, he might have turned to Whitehall, which was but ill defended, for many of the earl of Pembroke's men came over to him. This showed that he meant no harm to the queen's person. His marching into London was on design to engage the city to come and join with him in a petition to the queen against the Spanish match. The queen herself was so satisfied, as to his good intentions, that she intended to have pardoned him, had not a message from the prince of Spain determined her to order his head to be cut off. I suppose there may be a mistake here; and that it was the emperor, then in Flanders, and not the prince of Spain, who was yet in Spain, that sent this advice. He never accused the Lady Elizabeth: but being entangled by questions in one examination, he had said somewhat reflecting on the earl of Devonshire; for this he begged his pardon. And when he was on the scaffold, he not only cleared the Lady Elizabeth, but referred himself, with relation to her innocence, and that she was not privy to their matters, to the declaration he had made to the council. All this account concerning him I take from a relation that his son gave afterwards to the

Lord Burleigh, marked with that lord's hand on it\*. It seems the priests at this time understood the interests of their cause better than others did above an age after. For they moved the queen to show a signal act of mercy, and to pardon all that had been engaged in this rising.

Only it gave a colour to the severity against the Lady Jane Gray and her husband. She was the wonder and delight of all that knew her. I have two of her letters in Latin, writ to Bullinger, copied from the originals, all in her own hand, written in a pure and unaffected style. She was then entering on the study of the Hebrew, in the method that Bullinger advised her. She expresses in her letters a wonderful respect and submission to him, with a great strain of modesty, and a very singular zeal for religion. There being nothing in those letters that is in any sort historical, I thought it was not proper to put them in my Collection; though one cannot read them, without a particular veneration for the memory of so young and so rare a creature.

And now the government, finding all things under their feet, did begin to show to the whole nation what was to be expected. All that adhered to the Reformation were sure to be excluded from all favour; commissions were sent over the whole kingdom, to proceed, as upon other points, so particularly against the married clergy. These came to York, directed to the guardian of the spiritualities in that place: and the dean and chapter were authorized by the queen to act pursuant to their instructions. And they acted as in a vacancy: though the commission to proceed against the archbishop bears date the 16th of March; yet, on the 9th of March, they sent out a general citation of the clergy, to appear before them on the 12th of March †. They did not, indeed, begin to deprive any before the 27th of April: and from that day to the 20th of December they deprived one-and-fifty, of whom several were prebendaries.

I will here insert a short account of the unjust and arbitrary deprivations of the married clergy, that was published by Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. "What examples have they in stories before-time, that deprivations have been thus handled before our days? I will not speak of particular cases; where some men have been deprived, never convict, no, nor never called: some called, that were fast locked in prison; and yet they were nevertheless deprived immediately. Some were deprived without the case of marriage after their order: some induced to resign, upon promise of pension; and the promise as yet never performed.

\* Ex. MS. Petyti.

† Reg. Ebor. Sede Vac. f. 65, 66.

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 the half-year's receipt, after charges of tenths and subsidies paid, and yet not deprived six weeks after. Some deprived of their receipt somewhat before the day, with the which their fruits to the queen's majesty should be contented ; and some yet in the like case chargeable hereafter, if the queen's merciful grace be not informed thereof, by the mediation of some charitable solicitor.—And a little after, there were deprived, or driven away, twelve of sixteen thousand, as some writer maketh his account." But there are good reasons to think, that numbers have been wrong taken of this. Among other suggestions, Dr. Tanner has sent me this ; that the diocess of Norwich is reckoned almost an eighth part of all England : and he finds there were only three hundred and thirty-five clergymen deprived on that account : by this, the whole number will fall short of three thousand. This, it is true, is but a conjecture ; yet it is a very probable one : and the other account is no way credible.

I shall to this only add another short account of the proceedings at that time, published by Ailmer, afterwards bishop of London. "The bishops that were married were thrust out of the parliament-house ; and all married deans and archdeacons out of the convocation. Many put out of their livings, and others restored, without form of law.—Many churches were changed, many altars set up, many masses said, many dirges sung, before the law was repealed." From these accounts we may easily believe, that, when the laws were altered, there was a vigorous and a speedy execution of them.

After all matters relating to the queen's marriage were settled, the emperor sent a fleet for the prince of Spain : and upon that occasion the queen was prevailed on to break through all forms, and to write the first love-letter to him ; of which, having met with the original, I have put it in the Collection (No. xiii), as a singularity in such matters. She tells him, "that she understanding that the emperor's ambassador was sending the bearer to him, though he had not written since their alliance had been a treating ; yet she, thinking herself obliged by the sincere affection that he had for her, confirmed by good effects, and by the letters that he had written to the emperor's ambassador, could not restrain herself from letting him know the duty, in which she intended to correspond always with him : and she thanked him for all his good offices. She acquainted him, that her parliament

had, without any opposition, agreed to the articles of their marriage, and thought them honourable, advantageous, and more than reasonable. This gave her an entire confidence, that his coming to England should be safe, and agreeable to him. She ends, recommending herself most affectionately and humbly to his highness, as being his entirely assured and most obliged ally."

But, the matter of the marriage being settled, and afterwards executed, I will now look again into the proceedings of the council. On the 16th of January, one Wotton, called an esquire, was committed to be close prisoner in the Fleet, for his obstinate standing against matters of religion. On the 14th of February, letters were written to the Lord Rich, and to Sir John Wentworth, to punish some in Colchester, Coxall, and other places, who dissuaded people from frequenting such Divine service as was then appointed by law to be observed. Upon this, many were committed, and others put under recognizances to appear. On the 8th of March, an order was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, to Sir John Williams, who was to carry them to Oxford. On the 26th of March, an order was given to send up Taylor, parson of Hadley, and Askew of West Hillesly. Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells, was carried beyond sea, by one Williams, a mariner of Bristol, who, returning to Pembrokeshire, some gentlemen there seized on him, and sent him to London: so he was sent to the Marshalsea, and a letter of thanks was written to those who had seized on him; so careful were they to encourage every officious show of zeal.

But now came on the second convocation in this reign, in which all that was done was, that the prolocutor Weston, with some deputed to go along with him, were ordered to go to Oxford, to dispute with the three bishops. Of which I can add nothing to the account I formerly gave of it. On the 27th of April, Weston returned and reported the conference, or examination of Cranmer and the two other bishops, attested under the seal of the university: and soon after that they were dismissed; for the parliament met on the 2d of April, and was dismissed on the 5th of May.

On the 3d of May, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, being judged obstinate heretics, the judges were asked what the queen might do, since Cranmer was attainted. He was a man dead in law, and not capable of any other censure: and this seems to be the true reason that moved the queen to pardon the treason, upon which he was already condemned: for though he was very earnest to obtain a pardon for that, it does not appear that there was any regard had to him in granting it; but, on the contrary, it seems it was resolved

that he should be burned as a heretic: and since that could not be done while he stood condemned of treason, this seems to be the only motive of that mercy, which, in this case, was certainly done out of cruelty. On the 20th of May, a servant of the Lady Elizabeth's was brought before the council; but there is nothing in particular mentioned, only he was required to attend. There were suspicions of her being concerned in Wiat's rebellion, as appeared in the account given of Wiat himself. It is alleged, that Gardiner studied to suborn false witnesses to charge her with that; and that this went so far, that a warrant was brought to Bridges, the lieutenant of the Tower, for her execution; but that he would not obey it, until he knew the queen's pleasure\*. Some credit seems due to this, since it was published in her reign, and was not contradicted, nor denied, as far as I can find. But it seems to be denied in a declaration set forth many years after by herself when she was queen; which shall be mentioned in its proper place. On the 25th of May, some in Stepney were ordered to be set on the pillory for spreading false news; the ears of one were ordered to be nailed to the pillory, and then cut off. On the 26th of May, Sir Henry Bedingfield was sent with instructions, signed by the queen, for the ordering the Lady Elizabeth.

On the 1st of June, an order was sent to the bishop of London, to send discreet and learned preachers into Essex, to reduce the people there. Bonner seemed to think of no way of reducing any, but by severity and force; so that the council found it necessary to put him in mind of his pastoral care. Orders were then given for the reception of the prince of Spain. Some were ordered to be set on a pillory, and their ears were to be nailed to it, and cut off. The duchess of Northumberland desired that her sons might hear mass in the Tower; this was granted, but order was given that none might speak with them. On the 11th of June, orders were given to receive the duke of Savoy at Dover. And on the 5th of July, order was given to punish those who were concerned in the imposture called *the Spirit of the Wall*. On the 6th of July, some of the Lady Elizabeth's servants were committed for lewd words of the state of the kingdom: on the 24th July, two treaties for the queen's marriage, made by the Lord Fitzwater, who had been ambassador in Spain, were given to the lord treasurer.

Now the marriage was made, and the jollities on such occasions put some stop to severities: but it was a short one; for, on the 15th of August, letters were writ to the justices of peace in Sussex, to punish those who railed at

\* Reply to Parsons, p. 84.

the mysteries of Christ's religion. I must observè here once for all, that the letters themselves, writ by the council, are not entered in the book : these would have set out particulars much more clearly than those short entries do : but there were forms of those letters put in a chest, and the council-book refers us often to the letter in the chest. On the 19th of August, letters of thanks are ordered to Tirrell, and others, for their care, ordering them to imprison all such as came not to Divine service ; and to keep them in prison until they had the comfort of their amendment : several men and women were imprisoned in Huntingdonshire. The 20th of August, mention is made of some in prison for words. On the 21st of August, an order was sent to examine into a conspiracy in Suffolk, by certain lewd persons. On the 16th of September, a letter was ordered to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, to punish the spreaders of false rumours.

But now came on the great affair of the reconciling the nation to the see of Rome. The two former parliaments could not be brought up to that ; so the court was willing to accept all that they could be brought to ; but when they saw at what they stuck, they were sent home : and some were so weak as to think, that, by yielding in some things, they should give the court such content, as to save the rest. They were willing to return back to that state of religion in which King Henry left it ; and did not rightly apprehend that nothing could give the queen an entire content, but a total reconciliation with the pope : whereas those who could not come up to this ought to have stood firm at first, and not, by giving ground, have encouraged the court to compass their whole design. The queen was more than ordinarily solicitous to get a parliament chosen to her mind. She wrote a letter to the earl of Sussex, and probably she wrote to all those in whom she confided, in the same strain. It will be found in the Collection (No. xiv). " She had now summoned a parliament to the 12th of November, in which she expected to be assisted by him ; and that he would admonish her good subjects, who had a right to elect the members, to choose men of the wise, grave, and catholic sort ; such as indeed meant the true honour of God, and the prosperity of the commonwealth ; which she and the king her husband did intend, without the alteration of any particular man's possession , which, among other false rumours, the hinderers of her good purposes, and the favourers of heretics, did most untruly report. She desired him to come up against the feast of All-Saints, at the furthest, that she might confer with him about those matters, that were to be treated of in

parliament." This is dated the 6th of October; and so careful was that lord to merit the continuance of the queen's confidence, that, on the 14th of October, he wrote to the gentlemen of the county to reserve their voices for the person whom he should name: he also wrote to the town of Yarmouth for a burgess. But now to open more particularly the great matter that was to be transacted in this parliament.

When the news of the change of government in England, and of the queen's intentions, were brought to Rome, it was not possible to deliberate long who was the properest person to be sent legate. Pole had so many meritorious characters on him, that, besides the signification of the queen's desire, no other person could be thought on. A. Harmer has given the bull, upon which he was sent from Rome. It is dated the 5th of August, 1553, though the queen came not to London till the 3d of August; and Comendone, who carried her message to the pope, was in London on the 23d: for he saw the duke of Northumberland's execution. It seems that at Rome, upon King Edward's death, they took it for granted, both that her right would take place, and that she would reconcile her kingdom again to that see; and therefore the bull was prepared. Pole had at that time retired three hundred miles from Rome, to an abbey upon the lake, now called de Garda: in his absence he was declared legate; upon which he wrote a letter to the queen on the 13th of August, which I have put in the Collection (No. xv).

"He begins expressing his joy at her exaltation, more particularly at the manner of it; which he reckons a singular work of an immediate providence; in which, as indeed the subject seemed to allow, he enlarges very copiously. And since she carried the name of the blessed Virgin, he calls on her to say the *Magnificat*, applying it to the late providences of God towards herself. He desires her to consider what was the beginning of all the miseries that England had felt; it was the king her father's departing from the apostolic see, and the catholic church. He was a witness to all the steps made in that matter: he had upon all occasions asserted both her mother's marriage, and her own right: and had done and suffered much on that account. He was therefore now most particularly concerned to know what her mind was with relation to religion; and though he was then three hundred miles from Rome, he was named legate, to be sent to her, to the emperor, and to the French king; therefore he sent one to her to know her mind. He did not doubt of it; for no person owed more to the apostolic see than she did, since it was upon her account that so

much outrage had been done to it. So, before he would proceed in his legatine function, he desired to know her pleasure more particularly."

Upon this she wrote an answer on the 10th of October, which is also in the Collection (No. xvi). "She thanked him for all the kind expressions in his letter; and in particular for the good advice he gave her. She was full of reverence and obedience to the holy see; but it was a great trouble to her, that she could not yet declare her mind openly in that matter. As soon as it was safe for her to do it, she would let him know it. His messenger would tell him all particulars. She was then crowned. She hoped the parliament would repeal all the bad laws: and that she should obtain the pope's pardon for all her own faults. She sends by him her most humble thanks to the pope for his clemency to her, and for his readiness to forget all that is past." With this she sent back Ormanet to him. The bull that the pope sent to Pole is all a rhetorical panegyric upon the queen's coming to the crown, and on her pious intentions. But bulls being often in a common form, it is not in it but in the breves that we are to seek the powers, or instructions, given to Pole. There was a part of Cardinal Pole's register conveyed to me about a year after my second volume was printed: a short account of the most remarkable things in it was then printed, in a letter directed to me. The characters of the truth of the papers are visible: some of them are in Latin, and some in Italian: and because I look on this as a matter of great consequence, I will give a very particular account of them.

The first paper, which will be found in the Collection (No. xvii) is the breve, that was at first sent him of the pope's own motion; and bears date the 8th of March, 1554. By it, "Pole is empowered to receive all heretics of both sexes and of all ranks, even bishops and archbishops, communities as well as single persons, of what heresies soever guilty, though relapsed in them, upon their true and unfeigned repentance; and to absolve them from all pains and censures, how long soever they had continued in their errors, and though their sins were reserved immediately to the holy see. And he was empowered to pardon all irregularities run into by them, and all the bigamies of ecclesiastical persons; they first relinquishing their wives: notwithstanding which, they might be continued in their orders and functions, and might be capable of all ecclesiastical promotions: all infamy being pardoned, provided they, with a contrite heart, should sacramentally confess their sins to any catholic priest, at their choice, and submit to such penance as he

should enjoin: excusing them from all public confession, abjuration, or open penance. Absolving all communities from any unlawful pactions, in favour of others, though confirmed by oaths. Empowering him to receive all regulars, and to absolve them from the censures of apostacy; allowing them to possess benefices as seculars. Dispensing with the strict observation of Lent, as to milk, meats, and eggs; and even flesh, upon the allowance of either the confessor, or the physician. Giving him authority to suffer such of the clergy, under the degree of a bishop, who were married, upon their true conversion, to live in that state, so that no scandals were given by it: only they were not to minister at the altar, nor to do any ecclesiastical function; but they might lawfully continue in the married state, the issue being declared lawful. To this is added, a power of uniting of benefices."

Next comes the clause concerning the possessors of ecclesiastical goods. "He is empowered to agree, transact, and discharge them, for all the profits they had wickedly received, and for the moveable goods that they had consumed; the immovable goods that have been by them unduly detained being first restored, if that should seem to be convenient to him. And whatever should arise out of such agreement was to be applied to the church to which such goods had belonged, or for the advancement of studies, and to schools. There is likewise a power granted to delegate others under him, for the care and performance of all these particulars. But because he was to go first to Flanders, and stay in those parts for some time, the pope gave him authority to execute these powers, even while he was without the kingdom, to all persons belonging to it, that should apply to him, particularly with relation to all orders unduly received; and to confirm bishops or archbishops, who had been promoted by a secular nomination, during the schism, and had assisted the former kings, though they had fallen into heresy, upon their return to the unity of the church. And to provide to metropolitical or cathedral churches, such persons as should be recommended to him by the queen, according to the customs of the kingdom, upon any vacancy. And to absolve and rehabilitate all clergymen, of all ranks, notwithstanding their past errors. All these powers are confirmed, with a full *non obstante* to all constitutions whatsoever."

Here was a great fulness of favour, with relation to all personal things. When Pole (whose name I write as he himself did, and not as we usually do) came to Flanders, he was stopped by the emperor's order, till his powers were seen, and sent to England. When they were seen, they

were considered as far short of what was expected, and of what seemed necessary for the carrying on the reconciliation quietly through the nation. So Pole sent Ormanet to Rome for fuller powers, and retired to Diligam-Abbey, near Brussels. While he was there, he heard the news of Philip's arrival in England, and of the queen's being married to him. Upon which he wrote a letter of congratulation to the bishop of Arras, which is in the Collection (No. xviii). And on the same day he wrote this acceptable piece of news to the Cardinal de Monte, which is also in the Collection (No. xix). In the postscript to the bishop of Arras, he tells him, that Ormanet was returned with fuller powers. He brought with him two breves.

The first is of no importance to this matter; but because it was thought to be suppressed on design, by the writer of the letter directed to me, by him that wrote on this subject in King James's time, it is put in the Collection (No. xx). It sets forth, "that he was sent first to the queen of England; and after that was constituted *legate à latere*, for mediating a peace between the emperor and the king of France. He had also very ample powers given him, while he remained in Flanders, with relation to English persons and affairs. But since, by reason of the schism, and other errors, many cases might happen, that wanted a provision from the apostolical see, which could not be comprehended within the faculties given him; and because it is doubtful whether he may yet use them in the queen's dominions; and which of them shall be made use of, while he is either with the emperor or the king of France; the pope gives him full power to make use of all faculties sent to him, by himself, or by any other deputed by him: and to do every thing that he shall think will conduce to the glory of God, the honour of the holy see, and the bringing the queen's dominions to the communion of the church as fully as may be. And while he remained with the emperor, he gave him all the powers of a *legate à latere* for all his dominions. And he gave him the same powers while he should be with the king of France."

The other breve, which is also in the Collection (No. xxi), sets forth, "that, upon the hopes of reducing the kingdom of England, that had been torn from the body of the catholic church, to an union with it, out of which there is no salvation, the pope had sent him his *legate à latere*, with all the powers that seemed necessary or proper for effecting that work: in particular, to agree and transact with the possessors of church-goods concerning them. And whereas, by the beginnings and progress already made, there is good

hopes of bringing that work to a full perfection ; which will go on the easier, the more indulgent and bountiful the pope shows himself, with relation to the possessions of those goods : the pope, therefore, not willing that the recovering that nation, and the salvation of so many souls, should be obstructed by any worldly regards ; in imitation of the good father who received the returning prodigal, he empowered Pole, in whose prudence and dexterity he put an entire confidence, to treat with all the possessors or detainers of ecclesiastical goods, for whom the queen should intercede ; and to transact and compound with them, that they might, without any scruple, enjoy and retain the said goods : and to conclude every thing that was proper or necessary with relation to them. Saving always such things, in which, for the greatness and importance of them, it shall seem fit to you to consult this holy see, to obtain our approbation and confirmation." Upon which he is fully empowered to proceed, with a full *non obstante*, bearing date the 28th of June. With these breves, Cardinal de Monte wrote him a letter, in the Roman way, of a high compliment ; which is in the Collection (No. xxii).

The next letter is from Cardinal Morone, which is likewise in the Collection (No. xxiii). By this it appears, that Pole had gone to France upon his legatine commission. And, after the usual Roman civilities, " he tells him, he had laid his letter before the pope, who was beginning to despair of the affairs of England. And though the pope had not patience to read or hear his letter, which was his ordinary custom, yet he told him the sum of it, with which he was satisfied, and said, he had given no cause, neither to the emperor nor to any other, to use such extravagant words to him. It seems Pole had desired to be recalled ; but the pope said, that could not be done. It would be a great disgrace both to the pope and to the apostolical see, to the emperor himself, and to Cardinal Pole, and a great prejudice to England. But he would not write to the emperor upon it : nor was he resolved about the goods of the church ; concerning which he spoke often very variously. He resolved to write both to the queen and to the prince of Spain ; which letters, he adds, will be sent by Ormanet, who is dispatched with every thing necessary for the business, conform to his desire." The rest is all compliment, dated the 13th of July. Then follows a breve, merely in point of form, extending the former powers, that were addressed only to the queen, to Philip her husband ; dated the 10th of July.

Upon this, the emperor being then at Valenciennes, the

cardinal sent Ormanet thither, who gave an account of his audience to Priuli, the legate's great and generous friend, which will be found in the Collection (No. xxiv). The bishop of Arras told him how much the emperor had the matters of religion at heart, and that he would be always ready to promote them. But when Ormanet pressed him for a present dispatch, he said they had no news from England since the marriage; and that, before any other step was made, it would be necessary to know what ply the affairs of that kingdom were like to take. It was fit to consider, whether the powers of securing the goods of the church should come from the legate, or from the king and queen. Then he desired to see the copy of the cardinal's faculties. As to the point of time, Ormanet said it was not fit to lose a moment, since so many souls were endangered by the delay; and the first coming of the prince of Spain ought not to be let slip, by which the honour of the work would be chiefly due to him. As for his faculties, all things necessary were committed to the cardinal in the amplest manner; and more particular resolutions could not be taken but upon the place. Somewhat further passed between them, which Ormanet reserves till he saw the cardinal. The bishop of Arras promised to lay all before the emperor, and to do all good offices. The emperor was at that time so well, that he was often on horseback to view his army, which had then marched to St. Amand, and the two armies were very near one another. This is dated the last of July.

On the 3d of August the bishop of Arras wrote to the cardinal, "that the emperor received his congratulations on the marriage very kindly; but did not think it was yet proper for him to go to England, till they had a perfect account of the present state of affairs there. To know that, he had that day sent an express thither: upon his return he should be able to give him a more positive answer. He knew the zeal of the king and queen was such, that they would lose no time; but yet they must proceed with such moderation, that the way to a true remedy might not be cut off by too much haste." This is in the Collection (No. xxv). The cardinal had a letter from Bartholomew de Miranda, a friar, who (I suppose) was King Philip's confessor, and afterwards archbishop of Toledo, from Winchester, July 28. It is only a letter of respect desiring his commands. The cardinal wrote to the bishop of Arras on the 5th of August. He sent him the copy of his faculties, and expressed a great earnestness in his design of going speedily into England, as soon as the courier sent by the emperor should return. He

showed himself as impatient of the delays, as in good manners he could well do. This is also in the Collection (No. xxvi).

King Philip stayed at Winchester some days after the marriage; for on the 4th of August he sent the count of Horn over to the emperor from thence, and by him he wrote a letter, partly of respect, partly of credit, to the cardinal. To this the cardinal wrote an answer, which I have put in the Collection (No. xxvii): though, besides such high compliments as are usually given to princes, there is nothing particular in it, only he still insists earnestly for leave to come over. On the 11th of August the bishop of Arras wrote to him, "that he had seen the copy of his faculties, and he joins with him in his wishes to see that kingdom restored to its ancient obedience: he assures him, the emperor was pressing the dispatch of the matter, and he did not doubt but that it would be speedily accomplished." Pole wrote on the 2d of September to Soto, the emperor's confessor, "thanking him for those pressing letters that he had written, both to the emperor and to Duke Alonso d'Aquilara; with which the legate was so delighted, that he writes as one in a rapture upon it; and he animates him to persist in that zeal for promoting this great work."

He was still put off with new delays, of which the best account I can give is, that this being the decisive stroke, there was a close canvassing over England for the elections to this parliament. Since nothing can effectually ruin this nation but a bad choice, therefore, as it is the constant character of a good ministry, who design nothing but the welfare and happiness of the nation, to leave all men to a due freedom in their elections; so it is the constant distinction of a bad ministry, that have wicked designs, to try all the methods of practice and corruption possible to carry such an election, that the nation being ill represented by a bad choice, it may be easy to impose any thing on a body of vicious, ignorant, and ill-principled men, who may find their own mercenary account in selling and betraying their country. It appeared in the two former parliaments who they were that could not bear the returning to their old servitude to the papacy. It was, no doubt, spread over England, that they saw the legate was kept in Flanders, and not suffered yet to come over: this seems the true cause why his coming was so long put off. It might be likewise an artifice of Gardiner's, to make the difficulties appear the greater, and by that to enhance his own merit the more. It is plain, that, till the election was over, and till the pulses of the majority were first tried, it was resolved

not to suffer the legate to come over. This seems to be that which he insinuates in his letter to the confessor, when he says, that "the wisdom of the wise has kept the gate so long shut against him."

On the 13th of October Pole wrote the pope an account (Collect. No. xxviii) of what had passed between him and the bishop of Arras and the emperor himself: the bishop of Arras, as he writes, came to him and assured him, that the emperor was in the best disposition possible; but it was necessary to come to particulars, to examine all the impediments, and the best methods to put them out of the way. The legate said he had full powers, and desired to know from England what impediments were suggested. He added, this was not a negotiation like that in making a peace, where both sides did conceal their own designs all they could, till they discovered those of the contrary side: here all had but one design, and he was ready to enter into particulars when they pleased. He had an audience of the emperor, none but the nuncio and the bishop of Arras being present. In it, after usual compliments, the impediments proposed were two; the first related to the doctrine, in which there was no abatement to be made, nor indulgence to be showed. The other was concerning the lands; for the usurpers of them, knowing the severity of the ecclesiastical laws, were afraid to return to the obedience of the church: to this the legate answered, that the pope was resolved to extend his indulgence in this case; first as to all the mean profits already received, and the censures incurred by that, which was a great point; the pope was willing freely to discharge that entirely: nor did he intend to apply any part of these to himself, or to the apostolical see, as many feared he would, though that might seem reasonable, as a compensation for damages sustained, but he would convert all to the service of God, and to the benefit of the kingdom: and he had such regard to the piety of those princes, that he had empowered him to grant such favours as they should intercede for, and to such persons as they should think worthy to be gratified, and were capable to assist him in the matter of religion. The emperor understanding all this, thanked the pope very heartily for his favour in that matter: he said he had granted enough; he excused himself, that, being wholly taken up with the present war, he had no sooner applied himself to consider the matter: now he knew it well: he had already written to England, and he expected a speedy answer from thence, by which he would know the state of affairs there. He knew, by his own experience in Germany, that this of the church-lands

was the point that was most stood on: as to matters of doctrine, he did not believe that they stood much upon that, they neither believing the one nor the other: yet those lands (or goods) being dedicated to God, he thought it was not fit to yield all up to those who possessed them: he added, that though the legate had told him the whole extent of his powers, yet he would do well not to open that to others. He then desired to see his faculties. The legate upon that, apprehending this would give a handle to a new delay, said he had already showed them to the bishop of Arras, and he told the emperor what a scandal it would give to the whole world, if the reconciliation should not be settled by this parliament. The queen did not think fit to press it formerly, till she had received that mighty assistance which was now come to her by her marriage; yet if this, which ought to have been the beginning and the foundation of all the rest, were delayed any longer, it must give great offence both to God and man. The emperor said, regard was to be had to the ill disposition of the people concerned, who had formed in themselves and others an aversion to the name of obedience, and to a red cap, and a religious habit. He said, some friars, whom his son had brought with him out of Spain, were advised to change their habits. They had not indeed done it, nor was it convenient that they should do it. He also touched on the ill offices that would be done them by their enemies abroad, in order to the raising of tumults (meaning the French). The legate answered, if he must stay till all impediments were removed, that would be endless. The audience ended with this, that he must have a little patience till the secretary whom he had sent into England should return.

Mason was then the queen's ambassador at the emperor's court: he, in a letter on the 5th of October, writ towards the end of it (the rest being a long account of the war between the emperor and the French king) concerning the cardinal (which will be found in the Collection, No. xxix); that he was sent by the pope on two designs; the one to mediate a peace between those two powers, the other to mediate a spiritual peace, as he called it, in the kingdom of England; but seeing no hope of succeeding, either in the one or the other, he began to despair: and if he did not quickly see some appearance of success in the last, he would go back to Rome a sorrowful man: and here Mason runs out, either to make his court to the queen, or to the legate, or that he was really possessed with a very high opinion of him, which seems the more probable, as well as the more honest motive: he says, "All the world adores him

for his wisdom, learning, virtue, and godliness. God seems to dwell in him; his conversation, with his other godly qualities, was above the ordinary sort of men. It would be a strong heart that he would not soften in half an hour's talk."

At this time the cardinal wrote a long letter to King Philip in Latin (Collect. No. xxx): he tells him he had been now for a year knocking at the gates of the palace, and nobody opened to him: though he is the person that was driven from his country into an exile of above twenty years' continuance, because he was against shutting the queen out of that palace in which he now lived with her: but he comes with a higher authority, in the name of the vicar of the great king and shepherd, St. Peter's successor, or rather St. Peter himself, who was so long driven out of England: upon this he runs out into a long allegory, taken from St. Peter's being delivered out of prison, from Herod's cruel purpose, and coming to the gate of Mary, where, though his voice was known, yet he was kept long knocking at the door, Mary not being sure that it was he himself. He dresses this out with much pomp, and in many words, as a man that had practised eloquence much, and had allowed himself in flights of forced rhetoric; liker indeed to the declamation of a student in rhetoric, than the solemn letter of so great a man on such an occasion. It is true that this way of writing had been early practised, and had been so long used, even by popes themselves, that these precedents might seem to warrant him to copy after such originals.

At last the queen sent the Lord Paget and Lord Hastings to bring him over: their letter upon their coming to the emperor's court is dated from Brussels, the 13th of November (Collect. No. xxxi). In it they gave an account of their waiting upon the emperor with the king and queen's compliments. The emperor had that day received the sacrament, yet they were admitted to audience in the afternoon: he expressed great joy when he heard them give an account how matters were in England, and roused himself up in a cheerful manner, and said, that, among many great benefits, he was bound to thank God for this as a main one, that he now saw England brought back to a good state. He had seen what the kingdom had once been, and into what calamities it fell afterwards; and now he thanked God for the miracles showed to the queen, to make her the minister to bring it again to its ancient dignity, wealth, and renown. He also rejoiced that God had given her so soon such a certain hope of succession: these tidings of the state of her person, with the report of the consent of the noblemen and others touching the cardinal, and their obedience and union

with the catholic church, were so pleasant to him, that, if he had been half dead, they would have revived him: he promised them all assistance, as they should come to need it.

From the emperor they went to the cardinal, who welcomed them with great joy, and with expressions full of duty and thankfulness to the queen. Here they enlarge on his praises: "they call him the man of God, full of godliness and virtue; and so eminently humble, that he was contented to come into England in such sort as the queen had commanded; not as a legate, but as a cardinal, and an ambassador sent to the queen: and they assured the queen, that, touching the matter of possessions, all things should pass on the pope's behalf so, that every man there shall have cause to be contented. Pole took leave of the emperor on the 12th; he was to set out in slow journeys, his body being then too weak for great ones; in six days he was to be at Calais, where they had ordered every thing to be ready for his transportation.

It seems by this that the queen reckoned on it as sure, that she was with child: though in that, after the hopes of it were published with too much precipitation, she found herself so much mistaken, that it was believed the grief and shame of it, both together, had an ill effect on her health and life.

About this time there was a very abusive libel, printed in the form of a letter, as writ by Bradford to the queen, in which it was said, "that it was believed the queen intended to give the crown to the king, hoping that then he would keep company with her more, and live more chaste, contrary to his nature; for peradventure after he was crowned he would be content with one whore; whereas he had then three or four in a night; and these not ladies but common prostitutes\*." One John Capstoke, the printer, was discovered; he was condemned to be imprisoned, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory, and cut off; yet he was pardoned. The consideration is not mentioned; it may be easily imagined it was no small one, probably enough it was upon the discovery of some of those whom they were seeking out for the slaughter.

I have nothing to add to what I wrote formerly with relation to this parliament, and the reconciliation made in it: no doubt Pole, according to the powers in his breve, desired the queen would name such persons to whom the favour of confirming them in their possessions should be granted; but it seems they durst not venture on any discrimination, lest that should have made the excepted persons desperate. So

\* Rymer, t. 15.

it is evident, that the confirming of all without exception was, if not beyond his powers, yet at least a matter of such importance, that he ought to have consulted the pope upon it; and to have stayed till he had new and special orders to pass it in so full a manner as he did. But still it is plain, by the message sent to Rome, that he made the council at least to apprehend that it was necessary to send thither for a confirmation of what he had done, without any limits, upon powers that were expressly limited, and reserved to a confirmation.

On the 12th of December, Mason wrote from Brussels (Collect. No. xxxii); and, after he had given in his letter an account of what passed in the diet, upon a letter written to it by the French king, he also writes, "that one of the emperor's council had told him, that his master was displeased to hear that a preacher was beating the pulpit jollily (I use his own words), for the restitution of the abbey-lands: upon this he writes, that if it be so meant by the prince, and the thing be thought convenient, he did his duty: but if it were not so, it was a strange thing, that, in a well-ordered commonwealth, a subject should be so hardy as to cry thus to the people, to raise storms next summer against what they were then doing in winter; and if the thing were to be talked of, it ought to be to the prince and council, and not to the people: he reflects on the unbridled sermons in the former times, that they were much disliked; so he hoped, that in a good government that should have been amended. He thought the person that preached this might be well put to silence; for he, being a monk, and having vowed poverty, possessed a deanery and three or four benefices. He tells them he had heard by the report of other ambassadors, that England was now returned to the unity of the Christian church. He should have been glad that he might have been able to confirm this by some certain knowledge of it; but it was ordinary for the ambassadors of England to know the least of all others of the matters of their own kingdom." A custom of a long continuance, of which I have heard great complaints made of a later date. On the 25th of December he wrote \*, that, according to his orders, he had let the emperor know the apprehensions the queen had of the progress of her big belly: and that all was quiet, and every thing went on happily in England. Upon this the emperor fell into a free discourse with him of the difference between governing with rigour and severity, and the governing in such sort, that both prince and people might

\* Paper-office.

*sentre entendre et sentre aimer*, mutually understand and mutually love one another. This, as it is at all times a noble measure of government, so it was more necessary to offer such an advice at a time in which it was resolved to proceed with an unmerciful rigour against those whom they called heretics. The queen seemed to be so sure that she was quick with child, that the privy council wrote upon it a letter to Bonner, and ordered him to cause *Te Deum* to be sung upon it. With such a precipitation was this desired piece of news published.

Some small favour was, at King Philip's desire, showed to some. The archbishop of York was released, Jan. 18th, 1554-5, upon a bond of 20,000 marks for his good behaviour. How far he recanted or complied does not appear; one thing may be reasonably concluded; that since no more mention is made of the complaint put in against him, for keeping another man's wife from him, there is no reason to think there was any truth in it. For there being so particular a zeal then on foot to disgrace the marriage of the clergy, so flagrant an instance as this, in a man put in so eminent a post, would not have been passed over if there had been any colour of truth or proof for it. On the 27th of January, Hopkins, sheriff of the city of Coventry, was put in the Fleet for ill religion. On the 19th of February, some small regard was had to Miles Coverdale, as being a foreigner; for he was a Dane: he had a passport to go to Denmark, with two servants, without any unlawful let or search.

On the 29th of January, Cardinal Pole gave deputed powers to the bishops, to reconcile all persons to the church, pursuant to the first breve he had from the pope, by which the reconciliation was made very easy; every one being left at his liberty to choose his own confessor, who was to enjoin him his penance: upon which the clergy, both regulars and seculars, were to be entirely restored, confirmed in their benefices, and made capable of all further favours: but those who were accused or condemned for heresy, were only to be restored to the peace of the church, for the quiet of their consciences. All canonical irregularities were also taken off; all public abjurations or renunciations were, at discretion, to be either moderated or entirely forgiven; with a power to the bishop to depute such rectors and curates as he shall think fit, to absolve and reconcile all lay-persons to the church. That sent to the bishop of Norwich is still upon record, and was collated with the register, and sent me by Dr. Tanner. With this I have likewise put in the Collection (No. xxxii; xxxiv), the method in which it was executed. First, the Articles of the Visitation are in it, in

English, then follow rules in Latin, given by the cardinal to all bishops and their officials. The most material of these is, "that all who were empowered to reconcile persons to the church were required to enter into a register the names of all such as they should receive, that it might appear upon record who were and who were not reconciled; and to proceed against all such as were not reconciled: in particular, they were to insert Thomas Becket's name, and also the pope's, in all their offices."

Now came on the burning of heretics. Many had been kept above a year and a half in prison, when yet there was no law against them: and now a law was made against them, which it could not be pretended that they had transgressed. But articles were objected to them to which they were, by the ecclesiastical law, obliged to make answer: and upon their answers they were condemned. Sampson, in a letter to Calvin, wrote on the 23d of February, "that Gardiner had ordered fourscore of the prisoners to be brought before him, and had tried to prevail on them, both by promises and threatenings, to return, as he called it, to the union of the church: but not one of them yielded, except Barlow, that had been bishop of Bath and Wells, and Cardmaker, an archdeacon there." So this proved ineffectual. How far these yielded does not appear.

It was resolved to begin with Hooper; against whom both Gardiner and Bonner had so peculiar an ill-will, that he was singled out of all the bishops to be the first sacrifice. A copy of his process and sentence was sent me by Dr. Tanner, which I have put in the Collection (No. xxxv). On the 28th of January (1555), he was brought before Gardiner in his court in Southwark, and is called only John Hooper, Clerk. Gardiner set forth, "that the day before he had been brought before him and others of the privy council, and exhorted to confess his errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the church, a pardon being offered him for all that was past; but that his heart was so hardened, that he would not accept of it: so he was then brought to answer to certain articles; but he had again the offer made him, to be received into the bosom of the church, if he desired it. He rejected that; and, as the acts of the court have it, he did impudently break out into some blasphemies." The articles that were objected to him were three:—"1. That he, being a priest, and of a religious order, had married a wife, and lived with her; and did, both by preaching and writing, justify and defend that his marriage. To which he answered, acknowledging it was true;

and that he was still ready to defend it. 2. That persons married might, for the cause of fornication or adultery, according to the word of God, be so divorced, that they might lawfully marry again. To this he likewise answered, confessing it, and saying, that he was ready to defend it against all who would oppose it. 3. That he had publicly taught and maintained, that, in the sacrament of the altar, the true and natural body and blood of Christ are not present under the accidents of bread and wine, so that there is no material bread and wine in it." To which his answer is set down in English words, "that the very natural body and blood of Christ 'is not really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar." Saying also, "that the mass was of the devil, and was an idol." Gardiner, upon this, ordered him to come again into court the next day; and then he did again try, by many persuasions, to prevail on him. But he continued still obstinate, and said further, "that marriage was none of the seven sacraments; and if it was a sacrament, he could prove there were sevenscore sacraments." After all this, Gardiner gave sentence, and delivered him over to the secular arm. Upon which, the sheriffs of London took him into their hands, as their prisoner. But it was resolved to send him to Gloucester, there to receive his crown of martyrdom. And there was a particular order sent along with him to Gloucester \*, in which he is designed, "John Hooper, that was called bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, who was judged to be a most obstinate, false, detestable heretic, and did still persist obstinate, and refused mercy, though it was offered to him: he was sent to be burned at Gloucester, to the example and terror of those whom he had seduced. Order is also given, to call some of reputation in that shire to assist the mayor and the sheriffs of that city. And because this Hooper is, as all heretics are, a vain-glorious person, and if he have liberty to speak, he may persuade such as he has seduced, to persist in the miserable opinions that he hath taught them; therefore strict order is given, that neither at his execution, nor in going to the place of it, he be suffered to speak at large; but that he be led quietly, and in silence, for avoiding further infection." This will be found in the Collection (No. xxxvi). But though his words could not be suffered to be heard, yet the voice of his sufferings, which were extremely violent, had probably the best effects on those who saw both them, and his constancy in them. He had been above a year and a half in prison, under much hard usage.

\* Paper-office.

He sent his wife out of England, to deliver himself from that which might raise too great tenderness in him, especially if he had seen her ill-used, which the wives of the clergy were in danger of daily. He wrote several letters to Bullinger from the prison, but was so watched that he durst not enter into any particulars. Most of his letters were recommendations of some who were then flying out of England. He, in them all, expressed much constancy and patience. And he was preparing himself for that in which he reckoned his imprisonment would soon end. He had no other prospect but of sealing the truth with his blood. He was very glad when he knew his wife had got safe to Frankfort, where she lived, and wrote several letters to Bullinger in a very clean and natural style of Latin. They do chiefly relate to her husband's condition.

Among several letters that Hooper wrote, during his imprisonment, to Bullinger, I find one that is so full, and shows so clearly the temper of that holy man in his imprisonment, that I have put it in the Collection (No. xxxvii). He had written several letters to him, that it seems fell into ill hands, and so came not to Zurick, as they were directed, as he found by Bullinger's last letter, that some of his were also intercepted. "That last which he had, was directed to him, to be communicated to all his fellow-prisoners: he promised, that he would take care to send it round among them. The wound that the papacy had received in England was then entirely healed: the pope was now declared the head of that church. The prisoners, who had been shut up for a year and a half, were daily troubled by the enemies of the gospel: they were kept asunder from one another, and treated with all manner of indignities; and they were daily threatened with the last extremities, which did not terrify them.

"They were so inwardly fortified, that they despised both fire and sword. They knew in whom they believed; and were sure they were to suffer for well-doing. He desires the continuance of their prayers, let God do with them what seemed good in his eyes. He sent over to him two books that he had written, the one of true religion, and the other of false religion, which he had dedicated to the parliament, as an apology for the Reformation. He gives them liberty to correct them as they thought fit; and desired, that they might be quickly printed; for they were well approved by the pious and learned about him. He desires they may not be frightened from doing it, by the apprehensions of any harm that might happen to himself upon that account: he committed himself to God, who was his defence and his guard,

through Jesus Christ; to whom he had entirely dedicated himself. If God would prolong his life, he prayed it might be to the glory of his name; but if he would put an end to this short and wicked life, which of these soever it pleased God to order, his will be done." This is dated from his prison, the 11th of December 1554. It appears that Hooper's wife was a German; so his sending her in time out of England was a just expression of his care of her.

On the 18th of March, some sacrifices being to be made in Essex, "letters were written by the council to the earl of Oxford, and the Lord Rich, to be present at the burning of those obstinate heretics, that were sent to divers parts of that county. And on the 1st of April, informations being brought that there were preachers at work in several parts of the kingdom, a general order was sent to all sheriffs to seize on them. When that madman, William Thomas, called otherwise Flower, or Branch, was seized on, for wounding a priest in the church, they found a cloth about his neck, with these words, *Deum time, idolum fuge*; Fear God, and fly from idolatry. He was seized on by Sir Nicholas Hare and Sir Thomas Cornwall: they had letters of thanks from the council for their pains. They were ordered first to examine him, then to send him to the bishop of London, to proceed against him for heresy; and to the justices of peace, to punish him for the shedding of blood in the church: and if he persisted in his heresy, order is given, that he be executed in the latter end of the week; but that his right hand should be cut off the day before.

On the 16th of May some persons were named, and their appointments ordered, who should be in readiness to carry the news of the queen's delivery to foreign princes. The lord admiral was appointed to go to the emperor; and was allowed 4*l.* a day and 200*l.* for equipage. The Lord Fitzwater was to go to the French court, and was to have two hundred marks for equipage. Sir Henry Sydney was to go to the king of the Romans, and to have five hundred marks: and Shelly was to carry the news to the king of Portugal, and to have four hundred marks. This was repeated on the 28th of May. The money was ordered to be ready for the immediate dispatch of those envoys. And on the 29th of May orders were given, that the persons named should be ready to go when warned. On the 1st of June a letter was ordered to the bishop of London, to proceed against some who were suspected to be of evil religion. And on the 3d of June, letters were written to the Lord Rich to assist at the execution of some heretics at Colchester, Harwich, and Meaintru; a letter was also written to the earl of Oxford, to

send his servants to attend on the Lord Rich at those executions. It is not easy to guess whether the many letters written upon those occasions were to prevent tumults, because they apprehended the people might rescue those victims out of the sheriff's hands, if he had not been well guarded; or whether it was to celebrate those triumphs over heresy with much solemnity; which is commonly done in those countries where the Inquisition is received. At the same time entries are made in the council-books of the examinations of several persons for spreading false rumours.

On the 9th of June, letters were written to the Lord North, and others, to put such obstinate persons as would not confess to the torture, and there to order them at their discretion; and a letter was written to the lieutenant of the Tower to the same effect: whether this pretended obstinacy was a concealing of heretics, or of the reporters of false news, does not appear; but whatever the matter was, the putting people not yet convict, by that which the civil law called a half proof (*semiplena probatio*), to the torture, because they were thought obstinate, and would not confess, and the leaving the degree of the torture to the discretion of those appointed for their examination, was a great step towards the most rigorous part of the proceedings of inquisitors. On the 12th of June orders were given for making out writs for the burning of three persons condemned for heresy in Sussex. On the 13th of June letters of thanks were ordered to Sir Henry Tirrel and Mr. Anthony Brown, for their assistance at the execution of heretics. And on the 15th of June letters of thanks were ordered to the earl of Oxford and the Lord Rich, on the same account. On the 17th of June letters of thanks were written to those in Cambridge who had committed some priests to prison: but they are ordered to release them, if thoroughly penitent. And on the 18th of June a letter was written to the bishop of London, informing him, that four parishes in Essex did still use the English service: he is required to examine into this, and to punish it, and to send some of his chaplains to preach to them.

On that day a letter was written from London to Peter Martyr\*, telling him, that it was given out that the queen had said she could not be happily delivered till all the heretics then in prison were burned; for she continued still expecting to be delivered; and on the 24th of June an order was given to have a passport ready for Shelly, that was to carry the news to Portugal. On the 27th of June letters

were written to the Lord Rich, to give the queen's thanks to some gentlemen of Rochford, in Essex, for coming so honestly of themselves to Colchester, and other places, to assist the sheriff at executions. At this time a condition was in all passports and licences to go beyond sea, that they shall avoid all heretics, and all places infected with heresy.

I shall here add a passage recorded by Fox (p. 1450), of a declaration that was made to himself before witnesses, in the year 1568. A woman told him, that she lived near Aldersgate, and was delivered of a boy on the 11th of June 1555; and after she had borne it, the Lord North, and another lord, came to her, and desired to have her child from her, with very fair offers, as that her child should be well provided for; so that she should take no care for it, if she would swear that she never knew or had such a child: and after this, some women came to her, of whom one, they said; was to be the rocker. But she would in no case part with her child. This being at the time that the queen seemed to be every day looking for her delivery, may give some suspicions, and puts us in mind of the words of the preacher, "That which is, is that which has been." On the 30th of June letters were written to the gentlemen in Kent, to assist the sheriff at the execution of heretics in Rochester, Dartford, and Tunbridge.

On the 2d of July, upon an information of a commotion designed in Sussex, the opinion of the judges was asked about it; and some judges were sent to proceed in it according to law. Great occasion was taken from foolish discourses to alarm the nation with the apprehension of plots, and the blame of all was to be cast on the concealed preachers, that were now hid in corners, instructing people at the peril of their lives: twelve persons were brought up out of Sussex, as guilty of a conspiracy: but I find no more of that matter. Bird, that had been bishop of Chester, and was deprived for his marriage, did now think fit to repent; and engaged so far, that Bonner made him his suffragan. He was blind of an eye, and being appointed to preach before the bishop, he chose those words for his text, *Thou art Peter*: but whether his conscience smote him, or his memory failed, he could go no further: so instead of matter of triumph upon the apostacy of such a man, the shame of such a dumb action turned the triumph to the other side.

On the 9th of July, a letter was written to the bishop of London, directing him, that the three condemned heretics should be burned at Uxbridge, Stratford, and Walden: and he was ordered to proceed against the rest. At this time

Pole thought it became him to write to Cranmer, to try how far a piece of highflown rhetoric could work on him, though some think this letter was written a very little while before Cranmer's execution; the original is yet extant. It does very little honour to his memory, being only a declamation against heresy and schism, against a married clergy, and separation from the see of Rome, and the rejecting of transubstantiation. In it all he proves nothing, and argues nothing, but supposes all his own principles to be true and sure: he inveighs against the poor prisoner with some seeming tenderness, but with a great acrimony of style, and in an insulting manner, like one that knew he might say what he pleased, and that there was no room for making remarks and answers to so poor an epistle; which M. Le Grand has thought fit to translate into French, but I do not think it worth the while to put it in the Collection.

On the 14th of July, the archbishop of York was ordered to appear, but no more is said concerning him. There were intimations given of commotions designed at fairs, and orders were sent to sheriffs and gentlemen to watch them: informations were also brought of a conspiracy in Essex and Suffolk, and of another in Dorsetshire. On the 6th of August, thanks were written to the earl of Oxford and the Lord Rich, with the other justices of peace in Essex, for their diligence; desiring them to proceed in their examination of the late intended conspiracy, and to bring the offenders before them: if their offence was found to be treason, they were to suffer as traitors: or if their guilt did not rise up to that, they were to order them to be punished according to the statutes.

On the 28th of August, notice was given to the sheriffs and justices of peace, that the king was going to Flanders. The ambassadors sent to Rome did return about the middle of September; and in council, on the 16th of September, the bishop of Ely produced the pope's bull, erecting Ireland into a kingdom; and bestowing on the crown of England the title of king of Ireland. This was given to the bishop of Dublin, with an order to publish it in Ireland: for that insolent pope would not give them audience upon their powers from the king and queen of England and Ireland, pretending that none had a right to assume the title of *king*, but as it was derived from him. So, as a special grace, he conferred that regal title on the queen, and then admitted them to audience, after he had made them stay a month waiting for it at Rome. It seems they knew the bigotry of the English court too well to dispute this point. So they yielded it up very tamely, fearing that they should be disowned, if they had made any opposition to it. But the main

errand they came upon was to obtain a confirmation of the settlement of the church-lands made in parliament by Cardinal Pole: that was not only flatly refused, but a bull was published that in effect repealed it all\*.

It begins setting forth what Pope Symmachus decreed against the alienating of any lands belonging to the church, upon any pretence whatsoever, or farming out the rights of the church: he laid an anathema on all who should be any way concerned in such bargains; and gave an authority to any ecclesiastical person to recover all, with the mean profits; and this was to take place in all churches. Pope Paul the Second had likewise condemned all alienations of church-goods, and all farms or leases beyond the term of three years, and had annulled all such agreements, farms, or leases. Both the parties, as well the granter as the receiver of such leases, were put under excommunication; and the goods so alienated were to revert to the church. But these prohibitions notwithstanding, of late years several persons, both of the laity and of the clergy, had possessed themselves of castles and lands, belonging both to the church of Rome, and to other cathedrals, and even to metropolitan churches; and to monasteries, regular houses, and hospitals, under the pretence of alienations, to the evident damage of those churches and monasteries, without observing the solemnities required by law in such cases; and they continue their possession, by which the incumbents in those churches are great sufferers; and the popes themselves, who were wont to supply the poor who came to Rome out of these lands, are no more able to do that, and can scarce maintain themselves and their families; which turns to the offence of God, the reproach of the clergy, and is matter of scandal to the faithful: therefore the pope of his own motion, upon certain knowledge, and by virtue of the plenitude of the apostolic power, does annul all the alienations, or impropriations, either perpetual, or leases to the third, or to a single life, or beyond the term of three years; or exchanges and farms of cities, or lands, or goods, or rights, belonging to the Roman church; or to any cathedral, monastery, regular house, or to any ecclesiastical benefice, with or without cure; to seculars or regulars, hospitals, and other pious foundations, by whomsoever made, though by popes, or by their authority; or by the prelates of cathedrals, monasteries, or hospitals; or the rectors of churches, though cardinals, that had been made without the solemnities required by law, in what form of words soever they have been made, though confirmed by

\* See the Collection of the former books, No. 1. p. 101.

oath, and established by a long prescription: all these are by the apostolic authority rescinded, annulled, and made void, and the possessors of such lands are to be compelled by all censures, and pecuniary pains, to make satisfaction for all the mean profits received, or to be received; and all judges are required to give judgment conform to this bull." Dated the 12th of July.

Thus the pope, instead of confirming what the legate had done, did, in the most formal terms possible, reverse and annul it all. Even papal alienations, or made by the papal authority, are made void. The pretended consent of the convocation is declared null; and all ratifications of what was at first illegally made are annulled. By this also, not only the possessors of church-lands, but all the tenants to any estate belonging to the church, who hold for lives, or years, beyond the term of three years, may see in this bull how that all that they now hold by those tenures is made void. No doubt the ambassadors of England did all that in them lay to have this bull softened, or to have an exception made for England: but that pope was not to be moved, and perhaps he thought he showed no small favour to England, on the queen's account, in not naming it in this bull; and in not fulminating on the account of the late settlement. Thus the matter of securing the abbey-lands by that fraudulent transaction is now pretty apparent.

Pope Paul was in the right in one thing, to press the setting up courts of inquisition everywhere, as the only sure method to extirpate heresy. And it is highly probable that the king, or his Spanish ministers, made the court of England apprehend, that torture and inquisition were the only sure courses to root out heresy. It has appeared already what orders were given about torture, even to use it at discretion; but another step was made that carried this matter much further.

Instructions had been given in March, 1555, to the justices of peace, to have one or more honest men in every parish, secretly instructed to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants amongst or about them. One of these was directed to the earl of Sussex, who acted with a superlative measure of zeal: he wrote, on the 18th of April this year, to the bishop of Norwich; complaining, that at a town near him, there had been no sepulchre nor creeping to the cross before Easter. The day after he wrote that letter, it appears by another of his letters, that Ket, who led the insurrection in Norfolk, in King Edward's reign, and whose body was hanged in chains, had fallen down from the gallows; and that prophecies were spread about the country, of what

should follow when that should happen. He ordered the body to be hanged up again, if it was not wasted; and he imprisoned those that gave out these prophecies. He went on to greater matters, and drew up an account of the obedience that the justices had paid to all the instructions and orders that had been sent them. I had a volume of his letters in my hands some years ago; but I wrote out of it only the answers he returned to the sixth article, in these words: "It is agreed, that the justices of the peace, in every of their limits, shall call secretly before them one or two honest and secret persons, or more, by their discretions, and such as they shall think good, and command them, by oath, or otherwise, as the same justice shall think good, that they shall secretly learn and search out such person and persons as shall evil behave themselves in the church, or idly, or despise openly by words, the king's and queen's proceedings; or go about to make or move any stir, commotion, or unlawful gatherings together of the people; or that tell any lewd or seditious tales, rumours, or news, to move or stir any person or persons to rise, stir, or make any commotion or insurrection, or to consent to any such intent or purpose. And also, that the same persons so to be appointed shall declare to the same justices of peace, the ill-behaviour of lewd, disordered persons; whether it shall be for using unlawful games, idleness, and such other light behaviour of such suspected persons, as shall be in the same town, or near thereabouts: and that the same informations shall be given secretly to the justices; and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they be accused. And that the same justices shall, upon their examination, punish the offenders, according as their offences shall appear to them, upon the accusation and examination, by their discretion, either by open punishment, or by good abearing."

Here was a great step made towards an inquisition: this being the settled method of that court, to have sworn spies and informers everywhere, upon whose secret advertisements persons are taken up: and the first step in their examination is, to know of them, for what reason they are brought before them: upon which, they are tortured, till they tell as much as the inquisitors desire to know, either against themselves or others. But they are not suffered to know, neither what is informed against them, nor who are the informers. Arbitrary torture, and now secret informers, seem to be two great steps made to prepare the nation for an inquisition.

In September, the duchess of Suffolk, who had married

Mr. Bertie, went out of the kingdom without a licence: upon which, a commission was sent into Lincolnshire to take an account of her estate. On the 19th of September, there was a paper cast into a house near Fulham, with some intimations of ill designs in Essex. The master of the house brought it to the council; upon which they sent orders to that country, to see what foundation there was for such suspicions. Tracy (probably the son of him, concerning whose will there was much ado made in King Henry's time) had been brought before the bishop of Gloucester; and he, as was informed, behaved himself stubbornly towards him: upon which, he was brought before the council, and was required to declare his conformity in matters of religion. He promised to do it; and upon that he was sent back to his country. On the 23d of September, there were some hopes given of the king's coming back; upon which, Sir Richard Southwell was sent to attend on him. On the 9th of October, the governor of Jersey having examined one Gardiner for speaking some indecent words of the king, desired orders how to proceed against him; upon which he was ordered to proceed according to the statutes, if these took place in that island: but if not, according to the custom of the place.

On the 12th of September, Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, who was constituted subdelegate to Cardinal Puteo, the pope's delegate, to try Cranmer (it being, it seems, thought indecent, that Pole, who was to succeed him, should be his judge), came to Oxford, with Martin and Story, who were the king and queen's commissioners, to demand justice against Cranmer, exhibiting articles against him. Cranmer made a long apology for himself. Among other things, he said, "the loss of his promotion grieved him not: he thanked God as heartily for that poor and afflicted state in which he was then, as ever he did for the times of his prosperity. But that which stuck closest to him, 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 yoke, and from the baseness and infinite inconveniences of crouching to the bishops of Rome, should now thus easily be quite undone; and that the king and queen should, in their own realm, become his accusers, before a foreign power. If he had transgressed the law, they had sufficient authority to punish him; and to that he would at all times submit himself." They exhibited interrogatories to him; and he gave his answer to them. In conclusion, they required him to go to Rome, within fourscore

days, to make his answer in person. He said he was most willing to go, if the king and queen would send him.

On the 16th of October, Ridley and Latimer suffered martyrdom: but Gardiner, who was with impatience waiting for the news, was, soon after he heard it, struck with an illness, in which he languished for some time. Pilkington, bishop of Duresme, in a sermon that he preached, said, "he rotted above ground, so that it was scarce possible to get any to come near him." He died on the 12th of November. On the 5th of November, orders were given for to dispose of many prisoners.

Cranmer was now to be offered up. Some have thought, that upon his attainder the see of Canterbury was vacant; and, indeed, the chapter of Canterbury acted accordingly: but the papal authority being restored, he was still, according to the papal law, archbishop, till, by a commission from Rome, he was judged an obstinate heretic, and was thereupon deprived. When the eighty days were out, a mock process was made at Rome; in which it was falsely said, that he did not care to appear; upon which he was declared contumacious; and then a formal sentence was given in the pope's name, "as sitting on the throne of justice, having before his eyes God alone, who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth the world in righteousness." With such specious words was that grossly unrighteous judgment introduced. And upon that, a letter came from Rome on the 14th of December, mentioning his being condemned and deprived, and delivering him over to the secular arm. The deprivation must have passed some days before: for, on the 11th of December, Pole's bulls were granted, in which mention is made of the see's being vacant, by the deprivation of Cranmer. The writ for burning him mentions his being judged an obstinate heretic by the pope, and deprived by him; and that he had been degraded by the bishops of London and Ely, by commission from the pope: so, on the 24th of February, the writ was sealed. I have nothing to add to the sad narration I gave, both of his fall, and of his repentance, and his firm constancy to the last, in that amazing instance of holding his hand in the fire, till it was almost burnt away; of which Thuanus gives a very particular account, so that the truth of the fact cannot be disputed.

On the 13th of March, the privy-council were concerned, when they heard his paper of recantation was printed. Rydall and Copeland, two printers, were required to deliver to Cawood, the queen's printer, the books of his recantation, to be burned by him. One part of his character may be

added out of Pole's letter to him. In one place he says, he hears "it was pretended that he forced no man in points of religion, but behaved himself mildly towards all persons." And in another place he writes, "that it was said his life was unblameable." But though Pole throws that off, as of no importance, yet, upon his mentioning these good characters, it may be depended on that they were true. Ridley, in that noble letter that he wrote to Grindall, when they were every day looking for their crown, says of him, "that he then showed how well he deserved the great character of the chief pastor and archbishop of this church:" to which he adds of Latimer, "that he was the ancient and true apostle of Christ to the English nation." In a word, if it had not been for Cranmer's too feeble compliance in King Henry's time, and this last inexcusable slip, he might well be proposed as one of the greatest patterns in history. And if the excesses to which some opinions had formerly carried men, did in some particulars incline him to the opposite extremes, this must be reckoned a very pardonable instance of managing the counterpoise without due caution. He was a pattern of humility, meekness, and charity. He had a true and generous contempt of wealth; and of those shows of greatness, that belong to a high station. His labours, in searching into all ecclesiastical authors, both ancient and modern, are amazing to those, who have seen the vast collections that he wrote out, on all matters of divinity, with his own hand. But now, after a long course of vexation and contradiction, and, in conclusion, after a long and severe imprisonment, he was put to a cruel death, by persons whom he had served faithfully and effectually. For he had both served the queen, and reconciled her to her father; and he had showed a most particular favour to Thirleby, and others, who concurred to finish this tragedy. I have put all this matter together; and now I must look back to public affairs.

There was a convocation sat with the parliament in October, and to the middle of November, 1555. Christopherson was chosen prolocutor: and after Bonner had confirmed him, he desired that the lower house would name eight or ten persons, to hear some secret propositions, that were to be made to them by the king and queen, and by the cardinal, concerning the public good of the kingdom, and of the church. They, upon that, did choose the prolocutor, and ten more: and to these the bishop of Ely proposed to offer the queen a subsidy, in return for the great favour she had showed the clergy, in forgiving the first-fruits and tenths, and in restoring to the church all the im-

propriations of benefices, that were then, by the suppression of the monasteries, vested in the crown: for all which the bishop of Ely proposed a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. The last session of the convocation was on the 15th of November: and a memorandum was inserted in these words; "after this convocation was begun, there was a national synod; the clergy of York being joined with them." For which, the cardinal thought it safe and fit to take out a licence under the great seal. The first session was on the 4th of November; and in this the cardinal set himself so zealously to remove many abuses, that Mason wrote, that many of the clergy wished he were in Rome again.

The earl of Devonshire went out of England this summer. As he passed through Flanders, he waited on the emperor; and, as Mason wrote, he owned that he owed his liberty to him. The queen sent, and offered her mediation between the emperor and the French king: the emperor accepted it, but with very sharp reflections on the French king.

There was in April (1556) a treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of France set on foot: in which the queen was mediator, and sent over both Pole and Gardiner to Calais in order to it. The constable, and the cardinal of Lorraine, were ordered to come from the court; but the pope's death made it be thought more necessary to send that cardinal to Rome: what further progress was made in this does not appear to me, for I take it from a letter of Mason's to Vannes, then the queen's ambassador at Venice. It will be found in the Collection (No. xxxviii), the original being in Dr. Tanner's hands, who sent me this copy. By this letter it appears, that Bolls of Cambridgeshire, and S. Peter Mewtas, were there in prison upon suspicion; but nothing appeared against them. That letter tells us, that the princes of Germany were alarmed upon the cardinal Morone's coming to Augsburg, apprehending probably that he came to disturb the settlement then made in the matters of religion in the empire: but the emperor had sent such powers to his brother Ferdinand, that his coming was like to have no effect. He also tells in that letter, that the dean and prebendaries of Westminster were using all endeavours to hinder the converting that foundation into an abbey: and that Dr. Cole was active in it, affirming that monks had not their institution from Christ, as priests had: but he saw the court was resolved to have no regard to the opposition they made. He adds, that the duke of Alva was still in England, though he had sent his baggage and servants to Calais.

Mason writes news from the diet, that matters of religion had not been quite settled, but all were to continue in the state in which they were then till the next meeting: and it was provided, that all parties should live according to the religion then accepted of them: the emperor seemed resolved not to consent to this. He writes, that the allowance of the marriage of the clergy, and in particular of bishops, had been earnestly demanded, but was utterly refused. On the 28th of October he writes, that two monks of the Charterhouse had desired the king's letter, that they might return to their house, and at least receive their pension. The king answered, that, as touching their house, since the parliament was then sitting, it was not a proper time to move it: but when he should come to England, he would help them the best he could: and as to their pensions, he ordered Mason to write concerning that to Secretary Petre. On the 7th of January, 1555-6, a letter was written to the mayor and aldermen of Coventry, to choose some catholic grave man for their mayor for that year: a list of three persons was sent to them, and they were required to give their voices for one of them. These were John Fitz-Herbert, Richard Wheeler, and one Coleman.

On the 14th of January, a letter, of a very singular nature, was written to the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London, "requiring them to give such substantial order, that when any obstinate man, condemned by the order of the laws, shall be delivered to be punished for heresy, that there be a great number of officers and other men appointed to be at the execution, who may be charged to see such as shall misuse themselves, either by comforting, aiding, or praising the offenders, or otherwise use themselves to the ill example of others, to be apprehended and committed to ward: and besides to give commandment, that no householder suffer any of his apprentices, or other servants, to be abroad, other than such as their master will answer for. And that this order be always observed in like cases hereafter." Philpot's martyrdom had been about a month before this, and he being a man highly esteemed, who went through all his sufferings with heroic courage and Christian constancy, it is probable there was more than ordinary concern expressed by the people at his sufferings; which drew this inhuman letter from the council: for they had no sacrifices at that time ready to be offered.

While these things passed in England, the scene abroad was considerably altered, by the resignation of Charles the Fifth, who delivered over his hereditary dominions to his son Philip. He began that with the dominions derived from

the house of Burgundy; after that, he resigned up to him the crown of Spain, and all that belonged to it: upon that, letters were written to the several states and cities of Spain, on the 17th of January. These were all in one form: so that which was addressed to the city of Toledo was sent over to the queen, translated out of Spanish into English, which, for the curiosity of the thing, I have put into the Collection (No. xxxix).

In it he tells them "that which he always denied to the Germans, that for religion's sake he had enterprised the war of Germany, upon the desire he had to reduce those countries to the unity of the church; that so he might procure an universal peace to all Christendom, and to assemble and assist at a general council for the reformation of many things, that so with the less difficulty he might bring home those who had separated themselves, and departed from the faith. This he had brought to a very good point, when the French king allured the Germans to a league with him, against their oaths and fidelity to the emperor, and so they made war on him both by sea and land; and then the French king procured the coming of the Turk's army into Hungary, to the great damage of Christendom; upon which he was forced to bring down an army, to the great prejudice of his own person, by his being obliged to keep the field so long, that it had brought on him painful infirmities: he was upon that become so destitute of health, that he was not able in his own person to endure the travel, and to use that diligence that was requisite: which proved a great hinderance to many things, of which he had a deep sense: he wished he had taken the resolution he was now taking sooner; yet he could not well do it, by reason of his son's absence: for it was necessary to communicate many things to him. So he took order for his marriage, and to bring him over to him, and soon after that he resigned to him all his states, kingdoms, and the seigneuries of the crown of Castile and Leon, with all their appurtenances, which are more amply contained in instruments which he had signed of the same date with this letter: trusting that he, with his great wisdom and experience, of which he had great proof in all that he had hitherto handled in his father's name, would now order and defend the same with peace and justice. He therefore, having had large experience of their loyalty, fidelity, and obedience, did not doubt but that they would continue to serve and obey him in the same manner and sort, as if God had taken him into his mercy." Dated at Brussels, the 17th of January, 1556.

Soon after that, he retired to the place he had designed to

spend the rest of his days in ; and, according to the account given by my worthy friend Dr. Geddes, there is great reason to believe, that he applied himself to serious reflections on religion. No prince knew better than he did both the corruptions and the practices of the court of Rome ; and the artifices and methods by which two sessions of the council of Trent had been conducted. He must likewise have understood the grounds upon which both the Lutherans, and the reformed in Germany, built their persuasions : he had heard them often set out : but the hurry of business, the prepossession of education, and the views of interest, had prejudiced him so far against them, that he continued in a most violent enmity to them : but now that he was at full leisure to bring all his observations together, and that passion and interest had no more power over him, there are great presumptions to believe, that he died persuaded of the doctrines of the reformed religion. Augustin Casal, a canon of the church of Salamanca, was his preacher, and was esteemed the most eloquent preacher that Spain ever produced : he was taken up in the year 1558, and with thirteen more was publicly burned at Valladolid, in the year 1559 ; the unfortunate Prince Charles, and his aunt, Donna Juana, then governess, looking on that barbarous execution. Constantine Pontius, a canon of Seville, who was his confessor, esteemed a man of great piety and learning, was likewise taken up by the inquisition for being a protestant : he died in prison, probably enough by the torture the inquisitors put him to ; but his bones, with his effigies, were burnt at Seville : so were the bones of the learned Egidius, whom the emperor had named to the bishopric of Tortosa, one of the richest in Spain : and at the same time eighteen were burnt alive for being protestants ; of which the history of the inquisition gives this account—that had not the holy tribunal put a stop to those reformers, the protestant religion had run through Spain like wild-fire ; people of all degrees, and of both sexes, being wonderfully disposed at that time to have embraced it : and the writer of the pontifical history, who was present at some of those executions, says, that had those learned men been let alone but three months longer, all Spain would have been put into a flame by them.

The most eminent of them all was Bartholomew de Caranza, a Dominican, who had been confessor to King Philip and to Queen Mary, and had been by her recommended to the archbishopric of Toledo. He had assisted Charles in the last minutes of his life. He was within a few months after his death, upon suspicion of his being a protestant, first confined by the inquisition to his own palace at Tordelaguna :

and after he had been for seven years kept within that confinement, he was carried to Rome, and kept ten years a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo: and was at last condemned as one suspected of heresy. That great man had been sent by Charles as one of his divines to the council of Trent, where he preached, and wrote a treatise of the Personal Residence of Bishops. These things put together make it highly probable, that Charles himself was possessed with that doctrine, that was so much spread among those who were then most about him. Mezeray tells us, "that at Philip's arrival in Spain, he caused a great many to be burned for heretics in his own presence, both at Seville and at Valladolid, both seculars and ecclesiastics, men and women, and in particular the effigies of his father's confessor: and if reports may be believed, he intended to have made his father's process, and to have had his bones burnt for heresy; being only hindered from doing it by this consideration, that if his father was a heretic, he had forfeited all his dominions, and by consequence he had no right to resign them to his son." This digression will be forgiven me, I hope, both because it belongs to the main design upon which I write, and since our queen was queen of Spain, when this persecution was first begun.

There are in my hands two papers concerning the method in which the queen ordered her council to proceed: there is no date put to them; but they were written, either soon after the king went beyond sea, or perhaps about this time; for now King Philip having the Spanish monarchy put in his hands, and being engaged in a war with France, the queen had reason to expect that her dominions might feel the war very sensibly, as afterward they did: and so it might seem necessary to put the administration of her affairs into a good method. One of these papers is writ in Cardinal Pole's own hand, and is a memorial prepared for the queen, of the things that she was to recommend to her council, for she had ordered them to attend on her. It is in the Collection (No. xl). "First, she was to put them in mind of the charge that the king gave them at his departure, which was to be rehearsed to them; and that is, perhaps, the following paper: they were still to attend at court, the matters they were to treat about being of great weight; and they were to lay such matters as were proposed in council before the king, that they might have his pleasure, before they were to be executed. They were in particular to know the resolution of the council, touching those things that were to be proposed in this parliament, and these were to be sent to the king that very day: and since the king delayed his coming over,

they were to consider whether it were not better to delay the parliament till Candlemas, if there should be no prejudice to her affairs, that money was so long wanted; for there was great need of it at present, for the setting out of ships, both for the emperor's passage to Spain, and for the king's return, for the payments due at Calais, for the debt owing to the merchants, the day of payment approaching, and for the debt of Ireland: and she was to ask of her council an account concerning all these things: she was likewise to charge them to call in her own debts, as the best way to clear what she owed to others: and she was to offer them all authority for doing it effectually; and to require them, that at the end of every week she might know what came in that week, and what order was taken for the rest. And that all those who have any commission to execute any matter, shall at the end of every week inform the council what progress they had made that week: and that the council should never begin to treat of any matter in the second week, until they were informed of what was done in the former week." Thus she was to be taught what she was to say to them; upon which they, who did not know how weak a woman she was, might imagine that she understood her own affairs well, and thought much of them: whereas the poor bigotted woman was only as a machine, made to speak and to act as she was prompted, by those who had the management of her: for, of herself, she seemed capable to think of nothing, but how to destroy the heretics, and to extirpate heresy.

The other paper is in Latin, and seems to be that which the king had left behind him. It is also in the Collection (No. xli). "He named in it a select committee, to whom the special care of matters of state, of the revenue, and the weighty affairs of the kingdom, were to be referred. These (in a modern term) were the cabinet-council; and the persons were, the cardinal (in all great matters, when he could conveniently come), then the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Pembroke, the bishop of Ely, the lord Paget, Rochester the comptroller, and Petre the secretary. Every one of these was constantly to attend, to determine in all matters of state and revenue, and to make honourable payment of all debts, and to do every thing in which the honour and dignity of the crown was concerned. They were also earnestly prayed to lay all differences, or quarrels among themselves, aside: that so they might amicably, and in the fear of God, deliver such things in council, as might tend to the glory of God, and the honour and good of the crown and kingdom. And when there is occasion for it, they were either to come to the queen, or to send some of

their body, to inform her of every thing that came before them: and at least thrice a week they were to give her an account of all their consultations and actings. In particular, they were to consider when the parliament was to meet, and what things were to be proposed and done in it, and to digest all that in writing. On Sundays they were to communicate such things to the whole council, as should be thought convenient to be laid before them. They were to take special care for the payment of debts, for the retrenching of expense, and for the good management of the queen's estate, revenues, and customs, and for the administration of justice." Such were the orders laid down: how they were executed does not appear.

The queen herself never came to council, and the cardinal very seldom. Sometimes they were very few that attended at that board: often not above three or four. And now I return to give an account of what I find in the council-book. On the 19th of January, a letter of thanks was ordered to the Lord Willoughby and others in Lincolnshire. At first, upon the condemnation of heretics, notice was given to the council, before the execution, to see if a pardon should be offered them: but they found so few, if any, inclined to accept of it, that they did not think fit to expose the queen's pardon to any further contempt: so those persons are required to proceed thereafter, against all such as should be condemned before them, according to the laws, and not to stay for any order. On the 20th of January, letters were written to the sheriffs of Warwickshire, Bedfordshire, and Cambridgeshire, ordering them, that though the prisoners should be acquitted by order of law, yet to detain them in safe custody, till they should hear from the earl of Sussex. On the 14th of February, the council was alarmed with this, that a stage-play was to be acted in Shrovetide, and that many were to run to it: so the Lord Rich was ordered to hinder the acting of it, and to examine and report what he could learn concerning it. On the 16th of February, there was an order sent to Sir Henry Bedingfield, lieutenant of the Tower, to put two to the torture, and to pain them at his discretion. On the 19th of February, a letter of thanks was ordered to the Lord Rich for stopping the stage-play. He had put the actors in prison, but he gave a good character of them: so he was ordered to set them at liberty; but to have an eye on all such meetings. Several inquiries were made at this time after seditious books: many examinations and commitments were made on that account.

On the 20th of April, one Harris, a carpenter and gunner at Deptford, was brought before the council, for having said

on Maundy-Thursday, "the queen hath this day given a great alms; and has given that away, that should have paid us our wages. She hath undone the realm too; for she loveth another realm better than this." He confessed the words, but asked pardon, and was dismissed. It seems, about that time, they expected the king's coming over: for, on the 1st of June, the lord admiral was ordered to attend on him. On the 21st of June, an order was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, and to a master of requests, to put one to the torture, if he thought it convenient. Information was given to the queen, by Wotton, her ambassador in France, that several heretics had fled over to France, and were well received there: in particular, that Henry Dudley (perhaps a son of the duke of Northumberland's) and Christopher Ashton were plotting there against the queen\*. Upon that, a letter was written to Wotton, to demand that they might be seized on, and sent at her charge to the frontier, to be delivered to her officers. When the draught of this was brought to her to be signed by her, she, with her own hand, interlined these words: "considering that when the king my husband and he were enemies, I neither did nor would have done the like."

Wotton wrote over, that the heretics took great advantage from the new war, that the pope engaged the French king to make on the king, after a truce for five years had been agreed to, and sworn by both kings. But the pope sent a legate to France, to persuade that king to begin the war. And though the consciences of princes are not apt to be very scrupulous in the observing or breaking their treaties; yet a treaty, made and confirmed by an oath so very lately, it seems, made such an impression on that king, that so great an authority was to be interposed to give a colour for the breaking it. Those called heretics took great advantages from this to infuse a horror in people at the papacy, since one, who pretended to be the vicar of the prince of peace, became thus an open and a perfidious incendiary.

This, of the pope's dispensing with a prince's oath, gave so great a distaste everywhere, that I do not remember an instance in which it was openly put in practice since that time. But the protestant princes of Germany do believe, as one of the greatest of them told me, that the confessors of the princes of that communion have secret faculties to dispense with their breach of faith: which is so much the more dangerous, the more secretly it may be managed. On that ground it was, that the prince, who told me this, said, that,

\* Paper-office.

in all their dealings with princes of that communion, they took their word, but would never put any thing to their oaths: for they knew that the popish princes reckoned they were bound by their word, as they were men, and members of human society; but for their oaths, they reckoned, these being acts of religion, their confessors had it in their breast to tell them how far they were bound to keep them; and when they were absolved from any obligation by them. But we have seen in our days, to the no small reproach of the Reformation, that princes professing it have in an avowed manner shaken off their leagues and alliances, with this short declaration, *That they reckoned themselves freed from them*: as if they had been things of so little force, that they might be departed from at pleasure.

Pole was now in his synod, labouring to bring the clergy to their duty. On the 13th of December, *The Institution of a Christian Man* was divided in parcels, to be examined by them: and some were appointed to prepare a book of Homilies. On the 16th of December, a translation of the New Testament was ordered, and parcelled out: the Seven Sacraments were also treated of. On the 20th of December, the cardinal sent an order to the prolocutor, to intimate to all the clergy, more particularly to all deans, that they should confirm no leases, that had been made of their benefices: this seems to be done in obedience to the pope's bull, formerly mentioned, that condemned all leases for a longer term than three years. There was offered to them a schedule of some terms that were to be carefully considered in the translation of the New Testament. On the 8th of January (1557), that was again considered: propositions were also made for having schools in all cathedral churches. Thus Pole found it necessary to give some instruction in the matters of religion to the nation: for an earnest desire of knowledge in these points being once raised and encouraged, it was neither safe nor easy to extinguish that, which is so natural to man: and, therefore, instead of discouraging all knowledge, and bringing men to the state of implicit faith, without any sort of inquiry, he chose to give them such a measure of knowledge as might be governed and kept within its own bounds. There was in this synod a question moved; what should be done with such of the clergy as should refuse to say or come to mass? but I do not see what was determined upon it. Nor do I see what reason was given them for another petition to the queen, lords, and commons, for maintaining their liberties and immunities, nor what effect it had.

Pole prorogued the synod to the 10th of November, and

from thence to the 10th of May. The reason given is, because the bishops were in their visitations, which could not be soon ended; since a large space of time seemed necessary for their taking an exact account of the quantity and quality of all ecclesiastical goods\*. I suppose this was the procuring terriers of the lands, and inventories of the goods belonging to the churches: for many orders were given out, for restoring such plate and furniture, as could be found, that had belonged to any church.

From the 10th of May, Pole prorogued the synod to the 10th of November: the reason given is, for the great want and penury of victuals. For, I find, the dearth at this time was very great. Wheat was at 4 marks the quarter; malt, at 2*l.* 4*s.*; pease, at 2*l.* 5*s.*; but the next harvest proving plentiful, it fell as low as it had been high. Wheat was at 5*s.*, malt at a noble, and rye at 3*s.* 4*d.* a quarter.

On the 28th of July, the council hearing that some naughty books were sent over, and concealed in the duchess of Suffolk's house, ordered the bishop of Lincoln to search for them, and to send them up. On the 19th of July, the council was alarmed with reports of conspiracies in Suffolk and Essex: so they sent orders to inquire about them, and about a zealous man, that went about carrying letters and books over the country, from whence he was called Trudge-over; so he was ordered to be sought for. On the 15th of August, a letter was written to the mayor, jurats, and commons, at Rye, to choose one of the queen's servants to be mayor for the ensuing year.

On the 21st of August, a letter of thanks was ordered for the earl of Sussex, for his diligence in apprehending those who spread about lewd and seditious reports; with whom he is desired to proceed according to the laws: and for those lewd priests that had been married, and were found still to repair to their women, they tell him, they had written to the bishop of Norwich, to cause them to be apprehended and punished. And a letter was at the same time ordered for the bishop of Norwich, to that purpose. On the 23d of August, a letter of thanks was ordered to the Lord Darcy, for his apprehending some ill-disposed persons, who used conventicles, and readings, about Harwich. He was to get them to be fined according to their quality, and as he thought fit; and to bind them to appear before the bishop of London: and a letter was ordered to the bishop, either to reduce them to the church, or to order them according to the laws.

\* "Pro certiore bonorum ecclesiarum quantitatis et qualitatis ratione habenda, majus temporis spatium requiri videbatur."

On the 4th of September, the earl of Sussex had moved, that offenders should be proceeded against by martial law: his zeal is commended; and it was written back to him, "that these deserved to be so used; but that is not thought best: they are to be punished as the laws order. But when they have had their punishment, he shall cause them to be kept in prison, and in irons, till they know themselves and their duty." On the 15th of September, a letter of thanks was written to the earl of Sussex, and the justices of Norfolk, for their diligence in punishing one Thomas Long.

At this time they were called on to consider of the danger Calais might be in: so a state of the fortifications, and of what was necessary to maintain the place, was laid before the council: but the giving orders in that matter was delayed till the king should come over, of which they were in daily expectation: for on the 17th of September they understood that the emperor, with his two sisters, had embarked on the Tuesday before; and that the king was to come to Calais, and from thence to England. Privy-seals were at this time sent about everywhere, for a loan of money; but it came in very slowly. Some took the privy-seal, but did not pay in the money. There were about one thousand privy-seals given out, at 100*l.* a-piece. On the 6th of October, a letter was sent to Calais, to search for some who had fled from England thither: it is directed to the earl of Sussex; which makes it probable they were heretics; for in that matter his heart was entirely as the queen's heart was. On the 7th of October, the Lady Throgmorton was before the council, asking leave to send some supply to her husband, Sir Nicholas, who was then in France: the cardinal had told her, in the presence of the lord chancellor, and others, that for this one time the queen allowed of it, so it did not exceed forty crowns. It seems the way of exchange was much beset, when so small a supply from so near a relation could not be conveyed without such an application. On the 17th of November, a letter was ordered for the bishop of London, to receive a companion of him who was called Trudge-over, to be ordered by him according to law; and they complain to him, that a man and a woman of Colchester, that had been sent to him, charged with heresy, were turned back discharged by him, but were now worse than they were before. In another book, that seems to be the minutes of the council, it is entered, that twenty-four persons were discharged by him, who were still rank heretics.

I find at this time the council was much employed in the matter of the privy-seals. Our fleet was then so inconside-

nable, that 14,000*l.* being ordered to be applied to the fleet, by the lord treasurer, and the lord admiral, both for repairing, furnishing, and victualling it, they reckoned that when that was done, 10,000*l.* a year afterwards would answer what was necessary. On the 19th of February, one Christopher Howe was ordered to be proceeded against for some detestable words, not fit to be heard: so it was ordered that only such parts of them should be opened as might serve for evidence to the jury. On the 21st, complaints were brought of a jailor, who suffered heretics to go freely about. On the 24th, the queen expected hourly to hear of the king's arrival; so the lord admiral and others were ordered to attend on him. An ambassador came at this time from Russia: he landed in the north of Scotland, and was well received, and nobly treated by the Lord Wharton; for which, thanks were written to him. Here several orders are entered concerning the Lord Sturton and his servants: three of them were ordered to be hanged in chains at Mere.

I had in my former work given a due commendation to that which seemed to me a just firmness in the queen, not to pardon the Lord Sturton for so heinous a crime as the murdering father and son in so barbarous a manner. But since I have lived long in Wiltshire, I find there is a different account of this matter in that neighbourhood. The story, as it has been handed down by very old people, is this: the day before the execution was appointed, there was a report set about, that a pardon, or a reprieve, was coming down: upon which the sheriff came to the earl of Pembroke, who was then at Wilton, for advice. That lord heard the report, and was much troubled at it: so, apprehending some message might come to him from the court, he ordered his gates to be shut somewhat early, and not to be opened till next morning. My Lord Sturton's son came down with the order: but since the gates were not to be opened, he rode over to his father, who received the news with great joy. In the night the sheriff left Wilton, and came so secretly to Salisbury that Sturton knew nothing of it, and believed he was still at Wilton, where he knew he was the night before. But when he was so far gone that the sheriff knew he could not come back in time to hinder the execution, he brought his men together, whom he had ordered to attend on him that day: and so the lord was executed before his son could come back with the order to stop it. I set down this story upon a popular report, of which I have had the pedigree vouched to me, by those whose authors, upon the authority of their grandfathers, did give an entire credit to it. So meritorious a man as the Lord Sturton was, who had pro-

tested against every thing done in King Edward's parliament, had no doubt many intercessors to plead for him in this his extremity. I leave this with my reader as I found it.

On the 20th of March, the king came to England. Orders being sent into Kent, that the gentlemen should attend upon him in their best apparel: thanks were afterwards written to them for their readiness in furnishing him with post-horses. On the 17th of April, proceedings are ordered to be made upon a book that is called lewd and seditious: and the countess of Sussex coming over at this time, and bringing letters which gave some suspicion, she was sent to the Fleet. She had been for some years separated from her husband. She was ordered to be examined strictly: but upon this and many other occasions, particulars are not set forth; and only a general mention is made of the minutes put in the chest.

There is, besides the great council-book, another council-book, which I suppose might be the minute-book, which was perused by my learned friend Doctor Kennet, and who communicated to me all the extracts that he had made out of it, and some other manuscripts, which I never saw. It seems, it was apprehended, that the French designed a descent in Dorsetshire: so orders were sent to make musters in that county, and to have them in readiness, in case of an invasion, or rebellion: and three hundred men were sent over to Calais, with orders concerning the fortifications.

On the 14th of June, complaint was made of some naughty plays and lewd books. The council was often alarmed with these plays; but it does not appear whether there was any thing in the plays with relation to religion, or the government; or whether it was, that they apprehended some mischief from the concourse of the people that those representations brought together. One Sir Thomas Cawwarden was committed to the Fleet, for his misbehaviour to the state: he was ordered to be kept a close prisoner, with only one servant, since he had made no manner of submission, and had not acknowledged his offence: but what this offence was does not appear to me. On the 29th of June, orders were given for sending two thousand men to Calais, with directions to distribute them to the places about, that wanted a reinforcement the most. Eight hundred and sixty of them were ordered for Guisnes, and a letter was written to the mayor and jurats of Calais, to continue their mayor for another year. On the 3d of July, the cardinal made an offer of one hundred men to serve the queen: he was ordered to levy them immediately, and to send them to Dover. Two hundred foot, and six hundred horse more, were ordered in

all haste for Calais: and assurance was given, that more should quickly follow. There were then great apprehensions of disorders on the borders of Scotland, which were wholly in the hands of the French.

Bonner at this time gave the city of London a most dismal spectacle, a little removed from the city, perhaps for fear of a tumult, at Stratford, where thirteen persons, eleven men and two women, were burnt in one fire. He had condemned sixteen to be thus sacrificed: but Cardinal Pole heard there was some hope of working on three of them; so there came an order to put them in his hands: and he by the 26th of July prevailed so far on two of them, that a pardon was granted to those two, who had been condemned by the bishop of London\*, but were prevailed on by the cardinal to abjure (a very extraordinary thing, as is mentioned in the pardon †), and he received them into the communion of the church, "and had upon that interceded with the king and queen for their pardon, which they, as true sons of the church, did willingly imitate, and embraced this occasion of showing their zeal." I cannot tell what became of the third person, whom he had taken out of Bonner's hands.

But here I must lessen the character of the Cardinal's mildness towards heretics: for on the 28th of March this year, he sent orders to proceed against the heretics in his diocess; and, on the 7th of July, he sent a *significavit* of some heretics to be delivered to the secular arm.

I find likewise, by other evidences, suggested to me by the laborious Mr. Strype, that Pole was not so mild as I had represented him. Parker, in his *British Antiquities*, which Strype believes assuredly he can prove that it was written by him, he calls him *ecclesiæ Anglicanæ carnifex et flagellum*; the whip and the executioner of the church of England: and Calphil, a canon of Christ-Church in Oxford, in a letter he wrote to Grindall bishop of London, mentions the proceedings of the visitors sent to Oxford by Pole; who were Brooks bishop of Gloucester, Cole dean of St. Paul's, and Ormanet: he sent them thither, not to restore the pope's authority, but diligently to inquire if there were any who neglected the pope's ceremonies; and if there were any found, that were under the least suspicion (*levissima suspicio*), they were without any delay to eject them. He writes, there was nothing eminent in Ormanet, but intolerable insolence: nothing could be imagined more arrogant than he was. They raged, as he adds, against a great many in the university; and burned, in the open market-place, an in-

\* Rymer MSS.

† Exemplo licet rarissimo.

finite number of Bibles, and other books. The like severity was practised at Cambridge; of which Mr. Strype promises an account in the *Life of Whitgift*, now ready for the press.

The nation began to grow everywhere weary of the cruel executions of so many heretics. The great promoter of these barbarous proceedings was the earl of Sussex: he died in March this year. For his son Thomas, who succeeded to him in his honour, was then deputy of Ireland; and on the 1st of April, order was given for a new patent to him, by the title of the earl of Sussex.

At one time complaints were brought of the sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Staffordshire, and of the mayor of Rochester, and the bailiff of Colchester, that when some persons, being condemned for heresy, were delivered to them by their ordinaries, they, instead of proceeding to a present execution, had delayed it: so letters were ordered to them, requiring them to signify what it was that had moved them to stop the usual proceedings. Information was also given of some lewd and seditious words, spoken by some of the queen's household; upon which they were sent to prison: and orders were given to prosecute them. On the 3d of August, thanks were ordered to be given to serjeant Brown for his proceedings with Trudge-over; and orders were given for the disposing of his head and quarters. On the 7th of August, Sir John Butler, sheriff of Essex, was fined 10*l.* because his deputy had respited the execution of a woman, condemned for heresy, that should have been executed at Colchester; and he was to answer for his deputies' fault. This perhaps is the same with that which was mentioned on the 28th of July. Many were ordered to be proceeded against for writing and spreading lewd and seditious books. It seems the Lord Rich continued to give the council notice, before they proceeded to any executions in Essex, and so laid the odium of the severity on the council, for showing no pity: so, on the 6th of August, they wrote to him to proceed according to law, and not to give them any more trouble on those occasions. Complaint was made on the 10th of August, of a bad choice that the town of Calais had made of a mayor for the ensuing year; especially in so critical a time. They were told, that, by such an election, they might have their charter to be brought in question. On the 12th of August, orders were sent to Canterbury, to proceed without delay against those who acted there a lewd play that was sent up.

On the 15th of August, the news came of the great defeat given the French at St. Quintin's: so an order was sent to the bishop of London, to publish that at St. Paul's Cross.

On the 24th of August, letters were ordered to be written to the mayor and aldermen of Bristol, requiring them to conform themselves, in frequenting sermons, processions, and other ceremonies, at the cathedral: and not to absent themselves, as they had done of late, nor to expect that the dean and chapter should come with their cross, and in procession, to fetch them out of the city; which was a thing unseemly, and out of order. On the 2d of September, news came of the taking of St. Quintin's: upon which an order was sent to the lord mayor of London, to have bonfires at night, and to come the next day to high mass. On the 6th of September, an order was sent to the lord mayor of London, to apprehend those who had acted a play, called, A Sack-full of News; but there was an order sent soon after to set them at liberty. On the 6th of October, news came that peace was made between the pope and the king; upon which the council ordered high-mass to be at St. Paul's; and the lord mayor was required to be there, and to have bonfires over the city. The council was for some time wholly taken up with the matter of the loan and the privy-seals: and though the government had certain notice of the design of the French upon Calais, yet no parliament was called, by which money, and every thing else that was necessary to the preserving it, could have been furnished. But the spirit of the nation was now much turned; and compassion began to rise towards these poor people, that were thus sacrificed to the cruelty of the priests, and the bigotry of a weak peevish woman, so that they would not venture on calling one; but tried other ineffectual methods of raising money; which increased the jealousy of the nation more than it added to the queen's treasure.

Bonner was again quickened, by another letter, to proceed against heretics: upon which he sent down Dr. Chedsey to Colchester; who, in a letter that he wrote to Bonner, on the 21st of April 1558, tells him, that while he was sitting at Colchester, examining heretics, he received a summons to appear before the council; but he desires, that Bonner would make his excuse, since he was on the great work of finding out heretics, anabaptists, and other unruly persons, such as the like was never heard.

There is also in the minute-book an entry of the letter of the 1st of August, 1558, written on Benbridge's account; who, when he was ready to be burnt, offered to recant; upon which the sheriff of Hampshire stayed the execution; for that he was chid; but a letter was written to the bishop of Winchester, to examine whether his conversion was entire and sincere.

And now I have no more light from the council-book : for that authentic volume goes only to the end of the year 1557 ; the last passage I find in it relating to religion being on the 15th of December : then they wrote a letter to the bishop of London, and sent with it the examination of John Rough, a Scottish minister, whom they had sent to Newgate, and required him to proceed against him according to the laws. It may be perhaps thought that I have taken out of it nothing but what related to proceedings against heretics : but that is, because there is scarce any thing else in it ; for I have taken out of it every thing that related to the government, or that was in any sort historical. But the council knew what it was that the queen's heart was set on, and what would please her most ; and so they applied their care and diligence chiefly to that.

There was a strange spirit of cruelty that run through the body of the clergy : it was animated by the government, and showed itself in so many dismal instances, in all the parts of the nation, that it struck people with horror. This, joined with the intolerable haughtiness of the king, and the shameful loss of Calais, brought the government under a universal hatred and contempt. In a book corrected, if not written, by the Lord Burleigh, in Queen Elizabeth's time, entitled, *The Executions for Treason*, the sum of those who suffered in this wretched reign, is thus reckoned. " Four hundred persons suffered publicly in Queen Mary's days, besides those who were secretly murdered in prison : of these, twenty were bishops and dignified clergymen ; sixty were women ; children, more than forty : some women big with child ; one bore a child in the fire, and the child was burned."

It does not appear that the bishops or clergy showed any great inclination to entertain Pole's project for the reformation of abuses ; or that they were at much pains, in the way of instruction, to reduce the people. All that I find in this way is, that Bonner set out an instruction for his diocess in the year 1555. The people had heard so much of the second commandment, that he did not think fit to leave it quite out, as is done in most catechisms of the church of Rome : but yet he durst not venture on giving it honestly ; therefore, instead of the words, *Nor worship them* ; he gave it thus, *Nor adore them with God's honour*. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, did in June 1558 put another out for his diocess. It seems he was in a high degree of favour with the cardinal ; since, notwithstanding the zeal he expressed against plurality of benefices in one person, he was allowed to hold the deanery of Duresme in *commendam*, when he was pro-

moted to Lincoln\*. The licence is in January 1557; in which it is said, that the cardinal consented to it.

The first public occasion, that the ill-natured pope found to express his displeasure at Pole, was, upon the death of Day, bishop of Chichester. The pope would not suffer Christopherson, the new bishop, to be preconized in Pole's name, but did it himself, as Karn wrote over on the 10th of April. Karn, after that, on the 15th of June, wrote to the queen, that the pope had ordered Cardinal Morone to be imprisoned on the account of religion. Four cardinals were sent to examine him. Karn adds, that he was in high reputation at Rome for his sancity: and he believed him a good catholic, and a holy man.

The style in which all the bishop's bulls, during this reign, did run, was, that the pope, by his apostolical authority, did provide the person to the see, and set him over it †. Upon which the bishop so named did renounce every clause in his bull that was in any sort prejudicial to the crown: and the renunciation being so made, the custody of the temporalties was given to the bishop elect. In the bulls, no mention is made either of the queen's recommending, nor of the chapter's electing. Rymer has gathered the bulls for Exeter, Bangor, St. Asaph, Carlisle, Chester, Peterborough, and Lincoln, besides those for Canterbury and York; and they all run in the style of papal provisions. Nor does he mention *congé d'élire*, except for Chester, Winchester, Carlisle, Lincoln, Chichester, and Peterborough. There is something particular in the restitution of the temporalties of Carlisle to Oglethorpe: it is added, that he was to pay 400 marks. I do not comprehend what could be the reason of this singularity.

There was another convocation in January 1557-8: Harpsfield was chosen prolocutor. On the 28th of January, Bonner, as the cardinal's commissary, proposed some heads of reformation; and the lower house desired leave to offer their propositions. On the 4th of February, a subsidy was agreed to, of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years; and on the 9th, he told the bishops that the lower house had agreed to it. Complaint was made of a want of priests to serve the cures; in order to remedy this, and to provide a supply for the smaller benefices, it was proposed, that no priest should be taken up to serve in the wars. 2. That the bishops might have authority to unite small benefices, which the priests should serve by turns. 3. That the parishioners of chapels of ease might be obliged to come

to the parish-church, till curates could be provided. 4. That bishops might be authorized by the pope to ordain *extra tempora*. There was also some consideration had about the furnishing of arms; and a decree passed for the provision of them after the same rate that the laity had agreed to. But then the convocation was prorogued, first to the 11th of November, and then to the 17th; on which day the queen died.

But now to open the state of the nation: Calais, and the places about, were lost; and the nation was so exhausted, that the supporting the government was no easy thing. The persons most in favour with the two kings of France and Spain were two clergymen, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the bishop of Arras, soon after promoted to be a cardinal. They saw, that the continuance of the war made it reasonable on both sides, not to put a stop to the progress of heresy; though it had not that effect in England: they therefore, at an interview, projected a peace; that so both kings might be at full leisure to extirpate heresy out of their dominions.

In order to this, France was willing to make great restitutions: only, from the first opening of the treaty, they declared very positively, that they resolved never to part with Calais. A treaty was opened; and the earl of Arundel, the bishop of Ely, and dean Wotton, were sent to treat in the queen's name. I shall here only give the abstract of two papers, which I found relating to this matter.

The first is, the council's letter to the ambassadors, written on the 8th of November; which is in the Collection (No. xlii). The ambassadors saw no hope of the restoring of Calais; so they had moved the council to lay the matter before the parliament. "It was not thought convenient to break it to the whole house: it was thought best to begin with the nobility, and some of the best and gravest sort. But before they made that step, they thought it necessary to ask the queen's mind: she thought it was best to lay it first before the king. Upon which, they sent the ambassadors with a letter to the king; and resolved to stay till his answer came. They write, that the queen was still sick and weak: they hoped for her amendment; but they were driven to fear and mistrust the worst. In a postscript they tell them, they had received the ambassadors' letters of the 4th, by which they saw the French were resolved not to restore Calais; and that the king told them, that his commissioners had almost agreed with the French in all other matters; but he would agree to nothing, unless the queen was satisfied. The council ordered the ambassadors to lay before the

king the importance of leaving Calais in the hands of the French ; and how much it would touch the honour of the king and queen, that so many restitutions being to be made on both sides, this alone should not be restored. The subjects of this realm would certainly be very uneasy at this. The war was begun at the king's request, and for his sake. If, to other of the king's allies, places are to be restored that were taken from them some years ago, what then can be judged, if a peace is concluded without this restitution? Yet, on the other hand, if there is an agreement in all other matters (which is like a giving up of the point), much were to be endured for the wealth of Christendom. In these matters, the ambassadors were ordered to deal plainly with the king, and to study to know his mind ; since the French, keeping these places, might be as great prejudice to his Low-countries as to England. They desire a plain and speedy answer, that they might know what to offer to the nobility and parliament, with relation to these matters."

The answer to this belongs to this reign ; though it was written on the day after the queen died, signed by the three ambassadors. It is in the Collection (No. xliii). " They had written formerly, that the French king had said, he would hazard his crown rather than restore Calais : yet for all those high words they did not quite despair. The commissioners of both kings had broke up their conferences, and returned to their masters, to give an account of what they had done, and to receive their final orders. The ambassadors believed, that if the king insisted positively on the restitution of Calais, that this might induce the French to agree to it : whereas, if the king and his ministers spoke but faintly of that matter, they were sure the French would still refuse to do it. Therefore they did not think fit to use any words to the king, to make him imagine that the queen or the kingdom would consent to a peace without the restoring of Calais : because their instructions were express in that point. The king continued to say, that he would make no peace unless the queen should be satisfied : so that if she and her council continued to insist on that point, they did believe the French would restore it, rather than lose the view they had of peace. And whereas the council wrote to them, that if all other things were near agreed, much were to be endured for the peace of Christendom : yet that all others should have restitution, and that poor England should only bear the loss, was hard ; especially so great a loss : and they were so far from thinking that the leaving Calais to the French would purchase a sure peace, that they thought, on the contrary, that nothing showed more evidently, that the French did not intend to

continue the peace with England especially, than their keeping of Calais. The French could easily annoy England on the side of Scotland: the dauphin being then married to the queen of Scots: and what the French pretend to by that marriage was not unknown to them. (This probably was to claim the crown of England upon the queen's death.) Now if the French kept Calais, the English could neither hurt their enemies, nor assist their friends, or be assisted by them so easily, as when that place was in their hands. England would be shut out from the rest of Europe: the very knowledge of the transactions abroad would come late to them, and that place would be a scourge for England, as it was before Edward the Third took it; which made him come with his son, and but with a small army, from Normandy into France, and to march through Picardy to besiege it, the enemy pursuing him with a greater army; but he fought through them until at last he fought them at Cressy, where, though the French were three to one, yet he totally defeated them, and continued the siege till he took it. So the French having Scotland on the one hand, and Calais on the other, it was easy to apprehend what might follow on this. The French would sign any terms with them to keep that place. These would be only parchment and wax. They knew how many parchments King Francis sealed to King Henry, and the present king to King Edward. They saw the effects they had; and if a war should follow between England and France, they were not sure that Spain would join with England: whereas now the king could not honourably make any peace without us; and he himself said he would not: so they did not think Christendom should have a good peace, if Calais were left to the French: and it was certainly more the interest of England to continue the war in conjunction with the king, than to make a peace, letting it go, and then be forced to begin a new war, and to have all the burthen of it lie upon England. All this they thought themselves bound to lay before the council. The bishop of Ely adds, that he was with the commissioners by the king's order; they had not yet agreed concerning the matters of Corsica and Siena: the French have likewise demanded the restitution of Navarre: so that some thought the treaty would be broken off without concluding in a peace. The earl of Arundel adds, that, after they had gone so far in their letter, he received a letter from the bishop of Arras, dated the 17th, in which he writes thus; The bishop of Ely has told you on what terms we were in this purgatory, at his leaving us. The French told us yesterday, that they would condescend to every thing rather than yield in the matter of Calais, or let that place go.

out of their hands. And we on our part told them, that, without full satisfaction to the kingdom of England, we would not treat with them in any sort. And we parted so, that there is more appearance of a rupture than of a conclusion of the treaty. But after all, our ambassadors doubted much whether it would break off only on the account of Calais. If they were in doubt about it, while the queen was yet alive, it may be easily supposed that her death put them out of all doubt concerning it.

And now I am come to the conclusion of this inglorious reign. Campana gives a different account of the immediate occasion of the queen's death, from what is to be found in other authors. He tells us, that King Philip, seeing no hope of issue by her, and that she was in an ill state of health, designed a marriage between the duke of Savoy and the Lady Elizabeth: the queen had a very bad opinion of her sister, suspecting she had ill principles in religion. King Philip thought the duke of Savoy would be a firm friend to him, and a constant enemy to France. But he could never bring the queen to hearken to this: yet now that she was declining very fast, he sent over the duke of Feria, to propose the match to the privy-council, without any regard to the queen; or to the opposition she might make to it: and he ordered him to use all possible means to bring it to a conclusion. The queen resented this highly; and when she saw it was designed to force her to it, she fell into an extreme melancholy. The privy-council did not entertain the motion; and the queen dying in a few days, an end was put to it: for though I find the duke of Feria was in England upon Queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown, it does not appear that he made any proposition of that matter to her. What truth soever may be in this, the nation was now delivered from a severe and unhappy, though short reign: in which superstition and cruelty had the ascendant to such a degree, that it does not appear that there was any one great or good design ever set on foot, either for the wealth or glory of the nation. The poor queen delivered herself up to her peevish and fretful humours, and to her confessor: and seemed to have no other thoughts, but about the extirpation of heresy, and the endowing of monasteries. Even the war, that commonly slackens vigorous proceedings, had not that effect here. Her inexorable hatred of all she accounted heretics was such, that I find but one single instance of a pardon of any condemned of heresy, and that was upon the cardinal's intercession. God shortened the time of her reign for his elect's sake: and he seemed to have suffered popery to show itself in its true and natural colours, all over both

false and bloody ; even in a female reign, from whence all mildness and gentleness might have been expected ; to give this nation such an evident and demonstrative proof of the barbarous cruelty of that religion, as might raise a lasting abhorrence and detestation of it.

It was visible that the providence of God made a very remarkable difference, in all respects, between this poor short and despised reign, and the glory, the length, and the prosperity, of the succeeding reign. So that, as far as we can reason from the outward characters of things, the one was all over mean and black, while the other shined with a superior brightness, to the admiration of all the world : it wanted no foil to set it off, being all over lustre and glory. But if that was wanting, the base and contemptible reign that went before it could not but add to its brightness.

One amazing character of providence in her death, and in the great successor that came after her, was, that at the time that the two ministers, being both ecclesiastics, of the kings of France and Spain, were designing a peace, with the view of destroying heresy upon the conclusion of it, their project was entirely blasted in so critical a minute : first, by the death of Queen Mary, and the succession of Queen Elizabeth ; and next, by the unlooked-for death of the king of France in July after : so that not only the design totally miscarried, but France fell under the confusions of a minority ; under which, that they called heresy gathered great strength : and the cruelty of the Spanish government occasioned the revolt of the Netherlands ; while the glorious queen of England protected and assisted both so effectually, that King Henry the Fourth owed his being supported by her in his lowest state was the chief means that brought him to the possession of the crown of France : and the United Provinces had their main dependence on the protection and assistance that they had from her. So mercifully did God deal with this nation, by removing that queen that he had set over it in his wrath, and so graciously did he watch over the Reformation, that in the very time in which the enemies of that work reckoned it was to be rooted out, he raised up a glorious instrument, that not only revived it among us, but by a kind and tender influence watched over it, and protected it everywhere. So I now turn to view the auspicious beginnings of that blessed reign.

## BOOK VI.

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### *Of the Beginnings of Queen Elizabeth's reign.*

No prince ever came to the throne in a more clouded state of affairs than this queen did : the nation was engaged in a war both with France and Scotland. The queen had no ally but King Philip : and though she was sensible of her particular obligations to him, yet, being resolved to make alterations in religion, she knew she could depend no longer on him, when once these should be begun. The duke of Feria, then his ambassador in England, took all occasions to let her understand, that his master was the *Catholic king*, and that therefore he must protect that religion. The papists, whom she found in the ministry, possessed her with fears of rebellions at home, and of wars from abroad, if she set herself to alter religion. Those she brought into her councils, in conjunction with the papists, chiefly Bacon and Cecil, had been so accustomed to comply with what they condemned in matters of religion, that they brought themselves to bear what they did not approve : and they apprehended great danger if they should proceed too quick in those matters.

The queen's inclinations to the Reformation were universally relied on : her education and knowledge, her bad usage during the former reign, and her title to the crown, that was grounded on a marriage made in defiance to the pope, led all people to conclude, that what slow steps soever she might make in it, she would certainly declare for it, as soon as she saw she could be safe in doing it. Upon this some, whether out of a forwardness of zeal, or on design to encourage her, began early to pull down images and to make changes : but, on the other hand, the priests, apprehending what was like to follow, begun at the same time to alarm the people : some broke out into seditious words to animate the people against all changes : and the pulpits being all in their hands, they had free scope there to give the alarm : some went further, and called her title to the crown in question ; and set up the

pretensions of the queen of Scotland. Of these, the industrious Mr. Strype has gathered many instances, that showed on the one hand their seditious tempers, and on the other hand, the great mildness of the government, different from the cruelty of the former reign. To put a stop to these, she did by one proclamation prohibit all preaching; and by another, all alterations by private hands.

As her ministers advised this caution in matters of religion, so they persuaded her to digest the loss of Calais, and to come into a peace with France and Scotland.

They likewise thought of new alliances. In order to this, Mount was brought into England again; and had secret instructions given him by Cecil to go to all the princes of Germany, to know how far the queen might depend on their assistance; and to receive the advices that the princes offered with relation to the affairs of England, and in particular concerning a proper marriage for the queen. He found them ready to receive the queen into the Smalcaldic league; chiefly, if the Reformation that was intended might be made upon their model. The match they all proposed was with Charles of Austria, the emperor Ferdinand's second son, brother to Maximilian, the king of Bohemia and Hungary, who was known to be a protestant: for though he complied in the outward acts of the popish worship, yet he had a minister in his court, whom he heard frequently preach. Both the elector palatine and the duke of Wirtemberg assured Mount, that Charles designed, as soon as he durst, for fear of his father's displeasure, to declare himself of their religion. He said to one of these princes, "I love the religion that my brother holds, and approve of it, and will, by the grace of God, profess it openly. He told him, that his father suspected this; and had pressed him to take an oath that he would never change his religion. He refused that; but said to his father, that he believed, as he did, all that was in the New Testament, and in the orthodox fathers. Upon which, the emperor said, I see this son is likewise corrupted." They thought this match would be a great strengthening of the queen: it would engage the whole house of Austria in the protestant religion, and unite the whole empire in an alliance with the queen. This was writ to the queen in the year 1559; but in the copy I saw\* the particular date is not added.

The news of the queen's coming to the crown no sooner reached Zurick, than all those who had retired thither resolved to return to England. They had been entertained

\* Cotton Library, Galba, II.

there, both by the magistrates and the ministers, Bullinger, Gualter, Weidner, Simler, Lavater, Gesner, and all the rest of that body, with a tenderness and affection that engaged them to the end of their lives to make the greatest acknowledgments possible for it. The first of these was, in all respects, the chief person of that society, with whom they held the closest correspondence. Peter Martyr was likewise there, and was treated by them all with a singular respect, even to a submission. Jewel was first formed by him at Oxford, and so continued to his death in a constant commerce of letters with him, writing always to him by the title of *Father*. I saw a great volume of those letters, as I passed through Zurich in the year 1685; so I was desirous to have the volume sent me; but I found, that by their rules that could not be done. I also understood, that there were several letters relating to our affairs scattered through several other volumes; so Professor Otto did kindly, and with much zeal, undertake to get them to be copied for me. The person who managed and procured this for me was that pious and learned professor at Geneva, Alphonsus Turretin, born to be a blessing to the state he lives in. He has given the world already, on many occasions, great instances of his exquisite learning, and of a most penetrating judgment, having made a vast progress in a few years; in which a feeble and tender body, though it is a great clog, that gives his friends many sad apprehensions, yet cannot keep down an exalted mind from many performances, that seem to be both above his years and his strength. But how valuable soever these qualities are, yet his zeal for the great things of religion, and his moderation in lesser matters, together with a sublime and exalted piety, is that which I observed in him, even when he was scarce out of childhood; and have, with a continual joy and delight, seen the advances of it ever since. This grateful account of him I owe, not so much to his friendship (though I owe a great deal to that), but to his rare and singular worth. By his means I procured copies of the letters that our reformers continued to write, chiefly to Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and Gualter: and with them I have a solemn attestation, under the seal of that noble Canton, of their being true copies, carefully collated with the originals; which I have put at the end of the Collection. If there had not been many interruptions in the series of those letters, they are so particular, that from them we should have had a clear thread of the history of that time: but many of them are lost, and they are wanting on some of the most critical occasions. I shall make the best use of them I can, as far as they lead me.

Horn and Sands went first to England: so Jewel, who was following them, writes from Strasburg, on the 26th of January 1559, to Peter Martyr (Collect. No. xlv); and adds, "that they were well received by the queen; that many bishoprics were void; Christopherson was certainly dead; that White, whom Martyr knew well, had preached the funeral-sermon when Queen Mary was buried: the text was, 'I praised the dead more than the living:' in which he charged the audience, by all means, not to suffer any change to be made in religion. Inveighing against the fugitives, that might perhaps return to England, he said, whosoever should kill them, would do a deed acceptable to God. Upon this he writes, that both the marquis of Winchester, and Heath, archbishop of York, seemed highly displeased at it. He adds, that Bonner was obliged to restore to Ridley's executors all his goods, that he had violently seized on, and was confined to his house." I have seen a copy of White's sermon. In it he commends Queen Mary for this, that she would never be called "head of the church:" though the falsehood of that is on record, in the writs that were sealed for above a year after she came to the crown. He runs out with great fury against heresy: Geneva is, in particular, named the seat of it. He says, Queen Mary's death was like the death of an angel, if they were mortal. He insinuates his fears of "flying in the winter, on the sabbath," or "being with child;" all which he represents as allegorical. Yet he has some decent words of the queen; and says, they were to comfort themselves for the death of one sister, in the other that survived.

Gualter wrote to one Masters, who was the queen's physician, and was well known to him, on the 16th of January (Collect. No. xlv). "He congratulates the happy change of their affairs. He wishes (I translate his words strictly) that they would not hearken to the counsels of those men, who, when they saw that popery could not be honestly defended, nor entirely retained, would use all artifices to have the outward face of religion to remain mixed, uncertain, and doubtful: so that while an evangelical reformation is pretended, those things should be obtruded on the church, which will make the returning back to popery, to superstition, and to idolatry, very easy. I write not these things to you, he adds, as knowing that there are any such among you; but I write, from a fear that there may be some such. For we have had the experience of this for some years in Germany, and know what influence such persons may have. Their councils seem, to a carnal judgment, to be full of modesty, and well fitted for carrying on an universal agree-

ment : and we may well believe, that the common enemy of our salvation will find out proper instruments, by whose means the seeds of popery may still remain among you. A little after he writes, that he apprehends, that in the first beginnings, while men may study to avoid the giving some small offence, many things may be suffered, under this colour, that they will be continued but for a little while ; and yet afterwards, it will scarce be possible, by all the endeavours that can be used, to get them to be removed, at least not without great strugglings." Dr. Masters, in answer to this, tells him, he had laid his letter before the queen, and that she had read it all. He promises to use his best endeavours for carrying on a sound reformation. This plainly insinuated their fears of somewhat like what was designed by the *Interim* in Germany.

Francis, earl of Bedford, had gone out of England in Queen Mary's time, and stayed some time at Zurick : he had expressed a true zeal for the Reformation, and a particular regard for the divines there ; of which a letter in the Collection (No. xlvi) gives a clear account : and upon that they wrote often to him, and pressed him vehemently to take care in the first beginnings to have all things settled upon sure and sound foundations.

On the 24th of January the convocation was opened ; but the bishops, in obedience to the queen's proclamation against preaching, did not think fit to open it with a sermon. Those who I find are marked as present are, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Worcester, Coventry and Litchfield, and the abbot of Westminster : these appeared personally. And the bishops of Ely, Peterborough, and St. Asaph, sent their proxies. But no mention is made of the bishops of Bath and Wells, St. David's, Landaff, and Exeter. All the other sees were then vacant ; Canterbury, Salisbury, Norwich, Chichester, Hereford, Gloucester, Oxford, Bangor, Bristol, and Rochester ; ten in all. Harpsfield was chosen prolocutor. He asked, what they had to do, and what was to be done, to preserve religion ? The bishops answered, they must pray the queen, that no new burthen might be laid on the clergy in this parliament. This was to prevent the demand of a new subsidy, the former not being yet paid. In the seventh session, the prolocutor offered to the bishops the five articles mentioned in my History. These they had drawn up for the discharge of their consciences, and they desired the bishops to be their leaders in this matter. The bishops received their paper, and promised to offer it next day to the house of lords. In the next session, the prolocutor and clergy came up, and asked the bishops, if they

had delivered their paper to the house of lords? Bonner answered, that they had delivered it to the lord keeper, the mouth of that house; who, to all appearance, received it kindly, or thankfully (*gratanter*), but gave them no answer. The clergy desired the bishops to get an answer from him, or at least to know his pleasure before their next meeting. In the ninth session, the bishops told the clergy, that they had not yet found a fit opportunity to obtain an answer from the house of lords. On the tenth session, Bonner told the clergy, that all their articles, except the last, which was, "that the authority of treating and defining, in matters of the faith, of the sacraments, and of ecclesiastical discipline, belonged to the pastors of the church, and not to the laity," were approved by the two universities. After this came only perpetual prorogations from day to day, without any business done, till the 9th of May, in which the convocation was dissolved. So this was the last and feeble struggle that the popish clergy made in convocation.

The bishops stood firm in the house of lords, where there were none of the other side to answer them, few of the temporal lords being very learned. They seemed to triumph there; and hung so upon the wheels that there was a slow progress made. On the 20th of March, Jewel writes to Peter Martyr (Collect. No. xlvii), "that after a journey of fifty-one days, from the time he left Zurick, he got to London; where he was amazed to find the pope's authority was not yet thrown off: masses were still said, and the bishops continued still insolent. Things were beginning to mend a little. A public disputation was then resolved on: and he adds, that the queen spoke with greatest esteem of Peter Martyr. The inferior sort of the populace was both ignorant and perverse. He tells him, Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, whom he calls an *impure beast*, was newly dead; and cried out, as he was dying, that he was damned."

Jewel, in a letter to Bullinger from London, on the 22d of May, 1559, which is in the Collection (No. xlviiii), after great acknowledgment of his obligations to him and to all Zurick, "thanks him for quickening them to act with zeal and courage. There was need of it; for besides those who had been always their enemies, the deserters, who had left them in the former reign, were now their most bitter enemies. Besides this, the Spaniards had corrupted the morals of the nation to a great degree: they were doing what they could, and all things were coming into a better state. The queen did very solemnly refuse to be called head of the church: she thought that title was only due to Christ. The universities were strangely corrupted by Soto, and another

Spanish monk. It was scarce credible how much mischief they had done in so little time. He tells him, that the Lord Bedford had asked him, What would be the most acceptable present that he could send to him and his brethren? He answered, Nothing could be so acceptable to them, as his expressing a zeal for promoting the gospel, and against popery. That lord assured him, he would do that faithfully: which, as he writes, he was doing very sincerely. He writes also, how that several princes were making addresses to the queen for her marriage; but many suspected her inclinations lay to one Pickering, a worthy and pious man; and one of a most noble figure, as to his person. He refers him for other things to his letters to Peter Martyr." On the 6th of April, Jewel wrote a particular account of the disputation, which, though it is upon the matter the same that is in my History, yet since it is both a confirmation of it, and has some circumstances that are new, I have put it in my Collection (No. xlix): "He tells him, that Cole treated the reformers with many reproaches, and much scorn; and called them seditious incendiaries. He delivered his speech with great emotion, stamping with his feet, and putting himself as in convulsions: he said, the apostles divided their work into two provinces, the western and the eastern. The first, St. Peter and St. Paul had given to them, where the worship was to be all in Latin: the eastern division fell to the other apostles, where all was to be performed in Greek. This he introduced with pomp, as a thing certain. He affirmed, that it was not fit the people should understand the public worship; for ignorance was the mother of devotion. The paper prepared by the reformers was read gravely and modestly by Horn: so that all who were present, he names the earl of Shrewsbury in particular, acknowledged the victory was clearly on their side: by this, and by what happened the second day, the popish cause sunk much in the opinion of the people."

On the 28th of April, in another letter, which is in the Collection (No. 1), he tells Peter Martyr how earnestly the bishops contended in the house of lords. "Fecknam defended monastic orders from the sons of the prophets, and the Nazarites among the Jews; and said, Christ and his apostles were monks. None struggled more vehemently than Thirleby. He saw a design at court of seizing on the bishops' manors, and assigning parsonages to them instead of them; but he laments most of all, that no care was taken of schools, or of promoting learning. The universities were in a most miserable condition. The earl of Bedford pressed the queen to send for Peter Martyr: she said she would do

it ; but as much as Jewel desired to see him, he writes, that he would not advise his coming over, if he was not sent for with such an earnest and honourable invitation as he deserved to have. He saw many of the queen's ministers were in hope to enter into the Smalcaldic league. And one who had been a bishop possessed them with an opinion, that if Martyr were brought over, that would obstruct the other design : he expresses an ill opinion of that person, but does not name him : it must have been either Barlow, Scory, or Coverdale ; for these were all the bishops of the Reformation that were then alive : Coverdale, as being a Dane, is the likeliest to have been engaged in the Lutheran opinion. He concludes his letter, that those who had returned from their exile were yet in great misery, no care being taken of them.

His next is on the 10th of April : "He laments the want of zeal and industry in promoting the Reformation ; far short of what the papists showed in Queen Mary's time. Then every thing was carried on violently, without staying either for law or precedent : but now every thing is managed in so slow, so cautious, and prudent a manner, as if the word of God was not to be received upon his own authority : so that as Christ was thrown out by his enemies, he is now kept out by his friends. This caution made that the spirits of those that favoured them were sunk, while their enemies were much exalted upon it. Yet he acknowledges, that though no law was made abrogating the mass, it was in many places laid down. The nobility seemed zealous in their hatred of popery. The queen had indeed softened her mass much ; but there were many things amiss that were left in it. If she could be prevailed on to put the crucifix out of her chapel, it would give a general encouragement : she was truly pious, but thought it necessary to proceed by law, and that it was dangerous to give way to a furious multitude."

Cox, on the 20th of May, wrote to Weidner, another divine of Zurick, whom he calls a venerable old man. "He tells him, that they found the short reign of Queen Mary had such effects in hardening the minds of the people in their superstition, that it would not be easy to change the nation. Great opposition was made to every good motion, by the scribes and pharisees in the house of lords ; for there was none there that could maintain arguments against the bishops : but the divines who were returned from their exile were called to preach at court before the queen ; where they plainly affirmed that the pope was antichrist, and that their traditions were blasphemies. Some of the nobility came every day over to them, and many of the people, but not one

of the clergy : they stuck all together as a body that was not to be moved. He tells him the event that the public disputation had ; and that now King Edward's laws were to be revived. Thus, says he, God has regarded the low estate we were in, and with his fatherly compassion has pitied us, and taken off the cross we lay under. God grant these his great and inestimable benefits may never be forgotten by us ! But he laments, that, while there was so great a harvest, there were so few labourers.

All business was brought to a good conclusion in parliament. The king of France's unlooked-for death had given such a change to the face of affairs abroad, that the queen and her ministers seemed to be animated with more courage than had appeared hitherto. Of this there is a letter of Jewel's in the Collection (No. li). In the beginning of August, it appears from another letter in the Collection (No. lii), that preachers were sent to many different parts : many northern counties were assigned to Sands. Jewel had a large province : he was to make a circuit of about seven hundred miles, through Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, Dorsetshire, and Wiltshire. The popish bishops made a very poor address to the queen, persuading her not to change the state of religion, to which she answered very resolutely : and they, rather than abjure the pope once more, which they had often done before, were resolved now to relinquish their bishoprics. It was plain they had no religion among them ; yet now they pretended conscience. They were full of rage, and one of the artifices they used at that time to keep the people from receiving the Reformation was, the giving out of prophecies, that this change would be short-lived. Howsoever, the queen had courage : so he thanks God for the state to which their affairs were then brought. Matters went well in Scotland ; Knox was preaching in many places of the country well guarded ; the monasteries were everywhere pulled down, and all the superstitious stuff that was in them was destroyed. The young king of France took among his titles both England and Scotland. He understood it was designed to make himself bishop of Salisbury, but he was positively resolved to decline it." In the letters sent me from Zuwick, I find none of Grindall's on this occasion : but Mr. Strype in his Life has informed the world, that Grindall, when he knew he was designed to be a bishop, wrote to Peter Martyr for his opinion in several matters. I shall give the substance of his letter : " he did not approve of the queen's taking away the estates of the bishoprics, and giving them parsonages instead of them : he thought this was the patrimony of the

inferior clergy ; so he did not see how they could be supplied, if these were given to the bishops. He had also a doubt concerning the popish vestments : at another time he asked his advice, whether the popish priests upon their changing again should be received and continued in their functions ? Or whether such of them as had been concerned in the late cruelty, ought not to be prosecuted for that ?

To all this Peter Martyr answered, “ That for the taking away the bishops’ estates, and giving them parsonages for them, they could neither hinder nor help it ; but they ought out of them to support the clergy that laboured in those parishes : for the habits, he confessed he did not love them ; for while he was a canon in Oxford, he never would use the surplice. He thought they ought to do what they could to get them to be laid aside ; but that if that could not be done, he thought he might do more good, even in that particular, by submitting to it, and accepting a bishopric, which might give him an interest to procure a change afterwards. As for the popish priests, he advised the forgiving all that was past ; and the receiving them, according to the practice of the primitive church, in the return of the Arians to the orthodox body. But they were to watch over them, and to instruct and examine them with more care.” This answer came too late ; for Grindall was consecrated before he got it ; but it was, no doubt, a great satisfaction to him, to find that a person, whom he esteemed so highly, approved of the resolution that he had taken : in which it was probable Jewel’s opinion, of whom they had all a high esteem, might contribute to settle him ; for though he disliked the use of those vestments, and treats the insisting so much on it with great contempt, yet, on the other hand, he blames those who laid too much weight upon that matter, and so looked on it as a thing of more importance than truly it was.

They all rejoiced in the happy turn of affairs then in Scotland, the much greater part of that nation declaring themselves openly and zealously against popery.

Here I shall insert an account concerning Scotland of what happened in the reign of King Henry ; but that came not to my knowledge till the impression of this volume was advanced to the reign of Queen Mary. The Scottish nation was so well disposed towards the Reformation, that immediately upon King James the Fifth’s death, which was in December 1541, there appeared a wonderful inclination among them to be better informed in matters of religion. Cardinal Beaton, to prevent this, had got a will to be forged

in the name of the deceased king, constituting him regent : but as that was discovered to be a forgery, so the nobility had no regard to it, but owned the earl of Arran to be the second person in the kingdom ; and that he was, next to the young queen, and the heirs of her body, the heir of the crown. So they took the oath of allegiance to the queen as their sovereign ; and to the earl of Arran as their governor, till the queen was of perfect age : and upon that the cardinal was secured.

A parliament was summoned to meet in May 1542, in which the regency of the earl of Arran was of new confirmed on the 13th of May ; and all the subjects were required to obey him in all things pertaining to that office, conform to the acts formerly made, which were again ratified by that parliament. They also ratified the oaths that had been taken to him by some lords spiritual and temporal ; and all who were present were required to confirm these oaths, by solemn oaths in full parliament ; which they all did by the holding up of their right hands, swearing that they would be true and obedient to the lord governor, and serve him with their persons, kindred, friends, and goods, and no other, during the queen's nonage.

On the 15th of May, they ordered an authentic publication to be made of all they had done under the great seal ; and they all affixed their seals to the instrument made to confirm this settlement. On the same day a council was named ; six of these was the number that was at the least necessary to concur with the governor. The cardinal was not one of them : the archbishop of Glasgow, who was lord chancellor ; with the bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, Orkney, Ross, and Brichen ; and the abbots of Dumferlin and Cowper ; were for the ecclesiastical state. The earls of Angus, Huntley, Murray, Argyle, Bothwell, Marshall, Cassilis, and Glencairn ; and the Lords Erskine, Ruthuen, Maxwell, Seton, and Methuen, for the nobility ; with some other commoners of the boroughs : after whom, the treasurer, the secretary, the clerk of register, the justice clerk, and the queen's advocate, are named. It seems, they intended that no peers should be created but with the concurrence of the parliament : for the governor, with the advice and consent of the estates of parliament, made the Lord Stewart of Ochiltry a peer, to have vote and place in parliament. In the same record, mention is made of the draught of an act offered by the Lord Maxwell, to the lords of the articles, in these words :

“ It is statute and ordained, that it shall be lawful to all our sovereign lady's lieges, to have the holy writ of the New

Testament and the Old, in the vulgar tongue, in Inglis or Scotts, of a good and tru translation; and that they shall incurre no crime, for the having or reding of the same. Provided always, that no man dispute, or hold opinions, under the pains contained in the acts of parliament."

The lords of articles found this reasonable; and thought, that the Bible might be used among all the lieges of the realm, in our vulgar tongue, of a good, true, and just translation, because there was no law showed to the contrary. And therefore they agreed, that none should incur any crime for having or reading it, nor be accused for it; but added the proviso that was added to the draught offered to them.

But the archbishop of Glasgow did, in his own name, and in the name of all the prelates of the realm that were present in parliament when the act came to be read in full parliament, "dissent (*simpliciter*) to it, as being one of the three estates of the parliament: and they opposed them thereto, unto the time that a provincial council might be had of all the clergy of this realm, to advise and conclude thereupon; if the same be necessary to be had in the vulgar tongue, to be used among the queen's lieges or not; and thereafter to show the utter determination that shall be done in that behalf." Upon this he demanded an instrument to be made, according to the forms in that kingdom. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the act passed. For in the same record there is an order entered, as signified by the governor, requiring the clerk of register to cause the acts passed in parliament to be proclaimed; "and in special, the act made for having the New Testament in vulgar tongue, with certain additions." In the copy sent me, this bears date the 19th of March, but I believe it should be May; since the matter was not before the parliament till May. I have set down all this matter almost in the words of the record of parliament that was sent me.

In the same record, the instructions are set down that were given to the ambassadors that were sent to treat concerning the queen's marriage with Edward, prince of Wales; in which it appears, that they thought it necessary, if their sovereign went out of the kingdom, even after she was of perfect age, yet that the governor of the realm should continue to exercise his authority all the days of his life: and that after his death, the nearest lawful person of the blood should succeed to the said office, by a large and ample commission, of which they order a form to be devised.

The free use of the Scriptures was a great step to let the

nation look into the nature of the Christian religion: and the clergy foresaw well the consequences that would naturally follow upon it; so it was no wonder that this was opposed so zealously by them. It was a great piece of foresight to secure the nation, by having a governor with full powers still residing amongst them. In the subsequent treaty with France, there was not that care nor precaution used: but, at the conclusion of the marriage, the French proceeded in so perfidious a manner, as to give a warning to all who in future times should treat with that court. For on the 4th of April 1558 (a fortnight before the articles of the marriage were settled, which was on the 19th of April), the young queen being then but little more than fifteen, a secret act was passed, in which, after she had set forth the ancient alliance between the two crowns, and the honourable entertainment that she had received from the present king of France,

“ She, to confirm and establish the affection between the two kingdoms, and in order to unite the kingdom of Scotland to the crown of France, in case she should die without heirs of her body, had made some dispositions in favour of the crown of France, which she intended should have their full effect: yet she, by a communication with the deputies sent from Scotland, saw into the secret designs of some, who were practising to the effect, that, in default of heirs of her body, the crown should descend to some lords of the country; depriving her, by that means, to her great regret, of the power of disposing of it. Yet since she could not at that time openly oppose them, for certain just causes of fear; and considering that she was out of her kingdom, and had no strong places in it at her own disposal; and that great troubles might arise, if what she was then doing should be publicly known, especially considering the present war with the kingdom of England: she therefore did protest, that what consent or agreement soever she should make to the articles and instructions sent over by the states of her kingdom, with relation to the succession, in case she should die without heirs of her body; she intended still, that the disposition then made in favour of the crown of France should have its full and entire effect, notwithstanding any agreement she had made, or should yet make, conform to these instructions, as a thing contrary to her will and intention.” Upon which she demanded an act from the keeper of the great seal, Bertrandi, who was made a cardinal that year.

This instrument was signed by her, and by the Dauphin, and is printed in that great Collection of the treaties of

France that was published twenty years ago\*. It opens a scene of treachery, that, how much soever the design was suspected (as will appear by the paper, of which an account will be given in the following relation), yet it was never certainly known till they themselves have made their own shame thus known to the world. But at that time this was so carefully concealed, that Francis the Second sent a formal obligation under his great seal, by which he bound himself to the duke of Chatelherault to maintain his right of succeeding to the crown of Scotland, in case the queen should die without heirs of her own body. The original obligation is still preserved in Hawdton. The queen's secret act was as ill grounded in law as it was perfidious in itself; for certainly, what power soever our princes, with the concurrence of their parliaments, have to limit the succession to the crown, our princes themselves cannot, by any private act of their own, alter the succession, or dispose of it at pleasure. But to return to that which has led me into this digression.

The knowledge of religion, that the free use of the Scriptures brought the nation to, had such an effect, that the Reformation was everywhere desired; and the vices and ignorance of the popish clergy gave all people an aversion to them. This was long connived at, even by the queen mother, during her government: but now that she thought all was sure, she threw off the mask, and declared herself an open enemy to those whom she had courted hitherto and seemed to favour. Upon this, there was a great and a sudden turn. Popery was the object of all men's hatred: the churches were purged from idolatry and superstition: the monasteries were broke into; and many acts of hot and irregular zeal were complained of in all the corners of the kingdom.

One thing is not a little to the honour of Knox and his followers, in that tumultuary reformation, that the multitude was so governed, even amidst all that popular heat, that no blood was shed, and no man was killed in it: which being positively delivered by Lesley†, bishop of Rosse, that must be looked on as a testimony beyond exception.

But since the affairs of Scotland have not hitherto been

\* *Recueil des Traités*, to. ii, p. 508.

† "Nobilium qui læreseas obstringebantur crimine, humanitas non est reticenda, quod eo tempore paucos catholicos de religionis re multarint exilio, pauciores carcere, morte nullos."—*Leslæus de Rebus Scot.*, l. 10.

so clearly represented as I find them stated in some original papers that I fell on in the Cotton Library, I will give a full account of them, as far as those papers do guide me.

There is a long representation drawn up, of the breach of faith, and of the violation of their laws, during the government of the queen regent of Scotland: at the end of which there is a petition to the queen, signed by the great lords of that kingdom, in which both papists and protestants concurred. And in order to obtain that concurrence, the matters of religion are not insisted on; but the continued course of a perfidious and illegal administration is charged on the queen dowager. So that from this it appears, that the war was not begun nor carried on upon the account of religion, but upon the pretence of public and national rights. I have put it in the Collection (No. liii).

“They begin it to show, that the arms that they were forced to fly to was no rebellion. They run the matter back to the first proposition for carrying their queen into France; which, they say, was obtained, partly by corruption with money, partly by authority, and partly by fair promises: yet, before that was agreed to, a treaty was made by the parliament, and sworn to, as well as ratified by the great seals of the king and dauphin of France, that Scotland should be governed by their own laws, and by the nobility and people of Scotland: that all offices should be given to them; and, that no garrisons of the French should be admitted to settle in the kingdom. Great practice was made after that to bring the parliament to consent, that their queen should marry the dauphin; and, to obtain that, the succession to the crown was declared to belong to the duke of Chatelherault and his heirs, after the heirs of the queen’s body. New oaths were then taken, and charters given under the great seal of France, and under their queen and the dauphin’s seal, that Scotland should be governed by a council of natives: the castles were also to be put in sure hands. Duplicates of these were lodged in the castle of Edinburgh, and with the duke of Chatelherault. Upon this an embassy was sent to France, of two bishops, two earls, and four lords; and the marriage was concluded. They were upon that dealt with, to endeavour that the crown of Scotland might be given to the dauphin. They refused to undertake that; and believed that it could not be brought about. The word upon that was changed; and it was desired only, that the *matrimonial crown* might be sent him” (which was afterwards explained in the act of parliament that granted it, that he should be king of Scot-

land during life). “The lords were suffered to return; but when they came to Dieppe, one bishop, two earls, and two lords, died in one night. The three that were left came home much amazed, believing that the others had been poisoned.”

Here I must add another particular relating to that deputation. In the council-book, that goes from April 1554 to January 1558, that was cast by and neglected, many leaves being cut out of it, and was first discovered by a nephew of mine, whom I desired to search their register for me, it appears, that on the 13th of December, 1557, there was a tax laid on the kingdom, to be paid in before Easter, for the expense of that embassy, of 15,000*l.* Scots money, that is, 1,250*l.* sterling; which was to be levied by the same proportion that all the taxes were then levied, of which there are several instances in that book: the one half was levied on the spirituality, and two-thirds of the other half was on estates in land, and the other third was levied on the boroughs. This shows, that the estates of the spirituality were then reckoned, by a settled proportion, the full half of the kingdom. The persons deputed were, the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Orkney, and the prior of St. Andrew's (afterwards earl of Murray), the earls of Cassiles and Rothes, and the Lord Fleming; with the provost of Edinburgh, and of Montross. When I wondered how so small a sum could answer the expense of so great an embassy, on such an occasion, he showed me, that either the value of money, or, which is the same thing, the value of things to be purchased by money, is almost incredibly changed now, in the course of one hundred and sixty years, of which he gave me this instance; the tun of wine was then by act of parliament to be sold at twenty livres; or, in sterling money, at 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and in the retailing of it, their pint, which is four English pints, was to be sold at four farthings, their penny having six farthings; so that, reducing this to English measures, three quarts of wine were to be sold for a penny. This I thought a small digression, which the reader would not be ill pleased to find laid in his way. To return to the Scotch memorial.

“The queen dowager took two methods to gain her point: the one was, to show favour to all those who had received no favour of the duke during his government, because they were in the interest of England; whereas he was at that time in the interest of France: the other was, she offered them a permission to live according to their conscience in religion; in conclusion, the queen dowager brought the par-

liament to give the matrimonial crown to the dauphin ; but with this condition, that the duke's right should not be impaired by it.

“ When all this was obtained, the queen forgot all her promises ; she began with the greatest of the Scottish lords then in office, the earl of Huntley, who was then lord chancellor, and the duke's particular friend ; she took the great seal from him, and gave it to one Rubay, a French advocate ; she also put the earl of Huntley in prison, and set a great fine on him, and left him only the name of chancellor. She made another Frenchman comptroller, who had the charge of the revenue of the crown : and she put all Scotchmen out of the secrets of the council, committing these only to Frenchmen. She kept in several places garrisons of Frenchmen, who lived on discretion. She gave them no pay. She sent the revenue of the crown to France, and brought over some base money that was decried in France, and made it current in Scotland. She also set up a mint for coining base money, with which she paid the soldiers. She tried to get the castle of Edinburgh into her hands, but that failed her. She gave such abbeyes as fell void to Frenchmen, as to her brother the cardinal of Guise, and others : and for the space of three years she kept all that fell void in her own hands, except such as were of any value, and these she bestowed on Frenchmen. Nor did she ever follow the advice of those lords, who upon her first entering upon the government were named to be of the council. Many intercessions were made to her upon these proceedings by the nobility : sometimes companies of them joined together ; and sometimes they applied to her more privately, for they foresaw that they could not be borne long.

“ The queen dowager set herself next to a practice, which of all others was both the most dangerous and the most dishonourable, to set aside the duke and his house : pains were taken to engage the Lord James, and other lords, in it, who had no friendship for the duke ; to whom the queen dowager promised, that she would bear with their devotion in religion, if they would join with her against the duke, in favour of the French. This encouraged them to do those things by which they incurred the censures of the church ; and were, by reason of a law not much known, brought in danger of the guilt of treason : so process was ordered against them : and upon that the queen dowager tempted them to engage in the French interest ; but that not prevailing, they were declared traitors. The rest of the nobility being alarmed at this, the queen dowager brought out her

French garrisons, and disposed of their estates, and entered into St. John's Town in a warlike manner: she changed the magistrates, and left a garrison in the town. The whole nation was alarmed at this, and were coming together in great numbers. But she, not having force enough to conquer the nation, sent for the duke, and the earl of Huntly, and employed them to quiet the country; promising that every thing should be redressed in a parliament that should be held next spring, with many other more particular promises: upon this assurance, these lords quieted the country: while this was a doing, the duke's eldest son, being then in France, was sent for to court, but he had secret advertisements sent him, that it was resolved to proceed against him to the utmost extremity for heresy: upon which he kept out of the way, till an order was sent to bring him in dead or alive: upon that he made his escape: but they seized on a younger brother of his, of the age of fifteen, and put him in prison.

“In Scotland the nobility had separated themselves, trusting to the faith that the duke had given them, that all things should be kept quiet till the parliament. But some companies coming out of France to Leith, the queen dowager ordered that town to be fortified, and put twenty-two ensigns of foot with one troop of horse in it. The nobility upon that charged the duke with breach of faith, who could do no more but press the queen to forbear to give such cause of jealousy; but all was to no purpose. The town was fortified; all the ammunition she had was carried into it, and the French continued still to be sending over more forces. The duke, with the nobility, represented to the queen dowager, that it was now plain she designed a conquest: but she despised all their requests, for by this time the French thought they were so strong, that they reckoned it would be a short work to subdue Scotland. There were but two or three mean lords, Bothwell and Seaton, that kept company with the queen dowager; yet even these signified to their friends, that their hearts were with their countrymen: upon all this, the duke, with the rest of the nobility, and with the barons and burgesses of the realm, seeing an imminent danger to the whole nation, and no hope of remedy at her hands, began deeply to consider the state of the kingdom: their sovereign lady was married to a strange prince out of the realm, and wholly in the hands of Frenchmen; without any council of her own natural people; and they considered the mortality of her husband, or of herself without issue. The queen dowager, sister to the house that ruled all in France, persisted in ruining the

liberties of her daughter the queen's subjects, on design to knit that kingdom for ever to France; and so to execute the old malice of the French on the crown of England, of which they had already assumed the title.

"They, upon all these grounds, were constrained to constitute a council for the government of the kingdom, and for the use of their sovereign, to whom they had signified the suspension of the queen dowager's authority; maintaining, that being sore oppressed with French power, they had, as natural subjects, sufficient strength for that; though they are not able to stand against the power of France; but partly for the right of their sovereign, and partly for the ancient rights of the crown, they have been forced to spend their whole substance; yet they cannot longer preserve themselves from being conquered by the power sent over from France; a greater force being promised to be sent next spring. They therefore lay the whole matter before the queen of England's ministers, then upon their borders; and commit their cause to her protection; desiring nothing but that their country may be preserved from France, together with the rights of their sovereign, and the whole nation."

To this they add a petition, "that the number of French soldiers then within the kingdom might be removed speedily; that so they might live quietly, and be suffered to offer to the king and queen such articles as were necessary for the peace and good government of the kingdom, without alteration of their ancient liberties." This was signed by the earl of Arran, as he was then called, but that was his father's title, for he had no higher title in Scotland: the son therefore signed James Hamilton. It was also signed by the earls Argyle and Glencairn; by Lord James, afterwards created earl of Murray; and by the Lords Boyd, Uchiltry, Maxwell, and Ruthen: and by a son of the earl of Huntly's, and a son of the earl of Athol's; both these families being at that time papists. And thus by the tenor of this whole paper it appears; that religion was not pretended to be the cause of the war.

Upon the suspending the authority of the queen regent, I will here add a particular reflection, which will show what Archbishop Spotswood's sense was when he first wrote his history of that transaction. He gives an account of the opinion that Willock and Knox delivered, when they were called and required to give it, which they did in favour of that suspension: for which he censures the opinion itself, in these words: "Howbeit the power of the magistrate be limited, and their office prescribed by God, and that they may likewise fall into great offences; yet it is nowhere permitted to subjects to call their princes in question; or to

make insurrection against them, God having reserved the punishment of princes to himself." Yet in a fair manuscript of that history, written with great care, as for the press, this whole period was first penned quite in another strain: "allowing the states of the kingdom a right to restrain their prince, when he breaks through rules; only censuring clergymen's meddling in those matters." This is scored through, but so that it is still legible, and Spotswood interlined with his own hand the alteration; according to which, his book was printed. The manuscript belonged to me, and forty-two years ago I presented it to the duke of Lauderdale, and showed him that passage, on which he made great reflection. I cannot find out in whose hands that manuscript is fallen: but whosoever has it will, I hope, justify me in this particular; for though I am not sure as to the words, yet I am very sure they are to this purpose.

When this representation and petition was brought to the queen, Cecil drew up a state of the matter, which will be found in the Collection (No. liv); putting this as the question, Whether it was meet that England should help Scotland to expel the French or not? For the negative he says, "It was against God's law to aid any subjects against their natural prince or their ministers: it was also dangerous to do it: for an aid secretly given would be to no purpose: and an aid publicly given would draw on a war: and in that case the French would come to any composition with the Scots to join with them against England; since they will consent to any thing, rather than suffer Scotland to be united to the crown of England. He adds, It may also be apprehended that the emperor, the king of Spain, the pope, and the duke of Savoy, with the potentates of Italy, will join with the French king, rather than suffer these two kingdoms to be joined in one manner of religion; and many within both kingdoms will not approve of this. But in opposition to all this, he concludes for assisting the Scots.

"He lays it down for a principle, that it is agreeable to the laws of God and of nature, that every prince and state should defend itself; not only from perils that are seen, but from those that may probably come after: to which he adds, that nature and reason teach every person, politic or other, to use the same manner of defence that the adversary useth of offence. Upon these grounds he concludes, that England might and ought to assist the Scots to keep out the French; and so earnest was that great statesman in this matter, that he prosecutes it very copiously.

"His first reason is that which the Scots would never

admit, but he might think it proper to offer it to an English council; that the crown of England had a superiority over Scotland, such as the emperor had over Bohemia or Milan. He next shows, that England must be in great danger from the French, if they became the absolute masters of Scotland. Upon this he runs out to show, that the French had been long enemies to England; that they had been false and double in all their treaties with them these seven hundred years; and that the last peace was forced from them by their poverty. That France could not be poor above two years; nor could it be long without war; beside the hatred that the house of Guise, who then governed the French councils, bore to England. They call in question the queen's title, and set up their own against it; and at the treaty of Cambray they set that pretension on foot; but it was then stopped by the wisdom of the constable; yet they used means at Rome to get the queen to be declared illegitimate; upon which the bull was brought into France: and at the solemnities, in which the king was killed, the arms of England and Ireland were joined with the queen of Scots' arms. The present embroilment in Scotland is the stop that now restrains them from carrying these pretensions further: but as soon as they can, they will certainly set them on foot: and the assaulting England by the way of Scotland is so easy, that it is not possible to avoid it but by stopping the progress of that conquest. A war by the way of Scotland puts France in no danger, though it should miscarry; but England is in the utmost danger if it should succeed. He concludes, that as the matter was of the last importance, so no time was to be lost, since the prejudice, if too long delayed, would be irrecoverable."

What further steps were made in the secret debating of this point does not appear to me, but by the conclusion of the matter. For the queen sent forces, under the command of the duke of Norfolk, to the borders of Scotland: what followed upon that is set out fully in the common historians, and from them in my former work.

But a copy of the bond of association, into which the lords and others in Scotland entered (the original of which remains still in the possession of the duchess of Hamilton), will set out more particularly the grounds that they went on. It is in the Collection (No. lv); and it sets forth, "that they promised faithfully, and in the presence of God, that they would, to the utmost of their power, set forward the reformation of religion, according to God's word; that the true preaching of it might have a free passage through the whole kingdom, together with the admi-

nistration of the sacraments. And that they, considering the misbehaviour of the French among them, and the intolerable oppression of the poor by their soldiers, maintained by the queen dowager, under colour of authority, together with the tyranny of their captains, and the manifest danger of becoming their conquest, to which they were then reduced by fortifications on the sea-coast, and other attempts, do promise to join with the queen of England's army, then come in to their assistance, for driving out those their oppressors, and for recovering their ancient liberty, that so they may be ruled by the laws and customs of their country, and by the natives of the kingdom, under the obedience of the king and queen their sovereign. And they promise, that they shall hold no private intelligence with their enemies, but by the advice of the rest, or at the least of five of their number; and that they shall prosecute this cause as if it were the cause of every one of them in particular, and hold all who withstand it as their enemies; and that they will prosecute them as such, according to the orders of the council, to whom they refer the direction of the whole matter, promising in all things to submit to their arbitration.

This was first subscribed at Edinburgh on the 27th of April, in the year 1560, and is signed by the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Arran, Huntly, Argyle, Mortoune, and some others, whose hands are not legible; and by the lords Salton, Ruthen, Boyd, Ogilby, Uchiltre, the abbot of Kinloss, and the commendator of Kilwinny: about one hundred and forty more subscribed it. This was the bond that was signed by those who were at that time at Edinburgh: and it is probable, that many other bonds of the same nature were signed about the same time in other parts of the kingdom, but they have not been so carefully preserved as this has been. The earl of Huntly, though he continued still a papist, signing it, shows, that either the ill usage he had met with from the queen dowager had shaken him in his religion, or that provocation and interests were then stronger in him than his principles. But I leave my conjectures to go on with the History.

On the 2d of November, Jewel being returned from the circuit which he was ordered to make, wrote (in a letter to Peter Martyr, to be found in the Collection, No. lvi), "that the people were much better disposed to the gospel than it was apprehended they could be: but he adds, that superstition had made a most extraordinary progress in Queen Mary's short reign. The people were made believe, they had in many places pieces of the true cross, and of the nails

with which Christ was crucified: so that the cathedral churches were dens of robbers; and none were more violent and obstinate than those who had been before of their body; as if by that they would justify their falling off from them. They had turned them all out. Harding went away, and would not change again. Smith, who had been a violent opposer of Peter Martyr in Oxford, fled towards Scotland, but was taken on the borders, and brought back; and had abjured a fifth time, and was then become a violent enemy to the papists." In another letter he tells him, "Smith was married; and that, being hated and despised by all sides, he was forced to keep a public-house." Jewel wrote, "that if they had more hands matters would go well; but it was hard to make a cart go without horses. He was glad to hear Peter Martyr was sent for: but he owns he had his fears still, that though things were begun well, they would not end so well." He adds, "We are islanders in all respects. Oxford wanted him extremely. The queen was then courted, both by the king of Sweden and by Charles of Austria." It was then given out, that Sweden was full of mines of gold, and only wanted skill and industry to work them: but he writes, "Perhaps the queen meant to marry one nearer at hand" (he gives no other hint in that letter, to let it be understood of whom he meant; probably it was Pickering, as appears in another letter). He concludes, "that though religion did make a quick progress in Scotland, yet that the French did not despair of bringing that kingdom back to their obedience, and of restoring their religion in it."

On the same day he wrote to Simler, who had congratulated him upon the news they had of his being to be promoted to a bishopric. He wrote, "that there was yet nothing but a nomination of him." He adds, "We hope our bishops shall be pastors, labourers, and watchmen: And that they may be better fitted for this, the great riches of bishoprics are to be diminished, and to be reduced to a certain mediocrity; that so, being delivered from that king-like pomp, and the noisiness of a courtly family, they may live in greater tranquillity, and may have more leisure to take care of Christ's flock with due attention."

On the 5th of November he wrote (Collect. No. lvii), "that he found debates raised concerning the vestments, which he calls the habit of the stage, and wishes they could be freed from it. He says, they were not wanting to so good a cause: but others seemed to love those things, and to follow the ignorance of some priests, who were stupid as logs of wood, having neither spirit, learning, nor good life

to commend them ; but studied to recommend themselves by that comical habit, while no care was taken of learning, or of breeding up of youth. They hoped to strike the eyes of the people with those ridiculous trifles. These are the relics of the Amorites : that cannot be denied. He wishes, that at some time or other all these may be taken away and extirpated, to the very deepest roots. He complains of a feebleness in the councils : they still talked of bringing Martyr over ; but he feared that we looked too much towards Saxony to expect that. Some among them, he says, were so much set on the matter of the habits, as if the Christian religion consisted in garments : but we (says he) are not called to the consultations concerning that scenical apparel : he could set no value on these fopperies. Some were crying up a golden mediocrity ; he was afraid it would prove a leaden one."

On the 16th of November he wrote, in a letter to be found in the Collection (No. lviii), " that the doctrine was everywhere purely preached. There was in many places too much folly concerning ceremonies and masks. The crucifix continued still in the queen's chapel. They all spake freely against it, but till then without effect. There was a secret piece of worldly policy in this, which he did not like. He complains of the uncertain and island-like state of their affairs : all was loose at present. He did not see in what they would settle, and did not know but he should be obliged to return back to Zurick again."

In December and January the consecration of the bishops came on. But here a stop lies in my way. For some months the thread of the letters to Zurick, by which I have been hitherto guided, is discontinued. At this time an ambassador came over from Ferdinand the emperor, with letters dated the 11th of February 1560, proposing a match between his son, Arch-duke Charles, and the queen. He had writ of it to her before, but thought fit to follow these letters with a formal embassy. The originals are yet extant\*. The queen wrote an answer in form, and signed it : but it seems that was, on some considerations, not thought fit to be sent, for the original is in the Paper-office. It will be found in the Collection (No. lix).

" The queen wrote, that, examining her own sentiments in that matter very carefully, she did not perceive any inclination to change her solitary life, but found herself more fixed to continue still in it. She hoped the emperor would favourably receive and rightly understand what she wrote

to him. It might indeed seem strange, considering her age and her circumstances; but this was no new resolution, nor taken up on the sudden, but was the adhering to an old settled purpose. There had been a time in which her accepting some honourable propositions might have delivered her out of very great dangers and troubles; on which she would make no other reflections, but that neither the fear of danger, nor the desire of liberty, could then move her to bring her mind to hearken to them. She will not, by a plain refusal, seem to offend him; yet she cannot give occasion, by any of her words, to make him think that she accepts of that to which she cannot bring her mind and will." Dated the 5th of January 1559. Signed, your majesty's good sister and cousin, Elizabeth: countersigned, Rog. Ascham.

The first letter of Jewel's, after his consecration, is on the 4th of February 1560. It is in the Collection (No. lx). He tells Peter Martyr, "they were then engaged in the question about the lawfulness of having images in churches (which he calls *Lis Crucularia*). It could scarce be believed to what a degree of folly some men, who were thought to have a right judgment of things, were carried in that matter. There was not one of all those whom he knew, that was drawn to be of that mind, besides Cox. There was to be a conference concerning it the day following. Parker and Cox on the one hand, and Grindal and he on the other hand, were to debate it in the hearing of some of the council: he could not but laugh within himself, when he thought what grave and solid reasonings would be brought out on this occasion. He was told, that it was resolved on to have crucifixes, of silver or tin, set up in all churches; and that such as would not obey this would be turned out of their bishoprics: if that was true, he would be no longer a bishop. White, bishop of Winchester, Oglethorp of Carlisle, Bain of Coventry and Litchfield, and Tonstal of Duresme, were lately dead. In another he writes, that Bonner was sent to the Tower, and that he went to see some criminals that were kept there, and called them his friends and neighbours. but one of them answered, Go, you beast, into hell, and find your friends there, for we are none of them. I killed but one man upon a provocation, and do truly repent of it; but you have killed many holy persons, of all sorts, without any provocation from them, and are hardened in your impenitence."

On the 5th of March he writes, "that a change appeared now more visibly among the people. Nothing promoted it more than the inviting the people to sing psalms; that was

begun in one church in London, and did quickly spread itself, not only through the city, but in the neighbouring places: sometimes at Paul's Cross there will be six thousand people singing together. This was very grievous to the papists: the children began to laugh at the priests, as they passed in the streets; and the bishops were called hangmen to their faces. It was said, White died of rage. He commends Cecil much.

Sands, bishop of Worcester, wrote in a letter, on the 1st of April 1560, which will be found in the Collection (No. lxi), "that after he returned from executing the injunctions and preaching in the north, he was pressed to accept of the bishopric of Worcester: he saw, if he absolutely refused it, the queen would have been highly offended. He found it more truly a burthen than an honour. The doctrine of the sacrament was pure, to which he and his brethren were resolved to adhere firmly, as long as they lived. There was yet a question concerning images: the queen thought that was not contrary to the word of God, and it seemed convenient to have a crucifix, with the blessed Virgin and Saint John, still in her chapel. Some of them could not bear this: We had, says he, according to our injunctions, taken away all the images that we found in churches, and burned them. We see superstitious people plainly worship this idol: upon this, he had spoken freely to the queen; with that she was so displeased as to threaten to deprive him; she was since that time more softened, and the images were removed: but the popish vestments were still used; yet he hoped that should not last long. He laments much that Peter Martyr was not sent for. It was easy to guess what it was that hindered it; it was the presence of unity, that gave occasion to the greatest divisions."

Parkhurst came into England in the end of the year 1559. He went to his church of Cleve in Gloucestershire, and kept out of the way of the court. He writes, that many bishops would be glad to change conditions with him. He heard he had been named to a bishopric, but he had dealt earnestly with some great men to spare him in that: when he came through London, both Parker and a privy counsellor had pressed him to accept of one, but he could not resolve on being miserable.

Sampson had been with the other divines at Zurick, and was reckoned by them both a learned and a pious man: while he was coming to England with the rest, he was informed that a bishopric was designed for him; so he wrote, while he was on his journey, to Peter Martyr, for his advice, as will be found in the Collection (No. lxii), in this, "whe-

ther it was lawful to swear to the queen, as supreme head of the church under Christ. He thought Christ was the sole head of the church, and no such expression of any inferior head was found in the Scripture. He thought, likewise, that the want of discipline made that a bishop could not do his duty. Many temporal pressures lay upon bishops, such as first-fruits and tenths, besides the expense of their equipage and attendance at court: so that little was left for the breeding up of youth, for the relief of the poor, and other more necessary occasions, to make their ministry acceptable. The whole method of electing bishops was totally different from the primitive institution. The consent either of the clergy or people was not so much as asked. Their superstitious dress seemed likewise unbecoming. He wrote all this only to him, not that he expected that a bishopric should be offered him; he prayed God that it might never happen. He was resolved to apply himself to preach, but to avoid having any share in the government, till he saw a full reformation made in all ecclesiastical functions, both as to doctrine and discipline, and with relation to the goods of the church. He desires his answer as soon as was possible."

Peter Martyr answered his letter on the 1st of November, but what it was can only be gathered from Sampson's reply to it: he received it on the 3d of January, and answered it on the 6th, 1560. It is in the Collection (No. lxiii). "They were then under sad apprehensions, for which he desires their prayers in a very solemn manner. They were afraid lest the truth of religion should either be overturned, or very much darkened in England. The bishops of Canterbury, London, Ely, and Worcester, were consecrated: Pilkington was designed for Winchester, Bentham for Coventry and Litchfield, and Peter Martyr's Jewel for Salisbury.

"Things still stuck with him: he could neither have ingress nor egress: God knew how glad he would be to find an egress; let others be bishops, he desired only to be a preacher, but no bishop. There was yet a general prohibition of all preaching; and there was a crucifix on the altar still at court, with lights burning before it: and though, by the queen's order, images were removed out of churches all the kingdom over, yet the people rejoiced to see this was still kept in the queen's chapel. Three bishops officiated at this altar; one as priest, another as deacon, and a third as sub-deacon, all before this idol, in rich copes: and there was a sacrament without any sermon. He adds, that injunctions were sent to preachers not to use freedom in the

reproving of vice ; so he asks what both Martyr, Bullinger, and Bernardin, thought of this : whether they looked on it as a thing indifferent, and what they would advise him to do, if injunctions should be sent out, requiring the like to be done in all churches ; whether they ought to be obeyed, or if the clergy ought not to suffer deprivation rather than obey ? Some among themselves thought that all this was indifferent, and so might be obeyed : he understood that the queen had a great regard to Bernardin Ochino, so he desires that he would write to her to carry on the work of God diligently. He solemnly assures them, that she was truly a child of God. But princes had not so many friends to their souls as they had to their other concerns. He wishes they would all write to her ; for she understood both Italian, Latin, and Greek, well. So they might write in any language to her ; but if they wrote, they must write as of their own motion, and not as if any complaints had been writ over to them."

" On the 13th of May he wrote again, that a bishopric had been offered to him, but that he had refused it : and he desires Peter Martyr, to whom he wrote, not to censure this till he knew the whole state of the matter : but he rejoices that Parkhurst was made bishop of Norwich." And, by his letter, it seems Norwich was the bishopric that was offered to him. Parkhurst wrote soon after his promotion to Martyr, and assured him there was no danger of setting up Lutheranism in England : only he writes, " We are fighting about ceremonies, vestments, and matters of no moment."

Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr, on the 22d of May, " that the church of Salisbury was so struck with thunder, that there was a clift all down for sixty feet : he was not got thither, so he could not tell whether foolish people made judgments upon this, with relation to him, or not. He writes that Bonner, Fecknam, Pole, Scory, and Watson, were all put in prison for railing at the changes that were made. The queen expressed great firmness and courage in maintaining the establishment she had made in matters of religion. He tells him, that not only Cecil and Knolls desired to be kindly remembered to him, but Petre likewise, which perhaps he did not look for."

On the 17th of July he writes to him, " that there was a peace made in Scotland, and that the French were sent away. Scotland was to be governed by a council of twelve persons ; only all greater matters were to be referred to a parliament. He writes, that the duke of Holstein was come over to see the queen, and was nobly treated by her,

and made a knight of the garter: the king of Sweden's coming over was still talked of." After Jewel had been some time in his diocess, he wrote to Gualter on the 2d of November 1560, "that he now felt what a load government was to him, who had led his life in the shade, and at study, and had never turned his thoughts to government; but he would make up in his diligence what might be otherwise wanting: the opposition he met with from the rage of the papists was incredible."

On the 6th of November he wrote, that May, dean of St. Paul's, who was designed to be archbishop of York, was dead: it does not appear on what views that see was so long kept void after the rest were filled. Parker was much troubled at this, and wrote very earnestly about it to Cecil. The letter will be found in the Collection (No. lxiv). "There were great complaints in the north: the people there were offended to see no more care had of them; and for want of instruction they were become rude: this was like to have an ill influence on the quiet and order of the country. It was perhaps so long delayed for the advantage the queen's exchequer made by the vacancy: but if, for want of good instruction, the people should grow savage, like the Irish, it might run to a far greater charge to reduce them. Why should any person hinder the queen's zeal, to have her people taught to know and to fear God? If those hitherto named for the north were not liked, or not willing to go thither, he proposed that some of those already placed might be removed thither. And he named Young, bishop of St. David's, for York; and the bishop of Rochester, Guest, for Duresme: and if any suspicions were had of any of their practising to the prejudice of their successors, there were precedents used in former times, to take bishops bound to leave their churches in no worse case than they found them. He had pressed them formerly with relation to vacant sees: he saw the matter was still delayed: he would never give over his importunity till the thing was done, which he hoped he would instantly promote, out of the zeal he bore to souls so dear to Christ."

This he wrote on the 16th of October; so it does not appear if the design for May was then so well fixed as Jewel apprehended. The hint in this letter of the practices of bishops was occasioned by the ruinous leases that the popish bishops had made; for, seeing the change that was designed, they had by the law at that time so absolute a power over their estates, having no restraints laid on them but those of their own canons, that their leases, how mischievous soever to their successors, were good in law. The

new bishops, in many places, had scarce necessary subsistence, or houses left them, and were to be supported by dignities given them *in commendam*: and it was perhaps suggested, that they, to procure a little better subsistence to themselves, might be prevailed upon to prolong or confirm such leases.

The archbishop's importunity had its effect; for, in February thereafter, Young was removed to York; and Pilkington, a learned and zealous man, was made bishop of Duresme\*. And thus the sees of England were filled. Jewel, in a letter soon after to Peter Martyr, in February 1560, which will be found in the Collection (No. lxxv), "wishes that all the remnants of former errors, with all the rubbish, and even the dust that might yet remain, might be taken away: he wishes they could have obtained it. It seems by this, that their wishes had not prevailed. The council of Trent was then to be opened again, but the queen was resolved to take no notice of it. He gives an account of his apology, that was then set out." This has been so often printed, and is so well known, that it is not necessary to enlarge more upon it: as it was one of the first books published in this reign, so it was written with that strength and clearness, that it, together with the defence of it, is still to this day reckoned one of our best books. In that letter he writes of the countess of Lenox, the mother to the Lord Darnley, "that she was a more violent papist than even Queen Mary herself. Her son was gone to Scotland, and it was believed he might marry the queen of Scotland: the Earl of Hartford had a son by the Lady Katharine Gray: some called him a bastard, but others affirmed that they were married. If that was true, then, according to King Henry's will, he must be the heir of the crown. But he adds, 'Ah! unhappy we, that cannot know under what prince we are to live.' He complains that schools are forsaken, and that they were under a great want of preachers. The few they had were everywhere well received: he writes in another letter, that, in Queen Mary's time, for want of good instruction, the anabaptists and Arians did much increase; but now they disappeared everywhere."

The popish clergy, when they saw no appearance of any new change, did generally comply with the laws then made; but in so untoward a manner, that they made it very visible that what they did was against both their heart and their conscience. This put the bishops on receiving many into

\* See more of this in the Annals of the Reformation, chap. 12.

orders that were not thoroughly well qualified, which exposed them to much censure. They thought, that, in that necessity, men of good hearts, that loved the gospel, though not so learned as might be wished for, were to be brought into the service of the church: but pains was taken, and methods were laid down, to breed up a more knowing race of men as soon as was possible.

I turn now to show how the affairs of religion went on, particularly with relation to Scotland, of which mention was made in some of Jewel's letters.

But before I open this, I will give an account of two instruments sent me from Scotland, that came not to my hands but since the pages 337 and 338 were printed off; yet they are so important, that as I have put them in the Collection (No. lxvi), so I will give a short account of them here. On the 19th of April, fifteen days after the queen of Scotland had passed that secret, fraudulent protestation formerly mentioned, when the articles of the marriage were mutually signed, it was not only provided that the crown of Scotland, in case she should die without children, should descend to the duke of Chatelherault and his heirs; the instrument itself being published in the French Collection; but the dauphin did, on the same day, set his seal to a charter, still preserved at Hamilton, setting forth the faith and engagements that the king his father had formerly made, to secure to the earl of Arran the succession to the crown of Scotland, in case the queen should die without children; to which he promises he will pay all obedience. He confirms and ratifies that promise for himself and his successors; promising in good faith (*bona fide*), that in that case he will not only suffer that lord to enjoy the crown, but that he will assist and maintain him in it.

The promise made by his father, King Henry, to which this refers, bears date the 17th day of June, anno 1549; and was sent over to Scotland, in order to the getting of Queen Mary to be sent to France. By it the king promised, on the word of a king, that, in case the queen should die without children, he would assist the earl of Arran, in the succession to the crown, against all that should oppose him. These instruments I have put in the Collection, as lasting memorials of the fidelity and sincerity of that court; to give a just precaution to posterity in future ages: by which it will appear, how little contracts, promises, and public stipulations, are to be depended on, where a secret protestation, lodged in a clandestine manner, is set up to make all this void; which, I hope, will not be soon forgotten or neglected.

But to return from this digression, which, though a little out of its place, seemed too important to be omitted.

The distraction that France was in, made it not easy to them to carry on the war of Scotland, by reason of the charge that the sending forces to so great a distance put them to: whereas it was but a short march to the English, to go to the assistance of the lords of Scotland; so they were willing to make up matters the best they could by a treaty. Commissioners were appointed to treat on both sides. In the mean while, the queen regent of Scotland died: so Cecil and Wotton, who were employed by the queen in that treaty, apprehending the French might, upon this emergent, study to gain more time, wrote to the queen for positive orders.

A letter was written to them on the 15th of June, signed by five privy counsellors; which is in the Collection (No. lxxvii), taken from the original. By it, it appears, that this treaty was then a secret, which they saw must soon break out; so the persons employed in Scotland advised the acquainting King Philip with it, because they looked on it as brought very near a total agreement. To this the queen's council agreed. Those in Scotland apprehended, that perhaps the French would, upon the regent's death, go away and leave the kingdom without coming to any agreement. If they should do so, they did order them to advise with the duke of Norfolk, and the lords of Scotland in league with them, how the French may be forthwith expelled the kingdom, without any loss of time. For by all the advertisements they had, they understood that the French intended to gain time as much as was possible. If the French desired to have some of their colleagues in the town, to assist them in managing the treaty, that was by no means to be granted: but if they desired the assistance of such Scottish men as were of their faction, and if their friends in Scotland consented to it, that seemed reasonable. The rest of the letter relates to one Parrys, an Irishman.

The treaty, by reason of the weakness of the French force, was soon brought to a conclusion. The French were to be sent away in three weeks. An assembly of the states was to meet, and to settle the affairs of the kingdom: it was to be governed by a council of twelve persons; of whom the king and queen were to name seven, and the states to choose five: and by these, all affairs were to be governed, they being made accountable to the parliament. The last article was, "that the king and queen should not use the title or arms of England and Ireland any more."

When matters were brought to a settlement in Scotland, the Scots sent up the earls of Morton and Glencairn to the queen. Their message will best appear from the instructions which will be found in the Collection (No. lxxviii), copied from the original, that is still preserved, and in the possession of the duchess of Hamilton: by which, "the estates of parliament, considering how the two kingdoms lay joined together; and reflecting on the inconveniences that they and their ancestors had suffered by continual wars, and on the advantages of a perpetual friendship between them; therefore they did order a proposition of marriage to be made to the queen of England, with the earl of Arran; who, after his father, in default of succession of the queen's body, was the next heir of the crown of Scotland. And they resolved, that an embassy should be appointed, to make the proposition in the honourablest manner that could be devised. They also order thanks to be given to the queen, for the good will she has on all occasions expressed for their kingdom; which she had particularly declared of late, by the support she had given them for their relief; by the means of which they enjoyed their present quiet. And they were also ordered to move the queen, to send strict commands to her wardens, and other officers on the borders, to suppress all broken men, and to restrain all thefts. These instructions were appointed to be sealed and subscribed by six of every estate; and that was to be held as valid as if all the estates had sealed and subscribed them.

This order of parliament is signed by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Dumblane, Argyle, and the elect bishop of the isles: and by as many abbots and priors: the prior of St. Andrew's, afterwards earl of Murray; the abbot of Arbroth, afterwards marquis of Hamilton; the abbots of Newbottle and Culros: the commendator of Kilwinning, and the prior of Lochlevin. So many of the ecclesiastical state of both ranks concurring, shows, that they rejoiced in the deliverance that they had from the servitude under which the French had almost brought them.

These instructions are also signed by the duke of Chatelherault, who subscribed only James; and by the earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, Crawford, and Sutherland; and by the lords Erskine, Gordon, Salton, Hay, Uchiltry, Innermeth, Boyd, Lindsay, Gray, and some others, whose names cannot be read: and by eight provosts of boroughs. But no seals are in this noble instrument; so probably it was an authentic duplicate, that was deposited in that family, to remain as an undoubted proof of the right of succeeding to

the crown of Scotland, if the queen had left no issue of her own body.

To this an answer was given, which I have put in the Collection (No. lxxix), from the draught of it in Cecil's hand. "The queen received the hearty thanks that the three estates sent very kindly; and was glad the assistance she had given them was so well accepted by them. She was so well satisfied with the effects it had, that if the cause should happen, in which they might need aid from her, she assures them it shall not be wanting. The queen did perceive the difference between the benefits bestowed by her father on many of the nobility of that nation, which were supposed to be to the prejudice of the kingdom, and so had not the success expected; and those they had received from her, which were directed to the safety of the realm: so the diversity in the bestowing them had made this diversity in the acceptance of them.

"She received that proposition of marriage as a mark of the good intention of the estates for knitting the kingdoms in amity; in offering to her the best and choicest person that they had, though not without danger of the displeasure of the French king. But the queen was not disposed presently to marry; though the necessity of the kingdom might, perhaps, constrain her afterwards to it. Yet she desired, that the earl of Arran might not forbear to marry on her account: but that the amity between the two kingdoms might remain firm; since it was so necessary to their preservation, though no marriage were made upon it. The queen had heard a very good report of the earl of Arran, and thought him a noble gentleman of great worth, and did not doubt but he would prove to be such. In the last place, the queen desired the states would reflect on former practices among them, and would continue in a good agreement among themselves, and not fall into factions. And she concluded with a promise, that on her part no reasonable thing should be neglected, that might tend to the common defence of both the realms against any common enemy."

Things went on pursuant to this treaty; to which it was not thought the French would have any regard when their affairs should be in a better condition. The apprehensions of that were soon at an end. In December, 1560, the union which that kingdom had with France was totally broke by the death of Francis the Second; so that Mary, queen of Scotland, had nothing left but her own strength to depend upon. The treaty of Leith, being in all other points executed, the queen ordered both Throckmorton, her ordinary ambassador in France, and the earl of Bedford, whom she

had sent over extraordinary, to demand Queen Mary's ratification of that treaty; which I shall open more particularly, because upon this occasion that jealousy was raised between the two queens, that ended so fatally to the one. The queen of Scots used many shifts to excuse her not doing it.

In a letter of Throckmorton's, of the 16th of April, which is in the Collection (No. lxx), he tells the queen, "that having pressed the queen of Scots to it, she said, she had not her council about her, particularly the cardinal of Lorraine, her uncle, by whom she was advised in all her affairs: nor had she heard from her council in Scotland. She promised, that when she heard from them, and had advised with her council about her, she would give an answer that should satisfy the queen. But her natural brother, the Lord James, being come over to her, the queen had commanded Throckmorton to demand again the confirmation of the treaty. Upon which the ambassador sent a gentleman to know her pleasure, when he should wait on her, to receive it from her hand. This, as he wrote to her, was desired by the queen, as a mean to make them live hereafter in all love, peace, and amity, together. And nothing could so demonstrate that queen's intention to entertain this, as the establishing that knot of friendship between them, for both their quiet and comfort, which was at that time the only refuge of them both." Of this he sent the queen, his mistress, a copy.

On the 1st of May, Mr. Somer, whom the ambassador had sent to Nancy, where the queen of Scotland was at that time, came back with her answer: which is in the Collection (No. lxxi), it being the only original paper that ever I saw in her hand. Dated from Nancy, the 22d of April, 1561.

"She writes, she was then leaving that place; so she could give no answer until she came to Rheims, where she intended to be at the king's coronation: and she says that Lord James was only come to do his duty about her, as his sovereign lady, without any charge or commission whatsoever." This Throckmorton sent to the queen, together with a letter from the cardinal of Lorraine to the same purpose, which he also sent her in a letter, which will be found in the Collection (No. lxxii); in which he writes, "that though Somer had used the best means he could, to put the Scottish queen in mind of the promise she had made to the earl of Bedford, and to Throckmorton himself, yet he could get no other answer from her. The ambassador was ordered by the queen not to be present at the coronation: so he did not know when or where he should see her; for it was said she did not intend for some time to come into the neigh-

bourhood of Paris : he therefore proposed to the queen to send a letter of credit by Mr. Somer to that queen ; and with it to order him to go and demand her answer. By that queen's discourse with Lord James, it seemed she did not intend to give a plain answer, but still to shift it off : but he thought the queen insisting on it by a person sent express to stay for an answer, she would be able to judge from thence what measures she ought to take. The queen of Scotland had said to the ambassador, that she intended to give Lord James a commission, with a charge to look to the affairs of Scotland during her absence ; and he, when he took leave of her, left one to bring that after him : but that person was come with letters from that queen, but with no commission ; and he understood by him that she had changed her mind, and would give no such commission, until she should come to Scotland herself : nor would she dispose of any thing till then. This was easily seen to be on design to let all people understand on what terms they might expect benefices, grants, or other favours from her.

The true reason why she would not employ Lord James, was, because she found she could not draw him from his devotion to the queen ; nor from his resolution to observe the late treaty and league between England and Scotland : and it is added, that the cardinal of Lorraine saw he could not draw him from his religion, though he used great persuasions to prevail on him." Upon these accounts, the ambassador wrote over, " that he saw he might be much depended on : so he advises the queen to consider him as one that may serve her to good purpose, and to use him liberally and honourably. He had made great acknowledgments of the good reception he met with as he came through London : so he on many accounts deserved to be both well used, and much trusted. The queen of Scotland had great expectations from the popish party ; and from the earl of Huntly in particular. He gives in that letter an account of a great tumult that had then happened at Paris, upon occasion of an assembly of protestants for worship in a private house, in the suburbs. The rabble met about the house, threatening violence : upon which those within, seeing persuasions had no effect, fired and killed seven or eight of them. The court of parliament sent an order to suppress the tumult, and disperse the multitude. This was plainly contrary to the edict lately made : but the ambassador apprehended that greater disorders would follow." And that I may end all this matter at once,

I find in a letter of Jewel's, that is in the Collection No. lxxiii), that the duke of Guise sent to the princes of

Germany, to divert them from assisting the prince of Conde ; assuring them, that he himself was very moderate in the points of religion, and had very favourable thoughts of the Augsburg confession : he studied also to persuade the queen, that the war which was then breaking out in France was not for religion, but was a conspiracy against the government ; which he hoped she as a queen would not assist. At the same time the queen of Scotland sent the queen a present of a diamond of value, with some very fine verses made by Buchanan, then in her court. She also in her letters vowed a perpetual friendship with her, and wrote that she would pass through England. Yet the queen saw through all this, and was not diverted by it from assisting the prince of Conde. Upon this the duke of Guise did openly charge all the disorders in France on her, as the principal author of them : by this the mask was thrown away, and these jealousies broke out into an open war. Jewel wishes the queen had begun it sooner, and that the princes of Germany would follow her example, now that she was engaged, and had sent one to engage them likewise.

By that time, the queen of Scotland had got by sea into her kingdom : she alone had her mass, which was put down all the kingdom over.

There was this year an extraordinary bad season through every quarter of the year, and perpetual rains. There was also much talk of many monstrous births, both by women and beasts, hogs, mares, cows, and hens : some births were without heads, or heads of a strange form ; and some without arms, or legs ; very probably things of that sort were magnified by those who reported them ; and, no doubt, they were made the presages of some dismal events to be looked for ; it being ordinary in all great changes to enlarge, and even to forge stories of that sort, on design to alarm people with the apprehensions of some signal judgments to follow after such unusual warnings. This last letter being written some time after the great convocation that settled our Reformation, is mentioned here out of its place, to finish a matter to which I have nothing here to add.

But now to return to give an account of that famous meeting of the clergy. I must first lament, that here there is another total stop in the correspondence with Zurick, that has hitherto furnished me with so many particulars. I cannot think but that there were copious accounts of the progress of matters in it given to them, if not during the convocation, in which the bishops were no doubt much employed, yet at least soon after the prorogation, which was

in the beginning of April: but in all the volume of letters that is sent me, I find not one, either during their sitting, or after it was ended, till that I mentioned last, which is of the 14th of August. Being then destitute of those authentic vouchers, I must gather up what remains I could find, to give a clear account of the great transactions then on foot.

The imperfect abstract which I have often vouched, gives us but a very defective account of their proceedings. Their first session was on the 13th of January. Day, provost of Eaton, preached. Parker told them, they had now in their hands an opportunity of reforming all things in the church. The queen did earnestly desire it, and so did many of the nobility. He sent them to choose a prolocutor, and recommended Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, to them. They chose him upon that; and on the 16th of January, Parker exhorted them to consider against the next session what things wanted a reformation. On the 19th, he sent for the prolocutor, who came up, with six of the clergy. He said, they had before them some sheets of matters to be offered for a reformation, which were then referred to be considered by a committee. He also said, that the Articles set forth in a synod at London, in King Edward's time, were likewise before a committee to be considered; and, if need was, to be corrected by them. On the 20th, the archbishop and bishops were for the space of three hours consulting secretly about those Articles. On the 22d, they were again for three hours considering the same matter. On the 25th, they were two hours. And on the 27th, they were for three hours more upon the same matter. And on the 29th of January (1562), all in the upper house agreed unanimously in settling the Articles of Religion, and they subscribed them.

The differences between these Articles, and those set forth by King Edward, are very particularly marked in the Collections, added to my second volume. The most material is the leaving out that express declaration that was made against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, which I then thought was done in compliance with the opinion prevalent among the people of the popish persuasion, who were strangely possessed with the belief of such a presence; but I am convinced, by the letters sent me from Zurick, that in this great regard was likewise had to the Lutheran churches, with whom a conjunction was much endeavoured by some: so that perhaps this was one consideration that made it be thought convenient to suppress the definition then made in this matter by the convocation: but it does no way appear to me, whether these words were suppressed by the consent of the convocation; or whether the queen ordered it to be

done, either by a direct command, or by denying to give her assent to that part of the Article.

I must also add, that the Homily against *wilful rebellion*, for that is its true title, was not drawn up till some years after this convocation had settled those Articles; in which the title of the Homilies is set forth, though it is added in the manuscript to the rest, with the title *against rebellion*. It is plain, both by the body of the Homily, and by the prayer at the end of it, that it was penned after the rebellion that was raised by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland many years after this; and while there were wars abroad on the account of religion. This I do not write as disagreeing in any part from the doctrine delivered in that Homily, but only as an historian, in order to the setting matters of fact in a true light.

But now I go on as the minutes, or rather the abstracts, lead me. When the great matter of the Articles was settled, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, and Hereford, were appointed to draw articles of discipline. On the 3d of February, the archbishop and bishops were in a secret conference for the space of three hours. On the 5th of February, a committee was appointed to examine the Catechism. Then the prolocutor, with six of the clergy, brought up the Articles of Religion, that had been sent by the archbishop to the lower house: many had already subscribed them; but he proposed, that such as had not yet done it, might be required either to subscribe them in the lower house, or to do it in the presence of the bishops. Upon this the upper house ordered, that the names of those who had not subscribed them might be laid before them next session. On the 10th, the prolocutor, with eight of the clergy, came up and told the bishops, that many had subscribed since the last meeting: upon that the bishops renewed their former order.

On the 13th, there was some treaty concerning the subsidy; but on that day, and it seems on some days following, there were very warm debates in the lower house, of which I shall give a particular account, from a copy taken from the minutes of the proceedings of the lower house, which will be found in the Collection (No. lxxiv). On the 13th day, six articles were offered to the house, which follow:—First, “That all holy-days, except Sundays, and the feasts that related to Christ, should be abrogated. Second, That in the Common Prayer, the minister should always turn his face towards the people, so as to be heard by the people, that they might be edified. Third, That the ceremony of the cross in baptism may be omitted, as tending to superstition. Fourth, That forasmuch as divers communicants were not

able to kneel during the time of communion, for age, sickness, and other infirmities; and some also do superstitiously both kneel and knock \*; that the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinary within his jurisdiction. Fifth, That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying divine service and ministering the sacraments, to use a surplice; and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment, or habit. The sixth and last is, That the use of organs be removed." The words are strictly as I took them from the copy of the journal. but the sense of the fifth is not clear, except we suppose the word *once* to have come after *the minister*; so that it was proposed that it should be sufficient *once* to use the surplice.

There arose great disputes concerning these propositions; some approving and others rejecting them: and it was proposed by some, to refer the matter to the archbishop and bishops. Many protested, that they could in no manner consent to any one of them; since they were contrary to the Book of Common-Prayer, that was ratified by an act of parliament: nor would they admit of any alteration of the orders, rules, rites, or regulations, already settled by that book. There were public disputations between learned men, some approving and others condemning the propositions. Thirteen persons were named as the disputants. In conclusion, the house was divided, and counted: forty-three voted for the propositions, and thirty-five voted against them, and that no change should be made in the Book of Common-Prayer then established. But when the proxies were counted, those who were for the propositions were in all fifty-eight; and those who were against them were fifty-nine. So that they were agreed to by a majority of eight of those who were present, and who had heard the disputations; yet those were out-voted by a majority of one vote, by the proxy of an absent person. All their names are set down in the paper. One thing observable is, that in this minute it is added, that those who rejected the Articles seemed to go chiefly on this ground; that they were contrary to the authorized Book of Common-Prayer: as if this had been the assuming an authority to alter what was settled by the legislature. It is not to be imagined, but if the affirmative vote had prevailed, that it could not be intended to have any other effect, but to make an address to the parliament to alter the book in those particulars. I have represented this matter as I found it, and will not make any

\* A practice common among papists, of knocking on their breasts, saying *culpa mea*, at the elevation.

judgment upon it, either on the one side or the other ; but will leave that to the reader, and go on with what remains in the abstract.

This debate in the lower house put a stop to the business of the convocation for six days, in which they only treated of the subsidy. On the 19th of February, some articles were communicated to the lower house ; and they were ordered to bring them back, with their observations on them. These seem to relate to benefices and dilapidations. And they were ordered to inquire how many benefices were then vacant. On the 22d the subsidy was agreed to. On the 24th, the prolocutor being absent, his surrogate, with the clergy, were called up ; and the ingrossed bill of subsidy was read to them, and they all unanimously agreed to it.

On the 26th, a Book of Discipline was brought to the upper house, by the prolocutor, with ten of the clergy ; to which, as it was said, the whole clergy did unanimously consent. This was referred to the archbishop, with the bishops of London, Winchester, Chichester, Hereford, and Ely. On the 1st of March, the prolocutor brought up some additional articles, which they desired might be added to the Book of Discipline, that they had formerly brought up. The archbishop gave them the book back again ; and ordered them to bring it back, together with the additions they had made to it.

On the 3d of March, the prolocutor brought up the Catechism ; to which, he said, the house did unanimously agree : the considering of it was committed to the bishops of Winchester, Hereford, Lincoln, and Coventry. (This seems to be the Catechism drawn by Nowel, dean of St. Paul's.) After that, there was a conference among the bishops for the space of two hours. On the 5th of March, the prolocutor brought up the Book of Discipline, with some additional chapters : one only is named, *of Adultery*, with an &c. On the 10th, there was a conference among the bishops for two hours ; and on the 12th, for two hours more ; and on the 16th, for other two hours ; and on the 19th, for two hours more. After that, nothing is marked, but several prorogations, till the 10th of April, that the royal writ came for the prorogation. And this is all that remains of this great convocation.

It does not appear what that Book of Discipline was. In one of the Zurick letters, as shall be told afterwards, it is said, that some things agreed to in this synod were afterwards suppressed. This, I suppose, relates to that Book of Discipline : but whether this was the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, prepared by Cranmer and others ; or

whether it was modelled in any other manner, cannot now be certainly known.

But, to this account that I have written, I will add some other particulars, that the diligent Mr. Strype has laid together; referring my reader for a more copious account of them to his Annals.

“It was designed to have Jewel’s Apology joined to the Articles; which Archbishop Parker intended should be in all cathedral and collegiate churches, and also in private houses.

“Degrees of punishment were proposed for all those who should preach, write, or speak, in derogation or contempt of this book, for the first, second, and third offence.

“It was proposed, that all vestments, copes, and surplices, should be taken away; that none but ministers should baptize; that the table for the sacrament should not stand altar-wise; that organs and curious singing should be removed.

“That godfathers and godmothers should not answer in the child’s name; but should recite the Creed, and desire that the child may be baptized in that faith. Here, on the margin, Parker writes, ‘Let this be considered.’

“That none should be married but after the banns have been asked for three Sundays or holy-days. On the margin Parker writes, ‘Priests solemnizing matrimony, without testimonial of banns, to suffer grievous punishment.’

“That the queen and parliament be prayed to renew the act for empowering thirty-two persons to gather ecclesiastical laws, and to review those appointed in King Edward’s time.

“That all peculiar jurisdictions should be extinguished, so that the whole diocess be put under the jurisdiction of the bishop; that no appeal shall lie in cases of correction. On the margin Parker writes, ‘Let this be thought on.’

“That in every cathedral a divinity-lecture should be read thrice a week.

“That the apparel of the clergy should be uniform. That no person, not in priests’ orders, shall hold any ecclesiastical dignity above a year, if he does not take priests’ orders. Parker writes, ‘Too much: and let it be thought on.’

“That none be capable of a dispensation for a plurality of benefices with cure of souls, if he is not at least a master of arts, and they not beyond twelve miles distance. Parker writes, ‘Let it be considered, whether this ought to be restrained to degrees.’

“ That if any has two cures, he shall reside constantly on one, unless at some times to go and preach in the other ; under the pain of losing the greater benefice. Parker adds, ‘ Let this be thought on.’

“ That no patron sell or assign the next advowson ; and that no grant be made of any benefice till it is void.

“ That all incumbents, or curates, shall, on Sundays in the afternoon, offer to teach the children of the parish the Catechism.”

The next paper is, of “ Remedies for the Poverty of Ministers’ Livings : ” but the “ remedies,” how good soever, were not found practicable ; so all this matter was let fall.

WITH this convocation my design of continuing the History of the Reformation is now concluded. And here I once intended to have ended my work : but the letters sent me from Zurich give me such a full and particular account of the first unhappy breach that was made in our church, with so many curious incidents, that I am by these invited to set that matter out in a clear light, since I have it before me in the letters of the most eminent of our bishops.

There was a great variety of sentiments among our reformers on this point ; Whether it was fit to retain an external face of things, near to what had been practised in the times of popery, or not ? The doing that made the people come easily in to the more real changes that were made in the doctrines, when they saw the outward appearances so little altered : so this method seemed the safer, and the readier way to wean the people from the fondness they had for a splendid face of things, by that which was still kept up. But on the other hand it was said, that this kept up still the inclination in the people to the former practices : they were by these made to think, that the reformed state of the church did not differ much from them ; and that they imitated them. And they apprehended, that this outward resemblance made the old root of popery to live still in their thoughts ; so that if it made them conform at present more easily to the change that was now made, it would make it still much the easier for them to fall back to popery : so, for this very reason, they stood upon it ; and thought it better, to put matters in as great an opposition to the practices of popery as was possible, or convenient.

The queen had, in her first injunctions, ordered the clergy to wear seemly garments, and square caps : adding, that this was only for decency, and not to ascribe any worthiness to the garments : but when the Act of Uniformity was settled, whereas in the Liturgy passed in the second year of King

Edward, copes and other garments were ordered to be used ; but in the second book, passed in the 6th year of that king, all was laid aside except the surplice : yet the queen, who loved magnificence in every thing, returned back to the rules in King Edward's first book, till other order should be taken therein by the queen. There was likewise a clause put in the Act of Uniformity, empowering the queen to " ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites, as might be for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of his church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments."

The matter being thus settled, there followed a great diversity in practice: many conforming themselves in all points to the law ; while others did not use either the surplice, or the square caps and hoods, according to their degree. This visible difference began to give great offence, and to state two parties in the church. The people observed it, and run into parties upon it. Many forsook their churches of both sides: some because those habits were used, and some because they were not used. It is likewise suggested, that the papists insulted, upon this division among the protestants ; and said, it was impossible it should be otherwise, till all returned to come under one absolute obedience.

Upon this, the queen, in January 1564-5, wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, " reflecting (not without some acrimony of style) on these diversities ; as if they were the effect of some remissness in him and in the other bishops ; requiring him, that, with the assistance of other bishops, commissioned by her for causes ecclesiastical, he should give strict orders, that all diversities and varieties, both among the clergy and people, might be reformed and repressed ; and that all should be brought to one manner of uniformity, through the whole kingdom, that so the people might quietly honour and serve God."

Upon that, some of the bishops met ; six in all. Of these four were upon the ecclesiastical commission: the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Ely, and Rochester: and with these joined the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln. They agreed on some rules and orders meet to be observed, not as equivalent to the word of God, nor as laws that did bind the conscience, from the nature of the things considered in themselves ; or, as that they did add any efficacy, or more holiness to the public prayers and sacraments ; but as temporary orders, merely ecclesiastic, and as rules concerning decency, distinction, and order, for the time.

They begun with articles of doctrine and preaching : " That all preachers should study to preach to edification, and handle matters of controversy with sobriety and discretion; exhorting people to receive the sacrament frequently, and to continue in all obedience to the laws, and to the queen's injunctions. All former licences are declared void; but are to be renewed to such as the bishop thought meet for the office; they paying only a groat for the writing. If any should preach unsound doctrine, they were to be denounced to the bishop, but not to be contradicted in the church. All were to be required to preach once in three months, either in person, or by one in their stead. Such as were not licensed to preach were to read the homilies, or such other necessary doctrine as should be prescribed. In the sacrament, the principal minister was to wear a cope; but at all other prayers, only surplices. That deans and prebendaries should wear a hood in the choir, and preach with their hood: all communicants were to receive the sacrament kneeling. Then follow rules about tolling the bell when people die; about the altar, the font, and who may be godfathers in baptism: that no shops be opened on Sundays: that bishops shall give notice against the day of giving orders, that all men may except against such as are unworthy: that none be ordained, but within their own diocess, except those who have degrees in the university. Rules follow for licences, for archdeacons to appoint curates to get some texts of the New Testament by heart; and at the next synod to hear them rehearse them. Ordinaries were to guard against simoniacal practices, and none were to marry within the Levitical degrees. Then follow rules of their wearing apparel, gowns, and caps: they were to wear no hats, but in travelling: but those who were deprived might not wear them. To this they added a form of subscription to be required of all that were to be admitted to any office or cure in the church, to this effect; that they should not preach, but by the bishop's special licence; that they should read the service distinctly and audibly; that they should keep a register-book, and use such apparel, specially at prayers, as was appointed; that they should endeavour to keep peace and quiet in their parishes; that they should every day read a chapter in the Old and New Testament, considering it well, to the increase of their knowledge; and in conclusion, that they should exercise their office to the honour of God, and the quiet of the queen's subjects; and observe an uniformity in all laws and orders already established; and that they should use no sort of trade, if their living amount to twenty nobles, or upwards."

The proceedings here in England are fully collected by Mr. Strype; so, as to these, I refer my reader to the account given by him, which is both full and impartial. I shall only give the abstracts of the letters that passed in this matter between our bishops, and Bullinger, Gualter, and the other divines in Zurick. These foreign divines did not officiously, nor of their own motion, intermeddle in this matter. It began in January 1564-5; for then the queen wrote to the archbishop, and in March the order was settled by the archbishop and bishops: but when the bishops saw the opposition that many were making to this, Sampson and Humphreys being the most eminent of those who opposed it, who were in great reputation, particularly in the university of Oxford, where one was dean of Christ's church, and the other was president of Magdalen's, and divinity professor; and they were much distinguished for their learning, piety, and zeal in religion: upon this, Horn, bishop of Winchester, wrote on the 16th of July to Gualter, and stated the matter clearly to him: I have put his letter in the Collection (No. lxxv), though it is already printed; but I thought it convenient to insert it, since the letters that are to follow depend upon it.

After he had mentioned some of Gualter's works, he commends those of Zurick for not being imposed on by the artifices of the French; in which he hopes those of Bern would follow the example that they had set them. He comes to the affairs of England, "where they were still in fear of the snares of the papists, who took great advantage from a question lately raised about vestments, to say protestants could never agree together: the act of parliament was made before they were in office, so that they had no hand in making it: by it the vestments were enacted, but without any superstitious conceit about them, the contrary being expressly declared. What was once enacted in parliament could not be altered but by the same authority. The bishops had obeyed the law, thinking the matter to be of its nature indifferent: and they had reason to apprehend, that if they had deserted their stations upon that account, their enemies might have come into their places. Yet upon this, there was a division formed among them: some thought, they ought to suffer themselves to be put from their ministry rather than obey the law; others were of a different mind. He desires that he would write his opinion of this matter as soon as was possible. They were in hope to procure an alteration of the act in the next parliament; but he apprehended there would be a great difficulty in obtaining it; by reason of the opposition the papists would give them; for they hoped that if

many should leave their stations, they might find occasions to insinuate themselves again into the queen's favour.

It seems he wrote a letter in the same strain to Bullinger, as will appear by his answer of the 3d of November, which will be found in the Collection (No. lxxvi). "He writes, that he had heard of the division among them from others; but not knowing the whole state of the question, he was not forward to give his opinion, till he had his letter. He laments this unhappy breach among them: he approves their zeal, who wished to have the church purged from all the dregs of popery: on the other hand, he commends their prudence, who would not have the church to be forsaken because of the vestments. The great end of the ministry was edification; and that was not to be abandoned but upon very good grounds; especially when the deserting their stations was like to make way for much worse things: and that they saw either papists or Lutherans would be put in their places, and then ceremonies would be out of measure increased. No doubt, they had brought many persons of all sorts to love the purity of doctrine; but what a prejudice would it be to these to open such a door, by which swarms of abuses might creep in among them: this they ought carefully to prevent. As for those who first made those laws, or were zealous maintainers of them, he confesses he is not pleased with them. They acted unwisely, if they were truly of the reformed side; but if they were only disguised enemies, they were laying snares with ill designs: yet he thinks every thing of that sort ought to be submitted to, rather than that they should forsake their ministry: and since it was declared, that those vestments were to be used without any superstitious conceit, he thinks that ought to satisfy men's consciences. But in the mean while he proposes to them, to press the queen and nobility to go on and complete a reformation, that was so gloriously begun. He knew that in many places questions were at that time moved, concerning the extent of the magistrate's authority; he wishes these might be everywhere let alone: certainly matters of that nature ought not to be meddled with in sermons; there may be an occasion to debate about them in parliament, and it may be proper to speak to the queen, and to her counsellors, in private about them. Upon the whole matter he concludes, that as on the one hand he would be tender in dealing with men of weak consciences; so on the other hand he proposes St. Paul's rule in such cases, of 'becoming all things to all men:' he circumcised Timothy, that he might not give offence to the Jews; though at the same time he condemns those who were imposing the yoke

of the Judaical law, as necessary in the beginnings of Christianity."

When Sampson and Humphreys understood in what a strain Bullinger and Gualter had written concerning the vestments, they wrote, on the 16th February, a copious account of the grounds on which they founded their refusal to obey these orders. Their letters came to Bullinger on the 26th of April; and he answered them on the 1st of May. This will be found in the Collection (No. lxxvii). "He puts them in mind of Peter Martyr's opinion in a like matter, when he was at Oxford; to which he could add nothing. He could not approve of any person officiating at an altar on which there was a crucifix; and in a cope on the back of which there was a crucifix. He tells them how both he and Gualter had answered Horn's letter on the subject: and he sent them copies of these letters. He would be extreme sorry if these did not give them satisfaction. He prayed earnestly to God for them. He had a great dislike to all controversies of that sort; and did not willingly meddle in them: he did think that laws might be made prescribing decent habits to the clergy, which may be reduced to that branch of St. Paul's character of a bishop, that he ought to be *κοσμίος*, which may be rendered *decent*, as well as we have it of *good behaviour*. Nor was this the reviving the Levitical law. Every thing is not to be called Levitical, because it was practised by the Jews. The apostles commanded the converts to Christianity to 'abstain from things strangled, and from blood,' The maintaining the clergy by the tithes, came from laws given to Jews; and from them we have the singing of psalms among us: so things are not to be rejected because of some conformity to the Mosaical institution. Nor can this be called a conformity to popery: nor is every thing practised among them to be rejected on that account; otherwise we must not use their churches, nor pronounce the Creed; nor use the Lord's Prayer; since all these are used by them. It was in this case expressed, in the orders set out lately by them, that the habits were not enjoined on the superstitious conceits of the papists: they were only to be used in obedience to the law. It savours too much of a Jewish or of a monastic temper, to put religion in such matters: if it is pretended that the obeying laws in matters indifferent was the giving up our Christian liberty, that would go a great way to the denying all obedience, and might provoke the magistrate to lay yet heavier loads on them. Habits peculiar to the clergy was an ancients practice than popery itself: St. John is said to have carried on his head somewhat like a mitre: and mention is made of

St. Cyprian's having a peculiar garment, called a *dalmatica*. St. Chrysostom speaks of their white garments. Tertullian tells us, that the heathens converted to Christianity, quitted their *toga*, the Roman upper garment, and used the *pallium*, or cloak. He wishes there were no impositions on the clergy in such matters: yet since this was an ancient habit, and was now enjoined, without making it a matter of religion, he wishes they would not set too great a value upon it, but yield somewhat to the present time; and that they would consider it as a thing indifferent, and not affect to dispute too subtilly about it; but to behave themselves modestly. They had put a question to him, Whether any thing may be prescribed that is not expressed in Scripture? He did not approve of laying on a load of such things on people's necks; but some things might be appointed for order and discipline. Christ kept the feast of the dedication, though appointed by no law of God. If it is said, The things commanded are not necessary, and are of no use, yet they are not for that to be condemned, nor are schisms to be raised on that account: many things are again repeated in this letter that were in his letter to Horn."

A copy of this was sent to Horn, and both Grindal and he apprehending the good effect that the printing it might have, in settling the minds of many that were much shaken by the opposition that was made to the orders that had been sent out, printed it here. So that it was not necessary for me to put it in the Collection (No. lxxviii), if I did not intend to lay the chief papers relating to this matter so together, as to set it all in a clear light.

Upon this Sampson and Humphreys wrote over to Zurick, complaining of the printing of their letter, and carrying their complaints against the constitution of the church much further than to the matter of the vestments: they complain of the music, and organs; of making sponsors in baptism answer in the child's name; of the cross in baptism; of the court of faculties; and the paying for dispensations; all which will appear fully in a letter of theirs in the Collection, which they wrote to them in July. "They acknowledge their letter had not fully satisfied them: they do not think the prescribing habits to the clergy merely a civil thing; they think St. Paul's *κοσμίος* belongs to the ornaments of the mind. And add, How can that habit be thought decent, that was brought in to dress up the theatrical pomp of popery? The papists gloried in this our imitation of them. They do approve of setting rules concerning order, but that ought not to be applied to this, that overturns the peace and quiet of the church, in things that are not either necessary or useful; that do not

tend to any edification, but serve to recommend those forms which all do now abhor. The papists themselves glory in this, that these habits were brought in by them; for which they vouch Otho's constitution, and the Roman pontifical. They were not against the retaining any thing that was good, because it had been abused in popery.

“ They affirm, that in King Edward's time, the surplice was not universally used, nor pressed; and the copes then taken away are now to be restored. This is not to extirpate popery, but to plant it again; and instead of going forward is to go back. It was known how much virtue and religion the papists put in the surplice; and at this day it is held in as great esteem as the monks' habits were wont to be. The use of it may, by degrees, bring back the same superstition. They did not put religion in habits; they only opposed those that did: and they thought, that it gave some authority to servitude, to depart from their liberty. They hated contention, and were ready to enter into friendly conferences about this matter. They do not desert their churches, and leave them exposed to wolves; but, to their great grief, they are driven from them. They leave their brethren to stand and fall to their own masters; and desire the same favourable forbearance from them, though in vain hitherto. It was by other men's persuasion that the queen was irritated against them: and now, to support these orders, all that is pretended is, that they are not unlawful; it is not pretended, that there is any thing good or expedient in the habits. The habits of the clergy are visible marks of their profession; and these ought not to be taken from their enemies. The ancient fathers had their habits; but not peculiar to bishops, nor distinct from the laity. The instances of St. John and Cyprian are singular. In Tertullian's time, the *pallium* was the common habit of all Christians. Chrysostom speaks of white garments, but with no approbation: he rather finds fault with them. They had cited Bucer; but he thought, that the orders concerning habits, by reason of the abuse of them in the church of England, ought to be taken away, for a fuller declaration of their abhorrence of antichrist, for asserting the Christian liberty, and for removing all occasions of contention. They were far from any design of making a schism, or of quarrelling. They will not condemn things indifferent as unlawful: they wish the occasion of the contention were removed, that the remembrance of it might be for ever buried. They who condemned the papal pride could not like a tyranny in a free church. They wish there might be a free synod, to settle this matter; in which things should not be carried according to the mind of one or two

persons. The matter now in debate had never been settled by any general decree of a council, or of any reformed church. They acknowledge the doctrine of this church was now pure; and why should there be any defect in any part of our worship? Why should we borrow any thing from popery? Why should they not agree in rites, as well as in doctrine, with the other reformed churches? They had a good opinion of their bishops, and bore with their state and pomp: they once bore the same cross with them, and preached the same Christ with them: Why are they now turned out of their benefices, and some put in prison, only for habits? Why are they publicly defamed? The bishops had printed the private letter that they had written to them, without their knowledge or consent. The bishops do now stand upon it, as if the cause was their own. But to let them see that the dispute was not only about a cap, they sent them an abstract of some other things, to which they wish some remedy could be found (which is in the Collection, No. lxxix); and conclude with some prayers to God, to quiet those dissensions, and to send forth labourers into his vineyard."

To this I have joined the answer that Bullinger and Gualter wrote to them (Collect. No. lxxx). In it they tell them, "that they did not expect that their letters should fully satisfy them: they only wrote their opinion to them because they desired it. They were heartily sorry to find that they could not acquiesce in it. They would engage no further in that matter: they could answer their arguments, but they would give no occasion to endless disputations. They thought it would be more expedient to submit to those habits, and to continue in the church, than, by refusing to use them, to be forced to leave their churches. They went no further, and did not approve of any popish defilements or superstitions. Nor did they in any sort enter into those other matters, of which they do now complain, and of which they knew nothing before. These were matters of much greater consequence than either the surplices or the copes: so that it was to be hoped, that the letter they had written about the habits could not be stretched to these matters. There was nothing left to them, but to commend them to God, and to pray that he would quiet this unhappy dissension among them, and give his church the blessings of peace. They only desire them to remember, that the ministers of the gospel ought not only to hold fast the truth, but likewise to be prudent stewards, having a due regard to the times, bearing many things with patience and charity, and so maintain the peace of the church: and not to prejudice it by an over-eager or morose temper, nor think it

enough that they had a good design, but they must pursue it by prudent methods."

Bullinger and Gualter, seeing the division like to be carried much further than the matter of the vestments, thought the best office that they could do their friends was to write to the earl of Bedford; being well assured of his zeal in the matters of religion. They wrote to him on the 11th of September that year: the letter will be found in the Collection (No. lxxxix). They tell him, "that when they first heard of the contention raised about the vestments, they were afraid it might have a further progress. They, being desired, did give their opinion freely in the matter; and thought, that, for things of so little importance, it was not fit for the clergy to desert their stations, and to leave them to be filled, perhaps, by wolves and deceivers. They were sorry to find, that their fears of the mischief that might follow on this contention were but too well grounded. They hear, that not only the vestments are complained of, but that many other things are excepted to, that plainly savour of popery. They are also sorry, that the private letter which they wrote should have been printed; and that their judgment of the vestments was extended to other things, of which they could in no sort approve: so that their opinion in one particular is made use of to cast a load on persons, for whom they should rather have compassion in their sufferings, than study to aggravate them. It gave them a very sensible grief, to see the church of England scarce got out of the hands of their bloody enemies, now like to be pulled down by their intestine broils. So, having an entire confidence in his good affection to the gospel, they pray him to intercede with the queen and the nobility, in the parliament that was soon to meet, for their brethren that were then suffering; who deserved that great regard should be had to them, and that their faults should be forgiven them. It had appeared what true zeal they had for religion; since the only thing, about which they were so solicitous, was, that religion should be purged from all the dregs of popery. This cause in general was such, that those who promoted it proved themselves to be worthy of the highest dignity. Princes were to be nursing fathers to the church: then they perform that office truly, when they not only rescue her out of the hands of her enemies, but take care that the spouse of Christ be not any way stained with the false paint of superstition, or render herself suspected, by having any rites unbecoming the Christian simplicity. They do therefore earnestly pray him, that as he has hitherto showed his zeal in the cause of the gospel, so he will at this time exert himself; and employ

all the interest he has in the queen, and in the nobility, that the church of England, so happily reformed to the admiration of the whole world, may not be stained with any of the defilements or remnants of popery. This will look like a giddiness in them: it will offend the weak among them, and give great scandal to their neighbours, both in France and in Scotland, who are yet under the cross. The very papists will justify their tyrannical impositions, by what is done now among them. They lay all this before him with the more confidence, knowing his zeal as they do." They also wrote in the same strain to Grindal and Horn, as will be found in the Collection (No. lxxxii).

When Grindal and Horn understood that those of Zurick were not pleased with the printing of their letter, of which they wrote to them, and sent with it the paper, in which were put the heads of those other things in the constitution of this church, to which they excepted; they both, jointly, wrote answer to them, in one letter to Bullinger and Gualter, on the 6th of February, which will be found in the Collection (No. lxxxiii).

"They tell them, they had printed their letter, but had suppressed the names of those to whom it was directed. It had the good effect that they expected from it: for it had satisfied and settled the minds of many who were upon the point of leaving their churches; and even the most troublesome were so far wrought on by it, that they were silent, and less violent in their opposition than they had formerly been. Some few were turned out, but they were not of the most learned sort; except Sampson, who, they acknowledge, was both pious and learned. Humphreys, and other learned men, were still continued in their stations. The letter that they had printed related only to that particular upon which it was written, and could not be applied to any thing else: nor was there any other question then on foot; so that it was a calumny to say, that their opinion was asked about any other matter. The noise and the complaints that some had made, had very much provoked the queen and many of the nobility against them. The papists triumphed upon it, and hoped to come in again, and to fill the places, which were made void upon their deserting their stations. They do solemnly attest the great God, that this dissension was not raised by any fault of theirs; and that it did not lie at their door, that those vestments were not quite taken away. They may take their oaths upon it, that they had used all possible means in that matter; and had, with the utmost earnestness, and the most sincere diligence, laboured to

obtain that which their brethren desired, and which they themselves wished for. But since they could not do what willingly they would do, they must be content with doing what they could do.

“As to the other particulars complained of, they plainly write, they did not approve of that figured music, together with the use of organs, that was continued in cathedrals. They enlarge on many other particulars, and set forth the method of convocations. They did in no sort approve of women’s baptizing. They gave way till God should send better times, to the form of making the sponsors in baptism answer in the child’s name; for which St. Austin’s authority was pretended: but they did openly declare, that they thought it was not convenient. Nor did they approve of using the cross in baptism; though the words spoken when it was made did plainly show, there was no superstitious conceit kept up by the use of it. They also suffered the posture of kneeling in the sacrament, with the due caution with which it was enjoined, that was set down in King Edward’s book, declaring the reason for which that posture was still continued. For the abuses of their courts, though they cannot correct them entirely, yet they did openly inveigh against them; which they would continue still to do, till they should be sent back to hell, from whence they came. Every man had full freedom to declare his mind as to all these abuses: they had laboured in the last parliament all they could to purge out all errors and abuses; which, though it had not then the desired effect, yet they would not give over their endeavours to bring it to a happy conclusion: and this they would do, as they desired the continuance of their friendship and brotherly love.”

The others still insisted; and Sampson, in a letter from Oxford, the 9th of February 1565-6, to Bullinger, reduces the questions concerning the habits to seven heads. 1st, If a habit different in form and colour from the laity ought to be enjoined to the clergy? 2dly, If the Mosaical ceremonies may be brought into the Christian church? 3dly, If it is lawful to conform to papists in habits and outward rites, and if it is fitting to borrow ceremonies from that corrupt church? 4thly, If the using a peculiar habit is merely a civil matter, and if it does not savour of monkery, popery, and Judaism? 5thly, If those who have hitherto used their liberty, may with a good conscience, upon the account of the queen’s mandate, involve themselves and the church again in a yoke of bondage? 6thly, If the popish clerical habit can be called a thing that is indifferent? And the 7th is, If they

ought to use these habits, rather than desert their stations? To these he begs him to send as soon as may be a full and copious answer.

A few days after this, Jewel wrote to Bullinger (in the letter that is in the Collection, No. lxxxiv), "that he was so attacked by many different hands, that it took him wholly up to prepare answers to them. He was not in the house of lords during the last parliament, in which there was great heat for a whole month concerning the succession to the crown: but the queen would suffer no declaration to be made in that matter, though it was most vehemently pressed, there appearing on both sides a great deal of earnestness. The queen thought any such declaration would turn the eyes of the nation too much towards the rising sun. He says, the controversy about the vestments had raised great heats. The queen was fixed, and could not be wrought on to let any change be made. Some of their brethren were so eager in disputing about that matter, as if the whole business of religion was concerned in it. They leave their stations and churches rather than yield a little. Nor were they at all moved from their stiffness by the most learned letters, that he and Gualter had written to them on that subject, nor by all the advices of their friends. He thanks God that they had no other nor more important debates then among them. Cheyney, bishop of Gloucester, did indeed in parliament profess himself openly to be a Lutheran; but he was not like to have many followers."

In a letter of his, that is also in the Collection (No. lxxxv), written to Bullinger on the 1st of March 1565, he writes, "that he was overwhelmed with the books that the papists had written against him, and was by that means engaged in a profound course of study. He tells him how Cardinal Grandvill had intended to cut off the intercourse between England and the Netherlands; hoping by that means to provoke the English to break out into tumults: but the design turned upon himself; for the English resolving to settle their trade and staple at Embden, the people of Flanders could not bear that. The pope had sent one to Ireland to raise a flame in that island. But the pope's agent, who was an Irishman, was taken and sent over a prisoner to England. In Scotland the queen only had her mass, all the nation being averse to it."

By Grindal and Horn's letters it appears, that they had no other zeal in this matter, but to preserve the church in the queen's favour, and in obedience to the laws: yet in letters that were upon this occasion written to Zurick (a part of one is in the Collection, No. lxxxvi), by some others that

adhered to Sampson, they let them know, that both Parker the archbishop, and Grindal and Horn, were too much sharpened in this matter; therefore they pray them to use their endeavours to soften them more towards their brethren: but they acknowledge that Pilkington of Duresme, Sands of Worcester, and Parkhurst of Norwich, had by their moderation made good all their promises; so they deserved that thanks should be given them: they desire further, that they would write to them all to proceed more mildly, and to endeavour to get those dregs of popery to be removed; and that they would tolerate, at least connive at, those who did not approve them. I find Pilkington complains in a letter to Gualter, "that the disputes which began about the vestments, were carried much further, even to the whole constitution. Pious persons lamented this; atheists laughed at it; and the papists blew the coals, and were full of hopes upon it. The blame of all was cast on the bishops. He adds, I confess we suffer many things against our hearts, groaning under them: we cannot take them away, though we were ever so much set on it. We are under authority, and can innovate nothing without the queen; nor can we alter the laws: the only thing that is left to our choice is, whether we will bear these things, or break the peace of the church."

Parkhurst in one letter writes, "Many good people are pleased with all that is done; but there are some things that do not please me." And in another he writes, "Matters of religion go on well: there are but a very few things that I dare find fault with. That which grieved him most was, that the lives of those who professed the gospel were so very contrary to it. The gospel was never preached among them more faithfully, and with more zeal: he prays, God grant us his Spirit, that we may walk in his Spirit, and mortify the works of the flesh." The last letter that those of Zurick wrote on this subject was on the 26th of August 1567 (Collection, No. lxxxvii), directed to the bishops of London, Winchester, and Norwich. "They express their grief that some learned men were deprived: they hear daily that some of those, that had given good proofs of themselves in the Marian persecution, were now not only turned out, but imprisoned: they hear that in Ireland many that have the same scruples are yet kept out of all trouble by the queen's order, upon the intercession of their bishops: which makes it probable that the like favour might be obtained in England, if the bishops would intercede with her majesty for it; which may the rather be expected, since the bishops themselves acknowledge, that it were better for the church that

these ceremonies were all laid aside : and affirm, that they had often moved in parliament that they might be taken away, that so the church might be more pure and less burthened. Therefore they do not doubt but that they, out of their piety, will endeavour to procure favour to their brethren, to which they do very earnestly, but yet decently and modestly, press them." Cox, bishop of Ely, who I do not find meddled much in these controversies, has in a letter to Gualter some very sad expressions ; for which there is too much occasion at all times. " When I consider the sins that do everywhere abound, and the neglect and contempt of the word of God, I am struck with horror, and tremble to think what God will do with us. We have some discipline among us with relation to men's lives, such as it is ; but if any man would go about to persuade our nobility to submit their necks to that yoke, he may as well venture to pull the hair out of a lion's beard."

Sands was of the same mind : he lamented the occasion of this dispute, and hoped to see an end put to it. In a letter to Bullinger from Worcester, dated the 3d of January 1566, he writes thus : " The true religion of Christ is now settled among us, which is the most valuable of all things. The gospel is no more shut up, but is freely preached ; and for other things, we need not be much concerned about them. There is some small dispute concerning the popish vestments, whether they ought to be used or not ? But God will put an end to these things \*."

A few days after that, Jewel, in a letter dated the 8th of February 1566, to Bullinger (a part of it is in the Collection, No. lxxxviii, the rest of it relates to the books he was then writing in defence of his apology), tells him, " that the queen seemed fix in her resolution not to marry. He expresses his great concern that the heat raised on the account of the surplice was not extinguished. He writes, that the affairs of Scotland were not in a quiet state : some of the chief of the nobility had retired into England ; others fortified themselves in their castles, and were as in a state of war with the papists. The queen, though an obstinate papist, yet does not seem resolved what course she had best take : for in matters of religion the greatest part both of the nobility and people were against her ; and their number did daily increase. The king of Spain sent lately an Italian abbot thither with Spanish gold. He was a subtle and crafty man, and did so far gain, not only on the queen, but on the king, that though he had hitherto gone to sermons, and had

\* *Contenditur aliquantulum de vestibus papisticis utendis vel non utendis dabet. Deus hic quoque finem.*

no mass, yet upon the assurance of a rich ship that was expected within a day, he presently ordered mass to be said in his church; while Knox in the very next church was preaching against idolatry, and the whole papal tyranny, with greater zeal than ordinary: but the Spanish ship was furiously shattered by a storm, and was cast on the coast of England; so that weak king would find what he had gained by his going to mass." Sampson and Humphreys wrote a long and particular answer to the letter that Grindal and Horn wrote to Bullinger: but that runs into a tedious controversy, with which the divines of Zurick wrote that they would meddle no more in those matters: so I do not think fit to insert it.

"They complain that the archbishop had contributed to buy an organ for Canterbury, which was no sign of his disliking it. They complain that many were put in prison because they would not provide godfathers and godmothers for baptizing their children: they say the convocation signified little; for many things were agreed to in the convocation in the year 1562, that would have tended to the great good of the church, but were suppressed; for nothing was of force but as the queen and the archbishop consented. And in the last convocation, a very learned man, that belonged to the bishop of Norwich, proposed somewhat relating to the vestments: to whom a bishop said, What have you to do in those matters? we began them, and we will end them. He answered the bishop, This matter has been hitherto laid wholly on the queen, but now you take it on yourselves. They also in another paper set forth, that in Queen Mary's days, when the church of England was broken and dispersed, a body of protestants formed themselves into a church at London, and had their ministers and deacons, and continued through all her reign, though many of them were burned: but that, after Queen Mary's death, the exiles were recalled, and the prisoners were set at liberty; only this church, that had continued all the while in the midst of the flame, was now extinguished. In another letter he assures Simler, there was no danger of Lutheranism; only we are now fighting among ourselves about ceremonies, vestments, and matters of no importance. That matter has somewhat shaken men of weak minds: I wish that all, even the smallest remnants of popery, could be wholly put, not only out of our churches, but chiefly out of the minds of all people; but the queen at this time cannot bear any alteration in religion."

I shall carry this matter no further, having gone beyond what I had at first proposed, by the importance of these

papers, that give so clear and so true an account of the beginnings of those unhappy disputes, of which we have seen and do still feel the unhappy consequences. In these we clearly see what was the sense of the most eminent and the most learned of our reformers in those matters. They continued their correspondence with Zurick as long as those great men lived, with whom they had lodged in their great distress, and to whom they had been so singularly obliged, that they were ready always to acknowledge it, and were often sending presents to them.

In Scotland things were running into great disorder. The queen, as she liked the person of the Lord Darnley, and perhaps the better, because he seemed to be of a soft and gentle temper, and easy to be governed; so her faithfulest counsellors concurred in advising the marriage. He was the next heir to the crown of England after the queen. For though the queen dowager of Scotland, that was Henry the Fifth's sister, having married the earl of Angus, after King James the Fourth was killed, but falling to be in ill terms with him, either found or suborned witnesses (as it was given out) to prove upon him a precontract in words of the present time, by which she obtained a sentence dissolving that marriage; yet the daughter she had borne to him was declared legitimate, in the bull that confirmed the sentence, declaring that marriage dissolved, the original of which I saw: the reason given is, because she was born of the mother's part *bona fide*. Lord Darnley being thus descended, and born within the kingdom of England, might have been a dangerous competitor for that crown, especially if he should fortify himself by a prudent marriage, and a good conduct in England: so it was certainly good advice given the queen, since she liked his person, to secure her right to that succession by this marriage. When she married him she declared him king, and put his name on the coin after her own. The qualities of his mind did not answer the gracefulness of his person: for sometimes he was in all things compliant to the queen, but that lasted not long. She had such an affable and obliging air, which her education in the court of France had much improved, that it was not easy to resist it. At first she seemed so indifferent as to the matters of religion, that the minds of the nation were much quieted, when they concluded that she continued to be a papist more from principles of honour and interest than from her own persuasion.

But they came to have other thoughts of her when she began to express more zeal in those matters. Her kindred by her mother pushed her on, and she was animated, both

from the court of France, and from Rome, to restore the popish religion: on these hopes she set her gates open to all that desired to come to her mass, and had many masses every day in her chapel. The body of the Scottish nation did not easily bear with the mass, which the queen had at first privately in her court for herself, and for a very small number of servants, who were of her own religion. In the parliament, in the year 1563, a petition was offered by the noblemen, and the superintendents and ministers of the reformed religion, which will be found in the Collection (No. lxxxix), setting forth, that whereas in the last convention of the kirk, that was held at Edinburgh in June last, some were sent to the queen with certain articles, to which they desired answer; and though the queen had answered them in part, yet she referred the further answer to the present parliament; so a full answer was now prayed. And whereas in the parliament held in July 1560 it was enacted, that the mass and all papistry should be put out of the realm, and Christ's religion should be universally received; and that the queen, by divers proclamations, has approved Christ's religion, which she found publicly received at her arrival, in particular at Dundee, on the 15th of September last, in which the king and queen did, both by act of council and by proclamation, promise, that in this present parliament she would establish the religion of Christ, and abolish all laws and constitutions contrary to the same; upon which they desired, that the premises might be considered: and so they laid before the parliament the articles which they had laid before the queen and her council, together with her answer, and the reply made to it by the kirk.

In the articles they demand first, that the papistical mass, with all idolatry, and the pope's jurisdiction, might be abolished, not only in the subjects, but in the queen's own person: and that the true religion might be ratified through the whole kingdom, as well in the queen's person, as in the subjects: and that the people might be required to resort on Sundays to prayers and preaching, as they were before to the idolatrous mass. Secondly, that provision may be made for the ministers' maintenance; and that such as are admitted into the ministry may have their livings assigned them where they labour, or in parts adjacent; and that they may not be put to crave them of others: and that the benefices then vacant, or that have been vacant since March, anno 1558, or that shall become vacant, be given to learned persons, able to preach God's word, upon their trial and admission by the superintendents. And that no bishopric,

abbey, or other ecclesiastical benefice, having many churches annexed to it, be given to any one man: but that the churches may be severally disposed of, so that every man may serve at his own church; and that glebes and manses be assigned to them; that they reside at their churches, and discharge their consciences in them; and that the churches may be kept in due repair. Thirdly, that none may have charge of souls, or be put in colleges or universities, or publicly instruct the youth, but such as are tried by the superintendents and the visitors of the churches, and are admitted by them. Fourthly, that lands founded for hospitals may be restored to the use of the poor; and that all rents and profits belonging to any order of friars be applied to the poor, and for schools in towns. Fifthly, that horrid crimes, blasphemy, sorcery, adultery, incest, and murder, with many other crimes that are reckoned up, may be severely punished; and that some order may be taken for the ease of the labourers of the ground, concerning the reasonable payment of their tithes, and in the letting of them.

To this the queen answered, "That as she did not think that there was any impiety in the mass, so she hoped her subjects would not press her to receive any religion against her own conscience, which would throw her into a perpetual unquietness, by the remorse of her conscience. She would never leave the religion in which she had been brought up. And it would be further a great prejudice to her, in that, by her so doing, she should lose the friendship of the king of France, the ancient ally of this kingdom, and of other princes, from whom she may find great supports: so she will not in an instant put herself in hazard of losing all her friends. And since she has not pressed, nor means she hereafter to press, the conscience of any man, but leaves them to worship God according to their persuasion, she hopes they will not press her to offend her own conscience. But when the parliament meets, her majesty will consent to every thing that the three estates shall agree upon; and she renews the assurance she had given, that men's lives or estates shall be in no hazard for any cause of religion."

As to the second article, "The queen thought it not reasonable that she should deprive herself of so great a part of the patrimony of the crown, by putting the patronage of benefices out of her hands; for her own necessity required the keeping them in her own hands: yet she was contented to assign what might serve for the reasonable sustentation of the ministers. She referred the other articles to the parliament."

To this answer the kirk replied, "That the firmness she expressed to the mass gave no small grief to her good subjects. Their religion was no other than that which Christ revealed, and his apostles preached; which differed from the impiety of the Turks, the blasphemy of the Jews, and the vain superstition of the papists." And upon that, as they run out into a high commendation of their religion, so "they require the queen, in the name of God, to embrace the means by which she may be persuaded to the truth; which they offered presently to her, by the preaching of God's word, and by public disputation against the adversaries of it, whensoever she thought it expedient. And as for the mass, they undertook to proye it to be a mass of impiety, from the beginning to the end. As for the prejudice that the queen thinks would follow on her changing her religion, by dissolving the alliance she is in with the king of France, and other foreign princes: they answer, that the true religion is the undoubted means to keep up a perfect confederacy with him, who is the King of kings, and who has the hearts of all princes in his hands, which ought to be more valued than all other confederacies whatsoever."

As to the second article, "They did not intend to defraud her of the patronages; but only, that persons presented to benefices should be tried and examined by the learned men of the kirk, or the superintendents appointed for that end. But as the presentations belong to her, so collation upon them belongs to the church; and the patrons may not present without trial and examination; which, if they might do, must bring great ignorance and disorder into the church. And it was far against all good conscience, for the queen to retain a good part of the benefices in her own hands. This was so contrary both to all divine and human laws, that they were unwilling to open up that whole matter to her. And therefore they beg she would consider, that though the patronage of benefices belonged to her, yet the retention of them in her own hands, and the not giving them to qualified persons, is ungodly, and contrary to all order, and ruinous to the souls of the people. They were desirous to have her necessities relieved: but they add, that the tithes are the patrimony of the church; out of which, in the first place, those who serve in the ministry ought to be relieved, the churches ought to be repaired, and the youth instructed. They concluded with thanks for her willingness to have the ministers provided for: and they pray, that a special condescending on particulars may be thought on."

But all these petitions were still put off: and the queen,

by her practice among the nobility, began to divide them into factions; and plainly said, when these petitions were read to her, that "she would do nothing in prejudice of the religion she professed\*:" and in wrath told them, "she hoped, before a year was expired, to have the mass and the catholic religion professed through the whole kingdom." And she managed the parliament so dexterously, that neither was the treaty of Leith, nor the settlement of religion, made in the parliament of 1560, so much as named, much less confirmed. In this parliament some small provision was made for the ministers, and acts were made against sorcery and adultery, that they should be punished by death. There was indeed an act of oblivion passed for all that was done from the 6th of March 1558, to the 1st of September 1561: but the parliament of the year 1560 came to be looked on as an illegal assembly: so that upon this a great alarm was given to the whole body of the reformed in that kingdom; and the jealousy was increased by the queen's marrying the Lord Darnley. He had been bred up a strict papist, but now pretended to be a protestant; yet as he was all the while suspected of favouring the religion he was bred up in, so he quickly returned to the open profession of it. This gave occasion to another petition in a bolder strain, in which the body of the reformed set forth, "that the true religion was established in that nation; that the mass, and all the idolatry and tyrannical usurpations of the pope, were suppressed, and that they were going on to a perfect reformation; but that all had been stopped now for the space of four years. That upon her arrival, that idol the mass was again set up, and men were put in offices to which they had no right. From such beginnings they saw what they might look for; yet, in hope that God would mollify the queen's heart, and out of their desire to maintain the public peace, they had long expected to see what answer would be made to their petitions. But they saw things grew daily worse and worse. The queen's gates were then set open, in contempt of proclamations set out by herself to the contrary. The patrimony of the church was bestowed on unworthy persons: their ministers were reduced to great poverty, and put to much trouble. Vices of all sorts abounded universally: they therefore prayed the queen to think of redressing these matters, and to answer their other petitions, assuring her of all due obedience to her laws and authority. They also pray that she would give them no occasion to think, that she intended the sub-

\* Spotswood.

version of the true religion, and the destruction of those who professed it: for they assure her, they would never be subject to that Roman antichrist, nor suffer (as far as it lay in their power to hinder it) any branches of his usurped authority to have place within the realm." This, which is in the Collection (No. xc), prevailed no more than their other petitions had done.

I will add to this a few particulars relating to the affairs of Scotland, as they are set forth in some of these letters that were sent me from Zurick. Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, in a letter to Bullinger (which is in the Collection, No. xci), writes, in the year 1566, "that in March last an Italian, called Signior David (whom he charges as skilled in necromancy), who was in great favour with the queen, was dragged out of her room, and stabbed by many hands. And adds, that an abbot was then so wounded, that though he escaped, yet he died of his wounds soon after: and that one Black, a Dominican, in great esteem among the papists, was also killed in the court. And upon all that disorder, while the privy-council was sitting, the lords escaped with their lives: since that time, the queen had brought forth a prince. She was reconciled to her husband, and had called home her brother, and the lords that were of the reformed side: but though the queen had borne her son ten weeks before he wrote, yet all that while he was not baptized; for she intended to do it with pomp, and many masses in the great church, though the inhabitants of Edinburgh were resolved to hinder that: they apprehended she would bring over a force from France. He concludes with a prayer, not very evangelical, that God would either convert or confound her. There are circumstances in this letter, of some others killed with Signior David, that I have found nowhere else."

About the same time, Grindal wrote likewise a letter to Bullinger, which is also in the Collection (No. xcii); in which he thanks him for the letters he had written over concerning the controversy about the habits. He writes, "that it was not credible that a question about things of no moment should have raised so great a disturbance as this had done: many, both of the ministers and the people, were designing to withdraw from them, and to set up separate meetings; but most of them were now come to a better mind. He acknowledges their wise and good letters had contributed much towards that: yet some continued still in their former resolutions. It were an easy thing to reconcile them to the queen, if they could be brought to change their mind: but til! that was done, it was not in their power to

effect it. The bishops, upon their return, and before they were consecrated, had endeavoured all they could to get those things removed that gave occasion to the present dispute; but in that they could not prevail, neither with the queen nor with the parliament. So they, upon consulting among themselves, came to a resolution not to desert their churches for the sake of a few rites that were not unlawful, since the doctrine was entire and pure; in which they agreed in all things with them of Zurick. They saw the good effects of these their resolutions: and those unseasonable contentions, about things indifferent, did not edify, but tear the churches.

“ From their own affairs he turns to those of Scotland, where he writes, things were in no good state. They still retained the profession of the truth; but the queen endeavoured by all means to extirpate it: she had lately ordered six or seven masses to be said every day in her chapel, and admitted all that pleased to come to them; whereas, at first, she was contented with one private mass, to which no Scotchman was admitted; and whereas it was provided that the ministers should be maintained out of the revenues of the church, she had now for three years stopped all payments; there were no public changes yet made; both the nobility and the people continued very firm, of whom he reckons the earl of Murray the chief. He understood that the queen was in very ill terms with her husband on this account:—There was one David, an Italian, recommended to her by the cardinal of Lorrain, who governed all the councils there, and was secretary of state. The king, finding he had no regard to him, grew uneasy at it; and being young and rash, he entered into a conspiracy with some of the nobility, and some of his court; so the Italian was dragged out of the queen’s presence, notwithstanding her earnest entreaties to save him; and he was no sooner out, than many run their daggers into him; so he was murdered without any cause declared. This horrid crime stuck deep in the queen’s heart; so that, though she had borne a son to him, she could never forgive him.”

The dismal fate of that unfortunate queen is so tender a point, that I will say nothing of it, but in the words of others. There is a letter of Grindal’s to Bullinger, dated the 21st of June 1567. All in that letter which relates to this matter is in the Collection (No. xciii), in which these words will be found: “Scotland is fallen into new troubles; for their late King Henry, on the 10th of February, was found dead in a garden near his lodgings. It is not yet agreed how he died. Some say that a few barrels of gun-

powder being, on design, laid under the chamber in which he lay; these being kindled, the house was blown up, and so he was thrown out into that garden. Others say, that in the night he was dragged out of his chamber and strangled, and that then the house was blown up. The earl of Bothwell was generally thought the author of this murder: he also procured, by the authority of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, a divorce from his lawful wife: and on the 15th of May last the queen had married him, and created him duke of Orkney. Almost all the nobility had left the court before this marriage, when they saw that no inquiry was made into the king's murder: they had a meeting at Stirling, where it appeared, by clear evidences, that the murder was committed by Bothwell: so an army was brought together on design to seize on him, but he made his escape; and it was not then known whither he was gone. Some say the queen was besieged in a certain castle; and others say she was made a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, as having been conscious to the murder of her husband. But whatsoever may be in this, that infamous marriage must end tragically: with this he concludes that matter, promising him a more particular account when the certainty of it was better understood."

To this I will add another relation that may be more certainly depended on. Cardinal Laurea, whom the pope had sent to be his nuncio in Scotland, may be supposed to have had the best information that he could procure from those of her party, and of her religion, and he would certainly have put the best face possible on that matter, especially after her tragical fate, which raised an universal disposition in all people to think as well of her as was possible; but chiefly among those of that religion: so that I know no relation of that affair that can be so certainly depended on (making still some allowances for the softenings of a partial writer) as that which we find in that cardinal's life, which was written by the abbot of Piggerol, and was printed at Bologna in the year 1599, in which he gives this account of this whole matter.

Pope Pius the Fifth sent Laurea to be his nuncio in Scotland, to assist and encourage the queen in her zeal: he sent by him twenty thousand crowns to her, as an earnest of further supplies; and wrote to her with his own hand, recommending his nuncio to her. The nuncio came to Paris in the dog-days, and brought him who writes his life along with him to be his secretary. He received letters from the queen of Scots by the hands of the archbishop of Glasgow, who was then her ambassador in France: by these she ex-

pressed her desires that he might come to Scotland as soon as might be, but wished him to delay coming till he should hear from her once more, that she might have all things prepared for his reception. He upon that wrote to her in a very vehement style, pressing her to zeal and fortitude of mind, in carrying on the restoring the catholic religion in her kingdom: with that he sent her over four thousand crowns, and sent one Edmund Hay, a Jesuit, and a man of a cunning and penetrating temper, to be a secret assistant to her: in particular, he pressed her either to punish, or at least to disgrace Lethington, who he believed set on all the tumults, and was a determined heretic, and a favourer of the earl of Murray.

Con has printed these letters\*. Pius the Fifth's letter bears date the 16th of June 1566. In it "he recommends his nuncio to her confidence, who was then bishop of Mondovi (*Montis Regalis*), and promises all possible assistance to her, in her design of bringing back her kingdom to the obedience of the holy see." Queen Mary's answer bears date the 9th of October that year, from Edinburgh: "she in it acknowledges the pope's favour and bounty to her: she adds some high expressions of her sense of the pope's zeal and piety, and promises to treat his nuncio with all respect and confidence. She tells him that she had borne a son, and that she had brought her nobility, though not without much difficulty, to consent that he should be publicly baptized after the manner of the catholic church. She promises to bring him up in that religion; and she hoped this should prove a good beginning of restoring the right use of the sacraments in her dominions." The pope seemed much pleased with this beginning of his pontificate; and in his answer, on the 22d of January following, "he congratulates the birth and baptism of her son, and prays that it may have a good effect."

Three months passed before Laurea had any intimation from the queen concerning his coming over: upon which he sent the bishop of Dunblane, who was then at Paris, with copious advices to that queen, and continued to press her very earnestly by his letters to admit of his coming over: the substance of all which is set forth in his life. He tells us further, "that the queen held a convention of the estates, and had obtained two things of them, not without difficulty: the one was, that her child should be baptized according to the rites of the Roman church; and the other was, that the pope's nuncio should be admitted with due respect."

\* Life of Queen Mary, printed at Rome, an. 1624.

Upon this the nuncio designed to go to Antwerp, thinking that the navigation would be safer from thence than from Calais. But then he adds, "that such a barbarous and impious crime was committed in Scotland, that it gave a horror to think of it, much more to write of it." Of what follows in that life I will add a verbal translation.

"The king, as was said, had the small-pox; upon which, that the contagion might not endanger the queen, he retired to a house at some distance from the palace. As he began to recover, he was often visited by her. One day they supped together, and after much discourse, and that they had diverted themselves till it was late, the queen pretended she could not stay with him all night, for one of her maids of honour being married that day, she must, according to the custom of former queens, see the bride put to bed. She was scarce gone, when some gunpowder that was secretly laid under the house was fired, so that the whole house was blown up, and the king killed: though some said that he was not blown up, but that, hearing some noise of armed men, he had got out by a back-door into a neighbouring garden; and that he and one of his servants were strangled before the house was blown up. It is certain that the king's dead body was found in that garden, with no other hurt, but that about his neck a blackness appeared all round it. When this base murder was known, all people were struck with horror: some spoke severely of the queen herself: libels were published upon it; and some having discovered that Bothwell was the author of this horrid murder, they charged him as being not only an assassinate, but a cruel hangman. It being on such occasions ordinary for people to search into and to discover such things.

"Bothwell, though a heretic, had been always zealous for the queen, and faithful to her: and he had lately with great courage rescued her out of a danger she was in from a very great sedition: besides that, the queen loved him desperately; therefore he, in hope to be married to the queen, first divorced his wife, as if upon adultery that might be so done, that he might marry another wife, and then he cruelly contrived the murdering the king. The queen, after she had borne down some very wicked reports concerning herself and Bothwell, being afraid of some tumult that might have been fatal to them, thought fit to leave Edinburgh. So she carried her son with her to Stirling, a place of defence: having laid (as is probable) a design with Bothwell how matters were to be managed. A few days after she pretended to go out a hunting; then Bothwell with two hundred horse seemed to surprise her, and to seize her by force. But the

queen coming back with him to the castle, presently made him duke of Orkney, and declared him her husband. That marriage did neither prove happy nor lasting: it being a conjunction that had nothing of the matrimonial dignity in it, but had sprung from a partnership in an unworthy crime. Murray was then out of Scotland; but he had left Ledington among others behind him, who were to raise new quarrels and tumults upon every occasion. It was easy to Ledington to work up the minds of the people, who were universally enraged against the queen and Bothwell, to a great flame: therefore a tumultuary army being in haste brought together at Edinburgh, they marched towards Stirling. But when the queen heard that, she, with a few women, and some of her court, went to them. They received her with due respect: and being asked why they came thither armed, they answered, they came only to punish Bothwell for the crimes committed by him, both in the base and cruel murder of the king, and in the force he had put on her person. The queen justified Bothwell; and said, he had done nothing but by her consent: this did provoke them to such a degree of indignation, that they cried all out with one voice, 'Then, Madam, you shall be our prisoner:' and without more delay, they imprisoned her in a castle within an island in Lochleven; appointing only one footman and two ordinary women to attend upon her."

Thus the pope's nuncio understood this matter. There are some inconsiderable circumstances in this relation wrong told; yet the main of the story agreeing with other relations, shows how falsely this matter has been since that time represented, not only by writers in the church of Rome, but by many among ourselves, to put better colours on this odious business. To this (that I may end all this unhappy matter at once, without adding any reflection on it, or telling what were the censures that passed on this occasion; of which I have a great variety on both sides by me, in books printed very near that time), I shall only add another very important passage, that is in the life of that cardinal (p. lxxiv), relating to the testament, which that queen wrote with her own hand in French, the day before she was beheaded. In it "she expressed her constant zeal for the catholic religion; and provided, that if the prince, her son, did not renounce the false and heretical persuasions which he had drank in, the inheritance of the crown of England should never descend to him; but should devolve from him to Philip king of Spain. When this original will was brought to the cardinal, he examined it with great care; that so it might appear that it was truly her last will, and

that it ought to be acknowledged as such. He compared it with the letters he had formerly received from that queen: and not only he himself, but one Lewis Owen, an Englishman (bishop of Casana), then at Rome, whom the writer calls a pious and a most honest man, signed and attested it. The will being thus confirmed, and as it were fortified by a public authority, he delivered it to the count of Olivares, the king of Spain's ambassador, that it might be faithfully transmitted to that king himself." I have put the words of the author of that life, in the language in which he wrote it, in the Collection (No. xciv); so that the reader may compare the translation I have given with the original. I leave this dismal relation as I found it in these vouchers, without any further canvassing of that black affair; which was followed by a train of very extraordinary transactions.

The Scottish nation, both papists and protestants, concurred in the new settlement; of which I shall give a particular account from an authentic proof lately found in Scotland, and now kept in the library of the college of Glasgow: it is the first bond of association that was entered into, upon the resignation of the crown, which the queen was prevailed on to make (by force, as she afterwards declared, when she made her escape out of the prison, with which she was threatened); she sent it by the Lord Lindsay (ancestor to the earl of Crawford), and the Lord Ruthven, afterwards made earl of Gowry. This bears date at Edinburgh, the 24th of July 1567. By it she resigned the crown to her son; and during his infancy, she named the earl of Murray to be regent, who was then in France, and did not come to Scotland, at least he did not sign this bond before the 22d of August. But in the council-book, on the 25th of July, the bond itself is entered on record; and the council removing to Stirling on the 29th of July, the queen's resignation was presented, and received by the earls of Morton, Athol, Glencairn, Mar, Monteith, the Master of Grame, the Lord Home, and the bishop of Orkney, in the name of the three estates: and the earl of Morton taking the coronation-oath in the name of the prince, he was anointed and crowned by the bishop of Orkney, who did indeed little honour to this ceremony; for he, a few days before, had performed the nuptial ceremonies between the queen and the earl of Bothwell. Upon all this, the bond (which is in the Collection, No. xciv) was made to this purpose: "That whereas the queen, being weary of the pains and travail of government, and desiring that in her life-time her son might be placed in the kingdom, and be obeyed by all her subjects,

had resigned the crown in favour of her son : they therefore promised, and bound themselves to assist their king, in setting him on the throne, and putting the crown on his head : and that they should give their oaths of homage, with all dutiful obedience, to him, as became true subjects ; and should concur in establishing him in his kingdom, and resist all such as should oppose it.”

This was made up in some sheets of vellum ; and there are above two hundred hands of the most eminent families of that kingdom set to that bond. Twenty-five of these were then earls and lords ; and there are fifteen others, whose families are since that time advanced to be of the nobility. The noblemen are, the earl of Murray (who signs James regent), the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Errol, Buchan ; the Lords Graham, Home, Ruthen, Sanquar, Glams, Lindsay, Carlisle, Borthwick, Innermaith, Uchiltry, Sempil, Methven, Cãthcart, Grey, Ross, Lovat, and the master of Moutross ; for earls' sons were then so designed. The noble families, whose ancestors signed this bond, are, Buccleugh, Queensberry, Athol, Roxburgh, Anandale, Galloway, Findlater, Panmur, Dalhousy, Leven, Stair, Kenmore, Jedburgh, Cranston, Kircudbright.

Besides those who subscribed the first bond, there was a second bond (that is likewise in the Collection, No. xcvi), entered into in April 1569 ; “ by which they did not only acknowledge the king's authority, but likewise (during the king's minority) the authority of the earl of Murray, as regent ; renouncing all other authority. And they swear to observe this bond ; in which, if they failed, they are contented to be counted false, perjured, and defamed for ever.” This, besides many of those who signed the former bond, was signed by the earls of Crawford and Cassilis, and the Lords Salton, Ogilby, Oliphant, and the ancestors of the earls of Seaforth and Southesk, and of the Lord Duffus. And in a subsequent bond, signed to the earl of Morton when he was regent, there are five other lords who signed it : the earl of Angus, ancestor to the duke of Douglas ; the Lord Levingston, Drummond, Boyd, and Hoy of Yester, the ancestors of the earls of Linlithgow, Perth, and Kilmarnock, and of the marquis of Tweedale.

These were for the greatest part protestants : but there were many papists that joined with them. The earl of Huntley, ancestor to the present duke of Gordon, was the head of the popish party. The earl of Athol, whose name was Stuart, and whose family is since extinct in the male line, protested against the Reformation in parliament, and

had assisted at the baptism of the young king in the popish manner. And besides these, the Lords Oliphant, Gray, Sempill, Maxwell and Borthwick, were still papists. Thus, as the war against the queen regent (eight years before) was engaged in on national grounds, this great revolution of that kingdom seems to have proceeded, as to the civil part, upon the same principles. So that whatsoever was done in this matter, was done, not upon the grounds of the Reformation, but upon national grounds and pretended precedents and laws; in all which the queen of England had secretly a great hand, how much soever it was disguised or denied.

The interest of state was clearly of her side: for the house of Guise, that began to form great projects in France, laid a main part of their scheme in the design of advancing the unfortunate queen of Scotland to the crown of England: and in the view of that succession, many plots were formed to destroy that glorious queen. They also practised upon the king her son, as soon as he was capable of being wrought on by the duke of Lenox, and others; whom they employed about him, to keep him in a dependence on them. They assured him he should still be king of Scotland; their design being, that if their practices against Queen Elizabeth had succeeded, his mother should have left Scotland to him, when she was advanced to the crown of England. They did likewise engage him to continue unmarried: though he, being the only person of his family, it was otherwise very reasonable to marry him soon. Yet they durst not venture on a popish match, till their great design on the crown of France had succeeded: and they would by no means suffer him to marry into a protestant family.

They kept him so much in their management, that the queen of England and her wise council, understanding all this practice, raised those jealousies of his religion, and made such discoveries of that secret correspondence he was in with the house of Guise, that to this all the troubles that the kirk gave him were chiefly owing. The leaders among them knew, from the intelligence sent them by the court of England, more than they thought fit to own, or than could be well proved. This was the true cause of all that peevish opposition that he met with from the ministers there; which is copiously set forth by Archbishop Spotswood. But either he knew not, or did not think fit to set that out as the effect of the jealousy raised by the court of England, on the account of the confidence in which he was engaged with the house of Guise.

But as these practices had a fatal conclusion with relation to the unfortunate Queen Mary, after her long imprison-

ment, so when upon the murder of the duke of Guise, and the successes in the beginning of Henry the Fourth of France's reign, all those projects of that ambitious and persecuting house were at an end, the king of Scotland married to a daughter of Denmark, and continued still after that in a confidence with the queen of England, which secured to him the succession to that crown.

In giving this short view, which I thought important, and in which I was instructed by many papers that I have seen, I have run a great way beyond my design; which was only to open the first settlement of the Reformation in the isle of Great Britain, now happily by her late majesty united into one kingdom: so that nothing remains to be written in pursuance of that. Only, since upon some public occasions, I have referred to a declaration of Queen Elizabeth's (by which she owned and justified the assistance that she gave to the subjects, both of Scotland, and in the Netherlands, in the necessary defence to which the illegal cruelty of their governors forced them): and since I have been challenged to publish it, not without insinuations that it was a forgery; I have thought it proper to conclude my Collection of Records with that declaration (Collect. No. xcvi); that so a paper of such importance may be preserved, and may be more generally read.

I now conclude this work; in which, as I have faithfully set out every thing, according to the materials and vouchers with which I was furnished, so I have used all proper means to procure the best information that I could. It remains, that I leave this to posterity as the authentic history of a series of great transactions, honestly (though often feebly) conducted, with good intentions and happy beginnings, though not carried on to the perfection that was designed and wished for.

The proviso that had passed in Henry the Eighth's time, that continued all the canon-law then received in England, till a code of ecclesiastical laws was prepared, which though attempted, and well composed, was never settled; has fixed among us many gross abuses, besides the dilatory forms of those courts, which make all proceedings in them both slow and chargeable. This has in a great measure enervated all church discipline. A faint wish, that is read on Ash-Wednesday, intimates a desire of reviving the ancient discipline; yet no progress has been made to render that more effectual.

The exemptions settled by the papal authority do put many parts of this church in a very disjointed state; while

in some places the laity, and in many others presbyters, exercise episcopal jurisdiction, independent on their bishops; in contradiction to their principles, while they assert a divine right for settling the government of the church in bishops, and yet practise episcopal authority in the virtue of an act of parliament, that provisionally confirmed those papal invasions of the episcopal power; which is plainly that, which by a modern name is called Erastianism, and is so severely censured by some who yet practise it; since whatsoever is done under the pretence of law against the Divine appointment, can go under no better name than the highest and worst degree of Erastianism.

The abbots, with the devouring monasteries, had swallowed up a great part of that which was the true patrimony of the church: these houses being suppressed, unlimited grants were made of their lands, without reserved provisions for the subsistence of those who were to serve at the altar: this has put a great part of our clergy under crying necessities; and though the noble bounty of the late queen has settled funds for their relief, the good effect of that comes on but slowly: yet it is some comfort to think, that within an age there will be an ample provision for all that serve in the church; and upon that prospect we may hope that many abuses will be then quite abolished.

But with all these defects we must rejoice in this, that our doctrine is pure and uncorrupted; that our worship is truly a reasonable service, freed from idolatry and superstition; and that the main lines of our church government agree to the first constitution of the churches by the apostles: so that, upon the grounds laid down by St. John, all may "hold fellowship with us, since we hold fellowship with the Father, and with the Son Jesus Christ."

May we all adhere firmly to the doctrine of the apostles, and continue in their fellowship, in sacraments and prayers, suitably to the rules laid down by them: contending earnestly for the faith delivered by them to the saints, the first Christians! And may all "who believe in God be careful to maintain good works for necessary uses," which are both "good and profitable unto men; avoiding foolish questions and contentions, for they are unprofitable and vain!"

May we all continue to recommend our doctrine and church by a holy and exemplary deportment, "shining as lights, and walking worthy of God, who has called us to his kingdom and glory;" improving all the advantages that we have, and bearing with all the defects that we labour under, using our best endeavours to have them redressed; yet still keeping the "unity of the Spirit in the bond of

peace;" waiting for such a glorious conjuncture, as may restore every thing among us to a primitive purity and splendour: which God may, perhaps, grant to the prayers of those who call on him night and day for it.

But if we never see so happy a time upon earth, we know, if we continue watchful and "faithful to the death," we shall arrive at last at a blessed society of "innumerable companies of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect; of whom is composed the general assembly and church of the first-born, who are written in heaven," who see and enjoy God for ever. In the view of directing myself and others thither I have written, and now I do conclude this work.

## AN ADDITION.

I HAVE laid out, by all the methods I could think on, for that MS of Archbishop Spotswood's History, that I mention page 343. I once thought I had found it, for I fell on one copy, that had belonged to the late duke of Lauderdale; but it was not that which had belonged to me: yet by that I see that archbishop came gradually, and not all at once, out of his first opinion. For in this MS there is a material difference in the correction that is in the archbishop's own hand, from the first draught. The first draught is, "that princes may commit offences deserving deprivation:" but the *correction* is, "they may fall into great offences," without any more. A little after he had written, "whatsoever may be thought of this opinion;" which imports some doubt concerning it: these words are struck out; but so that they are still legible. A little after that, the MS has it, that "by an act of council, all the errors committed by the queen regent were reckoned up." This is softened by these words inserted after *errors*; "alleged to have been committed." Thus it appears, that the archbishop's first notions had carried him to write in a style that wanted great correction, as his thoughts grew into a better digestion, or as his interests carried him to see things in a different light from that in which they had at first appeared to him.

THE END.

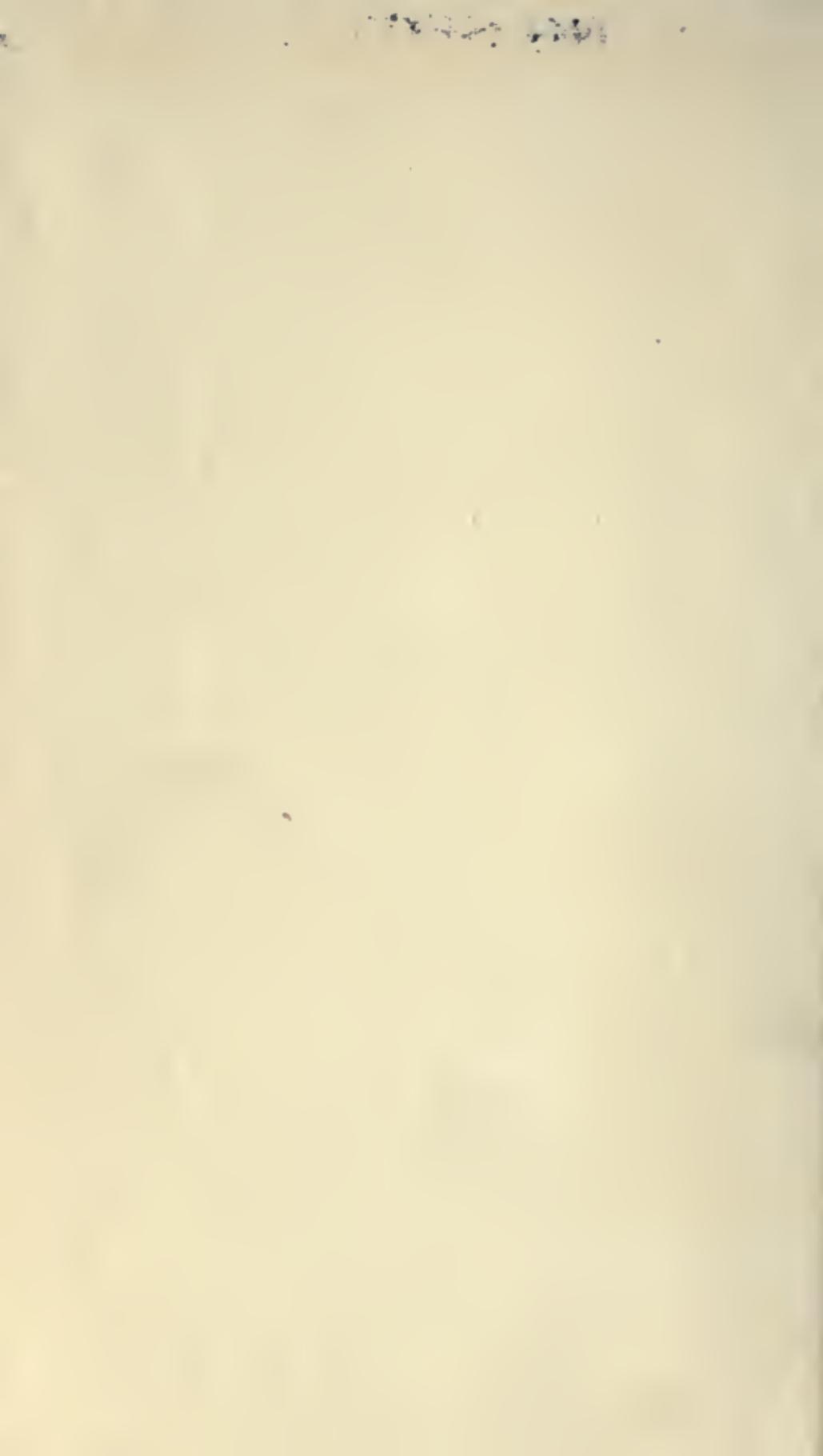
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