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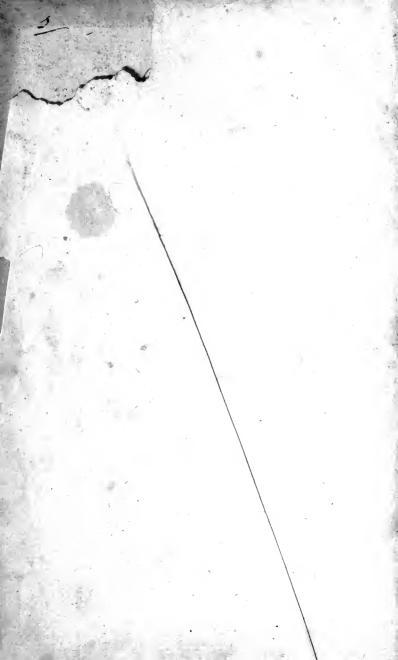
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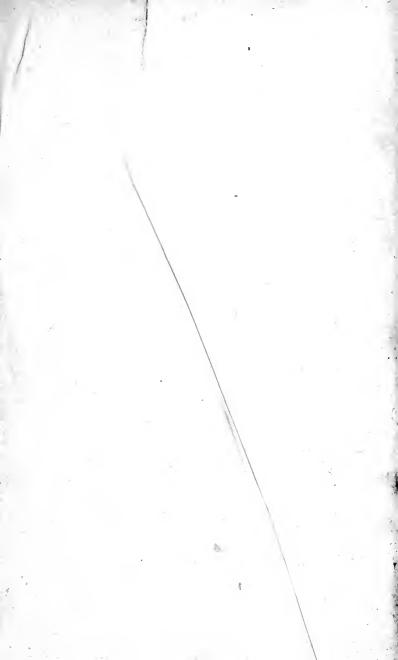
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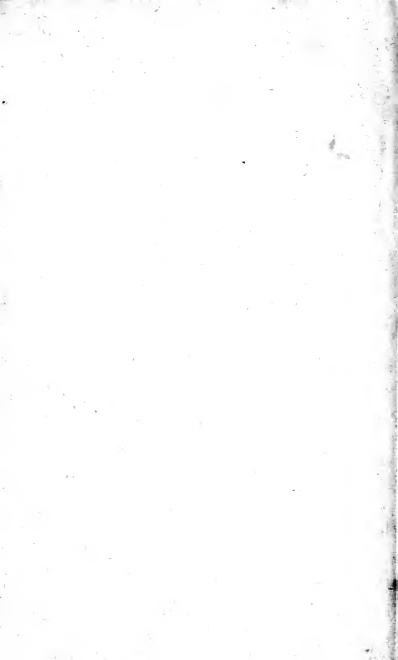
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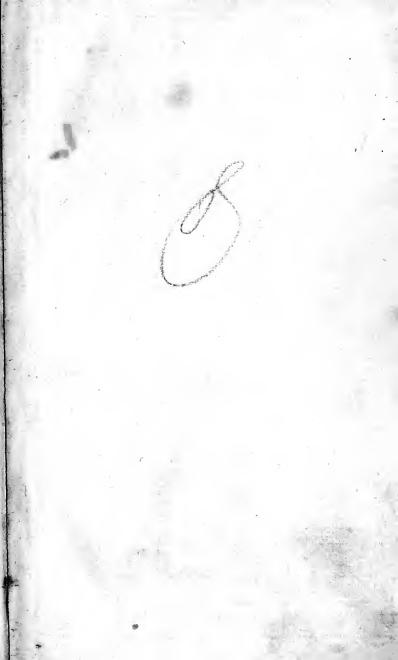














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## THE ABRIDGMENT

OFTHE

## HISTORY

OF THE

## REFORMATION

OF THE

Church of ENGLAND.

By GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

## LONDON;

Printed for R. C. and to be fold by John Lawrence at the Angel in Cornhill, MDC LXXXII.

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# PREFACE.



He Bulk and Price of the two Volumes of the History of our Reformation which I have published, being such, that every one cannot find the Mony to buy them, or the Leisure to read them, I have

been desired by many to contrast what I prosecuted more largely in that Work, and bring it into a less Compass.

I know Abridgment's are generally hurtful: In them Men receive such a slight Tinsture of Knowledge, as only feeds Vanity, and furnishes Discourse, but does not give so clear a View of things, nor so solid an Instruction as may be had in more copious Writings. And as it is a grievous Imposition on that time which ought to be imploied to better uses, to draw out that which might be expressed in sew words, to such a length, that it frights some from the study of A 3

Books, which might have been of excellent use, if they had not been too Voluminous; and oppresses the Patience of those who are resolved to acquire Knowledge in the most labourious Methods; so it is on the other hand a great Prejudice to the Improvement of Learning, when things are too much contracted, and such hints are only given, as may be the Seeds of excellent Notions, perhaps in very rich and fruitful Minds: for copious Enlargements are often necessury to make the greatest part who are generally flow and heavy in their Apprehensions, enter into those Notions which we set before them. It is a true Judgment of Men and Things, that must direct us to seek and keep that Mean betwixt those Extreams that may be of the greatest Advantage to the World.

What is said of Notions and Matters of Science, is likewise applicable to Matters of Fact. History is of little use, if we consider it only as a Tale of what was transacted in former times. Then it becomes most presitable, when the Series and Reasons of Affairs, and secret Councils and Ends, together with the true Characters of Eminent Men, are rightly presented to us, that so upon the light which is given us of past times, we may form Prudent Judgments of the present time, and probable Conjectures of what is to come; and may frame such a true Idea of Men and Parties, as may both enlighten our Understandings more by giving us a freer Prospelt of Humane Affairs, and may better direct us in our conduct.

This

This made me judge it necessary to open things in my History as largely as my Materials could serve me: and because I writ upon a subject that had been much contradicted, I was obliged not only to add a great Collection of Records for my Justification, which makes the half of each Volume, but likewise in the History it self, to give often an account of the grounds on which I went. I also added an Appendix, containing the more remarkable Calumnies, by which the Writers of the Roman Communion have endeavoured to corrupt the History of that time; together with a Confutation of them. I was likewise careful to set down many particular Curiosities relating to the Proceedings of Parliament, of the Importance of which, every Reader will not be aware at first. I gave also a large account of all the Arguments that prevailed with the Divines, as well as the Reasons that wrought on States-men, in the changes that were made; in which the Reader may find an Apology for the Reformation, interwoven with its History.

In all these particulars, there was matter enough for an Abridger to cut off a great deal, and yet to give such an account of the whole Transaction, as might in a great measure satisfy even inquisitive Persons. I understood that another was about this, which made me resolve on doing it my self; for none can so truly comprehend, and by consequence abridge any Book as the Author himself; who, as he knows his own meaning best; so he who has fixed his Thoughts long upon

upon my Argument, will be best able to judge what are the things and Circumstances that are of the greatest Importance, and are most necessary to be rightly understood. In compiling this Abridgment, I have wholly waved every thing that belonged to the Records, and the Proof of what I relate, or to the Confutation of the falfboods that run through the Popish Historians. All that is to be found in the History at large; and therefore in this Abridgment every thing is to be taken upon trust, and those that desire a fuller Satisfaction, are to seek it in the Volumes which I have already published. The Particularities relating to the Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament could not be brought within so short an Abstract. Many Digressions, and the Deductions of Arguments, are either past over, or but shortly touched. He that desires to be particularly informed in any or all of these, must resort to the History it self.

All that I pretend to have done in this A-bridgment is, that I have given a true and clear account of the Progress of the Reformation, in all those Windings, and Advances, and Declinings, through which it was carried from its first beginnings, till it was brought to a compleat settlement under Queen Elizabeth: and this is done in such a manner, that I hope the Reader shall not find much cause to complain that the endeavouring to be short has made me either obscure or defective. In the Prefaces to the two Volumes I endeavoured to clear the Readers mind of the Prejudices which may be apt to

this matter or from a slight and general View of this matter or from the false Relations that have been formerly made of it. I shall not undertake to abridge them, for I brought them there into as narrow a compass as the weight of the matter did admit of: Therefore I refer the Reader, that Labours under the ill Effects of such Impressions, to the Prefaces themselves; and I shall add here that which is the last part of the Preface to the second Volume, because it may be of more general use, and is accommodated to all, that as may be supposed, will have the curiosity to read this Abridgment, that so they may come to it with a true Idea of the Nature of Religion in general, and of the Christian Religion in particular.

That Religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the nature of Man, for improving his Faculties, governing his Actions, and securing the Peace of every mans Conscience, and of the Societies of Mankind in common, is a truth so plain, that without further arguing about it, all will agree to it. Every part of Religion is then to be judged by its Relation to the main ends of it; And since the Christian Doctrine was revealed from Heaven, as the most perfect and proper way that ever was, for the advancing the good of Mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy Faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was designed. And all the Additions that have been made to it, since it was first delivered to the World, are justly to be suspected; especially where it is manifest at first View, that they were intended to serve carnal

carnal and secular ends. What can be rea-Sonably supposed in the Papacy, where the Popes are chosen by such Intrigues, either of the two Crowns, the Nephews of the former Pope, or the craft of some aspiring Men, to entitle them to Infallability or Universal Jurisdiction? What can we think of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, or preserving them from it by tricks, or some mean Pageantry, but that it is a foul peice of Merchandise? What is to be said of Implicit Obedience, the Priestly Dominion over Consciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the Peoples hands, and the Worship of God in a strange Tongue? but that these are so many Arts to hoodwink the World, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious Clergy. What can we think of Superstition and Idolatry of Images, and all the other pomp of the Roman Worship? but that by these things the people were to be kept up in a gross notion of Religion, as a splendid business, and that the Priests have a trick of saving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that matter wholly in their hands. And to sum up all, What can we think of that Constellation of Prodigies in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpose? but that it is an Art to bring the World by whole sale to renounce their Reason and Sense, and to have a most wonderful Veneration for a sort of Men who can with a Word perform the most astonish: ing thing that ever was.

I (hould grow too large for a Preface, if I would pursue this Argument as far as it will go. But if on the other hand we reflect on the true ends of this holy Religion, we must needs be convinced that we need go no where else out of this Church to find them; and that we are compleatly instructed in all parts of it, and furnished with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the End of our Faith, the Salvation of our Souls. Here we have the Rule of holy Obedience, and the Methods of Repentance and Reconciliation for past sins clearly set before us. We believe all that Doctrine which Christ and his Apostles delivered, and the Primitive Church received: We have the comfort of all those Sacraments which Christ instituted, and in the same manner that he appointed them: All the helps to Devotion that the Gospel offers are in every ones hand. So what can it be that should so extravagantly seduce any who have been bred up in a Church so well constituted? unless a blind Superstition in their temper, or a desire to get Heaven in some easier Method than Christ has appointed, do strangely impose on their Understandings, or corrupt their minds. Indeed the thing is so unaccountable, that it looks like a Curse from Heaven on those who are given up to it, for their other sins; for an ordinary Measure of Infatuation cannot carry any one fo far in Folly. And it may be laid down for a certain Maxim, that such as leave us, have never had a true and well formed Notion of Religion, or of Christianity in its main and chief Design; but take things in parcels,

parcels, and without examining them, suffer themselves to be carried away by some prejudices which only darken weaker Judgments.

But if it is an high and unaccountable Folly for any to for sake our Communion, and go over to those of Rome, it is at the same time an unexcusable weakness in others who seem full of zeal against Popery, and yet upon some inconsiderable Objections do depart from the Unity of the Body, and form separated Assemblies and Communions; though they cannot object any thing material either to our Doctrine or Worship: But the most astonishing part of the wonder is, that in such differences there should be so little mutual forbearance or gentleness to be found: and that they should raise such heats as if the substance of Religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a stroke from Heaven on both sides, for their other fins: We of the Church-Communion have trusted too much to the supports we receive from the Law, we have done our Duties too slightly, and have minded the Care of Souls too little; therefore God to punish and awaken us, has suffered so many of our people to be wrested out of our hands: and those of the Separation have been too forward to Blood and War, and thereby have drawn much guilt on themselves, and have been too compliant with the Leaders of their several Factions, or rather apt to out-run them. It is plain, God is offended with us all, and therefore we are punished with this fatal blindness, not to see at this time the things that And belong to our peace.

And this leads me to Reflections of another fort, with which I shall conclude this Preface.

It is apparent the Wrath of God hangs over our Heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The Symptoms of our ill Condition are as sad as they are visible: and one of the worst is, that each Sort and Party is very ready to throw the guilt of it off themselves, and cast it on others, with whom they are displeased: But no Man says, What have I done? The Clergy accuse the Laity, and the Country complains of the City: every one finds out somewhat wherein he thinks he is least concerned, and is willing to fix on that all the Indignation of Heaven, which, God knows, we our selves have kindled against our selves. It cannot be denied, since it is so visible, that generally the whole Nation is corrupted, and that the Gospel has not had those effects among us which might have been expected, after fo long and so free a course as it has had in this Island. Our wife and worthy Progenitors reformed our Dostrine and Worship; but we have not reformed our Lives and Manners: what will it avail us to understand the right Methods of worshiping God, if we are without true Devotion, and coldly perform publick. Offices, without sense and affection, which is as bad as a Bead-roll of Prayers in what soever Language they are pronounced? What signifies our having the Sacraments purely administred aenong us, if we either contemptuoully neglect them

them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with Law, than out of a sense of the Holy Duties incumbent on us? for what end are the Scriptures put in our hands, if we do not read them with great Attention, and order our lives according to them? and what does all preaching signify, if Men go to Church meerly for Form, and hear Ser-mons only as fet Discourses, which they will censure or commend as they think they see cause, but are resolved never to be the better for them? If to all these sad Considerations we add the gross Sensuality and Impurity, that is so avowedly prastised that it is become a fashion, so far it is from being a reproach; the Oppression, Injustice, Intemperance, and many other Immoralities among us, what can be expected, but that these Abominations receiving the highest Aggravation they are capable of, from the clear Light of the Gospel which we have so long. enjoyed, the just Judgments of Heaven, should fall on us so signally, as to make us a reproach to all our Neighbours. But as if all this were not enough, to fill up the measure of our Iniquities, many have arrived at a new pitch of Impiety, by defying Heaven it self, with their avowed Blasphemies and Atheism: and if they are driven out of their Atheistical Tenets, which are indeed the most ridiculous of any in the World, they set up their rest on some general Notions of Morality and Natural Religion, and do boldly reject all that is revealed: and where they dare vent it, (alas! where dare they not do it?) they reject Christianity and the Scriptures, with open

nd impudent scorn, and are absolutely insenfible of any Obligation of Conscience in any thing what soever: and even in that Morality, which they for Decencies Sake magnify so much, none are more bare-facedly and grofly faulty. This is a direct Attempt against God himself, and can we think that he will not visit for such things, nor be averiged on such a Nation? And yet the Hypocrify of those who disguise their flagitious Lives, with a Mask of Religion, is perhaps a Degree above all, though not so scandalous till the Mask falls off, and that they appear to be what they truly are. When we are all so guilty, and when we are so alarmed by the black Clouds that threaten such terrible and lasting Storms, what may be expected but that we should be generally struck with a deep sense of our crying Sins, and turn to God with our whole Souls? But if after all the loud Awakenings from Heaven we will not hearken to that Voice, but will still go on in our Sins, we may justly look for unheard of Calamities, and such Miseries as shall be proportioned to our Offences; and then we are sure they will be great and wonderful.

Tet if on the other hand there were a general turning to God, or at least if so many were rightly sensible of this, as, according to the Proportion that the Mercies of God allow, did some way ballance the Wickedness of the rest, and if these were as zealous in the true Methods of imploring God's Fayour, as others are in procuring his Displeasure; and were not only mourning for their own Sins, but for the Sins of others; the

Prayers

Prayers and Sighs of many such, might dissipate that dismal Cloud which our sins have gathered; and we might yet hope to see the Gospel take root among us: since that God who is the Author of it is merciful, and full of Compassion, and ready to forgive; and this holy Religion which by his Grace is planted among us, is still so dear to him, that if we by our own unworthiness do not render our selves incapable of so great a Blessing, we may reasonably hope that he will continue that which at first was by so many happy concurring Providences brought in, and was by a continued Series of the same indulgent care advanced by Degrees, and at last raised to that pitch of perfection which sew things atttain in this World.

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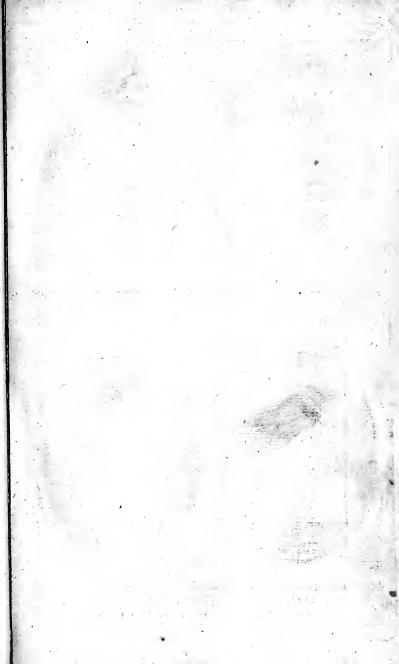
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Q. KATHERINE OF SPAINE.

QUEEN ANN BULLEYN.





Thomas Cromwell Earte of Essex.

S. Thomas More Ld Chancellor.





CARD: WOLSEY.

Arch —Bifhop — CRANMER



#### AN

# ABRIDGMENT

OFTHE

## History of the Reformation

OF THE

Church of England.

### LIB. I.

Of the Beginnings of it, and the Progress made in it, by King Henry the Eighth.

He Wars of the two Houses of The Uni-Tork and Lancaster, had produced two Houses such dissimal Revolutions, and cast of York of England into such frequent and Lincastin terrible Convulsions, that the Nation, with B great Book J. great joy received Henry the Seventh; who being himself descended from the House of Lancaster, by his marriage with the Heir of the House of York, did deliver them from the fear of any more Wars by new Pretenders. But the covetouineis of his Temper, the severity of his Ministers, his ill conduct in the Matter of Britaign, and his jealoufy of the House of York, not only gave occasion to Impostors to disturb his Reign, but to feveral Infurrections that were raifed in his time: By all which he was become fo generally odious to his People, that as his Son might have raised a dangerous competition for the Crown during his Life, as devolved on him by his Mother's death, who was indeed the Righteous Heir; so his death was little lamen-April 22 ted. And Henry the Eighth succeeded,

1509. fon and Dudley.

with all the Advantages he could have defi-He disgra- red; and his difgracing Empson and Dudces 1:mp- hy, that had been the cruel Ministers of his Fathers Designs for filling his Coffers, his appointing Restitution to be made of the Sums that had been unjustly exacted of the People, and his ordering Justice to be done on those rapacious Ministers, gave all People hopes of happy Times, under a Reign that was begun with fuch an Act of Justice, that had indeed more Mercy in it, than those Acts of Oblivion and Pardon. with which others did usually begin. And when Ministers, by the King's Orders, were condemned and executed for invading the Liberties of the People under the Covert

of the King's Prerogative; it made the Na- Book I. tion conclude, that they should hereafter live fecure, under the Protection of fuch a Prince, and that the violent Remedies of Parliamentary Judgments should be no more necessary, except as in this case, to confirm what had been done before in the

ordinary Courts of Justice:

The King also either from the Magnisi-He is very cence of his own Temper, or the Observation he had made of the ill Effects of his Father's Parsimony, did distribute his Rewards and Largesses with an unmeasured Bounty; so that he quickly emptied his Treasure, which his Father had left the 1800000 fullest in Christendom: But till the ill Effects of this appeared, it raised in his Court and Subjects the greatest Hopes possible of a Prince, whose first Actions shewed an equal mixture of Justice and Generofity:

At his first coming to the Crown, the Successes of Lewis the Twelth, in Italy, made him engage as a Party in the Wars with the His Suc-Crown of Spain; He went in Person beyond cess in the Sea, and took both Terwin and Tournay; Wars. in which, as he acquired the Reputation of a good and fortunate Captain; so Maximillion the Emperor, put an unufual Complement on him; for he took his pay; and rid in his Troops. But a Peace quickly followed; upon which, the French King married his Younger Sister Mary, but he dying soon after; Francis the first succeeded: and he renewing his Pretensions upon Italy,

1513:

1514:

Book I. Henry could not be prevailed on to ingage early in the War, till the Successes of either Party should discover which of the sides was the weaker, and needed his Assistance most.

But the hitherto, Spain was an unequal Match to France, yet all Spain being now united (except Portugal) and strengthned by the Accession of the Dominions of Burgundy, and inriched by the discovery of the Indies; and all this falling into the hands of so great a Prince as Charles, afterwards the fifth Emperor of that Name; the ballance between these Kingdoms grew as equal, as the Qualities of the Princes themfelves were, which ingaged them in a Rivalry that made their Minds as divided, as their Interests were opposite. Charles being preferred to Francis in the Competition for the Empire, that kindled the Animolity higher, and feemed to encrease Charles's Party, tho the extent and distance of his Dominion was fuch, that one Soul (tho his was one of the largest and most active in the World) could not animate fo vast a Both these Princes faw how confiderable an Ally or Enemy England might prove, under a King so much esteemed and beloved; fo they spared no Arts that and Spain. might engage him into their Interests; they gained his Ministers by their Presents, and himself by their Complements, for it was foon found out, that Vanity was his weak fide. The Emperour came in Person to England, without the distrustful Precaution

He is courted both by France

> 1520, May.

of a Passport, and did so prevail with him, Book I. and his great Favourite Cardinal Wolfey, by the promise of the Popedom, that tho an Interview followed between Francis and him, yet he found the Scale of France was then the heavier, so that upon the War, which followed between those Princes, he

joyned with the Emperour.

Charles, to assure himself of Cardinal Wolfey, gave him hopes of the Popedom; which perhaps he did the more eafily, because Pope Leo being so young a Man, there was no great appearance of a Vacancy: but the Pope dying fooner than perhaps was expected, Adrian, that had been the Em- Decemb. perour's Tutor, was then chosen, and Cardinal Wolfey had the promise of succeeding him: But a fecond Vacancy following within two Years, the Emperour broke his word the fecond time; upon which, the Cardnial was so offended, that he resolved to take his Revenge, fo foon as a favourable Conjuncture should offer it self; and tho he had laid the best Train he could at Rome for the Chair; yet upon Clement the feventh's Advancement, he dissembled the matter so with him, as to protest, that he was the very person whom he had wished to see raised to that Dignity.

The Battel of Pavia, in which Francis Francis the first, is was taken Prisoner, and his Army defeat-taken Prisoner ed, turned the Scale mightily; the Pope foner, was nearest the danger, and felt it soonest; for he projected the Clementine League, by which both He and the Republick of Venice,

and B 3

Book I, and the Princes of Italy, engaged in the Intev rests of France; and the King of England was declared the Protector of it. Both publick and private interests wrought on the King; and his own Resentments, as well as the Cardinals animated him to it: for the Emperour was so lifted up with his Success, that he began to form the Project of an Universal Empire, and tho he had come to England in Person a second time, and had 1522. contracted a Marriage with the King's Daughter, yet he preferred a Match with the Infanta of Portugal to it, judging it to be of more Importance to him to keep all quiet in Spain. Francis was now at liberty, but had given his Sons as Hostages, so he was flow in his Proceedings, tho he was

yet upon the Advancement, he became the Head of his own.

Septemb.

1527.

The Coloness entred Rome with three thousand Men, and sack'd it, the Pope retiring to the Castle of Saint Angelo, and submitting to the Conditions that were offered; but their Troops being drawn out of Rome, the Pope gathered his together, and fell on their Lands, and by a Creation of sourteen Cardinals for Money (which perhaps may be excused from Simony, because they took no care of Souls) he was enabled to prosecute the War; but the

the Person most concerned in the League: The Emperour was highly displeased with the Pope, whom he look'd on as his own Creature, but it was always observed, that of what Fastion soever a Cardinal might be,

Duke of Bourbon, that upon a Discontent Book I given him in France, had gone over to the Emperour's Service, came to Rome, and took it by storm, himself being killed in the Aslault, the Pope and seventeen Cardinals, flut themselves in the Castle St. Angelo, And aperbut he was forced to render, and was kept wards the Prisoner some Months.

This gave great Scandal to all Europe; the Emperour himself seem'd assamed of it. for he would fuffer no rejoycing to be in Spain for his Sons Birth, but appointed publick Processions for the Pope's Liberty. Wolfey had now the best opportunity he could wish, to declare his Zeal for the Pope's Service, and his Aversion to the Emperour; so he went to France, and made a new League, for fetting the Pope at liberty. The Emperour prevented the Conjunction he faw like to follow, and having brought the Pope to his own Terms, he restored him again to his Freedom. And thus both the Pope and the King of France, that by very unufufal Accidents had been taken Prisoners, acknowledged that their Liberty was chiefly due to the Indeavours that King Henry had used for procuring it.

When he was thus firmly united to Scotland the Interests of France, he had less to fear in disorder from Scotland, which being a perpetual Ally to France, gave him no Difturbance. but as it was drawn into the War by that Court: That Kingdom was also for many Years under a King not of Age, and so was much distracted by Faction, and those Broils

**Factions** in the Council.

Book I. at home, being the furest way to keep them from making Inroads into England, were kept up by the Mony which the King fent the Malecontents; therefore both the Courts of France and England, by the Pensions they gave, kept the feveral Parties there in pay, which Advantage that Kingdom lost when it was joyned to England. As for Domestick Affairs in the Government of England, the King left Matters much in the hands of his Council, in which there were two different Parties, headed by the Bishop of Winchester, and the Lord Treasurer that was Duke of Norfolk: The former much complained of the Confumption of the Treasure; the o ther justified himself, that he only obeyed the King's Orders. But the Treasurer's Party, under a bountiful King, must always be strongest, both in the Court and Council. In the first Parliament, the Justice done upon Empson and Dudly, gave so great Satisfaction, that all things went as the Court defired. In the fecond Parliament, a Brief that Pope Julius writ, complaining of Lewis the twelfth, was first read in the House of Lords, and then carried down by the L. Chancellor, and fome other Lords to the House of Commons, and read there, upon which, Mony was granted for a War with At this time, Fox, to support his Party against the Lord Treasurer, endeavoured to bring Thomas Wolfey into favour; he was of mean Extraction, but had great Parts, and a wonderful Dexterity in infinuating himfelf into Men's Favours; fo he

Car. Welley's Rife.

he being brought into Bufinels, did fo ma-Book I. nage the King, that he became very quickly the Mafter of his Spirit, and of all his Affairs; and for fifteen Years continued to be the most absolute Favourite that had ever been feen in England. He faw the King was much fet on his Pleasures, and had a great Aversion to business; and the other Counfellours being unwilling to bear the load of Affairs, were uneafy to him, by preffing him to govern by his own Counsels; but he knew the methods of Favourites better, and fo was not only easy, but affistant to the King in his Pleasures, and undertook to free him from the Trouble of Government, and to give him leifure to follow his Appetites.

He was Master of all the Offices at home, and Treaties abroad; so that all Affairs went Greatness, as he directed them. He it feems became foon obnoxious to Parliaments, and therefore he tried but one during his Ministry, where the Supply was granted fo scantily, that afterwards he chused rather to raise Mony by Loans and Benevolences, than by the free gift of the People in Parliament. He became fo fcandalous for his ill Life, that he grew to be a Disgrace to his Profession; for he not only served the King, but also shared with him in his Pleasures, which were unhappy to him, for he was spoiled with Venerial Distempers. He was first made Bishop of Tournay in Flanders, then of Lincoln, after that he was promoted to the See of York, and had both the Abby

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Book I. of St. Albans, and the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells in Commendam; the last he afterwards exchanged for Duresm, and upon Foxes death, he quitted Duresm, that he might take Winchester; and besides all this. the King by a special Grant, gave him power to dispose of all the Ecclesiastical Preferments in England, so that in effect he was the Pope of this other World, as was faid antiently of an Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and no doubt but he copied skilfully enough after those Patterns that were fet him at Rome. Being made a Cardinal, and fetting up a Legatine Court, he found it fit for his Ambition to have the Great Seal likewise, that there might be no clashing between those two Jurisdictions. He had in one word all the Oualities necessary for a Great Minister, and all the Vices ordinary in a Great Favourite.

During this whole Raign, the Duke's of Norfolk Father and Son, were Treasurers, but that long and strange course of Favour in so ticklish a Time, turn'd fatally upon the Son, near the end of the King's Life. But he that was the longest and greatest fharer in the King's Favour, was Charles Brandon's Brandon, who from the degree of a private Gentleman was advanced to the highest Honors. The strength of his Body, and the gracefulness of his Person, contributed more to his Rise, than his Dexterity in Affairs, or the Endowments of his Mind, for the greatest Evidence he gave of his Understanding, was, that knowing he was not made for Business, he did not pretend

Charles Advancément.

tend to it; a Temper seldom observed by Book I. the Creatures of Favour. The frame and strength of his Body made him a great Master in the Diversions of that Age, Justs and Tiltings, and a fit Match for the King, or rather a Second to him, who delighted mightily in them. His Person was so acceptable to the Ladies, that the King's Sister, the Queen Dowager of France liked him, and by a strange fort of making Love, prefixed him a time for gaining her Consent to marry him; and assured him, if that he did not prevail within that time, he might for ever despair. She married him in France, and the King after a shew of some Displeasure, was pacified and continued his Favours to him, not only during his Sister's Life, but to the last, and in all the Revolutions of the Court that followed, in which every Minister fell by turns, he still enjoyed his share in the King's Bounty and Affection: fo much happier it proved to be loved, than trusted by him.

The King denied himself none of those Pleasures, that are as much legitimated in Courts, as they are condemned elfewhere; but yet he declared no Mistriss, but Elizabeth Blunt, and owned no Issue, but a Son he had by her, whom he afterwards made Duke of Richmond. He took great care never to im- The King's broil himself with his Parliaments, and he his Parliamet with no Opposition in any, except in ments. that one, which was during Cardinal Woolfey's Ministry; in which 800000 l. being demanded for a War with France, to be paid in four Years, the debate about it rose very high

Book I. high, and not above the half of it was offered; fo the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, and defired to hear the Reafons of those who were against the Supply. but he was told that it was against their Orders to fpeak to a Debate before any that was not of the House: he was much disatisfied at this, and cast the blame of it upon Sir Thomas Moor that was Speaker, and after that he found out other means of supplying the King without Parliaments.

The King's

The King had been educated with Education, more than ordinary Care: and Learning being then in its dawning, after a night of long and gross Ignorance, his Father had given Orders that both his elder Brother and he should be well instructed in matters of Knowledg; not with any delign to make him Arch-bishop of Canterbury, for he had made small progress, when his Brother Prince Arthur died, being then but eleven Years old: perhaps Henry the feventh felt the Prejudices of his own Education fo much, that he was more careful to have his Son better taught; or may be he did it to amuze him, and keep him from looking too early into matters of State. The Learning then most in credit among the Clergy, was the Scholastical Divinity, which by a shew of Subtilty, did recommend it felf to curious Persons; and being very sutable to a vain and contentious Temper, was that which agreed best with his Disposition; and it being likely to draw the most Flattery from Divines, became the chief Subject of his

his Studies, in which he grew not only to Book I. be Eminent for a Prince, whose Knowledg tho ever fo moderate, will be admired by Flatterers as a Prodigy, but he might really have past for a Learned Man had his Quality been ever fo mean. He delighted in the purity of the Latin Tongue, and understood Philosophy, and was so great a Master in Mulick, that he composed well. He was a bountiful Patron to all Learned Men, more particularly to Erasmus and Polidore Virgil, and delighted much in those Returns which hungry Scholars use to make to liberal Princes; for he loved Flattery out of measure, and particularly to be extolled His Learfor his Learning and great Understanding: ning and and he had enough of it to have surfeited a Man of any Modesty; for all the World, both at home and abroad, contended who should exceed most indecently in setting out his Praises. The Clergy carried it; for as he had merited most at their hands, both by his espousing the Interests of the Papacy, and by his entering the Lists with Luther : fo those that hoped to be advanced by those Arts, were as little ashamed in magnifying him out of measure, as he was in receiving their gross Commendations.

The manner of promotion to Bishopricks The manand Abbies was then the same; that had taken ner of the place ever since the Investitures by the Ring promotion and Staff were taken out of the hands of Bishops. Princes. Upon a Vacancy the King seized on all the Temporalities, and granted a Licence for an Election, with a special Re-

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Book I. commendation of the Person; which being returned, the Royal Assent was given, and it was fent to Rome that Bulls might be expeded, and then the Bishop Elect was confecrated: after that he came to the King and renounced every Clause in his Bulls that was contrary to the King's Prerogative, or to the Law, and fwore Fealty; and then were the Temporalities restored. Nor could Bulls be fued out at Rome without a Licence under the Great Seal; fo that the Kings of Engl. had referved the power to themselves, of promotingto Ecclefiastical Benefices notwithstanding all the Invasions the Popes had made on the Temporal power of Princes.

A Contest concerning the Ecclefiaftical

The Immunity of Church-men for crimes committed by them, till they were first degraded by the Spirituality, occasioned the Immunity. only Contest that was in the beginning of this Reign between the Secular and Ecclefiastical Courts. King Henry the Seventh past a Law, that Clerks convict should be burnt in the hand. A temporary Law was also made in the beginning of this Reign, That Murderers and Robbers, not being Bishops, Priests, nor Deacons, should be denied the benefit of Clergy: but this was to last only till the next Parliament, and so being not continued by it, the Act determined. The Abbot of Winchelcomb preached feverely against it, as being contrary to the Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Holy Church, and faid, that all who affented to it had faln under the Cenfures of the Church. And afterwards he published a Book; to prove

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prove that all Clerks, even of the lower Or- Book I. ders, were Sacred, and could not be judged wo by the Temporal Courts. This being done in Parliament-time, the Temporal Lords, with the Commons, addressed to the King, desiring him to repress the Insolence of the Clergy. So a publick Hearing was appointed before the King, and all the Judges: Dr. Standish, a Franciscan, argued against the Immunity, and proved that the judging Clerks had been in all times practifed in England; and that it was necessary for the peace and fafety of Mankind, that all Criminals should be punished. The Abbot argued on the other fide, and faid, it was contrary to a Decree of the Church, and was a Sin in it felf. Standish answered, That all Decrees were not observed: for notwith-Standing the Decrees for Residence, Bishops did not reside at their Cathedrals. fince no Decree did bind till it was received, this concerning Immunity, which was never received in England, did not bind. After they had fully argued the matter, the Laity were all of opinion that the Fryar was too hard for the Abbot, and fo moved the King that the Bishops might be ordered to make him preach a Recantation Sermon. But they refused to do it, and said they were bound by their Oaths to maintatin his Opinion. Standish was upon this, much hated by the Clergy, but the matter was let fall, yet the Clergy carried the point, for the Law was not continued.

Not long after this, an Accident fell out

Book I. that drew great Confequences after its One Richard Hun, a Merchant in London; was fued by his Parish-Priest for a Mortuary in the Legates Court, fo he was advised to fue the Priest in the temporal Court for a Premunire for bringing the King's Subjects before a forraign and illegal Court. This incenfed the Clergy so much that they contrived his Destruction: So hearing that he had Wickelif's Bible, he was upon that put Hann im in the Bishop's Prison for Herefy, but being examined upon fundry Articles, he confelled some things, and submitted hunfelf to Mercy, upon which they ought according to Law, to have injoyned him Penance,

and discharged him, this being his first

prifoned for Hereſy.

Crime; but he could not be prevailed on by the terror of this to let his Suit fall in the Temporal Court; fo one Night his Neck was broken with an Iron Chain, and he was wounded in other Parts of his Body and then knit up in his own Girdle, and it was given out that he had hanged himself; but the Coroners Inquest by examining the Body, and by feveral other Evidences, and particularly by the confession of the Sumner, gave their Verdict, that he was murdered by the Bishop's Chancellor Dr. Horfey, and the Sumner, and the Bel-ringer. The Spiritual Court proceeded against the dead Body, and charged Hun with all the Herefy in Wickliff's Preface to the Bible, because that was found in his Possession; so he was condemned as an Heretick, and upon that his Body was burnt

And condemned, his Body burnt.

Bishops

Bishops of Duresm and Lincoln, and many Book I. Doctors fitting with the Bishop of London when he gave Judgment; fo that it was looked upon as an Act of the whole Clergy: but this produced very ill Effects; for the Clergy lost the Affections of the City to fuch a degree, that they could never recover them; nor did any one thing dispose them more than this did, to the entertaining the new Preachers, and to every thing that tended to the reproach of the Church-men, whom they esteemed no more their Pastors. but accounted them barbarous Murderers. The Rage went so high, that the Bishop of London complained, that he was not fafe in his own House, and there were many hearings before the Council; for the Cardinal did all he could to stop the progress of the Matter, but in vain: for the Bishop's Chancellor and the Sumner were indicted as Principals in the Murder. In Parliament an Act passed restoring Hun's Children; but the Commons fent up a Bill concerning his Murder; yet that was laid aside by the Lords, where the Clergy were the Majority. Clergy look'd on the Opposition that Stan-Further dish had made in the point of their Immuni- Disputes ties, as that which gave the rife to Hun's about Imfirst Suit; so the Convocation cited him to answer for his Carriage in that Matter; but he claimed the King's Protection, fince he had done nothing, but only pleaded in the King's Name. The Clergy pretended they did not prosecute him for his pleading, but for some of his Divinity Lectures, contrary

Book I. trary to the Liberty of the Church, which the King was bound to maintain by his Coronation-Oath: but the Temporal Lords, the Judges, and the Commons prayed the King also to maintain the Laws according to his Coronation-Oath, and to give Standish his Protection. The King upon this being in great perplexity, required Veyly, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, to declare upon his Conscience and Allegiance the truth in that matter. His Opinion was against the Immunity; fo another publick Hearing being appointed, Standish was accused for teaching, That the Inferiour Orders were not sacred; That their Exemption was not founded on a Divine Right but that the Laity might punish them: That the Canons of the Church did not bind till they were received; and that the study of the Canon Law was useless! Of these he denied some, Veysy being and justified other particulars. required to give his Opinion, alledged, That the Laws of the Church did only oblige where they were received: As the Law of the Celibate of the Clergy, received in the West, did not bind the Greek Churches, that never received it: So the exemption of the Clerks not being received, did not bind in England. The Judges gave their Opinion next, which was, That those who prosecuted Standish were all in a Premunire. So the Court broke up. But in another Hearing, in the presence of the greatest part of both Houses of Parliament, the Cardinal faid in the name of the Clergy, That tho they intended to do nothing against the King's King's Prerogative; yet the trying of Clerks Book I: feemed to be contrary to the Liberty of the Church, which they were bound by their Oaths to maintain. So they prayed that the matter might be referred to the Pope.

The King answered that he thought Standish had answered them fully: The Bishop of Winchester said, he would not stand to his Opinion at his Peril. Standish upon that faid, What can one poor Friar do against all the Clergy of England? The Arch-bishop of Canterbury said, Some of the Fathers of the Church had fuffered Martyrdom upon that account; but the Chief-Justice replied, That many holy Kings had maintained that Law, and many holy Bishops had obeyed it: In conclusion the King declared, that he would maintain his Rights, and would not submit them to the Decrees of the Church, otherwise than as his Ancestors had done. Warham Arch-bishop of Canterbury defired so long time might be given, that they might have an Answer returned from Rome; but that was not granted: yet a Temper was found. Horsey was appointed to be brought to his Trial for Hun's Murder; and upon his pleading not guilty, no Evidence was to be brought, and so he was to be discharged. But upon this it was said. The Judges were more concerned to maintain their Jurisdiction, than to do Justice upon so horrid a Murder; fo the discontent given by it was raised so much higher, and the Crime of a few Murderers, was now transferred upon the whole Clergy; who had concerned

them-

Book I. themselves so much in their Preservation; and this did very much dispose the Laity to all that was done afterwards, for pulling down the Ecclesiastical Tyranny.

The King is much addicted to the Papacy.

This was the only uneasy step in this King's Raign, till the fuit for his Divorce was commenced. In all other points he was constantly in the Pope's Interests, who fent him the common Complements of Roses, and fuch other Triffles, by which that See had treated Princes fo long as Children. The King made the Defence of the Popedom an Article in his Leagues with other Princes, and Pope Julius having called a General Council to the Lateran, in opposition to that which by Lewis the Twelfth's means was held at Pisa; The King sent the Bishops of Worcester and Rochester, the Prior of St. John's and the Abbot of Winchelcomb to represent the Church of England, thereby to give the greater Authority to a pack'd meeting of Italian Bishops and Abbots, who assumed to themselves the Title of a Holy and Occumenical Council. But no Complement wrought fo much on the King's Vanity, as the Title of Defender of Faith, fent him by Pope Leo upon the Book, which he writ against Luther concerning the Sacraments.

Crrdinal Wolfer untends to & leigy.

The Cardinal drew upon himself the hatred of the Clergy, by a Bull which imreform the powered him to visit all the Monasteries of England; and to dispence with all the Laws of the Church for a Year. He also gave out, that he intended to reform the Clergy, though he forgot that which ought

to be the first step of all who pretend to re- Book I' form others; for none could be worse than himfelf was. He lived in great Luxury, and in an infolent Affectation of the highest Statepossible; many of his Domesticks being men of the first Rank. He intended to suppress many Monasteries, and thought the best way for doing it with the least Scandal, was first, to visit them, and so to expose their Corruptions: But he was afterwards diverted from this; yet the defign which he laid, being communicated to Cromwel, that was then his Secretary, it was put in Practice toward the end of this Reign, when the Monasteries were all suppressed.

The Convocations were of two forts; The fun-moning of fome were fummoned by the King, when Convoca-Parliaments were called, as is in use to this ions. Day; only the King did not then prefix a Day, but left that to the Arch-bishops. Others were called by the Archbishops, and were Provincial Synods, of which there were but few. The Cardinal pretended that the fummoning all Convocations belonged to him, as Legate; fo that when Warham had called one, he dissolved it after it was met, and fummoned it of new. In that Convocation, a great Supply was granted to the King, of half a Years Rent of all Benefices payable in five Years, for affifting him in his Wars with France and Scotland. This was much opposed by the Cardinal's Enemies, but it was agreed to at last, a Proviso being made, that such a heavy tax should

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Book I. never be made a Precedent for the future; tho the Grant they made was more likely to become a Precedent, than this Proviso to be a Security for the time to come.

> This encreased the Aversion the Clergy had for the Cardinal: the Monks were more particularly incenfed; for they faw he was resolved to suppress their Foundations, and

convert them to other uses.

The State of the Monasterics.

In the days of King Edgar, most of the Cathedrals of England were possessed by Secular Priefts, who were generally married; but Dunst an and some other Monks took advantage from the Vices of that Prince, to perswade him to make Compensation for them; and as he made Laws, in which he declared what Compensations were to be made for Sins, both by the Rich and Poor; fo, it feems, he thought the founding of Monasteries was the fittest Compensation for a King; and he turned out all the married Priests, and put Monks in their stead. From that time the Credit and Wealth of Monastick Orders continued to encrease for several Ages, till the Begging Orders succeeded in the esteem of the World, to the place which the Monks formerly had; for they decreased as much in true worth, as the false appearances of it had now raised their Revenues. They were not only ignorant themselves but very iealous of the progress Learning was making: for Erasmus, and the other Restorers of it, treating them with much fcorn, they look'd on the encrease of it, as that which would much lessen them, and so not only did not concontribute to it, but rather detracted from Book I. it, as that which would make way for He-

refy.

The Cardinal designed two noble Foundations, the one at Oxford, and the other at wolfy sup-Ipswich, the place of his Birth, both for the preses encouragement of the Learned, and the in- many. struction of Youth; and for that end he procured a Bull for suppressing divers Monasteries, which being executed, their Lands by Law fell to the King; and thereupon the Cardinal took out Grants of them, and

endowed his Colledges with them.

But we shall next consider the state of Religion in England. From the dayes of Wickliff there were many that differed from the Doctrines commonly received. He writ many Books that gave great Offence to the growth of Clergy, yet being powerfully supported by Wickliff's the Duke of Lancaster, they could not have Dostrine. their revenge during his Life; but he was after his Death condemned, and his Body was raifed and burnt. The Bible which he translated into English, with the Preface which he fet before it, produced the greatest Effects. In it he reflected on the ill Lives of the Clergy, and condemned the Worship of Saints and Images, and the corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; but the most criminal part was, the exhorting all People to read the Scriptures; where the Testimonies against those Corruptions were fuch, that there was no way to deal with them but to filence them. His Followers were not Men of Letters, but being C 4 wrought

Book I. wrought on by the easy Conviction of plain Sense, were by them determined in their Perfuafions. They did not form themselves into Body, but were contented to hold their Opinions fecretly, and did not spread them, but to their particular Confidents. The Clergy fought them out every where, and did deliver them after Conviction to the Secular Arm, that is, to the Fire.

The Cru-Clergy.

In the Primitive Church, all cruel Proelty of the ceedings upon the account of Herefy, were condemned; fo that the Bishops who accufed some Hereticks, upon which they were put to death, were excommunicated for it. Banishment and Fines, with some Incapacities, were the highest Severities even upon the greatest Provocations. But as the Church grew corrupted in other things, fo a cruel Spirit being generally the mark of all ill Priests, of whatsoever Religion they are, they fell under the Influences of it; and from the days of the rife of the Albigenses, the severities of the Inquisition, and Burnings, with many other Cruelties, were by the means of the Dominicans fet up, first in France, and then in the other parts of Eu-A Decree was also made in the Council of the Lateran, requiring all Magistrates under the pains of forfeiture and deposition, to extirpate Hereticks. Burning agreed best with their Cruelty, as being the most terrible fort of Death, and bearing fome refemblance to everlasting Burnings in Hell; so they damned the Souls of the Hereticks, and burnt their Bodies; but

but the Execution of the former part of the Book I. Sentence was not in their power, as the latter part was. The Canons of that Council being received in England, the Proceedings' against Hereticks grew to be a part of the Common Law, and a Writ for burning them was issued out upon their Conviction: But special Statutes were afterwards made: The first under Richard the second, was only agreed to by the Lords; and without its being confented to by the Commons, the England King affented to it; yet all the Severity in against it was no more, than that Writs should go Hereticks. out to the Sheriffs to hold Hereticks in Prifon, till they should be judged by the Laws of the Church. The Preamble of the Law fays, They were very numerous, that they had a peculiar Habit, that they preached in many Churches, & other Places against the Faith, and refused to submit to the Censures of the This was fent with the other Acts according to the custom of that Time, to all the Sheriffs of England to be proclaimed by them; but the Year following in the next Parliament, the Commons complained that that Act was published, to which they had never consented; so an Act passed declaring the former null; yet this was suppressed, and the former was still esteemed a good Law.

When Henry the fourth came to the Crown, he owing it in great measure to the help of the Clergy, passed an Act against all that preached without the Bishop's Licence, or against the Faith; and it was enacted,

Book I. That all Transgressors of that fort, should be imprisoned, and within three Months be brought to a Trial: If upon Conviction they offered to abjure, and were not Relapses, they were to be imprisoned and fined at pleasure; and if they resused to abjure, or were Relapses, they were to be delivered to the fecular Arm, and the Magistrates were to burn them in some publick Place. tho by this Statute no mention is made of fending out a Writ for Execution; yet that continued still to be practifed: And that same Year Sautre a Priest being condemned as a Relapse, and degraded by Arundell, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, a Writ was issued out for it, in which, Burning is called the Common Punishment, which related to the customs of other Nations: For this was the first Instance of that kind in England. In the beginning of Henry the fifth's Reign, there was a Conspiracy against the King discovered, (tho others that lived not long after, fay it was only pretended and contrived by the Clergy ) of Old-Caftle and fome others of Wickliff's Followers then called Lollards; upon which many were condemned both for Treason and Herefy, who were first hanged and then burnt; and a Law followed that the Lollards should forfeit all that they held in Fee-simple, as well as their Goods and Chattels to the King, and all Sheriffs and Magistrates were required to take an Oath, to destroy all Heresies and Lollardies, and to affift the Ordinaries in their

their proceedings against them. Yet the Book I. Clergy making ill use of these Laws, and vexing all People that gave them any Offence, with long Imprisonments; the Judges interposed and examined the Grounds of their Commitments, and as they faw cause, Bailed, or Discharged the Prisoners; and took upon them to declare, what Opinions were Heresies by Law, and what were not. Thus the People fought for Shelter, under their Protection, and found more Mercy at the hands of Common Lawyers, than from them who ought to have been the Paftors of their Souls, and the Publishers of the most merciful Religion that ever was.

In the beginnings of this Reign, there The Profewere several Persons brought into the Bi-cution of shops Courts for Heresy, before Warham. Lollardsbe-Forty eight were accused: But of these, fore Warham. forty three abjured, twenty feven Men, and fixteen Women, most of them being of Tenterden; and five of them, four Men, and one Woman, were condemned; fome as obstinate Hereticks, and others as Relapses: and against the common Ties of Nature, the Woman's Husband, and her two Sons, were brought Witnesses against Upon their Conviction, a Certificate was made by the Archbishop to the Chancery; upon which, fince there is no Pardon upon Record, the Writs for burning them must have gone out in Course, and the Execution of them is little to be doubted; for the Clergy were feldom guilty of much

Book I. much Mercy in fuch Cases, having devested themselves of all Bowels, as the Dregs of unmortified Nature. The Articles objected to them were, That they believed that in the Eucharist, there was nothing but material Bread; That the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, Confession, Matrimony, and Extream Unction, were neither necessary, nor profitable; That Priests had no more Power than Laymen; That Pilgrimages were not meritorious, and that the Mony and Labour spent in them, were fpent in vain; That Images ought not to be worshipped, and that they were only Stocks and Stones; That Prayers ought not to be made to Saints, but only to God; That there was no vertue in Holy-water, or Holy-bread. Those who abjured, did swear to discover all that held those Errours, or were fuspected of them; and they were enjoyned to carry a Faggot in Procession. and to wear on their Cloaths the Reprefentation of one in Flames, as a publick Confession that they had deserved to be burnt. There were also four in London that abjured almost the same Opinions; and Fox fays, that fix were burnt in Smithfield, who might be perhaps those whom Warham had condemned; for there is no mention of any that were condemned in the Registers of London. By all this it will appear, that many in this Nation, were prepared to receive those Doctrines, which were afterwards preached by the Reformers, even before Luther began first to oppose

Indulgences.

The

The Rife and Progress of his Doctrine Book I are well known; the Scandalous extolling of Indulgences gave the first occasion to all The Prothat Contradiction, that followed between gress of Luchet's him and his followers, and the Church of Doctring Rome; in which, if the Corruptions and Cruelties of the Clergy had not been so visible and scandalous, so small a matter could not have produced such a Revolution; but any Crisis will put ill humours in Fermentation.

The Bishops were grossy ignorant; they feldom resided in their Diocesses, except it had been to riot it at high Festivals; and all the Effect their Residence could have. was to corrupt others, by their ill Example. They followed the Courts of Princes, and aspired to the greatest Offices. The Abbots and Monks were wholly given up to Luxury and Idleness; and the unmarried State, both of the Seculars, & Regulars, gave infinite Scandal to the World; for it appeared, that the restraining them from having Wives of their own, made them conclude that they had a right to all other Mens. The Inferiour Clergy were no better; and not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the Monks had, they became more publick. In fum, all Ranks of Churchmen were so univerfally despised, and hated, that the World was very apt to be possessed with prejudice against their Doctrines, for the fake of the Men, whose Interest it was to support them: and the Worship of God was so defiled with much grofs

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Book I. gross Superstition, that without great enquiries, all Men were eafily convinced; that the Church stood in great need of a Reformation. This was much encreased when the Books of the Fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and latter Ages of the Church, did very evidently appear. They found that a blind Superstition came first in the room of true Piety; and when by its means the Wealth and Interest of the Clergy was highly advanced; the Popes had upon that, established their Tyranny; under which, not only the meaner People, but even the crowned Heads, had long groaned. All these things concurred to make way for the Advancement of the Reformation: And fo the Books of the Germans being brought into England, and Translated, many were prevailed on by them. Upon this, a hot Persecution, which is alwayes the Foundation on which a vitious Clergy fet up their Rest, was vigorously set on foot, to fuch a Degree, that fix Men and Women were burnt in Coventry in Passion-week, only for teaching their Children, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten Commandments in English. Great Numbers were every where brought into the Bishop's Courts; of whom some were burnt, but the greater part abjured.

The King laid hold on this Occasion, to become the Church's Champion, and wrote against Luther, as was formerly told. His Book besides the Title of Defender of the

Faith.

Faith, drew upon him all that Flattery Book I. could invent to extol it; yet Luther not daunted with fuch an Antagonist, but rather proud of it, answered it, and treated him as much below the Respect that was due to a King, as his Flatterers had raifed him above it. Tindal's Translation of the New Testament with some Notes added to it, drew a fevere Condemnation from the Clergy, there being nothing in which they were more concerned, then to keep the People unacquainted with that Book. Sir Thomas More seconded the King, and imployed his Pen in the Service of the Clergy, but mixed too much Gall with his Ink. The Cardinal's Behaviour in this matter was unaccountable; for he not only acted nothing against the new Preachers, but when some Bishops moved for a Visitation of the Universities, upon a report of the spreading of Herefy in them, he stop'd it; yet afterwards he called a Meeting of several Bishops, Abbots and Divines, before whom, two Preachers, Bilney and Arthur, were brought, and Articles of Herefy being objected to them, and proved by Witnesses, they for a while feemed resolved to seal their Doctrines with their Blood; but what through Fear, what through Perswasion, they were prevailed on (first Arthur, and Bilney five days after) to abjure; but tho Bilney was a Relapse, yet the Cardinal was gentle to him, and Tonstall Bishop of London injoyned him Penance, and discharged him. So much may fuffice to shew the condition

Book I. of Affairs in England both in Church and State, when the Process of the King's Divorce was first set on foot.

The King's Henry the seventh entered into a firm Marriage. Alliance with Ferdinand of Spain, and agreed a Match between his Son Prince Arthur; and Katherine the Infanta of Spain. came into England & was married in Novem-

1502.

ber; but on the second of April after, the Prince died. They were not only bedded in Ceremony the night of the Marriage, but continued still to lodg together, and the Prince by some indecent Rallery gave Occafion to believe, that the Marriage was confummated, which was fo little doubted, that fome imputed his too early end to his excess in it. After his Death his younger Brother was not created Prince of Wales till ten Months had past, it being then apparent that the Princess was not with Child by the late Prince; Women were also set about her to wait on her with the Precaution that is necessary in such a Case; so that it was generally believed that she was no Virgin when the Prince died.

Henry the seventh being unwilling to restore so great a Portion as two hundred thousand Ducats, proposed a second Matchi for her with his Younger Son Henry. Warham did then object against the Lawfulness of it; yet Fox Bishop of Winchester, was for it, and the Opinion of the Pope's Authority was then so well established, that it was Decemb. thought a Dispensation from Rome was fufficient to remove all Objections; fo

1503.

one

one was obtained, grounded upon a defire Book I. of the two young Persons to marry together for preserving Peace between the Crowns of England and Spain, by which the Pope dispensed with it notwithstanding the Princes's Marriage to Prince Arthur, which was (as is faid in the Bull ) perhaps confirmmated.

The Pope was then in War with Lewis the twelfth of France, and so would refuse nothing to the King of England, being perhaps not unwilling that Princes should contract fuch Marriages, by which the Legitimation of their Islued epending on the Pope's Dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in Interest to support that Authority: upon this a Marriage followed, the Prince being yet under Age; but the same day in which he came to be of Age, he did by his Father's Orders, make a Protestation that he retracted and annulled his Marriage.

Henry the feventh at his Death, charged him to break it offentirely, being perhaps apprehensive of such a return of Confusion upon a controverted Succession to the Crownas had been during the Wars of the Houses of York and Lancaster, but upon his Death, Henry the Eighth being then eighteen Years of Age, married her: She bore him two Sons, who died foon after they were born; and a Daughter Mary, that lived to reign after him; but after Matches that the Queen contracted fome Diseases proposed that made her unacceptable to the King; for his so all hope of any other Issue failing, seve- Daughter.

1 50%.

Book I ral Matches were proposed for his Daught ter; the first was with the Dauphin; then she was contracted with the Emperor; and after that, a Proposition was made for the King of Scotland; and last of all a Treaty was made with Francis the first, either for him! felf, he being then a Widower, or for his second Son the Duke of Orleans to be determin'd at his Option; upon which the Bishop of Tarbe was sent over Ambassador to conclude it; he made an Exception that the Marriage was doubtful and the Lady not legitimate, which had been likewife made by the Cortes of Spain, by whose Advice the Emperor broke the Contract upon that very account, fo that other Princes moving Scruples against a Marriage with his Daughter, the Heir of fo great a Crown, the King began to make some himself, or rather to publish them, for he said afterwards he had them some Years before.

Yet the Cardinal's hatred to the Emperor, was look'd on as one of the fecret Springs of the King's Aversion to his Aunt which the King vindicating him in publick afterwards did not remove: that being confidered only as a Court Contrivance.

The King has feme **fcruples** concerning bis Marriage.

The King seemed to lay the greatest Weight on the prohibition in the Levitical Law of marrying the Brother's Wife, and he being conversant in Thomas Aquinas's Writings, found that he and the other Schoolmen look'd on those Laws as Moral, and for ever binding, and that by Confe quence the Pope's Dispensation was of no force

force fince his Authority went not fo far Book I. as to dispence with the Laws of God. All the Bishops of England, Fisher of Rochester only excepted, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they judged the Marriage unlawful. The ill Consequences of Wars that might follow upon a doubtful Title to the Crown, were also much considered or at least pretended. It is not probable that the engagement of the King's Affections to any other gave the rife to all this; for fo prying a Courtier as Wolfey was, would have difcovered it, and not have projected a Marriage with Francis's Sifter, if he had feen the King prepoffelled: It is more probable that the King conceiving himself upon the point of being discharged of his former Marriage, gave a free scope to his Affections, which upon that came to fettle on Anne Bolleyn. The King had reason enough to expect a quick and favourable dispatch of his business at Rome, where Dispensations or Divorces in Favour of Princes used to pass, rather with regard to the Merits of the Prince that defired them; than of the Cause it self. His Alliance seemed then necessary to the Pope, who was at that time in Captivity. Nor could the Emperour with any good colour oppose his Suit fince he had broken his Contract with his Daughter upon the account of the doubt fulness of the Marriage.

The Cardinal had also given him full Asfurances of a good Answer from Rome; whether upon the knowledg he had of that

Book I. Court, and of the Pope's temper, or upon any promise made him, is not certain. The Reasons gathered by the Canonists for annulling the Bull of Dispensation, upon which the Divorce was to follow in course, were grounded upon some false suggestions in the Bull, and upon the Protestation which the King had made when he came to be of In a word, they were fuch, that a favourable Pope left to himself, would have yielded to them without any fcruple.

Anne Bolleyn was born in the year 1507, and went to France at feven years of Age, and returned twelve years after to England. She was much admired in both Courts, and continued to live without any Blemish till her unfortunate Fall gave occasion to some malicious Writers to defame her in all the Parts of her Life; She was more beautiful than graceful, and more chearful than difcreet. She wanted none of the Charms of Wit or Person, and must have had extraordinary Attractives; fince she could so long manage fuch a King's Affection in which her being with Child foon after the Marriage. shews that in the whole course of seven years she kept him at a due distance. Upon her coming to England, the Lord Piercy being then a Domestick of the Cardinals, made love to her, and went fo far as to engage himself some way to marry her, and that being certained by her, shews she had then no afpirings to the Crown. But the Cardinal having understood somewhat of the King's fecret Intentions, did so threaten him.

him, that he made him, tho not without Book I. great difficulty, break off his addresses to her.

Knight, then Secretary of State, was fent to Rome to prepare the Pope in the matter; And apand the Family of the Cassali having much of the Pope. the Pope's Favour, they were likewise imployed to promote it. To Gregory Cassali did the Cardinal fend a large Dispatch, setting forth all the Reasons both in Conscience and Policy, for obtaining a Commission to himself to judge the Affair. Promises were made in the King's Name, both for publick and private Services, and nothing was forgot that was likely to work either on the Pope, or those Cardinals that had the greatest Credit about him. Knight made application to the Pope in the secretest manner he could, and had a very favourable Answer; for the Pope promised frankly to diffolve the Marriage: but another Promise being exacted of him in the Emperour's Name, not to proceed in that Affair, he was reduced to great straits, not so much out of regard to his Promises, (for he had so engaged himself, that it was unavoidable for him to break one ) as to his Interests; he was then at the Emperour's mercy, fo he was in fear of offending him, yet he both hated him, and was distrustful of him; and had no mind to lose the King of England, therefore he studied to gain time, and promised that if the King would have a little patience, he should not only have that which he asked, but every thing that was in his power to grant. D 3

The

Book I.

Who was very fayourable.

The Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor made fome Scruples concerning the Bull that was demanded, till he had raised his price, and got a great Present, and then the Pope figned both a Commission for Wolsey to try the Cause, and judge in it, and also a Dispenfation, and put them in Knights hands; but with tears prayed him that there might be no proceedings upon them, till the Emperour were put out of a capacity of executing his Revenge upon him, andwhen ever that was done he would own this act of Justice which he did in the King's favour. For tho the Pope on publick occasions used to talk in the language of one that pretended to be S. Peter?s Successor; yet in private Treaties he minded nothing but his own Security, and the Interests of his Family. And being a very crafty Man, he proposed an Expedient, which if the King had followed, it had put a quicker and easier end to the Process. 'He found his fending Bulls, or a Legat to England, would become publick, and draw the Emperour upon him, and must admit of delays and be full of danger; therefore he proposed, if the King was satisfied in his own Conscience, in which he believed no Doctor could resolve him better than himfelf, then he might without more noise make Judgment be given in England; and upon that marry another Wife, and fend over to Rome for a Confirmation; which would be the more easily granted, if the thing were once done. This the Popedefired might be represented to the King as the Ad-VICC

wice of the Cardinals, and not as his own. Book I. But the King's Counsellers thought this more dangerous than the way of a Process; for if upon the King's second Marriage, a Confirmation should be denyed, then the Right Succession by it, would be still very doubtful, so they would not venture on it.

The Pope was at this time distasted with Cardinal Welfey; for he understood, that during his Captivity, he had been in an Intrigue, to get himself chosen Vicar of the Papacy, and was to have fate at Avirnion, which might have produced a new Schism. Staphileus, Dean of the Rota, being then in England, was wrought on by the promise of a Bishoprick, and a Recommendation to a Cardinals Hat, to promote the King's Affair; and by him the Cardinal wrote to the Pope, in a most earnest strain, for a dispatch of this butiness; and he desired, that an indifferent and tractable Cardinal might be fent over, with a full Commission to joyn with him, and to judge the matter; proposing to the King's Embassadours, Campegio as the fittest Man; when a Legate should be named, he ordered Presents to be made him, and that they would hasten his dispatch, and take care that the Commission should be full. But upon the Arrival of the Couriers, that were fent from Rome, Gardiner, the Cardinals Secretary, and Fox, the Kings Almoner, the one a Canonist, and the other a Divine, were fent thither with Letters, both from the King and Cardinal, to the Pope,

Book I. Pope, & they carried orders (that were like to be more effectual than any Arguments they could offer) to make great Presents to the Cardinals. They carried with them the draught of a Bull, containing all the Clauses could be invented, to make the matter fure; one Clause was to declare the Issue of the Marriage good, as being begotten bona fide, which was perhaps put in to make the Queen more easy, since by that it appeared, that her Daughter should not suffer, which way foever the matter went.

> The Cardinal in his Letters to Cassali, offered to take the blame on his own Soul, if the Pope would grant this Bull; and with an Earnestness, as hearty and warm, as can be expressed in Words, he pressed the thing, and added, That he perceived, that if the Pope continued Inexorable, the King

would proceed another way.

Campegio fent over Legate.

These Intreaties had such Effects, That Campegio was declared Legate, and ordered to go for England, and joyn in Commission with Wolfey, for judging this matter. Campegio was Bishop of Saliebury; and having a Son whom he intended to advance, was no doubt a tractable Man; but to raise his price the higher, he moved many Scruples. and seemed to enter upon this Employment, with great fear, and aversion. sey who knew his Temper, prest him vehemently, to make all the hast he could, and gave him the Assurance of great Rewards from the King: For whatever was to be made use of publickly for formes fak e.

fake, these were the effectual Argu-Book I ments that were most likely to convince a www Man of his Temper: In which Wolfey was so fincere, that in a Letter he wrote to him, that of a good Conscience, being put among other Motives to perswade him, in the first Draught, the Cardinal struck it out, as knowing how little it would fignify. Campegio set out from Rome, and carried with him a Decretal Bull, for annulling the Marriage which was trufted to him, and he was Authorized to shew it to the King and Wolfey; but was required not to give it out of his Hands to either of them. At this time, Wolfey was taken with the sweating Sickness, which then raged in England; and by a Complement which both the King and Ann Boleyn writ him, on the same piece of Paper, it appears, he was then privy to the Kings Defign of marrying her, and intended to advance himself yet higher, by his merits, in procuring her the Crown.

This Year he fettled his two great Colledges; and finding both the King and People much pleafed with his converting fome Monasteries to such uses, he intended to suppress more, and to convert them to Bishopricks, and Cathedral Churches, which the Pope was not willing to grant, the Religious Orders making great Opposition to it; but Gardiner told him, it was necesfary, and must be done; so a power for doing it, was added to the Legates Com-

mission.

Book I.

1528.

At this time, the Queen engaged the Emperor to espouse her Interests, which he did, the more willingly, because the King was then in the Interests of France; and to help her Business, a Breve was either found, or forged, (the last is more probable ) of the same date with the Bull. that dispensed with her Marriage: But with stronger Clauses in it to answer those Objections that were made against some defects in the Bull, though it did not feem probable, that in the same Day, a Bull and a Breve would have been granted for the fame thing, in fuch different strains. The most confiderable Variation was, That whereas the Bull did only suppose, that the Queens Marriage with Prince Arthur, was perhaps Confummated; the Breve did suppose it abfolutiv, without a perhaps. This was thought to prejudice the Queen's Cause as much, as the Suspicion of the Forgery did blemish her Agents.

Campegio comes into England.

In October, Campegio came into England; and after the first Complements were over, he first advised the King to give over the Prosecution of his Suit; and then counfelled the Queen in the Pope's Name, to enter into a Religious Life, and make Vows; but both were in vain; and he by affecting an Impartiality, almost lost both sides. But he in great measure pacified the King, when he shewed him the Bull he had brought over for annulling the Marriage; yet he would not part with it out of his hands, neither to the King, nor the Cardinal;

dinal; upon which, great Instances were Book I. made at Rome, that Campegio might be or dered to shew it to some of the King's 1528. Counfellors, and to go on and end the business, otherwise Wolsey would be ruined, and England lost: Yet all this did not prevail on the crafty Pope, who knew it was intended once to have the Bull out of Campegio's hands, and then the King would leave him to the Emperour's Indignation: But the he positively refused to grant that, yet he faid, he left the Legates in England, free to judge as they faw Caufe, and promised that he would confirm their Sentence.

The Imperialists at Rome pressed him hard, to inhibit the Legates, and to recall the Cause that it might be heard before the Confistory. The Pope declined this motion; and to mollify the King, he fent Campana, one of his Bed-chamber, over Campana to England, with Complements too high fent to deto gain much Credit: He affured the King, King, that the Pope would do for him all he could, not only in Justice, and Equity, but in the fulness of his Power: And that tho he had reason to be very apprehensive, of the Emperour's Resentments, yet that did not divert him from his Zeal for the King's Service; for if his religning the Popedome would advance it, it should not flick at that. He also was ordered to require the Legates, to put a speedy end to the business; but his secret Instructions to Campegio were of another strain; he charged

Book I. charged him to burn the Bull, and to draw out the matter by all the delayes he could 11528. invent. Sir Francis Brian, and Peter Van-

nes, were dispatched to Rome, with new Propositions, to try, whether, if both the King and Queen took Religious Vowes, fo that their Marriage were upon that annulled, the Pope would engage to difpence with the King's Vow, or grant him a License for having two Wives. also offered in the King's Name, to settle a Pay for 2000 Men, that should be a Guard to the Pope, and to procure a Restitution of some of his Towns, on which the Venetians had seized. But the Pope did not care to have his Guards payed by other Princes; which he looked on as a putting himself in their hands. He was in fear of every thing that might bring a new Calamity upon him; and was now refolved to unite himself firmly with the Emperour, by whose means only, he hoped to reestablish his Family at Florence; and ever after refolved to this, all the use he made of the King's unite with Earnestness in his Divorce, was only, to draw in the Emperour to his Interests, on the better Terms. The Emperour was also then pressing him hard, for a General Council; of which, besides the aver-sion that the Court of Rome had to it, he

had particular reason to be afraid; for being a Bastard, he was threatned with Deposition as uncapable, by the Canons of the Church, to hold fuch a Dignity. The

The Fope the Emperour.

> Pope proposed a Journey incognito, to Spain, and

and defired Wolfey to go with him, for ob- Book I. taining a General Peace. But in fecret, he was making up with the Emperour, and gave his Agents Affurances, that the the Legates gave Sentence, he would not confirm it. So the King's Correspondents at Rome, wrote to him, to set on the War more vigorously against the Emperour, for he could expect nothing at Rome, unless the

Emperour's Affairs declined.

The Pope went on cajoling those the King sent over, and gave new Assurances, that tho he would not grant a Bull, by which the Divorce should be immediately his own Act; yet he would confirm the Legates Sentence to he refolved: to cast the Load wholly upon them: if he faid he did it himself, a Council would be called by the Emperour's means, in which, his Bull would be annulled, and himself deposed, which would bring on a new Confusion; and that, confidering the footing Herefy had got, would ruine the Church. The Pope inclined more to the dissolving the Marriage, by the Queen's taking Vowes, as that which could be best defended; but the Cardinal gave him notice, that the Queen would never be brought to that, unless her Nephews advised it.

At this time, the Pope was taken fud- The Pope's denly ill, and fell in a great Sickness; upon Sickness. which, the Imperialists began to prepare for a Conclave: But Farnefe, and the Cardinal of Mantua opposed them, and seemed. to have Inclination for Wolfey. Whom, as

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Wolfey's asoiring. 1528.

Book I. his Correspondents wrot to him, they reverenced as a Deity. Upon this he fent a Courier to Gardiner, then on his way to Rome, with large Directions, how to manage the Election; It was reckoned, that the King of France, joyning heartily with the King, of which he feemed confident; there were only fix Cardinals wanting, to make the Election fure, and belides Summes of Mony, and other Rewards, that were to be distributed among them; he was to give them assurance, that the Cardinals' Preferments should be divided among them! These were the secret Methods of attaining that Chair: And indeed it would puffe a Man of an ordinary degree of Credulity, to think, That one chosen by such means, could be Christ's Vicar, and the Infallible Judge of Controversies. But the Pope's Recovery, put an end to those Intrigues, which yet were foon after revived, by a long and dangerous Relapfe: Then great pains was taken, to gain many Cardinals to favour the King's Caufe; and many Precedents were found of Divorces, granted in Favour of Princes, upon much highter grounds. But the Imperialits were fo strong at Rome, that they could not hope to prevail, if the Emperour was not first gained; so there was a fecret Negotiation fet on foot with him, but it had no other Effect, fave that it gave great Jealousy, both to the Pope, and the King of France. Another dispatch was sent to Rome, to procure a Commillion, with fuller powers

powers in it to the Legates, and a Promise Book I. under the Pope's hand to confirm their Sentence; the latter was granted, but the The Pope former was refused, for the Pope was re-promised folved to go no further in that Matter, tho any Sen-Wolfey wrote to Rome, that if Justice tence the were denied the King, not only England, but Legates France likewise would withdraw their Obe- should dience from the Apostolick See; because by that it would be inferred, that the Emperour had fuch Influence at Rome, as to oblige the Pope to be partial or favourable as he At this time the Cardinal was pleased. cheapning his Bulls for Winchester, which were rated at 15000 Ducats, but fince it was a Translation from Duresm, so that a new Composition would come in for that Vacancy, he refused to pay above a third of what was demanded.

The Emperour's Ambassadour made a Protestation at Rome in the Oueen's Name against the Legates as partial in the King's Favour, which the Pope received. Gardiner, that was a Man of great Craft, and could penetrate well into Secrets, wrote to the King, affuring him, that he might expect nothing more from the Pope, who was resolved to offend ueither the Empêrour nor him; and therefore he advised him to get the Legates to give Sentence withall possible hast; and then when it should come to the Emperour's turn to folicite the Pope for Bulls against the King, the Pope would be as backward as he was now. was fo fearful, and under fuch irrefolution

1529.

Book I, that he could be brought to do nothing with Vigor: This Gardiner desired might not be shewn to the Cardinal; for he was now fetting up for himfelf, and had a private Correspondence with Anne Boleyn, who in one of her Letters to him as a token of fpecial Favour, fent him fome Cramp Rings that the King had Blessed, of which the Office is extant; and Gardiner in one of his Letters fays, They were much esteemed for the Virtue that was believed to be in them. In the Promise which the Pope signed to confirm the Sentence that should be given by the Legates, some Claufes were put, by which he could easily break loose from it; so he endeavoured to get another in fuller termes, by this Artifice: He told the Pope, that the Courier had met with an Accident in passing a River, by which the Promise was fo spoiled with Water, that it could not be made use of. But the Pope instead of being catched with this, to give a new one, feemed glad that it was spoiled, and positively refused to renew it. And a long and earnest Letter which the Legates wrote to the Pope, pressing him to end the matter roundly by a Decretal Bull, affuring him it was only scruple of Conscience that wrought on the King, and no defire of a new Wife, and that the whole Nation was much offended with the delays of this Matter, in which they were all fo much concerned, wrought nothing on him; for he confidered that as done by them only in compliance with the King, who thought he had intirely

intirely gained Campegio, and the scandals Book I. of his Life were fo publick, that the motives of Interest were likely to prevail on 1529. him more than any other: but by all the Arts that were used, they were not able to over-reach the Pope, who whatever he might be in his Decisions, seemed infallible in his Sagacity and Jealoufy. The Queen's Agents pressed hard for an Avocation, but the Pope was unwilling to grant that, till he had finished his Treaty in all other points with the Emperour, and he began to complain much of the cold Proceedings of the Confederates, and that they exposed him fo much not only to the Emperour's Mercy, but to the scorn of the Florentines: by this it was visible, he was seeking a Colour for casting himself into the Emperour's Arms: great Objections were made to the Motion for an Avocation, it was contrary to the King's Prerogative to be cited to Rome, and it was faid he would feek Justice of the Clergy of Engl.if the Pope denied it. It was also contrary to the Promise under the Popes hand, and his Faith often given by word of mouth, chiefly of late by Campana, to recal the Legat's Commission: but verbal Promises did not bind the Pope much, they vanished into Air; and Campana swore that he had not made any, and for the written Promise, there was a Clause put in it, by which he could escape, fo that he was at liberty from all Ingagements but those he had privately given in discourse, and to these he was no Slave.

Book I.

1529.
The Process begun in Englind.

The Legates began the Process in England, after the necessary Preliminaries: the Queen appeared, and protested against them as imcompetent Judges: endeavours were used to terrify her into some compliance; it was given out that fome had intended to kill the King or the Cardinal, and that she had some hand in it, that she carried very disobligingly to the King, and used many indecent Arts to be popular; that the King was in danger of his Life by her means, and fo could no more keep her company neither in Bed nor at Board; but she was a Woman of so resolute a mind, that no Threatnings could daunt her. When both the King and She were together in the Court, the Queen instead of anfwering to the Legates, kneeled down before the King, and spake in a manner that raised Compassion in all that were present; she said, She had been his Wife these twenty Years, had born him feveral Children, and had always studied to please him, therefore the defired to know wherein the had at any time offended him. As for their Marriage it was made by both their Parents, who were esteemed wise Princes, and had no doubt good Counfellours when their Match was agreed on; but at present she neither had indifferent Judges, nor could fhe expect that her Lawyers being his Subjects durst speak freely for her, and therefore she could not expect Justice there; so she went out of the Court, and would never return to it any more. Upon this the King gave

gave her a great Character for her extra- Book I. ordinary Qualities, and protested, he was acted by no other Principle, then that of Conscience. He added, that Wolsey did not fet him on to this Suit, but had opposed it long:that he first moved the matter in Confession to the Bishop of Lincoln, and had defired the Archbishop of Canterbury to procure him the Resolution of the Bishops of England, in his Case; and that they had all under their hands declared, that his Marriage was unlawful. The Bilhop of Rochester denied he had signed it; but Warham pretended, he gave him leave to make another write his Name to it. Fisher denied this, and it was no way probable.

The Legates went on according to the The Quien forms of Law, tho the Queen appealed appeals to from them to the Pope, and excepted both the Pope. to the Place, to the Judges, and her Law-Yet they pronounced her Contuman, and went on to Examine Witnesses; chiefly, to that particular of the Confummation of her Marriage with Prince Arthur. But now fince the Process was thus going on, the Emperours Agents prest the Pope vehemently for an Avocation; and all possible endeavours were used by the King's Agents to hinder it; they spared nothing that would work on the Pope, either in the way of perswasion, or threatning: It was told him, that there was a Treaty fet on foot, between the King, and the Lutheran Princes of Germany; and that upon the Pope's declaring himfelf fo

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partial,

Book I. partial, as to grant the Avocation, he would certainly imbark in the same Interreits with them. But the Pope thought the King was fo far ingaged in Honour in the Points of Religion, that he would not be prevailed with to unite with Luther's Followers: So he did not imagine, that the Effects of his granting the Avocation, would be so dismal, as the Cardinal's creatures represented them: He thought it would probably ruine him, which might make his Agents use such Threatnings, and he did not much consider that, for he hated him in his heart. So in Conclusion, after the Emperour had engaged to him, to restore his Family to the Government of Florence, he resolved to publish his Treaty with him: But that the granting the Avocation, might not look like ( what indeed it was) a secret Article, he resolved to begin with that; and with great figns of forrow, he told the English Embassadours,

Thi Pope growts an Arocation.

England.

The Legates, Can pegio in particular, drew out the matter, by all the delayes they could contrive, and gained much time.

19th, he fent it by an express Messenger to

that he was forced to it; both because all the Lawyers told him, it could not be denied, and that he could not resist the Emperours Forces, which surrounded him on all hands. Their endeavours to gain a little time by delayes, were as fruitless as their other Arts had been, for on the 15th of July, the Pope signed it, and on the

time. At last, it being brought to that, Book F. that Sentence was to be pronounced, Campegio, instead of doing it, adjourned the Court till October, and said, that they being a part of the Confiftory, must observe their times of Vacation. This gave the King and all his Court great offence, when they faw what was like to be the lifue of a Process; on which the King was so much bent wandbin which he was fo far engaged, both in Honour and Interest. Campegio had nothing to lose in England, but the Bishoprick of Sailisbury, for which, the Pope or Emperour could easily recompence him; but Wolfey was under all the Terrours, that an Infolent Favorite is liable to, upon'a change in his Fortune; None being more abject in misfortune, than those that are listed up with Success. When the Avocation was brought to England, the King was willing, that the Legates should declare their Commission void, but would not fuffer the Letter's Citatory to be ferved, for he looked upon it as below his Dignity to be cited to appear at Rome. The King governed himself upon this occasion, with more temper than was expected: He dismissed Campegio civily, only his Officers fearched his Coffers, when he went beyond Sea, with defign, as was thought, to fee if the Decretal Bull could be found. Wolfey was now upon the point of being difgraced, tho the King seemed to treat him with the same Confidence he had formerly put in him; it being ordina-E 3

Book I ry for many Princes to hide their designs of differencing their Favourites, with higher Expressions of kindnesses than ordinary, till their Ruine breaks out the more violently, because it is not foreseen.

Cranmer's Rife.

At this time, Dr. Cranmer, a Fellow of Jesus-Colledge in Cambridge, meeting accidentally with Gardiner, and Fox, at Waltham, and being put on the Discourse of the King's Marriage, proposed a new Method, which was, That theKing should engage the chief Universities, and Divines of Europe, to examine the lawfulness of his Marriage; and if they gave their Resolutions against it, then it being certain, that the Pope's Dispensation could not derogate from the Law of God, the Marriage muit be declared null: This was new, and feemed reasonable; so they proposed it to the King, who was much taken with it, and faid, he had the Sow by the right Ear: He faw this way was both better in it felf, and would mortify the Pope extreamly; fo Cranmer was fent for, and did so behave himself; that the King conceived an high opinion, both of his Learning and Prudence, and of his Probity and Sincerity, which took fuch root in the King's mind, that no Artifices, nor Calumnies, were ever able to remove it.

difgraced.

Wolfey is But as he was thus in his Rife, fo Wolfey did now decline. The Great Seal was taken from him, and given to Sir Thomas Moor: And he was fued in a Premunire, for having held the Legatine Courts by a

For-

Forraign Authority, contrary the Laws of Book I. England: He confessed the Indictment, and pleaded Ignorance, and submitted himself to the King's Mercy; fo Judgment passed on him: Then was his rich Palace (now Whitehall) and Royal Furniture, seized on to the King's use: Yet the King received him again into his Protection, and restored to him the Temporalities of the Sees of York and Winchester, and above 6000 1. in Plate, and other Goods: And there anpeared still great and clear Prints in the King's mind, of that entire Confidence, to which he had received him: of which, as his Enemies were very apprehensive, so he himself was so much transported with the Messages he had concerning it, that once he fell down on his knees in a Kennel before them that brought them. Articles were put in against him, in the House of Lords; it feems, for a Bill of Attainder. where he had but few Friends; which all insolent Favourites may expect in their Difgrace. In the House of Commons, Cromwel, that had been his Secretary, did fo manage the matter, that it came to nothing. This failing, his Enemies procured an order to be fent to him, to go into Yorkshire: Thither he went in great State, with 160° Horses in his Train, and 72 Carts following him, and there he lived some time: But the King was informed, that he was practifing with the Pope, and the Emperour: So the Earl of Northumberland was fent to arrest him of high Treason, and bring him E 4 up

Book I up to London. On the way he sickned, which different collours of Wit may impute, either to a greatness, or meanness 1519. of Mind, tho the last be the truer. In HaDeath. Conclusion, he died at Leicester, making great Protestations, of his constant Fidelity to the King, particularly in the mat+ ter of his Divorce: And he wished he had ferved God, as faithfully as he had done the King; for then he would not have cast him off in his gray Hairs, as the King had Words that declining Favourites are apt to reflect on, but they feldom remember them in the hight of their For-

The King thought it necessary, to secure himself of the Affections, and Confidences of his People, before he would venture on any thing that should displease two such mighty Potentates, as the Pope, and the A Parlia- Emperour. So a Parliament was called; in it the Commons prepared several Bills, against some of the Corruptions of the Clergy; particularly, against Plurality of Benefices, and Non-residence: Abuses, that even Popery it felf, could not but condemn: The Clergy abhorred the Precedent of the Commons, medling in Ecclefiaffical matters; so Fisher spoke vehemently against them, and faid, all this flowed from lack off Faith.

Upon this, the Commons complained of him to the King, for reproaching them; the House of Peers either thought it no breach of Priviledge, or were willing to

wink

ment is called.

tune.

wink at it, for they did not interpose Book It Fisher was hated by the Court, for adhering fo firmly to the Queen's Interests; fo .1530. he was made to explain himself, and it was

passed over

The Bills were much opposed by the The Kings Clergy, but in the end they were passed, Debts are and had the Royal Affent. In this long discharged Interval of Parliament, the King had borrowed great Sums of Mony; fo the Parliament, both to discourage that way of supplying Kings for the Future; and for ruining the Cardinal's Creatures, who had been most forward to lend, as having the greatest Advantages from the Government, did by an Act discharge the King of all those Debts. The King granted a general Pardon, with an exception of fuch as had incurred the pains of Premunire, by acknowledging a Forraign Jurisdiction, with defign to terrify the Pope, and keep the Clergy under the lash. The King found it necessary, to make all sure at home, for now were the Pope and Emperour, linkt in the firmest Friendship posfible; The Pope's Nephew was made Duke of Florence, and married the Emperour's Natural Daughter. A Peace was also made between Francis and the Emperour; and the King found it not so easy, to make him break with the Pope, upon his account, as he had expected. The Emperour went into Italy, and was crowned by the Pope; who when the Emperour was kneeling down to kiss his Foot, humbled

Book I. bled himself so far as to draw it in, and kiss his Cheek.

1530. The Universities King's

But now the King intending to proceed in the Method proposed by Cranmer, sent to declare a Oxford, and Cambridg, to procure their gainst the Conclusions. At Oxford, it was referred by the major part of the Convocation, Marriage to thirty three Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, whom that Faculty was to name; they were impowered to determine the Question, and put the Seal of the University to their Conclusion: And they gave their Opinions, that the Marriage of the Brother's Wife, was contrary both to the Laws of God, and Nature. At Cambridg, the Convocation was unwilling to refer it to a felect number; yet it was after some days Practice, obtained, but with great difficulty, that it should be referred to twenty nine; of which number, two thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the Seal of the University to their Determination: These agreed in Opinion, with those of Oxford. The jealousy that went of Dr. Cranmer's favouring Lutheranism, made, that the fierce Popish Party, oppofed every thing in which he was so far engaged. They were also asraid of Ann Bolleyn's Advancement, who was believed tinctured with those Opinions. Crook, a learned Man in the Greek Tongue, was imployed in Italy, to procure the Refolution of Divines there; in which, he was fo fuccessful, that besides the great discoveries he made in fearching the Manuscripts of the

the Greek Fathers, concerning their Opi- Book I. nions in this point, he engaged feveral w Persons to write for the King's Cause; and 1530. also got the Jews to give their Opinions of the Laws in Leviticus, that they were Moral and Obligatory: Yet when a Brother died without Issue, his Brother might marry his Widow within Judea, for preferving their Families, and Succession; but they thought that might not be done out of Judea. The State of Venice would not declare themselves, but said they would be Neutrals; and it was not easy to perswade the Divines of the Republick, to give their Opinions, till a Brief was obtained of the Pope, permitting all Divines, and Canonifts, to deliver their Opinions, according to their Consciences; which was not granted but with great difficulty. Crook was not in a condition to corrupt any, for he complained in all his Letters, of the great want he was in: And he was in fuch ill terms with John Caffali, the King's Embassadour at Venice, that he complained much of him to the King, and was in fear of being poyfoned by him. The Pope abhorred this way of proceeding, though he could not decently oppose it; but he faid in great scorn, that no Friar should fet Limits to his Power. Crook was ordered to give no Mony, nor make Promifes to any, till they had freely delivered their Opinion; which as he writ, he had fo carefully observed, that he offered to forfeit his Head, if the contrary were found true.

Book I. true. Fifteen, or Twenty Crowns, was all the reward he gave, even to those that wrot for the King's Cause; and a few Crowns he gave to some of those that sub-

scribed: But the Emperour rewarded those that wrot against the Divorce, with good Benefices; fo little reason there was to ascribe the Subscriptions he procured to Corruption; the contrary of which appears by his Original Accounts, yet extant. sides, many Divines, and Canonists; not only whole Houses of Religious Orders, but even the University of Bononia, tho the Pope's Town, declared, that the Laws in Leviticus, about the degrees of Marriage, were parts of the Law of Nature; and that the Pope could not dispense with them. The University of Padua, determined the fame; as also that of Ferrara. In all, Crook fent over to England, an hundred several Books, and Papers, with many Subscriptions; all condemning the King's Marriage; as unlawful in it self. At Paris, the Sorbon made their Determination, with great Solemnity; after a Mass of the Holy Ghost, all the Doctors took an Oath, to study the Question, and to give their Judgment according to their Consciences; and after three Weeks Istudy, the greater part agreed in this, That the King's Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope could not dispense with it At Orleans, Angiers, and Tholouse, they determined to the same purpose. Erasmus had a mind to live in quiet, and so he would not give his Opinion nor offend

either

The Sorbon declares against the Marriage.

either party. Grineus was imployed to Book I. try what Bucer, Zuinglius, and Oecolampadius thought of the Marriage. Bucer's Opinion was, that the Laws in Levitiens did The Opininot bind, and were not moral: Because on of the God, not only dispensed, but command- Divines, ed them to marry their Brother's Wife, about it. when he died without Issue. Zuinglius, and Oecolampadius, were of another mind, and thought these Laws were moral: But were of Opinion, that the Issue by a Marriage, de facto, grounded upon a received Mistake, ought not to be Illegitimated.

1530.

Calvin thought the Marriage was null, and they all agreed, that the Pope's Difpensation was of no force. Of ander was imploied to engage the Lutheran Divines, but they were affraid of giving the Emperour new grounds of displeasure. Melanotthon thought the Law in Leviticus was dispensable, and that the Marriage might be lawful; and that in those matters, States and Princes might make what Laws they pleased; And though the Divines of Leipfick, after much disputing about it, did agree, that these Laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to justify the Divorce, with the subsequent Marriage that followed upon it, even after it was done and that the King appeared very inclinable to receive their Doctrine; steadily did they follow their Consciences, even against their Interests: But the Pope was more compliant, for he offered to Caf-Sali

Book I. Sali, to grant the King a Dispensation for having another Wife, with which the 1530.

Imperialists seemed not disatisfied.

Many of ty write to the Pope.

The King's Cause being thus fortified, the Noteli- by so many Resolutions in his Favours, he made many members of Parliament in a Prorogation time, fign a Letter to the Pope, complaining, that notwithstanding the great merits of the King, the Justice of his Caufe, and the Importance of it to the fafety of the Kingdom; yet the Pope made still new Delayes; they therefore pressed him to dispatch it speedily, otherwife they would be forced to fee for other-Remedies, tho they were not willing to drive things to Extremities, till it was unavoidable: The Letter was figned by the Cardinal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, four other Bishops, 22 Abbots, 42 Peers, and 11 Commoners. To this the Pope wrote an answer: He took notice of the Vehemence of their Stile: He freed himself from the Imputations of Ingratitude, and Injustice: He acknowledged the King's great Merits; and faid, he had done all he could in his Favour: He had granted a Commission, but could not refuse to receive the Queen's Appeal; all the Cardinals with one consent judged, that an Avocation was necessary. Since that time, the delays lay not at his door, but at the Kings; that he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as speedy an Issue, as the Importance of it would admit of; and for their Threatnings, they were neither

The Pope's Answer.

ther agreeable to their Wisdom, nor their Book I

Religion.

Things being now in fuch a Posture, the King set out a Proclamation; against any November that should purchase, bring over, or publish any Bull from Rome, contrary to his Authority: and after that he made an Abstract of all the Reasons and Authorities of Fathers, or modern Writers, against his Marriage to be published, both in La-

tin and English.

The main stress was laid on the Laws in The Argu-Leviticus, of the forbidden Degrees of ments for Marriage; among which, this was one, vorce, not to marry the Brother's Wife. These Marriages are called Abominations, that defile the Land; and for which, the Canaanites were cast out of it. The Exposition of Scripture, was to be taken from the Tradition of the Church; and by the Univerfal Confent of all Doctors, those Laws had been still looked on as Moral, and ever binding to Christians, as well as Jews: Therefore, Gregory the Great, advised Austin the Monk, upon the Conversion of the English; among whom, the Marriages of the Brother's Wife were usual, to dissolve them, looking on them as grievous Sins: Many other Popes, as Calixim, Zacharias, and Innocent the Third, had given their Judgments, for the perpetual Obligation of those Laws: They had been also condemned by the Councils of Neocesarea, Agde, and the second of Toledo. Among Wickliff's condemned Opinions, this was one, thac

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that the Prohibitions of marrying in fuch degrees, were not founded on the Law of God: For which he was condemned in fome English Councils, and these were confirmed by the General Council at Constance! Among the Greek Fathers, both Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, and Hesychius; and among the Latins, Tertullian, Ambrofe, Ferome, and St. Austine, do formally deliver this, as the belief of the Church in their time, that those Laws were Moral, and still in force: Anselm, Hugo de sancto Vi-Hore, Hildebert, and Ivo, argue very fully to the same purpose, the last particularly, writing concerning the King of France, who had married his Brothers Wife, fays, it was inconsistent with the Law of God, with which none can dispence; and that he could not be admitted to the Communion of the Church, till he put her away. Aquinas, and all the School-men, follow these Authorities, and in their way of reafoning, they argue fully for this Opinion; and all that writ against Wickliff, did also affert the Authority of those Prohibitions; in particular, Waldensis, whose Books were approved by Pope Martin the Fifth. All the Canonifts did also agree with them, as Johannes Andreas, Panormitan, and Oftiensis; fo that Tradition being the only fure Expounder of the Scripture, the Case seemed clear. They also proved, that a Confent without Confummation, made the Marriage compleat, which being a Sacrament, that which followed after in the Right

Right of Marriage, was not necessary to Book I. make it compleat, as a Priest saying Mass confummates his Orders, which yet were compleat without it. Many Testimonies were brought to confirm this; from which it was inferred that the Queen's being married to Prince Arthur, tho nothing had followed upon it, made her incapable of a lawful Marriage with the King. And yet they shewed what violent Presumptions there were of Consummation, which was all that in fuch Cases was sought for, and this was expressed both in the Bull and Breve, tho but dubiously in the one, yet very positively in the other. After that they examined the Validity of the Pope's Difpensation. It was a received Maxime, that tho the Pope had Authority to dispense with the Laws of the Church, yet he could not dispense with the Laws of God, which were not subject to him: And it had been judged in the Rota at Rome, when a Dispensation was asked for a King to marry his Wives Sister. that it could not be granted; and when Precedents were alledged for it, it was anfwered, that the Church was to be governed by Laws, and not by Examples; and if any Pope had granted fuch Dispensation, it was either out of Ignorance or Corruption. This was not only the Opinion of the School-men, but of the Canonists, tho they are much fet on raising the Pope's Power, as high as is possible: And therefore Alexander the third, refused to grant a Dispenfation in a like case, tho the Parent had fworm.

1530

1530.

Book I. fworn to make his Son marry his Brother's Widow; others went further, and faid, The Pope could not dispense with the Laws of the Church, which feveral ancient Popes had declared against, and it was faid, that the fulness of Power, with which the Pope was vested, did only extend to the pastoral Care, and was not for Destruction, but for Edification; and that as St. Paul opposed St. Peter to his Face, so had mnay Bishops withstood Popes, when they proceeded against the Canons of the Church. So both Laurence and Dunstan in England, had proceeded to Cenfures; notwithstanding the Pope's Authority interposed to the contrary; and no Authority being able to make what was a Sin in it felf become lawful; every Man that found himself engaged in a finful course of Life, ought to forfake it; and therefore the King ought to withdraw from the Queen, and the Bishops of England in case of refusal ought to proceed to Cenfures. Upon the whole matter, Tradition was that upon which all the Writers of Controversy, particularly now in the Contests with the Lutherans, founded the Doctrine of the Church, as being the only infallible Exposition of the doubtful parts of Scripture; and that being fo clear in this matter, there feemed to be no room for any further Debate.

Arguments ag ainst it.

On the other hand, Cajetan was the first Writer, that against the stream of former Ages thought that the Laws of Leviticus, were only Judiciary Precepts, binding the Fews, ATUI- 1

Jews, and were not moral: his Reasons Book I. were that Adam's Children must have marfied in the Degrees there forbidden. Facob married two Sifters; and Judah, according to custom, gave his two Sons, and promised a third to the same Woman. Moses also appointed the Brother to marry the Brother's Wife when he died without Issue. But a Moral Law is for ever, and in all Cases binding; and it was also said, that the Pope's power reached even to the Laws of God, for he dispensed with Oaths and Vows; and as he had the Power of determining Controversies, so he only could declare what Laws were moral and indispenfable, and what were not; nor could any Bishops pretend to judg concerning the ex-tent of his Power, or the validity of his Bulls.

To all this, those that writ for the King, answered, That it was strange to see Men who pretended fuch Zeal against Hereticks, follow their Method, which was to fet up, private reasonings from some Texts of Scripture, in opposition to the received Tradition of the Church, which was the in which all good Catholicks bottom thought themselves safe; and if Cajetan wrote in this manner against the received Doctrin of the Church in one Particular, why might not Luther take the fame liber-ty in other Points? They also made distinction in moral Laws, between those that were fo from the nature of the thing which was indispensable, and could in no F 2 Cafe

Book I. Case be lawful; and to this fort, no Degrees, but those of Parents and Children, could be reduced; other Moral Laws were cnly grounded upon publick Inconveniencies, and Dishonesty, such as the other Degrees were; for the Familiarities that Perions fo nearly related live in, are fuch, that unlessa Terrour were struck in them, by a perpetual Law against such mixtures, Families would be much defiled: But in fuch Laws, tho God may grant a Dispenfation in some particular Cases, yet an Inferiour Authority cannot pretend to it: and some Dispensations granted in the latter Ages, ought not to be set up to ballance the Decisions of so many Popes, and Councils against them, and the Doctrine taught by so many Fathers and Doctors in former times.

> Both fides having thus brought forth the strength of their Cause; it did evidently appear, That according to the Authority given to Tradition in the Church of Rome, the King had clearly the Right on his side, and that the Pope's Party did write with little fincerity in this matter, being guilty of that manner of arguing from Texts of Scriptures, for which they had so loudly charged the Lutherans.

> The Queen continued firm to her Refolution, of leaving the matter in the Pope's Hands, and therefore would hearken to no Propositions that were made to her, for referring the matter to the Arbitration

of some chosen on both sides.

A Session of Parliament followed in Ja- Book I. mary, in which the King made the Decitions of the Universities, and the Books that were written for the Divorce, be first A Seffion of read in the House of Lords, and then they Parliawere carried down by Sir Thomas More, and 12 Lords, both of the Spirituality, and Temporality, to the Commons. There were twelve Seals of Universities shewed, and their Decisions were read, first in Latin, and then Translated into English. There were also an hundred Books shewed, written on the fame Argument: Upon the shewing these, the Chancellor desired them to report in their Countries, that they now clearly faw, that the King had not attempted this matter of his meer will and pleasure, but for the discharge of his Conscience, and the security of the Succession of the Crown. This was also brought into the Convocation, who declared themselves satisfied, concerning the unlawfulness of the Marriage: but the Circumstances they were then in, made that their Declaration was not much confidered; for they were then under the lash, All the Clergy of England were fued, as in the case of a Premunire, for having acknowledged a Forreign Jurisdiction, and taken out Bulls, and had Suits in the Legatine Court.

The Kings of England did claim such The Laws a Power in Ecclesiastical matters, as the of England Roman Emperours had exercised before against the fall of that Empire: Anciently they Rome.

Book I. had by their Authority divided Bishopricks. granted the Investitures, and made Laws, both relating to Ecclesiastical Causes & Perfons. When the Popes began to extend their Power, beyond the Limits assigned them by the Canons, they met with great opposition in England, both in the matter of Investitures, Appeals, Legates, and the other Branches of their Usurpations; but they managed all the Advantages they found, either from the Weakness, or ill Circumstances of Princes, so steadily, that in Conclusion, they subdued the World: And if they had not by their cruel Exactions fo oppressed the Clergy, that they were driven to feek Shelter under the Covert of the Temporal Authority, the World was then fo over-mastered by Superstition and Credulity, that not only the whole Spiritual Power, but even the Temporal Power of Princes, was likely to have fal-Ien into the Pope's hands: But the discontented Clergy supported the Secular Power, as much as they had before advanced the Papal Tyranny. Boniface the 8th, had raised his Pretentions to that impudent, pitch, that he declared, all Power, both Ecclefiastical, and Civil, was derived from him, and established that, as an Article of Faith, necessary to Salvation; and he, and his Successors, took upon them, to dispose of all Ecclefiastical Benefices, by their Bulls and Provisions. Upon which, Laws were made in England, restraining those Invasions on the Crown; since those Endowments

dowments were made for informing the Book I. People of the Law of God, and for Hospitality, and Acts of Charity, which were 1531. defeated, as well as the Crown was difin- 25. Ed. 1 herited by the Provisions which the Popes granted. Therefore they condemned them for the future, but no Punishment being declared for the Transgressors of that Fact, the Courtiers at Rome were not frighted at fo general a Law; fo these Abuses were still continued: But in Edward the Third's time, a more severe Law was 25. Ed.3 made, by which; all that transgressed were to be imprisoned, to be fined at pleasure, and to forseit all their Benefices. By an other Act, they were put out of the King's Protection. Several other Confirmations of this were made, both in that Reign, and under Richard the Second; and the former Punishments were extended, not only to the Provisors themselves, but to all that were imployed by them, or took Farms of them: and because Licences might be granted by the King for Aliens, to hold Benefices in England, he did bind himself to grant none: Others took both Presentations in England, and obtained Provisions from Rome, which was likewise condemned. The Right of Prefentations was tried, only in the King's Courts; but the Popes had a mind to take the Cognizance of that to their own Courts; upon which, the Parliament confidering the great Prejudice the Nation was like to fuffer, and the Subjection that the F 4 Crown

Book I. Crown would fall under, refolved to provide effectual Remedies; so all the Com1531. mons declared, they would live and die
16.Ric.2. with the King, and defired him to exa-

mine all the Lords, whether they would uphold the Regality of the Crown. The Temporal Lords declared, they would do it: But the Spiritual Lords made some difficulty; yet in Conclusion, they also promifed, they would adhere to the Crown: So a Law passed, that if any purchased, Tranflations, Excommunications, or Bulls, from Rome, that were contrary to the King, or his Crown, they, and all that brought them over, or that received, or executed them, were declared to be out of the King's Protection, and that their Goods and Chattels should be forfeited to the King, and their Persons imprisoned. And because the Proceedings upon this, were by a Writ, called, from the most material Words of it, Premunire facias; this Statute carried the name of the Statute of Premunire. There was also a Law passed in Henry the Fourth's Reign, against some Bulls, which the Cistertians had procured; and against the high Rates set on Bulls in the Apostolick Chamber; and whereas the King had been prevailed with, to give Licences for some Bulls, by which the Provisors put the Incumbents out of their Benefices, these were all declared to be of no force, when done in prejudice of the Subjects Rights. The Invasions that both the Popes and Kings made upon Elections,

were by another Law condemned, and Book I. the Liberty of Elections was again fet up.
But those Kings being more concerned to preserve their own Prerogative, than the Rights of their People, were often prevailed with, to grant Pardons, and Licences, to those who obtained Provisions at Rome; so these were all again condemned in Henry the Fifth's time.

In all this time, the weakness of the Pa- 4. Hen. 5. pacy, gave Princes fome Advantages, which they had not in former Ages; for a great while the Popes fate at Avignion, where they were much eclipsed of their former Greatness: After that a Schism followed between the Popes that fate at Rome, and those that still fate at Avignion; and the Princes of Christendom, being then at liberty, to choose which of those they would acknowledg; the Popes durst not thunder against those Laws, as they had done in former times, upon much less Provocation. And indeed all the use that the Kings made of them, was, to oblige the Provisors to come and depend on them for their Licence to executetheir Bulls; and the King's Authority being joyned with the Popes, it was hard for those who were oppressed to refist that double force: Nor was there any vigorous Execution made of those Laws, otherwayes than to draw Mony from the Provisors: For it fell out in this case, what is ordinary on all fuch occasions, that Fayourites make use of good Laws; by which, Power is trusted to the Prince, for the Protection

Book I. Protection and Security of the Subjects, only for their own ends. It was a strange weakness in the Princes of Christendom. 1531. to take fuch pains as was done at Constance, for healing the Breach in the Papacy, for while that continued, they reigned in peace; and the Clergy was less oppressed than formerly: But that being once made up, the Popes were beginning again to raise their old Pretentions: And Pope Martin the 5th, not being willing to engage with so high spirited a King, as Henry

the 5th was, he took Advantage in the Mi-6. Hen. 6. nority of Henry the Sixth's Reign, to propose a Repeal of those Laws, and first wrote very severely to Chichely, then Archbishop of Canterbury, for not opposing the Statute of Provisors, that had passed in the former Reign; nor standing up for the Rights of St. Peter: He therefore exhorted him to imitate his Predecessor, Thomas Becket; and required him to declare at the next Parliament, the unlawfulness of it; and that all who obeyed it, were under Excommunication: He also required him to order the Clergy, to preach every where against it. Yet Chichely did not proceed to zealously as the Pope expected and therefore he suspended his Legatine Power. The Archbishop appealed upon this from the Pope to the next General Council, or if none met, to the Tribunal of God: But the Pope wrote also to the Clergy, requiring them to do what in them lay, for the repeal of the Statute: And

And in another Letter to the two Arch. Book I bishops; in which, in spite to Chicheley, Tork is first named; he annulled the Sta- 1531. tutes made by Edward the Third, and Richard the Second; and declared all to be excommunicated that executed them, referving the absolution of them to himfelf, unless they were at the point of death: And he required them to publish, and affix this his Monitory Brief. The Archbishop humbled himself to the Bope; and got the other Bishops, and the University of Oxford, to write in his Favour to him; which they did, according to the flattering, and vain stile of that Age: In his own Letter he fays, he had not opened the Pope's Brief, and fo did not know what it contained, being required by the King to bring it to him with the Seals intire. The Pope wrote also both to the King and Parliament, requiring them, under the pains of Excommunication, and Damnation, to repeal those Statutes. Upon the meeting of the next Parliament, the Archbishop, accompanied by several Bishops, and Abbots, went to the House of Commons, and made them a long Speech, in the form of a Sermon, upon that Text, Render unto Cafar the things that are Cafars, and to God the things that are Gods; And exhorted them to repeal those Laws against the Pope's power, in granting Pro-visors; and with Tears laid out the mischiefs that would follow, if the Pope should proceed to Cenfures But the Commons would

1427.

Book I. would not repeal those Laws; yet they were left as dead Letters among the Records, for no care was taken to execute them. The Pope was so far satisfied with Chichely's behaviour, that he received him again to savour, and restored to him the Legatine Power. This being hitherto mentioned by none of our Writers, it seemed no impertinent Digression to give this account of it.

The Clergy
fued in A
Premunire

Now were those long forgotten Statutes revived, to bring the Clergy into a Snare: It was designed by the terrour of this, to force them into an intire Submission; and to oblige them to redeem themselves by the grant of a considerable Subsidy. They pretended they had erred ignorantly; for the King by his favour to the Cardinal, feemed to confent, if not to encourage that Authority which he then exercised: It was a publick Errour, and fo they ought not to be punished for it. To all this it was answered, that the Laws which they had transgressed, were still in force, and so no Ignorance could excuse the Violation of them. The Convocation of Canterbury made their Submission, and in their Address to the King, he was called the Proteltor, and Supream Head of the Church of England; but some excepting to that, it was added, in so far as it is agreeable to the Law of Christ. This was signed by Nine Bishops, Fifty Abbots and Priors, and the greatest part of the Lower House; and with it they offered the King a Subfidy.

to

1531.

to procure his Favour, of an iooooo l. and Book I. they promised for the future, not to make nor execute, any Constitutions, without his Licence. The Convocation of York did not pass this so easily; they excepted to the word Head, as agreeing to none but Christ: Yet the King wrote them a long expostulating Letter, and told them, with what Limitations those of Canterbury had passed that Title; upon which they also Submitted, and offered him 18840 l. which was also well received; and so all the Clergy were again received into the King's Protection, and pardoned. But when the King's Pardon was brought into the Parliament, the Laity complained, that they were not included within it; for many of them were also obnoxious on the same account, in some measure, having had Suits in the Legatine Court; and they did apprehend, that they might be brought in trouble: And therefore they addressed to the King, and defired to be comprehended within it : But the King told them, his mercy was neither to be restrained, nor forced. This put the House of Commons in great trouble; but they past the Act: And foon after, the King fent a Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, which was received with great Joy; and they acknowledged, that the King had tempered his Greatness with his Clemency, in his way of proceeding in this matter.

In this Session, one Rouse, that had poifoned a great Pot of Porridge, in the Bifhop

1531. A Poiloner con-Treason.

Book I. shop of Rochester's Kitchin, of which two had died; and many had been brought near Death, was attainted of Treafon, and condemned to be boiled to death; and that was demned of made the Punishment of Poisoning in time to come. By this Act the Parliament made a Crime to be Treason that was not so before, and punished the Person accordingly: which was founded on the Power referred in the 25th of Edward the 3d to Parliaments, to declare in time coming what Crimes were Treason. This severe Sentence was executed in Smithfield; Rouse accusing none as his Complices, the malicious Persons did afterwards impute that Action of his to a design of Anne Bolleyn upon Fisher's Life; but his silence under so terrible a Condemnation, shewed he could not charge others with it:

The King departs from the Qucen.

After the Sessions of Parliament, new Applications were made to the Queen to perswade her to depart from her Appeal; but she remained fixed in her Resolution, and said, she was the King's lawful Wife, and would abide by it till the Court at Rome should declare the contrary. Upon that the King defired her to chuse any of his Houses in the Country to live in, and refolved never to fee her more.

A Tumult Clergy.

The Clergy were now raising the Subliamong the dy, and the Bishops intended to make the inferiour Clergy pay their share: But up on the Bishop of London's calling some few of them together, on whom he hoped to prevail, and make them fet a good Exam-

ple

ple to the rest, all the Clergy hearing of Book I. it, came to the Chapter-house and forced wo their way in, tho the Bishop's Officers did 1531, what they could by Violence to keep them out. The Bishop made a Speech, setting forth the King's Clemency, in accepting fuch a Subfidy instead of all their Benefices, which they had forfeited to him, and therefore defired them to bear their share in it patiently. They answered that they had not meddled with the Cardinal's Faculties, nor needed they the King's Pardon, not having transgressed his Laws; and therefore fince the Bishops and Abbots only were in fault, it was reasonable that they only should raise the Subsidy. Upon this the Bishop's Officers, and They came to very high Words, and it ended in Blows: But the Bishop quieted them all he could with good Words, and dismissed them with a Promise that none should be brought unto question for what had been then done; yet he complained to More of it, and he put many of them in Prison: But the thing was let fall.

This Year produced a new Breach between the Pope and the Emperour; the turns to the Interpope pretended to Modeno and Regio as rest of Fiefs of the Papacy; but the Emperour France, judged against him for the Duke of Ferrara Upon this the Pope resolved to unite himfelf to the Crown of France; and Francis, to gain him more entirely, proposed a Match between his second Son Henry; and the Pope's Neese; the samous Catherine de Me-

Book I. dici; which as it wrought much on the 1532.

Pope's Ambition, fo it was like to prove a great support to his Family. Francis also offered to resign all his Pretentions in Italy to his Son Henry, which was like to draw in other Princes to a League with him, who would have been much better pleased to fee a King's younger Son among them, than either the Emperour or the King of France. The King's Matter was now in a fairer way of being adjusted; for the Pope's Conscience being directed by his Interests, since he had now broken with the Emperour, it was probable he would give the King content. He faw the danger of losing England. The Interest of the Clergy was much funk, and they were in a great measure subiected to the Crown. Luther anism was also making a great Progress, and the Pope was out of any danger from the Emperour, on whom the whole Power of the Turkish Empire was now fallen, drawn in, as was believed, by the Practices of Francis at the Port, tho that did not well agree with his Title of Most Christian King. The Princes of Germany took Advantage from this, to make the Emperour consent to some further liberty in matters of Religion, and to fecure themselves; they were then also entered into a League with Francis, for preserving the Rights of the Empire, unto which King Henry was invited. All this raised Francis again very high; so he was the fittest Perfon to mediate an Agreement between the King and the Pope, and being himfelf a Lover

Lover of Pleasure, he was the more easily Book I. engaged to serve the King in the accom-

plishment of his Amours, ....

Iffment of his Amours.

A new Session of Parliament was held; in A misunwhich the Laity complained of the spiritual derstan-Courts of their way of proceeding ex Officio, ding beand not admitting Persons accused to their tween the King & y Purgation. But this was not much consi- Commons. dered by reason of an ill understanding that fell in between the King and the House of Commons. There was a Custom brought in of making fuch Settlements of Estates, that the Heir was not liable to Wards, and the other Advantages to which the King or the Great Lords had otherwise a Right by their Tenures: So a Bill for regulating that was fent down by the Lords, but the Commons rejected it, which gave the King great Offence; upon that they addressed to the King for a Dissolution, fince they had been now obliged to a long Attendance. The King answered them sharply, He faid, they had rejected a Bill, in which he had offered a great Abatement of that which he might claim by Law; and therefore he would execute the Law in its utmost severity. He told them he had Patience while his Suit was in dependence, and fo they must have likewise. For this Parliament was made up of Men very ill affected to the Clergy, fo the King kept it still in being, to terrify the Court of Rome fo much the more.

All that was remarkable that past in this An At a-Session was an Act against Annats; it sets gainst As-

1532.

Book I. forth that they were founded on no Law. they were first exacted to defend Christendom against Infidels, and were now kept up as a Revenue to the Papacy, and Bulls were not granted till they were compounded for: for 800000 Ducats had bin carried out of England to Rome, on that account since the beginning of the former Reign. The King was bound by his Royal Care of his Subjects to hinder fuch Oppressions; and therefore all that were provided to great Benefices, were required not to pay First Fruits for the future, under the pain of forfeiting all their Goods, and the profits of their Benefices; and those that were prefented to Bishopricks were appointed to be confecrated, tho their Bulls were denied at Rome, and they were required to pay no more but 5 per Cent. of the clear Profits of their Sees. If the Pope should upon this proceed to censures, they required all the Clergy to perform Divine Offices, these notwithstanding. But by an extraordinary Proviso, they referred it to the King to declare at any time between that and Eafter next, whether this Act should take place or not: and the King by his Letters Patents declared that it should take place being provoked by the Pope.

The Pope writes to the King.

In January the Pope, upon the motion of the Imperialists wrote to the King, complaining that notwithstanding a Suit was depending concerning his Marriage, yet he had put away his Queen, and kept one Anne as his Wife, contrary to a Prohibition

tion served on him; therefore he exharted Book i. him to live with his Queen again, and to put Anne away. Upon this the King fent Dr. Bennet to Rome with a large Dispatch; in it he The King's complained that the Pope proceeded in that matter upon the Suggestion of others, who were ignorant and rash Men: the Pope had carried himself inconstantly and deceitfully in it, and not as became Christ's Vicar: and the King had now for feveral Years expected a Remedy from him in vain. The Pope had granted a Commission, had promised never to recal it, and had sent over a Decretal Bull defining the Caufe. Either these were unjustly granted, or unjustly recalled. If he had Authority to grant these things, where was the Faith which became a Friend, much more a Pope, fince he had recalled them? If he had not Authority to grant them, he did not know how far he could confider any thing he did. It was plain that he acted more with regard to his Interests, than according to Conscience; and that as the Pope had often confessed his own Ignorance in these matters fo he was not furnished with Learned Men to advise him, otherwise he would not maintain a Marriage which almost all the Learned Men and Universities in England, France, and Italy, had condemned as unlawful. He defired the Pope would excuse the Freedom he used, to which his Carriage had forced him. He would not question his Authority, unless he were compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its first and ancient Limits, which was much better than to let G 2 high

1532 Answer.

The King

cited to

felf.

Book I. it run on headlong, and still do amiss. This high Letter made the Pope resolve to pro-1532. ceed and end this matter, either by a Sentence, or a Treaty. The King was cited to answer to the Queen's Appeal at Rome in Person, or by Proxy: so Sir Edward Karme was fent thither in the new Character of the King's Excusator, to excuse the King's Appearance, upon fuch grounds as could be founded on the Canon Law, and upon the Privileges of the Crown of England. Rome, ex- Bonner that was a forward and ambitious cufes h.m-Man, and would flick at nothing that: might contribute to his Preferment, was: fent over with him. The Imperialists pressed the Pope much to give Sentence, but all the wife Cardinals, who observed by the

Proceedings of the Parliament, that the Nation would adhere to the King, if he should be provoked to shake off the Pope's Yoke, were very apprehensive of a Breach, and fuggested milder Counsels to the Pope; and the King's Agents assured him, that if he gave the King content, the late Act against Annats, should not be put in Execu-

Some Cardinals corrupted.

tion. The Cardinal of Ravenna was then confidered as an Oracle for Learning in the Confistory, so the King's Agents resolved to gain him with great Promises; but he faid, Princes were liberal of their Promifes, till their turn was ferved, and then forgot them; so he resolved to make sure work; therefore he made Bennet give him a Promise in writing of the Bishoprick of Ely, or the first Bishoprick that fell till that was vacant

1532.

vacant, and he also engaged that the King Boo's I. -should procure him Benefices in France to the value of 6000 Ducats a Year, for the Service he should do him in his Divorce. This was an Argument of fo great Efficacy with the Cardinal, that it absolutely turned him from being a great Enemy, to be as great a Promoter, of the King's Cause, tho very artificially. Several other Cardinals were also prevailed with, by the same Topicks. The King's Agents put in his Plea of Excuse in 28 Articles, and it was ordered that three of them should be discussed at a hearing before the Consistory, till they should be all examined: But that Court sitting once a Week, the Imperialists, after some of them were heard, procured an Order, that the rest should be heard in a Congregation or Committee of Cardinals, before the Pope, for greater Dispatch: but Karn refused to obey this, and so it was referred back to the Confiftory. But against this the Imperialists protested, and refused to appear any more. News were brought to Rome from England, that a Priest that had preached up the Pope's Power, was cast into Prison; and that one committed by the Archbishop for Heresy, appealed to the King as supream Head, which was received and judged in the King's Courts. The Pope made great Complaints upon this; but the King's Agents said, the best way to prevent the like for the future, was to do the King Justice. At this time a Bull was granted for suppressing some Monasteries,

Book I. ries, and erecting new Bishopricks out of them. Chester was to be one, and the Car1542. dinal of Revenua was so pleased with the

Revenue defigned for it, that he laid his hand upon it, till Ely should happen to fall vacant. In conclusion, the Pope seemed to favour the King's Plea Excufatory, upon which the Imperialists made great Complaints. But this amounted to no more, fave that the King was not bound to appear in Person: Therefore the Cardinals that were gained, advised the King to send over a Proxy for answering to the merits of the Cause, and not to lose more time in that Dilatory Plea; and they having declared themselves against the King in that Plea, before the bargain had been made with them, could with the better credit ferve him in the other. So the Vacation coming on, it was refolved by the Cardinals neither to admit nor reject the Plea. But both the Pope and the Colledg wrote to the King to fend over a Proxy for determining the matter next Winter. Bonner was also sent to England to assure the King. that the Pope was now fo much in the French Interest, that he might confidently refer his matter to him; but whereas the King defired a Commission to judg (in partibus) upon the place: it was said, that the Point to be judged, being the Pope's Authority to dispense with the King's Marriage, that could not be referred to Legates, but must needs be judged in the Confistory.

At

At this time a new Sellion of Parliament Book I. was called in England. The Clergy gave in an Answer to the Complaints made of them 1532. by the Commons in the former Sessions: A Session of Parlia-But when the King gave it to the Speaker, ment. he complained that one Temfe, a Member of their House, had moved for an Address to the King, that the Queen might be again brought back to the Court; The King said, it touched his Conscience, and was not a thing that could be determined in that House. He wished his Marriage were good, but many Divines had declared it unlawful. He did not make his Suit out of Lust or foolish Appetite, being then past the Heats of Youth; he affured them, his Conscience was troubled, and defired them to report that to the House. Many of the Lords came down to the House of Commons, and told them, the King intended to build some Forts on the Borders of Scotland, to fecure the Nation from the Inroads of the Scots; and the Lords approving of this, fent them to propose it to the Commons, upon which a Subfidy was voted; but upon the breaking out of the Plague, the Parliament was prorogued, before the Act was finished. At that time The Oaths the King sent for the Speaker of the House which the of Commons, and told him he found that Bishops the Prelates were but half Subjects; for swore both they fwore at their Confecration an Oath Pore and to the Pope, that was inconsistent with the King. their Allegiance, and Oath to the King. By their Oath to the Pope, they swore

Book I. to be in no Council against him, nor to disclose his Secrets; but to maintain the Papacy, and the Regalities of S. Peter against all Men;

together with the Rights and Authorities of the Church of Rome; and that they should honourably entreat the Legats of the Apostolick See, and observe all the Decrees, Sentences, Provisions, and Commandments of that See; and yearly, either in Person or by Proxy, visit the Thresholds of the Apostles. In their Oath to the King, they renounced all Claufes in their Bulls contrary to the King's Royal Dignity, and did swear to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him against all others, and to keep his Counfel; acknowledging that they held their Bishopricks only of him. By these it appeared that they could not keep both those Oaths, in case a Breach should fall out between the King and the Pope: But the Plague broke off the Consultations of Parliament at this time. Soon after, Sir Thomas More fee-

More quits ing a Rupture with Rome coming on fo his Office, fait, desired leave to lay down his Office, which was upon that conferred on Sir Tho. Audley. He was fatisfied with the King's keeping up the Laws formerly made in Opposition to the Papal Incroachments, and so had concured in the Suit of the Premunire; but now the matter went further, and so he not being able to keep pace with the Counfels, returned-to a private Life, with a Greatness of Mind equal to what the ancient Greeks or Romans had expressed on

uch Occasions. Endeavours were used to Book I. fasten some Imputations on him, in the Distribution of Justice; but nothing could 1533. be brought against him, to blemish his Inte-

grity.

An Enterveiw followed between the An Inter-Kings of France and England; to which, rementhe Ann Bolleyn, now Marchioness of Pembrook, King of was carried; In which, after the first Ce-trance, & remonies, and Magnificence was over, England. Francis promised Henry to second him in his Suit: He encouraged him to proceed to a fecond Marriage, without more adoe; and affured him, he would fland by him in it: And told him, he intended to restrain the payment of Annats to Rome; and would ask of the Pope a Redress of that and other Grievances; and if it was denied, he would feek other Remedies in a Provincial Council. An Enterview was proposed between the Pone and Him; to which he defired the King go with him; and King 📥 was not unwilling to it, if he could have affurance that his Business would be finally determined. The Pope offered to the King, to fend a Legate to any indifferent place out of England, to form the Process, reserving only the giving Sentence to himself: And proposed to him, and all Princes, a General Truce, that so he might call a General Council. The King answered, that fuch was the present State of the Affairs of Europe, that it was not seasonable to call a General Council; that it

1530.

Book I was contrary to his Prerogative to fend a Proxy to appear at Rome; That by the Decrees of General Councils, all Caufes ought to be judged on the place, and by a Provincial Council; and that it was fitter to judge it in Engiand, than any where else: And that by his Coronation Oath, he was bound to maintain the Dignities of his Crown, and the Rights of his Subjects; and not to appear before any forraign Court: So Sir Thomas Elliot was fent over with Instructions, to move, that the cause might be judged in England: Yet if the Pope had real Intentions of giving the King full Satisfaction, he was not to infift on that: And to make the Cardinal of Ravenna fure, he fent him the offer of the Bishoprick of Coventry and Litebsield, then vacant. Soon after this, the King married Ann Bolleyn; Rowland Lee (afterwards Bishop of Coventry and Litchsteld) did officiate, none being present, but the Duke of Norfolk, and her Father, her Mother, and her Brother, and Cranmer. It was thought, that the former Marriage being null of it felf, the King might proceed to another: And perhaps, they hoped, that as the Pope had formerly pro-

posed this Method, so he would now approve of it. But tho the Pope had joyned himself to France, yet he was still so much in sear of the Emperour, that he resolved not to provoke him; and so was not wrought on by any of the Expedients which Bennet proposed, which were either

Nov. 14. The King marries Ann Bolleyn.

to judge the Cause in England, according to Book I. the Council of Nice; or to refer it to the Arbitration of some, to be named by the 1532. King, and the King of France, and the Pope: for all these, he said, tended to the Diminution of the Papal Power. A new Citation was issued out, for the King, to answer to the Queen's Complaints; but the King's Agents protested, that he was a Soveraign Prince, that England was a free Church, over which the Pope had no just Authority; and that the King could expect no Justice at Rome, where the Empeperours Power was fo great.

At this time, the Parliament met again, and past an Act, condemning all Appeals The Parto Rome: In it they fet forth, 'That the liament

'Crown was Imperial, and that the Na-condemns tion was a compleat Body, having full Rome.

Power to do Justice in all Cases, both Spiritual, and Temporal: And that as former Kings had maintained the Liberties of the Kingdom against the Usurpa-

tions of the See of Rome; so they found the great Inconveniencies of allowing

Appeals in Matrimonial Caufes; That they put them to great Charges, and accasioned many Delayes: Therefore they

enacted, That thereafter those should be all judged within the Kingdom, and no

regard should be had to any Appeals to Rome, or Censures from it: But Sen-

tences given in England, were to have their full Effect: and all that exe-

cuted any Censures from Rome, were

Book I. to incur the pains of Premunire. Appeals were to be from the Arch-deacon to the Bishop; and from him to the Arch-bishop: And in the Causes that concerned the King, the Appeal was to be to the

upper House, of Convocation.

Cranmer
made
Archbishop
of Canterbury.

There was now a new Archbishop of Canterbury; Warham died the former Year: He was a great Patron of Learning, a good Canonist, and wife States-man; but was a cruel Persecutor of Hereticks, and inclined to believe Fanatical Stories. mer was then in Germany, disputing in the King's Cause with some of the Emperour's Divines. The King resolved to advance him to that Dignity; and fent him word of it, that so he might make haste over: But a Promotion so far above his Thoughts, had not its common Effects on him: He had a true and primitive Sense of so great a Charge; and instead of aspiring to it, he was afraid of it, & he both returned very flowly to England, and used all his Endeavours, to be excused from that Advancement: But this declining of Preferment, being a thing, of which the Clergy of that Age were fo little guilty, discovered, That he had Maximes very far different from most Church-men. Bulls were sent for to Rome, in order to his Confecration, which the Pope granted, tho it could not be very grateful to him, to fend them to one who had fo publickly disputed against his Power of dispensing; all the Composition that was payed for them, was, but 900

900 Ducats, which was perhaps accord-Book I. ing to the Regulation, made in the Act against Annats. There were # several Bulls 1533. fent over, one, confirming the King's Nomination; a Second, requiring him to accept it; a Third, absolving him from Cenfures; a Fourth, to the Suffragan Bishops; a Fifth, to the Dean and Chapter; a Sixth, to the Clergy; a Seventh, to the Laity; an Eighth, to the Tenants of the See, requiring all these to receive him to be their Archbishop; a Ninth, requiring some Bishops to confecrate him; the Tenth gave him the Pall; and by the Eleventh, the Archbishop of York was required to put it on him. The putting all this in fo many different Bulls, was a good Contrivance, for railing the Rents of the Apostolick Chamber. On the 30 of March, Cranmer was confecrated by the Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. The Oath to the Pope was of hard Digestion: So he made a Protestation before he took it, that he conceived himfelf not bound up by it in any thing, that was contrary to his Duty to God, to his King, or Country; and he repeated this when he took it; fo that if this feemed too artificial for a Man of his fincerity; yet he acted in it fairly, and The Conabove Board.

The Convocation had then two Que- the King's ftions before them; the first was, Concern- Marriage: ing the Lawfulness of the King's Marriage, and the Validity of the Pope's Difpensation; the other was, of Matter of Fact, Whether P. Arthur had confummated the Mar-

Abitigment of the History 94 Book I. Marriage, or not. For the first, the Judgments of 19 Universities were read; and after a long Debate, there being 23 only in the Lower House, 14 were against the Marriage, and 7 for it, and two voted du-1519. biously. In the upper House, Stokesly, Bishop of London, and Fisher, maintained the Debate long; the one for the Affirmitive, and the other the Negative: At last it was carried, Nemine contradicente, (the few that were of the other fide it feems withdrawing) against the Marriage, 216 being present. For the other, that concerned matter of Fact, it was referred to the Canonists; and they all, except five or fix, reported, That the Prefumptions were violent; and these in a matter not capable of plain proof, were alwayes re-ceived in Law. The smal number in the Lower, and the far greater number in the upper House of Convocation, makes it

all Abbots, Priors, Deans, and Arch-deacons, fate in the upper House, for they were all called *Prelates*, and had their Writs to sit in a General Council, as appears by the Records of the fourth Council in the *Lateran*, and the Council at *Vienna*, and so the might well sit in the upper House: And perhaps the two Houses of Convocation, were

probable, that then, not only Bishops, but

of Parliament, and so none might in the lower House, but such as were chosen to represent the Inferiour Clergy. The Books of Convocation are now lost, having perished in the Fire of London; but the Author

taken from the Patern of the two Houles

of

of Antiquitates Britannica, who lived in that Book Itime, is of that great credit, that we may well depend upon his Testimony. 1533.

The Convocation having thus judged Granmer in the matter, the Ceremoy of pronounc-final Sening the Divorce judicially, was now only tence. wanting. The new Queen began to have a big a Belly, which was a great Evidence of her living chaftly before that with the King. On Easter Eve she was declared Queen of England. And soon after, Cranmer, with Gardiner (who was made upon Wolsey's death Bishop of Winchester) and the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, with many Divines and Canonists, went to Dunstable; Queen Katherine living then near it, at Ampthil. The King and Queen were cited; he appeared by Proxy, but the Queen refused to take any notice of the Court: So after three Citations, she was declared Contumax, and all the Merits of the Cause formerly mentioned, were examined. At last, on the 23 of May, Sentence was given, declaring the Marriage to have been null from the beginning. Among the Archbishops Titles in the beginning of the Judgment, he is called, Legate of the Apostolick See, which perhaps was added to give it the more force in Law. Some days after this, he gave another Judgment, confirming the King's Marriage with Queen Ann, and on the first of June she was Crowned Queen: This was variously cenfured. It was faid, that in the Intervals of Censures a General Council, the asking the Opini- past upon

Book I. ons of fo many Universities, and Learned Men, was the only fure way to find out 1533 the Tradition of the Church: And a Pro-

the Tradition of the Church: And a Provincial Council had fufficient Authority to judge in this Case: Yet many thought, the Sentence dissolving the first Marriage, should have preceded the second: And it being contracted before the first was Legally annulled, there was great colour given to question the Validity of it. But it was answered. That since the first was judged null of it self, there was no need of a Sentence Declaratory, but only for form: Yet it was thought, either there ought to have been no Sentence past at all, or it should have been before the second Marriage. Some objected, That Cranmer having appeared fo much against the Marriage, was no competent Judge; but it was faid, that as Popes are not bound by the Opinions they held when they were private Men; so he having changed his Character, could not be challenged on that account, but might give Sentence, as Judges decide Causes, in which they formerly gave Counfel: And indeed the Convocation had judged the Cause, he only gave Sentence in form of Law. The World wondered at the Pope's Stiffness; but he often confessed, he understood not those matters, only he was afraid of provoking the Emperour; or of giving the Lutherans advantage to fay, that one Pope condemned that, with which another had difpensed. All People admired Q. Ann's conduct.

duct, who in a course of so many Years Book I. managed a King's Spirit, that was fo violent, in fuch a manner, as neither to furfeit him with too many Favours, nor to provoke him with too much Rigour; and her being so soon with Child, gave hopes of a mumerous Issue: They that loved the Reformation, lookt for better dayes under her Protection; but many Priests, and Friars, both in Sermons and Discourses, condemned the King's Proceedings. The King fent Ambassadours to all Courts, to justify what he had done: He sent also fome to Queen Katherine; to charge her to assume no other Title, but that of Princess Dowager; and to give her hopes of puting her Daughter next in the Succession to the Crown, after his Issue by the present Queen, if she would submit her felf to his Will, but she would not yield; she faid, she would not take that Infamy on her felf; and fo refolved, that none should serve about her, that did not treat her as Queen. All her Servants adhered fo to her Interest, that no Threatnings nor Promifes, could work on them: And the ftir which the King kept in this matter, was thought below his Greatness, and feemed to be fet on by a Woman's Refentments; for fince she was deprived of the Majesty of a Crown, the Pageantry of a Title was not worth the noise that was made about it. The Emperour feemed big with Refentments. The French King was colder then the King expected; yet

Book I. he promised to intercede with the Pope. and the Cardinals, on his account: But he was now fo entirely gained by the Pope, That he resolved not to involve himself in the King's Quarrel, as a Party: And he also gave over the Designs he once had of fetting up a Patriarch in France; for the Pope granted him fo great a Power over his own Clergy, that he could not defire more. With this the Emperour was not a little pleased; for this was like to separate those two Kings, whose Conjunction

had been fo hurtful to him.

Tne pro-Rome sipin it.

At Rome the Cardinals of the Imperial ccedings at Faction, complained much of the Attempt made on the Pope's Power; fince a Sentence was given in England in a Process depending at Rome; fo they prest the Pope to proceed to Censures. But instead of putting the matter past reconciling, there was only Sentence given, annulling all that the Archbishop of Canterbury had done; and the King was required under the pain of Excommunication, to put things again in the state in which they were formerly; and this was affixed at Dunkirk. The King fent a great Embassy to Francis, who was then fetting out to Marseilles, where the Pope was to meet him: Their Errand was to diffwade him from the Journey, unless the Pope would promise to give the King Satisfaction: The King of France faid, he was engaged in Honour to go on; but affured them, he would mind the King's Concerns, with as much Zeal, as if they were his own. In

In September the Queen brought forth a Book I. Daughter, the renowned Queen Elizabeth; and the King having before declared Lady Mary Princess of Wales, did now the same for Sept. 7. 0. her: Tho fince a Son might put her from Elizabeth it, she could not be Heir Apparent, but born. only the Heir Presumptive to the Crown? At Marfeilles, the Marriage was made up between the Duke of Orleans, and the Pope's Neece; to whom the Pope gave, befides 100000 Crowns, many Principalities, which he pretended were either Fiefs of the Papacy, or belonged to him in the Rights of the House of Medici. The Pope's Historian with some Triumph, boasted? that the Marriage was Confimmated that very Night; tho it was thought not credible, that P. Arthur, that was Nine Months older than the new Duke of Orleans afterwards Henry the Second, did Confummate his

There was a fecret Agreement made between the Pope and Francis; that if King Henry would refer his Caufe to the Confiftory, excepting only to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his Obedience to the See of Rome, then Sentence The Pope was should be given in his Favours; but this promises to be kept secret: So Bonner not being trust- satisfy K. ed with it, and fent thither with an Ap-Henry. peal from the Pope to the next General Council, made it with great boldness, and threatned the Pope upon it; with fo much Vehemence, that the Pope talked of throwing

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Book I, ing him into a Cauldron of melted Lead, or burning him alive: And he apprehending some danger fled away privately. But when Francis came back to Paris, he fent over the Bishop of that City, to the King, to let him know what he had obtained of the Pope in his Favours, and the Terms on which it was promised: This wrought fo much on the King, that he presently confented to them. And upon that, the Bishop of Paris, tho it was now in the middle of Winter, took Journey to Rome; being fure of the Scarlet, if he could be the Instrument of regaining England, which was then upon the point of being lost: What these Assurances were which the Pope gave, is not certain; but the Archbishop of York, and Tenstal of Duresm, in a Letter which they wrote on that Occasion, fay, that the Pope said at Marseilles, That of the King would send a Proxy to Rome, he would give Sentence for him against the Queen, for he knew his Cause was good and just. Upon the Bilhop of Paris's coming to Rome, the matter seemed agreed; for it was promifed, that upon the King's fending a Promise under his hand, to put things in their former state; and his ordering a Proxy to appear for him, Judges should be sent to Cambray for making the Process, and then Sentence should be given. Upon the notice given of this, and of a Day that was prefixt for the return of the Courier, the King dispatched him with all possible hast; and now the Business seemed at an end. But the

the Courier had a Sea and the Alps to pass, Book I. and in Winter it was not easy to observe a limited day so exactly: This made that he came not to Rome on the prefixed day; upon which, the Imperialists gave out, that the King was abusing the Pope's Easiness; fo they prest him vehemently to proceed to a Sentence: The Bishop of Paris moved only for a delay of fix days, which was no unreasonable time in that Season, and in favours of fuch a King, who had a Suit depending fix Days, and fince he had Patience fo many Years; the delay of a few days was no extraordinary Favour. But the design of the Imperialists was, to hinder a Reconciliation: for if the King had been set right with the Pope, there would have been so powerful a League formed against the Emperour, as would have broke all his Measures: And therefore it was necessary for his Designes to imbroil them. It was also faid, That the King was feeking Delayes, and Concessions, meerly to delude the Pope; and that he had proceeded fo far in his Design against that See, that it was necessary to go on to Censures: And the angry Pope was fo provoked by them, and by the News that he heard out of England, that without confulting his ordinary Prudence, he brought in the matter to the Consistory; and there the Imperialifts being the greater number, it was driven on with fo much Precipitation, that they did in oneday that, which according to Form, should have been done in three. They H 3

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Book I. 1533. But pro cceds ba-Sentence.

They gave the final Sentence, declaring, the King's Marriage with Queen Katherine good; and required him to live with her 23. March, as his Wife, otherwise they would proceed to Censures. Two days after that, fily to a the Courier came with the King's Submiffion, in due form: He also brought earnest Letters from Francis, in the King's Favours. This wrought on all the indifferent Cardinals, as well as those of the French Faction. So they praied the Pope to recall what was done. A new Confiflory was called, but the Imperialifts prest with greater Vehemence then ever, that they would not give fuch Scandal to the World, as to recall a definitive Sentence past, of the validity of a Marriage; and give the Hereticks fuch Advantages by their unsteadiness in matters of that nature: And so it was carried that the former Sentence should take place; and the Execution of it was committed to the Emperour. When this was known in England, it determined the King in his Resolutions, of shaking off the Pope's Yoke, in which he had made so great a Progress, that the Parliament had past all the Acts concerning it, before he had the News from Rome: For he judged, that the best way to Peace was, to let them at Rome fee, with what vigour he could make War. All the rest of the World lookt on astonished, to fee the Court of Rome throw off England with fo much fcorn, as if they had been weary of the Obedience and Profits of fo great

great a Kingdom, and their Proceedings Book I' look'd as if they had been fecretly directed by a Divine Providence, that designed to 1533. draw great Consequences from this Rupture, and did fo far infatuate those that were most concerned to prevent it, that they needlesly drew it on themselves.

In England they had been now exami- The /ryuning the Foundations on which the Papal ments used Authority was built, with extraordinary ing the Care for some Years; and several Books Pope's being then and foon after written on that Power. Subject, the Reader will be able to fee better into the Reasons of their Proceed-

ings by a short Abstract of these.

All the Apostles were made equal in the Powers that Christ gave them, and he often condemned their Contests about Superiority, but never declared in St. Peter's Favour. St. Paul withstood him to his Face, and reckoned himself not inferour to him. If the Dignity of a Person left any Authority with the City in which he fat; then Antioch must carry it as well as Rome: and Ferusalem, where Christ suffered was to be preferred to all the World, for it was truly the Mother-Church. Christ faid to Peter, Upon this Rock will I build my Church. The Ancients understood by the Rock, either the Confession Peter had made, or, which is all one upon the matter, Christ himself; and tho it were to be meant of St. Peter, all the rest of the Apostles are also called Foundations; that of, Tell the Church, was by many Doctors of the Church of Rome turned a-H 4 gainst

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Book I. gainst the Pope for a General Council. The other Priviledges ascribed to St. Peter, were either only a precedence of Order, or were occasioned by his Fall, as that, Feed my Sheep, it being a restoring him to the Apostolical Function. St. Peter had also a limited Province, the Circumcifion, as St. Paul had the Uncircumcifion, that was of far greater extent; which shewed that he was not confidered as the Universal Pastor. In the Primitive Church, St. Cyprian, and other Bishops, wrote to the Bithops of Rome, as to their fellow Bishop, Colleague and Brother: they were against Appeals to Rome, and did not submit to their Definition, and in plain Terms afferted, that all Bishops were equal in Power as the Apostles had been. It is true, the Dignity of the City made the Bishops of Rome to be much esteemed; yet in the first Council of Nice, the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, were declared to have the fame Authority in the Countries about them, that the Bishops of Rome, had over those that lay about them. It is true, the East being over-run with Arrianism, from which the West was better preserved, the oppressed Eastern Bishops did take shelter in the Protection the Bilhops of Rome gave them; and, as is natural to all People, they magnified that Authority which was fo useful to them. But the second General Council indirectly condemned all Appeals to Rome: for it decreed that every Province should be governed by its own Synod.

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and allowed no higher Appeal but to the Book I. Bishops of the Diocess. Constantinople being made the Imperial City, the second and fourth General Council gave it equal Priviledges with Rome, because it was new Rome: which shews that the Dignity of the Sees flowed from the greatness of the Cities. The African Churches condemned all Appeals to Rome, and the Popes, who complained of that, pretended only to a Canon of the Council of Nice for it; and then they did not talk of a DivineRight; but fearch being made into all the Copies of the Canons of the Council, that was found to be a Forgery. When the Emperour Mauricius gave the Title, Universal Bishop, to the Patriarch of Constantinple; Gregory the Great complained of the Ambition of that Title, which he calls equal to the Pride of Lucifer: and fince England received the Faith by those whom he sent over, it appeared from thence what was the Doctrine of that See at that time, and by consequence, what where the first Impressions made on the English in that matter. It is true Boniface the third got the same Title by Phocas's Grant, and Boniface the eighth pretended to all Power both spiritual and temporal; but the Progress of their Usurpations, and the Wars raised to maintain them, were very visible in History. The Popes swore at their Confecrations to obey the Canons of the eighth first General Councils, which are manifested against Appeals and their Universal Jurisdiction; small regard is to

Book I.

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be had to the Decrees of latter Councils, being Cabals pack'd and managed as the Popes pleased. Several Sees, as Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia pretended Exemption from the Papal Authority. Many English Bifhops had afferted that the Popes had no Authority against the Canons, and to that day no Canon the Popes made was binding till it was received; which shewed the Pope's Authority was not believed founded on a divine Authority: and the Contests that the Kings of England had with the Pope's concerning Investitures, Bishops doing the King Homage, Appeals to Rome, and the Authority of Papal Bulls and Provisions. shewed that the Pope's Power was believed Subject to Laws and Custom, and so not derived from Christ and St. Peter; and as Laws had given them some Power, and Princes had bin forced in ignorant Ages to submit to their Usurpations, so they might as they saw cause change those Laws, and resume their Rights. The next Point inquired into was, the

And for the King's

Authority that Kings had in matters of Re-Supremacy ligion and the Church. The King of Israel judged in all Causes, and Samuel called Saul the Head of the Tribes. David made many Rules about the Service at the Temple, and declaring to Solomon what his Power was he told him that the Priests were wholly at his Command; and it is also said, that Solomon appointed the Priests their Charges in the Service of God, and that they departed not from his Commandment in any matter; he

T Chron. 28. 21. 2 Chron:

8. 14, 15.

turned out one High-Priest, and put another in in his room. Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Book I. Fosias, made also Laws about Ecclesiastical Matters. In the New Testament, Christ was himself subject to the Civil Powers. and charged his Disciples not to affect Temporal Dominion. They also wrote to the Churches to be subject to the Higher Powers, and call them Supream, and charge every Soulto be subject to them: foin Scripture the King is called Head and Supream, and every Soul is faid to be under him, which joyn'd together, makes up this Conclusion, that He is the supream Head over all Persons. In the Primitive Church the Bishops only made Rules or Canons, but pretended to no compulive Authority, but what came from the Civil Magistrate. The Roman Emperours called Councils, presided in them, and confirmed them; and made many Laws concerning Ecclesiastical Matters; fo did also Charles the Great. The Emperours did also either chuse the Popes themselves, or confirm their Elections. Church-men taking Orders, were not thereby discharged from the Obedience they formerly owed their Princes, but remained still Subjects. And the Offices of the Church had peculiar Functions, in which the People were subject to them, that did not deliver them from their Obedience to the King. as a Father's Authority over his Children cuts not off the King's Powerover him. They found also that in all times the Kings of England had assumed an Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters. Ina, Alfred, Edgar, and

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Book I, and Canetus, had made many Laws about them; fo had also most of the Kings since the Conquest, which appeared particularly in the Articles of Clarendon, and the Contests that followed upon them; and from the daies of King Ina, they had granted Exemptions to Monasteries from the Episcopal Jurisdiction, down to William the Conquerors time: besides many other Acts that clearly imported a Supremacy over all Persons, and in all Causes. But they did at the same time fo explain and limit this Power, that it was visible they did not intend to subject Religion wholly to the Pleasure of the King; for it was declared that his Power was only a Coercive Authority, to defend the true Religion, to abolish Heresies and Idolatries, to cause Bishops and Pastors to do their Duties, and in case they were negligent, or would not amend their Faults, to put others in their room. Upon the whole matter, they concluded that the Pope had no Power in England, and that the King had an intire Dominion over all his Subjects, which did extend even to the regulating of Ecclefiastical Matters.

The Cler-2) Submitted to st.

These things being fully opened in many Disputes, and published in several Books, all the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors of England, Fisher only excepted, were so far satisfied with them, or fo much in love with their Preferments, that they resolved to comply with the Changes which the King was resolved to make. Fisher was in great esteem for Piety and strictness of Life, and so much

much pains was taken on him. A little be- Book I. fore the Parliament met, Cranmer proposed to him, that he, and any five Doctors he would choose, and Stokesly with five on his fide, should confer on that point, and examine he Authorities that were on bothsides; he accepted of it, and Stokefly wrote to him to name time and place, but Fisher's Sickness hindered the Progress of that motion.

The Parliament met the 15th of January, A sellion there were but feven Bishops and twelve of Parlia-Abbots present, the rest it seems were un-ment. willing to concur in making this change, tho they complied with it when it was made. Every Sunday during the Session, a Bishop preached at St. Paul's, and declared that the Pope had no Authority in England: Before this, they had only faid that a General Council was above him, and that the Exactions of that Court, and Appeals to it, were unlawful; but now they went a strain higher, to prepare the People for receiving the Acts then in Agitati-On the 9th of March, the Commons began the Bill for taking away the Pope's The Pope's Power ta-14th, who past it on the 20th without any dissent. In it they set forth the Exactions of the Court of Rome, grounded on the Pope's Power of dispensing; and that as one could dispense with the Laws of 'God; fo the King and Parliament only had the Authority of dispensing with the

Laws of the Land; and that therefore fuch Licenses or Dispensations as were

former-

Book I.

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formerly in use, should be for the future granted by the two Arch-bishops, some of these were to be confirmed under the Great Seal; and they appointed that there-'after all Commerce with Rome should cease. They also declared that they did ont intend to alter any Article of the Catholick Faith of Christendome, or of that which was declared in the Scripture neces-' fary to Salvation. They confirmed all the Exemptions granted to Monasteries by the Popes, but subjected them to the King's Vilitation; and gave the King and his Council power to examine and reform all 'Indulgences and Priviledges granted by the Pope: The Offenders against this Law were to be punished according to the Statutes of Premunire. This Act subjected the Monasteries entirely to the King's Authority and put them in no small Confufion. Those that loved the Reformation, rejoyced both to fee the Pope's Power rooted out, and to find the Scripture made the Standard of Religon.

The Act of the Succession.

After this Act, another past in both Houses in fix Days time, without any Opposition, Settling the Succession of the Crown; confirming the Sentence of Divorce, and the King's Marriage with Queen Anne, and declaring all Marriages within the Degrees prohibited by Moses to be unlawful: All that had married within them were appointed to be divorced, and their Issue illegitimated; and the Succession to the Crown was settled upon

upon the King's Issue, by the present Book I. Queen, or in default of that, to the King's right Heirs, for ever. All were 1533. required to fwear, to maintain the Contents of this Act; and if any refused to fwear to it, or should fay any thing to the Slander of the King's Marriage, he was to be judged guil ty of misprission of Treason, and tobe punished accordingly. The Oath is also set down in the Journals of the House of Lords; by which, they did not only fwear Obedience to the King, and his Heirs, by his present Marriage; but also to defend the Act of Succession, and all the Effects and Contents in it, against all manner of Persons whatsoever; which they were bound to maintain the Divorce, both against the Pope's Censures, and the Emperour, if he went about to execute them.

At this time, one Philips complained to An Att the House of Commons of the Bishop of regulating London, for using him cruelly in Prison, ceedingsa upon Suspicion of Heresy; the Commons gainst Hefent up this to the Lords, but received no reticks. Answer: So they sent some of their Members to the Bishop, desiring him to answer the Complaints put in against him: But he acquainted the House of Lords with it; and they all with one confent voted, that none of their House ought to appear, or answer to any Complaint at the Bar of the House of Commons. So the Commons let this particular Case fall, and fent up a Bill to which the Lords agreed, regulating the

Book I the Proceedings against Hereticks, 'That whereas, by the Statute made by King 1533. Henry the Fourth, Bishops might commit "Men upon Suspition of Heresy; and Herefy was generally defined, to be what-ever was contrary to the Scriptures, or Canonical Sanctions, which was liable to great Ambiguity; therefore that Statute was repealed, and none were to be committed for Herefy, but upon a Prefentment made by two Witnesses: None were to be accused for speaking against things that were grounded only upon the Pope's Canons. Bail was to be taken for Hereticks, and they were to be brought to their Trials in open Court; and if upon Conviction, they did not abjure, or were Relapses, they were to be burnt; the King's Writ being first obtained. This was a great check to the Bishop's Tyrrany, and gave no smal comfort to all that favoured the Reformation.

The Sub-

The Convocation fent in a Submission at mission of the same time, by which they acknowledge the Clergy. ed, That all Convocations ought to be assembled by the King's Writ; and promised upon the Word of Priests, never to make, nor execute any Canons, without the King's Assent. They also desired. That fince many of the received Canons were found to be contrary to the King's Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land, there might be a Committee named by the King, of 32, the one half out of both Houses of Parliament, and the other of the Clergy,

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Clergy, empowered to abrogate or regu- Book I. late them, as they should see Cause. This was confirmed in Parliament, and the Act against Appeals to Rome was renewed; and an Appeal was allowed from the Archbishop to the King, upon which the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commission for a Court of Delegates. A Proviso was added, that till the Committee of 32 should settle a Regulation of the Canons, those then in force should still take place, except such as were contrary to the King's Prerogative, or the Laws: But this last Proviso, tho it seemed reasonable, to give the Spiritual Courts some Rules, till the 32 should finish their Work, made, that it came to nothing; for it was thought more for the Greatness of the King's Authority; and it subjected the Bishop's Courts more to the Prohibitions of the Temporal Courts; to keep this whole matter in fuch General Terms, than to have brought it to a Regulation that should be fixed and constant.

Another Act past; for regulating the An Act for Elections and Confecrations of Bishops; the Eliciticondemning all Bulls from Rome; and on of Bia appointing that upon a Vacancy, the floops, King should grant a Licence for an Election; and should by a missive Letter siginify the Person's Name whom he would have chosen: And within twelve Days after these were delivered; the Dean and Chapter, or Prior and Convent, were required to return an Election of the Person named by the King, under their Seals:

Book I. Seals. The Bishop Elect was upon that to swear Fealty; and a Writ was to be 'issued out for his Consecration in the 'usual manner: After that, he was to do 'Homage to the King, upon which, both the Temporalities, and Spiritualities, were to be restored; and Bishops were to exercise their Jurisdiction as they had done before. All that transgressed this 'Act, were made guilty of a premunic.

A private Act past, depriving Cardinal Campegio, and Jerome de Ghinuccii of the Bilhopricks of Salisbury and Worcester; the Reasons given for it are, because they did not reside in their Diocesses, for Preaching the Laws of God, and keeping Hospitality, but lived at the Court of Rome, and carried 3000 l. a Year out of the Kingdom.

The Attunder of the Nun of Kent.

The last Act of a publick Nature, tho relating only to private Persons, of which I shall give an account, was, concerning the Nun of Kent, and her Complices: It was the first occasion of shedding any Blood in this Quarrel, and it was much cherished by all the Superstitious Clergy, that adhered to the Queen's Interests, and the Pope's. The Nun, and many of her Complices, came to the Lord's Bar, and confelled the whole matter. Among the Concealers of this Treason, Sir Thomas More, and Fisher, were named; the former wrote upon that a long Letter to Cromwel, giving him a particular account of all the Converfation

fation he had at any time with the Nun : Book I. He acknowledged he had esteemed her highly; not so much out of any regard he had to her Prophesies, but for the Opinion he conceived of her Holiness and Humility. But he adds, that he was then convinced, That she was the most false disfembling Hypocrite that had been known; and guilty of most detestable Hypocrisy, and divellish dissembled Falshood: He also believed that she had Communication with an evil Spirit. Concerning this Letter, a curious Discovery has been made. In Queen Mary's time. More's Works were published; and among them, other Letters of his to Cromwel, relating to that long one which he wrote concerning the Nun, were printed; but that was left out of which More kept a Copy, and gave it to his Daughter Roper; that Copy was in the MS. out of which the rest were published, and out of that I have transcribed it. The design of suppressing it, seems to be this: It is probable, there might have been some thoughts in Queen Mary's time, to Canonize the Nun, fince fhe was called a Martyr for her Mother's Marriage; and there was no want of Miracles to justify it: Therefore, a Letter fo plain and full against her, was thought fit to be kept out of the way. This Justification of Mores, prevailed so far, that his Name was ftruck out of the Bill. Act contains a Narrative of that whole Story, which is in short, this;

Elizabeth Barton of Kent, fell in some

1534.

Book I. Trances, (it feems they were Hysterical Fits) and spake such things as made those about her think she was inspired of God. The Parson of the Parish, Master, hoping to draw Advantages from this, gave Archbishop Warham notice of it, who ordered him to observe her carefully, and bring him an account of what should follow. But she had forgot all that she said in her Fitts, when they were over: Yet the Priest would not let it go fo, but perswaded her that fhe was inspired, and taught her so to counterfeit those Trances, that she became very ready at it. The matter was much noised about; and the Priest intended to raise the credit of an Image of the B. Virgins that was in his Church, that fo Pilgrimages and Offerings might be made to it, by her means. He affociated to himself one Bocking, a Monk of Canterbury, and they taught her to fay in her Fits, that the B. Virgin appeared to her, and told her, she could not be well till she visited that Image. She spake many good Words against ill Life, and spake also against Herely, and the King's. Suit of Divorce then depending; and by many strange motions of her Body; she seemed to be inwardly possessed. A day was fet for her cure; and before an Assembly of 2000 People, she was carried to that Image; and after she had acted her Fitts all over, the feemed of a fudden quite recovered, which was afcribed to the Intercession of the Virgin, and the Virtue of that; Image. She entered into a Religious Life; and

and Bocking was her Ghostly Father. There Book I. were wiolent Suspicions of Incontinence between them; but the esteem she was in, 1534. bore them down. Many thought her a Prophetess; and Warham among the rest. A Book was also written of her Revelations, and a Letter was shewed all in Letters of Gold; pretended to be writ to her from Heaven, by Mary Magdalene. She pretended, that when the King was last at Calais, she was carried invisibly beyond Sea, and brought back again; and that an Angel gave her the Sacrament; and that God revealed to her, that if the King went on in his Divorce, and married another Wife, he should fall from his Crown, and not live a Month longer, but should die a Villain's Death.

Many of the Monks of the Charter-House, and the Observant Friers, with many Nuns, and B. Fisher, came to give credit to this, and fet a great value on her, and grew very infolent upon it; for Frier Peyto preaching in the King's Chappel, at Greenwich, denounced the Judgments of God upon him; and faid, tho others as lying Prophets deceived him, yet he in the name of God told him, that Dogs should lick his Blood as they had done Ahabs. The King bore this patiently; but ordered one Dr. Corren to preach next Sunday, and to anfwer all that he had faid, who railed against Peyto, as a Dog and a Traitor. Peyto had gone to Canterbury, but Elston, a Franciscan of the same House, interrupted

Book , him, and called him one of the lying Prophets, that went about to establish the Succession of the Crown by Adultery; and fpoke with fuch Vehemence, that the King himself was forced to command him silence. And yet so unwilling was the King to go to Extremities, that all that was done upon fo high a Provocation, was, that they were called before the Council, and rebuked for their Infolence. But the Nun's Confederates publishing her Revelations in all the parts of the Kingdom, she and Nine of her Complices were apprehended in November last Year; and they did all without any Rack or Torture, discover the whole Conspiracy, and upon that, were appointed to go to St. Pauls; and after a Sermon preached upon that Occasion, by the Bishop of Bangor, they repeated their Confession, in the Hearing of the People; and were fent to ly Prisoners in the Tower. But it was given out, That all was extorted from them by Violence; and Messages were sent to the Nun, defiring her, to deny all that she had confesfed; which made the King judge it necesfary to proceed to further Extremities. So she, and six of her chief Complices, were Attainted of Treason: And the Bishop of Rochester, and five more, were Attainted of Misprision of Treason. But at the Intercession of Q. Ann, (as it is exprest in the Act) all others that had been con-

cerned with her, were pardoned.
This was as black an Imposture as any

ever

ever was; and if it had fallen out in a darker Book I. Age, in which the World went mad after ~ Visions, the King might have lost his Crown by it. The Discovery of this, disposed all to look on older Stories of the Trances of Monastical People, as Contrivances to ferve base ends, and did make way for the ruine of that Order of Men in England; but all that was at present done upon it, was, that the Observants were put out of their Houses, and mixt with the other Franciscans, and the Austin Friers were put in their rooms. When all these Acts were passed, the King gave his Assent to them on the 29th of March, and prorogued the Parliament till November.

The Members of both Houses swore to The Oath the Oath of Succession on the day of the Pro- of Succession rogation. On the 20th of April, followed from from. the Execution of the Nun and her Complices at Tyburn, where she freely acknowledged her Impostures, and the Justice of the Sentence, and laid the blame on those that fuffered with her; who because the thing was profitable to them, praifed her much, and tho they knew that all was feigned, yet gave out that it was done by the working of the Holy Ghost; and she concluded her Life, begging both God's and the King's Pardon. Upon the first Discovery of this Cheat, Fisher in Cromwell fent Fisher's Brother to him to some Trous reprove him for his Carriage in that Busi-ble. ness, and to advise him to ask the King's Pardon for the Encouragement he had given to the Nun, which he was confi-

Book I. dent the King would grant him. But Fisher excused himself, and said, he had done no-

excused himself, and faid, he had done nothing but only tried whether her Revelations were true or not? He confessed that upon the Reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high Opinion of her; and that he had never discovered any Falsehood in her. It is true, she had faid some things to him concerning the King's Death, which he had not revealed, but he thought it was not necessary to do it; because he knew she had told it to the King her self; fhe had named no Person, that should kill the King, but had only denounced it as a Judgment of God on him; and he had reason to think that the King would have been offended with him if he had spoken of it to him; and so he desired to be no more troubled with that matter. But upon that, Cromwell wrote him a sharp Letter; he shewed him that he had proceeded rashly in that Affair; being so partial in the matter of the King's Divorce, that he easily believed every thing that seemed to make against it; he shewed him how neceffary it was to use great Caution before extraordinary things should be received, or spread about as Revelations; since otherwife the Peace of the World should be in the hands of every bold or crafty Impoftor; yet in conclusion, he advises him again to ask the King's Pardon for his Rashness, and he assures him that the King was ready to forgive that, and every thing elfe, by which he had offended him. But Fisher

was obstinate and would make no Submissi-Book I. on, and so included within the Act, yet it was not executed till a new Provocation 1534. drew him into further Trouble. The Se- And P. cular and Regular Clergy did every where note. Iwear the Oath of Succession; which none did more zealously promote than Gardiner; who before the 6th of May got all his Clergy to fwear it: and the Religious Orders being apprehensive of the King's Jealousies of them, took care to remove them, by fending in Declarations under the Seals of their Houses, that in their Opinion the King's present Marriage was lawful, and that they would always acknowledg him Head of the Church of England; that the Bishops of Rome had no Authority out of his own Diocess, and that they would continue obedient to the King, notwithstanding his Cenfures; that they would preach the Gospel fincerely according to the Scriptures, and the Tradition of the Catholick Doctors, and would in their Prayers pray for the King as Supream Head of the Church of England.

A meeting of the Council-fate at Lam- Moreand beth, to which many were cited in order to he re-the swearing the Oath; among whom was outh. Sir Thomas More and Fisher. More was first called on to take it: he answered that he neither blamed those that made the Acts, nor those that swore the Oath, and that he was willing to fwear to maintain the Succession to the Crown, but could not take the Oath as it was conceived. Fisher made

1534.

Book I made the same Answer, but all the rest that were cited before them, took it. More was much press'd to give his Reasons against it; but he refused to do that, for it might be called a disputing against Law: yet he would put them into Writing if the King would command him to do it. Cranmer faid, if he did not blame those that took it, it seems he was not perswaded it was a Sin. and fo was only doubtful of it; but he was fure he ought to obey the Law, if it was not finful; fo there was a Certainty on the one hand, and only a Doubt on the other; and therefore the former ought to determine him: this he confessed did shake him a little, but he faid, he thought in his Conscience, that it would be a Sin in him, and offered to take his Oath upon that, and that he was not led by any other Confideration. The Abbot of Westminster told him he ought to think his Conscience was misled. fince the Parliament was of another Mind; an Argument well becoming a rich ignorant Abbot. But More faid, if the Parliament of England was against him, yet he believed all the rest of Christendom was on his side: In conclusion, both he and Fisher declared that they thought it was in the Power of. the Parliament to fettle the Succession to the Crown, and so were ready to swear to that, but they could not take the Oath that was tendred to them; for by it they must fwear to maintain all the Contents in the Act of Succession, and in it the King's former Marriage was declared unlawful; to which thev

they could not affent. Cranmer press'd Book I, that this might be accepted: for if they once fwore to maintain the Succession, it 1534. would conduce much to the Quiet of the Nation; but sharper Counsels were more acceptable: fo they were both committed to the Tower, and Pen, Ink, and Paper was kept from them. The old Bishop was also hardly used both in his Cloaths and Diet; he had only Rags to cover him and Fire was often denied him, which was a Cruelty not capable of any Excuse, and was as barbarous as it was imprudent.

In Winter another Sellion of Parliament Another was held; the first Act that pass'd, decla- Session of red the King to be the Supream Head on ment. Earth of the Church of England, and appointed that to be added to his other Titles; and it was enacted that he and his Successors should have full Authority to reform all Herefies and Abuses in the Spiritual Jurisdiction. By an other Act they confirmed the Oath of Succession, which had not been specified in the former Act, tho agreed to by the Lords. They also gave the King the first Fruits and Tenthes of Ecclesiastical Benefices, as being the Supream Head of the Church; for the King being put in the Pope's room, it was thought reasonable to give him the Annats, which the Popes had formerly exacted. The Temporalty were now willing to revenge themselves on the Spiritualty, and to tax them as heavily as they had formerly tyrannized over them. Another Act past declaring some things

Book I things Treason; one of these was the denying the King any of his Titles, or the calling him Heretick, Schismatick, or Usurper of the Crown. By another Act, Provifion was made for fetting up 26 Suffragan Bishops over England, for the more speedy Administration of the Sacraments, and the better Service of God: It is also said, they had been formerly accustomed to be in the Kingdom: The Bishop of the Diocess was to present two to the King, and upon the King's declaring his choice, the Archbishop was to confecrate the Person, and then the Bishop was to delegate such parts of his Charge to his Care as he thought fitting, which was to last during his Pleasure. These were the same that the Ancients called the Chorepiscopi, who were at first the Bishops of some Villages; but were afterwards put under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the next City. They were set up before the Council of Nice, and continued to be in the Church for many Ages; but the Bishops devolving their whole Spiritual Power to them, they were put down, and a Decretal Epistle was forged in the name of P. Damasus, condemning them. The great Extent of the Diocesses in England made it hard for one Bishop to govern them with that Exactness that was necessary; these were therefore appointed to affift them in the discharge of the Pastoral Care.

In this Parliament Subsidies were granted payable in three Years, with the highest Preamble of their Happiness under the

King's

King's Government all those 24 Years, in Book 1. which he had reigned, that Flattery could dictate. Fisher and More by two special Acts were attainted of Misprision of Treafon; five other Clerks were in like manner condemned, all for refusing to swear the Oath of Succession. The See of Rochester was declared void; yet it feems few were willing to fucceed fuch a Man, for it continued vacant two Years. This Severity against them was censured by some as Extream, fince they were willing to fwear to the Succession in other Terms, fo that it was merely a point of Conscience, in which the common Safety was not concerned, at which they stuck, and it was thought the profecuting them in this manner would fo raise their Credit, that it might endanger the Government more than any Oppofition which they could make.

But now that the King entered upon a The Pronew Scene, it will be necessary to open the grifs the Progress that the new Opinions had made Armes in England all the time of the King's Suit made in of Divorce. During Wolfey's Ministry, England. those Preachers were gently used; and it is probable the King ordered the Bishops to give over their enquiring after them, when the Pope began to use him ill; for the Progress of Heresy was always reckoned up at Rome among the Mischiefs that would follow upon the Pope's denying the King's Defires. But More coming into Favour, he offered new Counfels; he thought the King's proceeding severely against Hereticks

.1534.

Book I, ticks would be so meritorious at Rome, that it would work more effectually, than all his Threatnings had done: so a severe Proclamation was issued out both against their Books and Persons, ordering all the Laws against them to be put in Execution. Tindall and some others at Antwerp, were every Year either translating or writing Books against some of the received Errors. and fending them over to England. But his Translation of the New Testament gave the greatest Wound, and was much complained of by the Clergy, as full of Errors. Tonfall then Bp of London being a Man of great Learning and Vertue, which is generally accompanied with much Moderation, returning from the Treaty of Cambray, to which More and he were fent in the King's Name, as he came through Antwerp, dealt with an English Merchant that was secretly a Friend of Tindall's, to procure him as many of his New Testaments as could be had for Mony. Tindall was glad of this; for being about a more correct Edition, he found he would be better enabled to fet about it, if the Copies of the Old were fold off; so he gave the Merchant all he had, and Tonstall paying the Price of them, got them in his hands; and burnt them publickly in Cheapside. This was called a burning of the Word of God; and it was faid the Clergy had reason to revenge themselves on it, for it had done them more Mischief than all other Books whatfoever. But a Year after this, the fecond Edition being finished,

finished, great Numbers were sent over to Book I. England, and Constantine one of Tindall's Partners, hapned to be taken; fo More believing that some of the Merchants of London furnished them with Mony, promised him his Liberty, if he would discover who they were that encouraged and affifted them: fo he told him the Bishop of London did more than all the World besides, for he had brought up the greatest gart of a faulty Impression. The Clergy when they condemned Tindall's Translation, promised a new one: but a Year after in a long Condemnation of several Books that were published by Warham, Tonstall, and other Canonists and Divines, they added this, that it was not necessary to publish the Scripture in English, and that the King did well not to fet about it.

There came out a Book writ by one The Sup. Fish of Grayes-Inn, that took mightily, plication called, the Supplication of the Beggars, by of the which they complained that the Alms of Beggars. the People were intercepted by the Mendicant Friars, that were an useless Burden to the Government; they also taxed the Pope of Cruelty, for taking no Pity on the Poor, fince none but those that could pay for it, were delivered out of Purgatory. The King was fo pleased with this, that he would not fuffer any thing to be done against the Author. More answered it by another Supplication in behalf of the Souls in Purgatory, fetting forth the Miseries they were in, and the Relief which they received

1534-

1534.

Book I. received by the Masses that were said for them, and therefore they called on their Friends to support the Religious Orders, that had now so many Enemies. This was elegantly and wittily written, but did not take fo much as the other; for fuch is the ill nature of Mankind, that Satyres are always better received than Apologies, and no Satyres are more acceptable than those against Church-men.

Friih writes against Purgatory

Frith answered More in a Book more gravely written, in which he shewed that there was no mention made of Purgatory in the Scripture, that it was inconfiftent with the Merits of Christ, by which upon fincere Repentance, all Sins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be punished: And the Temporary Judgments, either as Medicinal Corrections, or for giving Warning to others, do sometimes fall even on true Penitents; vet terrible Punishments in another state, cannot confift with a free Pardon, and the remembring of our Sins no more. In expounding many Passages of the New Testa+ ment, he appealed to More's great Friend Erasmus; and shewed, That the Fire which was spoken of by St. Paul, as that which would confume the Wood, Hay, and Stubble, could only be meant of the fiery Trial of Persecution. He shewed, That the Primitive Church received it not; Ambrose; Ferom, and Austin did not believe it; the last had plainly said, that no mention was made of it in Scripture. The Monks brought

brought it in; and by many wonderful Book I. Stories, possessed the World of the belief of it; and had made a very gainful Trade of it. This Book provoked the Clergy fo much, that they resolved to make the Author feel a real Fire, for endeavouring to extinguish their Imaginary one. More objected Poverty, and want of Learning, to the new Preachers: But it was answered, The fame thing was made use of to disgrace Christ and his Apostles; but a plain Simplicity of mind without Artificial Improvments, was rather thought a good Difposition for Men that were to bear a Cross: and the Glory of God appeared more Eminently, than the Instruments seemed Contemptible.

But the Pen proving too feeble, and too A Perfection gentle a Tool, the Clergy betook them-tion fet on felves to that, on which they relied more: by More.

Many were vexed with Imprisonments for teaching their Children the Lord's Prayer in English, for harbouring the Preachers, and for speaking against the Corruptions in the Worship, or the Vices of the Clergy; but these generally abjured. One Hitton, that had been a Curate, and went over to Tindall, was taken coming back with some Books; and was by Warham condemned and burnt.

Bilney, after his Abjuration formerly mentioned, returned to Cambridge, and fell Bilney's under great Horrour of mind; but over- Mariyrcame it, and resolved to expiate his Apo- dom. Hacy by a publick Acknowledgment: And

that

Book I, that he might be able to do that on furer Grounds, he followed his Studies close 1530.

two Years; for then he left the Univerfity, and went into Norfolk where he was born, and preached up and down that County, against Idolatry and Superstition; exhorting the People to live well, to give much Almes, to believe in Christ, and to offer up their Souls and Wills to him in the Sacrament: He openly confessed his own Sin of denying the Faith; and using no Precaution as he went about, he was taken by the Bishops Officers, and was condemned as a Relapfe, and degraded. More not only fent down the Writ to burn him, but to make him fuffer another way; he affirmed in Print that he had abjured: But no Paper figned by him was ever shewed, and little credit was due to the Priests who gave it out, that he did it by word of Mouth: But Parker (afterwards Archbishop) was an eye Witness of his Sufferings. all the hardships he was put to, patiently; and continued very cheerful after his Sentence; and eat up the poor Provision that was brought him, heartily; for he faid, he must keep up a ruinous Cottage till it fell. He had those Words often in his Mouth, When thou walkest thorow the Fire, thou shalt not be burnt : And by burning his Finger in the Candle, he prepared himself for the Eire, and said, it would only confume the Stubble of his Body, but would

Isaiah.

purify his Soul.

On the 10th of November he was burnt.

At the Stake he repeated the Creed, to Book I. shew he was a true Christian; for the Clergy made strange Representations of his 1530. Doctrine: Then he prayed earnestly, and with a deep fence repeated those Words, Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant. Dr. Warner that waited on him, embraced him, shedding many Tears, and wished that he might die in as good a state as that in which he then was. The Friers defired him to declare to the People, that they had not procured his Death, and he did it; fo the last Act of his Life was full of Charity to his Enemies. His Sufferings Animated others. Byfield that had formerly abjured, was taken dispersing Tindall's Books, and one Tewkesbury, were condemned by Stokesley, and burnt. Two Men and a Woman were also burnt at York. Upon these Proceedings the Parliament that fate that Year, complained to the King; but that did not cool the Heat of the Clergy. One Bainham a Councellour of the Temple, was taken on Suspicion of Heresy, and whipt in More's presence, and afterwards rackt in the Tower: Yet he could not be wrought on to accuse any, but through Fear he abjured. After that, being discharged, he was in great trouble of Mind, and could find no quiet till he went publickly to Church, and openly confessed his Sins; and declared the Torments he felt in his Conscience; for what he had done. Upon this, he was again seized on, and condemned, for having faid, That Thomas Becket was a Murderer, and was damned, if he did not repent: K 2

1530.

Book I. And that in the Sacrament Christ's Body 'was received by Faith, and not chewed with the Teeth. Sentence past upon him by Stokesly, and he was burnt. Soon after this, More delivered up the Great Seal, so the Preachers had some ease. Crome and Latimer were accused, but abjured. Tracy, (Ancestor to the present Lord Tracy) made a Will, by which he left his Soul to God, in hopes of Mercy through Christ, without the help of any other Saint; and therefore he declared, that he would leave nothing for Soul-Masses. This Will being brought to the Bishop of London's Court to be proved, after his Death, provoked them so much, that he was condemned as an Heretick; and an Order was fent to the Chancellour of Worcester, to raise his Body; but he went further and burnt it, which could not be justified, fince he was not a Relapse. Tracy's Heirs sued him for it, and he was turned out of his place, and fined in 400 1. The Clergy proclaimed an Indulgence of fourty days Pardon to any that carried a Faggot to the burning of an Heretick, that fo Cruelty might feem the more Meritorious. And an aged Man (Harding) being condemned by Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, as he was tied to the Stake, one flung a Faggot with fuch force at him, that it dashed out his Brains.

1533.

After an Intermission of two Years, Gardiner represented to the King, That it would give him great Advantages against the Pope, if he would take hold of some

occasion

occasion to shew his hatred of Heresy. So Book I. Frith seemed a fit Person to offer as a Sacrifice, to demonstrate his Zeal: He was a young Man, much famed for Learning: Fruh's and was the first that writ against the Cor- sufferings. poral Presence in the Sacrament, in England. He followed Zuinglius's Doctrine on these Grounds; Christ received in the Sacrament, gave Eternal Life; but this was only to those that believed; from which he inferred, that he was received only by Faith. St Paul faid, that the Fathers before Christ eat the same Spiritual Food with Christians, from which it appears, that Christ is now no more corporally present to us then he was to them: And he argued from the nature of Sacraments in general, and the ends of the Lord's Supper, that it was only a Commemoration. Yet upon these Premises, he built no other Conclusion but that Chist's presence was no Article of Faith. Frith put these Reafons in Writing, which falling into More's .hands, was answered by him; but Frith never faw that till he was put in Prison: And then, tho he was loaded with Irons, and had no Books allowed thim, he replied. He infifted much on that Argument, That the Israelites did eat the same Food, and drank of the same Rock, that was Christ; and fince Christ was only mystically, and by Faith received by them; he concluded, that he was now received only by Faith. He shewed, that Christ's Words, This is my Body, were accommodated to the Jewith Phrase of calling the Lamb the Lord's Pass-K 3 over,

134 Book I. over; and confirmed his Opinion with many Passages out of the Fathers; in I533. which, the Elements were called Signes and Figures of Christ's Body; and they faid that upon Confecration they did not cease to be Bread and Wine, but remained still in their own proper Natures. He also shewed; That the Fathers were Strangers to all the Confequences of that Opinion, that a Body could be in more places than one at once, or could be in a place after the manner of a Spirit: Yet he concluded, That if that Opinion were held only as a Speculation; fo that Adoration were not offered to the Elements, it might be well tollerated but that he condemned as gross Idolatry. This was intended by him to prevent fuch Heats in England, as were raised in Gerinany, between the Lutherans and Helvetians, by reason of their different Opinions concerning the Sacrament. He was feized on in May 1533, and brought before Stokesly, Gardiner, and Longland. They objected to him his not believing Purgatory, nor Transubstantiation: He gave his Reasons that determined him to look on neither of these as Articles of Faith; but he thought that neither the affirming nor denying them ought to be determined positively. The Bishops seemed unwilling to proceed to Sentence; but he continuing resolute,

Stokesly pronounced it; and so delivered him to the Secular Arm, obtesting, that his Punishment might be moderated, fo that the Rigour might not be too extream; nor

yet the gentleness of it too much mitigat-

ed. This Obtestation by the Bowels of Book I. Christ, was thought a Mockery; when all the World knew that it was intended that 1533. he should be burnt. One Hemet, a Prentice of London, was also condemned with him, on the fame account. When they were brought to Smithfield, Frith expreffed great Joy, and hugged the Faggots with some Transport : Cook, a Priest, that flood by, called to the People not to pray for them more then they would do for a Dog. Frith smiled at that, and prayed' God to forgive him: The Fire was kindled, which confumed them to ashes. This was the last Instance of the Cruelty of the Clergy at this time; for the Act, formerly mentioned, regulating their Proceedings, followed foon after. Philips, at whose Complaint, that Bill was begun, was committed upon Suspicion of Heresy; a Copy of Tracy's Will was found about him, and Butter and Cheese being also found in his Chamber in Lent: But he being required to abjure, appealed to the King as Supream Head, and upon that he was fet at Liberty; but whether he was tried by the King or not, is not upon Record.

The Act that was past, gave the new After put Preachers and their Followers, fome to further Respite. The King was also impowered Cruelties. to reform all Herefies, and Idolatries: And his Affairs did now oblige him to unite himself to the Princes of Germany, that by their means, he might so imbroil the Emperour's Affairs, asnot to give him leifure K 4

Book I. leisure to turn his Arms against England; and this produced a flackning of all Severities against them: For those Princes, in that first fervour of the Reformation, made it an Article in all their Treaties, that The Inter- their Doctrine. The Queen did also openefts the Re-ly protect them; she took Latimer, and

formers had at Cor. Tt.

none should be persecuted for favouring Shaxton to be her Chaplains, and promoted them to the Bishopricks of Worcester, and Salisbury. Cranmer was fully convinced of the necessity of a Reformation, and that he might carry it on with true Judgment, and justify it by good Authorities, He made a great Collection of the Opininions of the Antient Fathers, and later Doctors, in all the Points of Religion; of which I have seen two Volumes in Folio; But by a Letter of the Lord Burghly's, it appears, there were then fix Volumes of his Collections in his hands. He was a Man of great Candor, and much Patience and Industry; and so was on all accounts wellprepared for that Work, to which the Providence of God did now call him: And tho he was in some things too much fubject to the King's Imperious Temper, yet in the matter of the fix Articles, he shewed that he wanted not the Courage that became a Bishop in so Critical an Affair as that was. Cromwel was his great and constant Friend; a man of mean Birth, but of excellent Qualities, as appeared in his adhering to his Master Wolsey, after his fall; a rare Demonstration of Gratitude

in a Court, to a difgraced Favourite: And Book I. in his greatest height, he happening to see a Merchant of Lucca, who had pitied and 1534. relieved him when he was in Italy, but did not so much as know him, or pretend to any returns for the small Favours he had formerly shewed him, and was then reduced to a low condition, treated him with fuch acknowledgments, that it became the Subjects of several Pens, which strove who Thould celebrate it most.

As these set themselves to carry on a Others op-Reformation, there was another Party pofe it formed that as vigourously opposed it, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner; and almost all the Clergy went into it. They perswaded the King that nothing would give the Pope or the Emperour fuch Advantages, as his making any Changes in Religion; and it would reflect much on him, if he who had writ so learnedly for the Faith, should in spite to the Pope make any Changes in it. Nothing would encourage other Princes fo much to follow his Example, nor keep his Subjects fo much in their Duty to him, as his continuing stedfast in the Antient Religion. things made great Impressions on him. But on the other hand, Cranmer represented to him that if he rejected the Pope's Authority, it was very abfurd to let fuch Opinions or Practices continue in the Church, that had no other Foundation but Papal Decrees: and therefore he defired that this might be put to the Trial, he

Book I, ought to depend on God, and hope for good Success if he proceeded in this matter, according to the Duty of a Christian Prince. England was a compleat Body within its felf; and tho in the Roman Empire, when united under one Prince, General Councils were easily assembled, yet now that was not to be so much depended on; but every Prince ought to reform the Church in his Dominions by a National Synod; and if in the Antient Church fuch Synods condemned Herefies, and reformed Abuses, that might be much more done, when Europe was divided into fo many Kingdoms. visible that tho both the Emperour and the Princes of Germany had for 20 Years defired a Ceneral Council, it could not be obtained of the Pope; he had indeed offered one at Mantua, but that was only an Illusion.

The Offnion of Some Bishops of a Ceneral Council.

Upon that the Kiug desired some of his Bishops to give their Opinion concerning the Emperour's Power of calling Councils: So Cranmer, Tonstall, Clark of Bath and Wells, and Goodrick of Ely, made answer, That the Ancient Councils were called by the Roman Emperours, yet that was done by reason of the Extent of their Monarchy, that was now ceafed, but fince other Princes had an entire Monarchy within their Do-Yet if one or more of those Princes should agree to call a Council to a good Intent, and desire the Concurrence of the rest, they were bound by the Rule of Charity to agree to it: They were also of Opinion that none but Bishops and Priests had

had Right to a definitive Voice in matters Book I. of Doctrine.

Cranmer also made a long Speech at that, 1534. time, fetting forth the necessity of a Refor-Heads of a mation. It is probable it was in the House speech of of Peers, for it begins; My Lords - 'He begun with the Impostures and Deceit used by the Canonists and other Courtiers at Rome. Then he speak to the Authority of a General Councils; he hewed that it flowed not from the Number of the Bishops, but from the matter of their Decisions, which were received with an Universal Consent, for there were many more Bishops at the Council of Arimini, which was condemned, than either at Nice or Constantinople, which were received. Christ had named no Head of the whole Church, as God had named no Head of the World; but that grew up for Orders fake, as there were Arch-bishops set over Provinces; yet fome Popes were condemned for Herefy as Liberius, and others. If Faith must be 'shewed by Works, the ill Lives of most Popes of late shewed that their Faith was to be suspected; and all the Priviledges which Princes or Synods granted to that See might be recalled. Popes ought to submit themselves to General Councils, and were be tried by them; he shewed what were the present Corruptions of the Pope and his Court, which needed Reformation: The Pope according to the Decree of the Council of Basil was the Churches Vicar,

Book I. and not Christ's; and so was accountable to it. The Churches of France de-1534. 'clared the Council to be above the Pope, which had been acknowledged by many Popes themselves. The Power of Councils had also Bounds, nor could they judg of the Rights of Princes, or proceed to a Sentence against a King; nor were their Canons of any force till Princes added their Sanctions to them. Councils ought also to proceed moderately, even against those that held Errors, and ought not to impose things indifferent too severely. The Scriptures, and not Men's Traditions, ought to be the Standards of their Definitions. The Divines of Paris held, That a Council could not make a new Article of Faith that was not in the Scriptures; and all Christ's Promises to the Church were to be understood with this condition, if they kept the Faith: therefore there was great reason to doubt concerning the Authority of a Council, some of them had contradicted others, and many others were never received. The Fathers had always appealed to the Scriptures, as Superiour in Authority to Councils, by which only all Controversies ought to be decided; yet on the other hand, it was dangerous to be wife in ones own Conceit, and he thought when the Fathers all agreed in the Exposition of any place of Scripture, that ought to be look'd on as flowing from the Spirit of God. He

shewed how little Regard was to be had

to a Council, in which the Pope prefided, Book I. and that if any common Error had past upon the World, when that came to be discovered, every one was at liberty to fhake it off, even tho they had fworn to maintain that Error: this he applied to the Pope's Authority. In conclusion, he promised to entertain them with another Discourse of the Authority that all Bishops had in their Sees, and that Princes had within their Dominions. But I could never recover that, and probably it is loft.

This was the state of the Court after The State King Henry had shaken off the Pope's of Eng-Power, and assumed a Supremacy in Ecclefiaftical Affairs. The Nobility and Gentry were generally well satisfied with the Change; but the Body of the People was more under the Power of the Priests; and they studied to infuse in them great Fears of a Change in Religion. It was faid the King was now joyning himself to Hereticks, that both the Queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell favoured them. It was left free to dispute what were Articles of Faith, and what were only the Decrees of Popes; and Changes would be made under this Pretence, that they only rejected those Opinions which were supported by the Papal Authority. The Monks and Friars saw themselves left at the King's Mercy. Their Bulls could be no longer useful to them. The trade of new Saints, or Indulgences, was near an end; they had also some Intimations

Book I. tions that Cromwell was forming a Project 1534.

for suppressing them; so they thought it necessary for their own Preservation to imbroil the King's Affairs, as much as was possible; therefore both in Confessions and Discourses, they were infusing into the People a dislike of the King's Proceedings, and this did so far work on them, that if the Emperour's Affairs had been in fuch a condition, that he could have made War on the King, he might have done it with great Advantage; and found a strong Party in England on his side. But the Practices of the Clergy at home, and of Cardinal Pool abroad, the Libels that were published, and the Rebellions that were afterwards raised in England, wrought so much on the King's Temper, that was naturally imperious and boifterous, that he became too apt to commit Acts of the highest Severity, and to bring his Subjects into Trouble upon the slightest Grounds; and his new Title of Head of the Church, feemed to have encreased his former Vanity, and made him fancy that all his Subjects were bound to regulate their Belief by the measures he set them. He had now raigned 25 Years, in all which time none had fuffered for Crimes against the State, but Pool Earl of Suffolk, and Stafford Duke of Buckingham; (the former was executed in Obedience to his Father's last Commands; the latter fell by Cardinal Wolfey's Malice; he had also been inveigled by a Priest to imagine he had a Right to the

1534

the Crown) but in the last ten Years of his Book I. Life, Instances of Severity returned more frequently. The Bishops and Abbots did what they could to free the King of any Jealousies that might be raised in him concerning them; and of their own accord, before any Law was made about it, they fwore to maintain the King's Supremacy. The first Act of it was the making Cromwell Vicar General, and Visitor, of all the Monasteries and Churches of England, with a Delegation of the King's Supremacy to him; he was also empowered to give Commissions subaltern to himself; and all Wills, where the Estate was in value above 200 l. were to be proved in his Court. This was afterwards enlarged, and he was made the King's Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Matters, and had the Precedence of all next the Royal Family; and his Authority was in all Points the same, that the Legates had in time of Popery: for as the King's came in the Popes room; fo the Vicegerent was what the Legates had been. Pains was taken to engage all the Clergy to declare for the Supreamacy. At Oxford a publick Determination was made, to which every Member affented, that the Pope had no more Authority in England, than any The Franciscans other Forreign Bishop. at Richmond made some more Opposition; they faid, by the Rule of St. Francis, they were bound to obey the Holy See. The Bishop of Litchfield told them that all the Bishops in England, all the Heads of - Houses.

Book I. Houses, and the most learned Divines had signed that Proposition. St. Francis made 1535. his Rule in Italy, where the Bishop of Rome was Metropolitan, but that ought not to extend to England: and it was shewed that the Chapter cited by them, was not written by him, but added since; yet they continued positive in their refusal to sign it.

A general Visitation proposed.

It was well known that all the Monks and Friars, tho they complied with the Time, yet they hated this new Power of the King's; the People were also startled at it; fo one Dr. Leighton, that had been in the Cardinal's Service with Crommell, proposed a General Visitation of all the Religious Houses in England: and thought that nothing would reconcile the Nation fo much to the King's Supremacy, as to fee some good Effect flow from it. Others thought this was too hardy a Step, and that it would provoke the Religious Orders too much. Yet it was known that they were guilty of fuch Diforders, that nothing could so effectually keep them in awe as the enquiring into these. Cranmer led the way to this by a Metropolitical Visitation, for which he obtained the King's Licence; he took care to fee that the Pope's Name was struck out of all the Offices of the Church. and that the King's Supremacy was generally acknowledged.

Instructions and Injunctions for it. In October the General Visitation of the Monasteries was begun; which was cast into several Precincts: Instructions were

given

given them, directing them what things to Book I. enquire after, as whether the Houses had the full number according to their Foundation, and if they performed Divine Worship in the appointed Hours; what Exemptions they had, what were their Statutes? how their Heads were chosen? and how their Vows were observed? Whether they lived according to the Severities of their Orders? how the Master and other Officers did their Duties? how their Lands and their Revenues were managed? what Hospitality was kept? and what care was taken of the Novices? what Benefices were in their Gift, and how they disposed of them? how the Inclosures of the Nunneries were kept? whether the Nuns went abroad, or if Men were admitted to come to them? how they imploied their time, and what Priests they had for their Confessors? They were also ordered to give them some Injunctions in the King's Name, That they fhould acknowledge his Supremacy, and maintain the Act of Succession, and declare all to be absolved from any Rules or Oaths that bound them to obey the Pope; and that all their Statutes tending to that, should be razed out of their Books. the Abbots should not have choice Dishes, but plain Tables for Hospitality; and that the Scriptures shoul be read at Meals; that they should have daily Lectures of Divinity; and maintain some of every House at the University. The Abbot was required to instruct the Monks in true Religion, and to fliew

Book I. shew them that it did not consist in outward Ceremonies, but in Cleanness of Heart, and Purity of Life, and the worshiping of God in Spirit and Truth. Rules were given about their Revenues, and against admitting any under 20 Years of Age. The Visitors were empower'd to punish Offenders, or to bring them to answer before the Visitor General.

The State
of the Monasteries
in England.

What the Ancient Brittish Monks were is not well known; whether they were governed according to the Rules of the Monks of Egypt or France, is matter of Conje-Eture. They were in all things obedient to their Bishops, as all the Monks of the Primitive Times were. But upon the Confusions which the Gothick Wars brought upon Italy, Benedict fet up a new Order with more Artificial Rules for its Government. Not long after, Gregory the Great raised the Credit of that Order much, by his Books of Dialogues: and Austin the Monk being fent by him to convert England, did found a Monastery at Canterbury, that carried his Name, which both the King and Austin exempted from the Arch-bishop's Jurisdiction. But there is great reason to suspect that most of those Antient Charters were forged. After that many other Abbies were founded and exempted by the Kings of England, if Credit is due to the Leiger Books or Chartularies of the Monasteries. In the end of the eighth Century, the Danes made Descents upon England, and finding the most Wealth and the least

least Resistance in the Monasteries, they Book I. generally plundered them, in fo much that the Monks were forced to quit their Seats, and they left them to the Secular Clergy; fo that in King Edgar's time there was scarce a Monk left in all England. He was a leud and cruel Prince; and Dunstan and other Monks taking Advantage from some horrours of Conscience that he fell under, perfwaded him that the restoring the Monaflick State, would be matter of great Merit; fo he converted many of the Chapters into Monasteries: and by the Foundation of the Priory of Worcester, it appears he had then founded 47, and intended to raise them to 50, the number of Pardon; tho the Invention of Jubilees being fo much later, gives occasion to believe this was also a Forgery. He only exempted his Monasteries from all Payments to the Bishops; but others were exempted from Episcopal Turisdiction. In some only the Precinct was exempted, in others, the Exemption was extended to all the Lands or Churches belonging to them: The latest Exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction granted by any King, is that of Battel founded by William the Conquerour: After this the Exemptions were granted by the Popes; who pretending to an Universal Jurisdiction, assumed this among other Usurpations: Some Abbies had also the Priviledg of being Sanctuaries to all that fled to them: The Foundation of all their Wealth, was the belief of Purgatory, and of the Virtue that was L 2 ìń

1535.

Book I in Malles to redeem Souls our of it; and

1535.

that these eased the Tormentsof departed Souls, and at last delivered them out of them; so it past among all for a piece of Piety to Parents, and of care for their own Souls and Families, to endow those Houses with fome Lands, upon condition that they should have Masses said for them, as it was agreed on more or less, frequently according to the measure of the Gift. This was like to have drawn in the whole Wealth of the Nation into those Houses, if the Statute of Mortmain had not put some restraint to that Superstition. They also perswaded the World, that the Saints interceded for them, and would take it kindly at their hands, if they made great Offerings to their Shrines, and would thereupon intercede the more earnestly for them: The credulous Vulgar measuring the Court of Heaven by those on Earth, believed Presents might be of great Efficacy there, and thought the new Favourites would have the most Weight in their Intercessions: So upon every new Canonization there was a new Fit of Devotion towards the last Saint, which made the elder to grow almost out of request. Some Images were believed to have an extraordinary Virtue in them, and Pilgrimages to these were much extolled. There was also great Rivalry among the several Orders, and different Houses of the same Orders, every one magnifying their own Saints, their Images and Relicks most. The

The Wealth of these Houses brought them Book I. under great Corruptions. They were generally very dissolute, and grosly ignorant. Their Priviledges were become a publick Grievance, and their Lives gave great Scandal to the World; So that, as they had found it easy to bear down the Secular Clergy, when their own Vices were more fecret; the begging Friers found it as easy to carry the Esteem of the World from them. These under the Appearance of Poverty, and course Diet, and Cloathing, gained much Esteem, and became almost the only Preachers and Confessors then in the World. They had a General at Rome, from whom they received fuch Directions, as the Popes fent them; fo that they were more useful to the Papacy then the Monks had been. They had also the School-Learning in their hands, fo that they were generally much cherished. But they living much in the World, could not conceal their Vices fo artificially as the Monks had done; and tho feveral Reformations had been made of their Orders, yet they had all fallen under great Scandal, and a general Disesteem. The King intended to erect new Bishopricks; and in order to that, it was necessary to make use of some of their Revenues. He also apprehended a War from the Emperour, and for that end, he intended to fortify his Harbours, and to encourage Shipping, and Trade, upon which, the Ballance of the World began then to turn: And in order to that he L 3 refol-

Book I resolved to make use of the Wealth of those Houses, and thought, the best way to bring that into his hands, would be to expose their Vices, that so they might quite lose the Esteem they might yet be in with some, and so it might be less dangerous to suppress them. Cranmer promoted this much, both because these Houses were founded on gross Abuses, and subsisted by them; and these were necessary to be removed, if a Reformation went on. The Extent of many Diocesses was also such, that one man could not overfee them; fo he intended to have more Bishopricks founded, and to have Houses at every Cathedral for the Education of those who should be imploied in the Pastoral Charge. The Visitors went over England, and found in many places, monstrous Disorders. The Sin of Sodom was found in many Houses; great Factions, and Barbarous Cruelties, were in others; and in fome, they found Tools for Coining. The Report contained many abominable things, that are not fit to be mentioned: Some of these were printed, but the greatest part is lost; only a Report of 144 Houses is yet extant.

Some Houses furrend\_ ered.

The first House that was surrendered to the King, was Langden, in Kent; the Abbot was found a Bed with a Whore, who went in the Habit of a Lay Brother: This perhaps made him more willing to give an Example to the rest; so he and ten of his Monks, figued a Refignation of their House

to the King. Two other Houses in the Book L fame County, Folkeston, and Dover, followed their Example. And in the follow- 1536. ing Year, four other Houses made the like Surrenders: and these were all that I find before the Act of Parliament palt, for sup-

pressing the lesser Monasteries. Q. Katherine was put to much trouble, 1536. for keeping the Title, Queen, but bore Queen, it resolutely, and said, That since the Pope K-therin's had judged that her Marriage was good, she would die rather than do any thing in prejudice of it. Her Sufferings begot Compassion in the People; and all the Superstitious Clergy supported her Interests zealously. But now her Troubles ended with her Life. She defired to be buried among the Observant Friers, for they had fuffered most for her. She ordered 500 Masses to be faid for her Soul; and that one of her Women should go a Pilgrimage to our Lady of Walfingham, and give 200 Nobles on her way to the Poor. When she found Death coming on her, as she writ to the Emperour, recommending her Daughter to his care: So she writ to the King, with this Inscription, My dear Lord, King, and Husband. She forgave him all the Injuries he had done her; and wish'd him to have regard to his Soul. She recommended her Daughter to his Care, and defired him to be kind to her three Maids, and to pay her Servants a Years Wages; and ended thus, mine Eyes desire you above all things. She died on the Eighth

of

Book I. of January, at Kimbolton, in the 50th Year of her Age, 33 Years after the came to Eng-1536. land. She shas a Devout and Exemplary Woman: She used to work with her own hands, and kept her Women at work with her. The Severities and Devotions that were known to her Priests, and her Alms-Deeds, joined to the Troubles she fell in, begat a high Esteem of her in all sorts of People. The King complained often of her Peevilhness; but that was perhaps, to be imputed, as much to the Provocations he gave her, as to the Sowrness of her Temper. He ordered her to be buried in the Abbey of Peterborough, and was fomewhat touched with her Death. But Q. Ann did not carry this fo decently as became a happy Rival.

In Parlitteffer Monasteries suppressed,

In February a Parliament met, after a ment, the Prorogation of 14 Months. The Act impowering 32 to revise the Ecclesiastical Laws, was confirmed; but no time was limited for finishing it, so it had no effect. The chief business of this Session, was the suppressing of the Monasteries, under 200 l. a Year. The Report the Visitors made was read in the two Houses, and disposed them to great easiness in this matter. The Act fets forth the great disorders of those Houses, and the many unsuccessful Attempts that had been made to reform them; fo the Religious that were in them, were ordered to be put in the greater Houses, where Religion was better observed, and the Revenues of them were given to the King. Those Houses were much richer

than they seemed to be; for an abuse that Book F. had run over Europe, of keeping the Rents of the Church at their first Rates; and instead of raising them, the exacting great Fines for the Incumbent, when the Leafes were renewed, was fo gross in those Houses, that some rated but at 200 l. were in real value worth many Thousands. By another Act, a new Court was erected, with the Title of the Court of the Augmentations of the King's Revenue, confifting of a Chancellor, la Treasurer, 10 Auditors, 17 Receivers, belides ofther Officers. The King was also empowered to make new Foundations, of such of those Houses now suppressed, as he pleased, which were in all 370, and fo this Parliament, after fix Years Continuance, was now dislolved.

A Convocation fate at this time, in A Tranwhich, a motion was made for Transla- flation of ting the Bible into English, which had been the Bille promifed when Tindal's Translation was condemned, but was afterwards, laid afide by the Clergy, as neither necessary nor expedient: So it was faid, that those, whose Office it was to teach People the Word of God, did all they could to suppress it. Moses, the Prophets, and the Apostles, wrote in the Vulgar Tongue: Christ directed the People to fearch the Scriptures; and as foon as any Nation was converted to the Christian Religion, the Bible was translated into their Language; nor was it ever taken out of the hands of the People, till the Christian Religion was so corrupted, that

Book I. 1536.

it was not fafe to trust them with fuch a Book? which would have fo manifestly discovered those Errours; and the Legends, as agreeing better with those Abuses, were read instead of the Word of God. So Cranmer look'd on the putting the Bible in the People's hands as the most effectual means for promoting the Reformation; and therefore moved, that the King might be prayed to give or der for it. But Gardiner, and all the other Party, opposed this vehemently. They faid, All the extravagant Opinions then in Germanny, rose from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. Some of those Opinions were at this time disseminated in England, both against the Divinity, and Incarnation of Christ, and the usefulness of the Sacraments, for which 19 Hollanders had been burnt in England the former Year. It was therefore faid, That during these Distractions, the use of the Scriptures would prove a great Snare: So it was proposed, that instead of them, their might be some short Exposition of the Christian Religion put in the Peoples hands, which might keep them in a certain Subjection to the King and the Church: But it was carried in the Convocation for the Affirmative. At Court, Men were much divided in this Point; fome faid, if the King gave way to it, he would never be able after that to govern his People, and that they would break into many Divisions. But on the other hand, it was faid, That nothing would make the Difference between

between the Pope's Power, and the King's Book I. Supremacy, appear more eminently, than if the one gave the People the free nie of the Word of God; whereas the other had kept them in Darkness, and ruled them by a blind Obedience. It would be also a great mean to extinguish the Interest that either the Pope or the Monks had in England, to put the Bible in the People's hands, in which it would appear, that the World had been long deceived by their Impostures, which had no Foundation in the Scriptures. These Reasons joyned with the Interest that the Queen had in the King, prevailed fo far with him, that he gave order for fetting about this with all possible haft; and within three Years the Impression of it was finished. At this time, the King was in fome Treaty with the German Princes, not only for a League in Temporal Concerns, but likewise in matters of Religion. The King thought the Germans should have in all things submitted to him; and the Opinion he had of his own Learning, which was perhaps heightned a little with his new Title of Head of the Church, made him expect, that they should in all points comply with him. Gardiner was then his Ambassadour in France, and diswaded him much from any Religious League with them, as that which would alienate the World abroad, and his People at home from him.

The Popish Party saw the interest the Q. Ann's Queen had in him, was the great Obstacle Fall.

Book I. of their Designes: She grew not only in the Kings Esteem, but in the Love of the Nation. The last Nine Months of her Life, She gave above 14000 l. in Alms to the

She gave above 14000 l. in Alms to the Poor, and was much fet on doing good. Soon after Queen Katherin's Death, she bore a dead Son, which was believed to have made some Impression on the King's mind. It was also considered, that now Queen Katherine being dead, the King might marry another, and be fet right again with the Pope and the Emperour: And the Issue by any other Marriage would never be questioned; whereas, while Queen Ann lived, the ground of the Controversy still remained, and her Issue would be Illegitimated, her Marriage being null from the beginning, as they thought. With these Reasons of State, the King's Affections joyned, for he was now in Love with Jane Seymour, whose humour was tempered in a mean, between the Gravity of Queen Katherine, and the Pleasantness of Queen Ann. The poor Queen used all possible Arts to reinssame a dying Affection; but the King was changed, and instead of being wrought on by her Careffes, he came to look on them as Artifices to cover some other Criminal Affection. Her cheerfulness was not alwayes governed with Decency and Difcretion: And her Brother's Wife being jealous of her Husband and Her, possessed the King with her own Apprehensions, and filled his Head with many Stories. Norris

Norris, Weston, and Brereton the King's Book I. Servants, and Smeton a Musician, were obferved to be particularly officious about 1536. her. Somewhat was pretended to have been fworn by the Lady Wyngfield at her Death, that determined the King; but there is little light left to judg of that Matter. The King was at Justs at Greenwich, where it was reported, that he was displeafed with the Queen, for letting her Handkerchief fall to one for wiping his Face; but this feems to be a Fiction; for a Parliament was fummoned the daybefore that, and then it was resolved to destroy her. The King left her, upon which she was confined to her Chamber, and the five before mentioned were feized on, and fent to the Tower, and the next day she was carried thither. On the River, some Privy Counsellors came to examine her; but she made deep Protestations of her Innocence; and as she landed at the Tower, the fell down on her Knees, and prayed God so to asist her, as she was free of the Crimes laid to her charge: After this she fell into sits of the Mother, sometimes she laughed, and at other times she wept excessively: She was also devout and light by turns; and fometimes she stood upon her Vindication, and at other times she confessed some Indiscretions, which she afterwards denied. All the People about her made the most of every Word that fell from her, and fent it immediately to Court. The others that were imprisoned on her account, denied every thing, only Smeton

Book I. Smeton confessed Leudness with her. The

Duke of Norfolk, and others that came to 1536. examine her, made her believe that both Norris and Smeton had accused her; but tho that was false, yet it had this Effect on her, that it made her confess that which did totally alienate the King from She acknowledged that she had rallied Norris, that he waited for the King's Death, and then thought to have her, which tho he denied, yet upon that she fell out with him. She denied that Smeton was ever in her Chamber, but once when he came to play on the Virginals. She infinuated as if he had made Love to her; for feeing him one day pensive, she told him he must not expect that she should talk to him, since he was so mean a Person, and he answered, A Look would ferve him. She also said, Weston had seemed jealous of Norrie, for being oft in her Chamber, and had declared Love to her, upon which the defied him. Whether these Confessions were real Truths, or the Effects of Imagination and Vapors, cannot be certainly determined at this distance. It is probable there had been some Levities in her Carriage that were not becoming.

All the Court was now turned against her, and she had no Friend about the King but Cranmer; and therefore her Enemies procured an Order for him not to come to Court; yet he put all to hazard, and wrote the King a long Letter upon this Critical Juncture; 'He acknowledged that

e if

if the Things reported of the Queen were Book I. true, it was the greatest Affliction that ever befel the King, and therefore exhorted him to bear it with Patience and Submission to the Will of God: he confessed he never had a better Opinion of any Woman than of her; and that next the King, he was more bound to her, than to all Persons living; and therefore he begged the King's leave to pray that she might be found Innocent; he loved her not a little, because of the Love which she seemed to bear to God, and his Gospel; but if she was guilty, all that loved the Gospel must hate her, as having given the greatest Slander possible to the Gospel: but he prayed the King not to entertain any Prejudice to the Gofe pel on her account, nor give the World reafon to fay, That his Love to it was founded on the Power that she had with him. The King's Jealoufy was now too deeply rooted to admit of any Cure, but an extream one: The Indictments were laid in May 12. the Counties of Kent and Middlesex, the former relating to what was done in Greenwich. Smeton pleaded Guilty, and confessed he had known the Queen carnally three times; the rest pleaded not guilty; but they were all condemned.

Three days after that, the Queen and May 15. her Brother (who was then a Peer ) were Her frial. tried before the Duke of Norfolk, as High Steward and a Court of 27 Peers. It has been oft given out to defame her the more,

that.

Book I. that her own Father fate and condemned her: but the Record of the Attainder shews that is false, for he was not of the Number. The Crime charged on her was, That she had procured her Brother and four others to lie with her; and had often faid to them, That the King never had her Heart; and this was to the Slander of the Issue begotten between the King and her. which was Treason by the Act that confirmed her Marriage: fo that Act that was made for the Marriage, was now turned on her to ruine her. They would not now acknowledg her the King's lawful Wife, and therefore they did not found the Treason on the known Statute 25th Edw. 3. It does not appear what Evidence was brought against her: for Smeton being already condemned, could not be made use of; and his never being brought face to face against her, gave great suspition that he was perswaded to confess by base Practices. The Evidence, as appears by Spelman's Account of it, that was then a Judg, was only the Declaration of a dead Woman: but whether that was forged or real, can never be known till the great Day discovers it. The Judgment in case of Treason for a Woman, is Burning; but it was given either for that, or beheading at the King's Plea-The Judges complained of this as contrary to Law, but there was a fecret Reason for it, into which they did not penetrate. The Earl of Northumberland was one of the Judges, he had been once in Love

love with the Queen, and either some re- Book I. turn of that, or some other Accident made ~~! that he fell fuddenly fo ill, that he could 1536. not stay out the Trial; for after the Queen was judged, he went out of the Court before her Brother was tried, who was condemned upon the fame Evidence. Yet all this did not fatisfy the enraged King; he refolved to illegitimate his Daughter, and in order to that to annul his Marriage with the Queen. It was remembred that the Earl of Northumberland. had faid to Cardinal Wolfey, that he had engaged himself so far with her, that he could not go back, which was perhaps done by some Promise conceived in Words of the Future Tense; but no Promise, unless in the Words of the Present Tense, could annul the Subsequent Marriage. Perhaps the Queen did not understand that Difference; ot probably the fear of so terrible a Death as Burning, wrought fo much on her, that the confelled a Contract; but the Earl denied it positively, and took the Sacrament upon it; wishing that it might turn to his Damnation, if there was ever either Contract or Promise of Marriage between them. She was fecretly carried to Lambeth, and confessed a Precontract, upon which her Marriage with the King was judged null from the beginning; yet this was fo little known at that time, that Spelman writes of it as a thing only talked of, but it was published in the next Parliament. These two Sentences contradicted one another. M

Book I. another; for if she was never the King's.

Wife, she could not be guilty of Adultery,
for there could be no breach of the Faith of
Wedlock, if they were never truly married. But the King was resolved both to
be rid of her, and to declare his Daughter;
by her a Bastard.

Her Execution.

When she had Intimations given her to prepare for Death; among other things the reflected on her Carriage to Lady Mary, to whom she had been too severe a Stepmother: So she made one of her Women sit down, and the fell on her Knees before her and charged her to go to Lady Mary, and in that Posture, and in her Name, to ask her Forgiveness for all she had done against her. This Tenderness of Conscience seemed to give much Credit to the continual Protestations of her Innocence, which she made to the last. The day before her Death, she fent her last Message to the King, afferting her Innocence, recommending her Daughter to his Care, and thanking him for his advancing her, first to be a Marchioness, then to be a Queen, and now, when he could raife her no higher on Earth, for fending her to be a Saint in The day she died the Lieutenant of the Tower writ to Cromwell, that it was not fit to publish the time of her Execution. for the fewer that were present it would be the better; fince he believed she would declare her Innocence at the hour of her Death; for that morning she had made great Protestations of it, when she received the

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the Sacrament, and feemed to long for Book I. Death, and had great Joy and Pleasure in it; she was glad to hear the Executioner was good, for the faid the had a very thort Neck, at which she laughed heartily. A little before Noon, the was brought to the place of Execution; there were present some of the Chief Officers and Great Men of the Court; she was, it seems prevailed on out of regard to her Daughter, to make no Reflections on the hard measure she met with, nor to fay any thing, touching the Grounds, on which Sentence past against her, only she defired that all would judg the best: she commended the King highly, and so took her leave of the World: She was for fome time in her private Devotions, and concluded, To Christ I commend my Soul; upon which the Executioner. who was brought from Calis on that occafion, cut off her Head; and fo little regard was had to her Body, that it was put in a Chest of Elm-tree, made to fend Arrows into Ireland, and was buried in the Chappel in the Tower. Norris was much dealt with to accuse her, and his Life was promised him if he would do it; but he faid he knew she was Innocent, and would die a thousand times rather than defame her: fo he and the other three were beheaded, and all of them continued to the last to vindicate her. Smeton was hanged, and it was faid, that he retracted all before he died; but of that, there is no certainty.

Book I.

1536:
Cénsures
pust upon
st.

When this was done, it was very varioully censured. The Popish Party observed, that the who had fupplanted Queen Katherine, did now meet with harder meafure; her faint way of speaking concerning her Innocence at last, was judged too high a Complement to the King in a dying Woman, and shewed more regard to her Daughter than to her own Honour; yet she writ a Letter to the King in so high a strain both of Wit and Natural Eloquence in her own Justification, that it may be reckoned one of the best composed pieces of that time. In her Carriage it feems there were some Freedoms that became not her Quality, and had encouraged those infortunate Persons to make some Addresses to her, which is never done when there is fuch difference of Conditions, without some Encouragement is first given. It was said on the other hand, that the King of all Men, had the least reason to suspect her, fince after fix Years Courtship, he gained nothing from her, before he married her; but the Particulars she confessed, gave much matter for Jealoufy, especially in so violent a Man, to work upon; and fo it was no wonder if it transported him out of measure. Others condemned Cranmer as too obsequious for passing the Sentence annulling the Marriage : yet when the came and confessed a Precontract in Court, he could not avoid the giving Sentence upon it. All that hated the Reformation infulted, and faid, it now appeared how bad

bad that Cause was, which was supported Book I. by fuch a Patron. But it was answered, that her Faults could not reflect on those, 1536. who being ignorant of them, had defired her Protection. Gregory the Great had courted and magnified Phocas and Brunichild, after he knew their Villanies; and Irene after her barbarous Cruelties, was not a little extolled for her Zeal in the matter of Images. It has feemed strange to fome, that during her Daughter's long and glorious Reign, none writ in Vindication of her Mother, which officious Courtiers are apt to do often without any good Grounds, fo that Silence was made an Argument of her Guilt, and that she could not be defended. But perhaps that was an effect of the Wildom of the Ministers of that time, who would not fuffer so nice a Point, upon which the Queen's Legitimation depended, to be brought into dispute. The day after Anne Boleyn's Death, the King married fane Seimour, who gained more upon him, than all his Wives ever did: But she was happy that she did not out-live his Love to her.

Lady Mary was advised upon this turn Lady Maof Affairs, to make her Submission to the 13's Sub-King: she offered to confess the Fault of the King. her former Obstinacy, and in General, to give up her Understanding entirely to the King; but that would not fatisfy, unless fhe would be more particular; fo at last fhe was prevailed with to do it in the fullest Terms that could be defired; She ac-M 3

Book I.

'knowledged the King to be the Supream 'Head on Earth under Christ of the 'Church of England, and did renounce the Bishop of Rome's Authority; and promised in all things to be obedient to the Laws that were made; which she said 6 flowed from her inward Belief, and Judgment, and in which she would for ever continue; and she did also acknowledge that the King's Marriage with her Mother, was by God's Law and Man's Law unlawful and incestuous: all this she writ with her own Hand, and fubscribed it, upon which she was again received into Favour; and an Establishment was made for a Family about her, in which 40 l. a quarter was all the Allowance for her Privy Purse, so great was the Frugality of that time. Lady Elizabeth continued to be educated with great Care, and was fo forward, that before she was four Years old, she both wrote a good Hand, and understood Italian; for there are Letters extant written by her in that Language to Queen Jane, when she was with child, in which she subscribed Daughter.

A Parliament meets.

On the 8th of June the Parliament met, which shews that it was summoned before the Justs at Greenwich. The Chancellour told them, that the King had called them to settle the Succession of the Crown, in case he should dye without Children lawfully begotten, and to repeal the Ast made concerning his Marriage with Queen Anne. It seems the Parliament was not at first easily

easily brought to comply with these things; Book I' and that it was necessary to take some pains to prepare them to it. For the Bill of Succession, was not put in till the 30th of June, but then it was quickly dispatched without any Opposition: by it the Attainder of Queen Anne and her Complices is confirmed; both the Sentences of Divorces pass'd upon the King's two former Marriages were also confirmed; and the · Iffue by both was illegitimated and for ever excluded from claiming the Crown by Lineal Descent: And the Succession was established on the King's Issue by his present Queen, or any whom he might afterwards marry. But it not being fit to declare who should succeed in default of that, lest the Person so named might be thereby enabled to raise Commotions, 'in Confidence of the King's Wisdom, and Affection to his People, they left it to him onominate his Successors, either by Letters Patents, or by his last Will signed by his 'Hand, and promised to obey the Perfons fo nominated by him. It was declared Treason to maintain the Lawfulness of his former Marriages, or of his Issue by them, and it was made not only Treafon, but a forfeiture of the Right of Succession, if any of those whom the King ! should name in default of others, should endeavour to get before them. The Scots complained of this Act, and faid, their Queen Dowager, being King Henry's Eldest Sister, could not be put by her Right, after the

Book I. the King's lawful Issue. But by this the King was now made Master indeed, and 1536. had the Crown put entirely in his Hands, to be disposed of at his Pleasure; and his Daughters were now to depend wholly on He had it also in his Power in a great measure to pacify the Emperour by providing, that his Kinfwoman might fucceed to the Crown.

Pope Paul the 3d, proposes a Recorciliattor with the King.

Pope Clement the 7th, was now dead, and Farnese succeeded by the Name of Paul the 3d, who, after an unsuccessful Attempt, which he made for reconciling himfelf with the King, when that was rejected, and Fisher was beheaded, thundered out a most terrible Sentence of Deposition against him: Yet now fince both Queen Katherine and Queen Anne, upon whose account the Breach was made, were out of the way, he thought it a fit time to try what might be done; and ordered Cassali to let the King know that he had always favoured his Cause when he was a Cardinal, that he was driven very much against his Mind to pass Sentence against him; and that now it would be easy for him cover the Favour of the Apostolick See.

Acts de Pore's Power.

But the King instead of hearkening to gainst the the Proposition, got two Acts to be pass'd; The one was for the utter extinguishing the Pope's Authority; and it was made 'a Premunire for any to acknowledg it, or to perswade others to it: And a strict Charge was given to all Magistrates under · fevere

fevere Penalties to enquire after all Of-Book I. fenders. By another all Bulls and all Priviledges flowing from them, were declared null and void, only Marriages or Confecrations made by virtue of them, were excepted. All who enjoyed Priviledges by these Bulls were required to bring them into the Chancery; upon which the Arch-bishop was to make them a new Grant of them, and that, being Sconfirmed under the Great Seal, was to be of full force in Law.

Another Act pass'd explaining an Exception, that was in the Act for the Residence of all Incumbents, by which those who were at the Universities were dispensed with, upon which many went and lived idlely there. It was therefore now declared that none above the Age of fourty, except Heads and publick Readers, should have the Benefit of that Proviso, and that none under that Age should be comprehended in it, except they performed their Exercises. Another Act pass'd in Favour of the King's Heirs, if they should Reign before they were of full Age, that they might any time before they were 24, repeal by Letters Patents all Acts made during their Minority. All these things being concluded, the Parliament after it had fate fix Weeks. was dissolved.

The Convocation fate at the fame time, vocation and was much imployed: for the House of examines

Lords was oft adjourned, because the Spi-points of
ritual Religion.

The Con-

Book I. ritual Lords were bufy in the Convocation. Latimer preached the Latine Sermon; he 1536. was the most celebrated Preacher of that

time; the Simplicity of his matter, and his Zeal in expressing it, being preferred to more elaborate Composures. They first confirmed the Sentence of the Divorce of the King's Marriage with Queen Anne. Then the lower House made an Address to the upper House, complaining of 67 Opinions that they found were much spread in the Kingdom: they were either the Tenets of the old Lollards, or the new Reformers, or of the Anabaptists; and many of them were only unfavoury and indifcreet Expressions, which might have flowed from the Heat and Folly of some rash Zealots, who by petulant Jeers, and an Affectation of Wit. had endeavoured to difgrace both the received Doctrines and Rites. They also complained of some Bishops who were wanting in their Duty to suppress such Abuses; which was understood as a Reflection on Cranmer, Shaxton, and Latimer. It was hoped that Cranmer was now declining by Queen Ann's Fall; and the other two who were raifed by her, would not have stood long, if he had been once difgraced; yet they premifed to this a Protestation, that they intended to do nothing that might displease the King, whom they acknowledged to be their Supream Head; and they were refolved to obey his Laws, and they renounced the Pope's Authority with all

his

his Laws. All these Projects failed, for Book I. Cranmer was now fully established in the King's Favour, & Cromwell was sent to them 1336. with a Message from the King, That they should reform the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Rules fet down in Scripture, which ought to be preferred to all Glosses or Decrees of Popes. There was one Aleffe a Scotch-man, whom Cromwell entertained in his House, and he being appointed to deliver his Opinion, largely shewed that there was no Sacraments instituted by Christ, but Baptism and the Lord's Supper: Stokefly answered him in a long Discourse upon the Principles of the School-Divinity; upon which Cranmer took occasion to shew the Vanity of that fort of Learning, and the Uncertainty of Tradition: and that Religion had been To corrupted in the latter Ages, that there was no finding out the Truth, but by resting in the Authority of the Scriptures. Fox Bishop of Hereford seconded him, and told them the World was now awake, and would be no longer imposed on by the Niceties and dark Terms of the Schools: for the Laity now did not only read the Scriptures in the vulgar Tongues, but fearched the Originals themselves; therefore they must not think to govern them as they had been in the Times of Ignorance: Among the Bishops, Cranmer, Goodrick, Shaxton, Latimer, Fox, Hilfey, and Barlow, prest a Reformation; but Lee Arch-bishop of York, Stokesty, Tonstall, Gardiner,

Book I. Gardiner, Longland, and several others oppofed it as much: But the Contest had been sharper, if the King had not sent some Ar-1536. ticles to them to be considered of by them; fo they whose chief Design it was to recommend themselves to Preferment, by the easiness of their Compliance with him in all Points, did agree on the following Particulars.

Articles of Religion agreed. 022.

1. That the Bishops and Preachers ought to instruct the People according to the Scripture, the three Creeds, and the four first General Councils.

'2. That Baptisin was necessary to Salvation, and that Children ought to be baptized for the pardon of Original Sin,

and obtaining the Holy Ghost.

'3. That Penance was necessary to Salvation and that it consisted in Confession, Contrition, and Amendment of Life, with the External Works of Charity, to which a lively Faith ought to be joyned; and that Confession to a Priest was necessary where it might be had.

4. That in the Eucharist under the forms of Bread and Wine, the very Flesh and

Blood of Christ, was received. '5. That Justification was the Remission of Sins, and a perfect Renovation in 'Christ, and that not only outward good Works, but inward Holiness was absolutely necessary: As for the outward Ceremonies the People were to be taught, that it was meet to have Images in Churches, but they ought to avoid all fuch · Super-

Superstition as had been usual in time past, Book I. and not to worship the Image, but only God. 2. That they were to honour the Saints, but not to expect those things from them which God only gives. 3. That they might pray to them for their Intercession; but all Superstitious Abuses were to cease; and if the King should lessen the number of Saints Days, they ought to obey him. 4. That the use of the Ceremonies was good, and that they contained many Myfilical Significations that tended to raife 5 the mind towards God, fuch were Vestments in Divine Worship, Holy Water, Holy Bread, the carrying of Candles, and Palms and Ashes, and creeping Tto the Crofsprand the Hallowing the & Font, with other Exorcisins. 1/5. That Sit was good to pray for departed Souls, s and to have Malles and Exequies faid for them; but the Scriptures having neither declared in what Place they were, nor what Torments they suffered, that was suncertain, and to be left to God: therefore all the Abuses of the Pope's Pardons, or faying Malles in fuch or fuch Places, or before fuch images were to be put away. These Articles were figned by Cromwel, the two Arch-bishops, fixteen Bishops, fourty Abbots, and Priors; and fifty of the lower House; to them the King added a Preface, declaring the Pains that he and the Clergy had been at, for the removing the Differences in Religion that were in the Nation, and that he approved of these Articles, and required

Book I required all his Subjects to accept them with the like Unanimity with which they were confented to; and he would be thereby encouraged to take further Pains in the like Matters for the future.

They are variously censured.

When these things were published, those that defired a Reformation, tho they did not approve of every Particular, yet were well pleafed to fee things brought under Examination; and fince fome things were at this time changed, they did not doubt but more Changes would follow; they were glad that the Scriptures and the Ancient Creeds were made the Standards of the Faith, without adding Tradition, and that the nature of Justification and the Gospel-Covenant were rightly stated; that the immediate Worship of Images and Saints was condemned, and that Purgatory was left uncertain; but the necessity of Auricular Confession, and the Corporal Presence, the doing Reverence to Images, and praying to Saints, were of hard Digestion to them: yet they were glad to fee fome groffer Abuses removed, and a Reformation The Popish Party were once fet on foot. forry to fee four Sacraments past over in filence; and the Trade about Purgatory put down; and were very apprehensive of the Precedent of bringing matters of Religion under debate, which would bring on other Alterations. When these things were known beyond Sea, the Court of Rome made great use of them, to let all Princes see the necessity of adhering to the Holy

Holy See; for no fooner did England de-Book I. part from that, than it began to change the Doctrine likewise. The Germans on 1536. the other hand, said, This was a Political Daubing, for fatisfying all Parties; and that it favoured not of the Sincerity that became the Professors of True Religion, to allow of so many Errours. To this it was answered, That our Saviour did not deliver all things to his Disciples, till they were able to bear them. And the Apostles did not abolish all the Rites of Judaism at once, but by a gentle Progress intended to wean those that were converted to the Christian Religion from them. The Clergy were to be drawn by flow and easy Steps out of their Ignorance and Superstition; whereas the driving on things with precipitated haft, might spoil the whole Design, and alienate those who by flower Methods might be gained; and it might also much endanger the Peace of the Nation.

At the same time other things were in Other AL Consultation, tho not finished. Cranmer of terations fered some Queries to shew the Cheats that had been put on the World: as that Priestly Absolution without Contrition was of more efficacy than Contrition was without it: and that the People trusted wholly to outward Geremonies; in which the Priests encouraged them because of the gain they made by them: That the exemption of Clergy-men was without good ground; that Bishops did ordain without due care and previous trial; and that the dignified Cler-

Book I. gy misapplied their Revenues, and did not reside on their Benefices; he also desired that the other four Sacraments might be enquired into: but these things were not at this time taken under any further confideration. It is true, Confirmation feems to have been examined: The Method in which they made their Enquiries, was this; the Point to be examined was brought under so many Heads, in the form of Queries; and to these every one gave his Answer with his Reasons: so I find two Papers, the one of Cranmer's, the other of Stokefly's, on this Head; the former runs wholly upon Scripture-Authority, and he thinks it was not inflituted by Christ, but was done by the Apoftles, by that extraordinary Effusion of the Holy Ghost, that rested on them: The other founds his Opinion for its being a Sacrament, on the Tradition of the Church; but nothing was determined in this point. Cranmer did at this time, offer another Paper to the King, exhorting him to proceed to a further Reformation, and that nothing should be determined without clear Proofs from Scripture; for the departing from that Rule, had been the Occasion of all the Errours that had been in the Church. Many things were now acknowledged to be Errours, for which, some not long before, had suffered Death. He therefore proposed feveral points to be discussed; as whether there was a Purgatory? Whether departed Saints ought to be invocated, or Tradition be believed? Whether Images ought

to be considered only as Representations of Book I. History? And whether it was lawful for the Clergy to marry? He prayed the King not to give Judgment in these points, till he heard them well examined: And for the last he offered, that if those who would defend the lawfulness of it, should not in the Opinion of indifferent Judges, prove their Opinionto be true, they should be willing to fuffer Death; but if they proved it, all that they defired was, that the King would leave them to the Liberty which God had allowed them in that matter: But all this was carried no further at this time.

The Pope had iffued out a Summons for a General Council at Mantua, and had cited the King to it: From this, the King did appeal to a General Council, rightly constituted. So a motion being made by Fox, that the Convocation should deliver their Sense in this Particular; They drew up a Paper, in which they fet forth the great Good that might follow in a General Council rightly called; but that nothing could be more mischievous, than one called on private malice, according to what Nazianzen observed of the Councils in his time; And they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince, had fufficient Authority to call one; but that all Princes who had an entire and fupream Government over all their Subjects, ought to concur to it. This was figned by them all, on the 20th of July; and so was the Convocation dismiss'd. Two days before it brake

Book I. brake up, Cromvel was made the King's Vicegerent in Ecclefiastical Matters, of which, fome Account was formerly given.

The King protests a-gainst a Council called by the Pope.

Soon after this, the King published a long and sharp Protestation, against the Council summoned by the Pope; he denied that he had any Authority to fummon any of his Subjects: He shewed that the place was neither proper nor fafe; and that no good could be expected from any Council in which the Pope prefided, fince the regulating his Power was one of the chief occasions that the World had for a Council ? And while Christendom was in such Distractions, and the Emperour and the King of France were engaged in War, it was not a fit time for one to be called. The Pope had refused it long; and this Conjuncture was chosen, in which the Bishops could not come to it, that so a packt meeting of Italian Bishops might do what they pleased, under the name of a General Council: But the World would be no longer cozened. No credit was due to a Pope's fafe Conduct, for they had often broken their Oaths, as to himself in particular: And notwithstanding his former kindness to that See, they had been for three Years, stirring up all the Princes in Christendom against him. He protested against all Councils called by the Pope; but declared, He would be ready to concur with other Christian Princes for calling one, when it should be convenient: And in the mean while.

while, he would maintain all the Articles Book I. of the Faith; and lose his Life and Crown 1536. fooner than fuffer any of them to be put down. Three Years after this, the King made a new Protestation to the same effect, when the Council was fummoned to meet at Vincenza.

Reginald Pool began at this same time to Cardinal raise that Opposition to the King, which proved so fatal to all his Family. He was gainst the by his Mother descended from the Duke of King. Clarence, Brother to Edward the Fourth; and was by his Father likewise, the King's near Kinsman. To this high Quality, there was joined a great Sweetness of Temper, and a Disposition for Letters, which the King cherished much, and gave him the Deanry of Exeter, and some other Preferments, in order to the carrying on of his Studies, being resolved to advance him to the highest Dignities in the Churchs He lived many Years, both at Paris and Padua. In the latter of these, he joined himself to a Society of Learned Men, that gave them-Telves much to the Study of Eloquence, and of the Roman Authors, among whom were Cont areno, Bembo, Caraffa, and Sadoletti, all afterwards honoured with the Scarlet; but Pool was esteemed the most Eloquent of of them all. When he was at Paris, he first incurred the King's Displeasure, for he refused to joyn with those whom he imploied, in order to the procuring the Determinations of the French Universities for the Divorce. Yet after that, he came

Book I. to England, and was present when the Convocation declared the King to be their Supream Head: And it is probable, that he joined in it, for he kept his Deanry some Years after this, which it is not likely would have been granted him, if he had not done that. The King fuffered him after that to go beyond Sea, but could never draw him over again. Some time afterwards, he wrote plainly to the King, that he condemned both his Divorce, and his Separation from the Apostolick See. King upon that, fent him a Book writ by Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, in defence of these things; and that set him on writing his Book, de Unione Ecclesiastica, which was printed this Year. It was full of sharp Reflections on the King, whom he compared to Nebuchadnezzar: It tended much to depress the Regal, and to exalt the Papal Authority. And in Conclusion, he addressed himself to the Emperour, praying him, rather to turn his Arms against the King, than the Turk. It was very Eloquently wrote; but there was little Learning or Reasoning in it; and it was full of Indecencies in the Language, that he bestowed not only on Sampson, but on the King. The King required him to come over, but that was not to be expected, after he had made fuch a step. So he devested him of all his Dignities; but that recommended him to a Cardinal's Hat. Stokesly, and Tenstal, wrote him a long and learned Letter, in the King's Vindication. Gardiner

diner wrote also his Book, de vera Obedi- Book I. entia; to which, Bonner prefixed a vehement Preface against the Pope's Power and for justifying the King's Supremacy. The King's anger at Pool could not reach

him, but it fell Heavy on his Kindred. Visitors were appointed to survey all The leffer the lesser Monasteries: They were required to carry along with them the Concurrence of the Gentry near them, and to

examine the estate of their Revenues and Goods, and take Inventories of them; and to take their Seals into their keeping: They were to try how many of the Religious would take Capacities, and return to a Secular Course of Life; and these were to be fent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Chancellour for them; and an Allowance was to be given them for their Journey: But those who intended to continue in that state, were to be fent to some of the great Monasteries that lay next. A Pension was also to be assigned to the Abbot, or Prior, during Life: And of all this, they were to make their report by Michaelmass: And they were particularly to examine what Leases had been made all the last Year. The Abbots hearing of what was coming on them, had been raising all the Mony they could; and fo it was intended to recover what was made away by ill Bargains. There were great Complaints made of the Proceedings of the Visitors, of their Violencies and Briberies; and perhaps not without rea-

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1536.

Book I. fon. Ten Thousand of the Religious were fet to seek for their Livings, with Forty Shillings and a Gown a Man. Their Goods and Plate were estimated at an 100000 l. And the valued Rents of their Houses was 32000 l. but was really above ten times so much. The Churches and Cloisters were in most places pulled down, and the Materials fold.

which gave a general Discontent

This gave a general Discontent; and the Monks were now as much pitied, as they were formerly hated. It was thought strange to see the King devour what his Ancestors had dedicated to the Honour of God, and his Saints. The Nobility and Gentry, who provided for their younger Children, or Friends, by putting them in those Sanctuaries, were sensible of their Loss. The People who had been fed at the Abbot's Tables, and 'as they travelled over the Country, found the Abbies to be places of Reception to Strangers, faw what they were to lofe. But the more Superstitious, who thought their Friends must now ly still in Purgatory, without that Relief which the Malles procured them, were out of measure offended at these Proceedings. The Books that were published of the Disorders in these Houses, had no great effect on the People: For it was faid, There was no reason to destroy whole Houses for the fake of some vicious Perfons, who ought to have been driven out of them, and punished. But to remove this general discontent, Crommel advised the King

King to fell these Lands at very easy Rates, Book I. to the Nobility and Gentry, and to oblige them to keep up the wonted Hospitality. This would both be grateful to them, and would engage them to affift the Crown in the Maintenance of the changes that had been made; fince their own Interests would be Interwoven with the Rights of Crown; and the commoner fort, whose grudges lay chiefly in their Stomachs, for the want of the good Dinners they used to find, would be easily pacified if these were still kept up. And upon a Clause in the Act empowering the King to found anew, fuch Houses as he should think sit; there were 15 Monasteries, and 16 Nunneries, new founded. It seems these had been more regular than the rest; so that for a while they were reprived, till the General Suppression came, that fell with the rest. They were bound to obey fuch Rules as the King should send them; and to pay him Tenths, and first Fruits. But all this did not so pacify the People, but there was still a great out-cry. The Clergy studied much to inflame the Nation; and built much on this, That an Heretical Prince deposed by the Pope, was no more to be acknowledged, which had been for 500 Years received as an Article of Faith, and was decreed in the same Council, that Established Transubstantiation; and had been received and caried down from Gregory the Seventh's time, who pretended, that it was a part of the Papal Power

J 536.

Book I. Power to depose Kings, and give away their Dominions, and had it been oft put in Practice in almost all the Parts of Europe, and some that had been raisers of great Sedititions had been Canonized for it. The Pope had fummoned the King to appear at Rome, and answer for putting away his Queen and taking another Wife, for the Laws he had made against the Church, and for putting the Bishop of Rochester and others to death for their not obeying them; if he did not appear nor reform these things, he excommunicated and deprived him, absolved his Subjects from their Obedience, dissolved his Leagues with Forreign Princes, and put the Kingdom under an Interdict. tho the force of these Thunders was in this Age much abated, yet they had not quite lost their Strength; and the Clergy resolved to make the most of them that could be.

Injunctions given bythe King.

Some Injunctions which were given by Cromwell, increased this ill Disposition. They were to this Effect: All Church-men were required every Sunday for a quarter of a Year, and twice every Quarter after that, to preach against the Pope's Power. and affert the King?s Supremacy, and to explain the Articles lately fet forth by the Convocation; and to publish the Abrogation of some Holy-days in Harvest time: They were no more to extol Images, Relicks, or Pilgrimages; but to exhort the People to do Works of Charity instead of them: And they were required to teach the People the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the

the Ten Commandments in English, and to Book I. explain these carefully, and instruct the Children well in them. They were to perform the Divine Offices reverently, and to have good Curats to fupply their rooms when they were abfent. They were charged not to go to Ale-houses, or sit too long at Games; but to study the Scriptures much, and be exemplary in their Lives: Those that did not reside, were to give the fortieth part of their Income to the Poor, and for every 100 l. a year that any had, they were to maintain a Scholar at fome Gramar-School, or the University: and if the Parsonage-house was in decay, they were ordered to apply a fifth part of their Benefice for repairing it. Such as did not obey these Injunctions, were to be suspended, and their mean Profits were to be fequestred. The Clergy detested this Precedent of the King's giving Injunctions without the Concurrence of a Convocation, and by which, they faid, they would be made Slaves to his Vicegerent: they also complained of those heavy Taxes that were laid on them, and that Images, Relicks, and Pilgrimages would be now brought under great Contempt. the Secular and Regular Clergy were fo fensibly concerned in these things, that they inflamed the People all they could. The great Abbots were not wanting for their share to set that on, they were now op-prest with the Crouds of those who were lent to them from the supprest Houses, and they

Book I. they expected to fall next; nor were their
Fears removed by a Letter that was
fent about in the King's Name for filencing
all Reports that were given out of his Intentions to suppress them; this rather
encreased than lessened their Jealousse.

'A Rebellion in Lincolnshire.

The People continued quiet till they had reaped their Harvest, but in the beginning of October 20000 rose in Lincolnshire, led by a Priest, disguised into a Cobler. took an Oath to be true to God, the King, and the Common-wealth, and fent a Paper of their Grievances to the King. They complained of some Acts of Parliament, of the suppressing of many Religious 'Houses, of mean and ill Counsellours, and bad Bishops; and prayed the King to address their Grievances by the Advice of the Nobility: but yet they acknowledged him to be their Supream Head, and that the Tenths and first Fruits of Livings belonged to him of right. The King fent the Duke of Suffolk to raise Forces against them, and gave an Answer to their Petition. 'He faid it belonged onot to the Rabble to direct Princes what 'Counsellours they should choose. The Religious Houses were supprest by Law, and the Heads of them had under their Hands confessed such horrid Scandals, that they were a Reproach to the Nation; and fince in many of them there were onot above four, and that they wasted their Rents in riotous living, it was much better to apply them to the common good

of the Nation, than leave them in fuch Book I. hands; he required them to submit to his Mercy, and to put two hundred of 1536. their Leaders into the hands of his Lieutenants. The Clergy having brought fo many together, did all they could to put

Heat and Spirit in them, they perswaded them that if they did not maintain their Faith and their Liberties, both would be lost. Some of the Gentry were forced to joyn with them for their own Preservation; and they fent Advices to the Duke of Suffolk, to procure from the King, the offer of a General Pardon, which would

effectually diffipate them.

At the same time there was a more for- Another midable rifing in York-shire, which being in in York-shire. the Neighbourhood of Scotland, was like to draw Assistance from that Kingdom: tho their King was then gone into France, to marry Francis's Daughter; this inclined the King to make more halte to fettle matters in Lincolnshire; he sent them secret Assurances of Mercy, which wrought on the greatest part, so they dispersed themselves, and the most obstinate went to over them in Yorkshire. The Cobler, and some others. were taken and executed. The distance that those in the North, were at from the Court gave them time to rife, and form themselves into some Method: One Ask commanded in chief, and performed his part with great Dexterity: their March was called The Pilgrimage of Grace; they had in their Banners and on their Sleeves,

Book I. the five Wounds of Christ: they took an Oath that they would restore the Church, suppress Hereticks, preserve the King and

fuppress Hereticks, preserve the King and his Issue, and drive base-born Men and ill Counsellours from him. They became 40000 strong in a few days, and met with no Opposition, they forced the Arch-bishop of York, and the Lord Darcy to swear their Covenant, and to go along with them. They belieged Skipton, but the Earl of Cumberland, made it good against them: Sir Ralph Evers held out Scarborough Castle, tho for twenty days he and his Men had no Provisions but Bread and Water. There was also a rising in all the other Northern Counties, against whom the Earl of Shrewsbury made Head; and the King fent feveral of the Nobility to his Assistance, and within a few days the Duke of Norfolk marched with some Troops, and joyned him. They possessed themselves of Doncaster, and resolved to keep that pass till the rest of the Forces that the King had ordered to be fummoned, should come up to them; for they were not in a Condition to engage with fuch numbers of desperate Men; and it was very likely that if they met with any ill Accident, the People might have rifen about them every where; so the Duke of Norfolk, resolved to keep close at Doncaster, and let the Provisions and Rage of the Rebels spend, and then with the help of a little time, they might probably fall into Factions, and melt away. They had now fallen to 30000,

but the King's Army was not above 5000. Book I. The Duke of Norfolk proposed a Treaty, and made some go among them as Defertors, and spread Reports that their Leaders were making Terms for themselves. They were perswaded to send their Petitions to the Court, and the King to make them more secure, discharged a Rendezvouz that he had appointed at Northampton, and fent them a general Pardon, excepting fix by name, and referving four to be afterwards named; but this put them all in fuch Apprehensions, that it made them more resolved and desperate: Yet the King to give his People some Content, put out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to continue the use of all the Ceremonies of the Church: 300 were imployed to carry the Rebels Demands to the King; Which were a General Pardon, a Parliament to be held at York; and that Courts of Justice should be set up there; they defired that fome Acts of Parliament might be repealed, that the Princess Mary might be restored to her Right of Succession, and the Pope to his wonted Jurisdiction; that the Monasteries might be again set up; that Andley and Cromwell might be put from the King, and that some of the Visitors might be imprisoned for their Bribery and Extortion. But these being rejected, the Rebels took heart again, upon which the Duke of Norfolk advised the King to gentle Methods; he in his Heart wished that all their Demands might

Book I, be granted; and the Ld Darcy did accuse him afterwards as if he had encouraged them to make them. The King fent him a general Pardon without any Exceptions to be made use of as he saw Cause. The Rebels finding that with the loss of time, they lost Heart, resolved to fall upon him and beat him from Doncaster: but at two feveral times, in which they had refolved to pass the River, such Rains fell out as made it unpassable, which was magnified as next to a Miracle, and made great Impressions on the Rebels Minds. The King fent a long Answer to their Demands, he affured them he would live and dye in the Defence of the Christian Faith: but the Rabble ought not to prescribe to him, and to the Convocation in that matter; he answered that which concerned the Monasteries, as he had done to the Men of Lincolnshire. For the Laws, a Multitude must not pretend to alter what was 'established; he had governed them now 28 Years, his Subjects had enjoyed great Safety, and been very gently used by him in all that time. It was given out that when he began to raign, he had many of the Nobility in his Council, and that he had then none but Men meanly born; this was false, for he found but two Noble-Men of his Council, and at present there were 7 Temporal Lords, and 4 Bishops in it. It was necessary to have some that knew the Law of England, and Treaties with Forreign Princes, which made him

call Audley and Cromwell to the Board. Book I. If they had any Complaints to make of any about him, he was ready to hear them; but he would not fuffer them to direct him what Counfellours he ought to employ: nor could they judg of the Bishops that were promoted, who were onot known to them; he charged them onot to believe Lies, nor be governed by Incendiaries, but to fubmit to his Mercy. On the 9th of December, he figned a Proclamation of Pardon without any Restrictions.

When this was known, and the Rage They are of the People cooled; they were willing to everylay hold on it, and all the Artifices that where quifome of the Clergy and their Leaders ered. could use, had no other Effect but to draw as many together as brought them under new Guilt, and made them forfeit the benefit of the King's Pardon. Many came in and renewed their Oaths of Allegiance, and promising all Obedience for the future. Ask was invited to the Court and well used by the King, on deligh to learn from him all the fecret Correspondencies they had in the other parts of the Kingdom, for the Disposition to Rebel was general, only they were not all alike forward in it. It was in particular believed that the great Abbots cherished it for which some of them were afterwards attained. Darcy pleaded his great Age, being then four score, and the Eminent Service he had done the Crown for fifty Years together, and that

Book I.

he was forced for his own Preservation to go along with the Rebels; but yet he was put in Prison. This gave the Clergy Advantages to infuse it in the People, that the Pardon would not be well kept: So 8000 run together again, and thought to have furprized Carlile, but the Duke of Norfolk fell on them and routed them, and by Martial Law hanged their Captains, and 70 other Persons. Others thought to have furprized Hull, but were likewise routed and many of them were hanged. Many other little Rifings were quickly dispersed ; and fuch was the Duke of Norfolk's Vigilance, that he was every where upon them before they could grow to any Number: and before the end of January, the Country absolutely quieted. Ask left the Court without leave, but was foon retaken and hanged at York. The Lord Darcy and Hussy were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned by their Peers, the one for the Yorkshire, and the other for the Lincoln-(hire Insurrections. Darcy was beheaded) on Tower-hill: his old Age and former Services made him to be much lamented. Hully: was beheaded at Lincoln. Darcy accused: the Duke of Norfolk, but he defired a Trial by Combate upon it; yet the Services he had lately done were fuch, that the King would not feem to have any Jealoufy of him. After these and several other Executions were over, the King proclaimed a General Oblivion in July, by which the Nation was again put in a quiet Condition,

dition, and this threatning Storm was now Book I

quite dissipated.

As foon as it was over, the King went on more resolutely in his Delign of suppressing the Monasteries: for he was now less apprehensive of any new Commotions, after so many had been so happily quasht and that the chief Incendiaries had suffered.

A new Visitation was appointed to en- The great quire into the Conversation of the Monks, ter Mondto examine how they stood affected to the steries re-Pope, and how they promoted the King's figned to Supremacy. They were likewife ordered to examine what Impollures might be among them, either in Images or Relicks, by which the Superstition of the credulous People was wrought on. Some few Houses of greater value, were prevailed with the former Year to furrender to the King. Many of the Houses that had not bin dissolved, the they were within the former Act were now supprest, and many of the greater Abbots were wrought on to furrender by feveral Motives: Some had been faulty during the Rebellion, and fo to prevent a Storm, offered a Relignation. Others' liked the Reformation, and did it on that account: fome were found guilty of great Disorders in their Lives, and to prevent a shameful Discovery, offered their Houses to the King; and others had made fuch Walts and Dilapidations, that having taken Care of themfelves, they were less concerned for others. At St. Albans; the Rents were let fo low, that the Abbot could

Book I could not maintain the Charge of the Ab-1537.

by. At Battel, the whole Furniture of the House and Chappel was not above an 100 l. in value, and their Plate was not 300 %. In some Houses there was scarce any Plate or Furniture left. Many Abbots and Monks were glad to accept of a Pension for Life, and that was proportioned to the value of their House, and to their Innocence. The Abbots of St. Albans and Tewkesbury, had 400 Marks a Year: The Abbots of St. Edmondsbury was more innocent and more refolute: The Visitors wrote that they found no Scandals in that House: but at last he was prevailed with by a Pension of 500 Marks to resign. The Inferiour Governours had some 30, 20, or 10 l. Pensions, and the Monks had generally 61. or 8 Marks a piece. If any Abbot died, the new Abbot (they being chosen as the Bishops were upon a Conge delire, and a Missive Letter) was named for that purpose, only to resigne the House. And all were made to hope for Advancement, that should give good Example to others by a quick and cheerful Surrender: by these means 121 of those Houses were this Year resigned to the King. In most Houses the Visitor made the Monks sign a Confession of their former Vices and Diforders, of which there is only one Original Extant, that escaped a general Rasure of all such Papers in Queen Mary's time; in which they acknowledged in a long Narrative, their former Idleness, Gluttony, and Sensuaality,

ality, for which the pit of Hell was ready Book I. to fwallow them up. Others acknowledged that they were fensible that the man- 15374 ner of their former pretended Religion confifted in some dumb Ceremonies, by which they were blindly led, having no true Knowledg of God's Laws, but that they had procured Exemption from their Diocesans, and had subjected themselves wholly to a Forreign Power, that took no care to reform their Abuses; and therefore fince the most perfect way of Life was revealed by Christ and his Apofiles, and the it was fit they should be governed by the King, their Supream Head, they resigned to him. Of this sort I have feen fix. Some refigned in hopes that the King would found them of new; these favoured the Reformation, and intended to convert their Houses to better Uses, for preaching, study, and Prayer; and Latimer prest Cromwell earnestly, that two or three Houses might be reserved for fuch purposes in every County. But it was resolved to suppress all, and therefore neither could the Intercessions of the Gentry of Oxfordshire, nor of the Visitors, preserve the Nunnery at Godstow, tho they found great Strictness of Life in it; and it was the common place of the Education of young Women of Quality in that County. The common Preamble to most Surrenders was, 'That upon full Deliberation and of their own proper Motion, for just and reasonable Causes, moving 6 their

Book I. 'their Consciences; they did freely give up their Houses to the King. Some furrendred without any Preamble, to the Visitors as Feofees in trust for the King. short, they went on at such a rate, that 159 Resignations were obtained before the Parliament met, and of these the Originals of 154 are yet extant. Some thought that these Resignations could not be valid, since the Incumbents had not the Property, only the Trust for life of those Houses. But the Parliament did afterwards declare them good in Law. It was also said, that they being of the Nature of Coporations, all Deeds under their Seals were valid; and that at least by their Resignation and quitting their Houses, they forfeited them to the King. But this was thought to fubfilt rather on a Nicety in Law, than natural Equity.

Some Absanted.

Others were more roughly handled. The Prior of Wooburn was suspected of a Correspondence with the Rebels, and of favouring the Pope; he was dealt with to submit to the King, and he was prevailed on to do it, but was not easie in it once, nor fixed to it; 'He complained that the new Preachers detracted from the Honour due to the Virgin and Saints; he thought the Religion was changed, and wondered that the Judgments of God on Q. Anne, had onot terrified others from going on to fubvert the Faith. When the Rebellion broke out, he joined in it, as did also the Abbots of Whaley, Garvaux, and Sawley, and

and the Prior of Burlington, all these were Book I. all taken, and attainted of Treason, and executed. The Abbots of Glaffenbury and Reading, had also fent a great deal of their Plate to the Rebels, the former to difguise it the better, had made one break into the House where the Plate was kept: So he was convicted both of Burglary and Treafon, and at his Execution he confessed his Crime, and begged both God's and the King's Pardon for it. The Abbot of Colchefter was also attainted, and executed; but the Grounds of it are not known: for the Records of their Attaindors are loft. These had over and over again taken the Oaths, in which they acknowledged the King to be Supream Head of the Church, and were prefent in those Parliaments in which the feveral Acts about it were pass'd, and did not diffent to them; and fince they made no Opposition, when they might safely and legally do it, there is no Reason to think they would have done it afterwards, when it was more dangerous and criminal: So that all those who have represented them as having fuffered for denying the King's Supremacy, have therein shewed their Unacquaintedness with the Journals Parliament. The Abbot of Reading had complied so far, that he was grown into Favour with Cromwell; so that in some Contests between Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury and him, the Bishop, who was a proud ill-natured Man, complained that Cromwell supported the Abbot against him, and writ

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1537.

Book I. writ upon that a very Infolent, Expostulatory Letter to him; which Cromwell anfwered with great strength of Reason and Decency of Stile; by which it appears that heighth of his Condition, had no other Effect on him, but to make him know himfelf and others better. Upon the Attainders of those Abbots, their Abbies were feized on; and this was thought a great ilretch both in Law and Equity: feemed not reasonable, if an Incumbent was faulty, for that to feize on his Benefice, which upon his Attainder ought to continue entire, and pass to the next Successor, as if he were really dead. But a Clause was put in the Act of Treason, 26 Hen. 8, That what soever Lands of Estate of Inheritance, any that should be convicted of Treason, had in Use or Possession by any Right or manner, should be forfeited to the King. By which, as intailed Estates were certainly comprehended, so it feems they applied it likewise to Church-Benefices: yet when the Bishop of Rochester was attainted, this was not thought on. The words, Estate of Inheritance, seemed to exclude Church-Lands, but the mention that was made of Traitors Successors, that were cut off as well as their Heirs, seemed on the other hand to include Estates, to which Successors might come in a Traitor's room, as well as those which descended by Inheritance. The Words were ambiguous, and were stretched to justify those Scizures; and therefore in an Act of Treasons made in the next Reign, this was more cautiously worded though a section so it is not a tree now

for it was provided that Traitors should for- Book I. feit the Estates which they possessed in their own Right. But what soever Illegality there 1537. might be in these Proceedings, they were confirmed by the following Parliament, in a special Proviso made concerning those Abbies that were feized on by any Attainders of Treason. Many of the Carthusians were executed for denying the King's Supremacy: Others were also suspected of favouring them, and of receiving Books fent from beyond Sea, against the King's Proceedings, and were shut up in their Cells, in which most of them died. The Prior was a Man of extraordinary Charity and Good-Works, as the Visitor reported: But he was made refign with this Pream-'That many of the House had offended the King, and deserved that their Lives should be taken, and their Goods confiscated; and therefore to avoid that, they furrendered their Houses. Great Complaints were made of the Visitors, as if they had used undue Practices to make the Abbots and Monks furrender: and it was faid, that they had in many Places embezell'd much of the Plate to their own Uses; and in particular, it was complained that Dr. London had corrupted many Nuns. They on the other hand, published many of the vile Practices that they found in those Houses, so that several Books very indecently writ, were printed upon this Occasion; but on so foul a Subject it is not fit to stand long. No Story became so publick

Book I. publick as that of the Prior of the croffed Friers in London, who was found in bed with a Whore at Noon-day: He fell down on his Knees, and beg'd, that they who furprised him, would not discover his Thame: They made him give them 30 1. which he protested was all he had; and he promised them as much more: But he not keeping his word to them, a Suit followed upon it. Yet all these personal Blemishes did not work much on the People, It feemed unreasonable to extinguish Noble Foundations, for the fault of some Individuals: Therefore another way was taken, which had a better effect.

The Impo-Aures of Images dif-

They discovered many Impostures about Relicks, and wonderful Images, to which, Pilgrimages had been wont to be made. At Reading they had an Angel's Wing, which brought over the Spear's Point that pierced our Saviour?s Side: As many pieces of the Cross were found, as joined together, would have made a big Cross. The Rood of Grace at Boxley in Kent, had been much esteemed, and drawn many Pilgrims to it: It was observed to bow, and roulits Eyes; and look at times well pleafed, or angry; which the credulous Multitude imputed to a Divine Power: But all this was discovered to be a Cheat, and it was brought up to St. Paul's Cross; and all the Springs were openly shewed, that governed its several Motions. At Hales in Glocester-Thire the Blood of Christ was shewed in a Vial; and it was believed, that none could

could fee it who were in mortal Sin: And Book I. fo after good Presents were made, the de-Juded Pilgrims went way well fatisfied if 1537. they had feen it. This was the Blood of a Duck renewed every Week, put in a Vial yery thick of one fide, as thin on the other; and either fide turned towards the Pilgrim, as the Priests were satisfied with their Oblations; Several other such like Impostures were discovered, which contributed much to the undeceiving the

People.

The richest Shrine in England was Tho-Becket's mas Beckets at Canterbury, whose Story is Sprine halves well known. After he had long imbroiled England, and shewed that he had a Spirit so turned to Faction, that he could not be at quiet; some of Henry the Second's Officious Servants killed him in the Church of Canterbury: He was presently Canonized, and held in greater esteem than any other Saint whatfoever; fo much more was a Martyr for the Papacy valued, than any that suffered for the Christian Religion: And his Altar drew far greater Oblations, than those that were dedicated to Christ, or the bleffed Virgin; as appears by the accounts of two of their Years. In one, 3 l. 2 s. 6 d. And in another, not a Penny was offered at Christ's Altar. There was in the one, 63 l. 5 s. 6 d. and in the other, 4 l. 1 s. 8 d. offered at the Blessed Virgin's Altar. But in these very Years there was, 832 l. 12 s. 3 d. and 964 l. 6 s. 3 d. offered at St. Thomas's Altar. The Shrine

Book I. grew to be of inestimable Value. Lewis the Seventh of France came over in Pilgrimage to visit it, and offered a Stone, valued to be the richest in Europe. He had not only one Holy Day, the 29th of December, called his Martyrdom; but also the Day of his Translation, the 7th of July, was also a Holy Day; and every soth Year there was a Jubily, and an Indulgence, granted to all that came and visited his Tomb: And fometimes there were believed to be 100000 Pilgrims there on that Occasion. It is hard to tell whether the Hatred to his feditious Practices, or the Love of his Shrine, fet on King Henry more to Unfaint him. His Shrine was broken, and the Gold of it was fo heavy, that it filled two Chests, which took Eight men a piece to carry them out of the Church; and his Skull, which had been fo much worshipped, was proved to be an Imposture; for the true Skull was with the rest of his Bones in his Coffin; his Bones were either burnt, as it was given out at Rome; or fo mixed with other Bones, as our Writers fay; that it had been a Miracle indeed to have distinguished them afterwards. The King called at this time, a Meeting of the Clergy, of 10 Bishops, 8 Archdeacons, and 17 Divines and Canonists; and made them finish an Explanation of the Christian Religion. But this was afterwards digested into a better form, as shall be told in its proper place.

When all these things were known at Book I.

Rome, all the Eloquent Pens there were imploied to represent King Henry as the most Sacrilegious Tyrant that ever was; The Pope that made War with Christs Vicar on against the Earth, and his Saints in Heaven; and he King was compared to the worst Princes that ever reigned; to Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Nero, and Diocletian; but the Parallel with Julian, the Apostate, was most infifted on. It was faid, He copied after him in all things, fave only, that his Maners were worse. In many of these, Cardinal Pool's Stile was pretended to be known; and they were all at least much encouraged by him, which provoked the King to hate him most Implacably. The Pope went further; for now he published all those Thunders, with which he had threatned him three Years before. 'He pre-tended, That as God's Vicar, he had power to root out, and to destroy; and had Authority over all the Kings in the World: And therefore, after he had e-'numerated all the King's Crimes, he re-'quired himself to appear within 90 days, at Rome, either in Person, or by Proxy, and all his Complices within 60 Days; and if he and they did not appear, he declared him to have fallen from his Crown; and them from their Estates. He put the Kingdom under an Interdict; and absolved his Subjects from their Oaths of Alle-'giance: He declared him and his Complices, Infamous; and put their Children under

Book I. under Incapacities. He required all the 1537.

'Clergy to go out of England, within 5' Days after the time prefixed should expire; leaving only so many as might 'serve for Baptizing Children, or giving the Sacrament to fuch as died in Penitence. 'He charged all his Subjects to rife in Arms against him, and that none should affist him. He absolved all other Princes from their Confederacies with him, and obtested them to have no more Commerce with him. He required all Christians to 'make War on him; and to seize on the Perfons and Goods of all his Subjects; and make Slaves of them. He charged 'all Bishops to publish the Sentence with due Solemnities; and ordained it to be 'affixed at Rome, Tournay and Dunkirk. This was first given out the 30 of August 1535; but it had been all this while suspended, till the Suppression of the Monasteries, and the burning of Becket's Bones, did fo inflame the Pope, that he resolved to forbear going to Extremities no longer. So on the 17 of December this Year, the Pope published the Bull, which he faid he had so long suspended at the Intercession of fome Princes; who hoped that King Henry might have been reclaimed by gentler Methods; and therefore fince it appeared that he grew still worse and worse, he was forced to proceed to his Fulminations. By this Sentence it is certain, That either the Popes Infallibility, must be confessed to be a Cheat put upon the World, or if any believe

believe it, they must acknowledge, that Book I. the Power of deposing Princes, is really lodged in that Chair: For this was not a sudden fit of Passion, but was done ex Cathedra, with all the Deliberation they ever admit of. The Sentence was in some particulars without a Precedent; but as to the main Points of deposing the King, and absolving his Subjects from their Obedience, there was abundance of Instances to be brought in these last 500 Years, to shew that this had been all along afferted the Right of the Papacy. The Pope writ also to the Kings of France, and Scotland, with design to inflame them against King Henry: And if this had been an Age of Croissades, no doubt there had been one undertaken against him; for it was held to be as meritorious, if not more, to make War on him, than on the Turk. But now the Thunders of the Vatican had lost their force.

The King got all the Bishops, and Emishops of nent Divines of England, to sign a DeclaEngland ration against all Church-men, who pre- affert the tended to the Power of the Sword, or to King's Authority over Kings; and that all that the Nature assumed such Powers, were Subverters of of Ecclesthe Kingdom of Christ. Many of the Bi- affical Ofshops did also sign another Paper, declar-fices. ing the Limits of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Power, that both had their Authority from God, for feveral Ends, and different Natures; and that Princes were fubject to the Word of God, as well as Bishops ought to be obedient to their Laws.

There

Book I. There was also another Declaration made, figned by Cromwel, the 2 Archbishops, II Bishops, and 20 Divines; asferting the Distinction betwen the Power of the Keys, and the Power of the Sword. The former was not absolute, but limited by the Scripture. Orders were declared to be a Sacrament instituted by Christ, which were conferred by Prayer, and Imposition of Hands. And that in the New Testament, no mention was made of any other Ranks, but of Deacons, or Ministers; and of Priests, or Bishops. After this, the use of all the Inferiour Degrees of Lectures, Acolyths, &c. was laid down: These were set up about the beginning of the 3d Century; for in the middle of that Age, mention is made of them, both by Cornelius, and Cyprian; and they were intended to be degrees of Probation, through which Men were to ascend to the higher Functions. But the Canonists had found out so many Distinctions of Benefices; and that a simple Tonfure, qualified a Man for feveral of them; that thefe Institutions became either a matter of Form only, or were made a Colour for Laymen to posfess Ecclesiastical Benefices. In this, and feveral other Books of that time, Bishops and Priests are spoken of, as being both one Office. In the Ancient Church there were different Ordinations, and different Functions belonging to these Offices, tho the Superiour was believed to include the Inferiour. But in the latter Ages, both the

the School-men & Canonists seemed on diffe- Book I rent grounds to have defigned to make them appear to be the same Office; and that the one was only a higher degree in the fame Order. The School-men, to magnify Tranfubstantiation, extolled the Office, by which that was performed fo high, and the Canonists, to exalt the Pope's Universal Authority, deprest the Office of Bishops fo low, to make them feem only the Pope's Delegates; and that their Jurisdiction was not from Christ, that by these means, these two Offices were thought so near one another, that they differed only in degree: And this was so well observed at Trent, that the Establishing the Episcopal Jurisdiction, as founded on a Divine Right, was apprehended as one of the fatallest Blows that could have been given to the Papacy. This being at this time fo commonly received, it is no wonder, if before that matter came to be more exactly inquired into, some of the Reformers writ more carelessly in the Explanations they made of these Offices, which is so far from being an Argument, that they were upon due enquiry of another mind; that it is to be look'd on as a part of the Dregs of Popery, flowing from the belief of Transubstantiation, and the Pope's Supremacy, of which all the Consequences were not so early observed.

This Year the English Bible was finished. The Bible The Translation was fent over to Paris to in English, be printed there, for the Workmen in Injunction

Eng- ons.

Book I. England were not thought able to go about it. Bonner was then Embassadour in France; and he obtained a Licence of Francis for printing it; but upon a Complaint made by the French Clergy, the Press was stopt, and many of the Copies were seized on, and burnt. So it was brought over to England, and was undertaken, and now finished, by Grafton. Cromvel procured a General Warrant from the King, allowing all his Subjects to read it; for which, Cranmer wrote his thanks to Cromwel; and rejoyced to see the day of Reformation now risen in England, since the Word of God did shine over it all, without a Cloud. Not long after this, Cromwel gave out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to fet up Bibles in their Churches, and to encourage all to read them. He also exhorted the People not to dispute about the fense of difficult places, but to leave that to Men of better Judgments. In-cumbents were required to instruct the People, and teach them the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in English: And that once every Quarter there should be a Sermon, to declare the true Gospel of Christ; and to exhort the People to Works of Charity; and not to trust to other Men's Works, to Pilgrimages, or Relicts, or the faying their Beads, which tended to Superstition. Images, abused by Pilgrimages made to them, were to ordered be taken away. No Candle was to be before any Image, but the

the Crucifix: And they were to teach Book I. the People; that it was Idolatry, to make any other use of Images, but meerly to put them in minde of those whom they represented: And fuch as had formerly magnified Images, or Pilgrimages, were required openly to recant and confess, that they had been led into an Errour. which Covetousness had brought into the Church. All Incumbents were required to keep Registers for Christnings, and Marriages; and to teach the People that it were good to omit the Suffrages to the Saints in the Litany. These struck at fome of the main Points of the former Superstition, both about Images, Pilgrimages, and the Invocation of Saints: But the free Use of the Scriptures gave the deadliest Blow of all. Yet all the Clergy submitted to them without any Murmuring.

Prince Edward was this Year born; and Prince Ed. this very much blasted the Hopes of the ward born, Popish Party, which were chiefly built on the probability of Lady Mary's succeeding to the Crown, which was now fet at a greater distance. So both Lee, Gardiner, and Stokelly, seemed to vie with the Bishops of the other Party, which of them should most zealously execute the Injunctions, and thereby infinuate themselves most into the King's Esteem and Favour. Gardiner was some Years Ambassadour in France, but Cromwel got Bonner to be fent in his room, who feemed then to be the most zealous Promoter of the Reformation that was then

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Book I. in England. After that, Gardiner was fent to the Emperour's Court, with Sir Henry Knevet, and there he gave fome occasion to suspect that he was treating a Reconciliation with the Pope's Legate. But the Italian that managed it, being fent with a Message to the Ambassadour's Secretary, he mistook Knever's Secretary for Gardiner's, and told his Business to him. Knevet tried what could be made of it, but could not carry it far: For the Italian was disowned, and put in Prison upon it: And Gardiner complained of it, as a Trepan laid to ruine him. The King continued still to employ him; but rather made use of him, than trusted him: yet Gardiner's Artifices and Flatteries were fuch, that he was still preferved in some Degrees of Favour, as long as the King lived; but he knew him fo well, that he neither named him one of his Executors, nor one of his Son's Council, when he made his Will. Gardiner used one I opick which prevailed much with the King, that his Zeal against Heresy was the greatest Advantage that his Cause could have over all Europe: And therefore he prest him to begin with the Sacramentaries ( fo were those of the Helvetian Confession calfed ) and those being condemned by the German Princes, he had the less reason to Lambert is be afraid of imbroiling his Affairs by his condemned Severities agianst them.

and burnt for denying the Corporal Prefence.

This meeting so well with the King's own Perswasions about the Corporal Prefence, had a great effect on him; and an occasion

1538:

occasion did quickly offer it self to him, to Book I. declare his Zeal in that matter. Lambert was at that time accused before the Archbishop of Canterbury: He had been Chaplain to the Factory of Antwerp, and there he allociated himself to Tindall: Afterwards he was feized on coming over to England; but upon the changes that followed, he was fet at Liberty. Dr. Taylor had preached on the Corporal Presence in his hearing: This offended him, and he drew up his Reasons against it, and gave them to Taylor. He communicated it to Barns, who was a hot man, and a fierce Lutheran: And they thought that the venting that Opinion would stop the Progress of the Reformation, give Prejudice to the People, and divide them among themselves: And therefore they brought this matter before Cranmer, who was at that time likewise a Lutheran; he dealt with Lambert to retract his Paper; but he took a fatal Resolution, and appealed to the King. Upon which, the King resolved to judge him in Person, and to manage the Trial with great Solemnity; and for that end, many of the Nobility and Bishops were fent for. When the day came, there was a vast Appearance. The King's Guards and Cloath of State, were all in White, to make it look the liker a Divine Service. Lambert begun with a Complement, acknowledging the King's great Learning, and his Goodness in hearing the Causes of his Subjects. The King stop d

Book I. him, and bad him forbear Flatteries, and fpeak to the matter: And he argued against him from Christ's Words, that the Sacrament must be his Body. Lambert answered in St. Austin's Words, That it was his Body in a certain manner, but that a Body could not be in two places at once. To this the King commanded Cranmer to speak; and he argued, That fince Christ is still in Heaven, and yet he appeared to St. Paul, that therefore he may be in different places at once. Lambert said, That was but a Vifion, and was not the very Body of Christ. Tonstall argued, That the Divine Omnipotence was not to be measured by our Notions, of what was impossible. Stokefly argued, That one Substance may be changed into another, and yet the Accidents remain: So Water when it boiled, did evaporate in Air, and yet its Moisture remained. This was received with great Applause; tho it was an ill Inference, that because there was an accidental Conversion, therefore there might be a Substantial one, in which one Substance was annihilated, and another produced in its place. Ten, one after another, disputed, and their Arguments, with the stern Words and Looks that the King interposed, together with the length of the Action, in so publick an Assembly, put Lambert in some Confusion; and upon his Silence, a great Shout of Applause followed. In Conclusion, the King asked him if he was not convinced, and whether he would live or die? But he conti-

continued firm to his Opinion: So Cromwel Book I. was commanded to read the Sentence of his Condemnation; and not many days after, it was executed in a most barbarous manner, in Smithfield: For there was not Fire enough put under him to confume him fuddenly; fo that his Legs and Thighs were burnt away. while he was yet alive. He bore it patiently, and continued to cry out, None but Christ, none but Christ. He was a Man of confiderable Learning, and of a very good Judgment. The Popish Party improved this, and perswaded the King of the good effects it would have on his People, who would in this fee his Zeal for the Faith; and they forgot not to magnify all that he had faid as if it had been uttered by an Oracle; which proved him to be both Defender of the Faith, and Supream Head of the Church. All this wrought fo much on the King, that he resolved to call a Parliament, both for the suppressing the Monasteries, and the new Opinions.

Fox, Bishop of Hereford, died at this Treaties time: He had been much imploied in Ger- with the many, and had fetled a League between the Princes. King and the German Princes. The King was acknowledged the Patron of their League, and he fent them over 100000 Crowns a Year, for the support of it. There was a Religious League also proposed; but upon the turn that followed in the Court upon Queen Ann's Death, that fell to the ground; and all that was in put their League relating to Religion, was 5 That

Book I. they should joyn against the Pope as the common Enemy, and fet up the true Re-1538. ligion according to the Gospel. But the Treaty about other Points was afterwards fet on foot. The King desired Melanchthon to come over; and several Letters passed between them, but he could not be spared out of Germany; tho he was then invited both to France and England. The Germans sent over some to treat with the King; the Points they inlifted most on were, the granting the Chalice to the People, and the putting down private Mafses, in which the Institution seemed express; the having the Worship in a known Tongue, which both common fenfe, and the Authority of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, seemed to justify much. The third was, The Marriage of the Clergy; for they being extream fenf ble of the Honour of their Families, reckoned, that could not be fecured, unless the Priests might marry. Concerning these things, their Ambassadours gave a long and learned Memorial to the King; to which an Anfwer was made, penned by Tonstall; in which the things they complained of, were instilled by the ordinary Arguments. Upon Fox's Death, Bonner was promoted to Her reford; and Stokesly dying not long after, he was translated to London. Cromwell thought that he had raised a Man that would be a faithful Second to Cranmer in his Deligns of Reformation, who indeed reeded help; not only to ballance the Oppolition

position made him by other Bishops, but to Book I. lellen the Prejudices he fuffered by the Weakness and Indiscretion of his own Party, who were generally rather Clogs than Helps to him. Great Complaints were brought to the Court of the rashness of the new Preachers, who were flying at many things not yet abolished. Upon this, Letters were writ to the Bishops, to take care that as the People should be rightly instructed; so they should not be offended with too many Novelties. Thus was Cranmer's Interest so low, that he had none to depend on, but Cromwell. There was not a Queen now in the King's Bosom to support them; and therefore Cromwell fet himself to contrive how the King should be engaged in such an Alliance with the Princes of Germany, as might prevail with him, both in Affection and Interest, to carry on what he had thus begun. And the Beauty of Anne of Cleve was so reprefented to him, that he fet himfelf to bring about that Match.

A Parliament was summoned to the The Att 28th of April, in which twenty of the of the six Abbots sate in Person. On the 5th of May, Articles, a Motion was made, that some might be appointed to draw a Bill, against Diversity of Opinions in matters of Religion; these were Cronwell, Cranmer, the Bishops of Duresme, Ely, Bath and Wells, Banzor, Carlile, and Worcester; they were divided in their Minds; and the ne Popish Party were sive to four, yet the Authority that

Book I. Cromwell and Cranmer were in, turned the Ballance a little; but after they had met eleven days, they ended in nothing. Upon that the Duke of Narfolk proposed the fix

eleven days, they ended in nothing. Upon that the Duke of Norfolk proposed the fix Articles; The first was for the Corporal Presence. 2. For Communion in one kind. 3. For observing the Vows of Chastity. 4. For private Malles. 5. For the Celibate of the Clergy. And the fixth, was for Auricular Confession: Against most of these Cranmer argued several days. It is not like he opposed the first both because of that which he had declared in Lambert's Case fo lately, and in his own Opinion, he was then for it; but he had the Words of the Institution, and the constant Practice of the Church for twelve Ages to object to the fecond: and for the third, fince the Monks were fet at Liberty to live in the World, it seemed hard to restrain them. from Marriage, and nothing did so effectually cut off their Pretentions to their former Houses, as their being married would do. For the fourth, if private Masses were useful, then the King had done yery ill to suppress fo many Houses, that were chiefly founded for that end: the Sacrament was alfo by its first Institution, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, to be a Communion; and all those private Masses were invented to cheat the World. For the fifth, it touched Cranmer in the quick, for it was believed that he was married, but the Arguments used for that will be found in the next Book. For Auricular Confession, Lee Gardiner

Gardiner and Tonstal, press'd much to have Book I. it declared necessary by the Law of God -Cranmer argued against this, and said it was only a good and profitable thing. The King came often to the House in Person. and disputed in these Points: for the greatest part he was against Cranmer; but in this particular he joyned with him. Tonffall drew up all the Quotations, brought from Antient Authors for it, in a Paper which he delivered to the King; the King answered in a longLetter, written with his own Hand, in which he shewed, that the Fathers did only advise Confession, but did not impose it as necessary: and so it was concluded in general, only that it was necef-Sary and expedient. On the 24th of May, the Parliament was prorogued a few days, but by a Vote it was provided that the Bills should continue in the state they were then in. An their next meeting, two Committees were appointed to draw the Bill of Religion; Cranmer was the chief of the one, and Lee of the other; both their Draughts were carried to the King, and were in many places corrected with his own Hand; in some Parts he writ whole Periods a new. That which Lee drew was more agreeable to the King's Opinion; fo it was brought into the House. Cranmer argued three days against it, and when it came to the Vote, the King who was much fet on having it past, desired him to go out, but he excused himself; for he thought he was bound in Conscience to yote against

Book I. it: But the rest that opposed it, were more compliant, and it also passed without any considerable Opposition in the House of Commons, and was assented to by the King.

The Substance of it was, That the King being sensible of the good of Union, and of the mischief of Discord, in points of Religion, had come to the Parliament in Person, and opened many things of high Learning there; and that with the assent of both Houses, he set forth these Articles.

Substance of Bread and Wine, but only the Natural Body and Blood of Christ.

'2. That Christ was entirely in each kind, and so Communion in both was

s not necessary.

3. That Priests by the Law of God, ought not to marry.

4. That Yows of Chastity taken after

the Age of 21, ought to be kept.

5. That Private Masses were lawful

and useful.

6. That Auricular Confession was necessary, and ought to be retained. Such as did speak or write agaist the first of these, were to be burned without the benefit of Abjuration; and it was made Felony to dispute against the other five: and such as did speak against them were to be in a *Premunire* for the first Offence; the second was made Felony. Married Priess that did not put away their Wives, were to be condemned of Fellony, in those that lived

s lived incontinently, the first Offence was a Book I. Premunire, and the second Felony. Women that offended were to be punished as 1539.

the Priests were. Those that contemned ' Confession and the Sacrament, and ab-

frained from it at the accustomed times,

were for the first Offence in a Premunire, the fecond was Felony. Proceedings

were to be made in the Forms of Com-

mon Law, by Prefentments, and a Jury, and all Church-men were charged to read

the Act in their Churches once a Quarter.
This Act was received with great Joy Censures by all the Popish Party; they reckoned past upon that now Herefy would be extirpated, and that the King was as much engaged against it, as he was when he writ against Luther: this made the Suppression of the Monasteries pass much the easier. The poor Reformers were now exposed to the Rage of their Enemies, and had no Comfort from any part of it, but one, that they were not delivered up to the Cruelty of the Ecclesiaftical Courts, or the Trials ex Officio, but were to be tried by Juries: yet the denying the benefit of Abjuration, was a Severity without a Precedent, and was a forcing Martyrdom on them, fince they were not to be the better for their Apostacy. It was some Satisfaction to the married Clergy, that the incontinent Priests were to be fo feverely punished; which Crommell put in, and the Clergy knew not how they could decently oppose it. Upon the passing the Act, the German Ambassadours

Book I. dours being fet on to it by those that favoured their Doctrine in England, desired an Audience of the King, and told him of the Grief with which their Masters would receive the News of this Act; and therefore earnestly press'd him to stop the Execution of it. The King answered that he found it necessary to have the Act made, for repreffing the Infolence of fome People, but assured them it should not be put in Execution, except upon great Provocation. When the Princes heard of the Act, they writ to the King to the same purpose: they warned him of many Bishops that were about him, who in their Hearts loved Popery, and all the old Abuses; and took this method to force the King to return back to the former Yoke, hoping that if they once made him cruel to all those they called Hereticks, it would be easy to bring him back to submit to that Tyranny, which he had shaken off; and therefore they proposed a Conference between some Divines of both fides in order to an Agreement of Doctrine. The King was only concerned upon State Maxims, to keep up their League in Opposition to the Emperour; but they still press'd a Religious as well as a Civil League.

An Act for Suppre ffing the Mona-Aeries.

After the Act of the fix Articles, the Act for suppressing the Monasteries was brought in; and tho there were fo many Abbots sitting in the House, none of them protested against it; By it no Monastery was suppressed, but only the Resignations made

made or to be made, were confirmed; and Book I. the King's Right, founded either on their Surrenders, Forfeitures, or Attainders of Treason, was declared good in Law. 'Houses surrendred were to be managed by the Court of Augmentations; but those 'feized on by Attainders were to come to the Exchequer. All Persons except the Founders and Donors were to have the ' fame Rights to the Lands, belonging to these Houses, that they had before this Act was made. All Deeds and Leases made for a Year before this, to the prejudice of these Houses were annulled; and all the Churches belonging to them, and former-'ly exempted, were put under the Jurifdiction of the Bishop, or of such as 'should be appointed by the King. This last Proviso has produced a great Mischief in this Church; for many that purchased Abby-Lands, had this Clause put in their Grants, that they should be the Visitors of the Churches, and by this they continue still exempted from the Episcopal Jurisdiction; and this has em-boldened many to break out into great Scandals, which have been made use of by prejudiced Men to cast an Obloquy on the Church; tho this Diforder proceeds only from the want of Authority in the Bishops to censure them. A Question was raised upon this Suppression, whether the Lands should have reverted to the Donors, or been escheated to the Crown. By a Judgment of the Roman Senate in Theodofius's time,

Book I. time, all the Endowments of the Heathenish Temples were given to the Fisc, and tho the Heirs of the Donors pretended to them, yet it was faid, that by the Gifts that their Ancestors made, they were totally alienated from them and their Heirs. When the Order of the Templers was suppressed, their Lands went to the Lord by an Efcheat. This might feem reasonable in Endowments that were simple Gifts, without any Conditions: But the Grants to Religious Houses were of the nature of Covenants, given in consideration of the Masses, that were to be faid for them and their Families; and therefore it was inferred, that when the Cheat of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory was discovered, and these Houses were suppress'd, then the Lands ought to revert to the Heirs of the Donors: and upon that account it was thought necessary to exclude them by a special Proviso.

An All for new Bilbopricks.

Another Bill was brought in, empowering the King to erect new Bishopricks by his Letters Patents; it was read three times in one day in the House of Lords. 'The Preamble fet forth that the ill Lives of those that were called Religious, made it enecessary to change thir Houses to better 'Uses, for teaching the Word of God, instructing of Children, educating of Clerks, relieving of old infirm People, the endowing of Readers for Greek, Latine, and Hebrew, mending of Highways, and the bettering the Condition of the Parish Priests; and for this end the King

King was empowered to erect new Sees, Book I. and to assign what Limits and Divisions, and appoint them what Statutes he pleased. 1539. I have seen the first Draught of this Preamble all written with the King's own Hand; and indeed he used extraordinary Care in corecting both Acts of Parliament and Proclamations with his own Hand: All Papers in matters of Religion, that were fet out by publick Authority in this Reign, were revised by him, and in many places large Corrections are to be feen, made with his own Hand, which shew both his great Judgment in those Matters, and his extraordinary Application to Business; but as he was fond of his two accquired Titles, of Defender of the Faith, and Supream Head of the Church; and loved to shew that he did not carry them in vain; fo there was nothing which he affected more, then to discover his Learning and Understanding in matters of Religion. He writ also a List of all the new Sees which he intended to found, which were Waltham, for Essex, St. Albans, for Hartford, another for Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire out of the Monasteries of Dunstable, Newenham, and Clowstown; another for Oxfordshire, and Berkshire, out of the Rents of Ofney, and Tame, one for Northampton and Huntington, out of Peterborough, one for Midlesex out of Westminster; one for Leicester and Rutland, out of Leicester; one for Glocestershire out of St. Peters in Glocester; one for Lancashire out of

Book I. of Fountain, and the Arch-Deaconry of Richmond; one for Suffolk out of Edmunds-1539. bury; one for Stafford and Salop out of

Shrewsbury; one for Nottingham and Darby out of Welbeck, Werfop, and Thurgarton; and one for Cornwall out of the Rents of Lanceston, Bodmyn, and Wardreth: Over these he writ Bishopricks to be made; and in another part of the same Paper he writ Places to be altered, which have Sees in them and names Christ-Church in Canterbury, St. Swithins and several others; a little under that, he writ, Places to be altered into Colledges and Schools, but mentions only Burton upon Trent. Neither Chefter nor Briftol are named here, tho Episcopal Sees were afterwards erected in them. The King had formed a great Design of endowing many Sees, and making many other noble Foundations; yet the great Change that was made in the Councils and Ministry before this took Effect, made that only a small part of that, which he now intended, was accomplished. Another Act was brought in, concerning the Obedience due to the King's Proclamations, which fet forth, 'That great Exceptions had been made to the Legality of the King's Proclamations, by fome who did not consider what a King might do by his Royal Power; which the King took very ill; and fince many Occasions called for speedy Remedies, and could not admit of Delays till a Parliament ' might be called; therefore it was enacted, that fuch Proclamations as the King fet

out

An Act for Prot clamasions.

out by Advice of his Council, with Pains Book I. upon Offenders, should be obeyed as if was they were Acts of Parliaments; yet it 1539. was provided that no Laws nor Customs might be taken away by them, and that the Subjects should not suffer in their Estates, Liberties, or Persons, by them. 'If any offended against them, and fled out of the Kingdom, that was made Treason. It was also provided that if the King's Heirs should reign before they were of Age, the Proclamations fet out by the Privy Council, should have the like force in Law. By this the Injunctions that had been given, or should be thereafter given, were now legally authorized. The Statute of Precedence palt in this Parliament. The King's Vicegerent was to take place of all after the Royal Family, and next him among the Clergy, came the two Arch-bishops, then the Bishops of London and Duresme, after them the Bishop of Winchefter, as Prelate of the Garter, and all the other Bishops were to take place according to the Date of their Confecrations.

A Bill of Attainder past, not only con- some atfirming the Sentences that had been given tainted against the Marquess of Exeter, the Lord being Mounticute, and others, that had been con-heard. demned at common Law; but of some that were of new attainted without a Trial: of these some were absent, and others were in Prison; but it was not thought fit to bring them to make their Answers: The chief

Book I. chief of these were the Marchionses of Exeter, and the Countess of Sarum (Mother to 1539. Cardinal Pool: ) It was questioned whether this could be done in Law or not. The Judges delivered their Opinion, that it was against natural Justice to condemn any without hearing them; and that when the Parliament proceeded as a Court, they were obliged to follow the common Rules of Equity; but if they did otherwise, yet fince they were the Supream Court of the Nation, what soever they did, could not be reversed. The latter part of this was laid hold on, and the former was neglected, fo that Act past. This Council was ascribed to Cromwell, and he being the first that was executed upon fuch a Sentence, gave occasion to many to observe the Justice of God, in making ill Councils turn upon those that gave them.

The King's Kindness; to Cranmer.

When the Parliament was prorogued, the King ordered Cranmer to put in writing all the Arguments he had used against the fix Articles, and bring them to him. He fent also both Cromwell and the Duke of Norfolk to dine with him, and to affure him of the Constancy of his Kindness to At Table they expressed great Esteem for him, and acknowledged that he had opposed the fix Articles with so much Learning and Gravity, that those who differed most from him, could not but value him highly for it; and that he needed not to fear any thing from the King: Cromwell faid the King made that difference between

between him and the rest of his Council, Book I. that he would not fo much as hearken to any Complaints that were made of him; and made a Parallel between him and Ca dinal Wolsey; the one lost his Friends br his Pride, and the other gained on his Enemies, by his Humility and Mildress: the Duke of Norfolk faid he could speak best of the Cardinal, having been his Man folong: this heated Cromwell, who anfwered, that he never liked his Manners, and tho Wolfey had intended if he had been chofen Pope, to have carried him with him to Italy; yet he was refolved not to have gone, tho he knew the Duke intended to have gone with him. Upon this the Duke of Norfolk swore he lied, and gave him foul Language. This put all the Company in great Disorder: They were in some fort reconciled, but were never hearty Friends after this. Cranmer put his Reasons against the six Articles together, and gave them to his Secretary to be written out in a fair Hand for the King's use: but he croffing the Thames with the Book in his Bosom, met with such an Adventure on the Water as might have at another time fent the Author to the Fire. There was a Bear baited near the River, which breaking loose, run into it, aud happened to overturn the Boat in which Cranmer's Secretary was, and he being in danger of his Life, took no care of the Book, which falling from him floated on the River, and was taken up by the Bear-Ward, and put Q 2

1539.

Book I. in the hand of a Priest that stood by, to see what it might contain; he presently found it was a Confutation of the fix Articles, and fo told the Bear-ward that the Author of it would certainly be hanged. when the Secretary came to ask for it, and faid it was the Arch-bishop's Book; the other that was an obstinate Papilt, refused to give it, and reckoned that now Cranmer would be certainly ruined: but the Secretary acquainting Cromwell with it, he called for him next day, and chid him feverely for prefuming to keep a Privy-Counfellours Book, and so he took it out of his Hands: thus Cranmer was delivered out of this Shaxton and Latimer not only refigned their Bishopricks, but being presented for some Words spoken against the fix Articles, they were put in Prison, where they lay till a recantation discharged the one, and the King's Death set the other at liberty. There were about 500 others presented on the same account, but upon the Intercessions of Cranmer, Cromwell, and others, they were fet at liberty, and there was a stop put to the further Execu-

Rishops helitheir Sees at the King's Pleasure.

The Bishops of the Popish Party took strange Methods to infinuate themselves into the King's Considence, for they took out Commissions by which they acknowledged, 'That all Jurisdiction, Civil and 'Ecclesiastical, flowed from the King, and 'that they exercised it only at the King's 'Courtesy: and as they had of his Bounty,

tion of the Act till Cromwell fell.

" fo

fo they would be ready to deliver it up Book I. when he should be pleased to call for it; and therefore the King did empower them 1539. in his stead, to ordain, give Institution, and do all the other parts of the Episcopal Function, which was to last during his Pleasure: and a mighty charge was given them to ordain none but Persons of great Integrity, good Life, and well learned; for fince the Corruption of Religion flowed from ill Pastors, so the Reformation of it was to be expected chiefly from good Pastors. By this they were made indeed the King's Bishops: in this Bonner set an Example to the rest, but it does not appear that Cranmer took out any such Commission all this Reign.

Now came on the total Dissolution of Menastethe Abbies, 57 furrenders were made this ries fup-Year, of which 30 are yet extant; of these, prest. 37 were Monasteries, and 20 were Nunneries; and among them 12 were Parliamentary Abbies; which were in all 28, Abington, St. Albans, St. Austin's Canterbury, Battell, St. Bennets in the Holm, Bardeny, Cirencester, Colchester, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmundsbury, Evesham, Glassenbury, Gloceste, Hide, Malmsbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramsey, Reading, Selby, Shrewsbury, Tavestock, Tewkesbury, Thorney, Waltham, Westminster, and Winchelcom's When all had thus refigned, Commissioners were appointed by the Court of Augmentations to seize on the Revenues and Good; belonging to these Houses, to establish the Penfions

Pook I. Pensions that were to be given to every one that had been in them, and to pull down the Churches, or fuch other parts of the Fabrick, as they thought superfluous, and to fell the Materials of them. When this was done, others began to get Hospitals to be furrendred to the King; Thirleby being Master of St. Thomas Hospital in Southwark, was the first that set an Example to the rest; he was soon after made a Bishop, and turned with every Change that followed, till Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, and then he refused to comply tho he had gone along with all the Changes that were made in King Edward's time. The valued Rents of the Abby-Lands as they were then let, was 132607 l. 6 s. 4 d. but they were worth above ten times fo much in true value. The King had now in his hand the greatest Advantage that ever King of England had, both for enriching the Crown, and making Royal Foundations. But fuch was his Easiness to his Courtiers, and his Lavishness, that all this melted away in a few Years, and his Designs were never accomplished; he intended to have founded 18 new Bishopricks, but he founded only fix: Other great Projects did also become abortive. In particular one that was designed by Sir Nicholas Bacon, which was a Seminary for States-men: he proposed the erecting a House for Persons of Quality, or of extraordinary Endowments, for the study of the Civil Law, and of the Latine

Latine and French Tongues; of whom, Book I. fome were to be fent with every Ambasfadour beyond Sea, to be improved in the Knowledg of Forreign Affairs, in which they should be imploied as they grew capable of them: And others were to be fet to work to write the History of the Trafactions abroad, and of Affairs at home. This was to supply one Loss that was like to follow on the Fall of Abbies; for in most of them there was kept a Chronicle of the Times. These were written by Men that were more credulous than judicious; and so they are often more particular in the recital of Trifles, than of important Affairs, and an invincible Humour of lying, when it might raise the Credit of their Order or House, runs through all their Manuscripts. the Ground that Cranmer gained this Year, in which there was fo much loft, was a Liberty that all private Persons might have Bibles in their Houses, the managing of which was put in Cromwell's Hands, by a special Patent: Gardiner opposed it vehemently, and built much on this, that without Tradition it was impossible to understand the meaning of the Scriptures; and one day before the King, he challenged Cranmer to shew any Difference between the Scriptures and the Apostles Canons. It is not known how Cranmer managed the Debate, but the Islue of it was this, The King judged in his Favours, and faid, He was an old experienced

Book I. enced Captain, and ought not to be troubled by fresh Men and Novices. The 1539. King was now refolved to marry again, and both the Emperour and the King of France proposed Matches to him, but they came to no Effect. The Emperour endeavoured by all means possible to feparate the King from the Princes of the Smalcaldick League; and the Act of the fix Articles had done that already in a great measure; for they complained much the King's Severity in those Points, which were the principal Parts of their Doctrine; fuch as Communion in both kinds, Private Masses, and the Marriage of the Clergy. Gardiner studied to animate the K ing much against them; he often told him, it was below his Dignity to fuffer dull Goir ans to dictate to him: and he fuggested that they who would not acknowledg the Emperours Supremacy in the matters of Religion, could not be hearty Friends to the Authority which the King had assumed in them. But the Ger-

> mans did not look on the Emperour as their Soveraign, but only as the Head of the Empire; and they did believe that every Prince in his Dominions, and the Diet for the whole Empire, had fufficient Authority for making Laws in Ecclesiastical Affairs; but what other Considerations could not induce the King to, was like to be more powerfully carried on by the Match with Anne of Cleve, which was now

fet on foot,

There had been a Treaty between her Book I. Father and the Duke of Lorrain, for the Prince of Lorrain and her; but it had gone 1539. no farther then a Contract between the ATreaty Fathers. Hans Holbin, the Famous Painter for a of that Age, took her Picture very much with Ann to her Advantage; for the King never of Cleve. liked the Original so well as he had done the Picture. The Duke of Saxe diswaded the Match, because the King was going backward in the matter of the Reformation: but Cromwell fet it on vigorously. It was faid, the Lady had great Charms in her Person; but she could speak no Language but Dutch, which the King understood not; nor was she bred to Musick: And she had a stifness in her Breeding, which was not at all accommodated to the King's Inclinations. The Match was at last agreed on; and in the end of December she was brought over. The King was impatient, and so went incognito to Rochester, but was struck when he saw her. There was a Rudeness in her, which did not at all please him: He swore they had brought over a Flanders Mare to him; and took up an incurable Aversion to her. He resolved to break the Match if itwere possible; but his Affairs made the Friendship of the German Princes, to be then very necessary to him; fo that he did not think it advisable to put any Affront on the Dukes of Saxe and Cleve, her Brother, and her Brother in Law. The Emperour had at this time made a hasty Journey through France; and Francis

Book I. Francis and he had an Interview, where as the King was informed a Project was laid down against him, which was chiefly set on by the Pope. Francis was thinking how to take Calais, and the other places the King had in France, from him; it had been also easy for him to have engaged the King of Scotland against him: And the People in the North were thought to retain their former Disposition, to rise still; fo that a War made on the King in fuch Circumstances, was like to find him at a great Disadvantage. This made the King more tender of offending the Germans. But he tried if that Precontract with the Duke of Lorrains's Son, could furnish him with a fair Excuse to break the Match. The King expressed the great Trouble he was in, both to Cromwel, and many of his other Servants; and one of them pleasantly told him, that Subjects had this Advantage over Princes, that they chose Wives for themselves, whereas Princes were obliged to take such as were brought them. But nothing could be built on that Precontract, which was only an Agreement between the Fathers, their Children being under Age; and that was afterwards annulled and broken by the Parents. Cranmer, and Tonstall being required to give their Opinions as Divines, faid, there was nothing in it to hinder the King's Marrying the Lady.

The King marries her, but never liked her.

On the the 6th of January the King Married her; but expressed his dislike of her so visibly, that all about him took notice of Book I. it: And the day after that he told Cromwell that he had not 'confummated his Mar- 1540. riage, and he believed he should never do it: He suspected she was not a Virgin; and she had ill Smells about her; so that his Aversion to her was encreased to such a Degree, that he believed he should never be able to change it. Cromwell did what he could to overcome these Inclinations; but that was not to be done: And tho the King lived five Months with her, and lay often in the Bed with her, yet his Aversion to her rather encreased than abated. feemed little concerned at it, and expressed a great readiness to concur in every thing, that might disengage him from a Marriage that was fo unacceptable to him. Instruments were brought over, to shew that the Contract between her and the Prince of Lorrain, was void: But they took some Advantage, because it was not declared whether the Contract was in the Words of the Present, or of the Future Tenfe.

In April there was a Session of Parliament, A New and at the opening of it, as the Lord Farlia-Chancellour declared the matters relating ment. to the State, for which the King had called them: So the Vicegerent spake to them concerning the matters of Religion: He told them there was nothing which the King defired so much as an entire Union among all his Subjects; but some Incendiaries opposed it as much as he promoted

Book I. it; and between the rashness on the one hand, and Inveterare Superstition on the other great Dissentions had arisen. These were inflamed by the reproachful names of Papist and Heretick: And the they had now the Word of God in all their hands, yet they studied rather to justify their Passions out of it, than to govern their Lives by it. In order to the removing this, the King resolved to set forth an Exposition of the Doctrine of Christ, without any corrupt Mixtures; and to retain fuch Ceremonies as might be of good use; and that being done, he was refolved to punish all Transgressours, of what side foever they might be: For that end, he had appointed the two Archbishops and the Bishops of London, Dure sm, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and St. Davids; and 11 Divines, Thirleby, Robertson, Cox, Day, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symons, Robins, and Tresham, for setling the Do-Etrine. And the Bishops of Bath and Walls, Ely, Sarum, Chichester, Worcester, and Landaff, for the Ceremonies. These Committees for Religion, fat as often as the Affairs of the Parliament could allow of. Two days after the Parliament met, Cromwell was made Earl of Effex, which shews it was not the King's Dislike of the Queen that wrought his Ruine, otherwise he had not now raised his Title.

The A Bill was brought in to the Parliament Knights of for suppressing the Knights of St. John of suppressed, Jerusalem. These were at first onlyan Ho-

spital.

spital, for entertaining the Pilgrims that Book I. went to visit the Holy Grave: And after that, they became an Order of Knights; and they and the Knights-Templars conducted and guarded the Pilgrims. It was thought for fome Ages, one of the highest Expression of Devotion to Christ, to go and visit the places where he was crucified, buried and ascended to Heaven: And it was look'd on as highly Meritorious, to go and fight for recovering the Holy-Land, out of the hands of Infidels; fo that almost every one that died, either vowed to go to the Holy War, or left somewhat, to such as should go. If they recovered, they bought off their Vow, by giving some Lands for the Entertainment of those Knights. There were great Complaints made of the Templars; but whether it was their Wealth that made them a defirable Prey, or their Guilt that drew Ruine on them, is not certain. They were condemned in a Council, and all of them that could be found, were cruelly put to Death. But the other Order was still continued; and being beaten out of Judea, they fetled at Rhodes, out of which they were lately driven; and were now fetled in Malta. They were under a great Master, who depended on the Pope and the Emperour. But fome they could not be brought to furrender of their own accord, as others had done; it was necessary to suppress them by Act of Parliament. Another House which they had in Ireland was also suppressed,

Book I, and Pensions were reserved for the Priors and Knights. On the 14th of May, the Parliament was Prorogued to the 25th; a Vote having past, that the Bills should continue in the State they were in.

Cromwel's Fall.

On the 12th of June, there was a sudden turn at Court, for the Duke of Norfolk arrested Crommel of High Treason, and fent him Prisoner to the Tower. He had many Enemies: The meanness of his Birth made the Nobility take it ill, to fee the Son of a Black-Smith made an Earl, and have the Garter given him; besides his being Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain of England, Lord Vicegerent; and a little while before, he had also the Mastership of the Rolls. All the Popish Clergy hated him violently: They imputed the Suppression of Monasteries, and the Injunctions that were laid on them, chiefly to his Counfels: And it was thought that it was mainly by his means that the King and the Emperour continued to be in fuch ill Terms. The King did now understand, that there was no agreement like to be made between the Emperour and Francis, for it stuck at the matter of the Dutchy of Milan; in which neither of them would yield to the other; and the King was fure, they would both court his Friendship in case of a War; and this made him less concerned for the Favour of the German Princes. So, now Cromwel's Counfels became unacceptable: With this a fecret Reason concurred. The King did not only hate the Queen, but was now come to be

in Love with Katherine Howard, Neece to Book I. the Duke of Norfolk; which both raised his Interest, and deprest Cromwel, who had made the former Match. The King was also willing to cast upon him all the Errours that had been committed of late, and by making him a Sacrifice, he hoped he should regain the Affections of his People. The King had also Informations brought him, That he fecretly encouraged those that opposed the fix Articles, and discouraged those who went about the Execution of it. His Fall came fo fuddenly, that he had not the least Apprehension of it before the Storm brake on him. He had the common Fate of all difgraced Ministers; his Friends forfook him, and his Enemies infulted over him; only Cranmer stuck to him; and wrote earnestly to the King in his Favours. 'He faid he found that he had always loved the King above all things; and had ferved him with fuch Fidelity and Success, that he believed no King of England had ever a faithfuller Servant: 'And he wished the King might find such a Councellour, who both could, and would, ferve him as he had done. great and generous a Soul had Cranmer, that was not turned by changes in his Friends Fortunes; and would venture on the difpleasure of so Imperious a Prince, rather than fail in the Duties of Friendship. But the King was now refolved to ruine Crom, mel, and that unjust Practice of Attainting, without hearing the Parties Answer

1540.

Book I. for themselves, which he had promoted too much before, was now turned upon himself. He had such Enemies in the House of Lords, that the Bill of Attainder was dispatched in two days, being read twice in one day. Cranmer was absent, and no other would venture to speak for him. But he met with more Justice in the House of Commons; for it stuck ten days there. And in Conclusion, a new Bill was drawn against him, and sent up to the Lords, to which they consented; and it had the Royal Assent.

His At-

'In it they fet forth, That tho the King had raifed him from a base State, to great Dignitics; Yet it appeared by many Wite nelles, that were Persons of Honour, that he had been the most Corrupt Traitor that ever was known: That he had fet 'many at Liberty that were condemned, or suspected of Misprision of Treason: 'That he had given Licences for tran-'fporting out of the Kingdom things pro-'hibited by Proclamation: And had granted 'many Passports without fearch made: 'That he had faid, he was sure of the King, 'That he had dispersed many Erroneous Books, contrary to the Belief of the Sacrament: And had faid, That every 'Man might Administer it as well as a Prieft: That he had licensed many Preachers suspected of Heresy: And had ordered many to be discharged that were. committed on that account; and had difcharged all Informers: That he had many

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many Hereticks about him: That a- Book I. bove a Year before, he had faid, The preaching of Barns and others, was good; And that he would not turn, tho the King 'did turn; but if the King turned, would fight in Person against him, and 'all that turned; And drawing out his Dagger, he wisht that might pierce him to the Heart, if he should not do it; he had alfo faid, If he lived a year or two longers it should not be in the King's Power to hinder it. He had likewise been found guilty of great Oppression and Bribery: And when he heard, that some Lords were taking Counsel against him, he had threatned, that he would raise great stirrs in England: For these things, he was Attainted both of High Treason and Heresy. A Proviso was added, for fecuring the Church of Wells, of which he had been Dean.

This was lookt on as very hard Mea- Censures fure. It was believed, That he had at past upon least Verbal Orders from the King, for ". the Licences and Orders that were complained of; and perhaps he could have shewed some in Writing, if he had been heard to make his Answers. Bribery seemed to be cast on him, only to render him odious; but no Particulars were mentioned. Nor was it credible, That he could have fpoken fuch Words of the King, as were alledged, especially when he was in the height of his Favour; and if he had spoken them above a Year before, it is not to be imagined that they could have been fo long R kept

Book I. kept fecret; and what was faid of his drawing out a Dagger, look'd like a defign to affix an overt Act to them.

1540. The King's Marriage annulled.

This being done, The King went on to An Address was move for a Divorce. moved to be made to him by the Lords, that he would fuffer his Marriage to be examined. Cranmer and others were fent down to desire the Concurrence of the Commons; and they ordered 20 of their number to go along with the Lords, who went all in a body to the King. He granted their desire, the matter being concerted before. So a Commission was fent to the Convocation, to discuss it: Gardiner opened it to them; and they appointed a Committee for the Examination of Witnesses. Substance of the whole Evidence amounted to these Particulars; That the matter of the Precontract with the Prince of Lorrain, was not fully cleared; and it did not appear, if it was made by the Queen; or whether it was in the Words of the present time, or not. That the King had married her against her Will; and had not given an inward and compleat Confent; and that he had never confummated the Marriage; fo that they faw he could have no Issue by the Queen. Upon these grounds the whole Convocation with one confent annulled the Marriage, and declared both Parties free. This was the groffest piece of Compliance that the King had from his Clergy in his whole Reign: For as they knew that there was nothing in the pre-

pretended Precontract; fo by voiding the Book I. Marriage, because the Confent was not internal and free, they made a most per-nicious Precedent for breaking all publick Treaties; for none can know Men's Hearts; it would be easy for every one to pretend that he had not given a perfect Confent; and that being allowed, there could be no Confidence nor fafety among Men any more: And in the Process for the King's first Divorce, they had laid it down as a Principle, that a Marriage was compleat, tho it were never confummated. But in a Word, the King was refolved to be rid of the Queen; and the Clergy were resolved not to ossend him: And they rather fought out Reasons to give a colour to their Sentence, then past it on the force of those Reasons. Cromwel was required to fend a Declaration of all he knew concerning the Marriage, which he did; but ended in these most abject Words, Written with the heavy Heart, and trembling Hand, of your Highness's most heavy, and most miserable Prisoner, and poor Slave, Tho. Cromwel: and under his Subscription he wrote, Most Sacred Prince, I cry for, Mercy, Mercy, Mercy. The Judgment of the Convocation was reported to the House of Lords by Cranmer, and the Reafons were opened by Gardiner. They were fent down to the Commons to give them the fame account; and both Houses were fatisfied with it. Next day, some Lords were fent to the Queen, who had retired R 2 to

1540.

Book I. to Richmond: They told her, The King was resolved to declare her his adopted Sister, and to fetle 4000 l. a Year on her, if she would confent to it; which she cheerfully embraced; and it being left to her choice, either to live in England, or to return to her Brother; She preferred the former. They prest her to write to her Brother, that all this matter was done with her good Will; that the King used her, as a Father; and that therefore he, and the other Allies, should not take this ill at his hands. She was a little averse to this, but was prevailed on to do it. When things were thus prepared, the Act confirming the Judgment of the Convocation, past, without any Opposition. An Act past, mitigating one Clause in the Act of the fix Articles; by which, the pains of Death for the Marriage or Incontinence of the Clergy, were changed into a Forfeiture of their Goods and Benefices. Another Act past, Authorizing those Committees of Bishops and Divines that had been named by the King, both for the Doctrine and Ceremonies, to go on in it; and appointing, that what should be agreed on by them, and Published with the King's Approbation, should bind the Subjects as much as if every Particular in it had been ennumerated in that Act, any Law or Custome to the contrary notwithstanding: But a Proviso was added, That nothing might be done by them contrary to the Laws then in force: Which Contradiction

1540,

in the Provisos, seems to have been put Book I. in on defign, to keep all Ecclefiastical Proceedings under the Inspection of the Secular Courts, fince they are the only Expounders of Acts of Parliament. Another Act past, That no Pretence of a Precontract should be made use of to annul a Marriage duly Solemnized and Confummated: And that no Degrees of Kindred, but those ennumerated in the Law of Moses, might hinder a Marriage. This last was added, To enable the King to marry Katherine Howard, that was Cousin German to Ann Boleyn, which was one of the Degrees prohibited by the Canon Law; but the reason of the former part is not known. It directly condemns the King's Divorce of Ann Boleyn, grounded on a pretended Precontract.

The Province of Canterbury gave the King a Subfidy of 4 s. in the Pound, to be payed in two Years, with a Preamble of high Acknowledgments of their Happiness under his Protection. A Subfidy was also asked of the Laity, but in the House of Commons it was much opposed: Many faid they had given the King the Abbey-Lands, in hopes that no Subfidies should have been any more demanded; and it shewed a strange Profuseness, that now within a Year after that, a Subfidy was demanded. But it was answered, That the King had been at great charge in fortifying his Coasts; and in keeping up such Leagues beyond Sea, as preserved the Nation in fafety

Book I. safety; a Tenth and four 15ths were granted. Several Bills of Attainder were past. And in Conclusion, the King sent a General Pardon, out of which, Cromwel, and divers others were excepted; and then the Parliament was dissolved. Cromwel's mean Addresses could not preserve him: So he was executed on the 28 of July: He thank-

Death.

the Parliament, was disloved. Cromwel's mean Addresses could not preserve him: So he was executed on the 28 of July: He thanked God for bringing him to die in that manner, which was jult, on the account of his Sins against God, and his Offences against his Prince. He declared that he doubted of no Article of the Catholick Faith, nor of any Sacrament of the Church. He faid, He had been seduced, but now he died in the Catholick Faith; and denied he had supported the Preachers of ill Opinions. He desired all their Prayers; and prayed very fervently for himself; and thus did he end his days.

He rose meerly by the strength of his Natural Parts; for his Education was fuitable to his mean Extraction: Only he had all the New Testament in Latin, by Heart. He carried his Greatness with Extraordinary Moderation; and fell rather under the weight of Popular Odium, than Guilt. At his Death he mixed none of the Superstitions of the Church of Rome with his Devotions: So it was faid, that he used the Word, Catholick Faith, in its true fense, and in Opposition to the Novelties of the Church of Rome: Yet his Ambiguous way of expressing himself, made the Papilts say, that he died repenting of his Herely.

Herefy: But the Protestants faid that he Book I. died in the same Perswasions in which he With him fell the Office of the King's Vicegerent, and none after him have aspired to that Character, that proved so fatal to him who first carried it. believed that the King lamented his Death when it was too late; and the Miseries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of Norfolk, and his Family, were look'd on as Strokes from Heaven on them, for their cruel profecuting this unfortunate Minister. With his Fall, the Progress of the Reformation stopt; for Cranmer could never gain much Ground after this, and indeed many hoped that he should be quickly fent after Cromwell; some complained of him in the House of Commons, and Informations were brought the King, that the chief Encouragement that the Hereticks had, came from him.

The Ecclefiastical Committees imploy- A Book of ed by the King, were now at work, and gave Religion the last finishing to a Book formerly pre- fer out by Bishops. pared, but at this time corrected and explained in many Particulars. They began with the Explanation of Faith, which according to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, was thought an implicit believing whatever the Church proposed: But the Reformers made it the chief Subject of their Books and Sermons, to perswade People to believe in Christ, and not in the Church; and made great use of those Places in which it was faid, That Christians are justified R 4

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Book I. by Faith only: the some explained this in o fuch a manner, that it gave their Adverfaries Advantages to charge them that they denied the necessity of Good Works; but they all taught that tho they werenot neceffary to Justification, yet they were necessary to Salvation. They differed also in their Notion of Good Works: The Church of Rome taught, that the Honour done to God in his Images, or to the Saints in their Shrines and Relicks, or to the Priests, were the best fort of Good Works: Whereas the Reformers prest Justice and Mercy most, and discovered the Superstition of the other. The Opinion of the Merit of Good Works, was also so highly raised, that many thought they purchased Heaven by them. This the Reformers did also correct, and taught the People to depend meerly upon the Death and Intercession of Christ. Others moved subtiller Questions, As whether Obedience was an essential part of Faith, or only a Consequent of it? This was a Nicety scarce becoming Divines, that built only on the Simplicity of the Scriptures, and condemned the Subtilties of the Schools; and it was faid, that Men of ill Lives abused this Doctrine, and thought that if they could assure themselves that Christ died for them, they were fafe enough.

The Explanation of Faith.

So now when they fettled the Notion of Faith, they divided it into two forts: The one was a Perswasion of the Truth of the Gospel; but the other carried with

it a Submission to the Will of God; and Book I. both Hope, Love, and Obedience belonged to it; which was the Faith professed in Baptism, and so much extoll'd by St. Paul. It was not to be so understood as if it were a Certainty of our being predestinated, which may be only a Prefumption; fince all God's Promises are made to us on Conditions; but it was an entire receiving the whole Gospel according to our Baptismal Vows. Cranmer took great Pains to state this matter right; and made a large Collection of many places, all written with his own Hand, both out of Antient and Modern Authors, concerning Faith, Justification and the Merit of Good Works; and concluded with this, That our Justification was to be ascribed only to the Merits of Christ; and that those who are justified must have Charity as well as Faith, but that neither of these was the meritorious Cause of Justification. After this was stated, they made next a large and full Explanation of the Apostles Creed with great Judgment, and many excellent practical Inferences; the Definition they gave of the Catholick Church runs thus: It comprehended all Assemblies of Men in the whole World that received the Faith of Christ, who ought to hold an Unity of Love and Brotherly Agreement together, by which they became Members of the 'Catholick Church: After this they explained the feven Sacraments.

1540. And of the Sacramenss.

Book I. In opening these there were great Debates; for, as was formerly mentioned, the method used, was to open the Point enquired into by proposing many Queries, and every one was to give in his Answer to these, with the Reasons of it; and then others were appointed to make an Abstract of those things, in which they all either agreed or differed. The Original Papers relating to these Points are yet preserved, which shew with how great Confideration they proceeded in the Changes that were then made. Cranmer had at this time some particular Opinions concerning Ecclefiastical Offices; That they were delivered from the King, as other Civil Offices were, and that Ordination was not indispensibly necessary, and was only a Ceremony, that might be used or laid afide; but that the Authority was conveyed to Church-men only by the King's Commission; yet he delivered his Opinion in this matter with great Modesty, and he not only subscribed the Book in which the contrary Doctrine was established, but afterwards published it in a Book which he writin King Edward's days, from whence it appears that he changed his Mind in this Particular. Baptism was explained as had been done formerly; Penance was made to confift in the Absolution of the Priests which had been formerly declared only to be desirable, where it could be had. In the Communion, both Transubstantiation, Private Masses, and Communion in one kind, were afferted: They afferted the Obligation of the

the Levitical Law about the Degrees of Book I. Marriage, and the Indissolubleness of that Bond. They fet out the Divine Institution of Priests and Deacons; and that no Bishop had Authority over another: they made a long Excursion against the Pope's Pretentions, and for justifying the King's Supremacy. They faid, Confirmation was instituted by the Apostles, and was profitable, but not necessary to Salvation: and they afferted extream Unction to have been commanded by the Apostles, for the Health both of Soul and Body. Then were the Ten Commandments explained, the fecond was added to the first, but the Words, For I am the Lord thy God, &c. were left out. It was declared, that no Godly Honour was to be done unto Images, and that they ought only to be reverenced, for their fakes whom they represented: therefore the preferring of one Image to another, and the making Pilgrimages and Offerings to them, was condemned; but the cenfing them or kneeling before them was permitted; yet the People were to be taught that these things were done only to the Honour of God. Invocation of Saints, as Intercessors, was allowed, but immediate Addresses to them for the Blessings that were prayed for, was condemned. strict rest from Labour on the seventh day. was declared to be Ceremonial; but it was necessary to rest from Sin, and Carnal Pleafure, and to follow Holy Duties. other Commandments were explained in a very

Book I. very plain and practical way. Then was the Lord's Prayer explained, and it was afferted that the People ought only to pray in their Vulgar Tongues, for exciting their

afferted that the People ought only to pray in their Vulgar Tongues, for exciting their Devotion the more: The Angels Salutation to the Virgin was also paraphrased. They handled Free-will and defined it to be a Power by which the Will guided by Reason, did without constraint discern and choose Good and Evil, the former by the help of God's Spirit, and the latter of it felf. Grace was faid to be offered to all Men, but was made effectual by the Application of the Free-will to it: and Grace and Free-will did confift well together, the one being added for the help of the other; and therefore Preachers were warned not to depress either of them too much in order to the Exaltation of the other. Men were justified freely by the Grace of God, but that was applied by Faith, in which both the Fear of God, Repentance, and Amendment of Life were included. All curious reasonings about Predestination were condemned; for Men could not be assured of their Election, but by feeling the Motions of God's Holy Spirit appearing in a good and a vertuous Life, and persevering in that to the end. Good Works were necessary, which were not the Superstitions Inventions of Monks and Friars, nor only moral Good Works done by the Power of Nature, but were the Works of Charity flowing from a pure Heart and Faith unfeigned: Fasting and the other Fruits of Pennance

Pennance were also Good Works; but of Book I. an Inferiour Nature to Justice and the other Vertues: Good Works were meritorious, yet fince they were wrought in Men by God's Spirit; all boasting was excluded. They ended with an account of Prayer for Souls departed, almost the same that was

in the Articles published before.

The Book was writ in a plain and Maf- The Book culine Stile, fit for weak Capacities, and spubliffyet strong and weighty: and the parts of it that related to Practice were admirable. To this they added a Preface, declaring the Care they had used in examining the Scriptures and Antient Doctors, out of whom they compiled this Book. The King added another Preface, in which he condemned the Hypocrify and Superstition of one fort, and the Presumption of another fort; to correct both, he had ordered this Book to be made, and published: and he required his People to read and print it in their Hearts, and to pray to God to grant them the Spirit of Humility for receiving it aright: And he charged the Inferiour People to remember that their Office was not to teach, but to be taught, and to practife what they heard, rather than dispute about it. But this Preface was not added till two Years after the Book was put out; for it mentions the Approbation that was given to it in Parliament, and the Restraint that was put on reading the Scriptures, of which an account shall be given afterwards.

The

Book I.

The Reformers were diffatisfied with many things in the Book, yet were glad to find the Morals of Religion fo well opened; for the Purity of Soul, which that might effect, would dispose People to found Opinions; many Superstitious Practices were also condemned, and the Gospel-Covenant. was rightly stated. One Article was also afferted in it, which opened the way to a further Reformation; for every National Church was declared to be a compleat Body, with Power to reform Herefies, and do every thing that was necessary for preserving its own Purity, or governing its Members. The Popish Party thought they had recovered much. Ground, that seemed lost formerly: They knew the Reformers would never submit to all things in this Book. which would alienate the King from them; but they were fafe, being resolved to comply with him in every thing, and without doing that, it was like to be somewhat uneasy to live in England; for the King's Peevishness grew upon him with his Age. Now the Correspondence between the King and the German Princes fell upon the Change that was made in the Ministry, and a fecret. Treaty was fet on foot between the King and the Emperour. All the Changes that the Committee appointed for the Ceremonies made, was only the Rasure of some Offices and Collects, and the setting out of a new Primer, with the Vulgar Devotions for the Common People: But the Changes were not so great, as that it was necessary

necessary to reprint the Missals or Brevia- Book I. ries; for the old Books were still made use of. Yet these Rasures were such, that in 1540. Queen Mary's time the old Books were all called in, and the Nation was put to the Charge of buying new ones, which was confiderable, for great was the Number of the Books of Offices.

The Popish Party studied now to engage Barnes the King into new Severities against the and others Reformers; the first Instances of these fall into fell on three Preachers, Barnes, Gerrard, and ferome, who had been early wrought on by Luther's Books. Barnes had during Wolfey's Greatness, reflected much on him in a Sermon which he preached at Cambridg; but Gardiner was then his Friend, and brought him off; he having abjured some Articles that were objected to him: yet upon new Complaints he was again put in Prison, but he made his Escape and fled to Germany; and became so considerable, that he was fent over to England by the King of Denmark, as Chaplain to his Ambassadours; but he went back again. Bishop of Hereford meeting him at Smalcald, fent him over to England, with a special Recommendation to Cromwell: he was after that, much imployed in the Negotiations which the King had with the Germans; and had the misfortune to be the first that was sent with the Proposition for Anne of Cleve. In Lent this Year Bonner appointed those three to have their turns at St. Paul's Cross; Gardiner preached also there

.1540.

Book I there; and fell on Justification, which he handled according to the Notions of the Schools: But Barnes and the other two did directly refute his Sermon, when it came to their turns to preach, not without indecent Reflections on his Person. This was reprefented to the King as a great Infolence, he being both a Bishop and a Privy Counfellour; fo the King commanded them to go and give him Satisfaction: he feemed to carry the matter with much Moderation, and readily forgave all that was personal, tho it was believed that it stuck deep in him. Conclusion, they confessed their Indiscretion, and promised for the future to be more cautious, and renounced some Articles of which it was thought their Sermons favoured; as that God was the Author of Sin, that Good Works were not necessary to Salvation, and that Princes ought not to be obeyed in all their just Laws. Some other Niceties were in dispute concerning Justification; but the King thought these were not of such Confequence, that it was necessary to make them abjure them. Barnes and his Friends were required to preach a Recantation Sermon at the Spittle, and to ask Gardiner's Pardon; but tho they obeyed this, yet it was faid that in one place, they justified what they recanted in another; at which the King was fo much provoked, that without hearing them, he fent them to the Tower. At that time Cromwell either could not protect them, or would not interpose in a matter which

1540:

which gave the King fo great Offence Book I. When the Parliament came, they were were attainted of Herefy, without being brought to make their Answers: no particular Errors were objected to them, only they were condemned to be burnt as detestable Hereticks in general Words. In the fame Act by which they were condemned: four other were attainted of Treason, for being confederated with Reginald Pool, and for intending to surprize Calais, and as there was a strange mixture in their Condemnation, fo the like was in their Executions: for Abel Featherston, and Powell, that were attainted in the fame Parliament for owning the Pope's Supremacy, were executed with them, and were coupled together in the Hurdles in which they were carried to Smithfield; the King in this affecting an extravagant Appearance of Impartiality in his Justice.

Barnes being tied to the Stake, went over And burnt the Articles of the Creed, and declared his Belief of them all; and that he abhorred the impious Opinions of some German Anabaptists: He afferted the necessity of Good Works, but ascribed Justification wholly to the Merits of Christ; he professed all due Reverence to the Saints; but faid he faw no Warrant to pray for them; he asked the Sheriff and the People, if they knew for what they were condemned, and what Herefies they were accused of: but none made Answer; he prayed God to forgive all that fought their Death, and

Book I. in particular, Gardiner, if he had done it: then prayed for the King and the Prince, and expressed his Loyalty to the King; that he believed all his just Laws were to be obeyed for Conscience sake, and that in no Case it was lawful to resist him: he sent fome Defires to the King, as that he would apply the Abby-Lands to good Uses, and the Relief of his poor Subjects; that he would punish the Contempt of Marriage that was fo common, and would put a stop to the Liberty many took of casting off their Wives, and living in Whoredom; that Swearers might be punished, and that fince the King had begun to fet forth the Christian Religion, that he would go on with it; for a great deal remained yet to be done: he asked the Forgiveness of all People whom he might have at any time offended, and so turned and prepared himself for Death: then the other two spoke to the same purpose; they declared their Faith, and exhorted the People to a good Life, and mutual Love; and they all prayed and embraced one another; after that, the Fire was fet to. The Constancy they expressed, together with the Gentleness of their Deportment towards their Enemies, made great Impressions on the Spectators, and cast a heavy Imputation on Gardiner, as the Procurer of their Deaths, tho he justified himself in an Apology which he printed; in which he denied any other Accession to it, but giving his Vote to the Bill of Attainder. Bonner began now to shew himself in his

1540

his own Colours: He had courted Cromwell Book I. more than any Person whatsoever; yet the very day after his Difgrace, he shewed his Ingratitude; for Grafton that had printed the Bible, and was much in Cromwell's Favour upon that account; meeting Bonner, expressed his Sorrow for Cromwell's being sent to the Tower ; but the other answered; that it had been good he had been there much fooner: Grafton faw his Error in speaking fo freely, and went from him: but some Verses being printed in Cromwell's Praise; Bonner informed the Council what Grafton had faid to him, and fo thought it was probable he had printed them, yet he had so many Friends that he was let go. He procured many to be indicted upon the Act of the fix Articles; but an Order came from the King to stop further Proceedings; yet he pick'd out one Instance which did equally discover his brutal Cruelty, and his want of Judgment. One Mekins not above fifteen Years old, had faid somewhat against the Corporal Presence, and in Commendation of Dr. Barnes: The Witnesses differed in their Evidence, one swore he had said the Sacrament was only a Ceremony; the other fwore he had faid it was only a Signification: fo two Grand Juries returned an Ignoramus on the Bill; upon which he fell into a fit of Cursing and violent Rage, and he made the fecond Grand Jury go afide and confider better of it, they being terrified, found the Bill, and he was condemned to be burnt; but hoping to be preferved

Book I. ferved by what he should say at the Stake; he railed at Barnes, and praised Bonner much: yet that did not fave him. were burnt at Salisbury, and two at Lincoln, upon the same Statute; besides great Numbers that were put in Prison.

New Sees founded.

In the end of this Year, the King began to endow the new Bishopricks: Westminster was the first, in which he endowed a Bishoprick, a Deanry, 12 Prebendaries, a Quire, and other Officers. The Year after this, he endowed Chefter, Glocester, and Peterborough; but in these Cathedrals he only endowed fix Prebendaries; two Years after he likewise endowed Oxford and Bristol. The Foundations had Preambles are almost the fame with that of the A& of Parliament that empowred him to erect them; he promoted the Bishops to those Sees by a special Writ; tho that was to go thereafter in the way of Election, as it was in the other Sees: he also converted the Priories of Canterbury, Winchester, Duresme, Worcester, Ely, Rochester, and Carlile, into Collegiate Churches, confifting of Deans and Prebendaries. But as all this came much far short of what the King had at first intended; so the Channel in which those Foundations run, differed much from what Cranmer had projected, whose Interest was so low at Court, that his Opinion was not now regarded as it had been formerly. He intended to have restored the Cathedrals to what they had been at first, to be Colleges and Nurseries for the Diocess, and to have set up Readers of the Learned

Learned Tongues, and of Divinity, in Book I. them, that so a considerable number of young Clerks might have been trained up under the Bishop's Eye, both in their Studies, and in a Course of Devotion; to be by him, put afterwards in Livings, according to their Merit and Improvements. The want of fuch Houses for the strict Education of those who are to serve in the Church, has been the occasion of many fatal Consequences fince that time, by the Scandals which Men initiated to the Sacred Functions, before they were well prepared for them, have given the World. The Popish Party beyond Sea censured these Endowments, both as being a very defective Restitution of the Lands that had been invaded, and as an Invasion on the Spiritual Authority, when the King divided Diocesses, and removed Churches from one Jurisdiction and put them under another. To which it was answered. That as their Practices against the King had put him to fuch a charge, that he could not execute what he at first intended; so both the Roman Emperours, and other Christian Kings, had regulated and divided the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and made Primates and Patriarchs as they pleased. Ely in England, was taken out of Lincoln, only by the King and his Parliament; the P. Nicolaus did officiously fend a Confirmation of it, that being an Art of the Papacy to offer Confirmations unfought; and afterwards to found a Right on such a Precedent: So that the S 3 receiv-

Book I receiving a Confirmation, was made to pass, for an acknowledgment of an Authority in that See to grant it; upon which the Popes afterwards pretended, that fuch things could not be done without their consent. Here the Series of the King's Advances towards a Reformation, ends; what he did after this, was by Starts, backwards or forwards, as the humour took him: Nor was he steady in his Councils in State-Affairs: He had no Minister about him, that had an Ascendent over him. Sickness and Years increased his Imperious Temper; fo that his Counfellors had a hard task to please him, and many Errours were committed by him.

1541. The Bible fet up in Churches.

A new Impression of the Bible was at this time finished: And the King required all Parishes to provide one of them by the next All-hallowiide, under the pain of 40 s. a Month after that, till they had got one. The People were also charged not to difpute about it, nor to disturb Divine Service by reading it during the Mass; but to read it humbly and reverently for their Instruction and Edification. Six of these were fet up in divers Places of St. Pauls : But Bonner being afraid of the Mischief they might do, posted up near them an Admonition to the People, That none should read them with vain Glory, and corrupt Affections, or draw Multitudes about them when they read them. But great numbers gathered about those that read; and such as had good Voices, used to be reading

them aloud a great part of the Day. Many fet Book I. their Children to School, and when they had learn'd to read, they carri'd them to Church to read the Bibles; some began likewise to argue from them, particularly against taking away the Chalice in the Communion, and the Worship in an unknown Tongue. Upon which, Bonner set up a new Advertisement, and threatned to remove them. if these abuses were not corrected: And upon the Complaints made of those things, the free use of the Scriptures was afterwards much restrained. This Year the King added to his former Foundations, two Collegiat Churches at Burton upon Trent, and Thornton, confisting of a Dean and four Prebendaries apiece. Cranmer observing the Excesses in Bishops Tables, by which, under the name of Hospitality, so much was confumed in great Entertainments, that they were disabled from more necesfary and profitable Acts of Charity, made a Regulation, that an Archbishop should not have above fix Dishes of Meat, and four of Banquet; a Bishop not above five, of Meat, and four of Banquet; a Dean or Arth-deacon, not above four, and two of the one, and the other; and Inferiour Church-men might not have above two Dishes. But this did not take effect; and Sumptuous Tables still continued; tho the Revenues were much impaired; and thus besides the other ill Effects of these, a great part of the Church-rents goes for Entertaining the Rich, which should be applied This to the Poor.

Book I.

1541.

The Affairs of Scotland.

This Summer the King went to York, to meet his Nephew the King of Scotland, who promised him an Enterview there. He was an Extraordinary Prince, a great Patron, both of Learning and Justice; but out of measure addicted to his Pleasures. The Clergy of Scotland were very Apprehensive of his seeing his Uncle, lest King Henry might have perswaded him to follow the Copy he had fet to his Neighbours: and they used such perswasions, that these feconded by a Message from France, diverted the King from his purpose: Here I shall digress a little to give an account of the State of Scotland, at this time. The long Alliance between Scotland and France, made that Paris was the place where the Learned of that Nation had their Education: Yet' after the Year 1412, Learning came to have more footing there, and Universities were fet up in several Episcopal Sees. At the same time, some of Wickliff's Followers began to creep into Scotland; and one Resby, an Englishman, was burnt (1407) for teaching some Opinions contrary to the Pope's Authority. Some Years after that, Paul Cram, an Hussite and Bohemian, was burnt, for infusing the Opinions of that Party, into some at St. Andrews. About the end of that Century, Lollardy, as it was then called, was spread into many parts of the Diocess in Glasgow: For which, several Persons of Quality were accused: But they answered the Archbishop of that See, with fuch Assurance, that he dismissed them; having admonish'd them, to con- Book I: tent themselves with the Faith of the Church, and to beware of new Doctrines. 1541. The fame Spirit of Ignorance, Immorality, and Superstition, had over-run the Clergy there, that was fo much complained of in the other parts of Europe: only it may be supposed, that in Nations less Polite and Learned, it was in Proportion greater then it was elsewhere. The total neglect of the Pastoral Care, and the gross Scandals of the Clergy, possessed the People with fuch Prejudices against them, that they were easily disposed to hearken to new Preachers. Patrick Hamilton, nobly born, Nephew by his Father to the Earl of Aran, and to the Duke of Albany by his Mother, was bred up on defign to be highly preferred; and had an Abby given him for profecuting his Studies. He went to travel, and in Germany grew acquainted with Luther and MelanEthon, and being possessed with their Opinions, he returned to Scotland, and laid open the Errours and Corruptions then received in the Church. He was invited to St. Andrews, to confer concerning these Points, upon which he was condemned, and put in Prison. Articles were objected to him; and upon his refusing to abjure them, Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, with the Archbishop of Glasgow, 3 Bishops, and 5 Abbots, condemned him, as an obstinate Heretick, and delivered him to the Secular Power, and ordered the Execution to

Book I. be that Afternoon; for the King had gone in Pilgrimage to Ross; and they were afraid, lest upon his Return, Hamilton's

afraid, lest upon his Return, Hamilton's Friends might have interceeded effectually for him. He was tied to the Stake, and expressed great Joyes in his Sufferings, fince by these he was to enter into Everlasting Life. A Train of Powder being fired, it did not kindle the Fewel, but only burnt his Face: So a stop was made till more Powder was brought; and in that time the Friars call'd oft to him to recant, and pray to the Virgin, and to fay the Salve Regina: One Frier Campbel, was very officious among the rest, who had been oft with him in Prison. He answered him. That he knew he was not an Heretick, and had confess'd it to him in private; and he charged him to answer for that to God. By this time the Gun-powder was brought, and the Fire was kindled, and he died, often repeating these Words, Lord Jesus receive my Soul. Campbel became foon after, Frantick, and died within a Year. Both these laid together, made great Impressions on the People: And now that these Points began to be inquired into, many received the new Opinions. Seaton, a Dominican, the King's Confessor, preaching in Lent, fet out the Nature of true Repentance, and the Method to it, without mixing the Directions which the Friars commonly gave on that Subject; and when another Friar shewed the defectiveness of what he had taught, he defended

himself in another Sermon, and reflected on Book I. those Bishops that did not preach, and called them dumb Dogs. But the Clergy would not meddle with him, till they found him in ill Terms with the King; and the freedom he used in reproving him for his Vices, quickly alienated the King from him, upon which they resolved to fall on him; but he withdrew into England, and wrote to the King, taxing the Clergy for their Cruelty, and praying him to restrain it. One Forrest, an ignorant Benedictine, was accused for having spoken Honourably of Patrick Hamilton, and was put in Prison. In Confession to a Friar, he acknowledged, he thought he was a good Man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned, might be defended. The Friar discovered this, and it was received as Evidence, and upon it he was condemned and burnt. Divers others were brought into the Bishop's Courts, of whom, the greatest part abjured; but two were more resolute: one Gourley denied Purgatory, and the Pope's Authority; another was David Smiton, who being a Fisherman, had refused to pay the Tithe of his Fish; and when the Vicar came to take them, he faid, the Tithe was taken where the Stock grew, and therefore he threw the tenth Fish into the Sea: For this and other Opinions, he was condemned, and they were both burnt at one Stake. Several others were accused; of whom some fled to England, and others went over to Germany. The Changes made in Eng-

1541.

Book I. England, raised in all the People a curio-

fity of fearching into matters of Religion, and that was always fatal to Superstition. Pope Clement the 7th, wrote earnestly to the King of Scotland, to continue firm to the Catholick Faith: Upon which he called a Parliament, and made new Laws, for maintaining the Pope's Authority, and proceeding against Hereticks; yet the Pope could not engage him to make War on England. King Henry fent Barlow, Bishop of St. Davids, to him, with some Books that were written in Defence of his Proceedings, and defired him to examine them Impartially. He also proposed the Enterview at York, and a Match between him and Lady Mary, the King's eldest Daughter; and promised that he should be made Duke of York, and Lord Lieutenant of the whole Kingdom. Yet the Clergy diverted him from this, and perswaded him to go in Person to France, and court the Daughter of that King, Magdalene. He married her in January 1537; but she died in May. She had been bred in the Queen of Navarre's Court. and so was well disposed towards the Reformation. Upon her Death, the King married Mary of Guise; she was a Branch of the Family of all Europe, that was most zealoufly addicted to the old Superstition; and her Interest joined with the Clergy's, engaged the King to become a violent Persecuter of all that were of another mind.

The King was very expensive, both in Book I. his Pleasures, and Buildings; and had a numerous Race of Bastards; so that he came 1541. to want Mony much. The Nobility pro- A Perfe-posed to him, the seizing on the Abbey- on foct in Lands, as his Uncle had done. The Cler- Scotland gy on the other hand advised him, to proceed feverely against all suspected of Herefy: By which means, according to the Lists they shewed him, he might raise 100000 Crowns a Year: They also advised him to provide his Children to Abbies, and Priories; and represented to him, That if he continued stedfast in the old Religion, he would still have a great Party in England; and might be made the Head of a League, which was then in Project against King Henry. This fo far prevailed with him, that as he made four of his Sons, Abbots and Priors, fo he gave way to the persecuting Spirit of the Clergy: Upon which, many were cited to answer for Herely; of these many abjured; and some were banisht. A Canon Regular, a Secular Priest, two Friars, and a Gentleman, were burnt. Forrest, the Canon Regular, had been reproved by his Ordinary, the Bishop of Dunkell, for meddling with the Scriptures too much. He told him, he had lived long, and had never known what was in the Old or New Testament; but contented himself with his Portoise and Pontifical, and that he might come to repent it, if he troubled himself with such Fanclies. The Archbishop of Glasgow,

Book I. was a very moderate Man, and disliked cruel Proceedings. Ruffel, a Friar, and Kennedy, a young Man, of 18 Years of Age, were brought before him; they expressed wonderful Joy, and a steady Resolution in their Sufferings. And after a long dispute between Ruffel and the Bishop's Divines, Russel concluded, This is your Hour, and the Power of Darkness; go on, and fill up the Measures of your Iniquities. The Archbishop was unwilling to give Sentence; he said, he thought these Executions did the Church more Hurt than Good. But those about him, told him, He must not take a Way different from the rest of the Bishops; and threatned him so, that he pronounced Sentence. They were burned; but they gave fuch Demonstrations of Patience and Joy, as made no small Impression on all that saw it, or heard of it. Among those that were in trouble, George Buchanan was one, who at the King's Instigations, had writ a very sharp Poem against the Franciscans, but was now abandoned by him. He made his Escape, and lived 20 Years in Forraign Parts, and at last returned to do his Country Honour; and what by his Immortal Poems, what by his History of Scotland, he shewed both how great a Master he was in the Roman Tongue; andhow true a Judge he was, both in Wit, and in the Knowledge of Human Affairs, (if Passion had not corrupted him towards the end of his

History) that he is justly to be reckoned

the

the greatest and best of the Modern Wri- Book I. ters. So much of the Affairs of Scotland, the

Author's Native Country.

King Henry stayed not long at York, The fince his Nephew came not to him. He Life is fet out a Proclamation there, inviting all descovered that had been of late oppressed, to come in and make their Complaints, and he promised to repair them. This was done to cast the Load of all past Errours upon Cromwel. The King was mightily wrought on by the Charms of his Wife; so that on the First of November, he gave publick thanks to God for the happy Choice he had made: But this did not last long; for the next day Cranmer came, and gave him an account of the Queen's ill Life, which one Lassells had revealed to him, as having learnt it from his Sifter. She had been very lewd before her Marriage, both with one Deirham, and one Mannock. Cranmer, by the Advice of the other Privy Counfellors, put this in Writing, and delivered it to the King, not knowing how to open it in Discourse. The King was struck with it, and at first inclined to believe it was a Forgery; yet he ordered a strict enquiry to be made into it, but he quickly found Proof enough; for the Queen had so far cast off both Modesty, and the Fear of a Discovery, that several Women had been Witnesses to her Lewdness. It also appeared, that she had intended to continue in that ill Course, for she had brought Deirham into her Service; and

1541.

Abidgment of the History 272 Book I. at Lincoln, by the Lady Rochford's means. one Culpeper was brought to her in the Night, and stayed many Hours with her 1541. in a Cellar, and at his going away, she gave him a Gold Chain. The Queen, after a flight denial which she made at first. did at last confess all. Deirham, and Culpeper, were executed, and a Parliament was called upon it. When it met, a Committee was fent to examine the Queen: Their Report is recorded only in General, That she confessed, but no Particulars are mentioned. Upon that they pass'd an Act, in the Form of a Petition. 'In it they prayed the King, that the Queen and her Complices, with her Bawd the Lady Rochford, might be attainted of Treason: And that all those who knew of the Queen's Vicious Course before her Marriage, might be attainted of Misprision of Treason, for not revealing it to the 'King, before he married her. Among those were, her Father, and Mother, and her Grand-Mother, the Dutchess of Norfolk. It was also declared Treason; to know any thing of the Incontinence of any Queen for the future, and not to reveal it. And it was made Treason, in any whom the King intended to marry, 'judging they were Maids, not to reveal it, if they were not fuch. The Queen and the Lady Rochford were beheaded on

the 14th of February. She confessed her Incontinence before her Marriage, but denied to the last that she had broken her Wed-

Wed-lock, tho the Lasciviousness of her Book I. former Life, made the World easy to believe the worst things of her. All observed the Judgments of God on the Lady Rochford, who had been fo instrumental in the Ruine of Ann Bolleyn, and of her Husband: And when she, to whose Artifices their Fall was in a great Measure ascribed, was found to be so vile a Woman, it tended much to raise their Reputation again. The attainting her Kindred and Parents, for not difcovering her former Lewdness, was thought extream Severity: for it had been a hard piece of Duty to the King, in them, to have difcovered fuch a Secret: Yet tho they lay fome time in Prison, the King pardoned them all afterwards, when his Rage was a little qualified. That other Proviso, obliging a young Woman to discover her own Faultiness, if the King should make Love to her, was thought a Piece of grievous Tiranny: And upon this, those that ralled that Sex, took occasion to fay, that after this, none who was reputed a Maid, could be induced to marry the King: So that it was not fo much choice, as necessity, that made him marry a Widow, two Years after. Some Hospitals were this Year refigned to the King; but there was good ground to question the Validity of those Deeds, because by their Statutes it was provided, that the Consent of all the Fellows, was necessary to make their Deeds good in Law. So those Statutes

Book I. tutes were now by a special Ast annulled, and this made way for the Dissolution of

1542. many Hospitals.

A Design to superess the Bible.

The Bishops sitting in Convocation, took great pains to suppress the English Bible; but the King could not be prevailed on directly to call it in. So they complained much of the Translation then fet out; and intended to procure a Condemnation of that, and then to fet about a new one, in which it would be easy to: put fuch Delayes, that it should not be finished in many Years. Gardiner did also propose a singular Conceit, that many of the Latin Words should be still retained in the English; for he thought they had either such a Majesty, or so peculiar a Signification, that they could not be fitly rendered. He proposed an hundred of those, and it seems hoped, that if this could be carried, the Translation would be so full of Latine Words, that the People should not understand it for all its being in English. Cranmer, perceiving that the Bible was the great Eye-fore of that Party; and that they were refolved to suppress it by all the means they could think of, procured an Order from the King, referring the Correction of the Translation to the two Universities. The Bishops took this very ill; and all of them, except the Bishops of Ely, and St. Davids, protested against it.

Bonner's Injuncti-

At this time Bonner, gave some Injunctions to his Clergy, which had a strain

in them, so far different from the other Book !parts of his Life, that it is probable, he drew them not himself. 'He required 15421 his Clergy to read every day a Chapter 'in the Bible, with some Gloss upon it; and to study the Book set out by the Bifhops: That they should imploy no Cu-rats, but such as he approved of: That they should take care to instruct young Children well, in the Principles of the Christian Religion: That they hould not go to Taverns; nor use unlawful Games, chiefly on Sundays or Holy-days: That they should perform all the Duties of their Function, decently, and ferioufly: That they should suffer no Plays, nor Enterludes in Churches: And than in their Sermons, they should explain the Gospel and Epistle for the Day; and fludy to flir up the People to Good Works, and to Prayer; and should explain all the Ceremonies of the Church, but should forbear all railing or the reciting of fabulous Stories, and should chiefly fet forth the Excellencies of Vertue, and the Vileness of Sin: and that none under the degree of a Bishop should preach without a License.

In the former times there had been few The way or no Sermons, except in Lent; for on of preach-Holy Days the Sermons were Panegyricks ing in that on the Saints, and on the virtue of their Relicks. But in Lent there was a more folemn way of preaching; and the Friars maintained their Credit much by the pa-T 2 thetick

Book I. thetick Sermons they preached in that time, by which they wrought much on the Affections of the People; yet these for the most part tended most to extol some of the Laws of the Church, as Fasting, Confession, and other Austerities, with the making Pilgrimages; but they were careful to acquaint the People as little as was posfible, with the true Simplicity of Christianity, or the Scriptures; and they seemed to design rather to raise a sudden Heat, than to work a real Change in their Auditors. They had also mixt so much out of Legends with their Sermons, that the People came to disbelieve all that they said for the sake of those Fabulous things, with which their Sermons were embased. The Reformers took great care to instruct their Hearers in the Fundamentals of Religion of which they had known little formerly: This made the Nation run after these Teachers with a wonderful Zeal; but they mixed too much Sharpness against the Friars in their Sermons, which was judged indecent in them to do; tho their Hypocrify and Cheats did in a great measure excuse those Heats: and it was observed that our Saviour had exposed the Pharisees in so plain a manner, that it did very much justify the treating them with some Roughness; yet it is not to be denied but Resentments for the Cruelties they or their Friends had suffered by their means, might have too much Influence on them. This made it feem necessary to fuffer none to preach, at least out of their own Parishes, without

without Licence, and many were licenfed Book I. to preach as Itinerants. There was also a Book of Homilies on all the Epistles and Gospels in the Year, put out, which contained a plain Paraphrase of those Parcels of Scripture; together with some practical Exhortations founded on them. Many Complaints were made of those that were licenfed to preach, and that they might be able to justify themselves, they began generally to write and read their Sermons: and thus did this Custom begin, in which, what is wanting in the heat and force of Delivery, is much made up by the strength and folidity of the Matter; and has produced many Volumes of as excellent Sermons, as have been preached in any Age. Plays and Enterludes were a great Abuse in that time; in them Mock-Representations were made both of the Clergy and of the Pageantry of their Worship. The Clergy complained much of these as an Introduction to Atheism, when things Sacred were thus laught at; and faid, They that begun to laugh at Abuses, would not cease till they had represented all the Mysteries of Religion as ridiculous: The graver fort of Reformers did not approve of it, but political Men encouraged it; and thought nothing would more effectually pull down the Abuses, that yet remained, than the exposing them to the fcorn of the Nation.

A War did now break out between Eng- A wir land and Scotland at the Instigation of the with Scot-King of France. King Henry set out a land.

T 3

Decla-

Book I. Declaration, pretending that the Crown of 1542.

Scotland owed Homage to him: and cited many Precedents to shew that Homage was done not only by their Kings, but by confent of the States; for which Original Records were appealed to. The Scots on the other hand, afferted that they were a free and independent Kingdom; that the Homages antiently made by their Kings, were only for Lands which they had in England; and that those more lately made, were either offered by Pretenders in the case of a doubtful Title, or were extorted by And they faid, their Kings could not give up the Rights of a free Crown and People. The Duke of Norfolk made an In-road into Scotland, with 20000 Men in October: but after he had burnt some small Towns, and wasted Teviordale, he returned back to England. In the end of Navember an Army of 15000 Scots with a good Train of Artillery, was brought together: They intended to march into England by the Western Road. The King went to it in Person; but he was at this time, much disturbed in his Fancy, and thought the Ghost of one whom he had unjustly put to death, followed him continually; he not only left the Army, but fent a Commission to Oliver Sinclare, then called his Minion, to command in chief. This difgusted the Nebility very much, who were become weary of the Infolence of that Favourite: so they refused to march, and were beginping to separate. While they were in this Disorder.

Disorder, 500 English appeared, and they Book I apprehending it was a fore Party of the Duke of Norfolk's Army, refused to fight; fo the English fell upon them and dispersed them: they took all their Ordinance and Baggage, and 1000 Prisoners, of whom 200 were Gentlemen. The chief of these were the Earls of Glencarn and Cassilis: The News of this fo over-charged the Melancholy King, that he died foon after, leaving only an Infant Daughter newly born to succeed him. The Lords that were taken, were brought up to London, and lodged in the Houses of the English Nobility: Cassilis was sent to Lambeth, where he received those Seeds of Knowledg, which produced afterwards a great Harvest in Scotland. The other Prisoners were also instructed to such a degree, that they came to have very different Thoughts of the Changes that had been made in England, from what the Scotish Clergy had pollelled them with; who had encouraged their King to engage in the War, both by the assurance of Victory, since he fought against an Heretical Prince, and the Contribution of 50000 Crowns a Year. The King's Death, and the Crowns falling to his Daughter, made the English Council lay hold on this as a proper Conjuncture for uniting the whole Island in one: therefore they fent for the Scotish Lords, and propofed to them, the marrying the Prince of Wales to their young Queen; this the Scots liked very well, and promised to promote

Book I. mote it all they could: And so upon their giving Hostages for the performing their Promises faithfully, they were sent home, aud went away much pleased both with the Splendor of the King's Court, and with the way of Religion which they had feen in England.

A Parliament calsed.

A Parliament was called, in which the King had great Subfidies given him, of fix Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three Years. A Bill was proposed for the advancement of true Religion, by Cranmer, and some other Bishops; for the Spirits of the Popish Party were much fallen ever fince the last Queen's Death; yet at this time a Treaty was fet on foot between the King and the Emperour, which raised them a little: for fince the King was like to engage in a War with France, it was necessary for him to make the Emperour his Friend. Cranmer's Motion was much opposed, and the timorous Bishops forfook him; yet he put it as far as it would go, tho in most Points things went against him; 'By it Tindall's Translation of the 6 Bible was condemned as crafty and false, and also all other Books contrary to the Doctrine set forth by the Bishops. But Bibles of another Translation, were still allowed to be kept, only all Prefaces or Annotations that might be in them, were to be dashed or cut out: All the King's 'Injunctions were confirmed: No Books of Religion might be printed without Licence; there was to be no Exposition

An Act about Relegion.

of Scripture in Plays or Enterludes; none Book I. of the Laity might read the Scripture, or explain it in any publick Assembly: But 1543. a Provifo was made for publick Speeches, which then began generally with a Text of Scripture, and were like Sermons. Noblemen, Gentlemen and their Wives, or Merchants might have Bibles, but no ordinary Woman, Tradesman, Apprentice, or Husbandman, might have any. Every Person might have the Book set out by the Bishops, and the Psalter, and other Rudiments of Religion in English. All Churchmen that preached contrary to that Book, for the first Offence, were only required to recant; for the second, to abjure and carry a Faggot; but were to be burnt for the third: the Laity for the third Offence were only to forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and to be liable to perpetual Imprisonment; but they were to be proceeded against within a Year: The Parties accused, were not allowed Wit-enesses for their Purgation. The Act of the fix Articles was confirmed, and it was left free to the King, to change this Act, or any Proviso in it. There was also a new Act past, giving Authority to the King's Proclamations, and any nine Privy Counfellours were empowered to proceed against Offenders: To this the Lord Mountjoy dissented, and it is the only Instance of any Protestation against any of the publick Acts that past in this whole Reign. By the Act about Religion, as the Laity were delivered from

Book I. from the fear of Burning; so the Clergy might not be burnt but upon the third Conviction. The Act being also put entirely in the King's Power, he had now the Reformers all at mercy; for he could bind up the Act, or execute it as he pleased: and he affected this much to have his People depend entirely upon him. The League offensive and defensive for England and Calais, and for the Netherlands, was fworn by the King and the Emperour: and Assurances were given, that tho the King would not declare Lady Mary legitimate, upon which the Emperour infifted much, yet she should be put in the Succession to the Crown next Prince Edward. The Emperour was glad thus to engage the Kings of England and France in a War, by which the Germans were left without Support, and fo he refolved to carry on his great design of making himself Master of Germany.

Affairs in Scotland.

In Scotland the Earl of Arran, Hamilton, next in Blood to the young Queen, was established in the Government during the Queen's Minority: he was a Man of great Vertue, and much inclined to the Reformation; but was foft and easie to be King Henry fent Sir Ralph wrought on. Sadler to him, to induce him to fet forward the Match; and to offer him Lady Elizabeth to his Son. It was agreed and confirmed in Parliament, that the Young Queen should be bred in Scotland till she was ten Years old; the King of England sending a Nobleman and his Lady with others not exceed-

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exceeding twenty, to wait on her: and Book I. after that Age, she was to be fent to England; and in the mean while fix Hostages were to be given: but all the Clergy headed by Cardinal Beaton, fet themselves much against this. The Queen-Mother opposed it much, and it was also faid, a Match with the French, would be more for the Interest of the Nation, who being at so great a distance, could not oppress them so easily as the English might: for if the French opprest them, the English would be ready to protect them, but if they came under the Yoke of England, they could expect no Protection from any other Prince. meeting with that Antipathy that was then formed between the two Nations, and being inflamed by the Clergy, turned the People generally to prefer a Match with France, to that which was proposed for the Prince of Wales. The French fent over the Earl of Lennox to make a Party against the Governour; they fent also over the Governour's Base-Brother, afterwards made Arch-bishop of St. Andrews, to take him out of the hands of the English: and he made him apprehend great danger if he went on in his Opposition to the Interests of Rome, that he would be declared illegitimate, as being begotten in a fecond Marriage, while the first that was annulled because of a Precontract, did subsist; for if the annulling the first should be reversed, then the second could be of no force; and if that were once done, the Earl of Lennox, who was nextBook I to him in blood, would be preferred to him: These threatnings joyned with his Brother's Artifices, had their full Effect on him: for he turned off wholly from the Interests of England, and gave himself up to the French Councils. When it was thus refolved to break the Match with England; the Lords that had left Hostages for their faithful performing the Promises they made to King Henry, were little concerned either in their own Honour, or in the fafety of their Hostages: only the Earl of Cassilis, thought it was unworthy of him, to break his Faith in fuch a manner; fo he came into England, and put himself in King Henry's Hands, who upon that called him another Regulus, but used him better; for he gave him his Liberty and a Noble Present, and fent him back with his Hostages, but refolved to take a severe Reparation of those who had failed him in that Kingdom. At the same time he began the War with France; one of the Reasons he gave for it was, that Francis had failed in the matter of shaking off the Pope's Authority, and advancing a Reformation, in which he had promised to second him.

The King married Katherine Parre, Widow to Nevill, Lord Latimer: She fecretly favoured the Reformation, but could not divert a Storm which fell then on a Society at Windfor. Person a Priest, Testwood and Marbeck, two Singing-men, and Filmer, one of the Town, were informed against by Dr. London, who had infinuated

himself

Some burnt at Windsor.

himself much into Cromwel's Favour, and Book I was eminently zealous in the Suppression ...... of the Monasteries: But now he made his Court no less dextrously to the Popish Party. Gardiner moved in Council, That a Commission might be granted for searching all fuspected Houses, for Books written against the fix Articles: So the four before mentioned, were found to have fome of them; and upon that account were seized on. Sir Philip Hobbey, and Dr. Hains, Dean of Exeter, were also put in Prison. There was a Concordance of the Bible, and some Notes upon it, in English, found written by Marbeck, which was look'd on as the Work of some learned Man, for it was known that he was illi-Marbeck faid, the Notes were his own, gathered by him, out of fuch Books as he fell on. And for the Concordance, he faid, he compiled it by the help of a Latin Concordance, and an English Bible, tho he understood little Latin. He had brought it to the Letter L. This feemed fo incredible, that it was look'd on only as a Pretence to conceal the true Author: fo to try him, they gave him some Words of the Letter M, and shut him up, with a Latin Concordance, and an English Bible; and by his Performance in that, they clearly faw, that the whole Work was his own, and were not a little aftonished at the Ingeniousness and Diligence of so poor a Man. When the King heard of it, he faid, Marbeck was better imployed than they

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Book I they were that examined him: So he was preserved, tho the other three were condemned, for fome Words which they had fpoken against the Mass, and upon that were burnt. Dr. London, and Simonds an Attorney, had taken some Informations against several Persons of Quality at Court, and intended to have carried the Design very high. But a great Pacquet, in which all their Project was disclosed by them, being intercepted, they were fent for, and examined about it; but they denied it upon Oath, not knowing that their Let-ters were taken; and were not a little confounded when their own Handwriting was flewed them. So they were convicted of Perjury, and were set on a Pillory, and made ride about with their Faces to the Horses Tails, and Papers on their Breasts, in three several Places, which did so affect Dr. London, that he died soon after.

Ruine is designed.

The chief thing aimed at by the whole Popish Party was Cranmer's Ruine; Gardiner imploied many to infuse it into the King, that he gave the chief Encouragement to Herely of any in England, and that it was in vain to lop off the Branches, and leave the Root still growing. The King till then would never hear the Complaints that were made of him: But now to penetrate into the depth of this Design, he was willing to draw out all that was to be faid against him. Gardiner reckoned, that this Point being gained, all the rest would follow:

follow: And judged, that the King was Book I. now alienated from him; and fo more Instruments and Artifices than ever were now made use of. A long Paper, of many Particulars, both against Cranmer, and his Chaplains, was put in the King's hands. So upon this the King sent for him; and after he had complained much of the Herefy in England, he said, He resolved to find out the chief Promoter of it, and to make him an Example. Cranmer wished him first to confider well what Herefy was, that so he might not condemn those as Hereticks, who stood for the Word of God against Humane Inventions. Then the King told him franckly, That he was the Man complained of, as most guilty; and shewed him all the Informations that he had received against him. Cranmer confessed, he was still of the same mind that he was of when he opposed the fix Articles, and submitted himself to a Trial: He confessed many things to the King; in particular, that he had a Wife, but he faid he had fent her out of England, when the Act of the fix Articles past; and expressed so great a Sincerity, and put so entire a Confidence in the King, that instead of being ruined, he was now better established with him than formerly. The King commanded him to appoint fome to examine the Contrivance that was laid to destroy him. He answered, That it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a Cause, in which himself was concerned: Yet the King was positive; fo he

Book I. so he named some to go about it, and the whole secret was found out. It appeared, that Gardiner, and Dr. London, had been the chief Sticklers, and had encouraged Informers to appear against him. Cranmer did not press the King to give him any Reparation; for he was so noted for his readiness to forgive Injuries, and to do Good for Evil, that it was commonly faid, that the best way to obtain his Favour, was to do him an Injury; of this he gave fignal Instances at this time, both in Relation to some of the Clergy and Laity; by which it appeared that he was acted by that meek and lowly Spirit, that became all the Followers of Christ; but more particularly one, that was fo great an Instrument in reforming the Christian Religion; and did in such eminent Acts of Charity, shew that he himself practised that, which he taught others to do.

1544. The Att of the Succeffion.

A Parliament was now called, in which the great Act of Succession to the Crown past: 'By it the Crown was first provided to Prince Edward and his Heirs, or the 'Heirs by the King's present Marriage; 'after them to Lady Mary and Lady Eli-'zabeth, and in case they had no Issue, or did not observe such Limitations or Conditions as the King should appoint, then it was to fall to any other whom the King 's should name, either by his Letters Patents, or by his last Will signed with his Hand. 'An Oath was appointed both against the Pope's Supremacy, and for the maintaining 6 the

Succession according to this Act, which Book I. 'all were required to take, under the pains of Treason: It was made Treason to say or write any thing contrary to this Act, or to the Slander of any of the King's Heirs named in it. By this, tho the King did not Legitimate his Daughters, yet it was made Criminal for any to object Bastardy to them. Another Act pait, qualifying the Severity of the Act of the ax Articles; none were to be imprisoned but upon a Legal Presentment, except upon the King's Warrant. None was to be challenged for Words, but within a Year; nor for a Sermon, but within 40 Days: was made to prevent fuch Conspiracies as had been discovered the former Year. Another Act past, renewng the Authority given to 32 to reform the Ecclesiastical Law, which Cranmer promoted much; and to fet it forward, he drew out of the Canon Law, a Collection of many things against the Regal, and for the Papal Authority, with feveral other very Extravagant Propositions, to shew how Indecent a thing it was, to let a Book, in which fuch things were, continue still in any credit in England: But he could not bring this to any good Issue, during this Reign. Another Act past, discharging all the King's Debts; and they also required such as had received payment to bring back the Money into the Exchequer. This was taxed as a piece of gross Injustice; and it was thought strange, that since the King had done

Book I done this once before, he could have the . credit to raise more Mony, and be tempted to do it a second time. A General Pardon was granted, out of which, Herely was ex-

The King on France an ! Scotland.

cepted.

The King was now engaged in a War, makes War both with France and Scotland; and to make his Treasure hold out the longer, he embased the Coin in a very Extraordinary manner. The Earl of Hartford was fent with an Army by Sea to Scotland; he landed at Grantham, a little above Leith. He burnt both Leith and Edinburgh; but he neither staied to take the Castle of Edinburgh, nor did he Fortify Leith, but only waited the Country, all the Way from that to Berwick. He did too much if it was intended to gain the Hearts of that Nation; and too little if it was intended. to fubdue them; for this did only inflame their Spirits more, by which, they were so united in their Aversion to England, that the Earl of Lennox, who had been cast off by France, and was gone over to the English Interest, could make no Party in the West, but was forced for his own Preservation to fly into England. Audley the Chancellour, dying at this time, Wriothesly, that was of the Popish Party, was put in his place: And Dr. Petre, that was hitherto Cranmer's Friend, was made Secretary of State: So equally did the King keep the Ballance between both Parties, and being to cross the Seas, he left a Commission for the Administration of Affairs, \* during

during his Absence, to the Queen, the Book I. Archbishop, the Chancellour, the Earl of Hartford; and Secretary Petre: And if 1544. they should have any occasion to raise any Force, he appointed the Earl of Hartford, his Lieutenant. He gave order also to Translate the Prayers, and Processions. and Litanies, into the English Tongue, which gave the Reformers fome hopes again; that he had not quite cast off his Designes of corrupting such Abuses, as \* reforming had crept into the Worship of God. And they hoped, That the Reasons which prevailed with the King for this, would also induce him to order a Translation, of all the other Offices into the English Tongue.

. The King croffed the Sea with great The King Pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloth takes Bullof Gold. He fat down before Bulloign, and took it after a Siege of two Months. It was foon after very near being retaken by a Surprise, but the Garison being quickly put in order, beat out the French. Thus the King returned Victorious; and was as much flattered for taking this fingle Town, as if he had conquered a Kingdom. The Inroads that were made into Scotland this Winter; were Insuccessful.

The King of France set out a Fleet of 1545. above 300 Ships; and the King set out a hundred Sail: On both fides they were only Merchant-men hired upon this Occafion. The French made two Descents upon England, but was beat back with 11 2

Book I. loss. The English made a Descent in Normandy, and burnt some Towns. The Princes of Germany saw their Danger, is this War went on; for the Pope and Emperour had made a League for procuring Obedience to the Council, that was now opened at Trent. The Emperour was raising an Army, tho he had made Peace both with the King of France, and the Turk; and was resolved to make good use of this Opportunity, the two Crowns being now in War. So the Germans sent to me

long at the business of Bulloign.

Lee, Archbishop of York, died this Year.

Holgate was removed from Landaffe thither, who in his Heart favoured the Reformation. Kitchin was put in Landaffe, who turned with every Change that was made. Heath was removed from Rochester to Worcester; and Holbeach was put in Rochester. Day was made Bishop of Chichester. All those were moderate Men, and well disposed to a Reformation, at least to

diate a Peace between them: but it stuck

comply with it.

Wishart burnt in Scotland.

This Year Wishart was burnt in Scotland: He was Educated at Cambridge, and went home the former Year. In many places he preached against Idolatry, and the other Abuses in Religion. He stayed long at Dundee; but by the means that Cardinal Beaton used, he was driven out of that Town; and at his Departure, he denounced heavy Judgments on them, for rejecting the Gospel. He went and preached

ed in many other places, and Enterance Book I. to the Churchs being denied him, he preached in the Fields. He would not 1545. fuffer the People to open the Church Doors by Violence, for that, he said, became not the Gospel of Peace which he preached to them. He heard the Plague had broke out in Dundee, within four Days after he was banished; so he returned thither, and took care of the Sick, and did all the Offices of a faithful Pattor among them. He shewed his Gentleness towards his Enemies, by rescuing a Priest that was coming to kill him, but was difcovered, and was like to have been torn in pieces by the People. He foretold feveral extraordinary things; particularly his own Sufferings, and the spreading the Reformation over the Land. He preached last in Lothian, and there the Earl of Both-wel took him, but promised upon his Honour, that no harm should be done him; vet he delivered him to the Cardinal, who brought him to St. Andrews, and called a Meeting of Bilhops thither, to destroy him with the more Solemnity. The Governour being much prest to it, by a Worthy Gentleman of his Name, Hamilton of Preston, sent the Cardinal word not to proceed against him, till he should come and hear the Matter examined himself. But the Cardinal went on, and in a publick Court condemned him as an Heretick, upon feveral Articles that were objected to him, which he confessed, and offered to justify. 11 3

Book I. The Night after that he spent in Prayer; next Morning he defired he might have the Sacrament according to Christ's Institution in both kinds; but that being denied him, he confecrated the Elements himself, and fome about him were willing to communicate with him. He was carried out to the Stake near the Cardinal's Palace; who was set in State in a great Window, and looked on this sad Spectacle. Wishart declared that he felt much Joy within himfelf, in offering up his Life for the Name of Christ, and exhorted the People not to be offended at the Word of God, for the 'lake of the Cross. After the Fire was set to and was burning him, he faid, 'This Flame hath scorched my Body, but hath not daunted my Spirits; and he foretold that the Cardinal should in a few days be ignominiously laid out in that very place where he now fate in fo much State; but as he speak that, the Executioner drew the Cord that was about his Neck fo strait, that these were the last Words.

Cardinal Rearon is murdered.

The Clergy rejoyced much at his Death, and extolled the Cardinal's Courage, for proceeding in it against the Governours Orders. But the People look'd on him as both a Prophet and a Martyr. It was also said that his Death was no less than Murder, fince no Writ was obtained for it; and the Clergy could burn none without a Warrant from the Secular Power: fo it was inferred that the Cardinal deserved to dy for it; and if his Greatness fet him above the Law, then Private Persons might Book I. execute that which the Governour could not do: Such Practices had been formerly too common in that Kingdom; and now upon this occasion some Gentlemen of Quality came to think it would be an Heroical Action to conspire his Death. His Infolence had rendred him generally very hateful: fo private and publick Refentments concurring, twelve Persons entred into a fatal Engagement of killing him privately in his House. On the 30th of May, they first surprized the Gate early in the Morning, and tho there were an hundred lodged in the Castle, yet they being asleep, they came to them apart, and either turned them out, or thut them up in their Chambers: Having made all fure, they came to the Cardinal's Chamber-door; he was fast asseep, but by their Rudeness, he was both awakened, and perceived they had a design on his Life: upon the assurance of Life, he opened his Door, but they did cruelly and treacheroully murder him, and laid out his Body in the same Window, from which he had looked on Wisharts Exccution. Some few justified this Fact, as the killing of a Robber and Murderer; but it was more generally condemned by all forts of People, even by those who hated him most; yet the Accomplishment of Wishart's Prediction made great Impressions on many. On the other hand, it was afterwards obferved that scarce any of the Conspirators died an ordinary Death. They kept out 11 4 the

1545.

Book I. the Castle, and about 140 came in to them, and they held it near two Years, being affifted both by Mony and Provisions that were sent from England. They had also the Govenour at their Mercy, for they kept his eldest Son, whom the Cardinal had taken into his Care for his Education. An Absolution was brought from Rome, and a Pardon was offered them; and at last, being straitned both at Sea and Land, they rendred the Place upon Assurance of Life. This Infamous Action was a great Blemish upon the Reformers, who, tho they did not directly justify it, yet extenuated it, and gave it some Countenance; for two of them went in and preached to the Garrison in the Castle.

Chantries given to shall sag.

In England a Parliament met, in which as the Spiritualty gave a Subfidy of fix Shillings in the Pound, payable in two Years; fo the Temporalty not only gave a Sublidy for the War, but confirmed all the Surrenders that had been made of Chantries, Chappels, Colledges, Hospitals, and other Foundations, for faying Masses for departed Souls: and they empowered the King during his Life to grant Commislions for seizing on the rest of them. Yet the King found this was like to give new Discontent to the Gentry, to whom these belonged, so he made but a small Progress in it, and many were referved to his Sons Courtiers to feed on. The King difmiffed the Parliament with a long Speech, 'In which after he had thanked them for their

Bills, he exhorted them to Charity and Book I. Concord in matters of Religion; and to forbear all Terms of Reproach, such as Papist and Heretick: he complained much of the Stifness of some Church-men, and of the Indiscretion of others, who both gave ill Example, and fowed the Seeds of Discord among the Laity. He, as God's Vicar, thought himself bound to see these things corrected: he reproved the Temporalty for the ill use they made of the Scripture; for instead of being taught out of it to live better, and to be more charitable to one another, they only railed at one another, and made Songs out of it, to differed those that differed from them; so he exhorted them to serve God, and love one another, which he would esteem the best Expression of their Duty and Obedience to him. The King had appointed a Distribution of 550 l. a year in feveral Cathedrals, for the Poor, and about 400 l. for High-ways; fo this Year some Bishops were appointed to see whether those Payments were made as he had ordered or not. The Universities were now in danger of having their Colledges supprest, but upon their Applications to the Kiug, they were delivered from their Fears.

Now came on the last Year of this Reign, A Peace the War with France was this Year unfuc- France. cesful, but upon the Earl of Surrey's being recalled, and the Earl of Hartford's being fent in his room, things turned a little.

Book I. This raised such Animosity between those two Lords, that they became fatal to the former. The two Kings were at last brought to confent to a Peace; the main Article of it was, that within eight Years Bulloigne should be delivered up, the taking and keeping of which, cost England 1300000 l. Upon this Peace Annebault the French Admiral, was fent over Ambassadour. The Council of Trent was now fitting, Paol was made a Legate to do the King the more Spite: the Emperour and the Pope governed it as they pleased: fo the two Crowns resolved to unite more firmly; particularly it was proposed, that the Mass should be turned to a Communion; and Cranmer was ordered to prepare the Office for it. But this was too great a Design for two old Kings to accomplish.

Anne Aifa bers burns.

There was at this time a new Profecuticough and on of those that denied the Corporal Prefence in the Sacrament, Shaxton was accufed of some Words about it, but he abjured, and complied fo entirely, that foon after he preached the Sermon at the burning of Anne Aiscough; he made no noise all King Edward's time, yet in Queen Mary's Reign, he was a Persecutor of Prote-Itants, but was so little esteemed, that tho he had been Bishop of Salisbury, he was raised no higher than to be Bishop Suffragan of Ely. Several other Persons were at this time endicted upon the same Statute, but most of them recanted; Anne Aiscough flood

stood firm, she was descended from a good Book 1. Family, and had been well educated, but U was unhappily married; for her Husband being a violent Papist, drove her out of his House, when he discovered her Inclinations to the Reformation; she was put in Prison on the account of the Sacrament, but figned a Recantation, and fo was fet at Liberty; yet not long after she was committed again upon a new Complaint, and was examined before the Privy Council, but answered with extraordinary Resolution; yetit was thought by some that she was too forward in her manner of speaking: she had been much at Court, and it was believed she was supported by some Ladies there: fo in order to the Discovery of this, The was carried to the Tower and rack'd; yet she confess'd nothing. Wriothesly was present, and commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower to draw the Rack a little more, but he refused to do it; upon which the Chancellour laid aside his Gown and drew it himself with so much Force, as if he had intended to rend her Body afunder; and the Effects of this were fo violent, that The was not able to go to Smithfield, but was carried thither in a Chair when she was burnt: Two others were also condemned on the same account, and Shaxton to compleat his Apostacy, after he had in vain endeavoured to perswade them to abjure, preached the Sermon at their Burning, in which he inveighed feverely against their Errors. The Lord Chancellour came

Book I. to Smithfield, and offered them their Pardons if they would recant, but they chose rather to glorify God by their Deaths, than to dishonour him by so foul an Apo-stacy. There were two burnt in Suffolk, and one in Norfolk, on the same account, this Year.

Designs against Cranmer

But the Popish Party hoped to have greater Sacrifices offered up to their Revenge: They had laid a Train last Year for Cranmer, and they had laid one now for the Queen. They perswaded the King, that Cranmer was the Source of all the Herefy that was in England; but the King's Partiality to him was fuch, that none would come in against him: So they desired, that he might be once put in the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform against him. The King seemed to confent to this; and they resolved to execute it the next day: but in the Night the King fent for Cranmer, and told him, what was refolved concerning him. Cranmer thanked the King for giving him notice of it, and not leaving him to be furprised. He submitted to it, only he desired he might be heard answer for himself; and that he might have indifferent Judges who understood those matters. The King wondered to fee him so little concerned in his own Preservation; but told him, he must take care of him, fince he took so little care of himfelf. The King therefore gave him Instructions to appear before the Council, and to defire to fee his Accusers before he

he should be fent to the Tower; and that Book I. he might be used by them, as they would wo desire to be used in the like Case: And if he could not prevail by the force of Reafon, then he was to appeal to the King in Person, and was to shew the King's Seal-Ring, which he took from his Finger and gave him; and they knew it all so well that they would do nothing after they once faw that; fo he being fummoned next Morning came over to White-Hall: He was kept long in the Lobbey before he was called in: But when that was done, and he had obferved the Method the King had ordered him to use, and had at last shewed the Ring, they rose all in great Confusion, and went to the King. He chid them feverely for what they had done, and expressed his Esteem and Kindness to Cranmer, in such Terms, that his Enemies were glad to get off, by pretending, that they had no other Defign, but to have his Innocence declared in a publick Trial; and were now fo convinced of the King's unalterable Favour to him, that they never made any more Attempts upon him.

But what they durst not do in Relation And ato Cranmer, they thought might be more gainft the fafely tried against the Queen, who was known to love the New Learning, which was the common Phrase for the Reformation. She used to have Sermons in her Privy Chamber, which could not be fo fecretly carried, but that it came to the King's Knowledge. Yet her Conduct in all other things

Book I. things was fo exact, and she expressed such a tender care of the King's Person, that it was observed, she had gained much upon him; but his Peevishness, growing with

him; but his Peevishness, growing with his Distempers, made him fometimes uneasy, even to her. They used often to talk of Matters of Religion; and sometimes she held up the Argument for the Reformers fo stifly, that he was offended at it; yet as foon as that appeared, she let it fall; but once the Debate continuing long, the King expressed his Displeasure at it to Gardiner, when she went away. He took hold of this Opportunity, to perfwade the King, that she was a great Cherisher of Hereticks. Wriothesly joined with him in the same Artifice, and filled the angry King's Head with many Stories; in fo much, that he figned the Articles upon which she was to be Impeached. But Wriothesy let that Paper fall from him carelesty. and it happened to be taken up by one of the Queen's Friends, who carried it to her: Upon which she went to the King, and brought on a Discourse of Religion; and after a little Opposition, she yielded, and seemed convinced by the King's Rea-fons, and told him, That she only held up that Argument to be instructed by him; and fometimes to engage him in Difcourse, and so to make him forget his pains; and this she seconded with such; Flattery, that he was perfectly fatisfied, and reconciled to her. Next day, as he was walking with her in the Garden, Wriothefly

thefly came thither on design to have carry- Book I. ed her to the Tower; but the King chid him severely for it, and was heard to call 1546. him Knave and Fool. The good natured Queen interposed to mitigate his Difpleasure, but the King told her, She had no reason to be concerned for him: Thus the Delign against her, vanished; and Gardiner that had fet it on, lost the King's

Favour entirely by it.

But now the Fall of the Duke of Nor- The Duke folk, and his Son the Earl of Surry, came of Noron. The Father had been long Treasurer, and had ferved the King with great Fidelity and Success: His Son was a Man of rare Qualities; he had a great Wit, and was more than ordinary learned. He particularly hated the Earl of Hartford, and scorned an Alliance with him, which his Father had projected. The Duke of Norfolk had intended to unite his Family to the Seimours, by marrying his Son to the Earl of Hartford's Daughter; and his Daughter the Dutchess of Richmond, to Sir Thomas Seimour: But both his Children refused to comply with him in it. The Seimours were apprehensive of the Opposition they might meet with, if the King should die, from the Earl of Surry, who was a high spirited Man, had a vast Fortune, and was the Head of the Popish Party. It was likewise suspected, that he kept himself unmarried in hopes of marrying the Lady Mary. The Duke's Family was also fatally divided: Dutchess

Book I. Dutchess had been separated from him? about four Years, and now turned Informer against him. His Daughter did also hate her Brother, and was a Spy upon him. One Holland, a Whore of the Duke's, did also betray him, and discovered all she could; yet all amounted to no more than . fome Complaints of the Fathers, who thought the Services he had done the Crown were little regarded; and some Threatnings of the Sons. It was also said, that the Father gave the Coat of Arms that belonged to the Prince of Wales, and the Son gave Edward the Confessors Coat: but that was only a Pretence to make a noise among the People, and to cover the want of more important matter against them. One Southwel objected things of a higher Nature to the Earl of Surry. He denied them, and defired, that according to the Martial Law, they might have a Trial by Combate, and fight in their Shirts: But that was not granted; yet both Father and Son were put in the Tower.

1547. The Earl of Surry executed.

The Earl of Surry was tried by a Jury of Commoners, and was found guilty of Treason; and executed on the 19th of Fanuary. He was much lamented; and the Blame of his Death being cast on the Seimours, raised a General Odium against them. The old Duke faw a Parliament called to destroy him by an Act of Attainder, for there was not matter enough to ruine him at Common Law; fo to prevent

that

1547:

that he made fuch humble Submission to the Book I. King, as would have mollified any that had not Bowels of Brais. He wrote to him, That he had spent his whole Life in his Service, without having fo much as a Thought to his Prejudice. He had obeyed all the King's Laws, and was refolved to obey all that ever he should make. He begged that he might be heard, with his Accusers face to face. He prayed that the King would take all his Lands, and Goods, and only restore him to his Favour, and grant him fuch an Allowance to live on, as he thought fit. He went further, and fet his Hand to a Confession of feveral Crimes; as 1. His revealing the Secrets of the King's Council. 2. His concealing his Son's Treason, in giving the Arms of Edward the Confessor. 3. His own giving the Arms of England, with the Labels of Silver which belonged only to the Prince, which he acknowledged was High Treason, and therefore he begged the King's Mercy. But all this had no effect on the King, tho his drawing so near his end, ought to have begot in him a greater regard to the shedding of Innocent Blood.

When the Parliament met, the King was And the not able to come to Westminster, but he sent Duke athis Pleasure to them by a Commission. He All of intended to have Prince Edward Crowned Parlia-Prince of Wales; and therefore defired ment. they would make all possible hast in the Attain-

Book I. Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, that fo the Places which he held by Patent, might be disposed of to others, who should assist at the Coronation; which, tho it was a very flight Excuse, for so high a piece of Injustice, yet it had that effect, that in feven Days, both Houses past the Bill. On the 27th of January, the Royal Assent. was given by those Commissioned by the King; and the Execution was ordered to be next Morning. There was no special Matter in the Act, but that of the Coat of Arms, which he and his Ancestors were used to give, according to Records in the Herauld's Office; so that this was condemned by all Persons, as a most Inexcu-Sable Act of Tyranny. But the Night after this, the King died, and it was thought contrary to the Decencies of Government. to begin a new Reign with fo Unjustifiable an Act, as the beheading of the old Duke, and so he was preserved: both Sides made Inferences from this Calamity that fell on him. The Papifts faid. It was God's just Judgment on him, for his Obsequiousness to King Henry. But the Protestants said, It was a just return on him, for what he had done against Cromwel, and many others, on the account of the fix Articles. Cranmer would not meddle in this Matter, but that he might be out of the way, he retired to Croydon, whereas Gardiner that had been his Friend all along, continued still about the Court. The

The King's Distemper had been grow- Book L. ing long upon him. He was become fo Corpulent, that he could not go up and 1547. down Stairs, but made use of an Ingine, The King's when he intended to walk in his Garden, sickness. by which he was let down and drawn up. He had an old Sore in his Leg, that pained him much, the Humours of his Body discharging themselves that way, till at last all setled in a Dropfy. Those about him were afraid to let him know till at last all setled in a Dropsy. that his Death seemed near, lest that might have been brought within the Statute of foretelling his Death, which was made Treason. His Will was made ready, and as it was given out, was signed by him on the 30th of December. He had made one at his last going over to France. All the Change that he made at this time was, that he ordered Gardiner's Name to be struck out, for in that formerly made, he was named one of the Executors. When Sir Anthony Brown endeavoured to perswade him not to put that Disgrace on an old Servant, he continued politive in it; for he faid, he knew his Temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the Power of others to do it, if he were put in so high a Trust. The most mate-rial thing in the Will, was, the preferring the Children of his second Sister, by Charles Brandon, to the Children of his eldest Sister the Queen of Scotland, in the Succession to the Crown. Some Objecti-X 2 ODS

. 1547.

Book I. ons were made to the Validity and Truth of the Will. It was not figned by the King's Hand, as it was directed by the Act of Parliament, but only stamped with his Name; and it was faid, this was done when he was dying, without any Order given for it by himself; for proof of which, the Scots that were most concerned, appealed to many Witnesses; and chiefly, to a Deposition which the Lord Paget had made, who was then Secretary of State. On his Death-bed he finished the Foundation of Trinity-Colledge in Cambridge, and of Christ's-Church Hospital near Newgate; vet this last was not so fully setled as was needful, till his Son compleated what he had begun.

And Death.

On the 27th of January, his Spirits funk fo, that it was visible he had not long to live. Sir Anthony Denny took the courage to tell him, that Death was approaching, and defired him to call on God for his Mercy. The King exprest in general his Sorrow for his past Sins, and his Trust in the Mercies of God in Christ Jesus. He ordered Cranmer to be fent for, but he was speechless before he could be brought from Croidon; yet he gave a Sign that he understood what he faid to him, and soon after, he died, in the 57th Year of his Age, after he had reigned 37 Years, and nine Months. His Death was concealed three days, for the Parliament which was diffolved with his last Breath, continued to

do

do business till the 3 1st, and then his Death Book I. was published. It is probable the Seimours concealed it so long, till they made a 1547. Party for the putting the Government into their own Hands.

The Severities he used against many of An achis Subjects in matters of Religion, made his seve both sides write with great Sharpness of rivies ahim: His Temper was Imperious and gainst the Cruel: He was both sudden and violent Priests. in his Revenges, and stuck at nothing by which he could either gratify his Lust, or. his Passion. This was much provoked, by the Sentence the Pope thundered against him, by the virulent Books Cardinal Pool and others published, by the Rebellions that were raised in England, and the Apprehensions he was in of the Emperour's Greatness, and of the Inclinations his People had to have joined with him together with what he had read in History of the Fates of those Princes, against whom Popes had thundered in former times; all which, made him think it necessary to keep his People under the Terror of a severe Government; and by fome publick Examples to secure the Peace of the Nation; and thereby to prevent a more profuse Effusion of Blood, which might have otherwise followed if he had been more gentle. And it was no wonder if after the Pope deposed him, he proceeded to great Severities against all that which supported that Authority.

Book I.

1547.
The Carthusians in particular.

The first Instance of Capital Proceedings upon that account, was in Easter-Term, 1535, in which, three Priors and a Monk of the Carthusian Order, were condemned of Treason, for saying, that the King was not Supream Head of the Church of England. It was then only a Premunire, not to fwear to the Supremacy, but it was made Treason to deny it, or speak against it. Hall, a Secular Priest, was at the same time condemned of Treafon, for calling the King a Tyrant, an Heretick, a Robber, and an Adulterer; and faying, that he would die as King John, or Richard the Third died; and that it would never be well with the Church 'till the King was brought to Pot: And that they looked when Ireland and Wales would rife; and were assured that three parts of four in England would join with them. All these pleaded not Guilty; but being condemned, they justified what they had faid. The Carthusians were hanged in their Habits. Soon after that, three Carthusians were condemned, and executed at London, & two more at York, upon the fame account, for opposing the King's Supremacy. Ten other Monks were shut up in their Cells, of whom nine died there, and one was condemned, and hanged. These had been all Complices in the Business of the Maid of Kent; and tho that was pardoned, yet it gave the Government ground to have a watchful Eye over them, and to proceed

proceed more feverly against them upon the Book I.

first Provocation,

After these, Fisher and More were brought to their Trials; Pope Clements Fisher's officious Kindness to Fisher in declaring him Sufferings. a Cardinal, did hasten his Ruine, tho he was little concerned at that Honour that was done him. He was tried by a Jury of Commoners, and was found guilty of Treason, for having spoken against the King's Supremacy: but instead of the Common Death in Cases of Treason, the King ordered him to be beheaded. On the 22th of June he suffered. He dressed himfelf with more then ordinary Care that day; for he faid it was to be his Wedding-Day. As he was led out, he opened the New Testament at a Venture, and prayed, that such a place might turn up as might comfort him in his last Moments. The Words on which he cast his Eyes were, This is Life Eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jejus Christ whom thou hast sent. So he shut the Book, and continued meditating on these Words to the last. On the Scaffold he repeated the Te Deum, and so laid his Head on the Block, which was severed from his Body. He was a learned and deyout Man, but much addicted to Superstition, and too cruel in his Temper against Hereticks. He had been Confessor to the King's Grand-Mother, and perswaded her to found two Colledges in Cambridge, Christ's and St Jobn's; in Acknowledg-X 4 ment

Book I. ment of which, he was chosen Chancel of the University. Henry the Seventh made him Bishop of Rochester: He would never exchange that for any other: He faid his Church was his Wife, and he would not part with his Wife because the was Poor. He was much esteemed by this King, till the Suit of the Divorce was fet on foot; and then he adhered stiffy to the Marriage, and the Popes Supremacy; and that made him too favourable to the Nun of Kent. But the Severities of his long Imprisonment, together with this bloody Conclufion of it, were univerfally condemned all the World over; only Gardiner imploied his Servile Pen to write a Vindication of the King's Proceedings against him. It was writ in Elegant Latin, but the Stile was thought too Vehement.

More's Death.

It was harder to find matter against Sir Thomas More, for he was very cautious, and fatisfied his own Conscience by not fwearing the Supremacy, but would not not speak against it. 'He said the Act had two Edges, if he confented to it, it would damne his Soul; and if he spoke against it, it would condemn his Body. This was 'all the Message he sent to Fisher, when he defired to know his Opinion about it; he had also said the same to the Duke of Nor-' folk and some Counsellors that came to examine him. And Rich, then the King's Solicitor, coming as a private Friend, to erswade him to swear the Oath, urged

him with the Act of Parliament, and ask- Book I, ed him, if he should be made King by Act of Parliament, would not he Acknowledge him: He answered, he would; because a King might be made, or deprived by a Parliament. But the Matter of the Supremacy was a point of Re-'ligion, to which the Parliament's Authority did not extend it felf. All this Rich witnessed against him; so these Particulars were laid together, as amounting to a Denial of the King's Supremacy, and upon this he was judged guilty of Treason. He received his Sentence with that equal Temper of Mind which he had fhewed in both Conditions of Life. He expressed great Contempt of the World, and much Weariness in living in it. His ordinary Facetiousness remained with him to his last Moment on the Scaffold. Some censured that as affected and indecent, and as having more of the Stoick than the Christian in it. But others said, that way of Railery had been fo Customary to him, that Death did not discompose him, nor put him out of his ordinary Humour. He was beheaded on the 6th of July, in the 52d or 53d Year of his Age. He had great Capacities, and eminent Vertues. In his Youth he had freer thoughts, but he was afterwards much corrupted by Superstition, and became fierce for all the Interests of the Clergy. He wrote much in Defence of all the old Abuses. His Learning in Divinity was but

1535.

Book I but ordinary; for he had read little morethan some of St. Austin's Treatises, and the Canon Law, and the Master of the Sentences, beyond whom, his Quotations do feldom go. His Stile was Natural and Pleasant; and he could turn things very dextrously to make them look well or ill as it ferved his Purpose. But tho he suffered for denying the Kings Supremacy, vet he was at first no Zealot for the Pope: For he fays of himself. That when the King shewed him his Book in Manuscript, which he wrote against Luther, he advised him to leave out that which he had put in it concerning the Pope's Power, for he did not know what Quarrels he might have afterwards with the Pope's, and then that would be turned against him. But the King was perhaps fond of what he had written, and so he would not follow that

1537. Attainde-s after the Rebellion.

wife Advice which he gave him. There were no Executions after this, till the Rebellions of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire gave new Occasions to Severity; and then not only the Lords of Darcy and Huffy, but fix Abbots, and many Gentlemen; the chief of whom was, Sir Thomas Piercy, Brother to the Earl of Northumberland, were attainted. They had not only been in the Rebellion, but had forfeited the General Pardon, by their new Attempts, after it was proclaimed: Yet fome faid the King took Advantage on very flight Grounds to break his Indemnity. But on the other hand.

hand, it was no Wonder if he proceeded Book I. with the utmost Rigour against those who had raised such a Storm in the Kingdom, 1537. and in particular against those Abbots and Monks who had fworn to maintain his Supremacy, and yet were the chief Incendiaries that had fet the Kingdom on Fire.

One Forrest, an Observant Friar, had Forrest been Queen Katherin's Confessor, but for- was burnt. fook her Interests; and not only swore to the King's Supremacy, but used such Infinuations, that he had a large share of the King's Favour and Confidence. He was look'd on as a Reproach to his Order, and used great Cruelties in their House at Greenwich. He shut up one that he believed gave Intelligence of all they did to the Court; and used him so ill, that he died in their hands. It was also found that in secret Confession, he had alienated many from the King's Supremacy; and being questioned for it, he faid, he had taken the Oath for it only with his outward Man, but his inward Man had never consented to it. But he offered to recant and abjure this Opinion; yet being afterwards diverted from that he was condemned as an Heretick, and was burnt in Smithfield. A Pardon was offered him at the Stake, if he would recant; but he refused it. A great Image that was brought out of Wales, was hewed in pieces, and ferved for Fewel to burn him. The Writers of that time fay, he denied the Gospel, and that he had little Knowledge of God in

Book I. his Life, and shewed less Trust in him at his Death.

1538. The Attainders of Cardinal Pool's Friends.

The Winter after this, a Correspondence was discovered between Cardinal Pool, and Courtney, Marquess of Exeter, and Pool's Brother, the Lord Mountacute, and feveral others. It was believed, that Sir Geoffrey Pool, another of the Brothers, betraved the rest. They had expressed some Kindness for the Cardinal and his Proceedings; and had faid, that they looked to fee a Change in England; and that they hoped the King would die ere long, and then all would go well; with feveral other Words to that purpose, for which they were Attainted, and Executed. Others were also condemned for calling the King a Beaft, and worse than a Beast; and that he would be certainly damned for plucking down the Abbies. Cardinal Pool, and feveral others, that had fled out of the Kingdom, and had Confederated themselves with the Pope against the King, were also Attainted. Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter, was likewise condemned, for having faid, that the Attainder of the Marquis of Exeter was cruel and unjust. He renounced the Superstitions of Popery, and embraced the Reformation before he fuffered.

1539. Attainders in Parliament without hearing the Par-1 649

After these Judgments and Executions were over, a new and unheard of Precedent was made, of Attainting some without bringing them to make their Answers,

which

which is a Blemish on this Reign, that can Book I. never be washed off, and was a Breach of the most facred and unalterable Rules of 1539. Justice. The first that were so condemned were, the Marchioness of Exeter, and the Countess of Sarum, Mother to Card. Pool. The special Matter charged on the former, was, her Confederating her felf with Sir Nicholas Carew; and that against the other was, the Confederating with her Son, Cardinal Pool. No Witnesses were examined to prove these things against them; perhaps some Depositions might have been read in Parliament. Cromwell shewed a Coat which was found among the Countess of Sarum's Cloaths, on which the Standard used by the Torkshire Rebels was wrought; from which it was inferred, that she approved of them. Fourteen others were Attainted by the same Act: fix of them were Priests, one was a Knight Hospitaller, four were Gentlemen, one was a Merchant, and two were Yeomen; all were condemned for Confederating with the Pope or Cardinal Pool; or afferting the Pope's Supremacy; or endeavouring to raise Rebellion: But against four of them, there is nothing but Treason in General Words alledged. This Bill was past in two days by the Lords, and in five by the Commons: But of all these, only three were executed, these were the Countess of Sarum; tho not till two Years after this; and Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Dingley, the Knight of St. John of

of Jerusalem. In the Countess of Sarum did the Name of Plantagenet end: She was about 70 Years old, but shewed that in that Age she had a Vigorous and Masculine Mind.

In the Parliament that fate in the Year 1540, several others were Attainted in the same manner, without being heard, and for the same Crimes. Fetherston, Abel, and Powel, and fix more, were so condemned; but those three only suffered. By another Act of the same Parliament, the Lord Hungerford, and his Chaplain, Bird, were Attainted: His Chaplain had often Perswaded him to rebel; and had faid, that the King was the greatest Heretick in the World. Hungerford had also ordered fome of his other Chaplains to use Conjuring, that they might know how long the King would live, and whether he would be Victorious over his Enemies. He was also charged for having lived in Sodomy with feveral of his Servants, three Years together. He was foon after executed, and died in great disorder.

In the Year 1541, Five Priests, and ten Laymen, were stirring up the People in the North to a new Rebellion; but it was prevented, and they suffered for it. In the Year 1543, Gardiner that was the Bishop of Winchester's Secretary, and three other Priests, were condemned, and executed, for denying the King's Supremacy: and this was the last Occasion that was given to the King to shew his Severity on that account

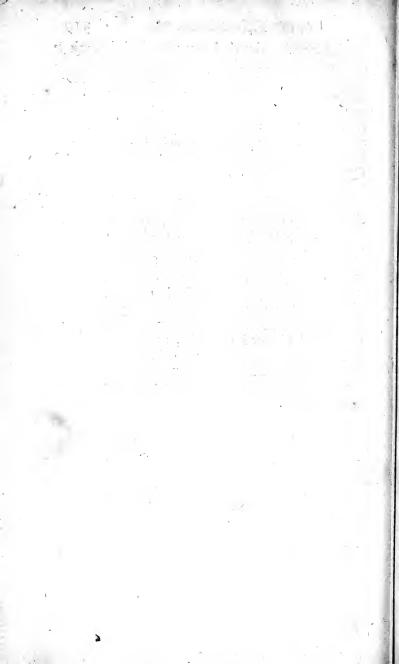
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1539.

In all these Executions it cannot be denied Book I. but the Laws were excessively severe, and the Proceedings upon them were never tempered with that Mildness which ought to be often applied for the mitigating the rigour of Penal Laws: But tho they are much aggravated by Popish Writers; they were far short of the Cruelties used in Queen Mary's Reign.

To conclude, We have now gone through the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, who is rather to be reckoned among the Great, than the Good Princes. He exercised so much Severity on Men of both Perswasions. that the Writers of both sides have laid open his Faults, and taxed his Cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him; fo none have taken fo much care to set forth his good Qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the worlt.

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QUEEN MARY

OUEEN IANE







RIDLEY

London, Printed for Richard Chifwell-





POOLE CARDINAL

BISHOP GARDENER





QUEEN ELIZABETH ARCH BISHOP PARKER

London Printed for Richard Chiswell.







# BOOK II.

Of the Life and Reign of King EDWARD the VI.

DW ARD was the only Son of King Henry, by his best beloved K. Edwards Wife Jane Seimour; born the Birth and 12th. of October 1537. His Mother died the day after he was

born, of a Distemper incident to Women in her condition, and was not ripped up by Chirurgeons, as some Writers have reported, on defign to represent King Henry as barbarous and cruel to all his Wives. fix years of Age he was put into the hands of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheek, the one was to form his mind, and to teach him Philosophy and Divinity, the other was to teach him the Tongues and Mathematicks: other Masters were also appointed for the other parts of his Education. He discovered very early a good disposition to Religion and Vertue, and a particular Reverence for the Book II. Scriptures: for he took it very ill when one about him laid a great Bible on the Floor, to ftep up on it to fomewhat which was out of his reach, without such an advantage. He profited well in Letters, and wrote at eight Years old Latin Letters frequently both to the King, to Q. Katherine Parre, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Uncle the Earl of Hartford, who had been first made Viscount Beauchamp, being the Heir by his Mother of that Family, and was after that advanced to be an Earl.

In the end of his Fathers life, it had been designed to create him Prince of Wales: for that was one of the reasons given to hasten the attainder of the D. of Norfolk, because he held some places during life, which the King intended to put in other hands, in order to that Ceremony. Upon his Fathers death the E. of Hartford and Sir Anth. Brown were sent to bring him up to the Tower of London: and when King Henry's death was published, he was proclaimed King.

K. Hen. te-

At his coming to the Tower his Fathers Will was opened, by which it was found that he had named 16. to be the Governors of the Kingdom, and of his Sons person till he should be eighteen Years of Age. These were the Archbishops of Canterbury, the Lord Wriothessy Lord Chancellor, Lord St. John Great Master, Lord Russel Lord Privy Seal, Earl Hartford Lord Great Chamberlain, Vis. Liste Lord Admiral, Tonstall B. of Duresme, Six Anth. Brown Master of the

#### of the Reformation, &c.

Horse, Sr Will. Paget Secretary of State, Sr Ed. North Chancellour of the Augmentations, Sir Book IL Ed. Mountague Ld Chief Just. of the Common Pleas, Judge Bromley, Sir Anth. Denny and Sir Will. Herbert Chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber Sr Ed. Wotton Treasurer of Callis, & Doctor Wotton Dean of Canterbury and Tork. They were also to give the Kings Sisters in Marriage, and if they married without their consent, they were to forfeit their right of fuccession: for the King was Impowered by Act of Parliament to leave the Crown to them with what limitations he should think fit to appoint. There was also a Privy Council named to be their Assistants in the Government; if any of the 16. died, the Survivers were to continue in the Administration, without a power to substitute others in their rooms who should die. It was now proposed that one should be chosen out of the 16.to whom Ambassadours should address themselves, and who should have the chief direction of affairs; but should be restrained to do nothing but by the confent of the greater part of the other Co-The Chancellor, who thought executors. the Precedence fell to him by his Office, fince the Archbishop did not meddle much in secular Affairs, opposed this much, and said it was a change of the Kings will; who had made them all equal in power and dignity; and if any were raised above the rest in Title, it would not be possible to keep him within due bounds, fince great Titles make way for High Power: but the Earl of Hart-

ford had so prepared his Friends, that it was A Prote-Gor chofen.

Book II. carried that he should be declared the Governour of the Kings Person, and the Pro-1547 tector of the Kingdom, with this restriction, that he should do nothing but by the Upon this advice and consent of the rest. advancement, and the opposition made to it, two Parties were formed, the one headed by the Protector, and the other by the Chancellour: the favourers of the Reformation were of the former, and those that opposed it were of the latter. The Chancellor was ordered to renew the Commissions of the Judges and Justices of Peace, and King Henry's great Seal was to be made use of, till a new one should be made. day after this all the Executors took their Oaths to execute their trust faithfully, the Privy Councellors were also brought into the Kings presence, who did all express their satisfaction in the choice that was made of the Protector: and it was ordered that all dispatches to foreign Princes should be figned only by him. All that held Offices were required to come and renew their Commissions, and to swear Allegiance to the King: among the rest, the Bishops came and took out such Commissions as were granted in the former Reign, only by those they were subaltern to the Kings Vicegerent, but there being none now in that Office, they were immediately subaltern to the King; and by them they were to hold their Bishopricks only during the Kings pleasure, and were impowered in the Kings name, as

Bishops take our Commiffions.

his Delegates, to perform all the parts of the Episcopal function. Cranmer set an Ex. Book II. ample to the rest in taking out one of those. It was thought fit thus to keep the Bishops 1547. under the terror of fuch an Arbitrary power lodged in the King, that so it might be more easie to turn them out, if they should much oppose what might be done in points of Religion: but the ill consequences of fuch an unlimited power being well forefeen, the Bishops that were afterwards promoted were not fo fettered, but were provided to hold their Bishopricks during life.

The late King had in his Will required his Executors to perform all the promifes he A Creatihad made; fo Paget was required to give an blemen. account of the Promises the late King had made; and he declared upon Oath, that upon the prospect of the attainder of the D. of Norfolk, the King intended a Creation of Peers, and to divide his Lands among them; the Persons to be raised, were Hartford to be a Duke, Effex a Marquess, Lifle, Ruffel, St. John, and Wriothefly to be Earls, Sir The. Seimour, Cheyney, Rich, Willoughby, Arundell, Sheffield, St. Leger, Wymbish, Vernon, and Danby to be Barons, and a division was to be made of the Duke of Norfolks Estate among them: fome shares were also set off for others, who were not to be advanced in Title, as Denny and Herbert: and they finding Paget had been mindful of them, but had not mentioned himself, had moved the King for a share to him. The King appointed Paget to give notice of this to the Persons

## Abridgment of the bishopp

Persons named: but many excused them-

Book II. selves, and defired no addition of honor, since the Lands which the King intended to give . \$ 4.7. them were not sufficient to support that dignity. The Duke of Norfolk prevented all this, for being apprehensive of the ruine of his Family, if his Estate were once divided, he fent a message to the King, desiring him. to convert it all to be a Revenue to the This wrought fo much on Prince of Wales. the King, that he resolved to reward those he intended to raise another way, and he appointed that Estate to be kept entire, and the Kings distemper increasing on him, he at last came to a resolution, that the E. of Hartford should be made a Duke, & be made both Earl Marshal and Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Essex a Marquess, Liste and Wriothesly Earls, and Seimour, Rich, Sheffield, St. Leger, Willoughby and Danby Barons, with Revenues in Lands to every one of them: and the Earl of Hartford was to have the first good Deanery and Treasurership, and the four best Prebends that should fall in any Cathedral. But though the King had resolved on this, and had ordered Paget to propole it to the Persons concerned, yet his Disease increased so fast on him, that he never finiflied it: and therefore he ordered his Executors to perform all that should appear to have been promised by him. The greatest part of this was also consirmed by Denny and Herbert, to whom the King had talked of it, and had shewed the design of it in writing, as it had been agreed between

#### of the Kefozmation, &c.

Paget and him. So the Executors being concerned in this themselves, it may be ea. Book II. fily supposed that they determined to execute this part of their trust very faithfully. 1547. Yet the King being then like to be engaged in Wars, they resolved neither to lessen his Treasure nor Revenue, but to find another way for giving the Rewards intended by the King, which was afterwards done by the fale and distribution of the Chantry Lands.

The Castle of St. Andrews was then much pressed; so they sent down by Balnaves, the Agent of that party, 1180 L for the pay of the Garrison; they gave also pensions to the chief supporters of their Interest in Scotland, to some 250, to others 200 1. or less, according to their interest in the The King received the Cere-Countrey. mony of Knighthood from the Protector, and Knighted the Mayor of London the fame day.

The grant of so many Ecclesiastical Dig-Lay-men nities to the Earl of Hartford, was no ex. had Eccletraordinary thing at that time, for as Cromfiaftical
Dignities. wel had been Dean of Wells, so diverse other Lay-men were provided to them; which was thus excused, because there was no cure of Souls belonging to them; and during vacancies, even in times of Popery, the Kings had by their own Authority, by the Right of the Regale, given Institution to them, fo that they feem'd to be no Spiritual imployments, and the Ecclesiasticks that had enjoyed them, had been a lazy

B

Book II. fing those Revenues, either to luxury, or to the enriching their kindred by the spoils of 1547 the Church, had this effect that the putting them in Lay hands gave no great fcandal; and that the rather, because a simple tonsure qualified a man for them by the Canons. These foundations were at first designed for a Nursery to the Diocess, in which the young Clergy were to be educated, or for a retreat to those who were more speculative, and not so fit for the service of the Church in the active parts of the Pastoral care; so it had been an excellent design to have reformed them, and restored them to the purpofes for which they were at first intended: And it was both against Magna Charta, and all Natural Equity, to

Some take down Images. errors.

At the same time an accident fell out, that made way for great changes; the Curate and Church-wardens of St. Martins, in London, were brought before the Council for removing the Crucifix, and other Images, and putting some Texts of Scripture on the Walls of their Church, in the places where they stood: They Answered, That they going to repair their Church, removed the Images, and they being rotten, they did not renew them, but put places of Scripture in their room: They had also remove

take them out of the hands of Churchmen, and give them to those of the Laity. But it was no wonder to see men yet under the influence of the Canon Law, commit such removed others, which they found had been abused to Idolatry. Great pains was Book II. taken by the Popish party to punish them severely, for striking terrour into others; 1547. but Cranmer was for the removing of all Images which were fet up in Churches, expressly contrary both to the Second Commandment, and to the practice of the Christians for diverse ages: And though in compli- Arguance with the gross abuses of Paganism there ments for was very early much of the Pomp of their and against worship brought into the Christian Church, yet it was long before this crept in. At first all Images were condemned by the Fathers: then they allowed the use of them, but condemned the worshipping of them, and afterwards in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries the worshipping of them was, after a long contest, both in the East and West, in which there were, by turns, General Councils, that both approved and condemned them, at last generally received, and then the reverence for them, and for some in particular, that were believed to be more wonderfully enchanted, was much improved by the cheats of the Monks, who had enriched themselves by such means: And it was grown to fuch a height, that Heathenism it felf had been guilty of nothing more abfurd towards its Idols; and the fingular vertues in some Images, shewed they were not worshipp'd only as Representations, for then all should have equal degrees of veneration paid to them. And fince all these abuses had risen meerly out of the bare use

use of them, and the setting them up be-Book II, ing contrary to the command of God, and the nature of the Christian Religion. 1547 which is simple and Spiritual; it seemed most reasonable to cure the disease in its root, and to clear the Churches of Images, that so the people might be preserved from Idolatry. These Reasons prevail'd so far. that the Curate and Wardens were dismisfed with a Reprimand; they were required to beware of fuch rashness for the future, and to provide a Crucifix, and till that could be had, they were ordered to cause one to be painted on the Wall. Upon this. Dr. Ridley being to preach before the King, inveighed against the superstition towards Images and Holy Water, and there was a general disposition over all the Nation to pull them down; which was foon after effected in Portsmouth. Upon that, Gardiner made great complaints, he faid the Lutherans themselves went not so far, for he had seen Images in their Churches; he argued from the Kings face on the Coyn and Great Seal for the use of Images, and that the Law of Moses did no more bind in this particular, than in that of abstaining from Blood: He distinguished between Image and Idol, as if the one, which he faid was only condemned, was the representation of a False God, and the other of the True; and he thought, that as words conveyed by the Ear begat devotion, fo Images, by the conveyance of the Eye, might have the same effect on the mind: He also thought, a vertue might be

be both in them and in Holy Water, as well as there was in Christ's Garments, Pe. Book II. ter's Shadow, or Elisha's Staffe: And there might be a Vertue in Holy Water, as well as 1 5 47. in the Water of Baptism. He also mentioned the Vertue that was in the Cramp-Rings, bleffed by the late King, which he had known to be much esteemed and fought after, and he hoped their young King would not neglect that gift. But to these things which Gardiner wrote in several Letters, the Protector, perhaps by Cranmer's direction, wrote answer, that the Bishops had formerly argued much in another strain, that because the Scriptures were abused by the vulgar Readers, therefore they were not to be trusted to them; and so made a pretended abuse, the ground of taking away t' at, which by Gods special appointment was to be delivered to all Christians: This did hold much stronger against Images that were forbidden by God. The Brazen Serpent set up by Moses, by Gods own dire-ction, was broken when abused to Idolatry; for that was the greatest corruption of Religion possible: And the Civil respect payed to the Kings Image on a Seal, or on the Coyn, did not justifie the dotage upon Images. But yet the Protector acknowledged he had reason to complain of the forwardness of the people, that broke down Images without authority. This was the first step that was made in this Reign, towards a Reformation, of which the sequel shall appear afterwards. Orders were fent to the Justices of

3547.

the Peace, to look well to the Peace and Book II. Government of the Nation, to meet often, and every fix weeks to advertise the Protector of the state of the County to which they belonged.

The Kings Funeral.

The Funerals of the deceafed King were performed with the ordinary Ceremonies at Windfor: One thing gave those that hated him some advantages; his Body was carried the first day to Sheen, which had been a Nunnery, and there some of the moi-Iture and fat dropt through the Cossin; and to make it a compleat accomplishment of Peyto's denunciation, that Dogs should lick his Blood, it was said the Dogs next day licked it. This in a Corpulent man was fo far from a wonder, that it had been a wonder if it had been otherwise, and was a certain fign of nothing but the Plummers carelefness, and their weakness and malice that made such Inferences from it. The King left fix hundred pounds a year to the Church of Windfor, for Priests to say Mass for his Soul every day, and for four Obits a year, and Sermons, and distribution of Alms at every one of them, and for a Sermon every Sunday, and a maintenance for thirteen poor Knights, which was fetled upon that Church by his Executors in due form of Law.

Soul Mafncd.

The Pomp of this Endowment now in a fes exami- more Inquisitive Age led people to examine the usefulness of Soul Masses and Obits. Christ appointed the Sacrament for a commemoration of his Death among the living,

but

but it was not easie to conceive how that was to be applied to departed Souls. For Book II. all the good that they could receive, feemed only applicable to the prayers for them; 1547. but bare Prayers would not have wrought fo much on the people, nor would they have payed fo dear for them. It was a clear project for drawing in the wealth of the World into their hands. In the Primitive Church there was a Commemoration of the Dead, or an Honourable Remembrance of them made in the daily Offices, and for some very small faults their names were not mentioned, which would not have had done if they had looked upon that as a thing that was really a relief to them in another state. But even this custome grew to be abused, and some inferred from it. that departed Souls, unless they were fignally pure, passed through a Purgation in the next life, before they were admitted to Heaven: Of which St. Austin, in whose time the opinion was beginning to be received, fays, that it was taken up without any fure ground in Scripture. But what was wanting in Scripture proof was supplied by Vifions. Dreams and Tales, till it was generally received. King Henry had acted like one that did not much believe it, for he was to expect no good usage in Purgatory, from those Souls whom he had deprived of the Masses that were faid for them in Monasteries, by destroying those Foundations. Yet it seems he intended to make fure work for himself, fo that if Masses could avail the departed Souls,

Souls, he resolved to have his share of it;

Book II. and as he gratified the Priests by this part of his Endowment, so he pleased the 1547 people by appointing Sermons and Alms to be given on such days. Thus he died as he had lived, swimming between both perswasions. And it occasioned no small debate, when men fought to find out what his opinions were in the controverted points of Religion: For the esteem he was in made both sides study to justifie themselves, by seeming to follow his fentiments; the one party faid he was resolved never to alter Religion, but only to cut off some abuses, and intended to go no further than he had gone: They did therefore vehemently press the others to innovate nothing, but to keep things in the state in which he left them, till his Son should come of Age: But the opposite party faid, that he had resolved to go a great way further, and particularly to turn the Mass to a Communion; and therefore Religion being of such consequence to the Salvation of Souls, it was necessary to make all the haste in Reformation that was fitting and decent. But now the diversions of the Coronation took them off from more ferious thoughts: The Protector was made Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Essex Marquess of Northampton, the Lords Life and Wriothesley Earls of Warwick and Southampton, Seimour, Rich, Willoughby and Sheffield, were made Barons. In order to the Kings Coronation, the Office for that Ceremony was reviewed, and much shortned: One remarkable

The Coronarion. kable alteration was, that formerly the King used to be presented to the people Book II. at the corners of the Scaffold, and they were asked, If they would have him to be 1547-their King? Which looked like a rite of an Election, rather than a Ceremony of Investing one that was already King. was now changed, and the people were defired only to give their affents and good will to his Coronation, as by the duty of Allegiance they were bound to do. On the twentieth of February he was Crowned, and a General Pardon was proclaimed, out of which the Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Pool, and some others were excepted.

The Chancellour, who was lookt on The Chanas as the head of the Popish party, gave cellour now an advantage against himself, which out, was very readily laid hold on. He granted a Commission to the Master of the Rolls and three Masters of Chancery, of whom two were Civilians, to execute his Office in the Court of Chancery, as if he were present, only their Decrees were to be brought to him to be Signed, before they should be Inrolled. This being done without any authority from the Protector, and the other Executors, was thought a high Presumption, since he did hereby devolve on others that trust which was deposited in his hands. Upon this, some Lawyers complained to the Protector, and they feem'd also apprehensive of a design to change the Common Laws, which was occasioned by the Decrees made by the Civilians, that

were

were more futed to the Imperial, than to

Book II. the English Laws. The Judges being defired to give their opinions, made report, 1547. That what the Chancellour had done was against Law, and that he had forseited his place, and might be imprisoned for it during pleasure. But he carried it high, he threatned both the Judges and Lawyers; and when it was urged that he had forfeited his place, he faid he had it from the late King, who had likewise named him one of the Executors, during his Sons minority. But it was answered, That the major part had power over any of the rest, otherwise one of them might rebel, and pretend he could not be punished by the rest. He being driven out of that, was more humble, and acknowledged he had no Warrant for granting the Commission, he thought by his Office he might lawfully do it, he asked Pardon for his offence, and defired he might lose his place with as little disgrace as was possible; and then it was refolved on by the rest to take the Seal from him. and to Fine him as they should afterwards think fit. So he being suffered to go home with the Seal, the Lord Seimour, and some others were fent to demand it of him: He was also confined to his house, and kept under the terrour of an Arbitrary Fine. But upon giving a Bond of 4000 l. to be payed upon demand, he was freed from his confinement: Yet he was not put out of the trust of the King and the Government, for it seems the Council did not

not look on that as a thing that was in

their power to do.

Soon after this, the Protector took a Patent for his Office under the Great 1547.

Seal, then in the keeping of the Lord March.

Protectors St. John; by which he was confirmed in his Patent. Authority, till the King should be eighteen years of Age; he was also authorized to bring in new Councellours, besides those enumerated in the Patent, who are both the Executors and the Councellours nominated by the late King: The Protector, with so many of the Council as he thought meet, were empowered to administer the affairs of the Kingdom; but the Council was limited to do nothing without his Advice and Consent. And thus was he now as well established in his Authority as Law could make him. He had a Negative on the Council, but they had none on him; and he could either bring his own creatures into it, or felect a Cabinet Council out of it as he pleased: And the other Executors having now delivered up their Authority to him, were only Privy Councellors as the rest were, without retaining any fingular authority peculiar to them, as was provided by King Henry's Will.

The first business of consequence that re- The affairs quired great consideration, was the Smal- of Germacaldick War, then begun between the Em. my. peror and the Princes of that League; the effects of which, if the Emperor prevailed, were like to be, not only the extirpating of Luthe-

Book II.

Book II. ster of Germany; which the Emperor chiefly defigned, in order to an Universal Monar-1547 chy, but disguised it to other Princes: to the Pope, he pretended that his defign was only to extirpate Herefie; to other Princes, he pretended it was only to repress some Rebels, and denied all defign of suppressing their new Doctrines; which he managed so artificially, that he divided Germany it felf, and got some Lutheran Princes to declare for him, and others to be Neutrals: and having obtained a very liberal fupply for his Wars with France and the Turk, for which he granted an Edict for liberty of Religion, he made Peace with both those Princes, and refolved to imploy that Treafurewhich the Germans had given him, against themselves. That he might deprive them of their chief Allies, he used means to engage King Henry, and Francis the First in a War, but that was, chiefly by their Interpolition, composed. And now when the War was like to be carried on with great Vigour, they lost both those Princes; for as Henry died in January, so Francis followed him into another World, in March following. Many of their Confederates began to capitulate and forfake them; and the divided command of the Duke of Saxe, and the Landgrave of Hesse lost them great advantages, the former year; in which it had been easie to have driven the Emperor out of Germany: but it fell often out, that when the one was for engaging, the other was against it, which made

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made many very doubtful of their fuccess. The Pope had a mind to engage the Empe- Book II. ror in a War in Germany, that so Italy might be at quiet: and in order to that, and to Imbroil the Emperor with all the Lutherans, he published his Treaty with him, that so it might appear that the design of the War was to extirpate Herefie ; though the Emperor was making great protestations to the contrary in Germany. He also opened the Council of Trent, which the Emperor had long defired in vain; but it was now brought upon him, when he least wished for it: for the Protestants did all declare, that they could not look upon it as a free General Council, fince it was fo The Counentirely at the Popes devotion, that not so cil of Trents much as a Reformation of some of the groffest abuses that could not be justified, was like to be obtained, unless clogged with such Clauses as made it ineffectual. Nor could the Emperor prevail with the Council, not to proceed to establish the doctrine, and condemn Heresie; but the more he obstructed that by delays, the more did the Pope drive it on, to open the eyes of the Germans, and engage them all vigoroully against the Emperor: yet he gave them such secret assurances of tollerating the Auburg Confession, that the Marquess of Brandenburg declared for him, and that, joyned with the hopes of the Electorate, drew in Maurice of Saxe. The Count Palatine was old and feeble, the Archbishop of Colen would not make relistance, but retired.

retired, being condemned both by Pope and Book II. Emperor, and many of the Cities submitted. And Maurice by falling into Saxe, 1547 forced the Elector to separate from the Landgrave, and return to the defence of his own Dominions. This was the state of the affairs in Germany: foit was a hard point to refolve on, what answer the Protector should give to the Duke of Saxe's Chancellor, whom he fent over to obtain an Aid in Money, for carrying on the War. It was on the one hand of great importance to the safety of England to preserve the German Princes, and yet it was very dangerous to begin a War of fuch Consequence under an Infant King. At present they promised, within three Months, to fend by the Merchants of the Still-yard 50000 Crowns to Hamburgh, and resolved to do no more till new Emergents should lead them to new Councels.

Divisions

The Nation was in an ill condition for in England. a War, with fuch a mighty Prince, labouring under great distractions at home, the People generally cried out for a Reformation, they despised the Clergy, and loved the new Preachers. The Priests were for the most part both very ignorant and scandalous in their lives: many of them had been Monks, and those that were to pay them the pensions, that were reserved to them at the destruction of the Monasteries, till they should be provided, took care to get them into some small Benefice. greatest part of the Parsonages were Impropriated,

propriated, for they belonged to the Monasteries, and the Abbots had only granted Book II. the Incumbents, either the Vicarage, or fome small Donative, and left them the 1547. Perquifites raifed by Masses and other Offices. At the suppression of those Houses there was no care taken to provide the Incumbents better; so they chiefly subsisted by Trentals & other Devices, that brought them in some small relief, though the Price of them was scandalously low, for Masses went often at 2 d. a Groat was a great bounty. Now these saw that a Reformation of those abuses, took the Bread out of their mouths; fo their Interests prevailing more with them than any thing elfe, they were zealoufly engaged against all changes: but that same Principle made them comply with every change that was made, rather than lose their Benefices: Their poverty made them run into another abuse of holding more Benefices at the same time, a Corruption of fo crying and scandalous a nature, that where ever it is practifed, it is fufficient to possess the People with great prejudices against the Church that is guilty of it: there being nothing more contrary to the plainest impressions of reason, than that every Man who undertakes a Cure of Souls, whom at his Ordination he has vowed, that he would instruct, feed, govern, ought to discharge that trust himself, which is the greatest and most important of all others. The Clergy were incouraged in their Opposition to all changes, by the protection thev

they expected from Gardiner, Bonner, and Book II. Tonstall, who were Men of great reputation, as well as fet in high places: and above all, 1547. Lady Mary did openly declare against all Changes, till the King should be of Age. But on the other hand, Cranmer, whose greatest weakness was his over-obsequiousness to King Henry, being now at liberty, resolved to proceed more vigorously: The Protector was firmly united to him, fo were the young Kings Tutors, and he was as much engaged, as could be expected from fo young a Person: for both his knowledge and zeal for true Religion were above his Age. Several of the Bishops did also declare for a Reformation, but Dr. Ridley now made Bishop of Rochester, was the Person on whom he depended most. Latimer was kept by him at Lambeth, and did great fervice by his Sermons, which were very popular, but he would not return to his Bishoprick, choosing rather to ferve the Church in a more disengaged manner. Many of the Bishops were very ignorant, and poor spirited Men, raised meerly by Court-favour, who were little concerned for any thing but their Revenues. Cranmer resolved to proceed by degrees, and to open the reasons of every advance, that was made to fully, that he hoped by the bleffing of God to possess the Nation of the fitness of what they should do, and thereby to prevent any dangerous opposition, that might otherwise be apprehended.

The power of the Privy Council had been much exalted in King Henry's time, Book II. by Act of Parliament; and one Proviso in it was, that the King's Council should have 1547. the fame Authority when he was under Age, that he himself had at full Age: so A Visitait was resolved to begin with a General tion of all the Churches. vided into fix Precincts: and two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Register were appointed for every one of these. But before they were sent out, there was a Letter written to all the May. Bishops, giving them notice of it, sufpending their Jurisdiction while it lasted, and requiring them to preach no where but in their Cathedrals, and that the other Clergy should not preach but in their own Churches, without Licence: by which it was intended to restrain such as were not acceptable, to their own Parishes, and to grant the others Licences to Preach in any Church of England. The greatest difficulty that the Reformers found, was in the want of able and prudent Men, the most zealous were too hot and indifcreet, and the few they had that were Eminent, were to be imployed in London, and the Univerfities. Therefore they intended to make those as common as was possible, and appointed them to preach as Itinerants and Visitors. The only thing by which the People could be univerfally instructed, was a Book of Homilies; so the twelve first Homilies in the Book, still known by that name.

name, were compiled, in framing we the chief

Book II. design was to acquaint the People aright with the nature of the Gospel Covenant, 1547 in which there were two extreams equally dangerous: the one was of those who thought the Priests had an infallible secret of faving their fouls, if they would in all things follow their directions; the other was of those who thought that if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his Merits, they could not perish, which way foever they led their lives. So the mean between these was observed, and the People were taught both to depend on the fufferings of Christ, and also to lead their lives according to the rules of the Gospel, without which they could receive no benesit by his death. Order was also given, that a Bible should be in every Church, which though it was commanded by King Henry, yet had not been generally obeyed: and for understanding the New Testament, Erasmu's Paraphrase was put out in English, and appointed to be fet up in every Church. His great reputation and learning, and his dying in the Communion of the Roman Church, made this Book to be preferred to any other, fince there lay no prejudice to Erasmus, which would have been objected to any other Author. They renewed also all the Injunctions made by Cromwel in the former Reign, which after his fall were but little looked after, as those for instructing the people, for removing Images, and putting down all other customes abused to superstition;

## of the Reformation, &c.

1547.

perstition; for reading the Scriptures, and faying the Litany in English, for frequent Book II. Sermons and Gatechifing, for the Exemplary lives of the Clergy, and their labours in visiting the sick, and the other parts of their function, such as reconciling differences, and exhorting their people to Charities: and all who gave Livings by Simoniacal bargains, were declared to have forfeited their right of Patronage to the King. A great charge was also given for the strict observation of the Lords Day, which was appointed to be spent wholly in the fervice of GOD; it not being enough to hear Mass or Mattins in the Morning, and fpend the rest of the Day in drunkenness and quarrelling, as was commonly practifed; but it ought to be all imployed either in the duties of Religion, or in acts of Charity, only in time of Harvest they were allowed to work on that and other Festival days. Direction was also given, for the bidding of Prayers, in which the King, as Supreme head, the Queen, and the Kings Sifters, the Protector and Council, and all the Orders of the Kingdom were to be mentioned; they were also to pray for departed fouls, that at the last day, we with them might rest both body and soul. There were also Injunctions given for the Bishops, that they should preach four times a year in their Diocesses, once in their Cathedral, and thrice in any other Church, unless they had a good excuse to the contrary: that their Chaplains should preach often: and that

Cenfores on the Iniunctions.

that they should give Orders to none, but Book II. those that were duly qualified.

These were variously censured: The 1547. Clergy were only impowered to remove the abused Images, and the People were restrained from doing it, but this authority being put in their hands, it was thought they would be flow and backward in it. It had been happy for this Church, if all had agreed fince that time, to press the Religious observation of the Lords Day, without starting needless questions about the Morality of it, and the obligation of the fourth Commandment; which has occasioned much dispute and heat: and when one Party raised the obligation of that duty to a pitch that was not practicable, it provoked others to flacken it too much: and this produced many sharp reflections on both fides, and has concluded in too common a neglect of that day, which instead of being so great a bond and instrument of Religion, as it ought to be, is become generally a day of idleness and loosness. The Corruptions of Lay Patrons and Simoniacal Priests have been often complained of, but no Laws nor Provisions have ever been able to preserve the Church from this great mischief; which can never be removed till Patrons look on their right to nominate one to the charge of Souls, as a trust for which they are to render a severe account to God, and till Priests are cured of their aspiring to that charge, and look on it with dread and great caution. The bidding of Prayers

Prayers had been the custome in time of Popery; for the Preacher after he had na- Book II. med his Text, and shewed what was to be the method of his Sermon, defired the 1547. People to joyn with him in a Prayer, for a bleffing upon it; and told them likewife. whom they were to pray for, and then all the People said their Beads in silence, and he kneeling down faid his, and from that this was called the bidding of the Beads. In this new direction for them, Order was given to repeat always the Kings Title of Supream Head, that so the People hearing it often mentioned, might grow better accustomed to it: but when inftead of a bidding Prayer, an immediate one is come generally to be used, that enumeration of Titles feems not so decent a thing, nor is it now so necessary as it then was. The prayer for departed fouls was now moderated, to be a prayer only for the confummation of their happiness at the last day; whereas in King Henry's time, they prayed that God would grant them the fruition of his presence, which implied a Purgatory. The Injunctions to the Bishops, directing them to give Orders with great caution, pointed out that by which only a Church can be preserved from Errors and Corruptions: for when Bishops do easily upon recommendations or emendicated Titles, confer Orders, as a fort of favour that is at their disposal, the ill effects of that must be fatal to the Church; either by the Corruptions that those

those vicious Priests will be guilty of, or by Book II. the Scandals which are given to some good minds by their means, who are thereby 1547 difgusted at the Church for their sakes, and fo are disposed to be easily drawn into those Societies that separate from it.

The War land.

The War with Scotland was now in conwith scot- fultation; but the Protector being apprehensive that France would engage in the quarrel, fent over Sir Fr. Brian to congratulate with the new King, to defire a confirmation of the last Peace, and to complain of the Scots, who had broken their Faith with the King, in the matter of the Marriage of their Queen. The French King refused to confirm the Treaty, till some Articles should be first explained, and so he disowned his Fathers Embassadour; and for the Scots, he faid he could not forfake them, if they were in distress. The English alledged that Scotland was subject to England; but the French had no regard to that, and would not so much as look on the Records that were offer'd to prove it; and faid they would take things as they found them, and not look back to a dispute of two hundred years old. This made the English Council more fearful of engaging in a War, which by all appearance, would bring a War on them from France. The Castle of St. Andrews was furrendred, and all their Pensioners in Scotland were not able to do them great fervice: The Scots were now much lifted up; for as England was under an Infant King.

King, so the Court of France was governed by their Queen Dowagers Brothers, The Book IL Scots began to make Inroads on England, and Descents on Ireland. Commissioners 1547. were fent to the Borders to treat on both fides; and the Protector raifed a great Army, which he refolved to command in person. But the meeting on the Borders was foon broke up, for the Scots had no Instructions to treat concerning the Marriage, and the English were ordered to treat of nothing elle, till that should be first agreed to. And the Records that were shewed of the Homage done by the Scottish Kings to the English had no great effect; for the Scots either said they were forged, or forced from some weak Princes, or were only Homages for their Lands in England, as the Kings of England did Homage to the Crown of France for their Lands there. They also shewed their Records by which their Ancestors had afferted that they were free and independent of England. The Protector left Commissions of Lieutenancy to some of the Nobility, Angust. and devolved his own power, during his absence, on the Privy Council, and came to the Borders by the end of August. The Scots had abandoned the Passes, so that he found no difficulty in his March, and the small Forts that were in his way, were furrendred upon Summons. When the English advanced to Falsid, the Scots engaged with them in Parties, but lost 1300 men. The two Armies came in view; the English confifted

Book II. thousand Horse, and a Fleet under the Command of the Lord Clinton, sailed along 1547 by them, as they marched near the Coast; the Scottish Army consisted of thirty thousand, and a good train of Ar-

tillery.

The Protector fent a Message to the Scots, inviting them by all the Arguments that could be invented, to confent to the Marriage; and if that would not be granted, he defired engagements from them, that their Queen should be contracted to no other person, at least till she came of age, and by the advice of the Estates, should choose a Husband for herself. This the Protector offered to get out of the War upon Honourable terms, but the Scottish Lords thought this great Condescension was an effect of fear, and believed the Protector was straitned for want of Provisions; so instead of publishing this offer, they resolved to fall upon him next day: And so all the return that was made, was, That if the Protector would march back without any act of Hostility, they would not fall upon him. One went officiously with the Trumpeter, and challenged the Protector, in the Earl of Huntley's name, to decide the matter by their Valour; but the Protector said he was to fight no way but at the head of his Army, yet the Earl of Warwick accepted the challenge, but Huntley had given no order for it. On the twentieth of September the Armies engaged. In the begin-

beginning of the action, a shot from the Ships killed a whole lane of men, and dif. Book II. ordered the High-landers, so that they could not be made to keep their Ranks. The Earl 1547.

of Angus charged bravely, but was repulfed, and the English broke in with such fuburgh. ry on the Scots, that they threw down their Arms and fled. Fourteen thousand were killed, fifteen hundred taken Prisoners, among whom was the Earl of Huntley, and five hundred Gentlemen. Upon this, the Protector went on and took Leith, and fome Islands in the Frith, in which he put Garrisons, and left Ships to wait on them; he fent some Ships to the mouth of Tay and took a Castle (Broughty) that com-manded that River. If he had followed this blow, and gone forward to Striveling, to which the Governour, with the small remainders of his Army, had retired, and where the Queen was, it is probable, in the consternation in which they were, he might have taken that place, and so have made an end of the War. But the party his Brother was making at Court, gave him fuch an Alarm, that he returned before he had ended his business: And the Scots having fent a Message desiring a Treaty, which they did only to gain time, he ordered them to fend their Commissioners Berwick, and so marched back: He took in all the Castles in Merch and Teviotdale, and left Garrisons in them, and made the Gentry swear to be true to the King, and to promote the Marriage. He entred into Scotch

A Scotch ground the second of September, and Book II. returned to England on the twenty ninth, with the loss only of fixty men, and brought 1547 with him a great deal of Artillery, and many Prisoners: This success did raise his reputation very high, and if he had now made an end of the War, it had, no doubt, establish'd him in his authority. The Scots fent no Commissioners to Berwick, but instead of that, they fent some to France, to offer their Queen to the Dauphin, and to cast themselves on the protection of that Crown; and so the Earl of Warwick, whom the Protector left to treat with them, returned back. The Protector, upon this great fuccess, summoned a Parliament, to get himself established in his power.

The fuccess of the Visitation.

The Visitors had now ended the Visita. tion, and all had submitted to them, and great Inferences were made from this, that on the same day on which the Images were burnt in London, their Army obtained that great Victory in Scotland. But all sides are apt to build much on Providence, when it is favourable to them, and yet they will not allow the Argument when it turns against them. Bonner at first protested that he would obey the Injunctions, if they were not contrary to the Laws of God, and the Ordinances of the Church; but being called before the Council, he retracted that, and asked Pardon; yet for giving terrour to others, he was for fome time put in Prison upon it. Gardiner wrote

1547

wrote to one of the Visitors, before they came to Winchester, that he could not re. Book II. ceive the Homilies; and if he must either quit his Bishoprick, or sin against his Conscience, he resolved to chuse the former: Upon this, he was called before the Council, and required to receive the Book of Homilies; but he excepted to one of them, that taught that Charity did not justifie, contrary to the Book set out by the late King, confirmed in Parliament: He also complained of many things in Erasmu's Paraphrase: And being pressed to declare whether he would obey the Injunctions or not, he refused to promise it, and fo was fent to the Fleet. Cranmer treated in private with him, and they argued much about Justification. Gardiner thought the Sacraments justified, and that Charity justified as well as Faith. Cranmer thought that only the merits of Christ justified, as they were applied by Faith, which could not be without Charity; fo the question turned much on a different way of explaining the same thing. Gardiner objected many things to Erasmus's Book, particularly to some passages contrary to the power of Princes; it was answered, That Book was not chosen, as having no faults, but as the best they knew for clearing the difficulties in Scripture. Cranmer offered to him, that if he would concur with them, he should be brought to be one of the Privy Council; but he did not comply in this so readily as he ordinarily did to such offers.

offers. Upon the Protectors return, he Book II. wrote to him, complaining of the Councils proceedings in his absence; and after he 1547 had given his objections to the Injunctions, he excepted to this, that they were contrary to Law, and argued from many precedents, that the Kings authority could not be raifed so high; and that though Cromwell and others endeavoured to perswade the late King, that he might govern as the Roman Emperours did, and that his Will ought to be his Law; yet he was of another opinion. and thought that it was much better to make the Law the Kings Will. He complained also that he was hardly used, that he had neither Servants, Physicians nor Chaplains, allowed to wait on him; and that though he had a Writ of Summons, he was not suffered to come to the Parliament, which he faid, might bring a Nullity on all their Proceedings. But he lay in Prison till the Act of General Pardon past in Parliament, set him at liberty. Many blamed the feverity of these proceedings as contrary both to Law and Equity, and faid that all people, even those who complained most of arbitrary power, were apt to usurp it when they were in authority: And some thought the delivering the doctrine of Justification in such nice terms was not sutable to the plain simplicity of the Christian Religion. Lady Mary was so alarmed at these proceedings, that she wrote to the Protector, that fuch changes were contrary to the honour due to her Fathers Memory, and it was against

against their duty to the King to enter upon such points, and endanger the publick Book II. Peace before he was of Age. To which he wrote answer, That her Father had died 15.47: before he could finish the good things he had intended concerning Religion; and had expressed his regret both before himself and many others, that he left things in fo unsetled a state; and assured her that nothing should be done but what would turn to the Glory of God, and the Kings Honour: He imputed her Writing to the importunity of others rather than to her felf, and defired her to consider the matter better with an humble Spirit and the assistance of the Grace of God.

The Parliament was opened the fourth A Parliaof November, and the Protector was by ment meets, Patent authorized to fit under the Cloath of State, on the Right hand of the Throne; and to have all the Honours and Priviledges that any Unkle of the Crown, either by Father or Mothers side, eyer had. Rich was made Lord Chancellour. The first Act that past, five Bishops only diffenting, was, "A Repeal of all Statutes that had An Act of Repeal. "made any thing Treason or Felony in "the late Reign, which was not so be-"fore, and of the fix Articles, and the "authority given to the Kings Procla-" mations, as also of the Acts against Lol-" lards. All who deni'd the Kings Supremacy, "or afferted the Popes, for the first of-fence were to forfeit their goods, for the "second were to be in a Pramunire, and " were

"were to be attainted of Treason for the Book II. "third. But if any intended to deprive the King of his Estate or Title, that 1547. " was made Treason: none were to be acec cused of Words but within a month after

"they were spoken; they also repealed the er power that the King had of annulling all "Laws made, till he was twenty four years of age, and restrained it only to an an-

" nulling them for the time to come, but " that it should not be of force for the decla-

" ring them null from the beginning.

An Act about the Sacrament.

Another Act past with the same dissent, for the Communion in both kinds, and that the people should always communicate with the Priest, and by it irreverence to the Sacrament was condemned under fevere penalties. Christ had instituted the Sacrament in both kinds, and S. Paul mentions both. In the Primitive Church that custome was univerfally observed, but upon the belief of Transubstantiation, the referving and carrying about the Sacrament were brought in; this made them first endeavour to perfwade the World that the Cup was not necessary, for Wine could neither keep, nor be carried about conveniently; but it was done by degrees, the Bread was for some time given dipt, as it is yet in the Greek Church: but it being believed that Christ was entirely under either kind, and in every crumb, the Council of Constance took the Cup from the Laity; yet the Bohemians could not be brought to submit to it, so every where the use of the Cup

Cup was one of the first things that was infifted on by those who demanded a Re- Book II. formation. At first all that were present did communicate; and censures past on such 1547. as did it not: And none were denied the Sacrament but Penitents', who were made to withdraw during the Action. But as the devotion of the World flackned, the people were still exhorted to continue their Oblations, and come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it; and were made believe, that the Priest received it in their stead: The name Sacrifice given to it, as being a holy Oblation, was fo far improved, that the World came to look on the Priests officiating, as a Sacrifice for the dead and living: From hence followed an infinite variety of Masses for all the accidents of humane life; and that was the chief part of the Priests trade, but it occasioned many unseemly jests concerning it, which were restrained by the same Act that put these down.

Another Act past without any dissent, An Act "That the Conge d' elire, and the Election concern-"pursuant to it, being but a shadow, since ing the nethe person was named by the King, should of Bishops. "cease for the future, and that Bishops "should be named by the Kings Letters "Patents, and thereupon be consecrated; " and should hold their Courts in the Kings " name, and not in their own, excepting "only the Arch-bishop of Canterbury's Court: And they were to use the Kings " Seal in all their Writings, except in Pre-D . 3

Abzidgment of the bishozp

"fentations, Collations, and Letters of Book II. "Orders, in which they might use their own Seals. The Apostles chose Bishops 1547 and Pastors by an extraordinary gift of discerning Spirits, and proposed them to the approbation of the people; yet they left no rules to make that necessary: In the times of Persecution, the Clergy being maintained by the Oblations of the people, they were chosen by them. But when the Emperours became Christians, the Town Councils and eminent men took the Elections out of the hands of the Rab. ble: And the Tumults in popular Elections were such, that it was necessary to regulate them. In some places the Clergy, and in others the Bishops of the Province made the choice. The Emperours referved the Confirmation of the Elections in the great Sees to themselves. But when Charles the Great annexed great Territories and Regalities to Bishopricks, great change followed thereupon: Church-men were corrupted by this undue greatness, and came to depend on the humours of those Princes to whom they owed this great encrease of their wealth. Princes named them, and invested them in their Sees: But the Popes intended to separate the Ecclesiastical State from all fubjection to Secular Princes, and to make themselves the heads of that State, at first they pretended to restore the freedom of Elections; but these were now ingrossed in a few hands, for only the Chapters chose; the

The Popes had granted thirty years before this to the King of France, the nomination Book II. to all the Bishopricks in that Kingdome; fo the King of Englands assuming it was no new thing, and the way of Elections, as King Henry had fetled it, feemed to be but a Mockery: fo this change was not much condemned. The Ecclesialtical Courts were the Concessions of Princes, in which, Trials concerning Marriages, Wills and Tithes, depended, so the holding those Courts in the Kings name, was no Invasion on the Spiritual Function; fince all that concerned Orders, was to be done still in the Bishops name, only Excommunication was still left as the Censure of those Courts, which being a Spiritual Cenfure, ought to have been referved to the Bishop, to be proceeded in by him only with the affiftance of his Clergy: and this fatal errour then committed, has not yet met with an effectual regulation.

Another Act was made against idle Vagabonds, that they should be made slaves gainst Va-for two years, by any that should seize on gabonds. them: This was chiefly designed against some Vagrant Monks, as appears by the Proviso's in the Act, for they went about the Countrey, infuling in the People a dislike of the Government. The severity of this Act made that the English Nation which naturally abhors flavery, did not care to execute it: and this made that the other Proviso's, for supplying those that wase truly indigent, and were willing to be it.

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## Abzidgment of the billozp

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ployed, had no effect. But as no Nation Book II. has better, and more merciful Laws, for the supply of the Poor, so the fond pity that 1 5 4 7 many shew to the common Beggars, which

diffolving the Chan-Brics.

no Laws have been able to restrain, makes that a fort of dissolute and idle Beggars intercept much of that Charity, which should go to the relief of those, that are indeed An Act for the only proper objects of it. After this came the Act for giving the King all those Chantries, which the late King had not feized on by Vertue of the Grant made to him of them. Cranmer opposed this much: for the poverty of the Clergy was such that the State of Learning and Religion was like to fuffer much, if it should not be relieved: and yet he faw no probable Fond for that, but the preserving these, till the King should come to be at Age; and allow the felling them, for buying in, of at least such a share of the Impropriations, as might afford some more comfortable subfiftence to the Clergy: yet though he, and feven other Bishops dissented, it was past: After all other Acts, a General Pardon, but clogged with some Exceptions, came last: some Acts were proposed, but not past; one was for the free use of the Scriptures, others were for a Court of Chancery in Ecclesiastical Causes, for Residence, and for a Reformation of the Courts of Common Law. The Convocation fat at the same time; and moved that a Commission begun in the late Reign of thirty two Persons for reforming the Ecclesiastical

The Convecation Mita.

Laws

Laws might be revived, and that the inferiour Clergy might be admitted to fit in Book II. the House of Commons, for which they alledged a Clause in the Bishops Writ and 1547. Ancient Custome; and fince some Prelates had under the former Reign begun to alter the form of the Service of the Church, they desired it might be brought to perfection: and that some care might be had of supplying the poor Clergy, and relieving them from the Taxes that lay on them. This concerning the inferiour Clergy's sitting in the House of Commons, was the subject of some debate, and was again fet on foot both under Queen Elizabeth and King James, but to no effect. Some pretended that they always fat in the House of Commons, till the submission made in the former Reign, upon the fuit of the Pramunire: but that cannot be true, fince in this Convocation, 17. years after that, in which many that had been in the former were present, no such thing was alledged. It is not clear who those Proctors of the Clergy that fat in Parliament, were: if they were the Bishops assistants, it is more proper to think they fat in the House of Lords. No mention is made of them, as having a fhare in the Legislative Authority, in our Records, except in the 21. of Richard the 2d, In which, mention is made, both of the Commons, the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and the Proctors of the Clergy concurring to the Acts then made: which makes it feem most probable that they

were

were the Clerks of the lower House of Book II. Convocation. When the Parliament met antiently all in one Body, the inferiour 1:5 47.7 Clergy had their Writs, and came to it with the other Freeholders, but when the two Honses were separated, the Clergy became also a distinct body, and gave their own Subfidies, and medled in all the concerns, and represented all the grievances of the Church. But now by the Act made upon the submission of the Clergy in the last Reign, their power was reduced almost to nothing: so they thought it reasonable to defire, that either they might have their Representatives in the House of Commons, or at least, that matters of Religion should not pass without the asfent of the Clergy. But the raising the Ecclesiastical authority too high in former times, made this turn, that it was now depressed as much below its just limits, as it was before exalted above them : as commonly one extreme produces another.

It was refolved that some Bishops and Divines should be sent to Windsor, to sinish some Reformations in the publick Offices; for the whole lower House of Convocation, without a contradictory Vote, agreed to the Bill about the Sacrament. But it is not known what opposition it met with in the Upper House. A Proposition being also set on foot concerning the lawfulness of the Marriage of the Clergy, thirty sive subscribed to the affirma-

tive, and only fourteen held the Negative.

And thus ended this Sellion, both of Parliament and Convocation. And the Protector 1 547. being now established in his power, and received by a Parliament, without contradiction, took out a new Commission, in which, besides his former authority, he was impowered to fubstitute one in his

room, during his absence.

In Germany the Princes of the Smalcal. The affairs dick League were quite ruined; the Duke of Germany. of Saxe was defeated, and taken Prisoner; and used with great severity and scorn, which he bare with an invincible greatnels of mind. The Landgrave was perfwaded to fubmit, and had assurances of liberty given him; but by a trick unbecoming the greatness of the Emperour, he was feized on and kept Prisoner, contrary to faith given: upon this all the Princes and Towns, except Magdeburg and Breme, submitted and purchased their pardon, at what terms the Conquerour was pleafed to impose. The Bishop and Elector of Colen, withdrew peaceably to a retirement, in which, after four years, he died: and now all Germany was at the Emperours mercy. Some Cathedrals, as that at Amburg, were again restored to the Bishops, and Mass was said in them. A Diet was also held, in which the Emperor obtain'd aDecree to pass, by which matters of Religion were referred wholly to his care. The Pope, instead of rejoycing at this

Book II. bled at it: for the Emperour had now in one Year made an end of a War. \$547 which he hoped would have Imbroiled him his whole life; so that Italy was now more at his mercy than ever : and it feemed the Emperour intended to inlarge his Conquests there, for the Pope's Natural Son being killed by a Conspiracy, the Governour of Milan seized on Placentia. which gave the Pope some jealousie, as if the Emperour had been privy to the defign against his Son. The Emperour's Ambassadors were also very uneasie to the Legates at Trent, and prest a Reformation of abuses, and endeavoured to restrain them from proceeding in points of doctrine: fo they took hold of the first pretence they had by the death of one that seemed to have some symptomes of the Plague, and removed it to Bologna. By this all the advantages the Emperour had from the Promises which the Protestants made, to fubmit to a free General Council assembled in Germany, were defeated: and it was thought a strange turn of Divine Providence, that when the extirpation of Lutheranism was so near being effected, a stop was put to it by that which of all things was least to be apprehended: fince it might have been expected that the perfecting fuch a defign would have made the Pope and the Emperor friends, though there had been ever so many other grounds of difference between them. So unufual a thing made

made the favourers of the Reformation as ~ cribe it to the immediate care that Hea- Book II. ven had of that work, now when all the humane supports of it were gone. Upon this fatal revolution of affairs there, many Germans, and Italians that had retired to Germany, came over to England: Peter Martyr and Bernardinus Ochinus came over first, Bucer and Fagins followed. They were invited over by Cranmer, who entertained them at Lambeth, till they were provided. Marryr was fent to Oxford, and Bucer and Fagius to Cambridge; but the latter dyed foon after. There were fome differences between the French and English, concerning fome new Forts, which were made about Bulloigne, on both sides, yet a Truce was agreed on, for the Protector had no mind to engage in a War with France.

He had a new trouble raised up in his Differenown Family, by the Ambition of his Bro- ces bether, who thought that being the Kings tween the Uncle, as well as his Brother was, he ought Protector to have a larger share of the Government. and the He had made addresses to Lady Elizabeth Admiral. the Kings fifter, but finding no hopes of fuccess, he made applications to the Queen Dowager, who married him a little undecently, for it was afterwards objected to him, that he married her so soon after the Kings death, that if she had conceived with Child immediately after the marriage, it might have been doubtful whether it was by the late King, or not:

yet the marriage was for some time con-Book II. cealed, and the Admiral moved the King

and his Sisters, to write to the Queen,
1547 to accept him for her Husband: The
Kings Sisters excused themselves, that it was not decent for them to interpose in fuch a matter, but the young King was more easie: so upon his Letter, the Queen published her marriage. The Admiral being now possessed of much Wealth. and the King coming often to the Queens Lodgings, he endeavoured to gain him, and all that were about him, and furnished the King often with Money. His design was, that whereas in former times. when Infant-Kings had two Uncles, one was Governour of his Person, and another was Protector of the Realm; fo now these two Trusts might be divided, and that he might be made Governour of the Kings Person. This is the true ac. count of the breach between those Brothers, for the story of the quarrel between their Wives about precedence, feems to be an ill-grounded fiction: for there was no pretence of a competition between the Queen Dowager and the Dutchess of Somerset; but the latter being a high Woman, might have perhaps inflamed her Husbands resentments, over whom the had an absolute power, which gave the rise to that story. The Protector was at first very ease to be reconciled to his Brother, but after the many provocations he received from him, he threw Plo

off nature too much. When he was in Scotland, the Admiral began to take ad- Book II. vantage upon that to make a party: And the good advices that were given him by 1547. Paget, to look on those as the common Enemies of their Family, who were making this breach between them, had no effect to cure a mind hurried on by Ambition. It was the advertisement that was fent him of this, that made the Protector leave Scotland before he had finished his business there. During the Session of Parliament, the Admiral prevailed with the King to write with his own hand a Message to the House of Commons, to make him the Governour of his person. When the Admiral was making Friends in order to this, it came to his Brothers ears, before he had made any publick use of it: So he employed some to divert him from it, but with no success. Upon that, he was sent for to appear before the Council, but he refused to come; yet they having threatned to turn him out of all his places, and to fend him to the Tower, he submitted, and the Brothers were reconciled: But the Admiral continued his fecret practices still with those about the King.

Gardiner being included in the Act of 1548. Pardon, was fet at liberty: He promised to receive and obey the Injunctions, only he excepted to the Homily of Justification; yet he complied in that likewise: but it was visible that in his heart, he abhorred all their proceedings, though he outwardly

Book II. 1548. The M. of Northamptons Di-

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oconformed. The Second Marriage of the M. of Northampton was tried at this time. for his first Wife being convict of Adultery, he and she were separated. And he moved in the end of the former Reign, that he might be fuffered to marry again; so a Commission was then granted, and was renewed in this Reign to some Delegates to examine what relief might be given to the innocent person in fuch a case. But this being new, and Cranmer proceeding in it with his usual exactness, which is often accompanied with flowness, the Marquess became impatient, and married a second Wife: Upon this, the Council ordered them to be parted till the Delegates should give sentence. The Arguments for the fecond Marriage were thefe. Christ had condemned Divorces for other cases, but excepted that of Adultery. A Separation from Bed and Board, and the Marriage bond standing, was contrary to many places of Scripture, that mention the end of Marriage.S. Paul discharges the married person, if the other wilfully deserted him, much more will it follow in the case of Adultery. And though St. Paul says the Wife is tyed to her Husband as long as he liveth, that is only to be understood of a Husband that continued to be one; but that relation ceased by Adultery. The Fathers differed in their opinions in this matter, some allowed Marriage upon Divorce to the Husband, but denied it to the Wife; others allowed it to both. So Tertullian, Epiphanins and Basil; Jerome also justified Fabiola that



that had done it. Chrysoftome and Chromatim allowed a fecond Marriage. St. Auftin Book II. was doubtful about it. The Roman Emperours allowed by their Laws, even after they became Christians, Divorce, and a second Marriage, both to Husbands and Wives. upon many other Reasons besides Adultery a as for procuring Abortions, treating for another Marriage, being guilty of Trea; fon, or a Wifes going to Plays without her Husbands leave. Nor did the Fathers in those times complain of those Laws: This was also allowed by the Canons upon several occasions; but after the State of Colibate came to be magnified out of measure. fecond Marriages were more generally condemned: And this was heightned when Marriage was lookt on as a Sacrament, Yet though no Divorces were allowed in the Church, the Canonists found out many shifts for annulling Marriages from the beginning, to those that could pay well for them. All these things being considered, the Delegates gave sentence, confirming the fecond Marriage, and dissolving the first.

Candlemass and Lent were now approach- Some Ceing, fo the Clergy and People were much di-remonies vided with relation to the Ceremonies usual abrogated at those times. By some Injunctions in K. Henry's Reign it had been declared, that Falling in Lent was only binding by a positive-Law. Wakes and Plough Moondays were also suppressed, and hints were given that other cultomes which were much abused, should

Book II. loved these things, as matters of diversion, and thought Divine Worship without them would be but a dull business. But others lookt on these as Relicts of Heathenism. fince the Gentiles worshipped their Gods with such Festivities, and thought they did not become the gravity and simplicity of the Christian Religion. Cranmer upon this procured an Order of Council against the carrying of Candles on Candlemass day, of Ashes on Ask-Wednesday, and Palms on Palm-Sunday; which was directed to Bonner to be intimated to the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, and was executed by him. But a Proclamation followed against all that should make changes without Authority: The creeping to the Cross and taking Holy Bread and Water, were by it put down, and power was given to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury to certifie, in the Kings name, what Ceremonies should be afterwards laid aside; and none were to preach out of their own Parishes without licence from the King or the Visitors, the Arch-bishop or the Bishop of the Diocess. Some questioned the Councils power to make such Orders, the Act that gave authority to their Proclamations being repealed; but it was faid the Kings Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters might well justifie their making such Rules. Soon after this, a General Order followed for a removal of all Images out of Churches: There were every where great contests whe-

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whether the Images had been abused to Superstition or not. Some thought the con. Book II. fecration of them was an abuse common to them all. Those also that represented the Trinity, as a man with three faces in one head, or as an old man with a young man before him, and a Dove over his head; and some where the Blessed Virgin was represented as assumed into it, gave so great scandal, that it was no wonder, if men, as they grew to be better enlightned, could no longer endure them. The only occasion given to censure in this order, was, that all Shrines, and the Plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in to the Kings use. A Letter was at that time writ to all Preachers, requiring them to exhort the people to amend their lives, and forfake Superstition; but for things not yet changed, to bear with them, and not to run before those whom they should obey. Some hot men condemned this temper, as favouring too much of carnal Policy; but it was faid, that though the Apostles by the gift of Miracles, had sufficient means to convince the World of their authority; Yet they did not all at once change the customes of the Mosaical Law, but proceeded by degrees; and Christ forbid the pulling up the Tares, lest good Wheat should be pulled up with them; so it was fit to wean people by degrees from their former superstition, and not to run too falt.

on.

Eighteen Bishops, and some Divines, Book II. were now imployed to examine the Offices of the Church, to fee which of them 1548 needed amendment. They began with the A new Of- Eucharist: They proceeded in the same Communi- manner that was used in the former Reign. For every one gave in his opinion in Writing, in answer to the questions that were put to them. Some of these are still preserved, which were concerning the Priests fole communicating, and Masses satisfacto. ry for the dead, the Mass in an unknown tongue, the hanging it up and exposing it and the Sacrifice that was made in it. In most of those Papers it appears that the greatest part of the Bishops were still leavened with the old superstition, at least to fome degree. It was clearly found that the plain Institution of the Sacrament was was much vitiated, with a mixture of many Heathenish Rites and Pomps, on design to raise the credit of the Priests, in whose hands that great performance was lodged. This was at first done to draw over the Heathens by those splendid Rites to Christianity; but Superstition once begun, has no bounds nor measures; and ignorance and barbarity encreasing in the darker ages, there was no regard had to any thing in Religion, but as it was fet off with much Pageantry: And the belief of the Corporal presence raised this to a great height. The Office was in an unknown tengue, all the Vessels and Garments belonging to it, were consecrated with much devotion,

a great part of the Service was fecret, to make it look like a wonderful charm; the Book II. Consecration it self was to be said very foftly, for words that were not to be 1548. heard, agreed best with a change that was not to be seen: The many Gesticulations and the magnificent Processions all tended to raise this Pageantry higher. Masses were also said for all the turns and affairs of humane life. Trentals, a custome of having thirty Masses a year on the chief Festivities for redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, was that which brought the Priests most Money, for these were thought Gods best days, in which aecess was easier to him. On Saints days, in the Mass it was prayed, that by the Saints Intercession, the Sacrifice might become the more acceptable, and procure a larger Indulgence, which could not be eafily explained, if the Sacrifice was the death of Christ; besides a numberless variety of other Rites, so many of the Relicts of Heathenism were made use of for the corrupting of the holiest institution of the Christian Religion. The first step that was now made, was a new Office for the Communion, that is, the distribution of the Sacrament, for the Office of Confecration was not at this time touched. It differs very little from what is still used. In the Exhortation, Auricular Confession to a Priest is left free to be done or omitted, and all were required not to judge one another in that matter. There was also a denunciation made requiring E 3 impeBook II. Bread was to be still of the same form that had been formerly used. In the distribution on it was said, The Body of our Lord, &c. preserve thy Body, and The Blood of our Lord, &c. preserve thy Soul. This was Printed with a Proclamation, requiring all to receive it with such Reverence and Uniformity, as might encourage the King to proceed further, and not to run to other things before the King gave direction, affuring the people of his earnest zeal to set forth Godly Orders; and therefore it was hoped they would tarry for it: The Books were fint over England, and the Clergy were appointed to give the Communion next Easter according to them.

Many were much offended to find Con-Confession fession lest indifferent, so this matter was examined examined. Christ gave his Apostles a power of binding and looling, and S. James commanded all to confess their faults to one another. In the Primitive Church all that denied the Faith, or otherwise gave scandal, were separated from the Communion, and not admitted to it till they made publick Confession: And according to the degrees of their sins, the time and degrees of publick Penitence, and their Separation were proportioned: Which was the chief subject of the Consultations of the Councils in the fourth and fifth Centuries. For fecret fins the people lay under no obligation to confess, but they went often to their Priests for direction, even for these. Near

Near the end of the fifth Century they began to have fecret Penances and Con-Book II. fessions as well as publick: But in the feventh Century this became the general 1548. practice. In the eighth Century the Commutation of Penance for Money, or other Services done the Church, was brought in. Then the Holy Wars and Pilgrimages came to be magnified: Croisadoes against Hereticks, or Princes' deposed by the Pope, were fet up instead of all other Penances: Priefts also managed Confession and Absolution, fo as to enter into all mens fecrets, and to govern their Consciences by them; but they becoming very ignorant, and not so associated as to be governed by Orders that might be fent them from Rome, the Friers were every where imployed to hear Confessions, and many reserved Cases were made, in which the Pope only gave Absolution; these were trusted to them, and they had the Trade of Indulgences put in their hands, which they managed with as much confidence as Mountebanks used in felling their Medicines, with this advantage, that the ineffectualness of their devices was not so easily discovered, for the people believed all that the Priests told them. In this they grew to such a pitch of confidence, that for faying some Collects, Indulgences for years, and for Hundreds, Thousands, yea, a Million of years; were granted; to cheap a thing was Heaven made. This trade was now thrown out of the Church, and private E 4 Con-

Confession was declared indifferent: Bit Book II. it was much censured that no Rules for Publick Penance were fet up at this time, 1548 but what were corrupted by the Canonists. The people did not think a Declarative Absolution sufficient, and thought it surer work when a Priest said, I Abfolve thee, though that was but a late Invention. Others censured the words of distribution, by which the Bread was appropriated to the Body, and the Cup to the Soul: And this was foon after amended, only some words relating to it are still in the Collect, We do not pre-Sume. "

imprison-

Gardiner is . The affairs of State took up the Council, as much as the matters of Religion imployed the Bishops, the War with Scotland grew chargeable, and was supported from France, but the fale of the Chantry Lands brought the Council in some Money. Gardiner was brought into new trouble, many complaints were made of him, that he disparaged the Preachers' fent with the Kings licence into his Diocess, and that he secretly opposed all Reformation. So being brought before the Council, he denied most of the things objected to him, and offered to explain himself openly in a Sermon before the King. The Protector prest him not to meddle in matters, not yet determined, particularly the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and to affert the Kings power, though he was under age, and the Authority of the Council: for the Clergy

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Clergy began generally to fay, that though they acknowledged the Kings Supremacy; Book II. yet they would not yield it to the Council, and feemed to place it in fome extraordinary grace conferred on the King by the Anointing in the Coronation. So the Protector defired Gardiner to declare himself in those points; but when he came to preach on St. Peters day, he inveighed against the Popes Supremacy, and asserted the Kings, but faid nothing of the Council, nor the Kings power under Age : he also justified the suppression of Monasteries and Chantries, and the putting down Masses satisfactory, as also the removing of Images, the Sacrament in both kinds. and the new Order for the Communion; but did largely affert the Corporal Prefence in the Sacrament: Upon which there was a noise raised by hot Men of both fides, during the Sermon, and this was faid to be a stirring of sedition, and upon that he was fent to the Tower. This way of proceeding was thought contrary both to Law and Justice, and as all violent courses do, this rather weakned than strengthned those that were most concerned in it. Cranmer did at this time fet out a large Catechism, which he dedicated to the King. He infifted much on shewing, that Idolatry had been committed in the use of Images: he afferted the Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests, and their authority of Absolving sinners, and expressed great Zeal for setting up Penitentiary

tentiary Canons, and exhorted the People Book II. to discover the state of their Souls to their Pastors: from this it appears, that 1548. he had changed the opinions, he formerly held, against the Divine Institution of the Ecclefialtical Offices.

turgy composed.

But now a more general Reformation A new Li- of the whole Liturgy was under confideration, that all the Nation might have an Uniformity in the Worship of God; and be no more cantoned to the several Uses of Sarum, York, Lincoln, Hereford and Bangor. Anciently the Liturgies were short. and had few Ceremonies in them: Every Bishop had one for his own Diocess: but in the African Churches, they began first to put them into a more Regular Form. Gregory the Great, labour'd much in this; yet he left Austin the Monk to his liberty, either to use the Roman or French forms in England, as he found they were like to tend most to Edification. Great Additions were made in every Age, for the private Devotions of some that were. reputed Saints, were added to the Publick offices: and mysterious significations were invented for every new Rite, which was the chief study of some Ages: and all was fwelled up to a vast bulk. It was not then thought on, that praying by the spirit, consisted in the inventing new words, and uttering them with warmth; and it seemed too great a subjection of the People to their Priests, that they should make them joyn with them in all their

their heats in prayer: and would have proved as great a refignation of their de-Book II. votion to them, as the former superstition had made of their faith. It was then 1548. resolved to have a Liturgy, and to bring the Worship to a fit mean, between the Pomp of Superstition, and naked flatness. They resolved to change nothing, meerly in opposition to received practices, but rather in Imitation of what Christ did. in the Institution of the two Sacraments of the Gospel, that did consist of Rires used among the Tews, but blessed by him to higher purposes, to comply with what had been formerly in use, as much as was possible thereby to gain the People. All the Consecrations of Water, Salt, &c. in the Church of Rome, lookt like the remainders of Heathenism, and were laid aside: by these Devils being adjured, and a Divine vertue supposed to be in them, the People came to think, that by fuch observances, they might be sure of Heaven. The Absolutions, by which, upon the account of the Merits of the Bleffed Virgin, and the Saints, the sprinklings of Water, Fastings and Pilgrimages, with many other things, fins were pardoned, as well as on the account of the Passion of Christ, and the Absolution given to dead bodies, lookt like gross Impostures, tending to make the World think, that besides the painful way to Heaven, in a course of true Holiness, the Priests had fecrets in their hands, of carrying People

ple thither in another Method, and on Book II. easier terms; and this drew in the People to purchase their favour, especially when they were dying: fo that, as their fears were then heightned, there was no other way left them, in the conclusion of an ill life, to dye with any good hopes, but as they bargained for them with their Priests; therefore all this was now cast out. It was resolved to have the whole worship in the Vulgar Tongue, upon which Saint Paul has copiously enlarged him-felf: and all Nations, as they were converted to Christianity, had their Offices in their Vulgar Tongue; but of late, it had been pretended, that it was a part of the Communion of Saints, that the worship should be every where in the fame Language; though the People were hardly used, when for the sake of some Vagrant Priefts, that might come from foreign Parts, they were kept from knowing what was faid in the worship of God. It was pretended, that Pilate having ordered the Inscription on the Cross, in Greek, Latine, and Hebrew; these three Languages were fanctified; but it is not easie to understand what authority he had, for conferring fuch a priviledge on them. But the keeping all in an Unknown Tongue, preserved in dark Ages the esteem of their Offices, in which there were fuch Prayers and Hymns, and fuch Leffons, that if the People had understood them, they must have given great scandal:

dal: In many Prayers the pardon of fins, and the grace of God were asked, in Book II. fuch a stile, of the Saints, as if these had been wholly at their disposal, and as if 1548. they had been more merciful than God. or Christ. In former times all that did officiate, were peculiarly habited, and all their Garments were blessed: and these were considered, as a part of the train of the Mass; but on the other hand, white had been the colour of the Priests Vestments, under the Mosaical Law, and was early brought into the Christian Churches: it was a proper expression of Innocence, and it was fit that the worship of God should be in a decent habit. So it was continued, and fince the Sacrifices offered to Idols, were not thereby according to Saint Paul, of their own nature polluted, and every Creature of God was good, it was thought, notwithstanding the former abuse, most reasonable to use these Garments still.

The Morning and Evening Prayers were put almost in the same Method, in which The new we use them still, only there was no Con-Offices. fession nor Absolution. In the Office for the Communion, there was a Commemoration of thanksgiving, for the Blessed Virgin, and all departed Saints, and they were commended to God's mercy and peace. In the Consecration, the use of crossing the Elements was retained, but there was no Elevation, which was at first used as an historical Rite, to shew

Christ's

Christ's being listed up on the Cross; but Book II. was afterwards done, to call on the People to adore it. No stamp was to be on the Bread, and it was to be thicker than ordinary. It was to be put in the Peoples mouths by the Priests, though it had been anciently put in their hands. Some in the Greek Church began to take it in Spoons of Gold, others in a Linnen cloth, called their Dominical: but after the Corporal presence was received, the People were not suffered to touch it, and the Priests Thumbs and Fingers were peculiarly anointed, to qualifie them for that Contact. In Baptism, the Child's head and breast was crost, and an adjuration was made of the Devil, to depart from him: Children were to be thrice dipt. or in case of weakness, water was to be sprinkled on their faces, and then they were to be anointed. The sick might also be anointed, if they defired it. At Funerals, the departed Soul was recommended to God's mercy.

Private Communion.

The Sacraments were formerly believed, of fuch vertue, that they conferred Grace, by the very receiving them, ex opere operato: and so Women baptized. The Ancients did fend portions of the Eucharist to the fick, but without any Pomp: which came in, when the Corporal Presence was believed. But instead of that, it was now appointed, that the Sacraments should be ministred to the sick, and therefore in case of weakness. Children might be baptized

tized in Houses; though it was more suitable to the delign of Baptism, which was Book II. the admission of a new Member to the Church, to do it before the whole Con- 1548. gregation: But this, which was a provision for weakness, is become since a mark of Vanity, and a piece of affected state. It was also appointed, that the Sacrament should be given to the fick, and not to be fent from the Church, but Confecrated by their Bed-sides: since Christ had said. that where two or three were affembled. in his name, he would be in the midst of them. But it is too gross a Relique of the worst part of Popery, if any imagine, that after an ill life, some sudden sorrow for fin, with a hasty Absolution, and the Sacrament will be a passeport to Heaven, fince the mercies of God in Christ are offered in the Gospel, only to those who truly believe, fincerely repent, and do change the course of their Lives.

The Liturgy thus compiled, was published with a Preface, concerning Ceremonies: the same that is still in the Common-Prayer-Book, written with extraor-

dinary judgment and temper.

When the Book came into all Mens Censures hands, several things were censured: as past on particularly the frequent use of the Cross the Comand Anointing. The former began to be mon-praya used, as a badge of a crucified Saviour: er-Book. but the superstition of it was so much advanced, that Lairia was given to the Crosser. The using it was also believed

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to have a Virtue for driving away evil spirits, and preserving one from dangers: so that a Sacramental vertue was affixed to it, which could not be done, fince there is no Institution for it in Scripture: but the using it as a Ceremony, expressing the believing in a crucified Saviour, could import no superstition, since Ceremonies, that only express our duty or profession, may be used as well as words, these being signs, as the other are founds, that express our thoughts. use of Oyl in Confirmation, and receiving Penitents, was early brought into the Church: but it was not applied to the fick, till the 10th. Century; for the Ancients did not understand those words of Saint James, to relate to it, but to the extraordinary gift of healing, then in the Church.

AllPreach. While these changes were under Con-ing was for sideration, there were great heats every fome time where, and a great contradiction among the Pulpits; some commending all the old customes, and others inveighing as much against them: so the power of granting Licences to preach, was taken from the Bishops, and restrained only to the King and the Archbishops; yet even that did not prove an effectual restraint. So a Proclamation was fet out, restraining all Preaching, till the Order, which was then in the hands of the Bishops, should be finished; and instead of hearing Sermons, all were required to apply themselves to Prayer,

## of the Keformation, &c.

Prayer, for a blessing on that which was then a preparing, and to content them. Book II. felves in the mean while with the Homilies.

The War of Scotland continued: the Affairs in Scots received a great supply from France Scotland. of 6000. Men, under the command of Defly. The English had fortified Hadington, which was well lituated, and lay in a fruitful Countrey: fo the Governour of Scotland joyning an Army of Scots to the French, fat down before it. The Protector faw the inconveniencies of a long War coming on him, both with Scotland and France: so he offered a truce for 10. years, in which time he hoped by presents and practices, to gain, or at least to divide those, who were united by the War. Many of the Scotch Nobility liked the Proposition well: and indeed the infolence of the French was fuch, that instead of being Auxiliaries, they considered them as Enemies. But the Clergy were fo apprehensive of a Match with England, that they never concluded themselves secure, till it were put out of their power: and fo did vehemently promote the Proposition made by the French, of sending their Queen over to France: and this was in conclusion agreed to. So the French Ships that brought over the Auxiliaries, carried back the young Queen. The siege of Hadington went on: a great recruit fent to them from Berwick was intercepted, and cut off: but they were well fupplied

Book II. Some Castles that the English had, were taken by furprize, and others by Trea-1548. chery: a Fleet was fent to spoil the Coast of Scotland, under the Admirals command, but he made only two defcents, in both which he had fuch ill fuccess, that he lost near 1200. Men in them. The Earl of Shrewsbury led in a good Army to the Relief of Hadington: The Siege was opened, and the place well fupplied. But as Deffy marched back to Edenburgh, his Souldiers committed great out rages upon the Scots, fo that if Shrewsbury had designed to fight, he had great advantages, fince the Scots were now very weary of their imperious friends, the French: but he marched back, having performed that for which he was fent. Desly followed him, and made a great in-road into England, but would not give the Scots any share of the spoil, and treated them in all things, as a conquered Province: and being in fear of them, he fortified himself in Leith, which before was but an inconsiderable Village. He also attacked the Fort which the English had in Inchkeith, and took it. But he was recalled upon the Complaints that were fent to the Court of France, against him. Now the People there began to feel their flavery, and to hate those that had perswaded the sending their Queen to France, and particularly the Clergy, and were thereby the more disposed to hearken to fuch

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fuch Preachers, as discovered their Corruptions and fuperstition. Monluc Bishop Book II. of Valence, a Man celebrated for wisdom, and for fo much moderation in matters of Religion, that it drew upon him the fuspicion of Heresie, was sent over from France to be Chancellor of Scotland. This was like to give great discontent to the Scottish Nobility: so he returned to France. The English were now involved in a War, in which they could promife themselves no good issue, unless they could conquer the Kingdom: for the end they had propofed by a Match, was now put out of the power, even of the Scots themfelves.

In Germany, the Emperor, after he had Affairs is used all possible endeavours to bring the Germany. Council back to Trent, but without fuccefs, protested against those at Bologna: and ordered three Divines (one of them was esteemed a Protestant) to draw a Book for reconciling matters of Religion, which should take place in that interval, till a Council should meet in Germany, called from that the Interim. The chief Concessions in fayour of the Protestants were the Communion in both kinds, and that married Priests might officiate. A Diet was summoned, where Maurice was invested in the Electorate of Saxe, the degraded Elector being made to look on, and see the Ceremony; which he did with his ordinary constancy of mind: and without expressing any concern about it,

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he returned to his studies, which were chief-Book II. ly imployed in the Scriptures. The Book was proposed to the Diet, and the Bi-1548. shop of Mentz, without any Order, thanked the Emperour for it, in their name, and this was published, as the confent of the Diet. So flight a thing will pass for a consent of the States, by a Conquerour that looks on himself as above Law. Both Papists and Protestants were offended at it. It was condemned at Rome, where no Herefie was more odious than that the Secular Powers should meddle in points of Faith. The Protestants generally refused it: and the imprifon'd Elector could not be wrought on to receive it, neither by the Offers that were made him, nor the severities he was put to, in all which he was always the fame. Some contests arose between Melanethon, and the other Lutherans: for he thought the Ceremonies, being things indifferent, might be received; but the others thought thefe would make way for all the other errors of Popery. The Protestant Religion was now almost ruined in Germany, and this made the Divines turn their eyes. to England. Calvin wrote to the Protector, and prest him to go on to a more compleat Reformation, and that Prayers for the Dead, the Chrism and Extream Unction might be laid aside. He desired him to trust in God, and go on, and wished there were more preaching, and in a more lively way, than he heard was then

in England: but above all things he pray. ed him to suppress that Impiety and pro. Book II. fanity, that, as he heard, abounded in the Nation.



In the end of this Year, a Sellion of A Sellion Parliament met, but no Bill was finished of Parliabefore February; the first was concerning ment. the married Clergy, which was finished by the Commons in fix days, but lay fix Weeks before the Lords: Nine Bishops, and four Temporal Lords protested against it. It was declared, that it were An Act for better for Priests to live unmarried, free the marriof all worldly cares; yet fince the Laws Clergy. compelling it, had occasioned great filthiness, they were all repealed. The pre-tence of Chastity in the Romish Priests, had possessed the World with a high opinion of them, and had been a great reflection on the Reformers, if the World had not clearly feen through it, and been made very sensible of the ill effects of it, by the defilement it brought into their own Beds and Families. Nor was there any point in which the Reformers had enquired more, to remove this prejudice, that lay against them. In the old Testas ment, all the Priests were not only married, but the Office descended by Inheritance. In the New Testament, Marriage was declared Henourable in all: among the qualifications of Bishops and Deacons, their being the Husbands of one Wife, are reckoned up. Many of the Apostles were married, and carried their Wives about F 3 with

70.

with them, as also Agnila did Priscilla. For-Book II. bidding to marry, is reckoned a mark of

the Apostasie, that was to follow. Some 1549 of the first Hereticks inveighed against

In Trullo.

Marriage, but the Orthodox justified it, and condemned those Churchmen that put away their Wives: which was confirmed by a General Council, in the fifth Century: Paphnutius, in the Council of Nice, opposed a motion that was made for it: Hilary of Poiltiers was married, Basil and Nazianzen's Fathers were Bishops. Heliodorus, the first that wrote a Romance, moved that Bishops might live singly; but till then every one did in that as he pleased, and even those who were twice married, if the first was before their Conversion might be Bishops, which Jerome himself, though very partial to celibate, justifies; all the Canons made against the married Clergy, were only politive Laws, which might be repealed. The Priests in the Greek Church did still live with their Wives at that time; In the West, the Clergy did generally marry; and in Edgar's time, they were for the most part married in England. In the Ninth Century P. Nicolas prest the Celibate much, but was oppofed by many. In the Eleventh Century, Gregory the 7th. intending to fet up a new Ecclesiastical Empire, found that the unmarried Clergy would be the furest to him, fince the married gave Pledges to the State, and therefore he proceeded furioufly in it; and called all the married Priefts. by appearing the second

Priests, Nicolaitans : yet in England, Lanfrane did only impose the Celibate on the Book II. Prebendaries, and the Clergy that lived in Towns: Anselm imposed it on all without 1549. exception; but both he, Bernard, and Petrus Damiani, complain, that Sodomy abounded much, even among the Bishops: And not only Panormitan, but Pins the 2d. wished, that the Laws for the Celibate were taken away. So it was clear, that it was not founded on the Laws of God: and it was a fin to force Churchmen to vow that which sometimes was not in their power: and it was found by examining the forms of Ordination, that the Priests in England had made no fuch vows; and even the vow in the Roman Pontifical to live chaftly, did not import a tie not to marry, fince a Man might live Chast in a married state. Many lewd stories were published of the Clergy, but none seemed more remarkable, than that of the Pope's Legate, in Henry the second's time, who the very same Night after he had put all the married Clergy from their Benefices, was found a-bed with a Whore. It was also observed that the unmarried Bishops, if they had not Bastards to raise, were as much fet on advancing their Nephews and Kindred, as those that were married could be: Nor did any Persons meddle more in secular affairs, than the unmarried Clergy: and it might be reasonable to restrain the Clergy, as was done in the Primitive Church, from converting the Goods

Goods of the Church, which were entru-Book II. sted to their care, to the enriching of their Families. None appeared more zealous 1549 for procuring this liberty, than feveral Clergy men that never made use of it, in particular Ridley and Redmayn.

An Act confirming the Liturgy.

Another Act past, confirming the Liturgy, which was now finished. Eight Bishops, and three Temporal Lords only protesting against it. There was a long preamble, fetting forth the inconvenience of the former Offices, and the pains that had been taken to reform them; and that diverse Bishops and Divines had, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with an uniform agreement concluded on the new Book: therefore they Enacted, That by Whitfunday next, all Divine Offices should be performed according to it, and if any used other Offices, for the first offence they should be imprisoned fix months, lose their Benefices for a fecond, and be imprisoned during life for the third offence. Some cenfured those words, that the Book was composed by the Aid of the Holy Ghost; but this did not import an Inspiration, but a Divine assistance. Many wondred to see the Bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Chichefter, and Westminster, protest against the Act, fince they had concurred in compofing the Book. It does not appear whether they were dissatisfied at any thing in it, or whether they opposed the impofing it on such severe penalties; or if they were displeased at a Proviso that was added

1549 ..

added for the using of Psalms taken out of the Bible, which was intended for the fing. Book IL. ing Pfalms then put in Verse, and much used both in Churches and Houses, by all that loved the Reformation. In the Primitive times the Christians used the Psalter much, and the chief devotion of the Monastick Orders consisted in repeating it often. Apollinarius put it in Verse, and both Nazianzen and Prudentius wrote many devout Hymns in Verse: Others, though in Profe, were much used, as the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Te Deum: afterwards the greatest part of the Offices was put in Latin Rhimes, and so now some English Poets turned the Psalter into Verse, which was then much esteemed; but both our Language and Poetry, being fince that time much improved, this work has now lost, its beauty so much, that there is great

Another Act past about Fasting, declaring, "That though all days and meats Fasting. "were in themselves alike, yet fasting, be-"ing a great help to vertue, and to the " fubduing the Body to the mind, and "a distinction of meats conducing to the " advancement of the Fishing trade, it was " Enacted, That Lent, and all Fridays and Saturdays, and Ember days should be "Fish days, under several penalties, exce-"pring the weak, or those that had the "Kings Licence. Christ had told his Disciples, that when he was taken from them, they should fast: So in the Primi-

need of a new Version.

1 440.

tive Church they fasted before Easter; but Book II. the same number of days was not observed in all places; afterwards other rules and davs were set up : but S. Austin complained, that many in his time placed all their Religion in observing them. Fast days were turned to a mockery in the Church of Rome, in which they both dined, and did eat Fish drest exquisitely, and drank Wine. This made many run to another extream against all Fasts, or distinction of days, which certainly, if rightly managed, and without superstition, is a great means for keeping up a seriousness of mind, which is necessary for maintaining the power of Religion. Other Bills were proposed, but not past, one for making it Treason to marry the Kings Sifters, without the confent of the King and Council: But the forfeiture of Succession in that case was thought sufficient. The Bishops did also complain of their want of power to repress vice, which so much abounded: But the Laity were so apprehensive of coming again under an Ecclefiastical Tyranny, that they would not confent to it. Proposition was also made for bringing the Common Law into a body, in imitation of Justinians Digests: But it fell, being too great a design to be finished under an Infant King.

The Admirals Attainder.

In this Parliament the Admiral was Attainted. The Queen Dowager died in September last, not without suspicion of Poison; upon that he renewed his Addreffes

dresses to Lady Elizabeth; but finding it in vain to expect that his Brother and the Book II. Council would consent to it, and that her right to the Succession would be cut off 1 5495 if he married her without their confent, he refolved to make fure of the Kings Person, till he made a change in the Government: He fortified his House, he laid up a Magazine, and made a party among the Nobility. The Protector imployed many to divert him from those desperate designs, but his Ambition being incurable, he was forced to proceed to extremities against him. He sent him Prisoner to the Tower in January, with his Confederate Sharington, who being Vice-Treasurer of the Mint at Bristol, had supplied him with Money, and had coined much base Money for his use. Many were sent to perswade him to a better mind, and his Brother was willing to be again reconciled to him, if he would retire from the Court and business; but he was intractable. So, many Articles were objected to him, both of his designs against the State, and of his Malversation in his Office, several Pyrates having been entertained by him. Many Witnesses and Letters under his own hand, were brought against him. Almost the whole Council went to the Tower and examined him; but he refused to make any Answers, and said he expected an open Tryal. The whole

Council upon this, acquainted the King with it, and desired him to refer the matter to the Parliament, which he granted.



Upon that, some Counsellors were again 1549.

Book II. fent to fee what they could draw from him, but he was fullen, and after he had answered to three of the Articles, denying fome particulars, and excusing others, he refused to go any further. The business was next brought into the House of Lords: The Judges and the Kings Council delivered their opinions, That the Articles objected to him were Treason. Then the Evidence was given, upon which the whole House past the Bill, the Protector only withdrawing: They dispatched it in two days. In the House of Commons many argued against Attainders without a Trial, or bringing the party to make his Answers. But a Message was sent from the King, desiring them to proceed as the Lords had begun. So the Lords that had given Evidence against him in their own Honse, were sent down to the Commons: Upon which they past the Bill; and the Royal Assent was given the fifth of March: And afterwards, the King being prest to it by the Council, gave order for the Execution, which was done the twentieth of March. This was the only cure that his Ambition seemed capable of: Yet it was thought against nature, that one Brother should fall by the hand of another: And the Attainting a man without hearing him, was condemned, as contrary to Natural Justice; so that the Protector suffered almost as much by his death as he could have done by his life. The

The Laity and Clergy both gave the King Subfidies, and fo the Parliament was Book II. Prorogued. The first thing taken into care was the receiving the Act of Unifor-Anew Vimity: Some Complaints were made of the fitation. Priests way of officiating, that they did it with such a tone of voice, that the people did not understand what was said, no more than when the Prayers were faid in Latine; fo this Temper was found: Prayers were ordered to be said in Parish Churches in a plain voice, but in Cathedrals the old way was still kept up, as agreeing better with the Musick used in them: Though this seemed not very decent in the Confession of sins, nor in the Litany, where a simple voice, gravely uttered, agreed better with those devoti-ons, than those Cadences and unmusical notes do. Others continued to use all the Gesticulations, Crossings and Kneelings, that they had formerly been accustomed to: The people did also continue the use of their Beads, which were brought in by Peter Hermit, in the eleventh Century, by which the repeating the Angels Salutation to the Virgin, was made a great part of their devotion, and was ten times said for one Pater Noster. Instructions were given to the Visitors to put all these down in a new Visitation, and to enquire if any Priests continued to drive a trade by Trentals or Masses for departed Souls. Order was also given, that there should be no Private Masses at Altars in the cor-

Book II. be but one Communion in a day, unless it were in great Churches, and at high 1549 Festivals, in which they were allowed to have one Communion in the morning, and another at noon. The Visitors made their Report, That they found the Book of Common Prayer received universally over all the Kingdom, only Lady Mary continued to have Mass said according to the abrogated forms: Upon this, the Council wrote to her to conform to the Laws; for the nearer she was to the King in blood, she was so much the more obliged to give a good Example to the rest of the Subjects. She refused to comply with their desires, and fent one to the Emperour for his Protection; upon which the Emperour pressed the English Embassadours, and they promised that for some time she should be dispensed with. The Emperour pretended afterwards that they made him an absolute Promise that she should never be more troubled about it, but they faid it was only a Temporary Promise. A Match was also proposed for her with the King of Portugal's Brother, but it was let fall soon after. She refused to acknowledge the Laws made when the King was under age, and carried herself very high, for she knew well that the Protector was then afraid of 1 War with France, and that made the Emperours Alliance more necessary to England: Vet the Council sent for the Officers of her houshold, and required them to let her know

know that the Kings Authority was the fame when he was a child as at full age; Book II. and that it was now lodged in them, and though as they were fingle persons, they 1549. were all inferiour to her, yet as they were the Kings Council, she was bound to obey them, especially when they executed the Law; which all Subjects of what rank soever were bound to obey. Yet at present they durst go no further for fear of the Emperours displeasure: So it was resolved to connive at her Mass.

The Reformation of the greatest Er- Disputes rours in Divine Worship being thus esta- concernblished; Cranmer proceeded next to estaingChrist
presence
blish a form of Doctrine: the chief point in the Sainthe Sathat hitherto was untouched, was the pre- crament. fence of Christ in the Sacrament, which the Priests magnified as the greatest Mystery of the Christian Religion, and the chief priviledge of Christians; with which the fimple and credulous vulgar were mightily affected. The Lutherans received that which had been for some Ages the Doctrine of the Greek Church, that in the Sacraments there was both Bread and Wine, and also the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. The Helvetians lookt on it only as a Commemoration of the Death of Christ. The Princes of Germany were at great pains to have these reconciled, in which Bucer had laboured with great Industry: But Luther being a man of a harsh temper, did not easily bear contradiction, and was too apt to allume,

ingChrists

Book II. he condemned in the Pope. Some took a middle way, and afferted a Real Presence. 1549 but it was not easie to understand what was meant by that expression, unless it was a real application of Christs death; fo that the meaning of Really was Effectually. But though Bucer followed this method, Pet. Martyr did in his Lectures declare plainly for the Helvetians. So Dr. Smith, and some others, intended publickly to oppose and affront him; and challenged him to a dispute about it, which he readily accepted, on these conditions, That the Kings Council should first approve of it, and that it should be managed in Scripture terms: For the strength of those Doctors lay in a nimble managing of those barbarous and unintelligible terms of the Schools, which though they founded high, yet really they had no fense under that: So all the Protestants resolved to dispute in Scripture terms, which feemed more proper in matters of Divinity; than the Meta-phyfical language of School men. The Council having appointed Dr. Cox, and fome others, to preside in the dispute, Dr. Smith went out of the way, and a little after fled out of England: But before he went, he wrote a very mean submission to Cranmer: Other Doctors disputed with Peter Martyr concerning Tran-fubstantiation, but that had the common fate of all publick disputes, for both sides gave out that they had the better. At the fame

fame time there were also disputes at Cambridge, which were moderated by Ridley, Book II. that was fent down thither by the Council. He had fallen on Bertrams Book of the 1549. Sacrament, and wondred much to find fo celebrated a Writer in the ninth Century. engage so plainly against the Corporal Presence: This disposed him to think that at that time it was not the received belief of the Church: He communicated the matter to Cranmer, and they together made great Collections out of the Fathers on this head, and both wrote concerning it.

The fubstance of their Arguments was, Argu-That as Christ called the Cup the Fruit of ments at the Vine, so S. Paul called the other Ele-gainst the ment Bread, after the Confectation; which Corporal shews that their natures were not changed. Christ speaking to Jews, and substituting the Eucharist in the room of the Paschal Lamb, used such expressions as had been customary among the Jews on that occasion; who called the Lamb the Lords Paffeover, which could not be meant literally, fince the Passeover was the Angels passing by their Houses, when the first born of the Egyptians were killed: So it being a commemoration of that, was called the Lords Paffeover; and in the same sense did Christ call the Bread his Body: Figure rative expressions being ordinary in Scripture, and not improper in Sacraments, which may be called Figurative actions. It was also appointed for a Remembrance

of Christ, and that supposes absence: Book II. The Elements were also called by Christ his Body broken, and his Blood shed; so 1549 it is plain, they were his Body, not as it

is glorified in Heaven, but as it suffered on the Crofs: And fince the Scriptures speak of Christs continuance in Heaven till the last day, from thence they inferred, that he was not Corporally present. And it was shewed, that the eating Christs Flesh, mentioned by S. John, was not to be understood of the Sacrament, since of every one that did eat, it is faid that he has Eternal life in him. So that was to be understood only of receiving Christs doctrine, and he himself shewed it was to be meant fo, when he faid, that the Flesh · prefited nothing; but his words were Spirit and Life. So that all this was according to Christs ordinary way of teaching in Parables. Many other Arguments were brought from the nature of a body, to prove that it could not be in more places than one at once, and that it was not in a place after the manner of a Spirit, but was always extended. They found also that the Fathers' had taught, that the Elements were still Bread and Wine, and were the Types, the Signs and Figures of Christs Body, not only according to Tertulian, and S. Austin, but to the Ancient Liturgies, both in the Greek and Roman Churches. But that on which they built most, was that Chryfostome, Gelasius, and Theodoret, arguing against those who said that the hu-

humane nature in Christ was fwallow. ed up by its Union to his Godhead, Book II. They illustrated the contrary thus; as in the Sacrament, the Elements are united to the Body of Christ, and yet continue to be the same that they were formerly, both in Substance, Nature, and Figure; So the Humanity was not destroy. ed by its Union with the Word. From which it appeared that it was then the received opinion, that the Elements were: not changed; and therefore all those high expressions in Chrysostome, or others, were; only strains and figures of Eloquence, to raise the devotion of the people higher in that holy action. But upon those expresfions the following Ages built that opinion, which agreeing so well with the Designs of the Priests, for establishing the authority of that Order, which by its Character was qualified for the greatest performance that ever was; no wonder they took all imaginable pains to infule it into the belief of the world, and those dark ages were disposed. to believe every thing fo much the rather, the more incredible that it appeared to be. In the ninth Century many of the greatest men of that Age wrote against it, and none of them were for that condemned as Hereticks: The contrary opinion was then received in England, as appeared; by one of the Saxon Homilies that was. read on Easter-day, in which many of Bertrams words were put. But it was generally received in the eleventh and twelfth

1549.

Century, and fully established in the fourth

Book II. Council in the Lateran. At first it was believed that the whole Loaf was turned into 1549 one entire Body, so that in the distribution every one had a Joint given him; and according to that conceit, it was given out that it did often bleed, and was turned into pieces of Flesh. But this seemed an undecent way of handling Christs glorified Body, so the School-men did invent a more feemly notion, That a Body might be in a place after the manner of a Spirit. so that in every crumb there was an entire. Christ; which though it appeared very hard to be conceived, yet it generally pre-vailed, and then the Miracles fitted for the former opinion were no more heard of, but new ones agreeing to this hypothesis were set up in their stead. So dextrously did the Priests deceive the World; and because a mouthful of Bread, or a draught of Wine, would have been shrewd temptations to make the people think it was really Bread and Wine that they got, therefore as the Cup was taken away, fo instead of Bread, a thin wafer was given, to make the People more easily imagine, that it was only the accidents of Bread, that were received by them. Upon these grounds did Cranmer and Ridley go in this matter.

Anabaptists in England.

There were some Anabaptists at this time in England, that were come over out of Germany: of them there were two forts, fome only objected to the baptizing of Children.

Children, and to the manner of it by Book II. held many opinions, that had been anciently condemned as Herefies: they had raised a cruel War in Germany, and set up a new King at Munster, but all these carried the name Anabaptists from that of Infantbaptism, though it was one of the mildest Opinions that they held. Some of these came over to England, so a Commission was granted to some Bishops and others, to fearch them out, and to proceed against them. Several Persons were brought before them, and did abjure their errors, which were, 'That there was not a Tri-'nity of Persons, that Christ was not God, and took not flesh of the Virgin, and that a Regenerate man could not fin. Two were One Joan Bocher, called Joan of Kent, de- burnt, nied that Christ took flesh of the substance of his Mother; she was out of measure vain and conceited of her notions, and rejected all the Instruction that was offered her with fcorn: fo she was condemned as an obstinate Heretick, and delivered to the fecular Arm. But it was very hard to perswade the King to sign the Warrant for her Execution; he thought it was an Instance of the same spirit of cruelty, for which the Reformers condemned the Papists: It was hard to condemn one to be burnt for some wild Opinions, especially when they seemed to flow from a disturbed brain; but Cranmer perswaded him, that he being Gods Lieutenant, was



Abilingment of the History

Book II. offences committed against God: He also alledged the Laws of Moses, for punishing 2 4 3 4 9. blasphemers: and he thought errors that struck immediately against the Apostles Creed, ought to be capitally punished. These things did rather silence than satisfie the young King: he figned the Warrant with tears in his eyes, and faid to Cranmer, that since he resigned up himself in that matter to his judgment, if he finned in it, it should lie at his door. This struck the Archbishop: and both he, and Ridley took her into their Houses, and tried what reason, joyned with gentleness, could do. But the was still more and more Infolent, fo at last she was burnt, and ended her life very indecently, breaking out often in jeers, and reproaches, and was looked on as a person fitter for Bedlam, than a Stake. Some time after that, a Dutchman, George van Parre, was also condemned and burnt, for denying the Divinity of Christ, and saying, that the Father only was God. He had led a very Exemplary life, both for falling, devotion, and a good conversation, and fuffer'd with extraordinary composedness of mind. These things cast a great blemish on the Reformers: It was faid, they only condemned cruelty, when it was exercised on themselves, but were ready to practise it, when they had power. The Papists made great use of this afterwards in Queen Maries time, and what Cranmer and Ridley **fuffered** 

suffered in her time, was thought a just Book II. dence, that dispenses all things justly to all Men. For the other fort of Anabaptists, 1549. no severities were used against them, but several Books were written to justifie Infant-baptism; and the Practice of the Church so early begun, and so universally spread, was thought a good Plea, especially being grounded on luch Arguments in Scripture, as did demonstrate, at least, the lawfulness of it.

Another fort of People was much com- The Doplained of, who built so much on the re- arine of ceived Opinion of Predestination, that Predestithey thought they might live as they plea- nation a-bused. fed; fince nothing could refift an absolute Decree: nor did those who had advanced that Opinion, know well how to hinder People, from making fuch Inferences from it; all they did, was to warn them, not to pry too much into those secrets: but if the Opinion was true, there was no need of much prying to make fuch conclusions from it. This had a very ill effect on the Lives of many, who thought they were fet loofe from all obligations: and that was indeed the greatest scandal of the Reformation. The Preachers were aware of it, and apprehensive of the judgments of God, that would follow on it: of which they gave the Nation free warning.

At this time a fort of Contagion of Tumuls rage run over all the Commons of Eng-infeveral land. The Nobility and Gentry finding England.

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more

Book II. than by their Corn, did generally inclose their Grounds, and turn them to Pasture: 1549 and so kept but few Servants, and took large Portions of their Estates into their own hands: and yet the numbers of the People increased, Marriage being allowed to all; the abrogation of many Holy-days, and the putting down of Pilgrimages, gave them also more time to work. the Commons feared to be reduced to great flavery. Some proposed an Aggra-rian Law, for regulating this, and the King himself wrote a Discourse about it. that there might be some equality in the division of the soyl among the Tenants. The Protector was a great friend to the Commons, and complained much of the Oppression of the Landlords. There was a Commission issued out, to enquire concerning Inclosures and Farms, and whether those who purchased the Abbey Lands. and were obliged to keep up Hospitality, performed it, or not? and what encouragement they gave to Husbandry? but this turned to nothing. So the Commons. rose every where, yet in most of the Inland Counties, they were eafily dispersed; and it was promised that their grievances should be redressed. The Protector against the Councils mind, set out a Pro-clamation against all new Inclosures, and for indemnifying the People, for what was past. Commissioners were also sent every where, to hear and determine all Complaints.

plaints, but the power that was given to them, was so arbitrary, that the Landlords cal- Book II. led it an Invalion of Property, when their

Rights were thus subjected to the plea-fure of such Men. The Commons understanding that the Protector was so favourable to them, were thereby the more encouraged: and it was afterwards objected to him, that the Convulsions England fell in, foon after, was chiefly occasioned by his ill Conduct; in which he was the more blamed, because he acted against the mind of the greatest part of the Council. In Devonshire, the Insurrection was more lion in formidable; the superstition of the Priests Devonshire. joining with the rage of the Commons, June 10. to they became quickly 10000, strong. The Lord Ruffel was fent against them with a small force, and was ordered to try, if the matter could be composed without blood: but Arundel, a Man of Quality, commanding the Rebels, they were not a loofe body of People, eafily diffipated. They fent their Demands to Court, 'That the old Service and Cere-'monies might be fet up again, that the "Act of the fix Articles, and the Decrees of General Councils might be again in force: that the Bible in English should be called in, that Preachers should pray for the Souls in Purgatory, that Cardinal Pool should be restored, that the half of the Abbey Lands should be restored, to

found two Abbeys in every County, and that Gentlemen of 100. Marks a Year,

might



might have but one Servant: and they Book II. defired a fafe Conduct for their Chief Leaders, in order to the Redress of their 1549 particular Grievances: afterwards they moderated their desires, only to points of Religion. Cranmer writ a large Answer to these, shewing the Novelty and Superstition of those Rites and Ceremonies, and of that whole way of worship, of which they were fo fond: and that the amendments and changes had been made, according to the Scriptures, and the Customes of the Primitive Church: and that their being fond of a Worship, which they understood not, and being desirous to be kept still in ignorance, without the Scriptures, shewed their Priests had greater power over them, than the common reafon of all Mankind had: as for the fix Articles, that Act had never past, if the King had not gone in Person to the Parliament, and argued for it: yet he foon faw his error, and was flack in executing it. After that there was a high threatning Answer sent them in the King's name, charging them for their Rebellion, and blind obedience to their Priests. it the King's authority, under Age, was largely fet forth, for by the pretence of the Kings Minority, the People generally were made believe, that their rifing in Arms, was not Rebellion. In Conclusion, they were earnestly invited to submit to the Kings mercy, as others had done, whom the King had not only pardoned,

but had redressed their just Grievances. At the same time the like spirit of rage Book II. inflamed the Commons in Norfolk; they pretended nothing of Religion, but only 1549. to destroy the Gentry, and put new Coun. Norfolk. fellors about the King: they were led by one Ket a Tanner, and in a few days grew to be 20000. They encamped near Norwich, and committed great out-rages: Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, went in among them, and with great freedom inveighed against their Rebellion and Cruelty, and warned them of the Judgments of God that would fall on them, for which he was in great danger of his life. Ket was now their Prince, and in imitation of the ancient Druids. he did Justice upon complaints brought before him, under an Oak called from thence the Oak of Reformation. The Marquess of Northampton was sent against them, with Orders to keep at a distance, and cut off their provisions. There was at the same time a rising likewise in Yorkthire, where the Commons being incouraged by some pretended Prophecies run together, and committed acts of great barbarity on some Gentlemen. The French
King hearing of all this, resolved to take begin a his advantage, and regain Bulloigne: three War. days before he marched with his Army, the English Embassadour pressing him upon the Intimations that were given him of his designs, he assured him on the faith of a Gentleman, that he would not begin a

War, till he first gave warning. But ma-Book II. ny Princes reckon it a part of their Prerogative, to be exempted from fuch ties. 1549 by which only poor Subjects ought to be fettered. All these things falling upon the Government at once; it may be easily imagined, they were under no small con-flernation. A Fast was proclaimed at Court, where Cranmer preached with great freedom and vehemence: he laid out before them their vitious and ill lives, particularly of those who pretended a love to the Gospel; and set before them the Judgments of God that they might look for, and inlarged on the fresh example of the Calamities of Germany; and intimated the fad apprehensions he had of some terrible stroke, if they did not repent and amend their lives.

The Rebels every where routed.

The Rebels in Devonshire besieged Exeter: the Citizens resisted their assaults, but could not fo easily resist the assaults that hunger made on them, for they were not provided for a Siege. They were reduced at last to great extremities, which made the Lord Ruffel, after he had got fuch fupplies, as he judged necessary, refolve to fall upon them. They possessed themselves of a Bridge behind him, both to inclose him, and to hinder others from joyning with him; but he marched back, and did quickly beat them from it, with the loss of 600. of their Men: and by that essay he perceived how easie a work it would be to disperse them: he upon

that marched forward to Exeter; and beat the Rebels from a Bridge, that o- Book IL. pened his way to their Camp, killing a 1000. of them: upon which they railed 1549. the Siege, and retired in great disorder to Lanceston: he pursued them, as long as they kept in a body, and great numbers of them were killed, some of their Leaders and Priests were taken and hanged. So happily was that Rebellion subdu-ed, without any loss on the Kings side. But the Marquess of Northampton was not so successful in Norfolk: he marched into Norwich. The Rebels having a great Party in the Town, which was a place of no. strength, fell in upon him next day, and drove him out of it: 100. of his Men were killed, and thirty taken Prisoners. Upon this they were much lifted up, but the Earl of Warwick coming thither with 6000. Men, that were prepared to be fent to Scotland, they, after some skirmishes with him, were forced to retire, for they had wasted all the Countrey about, so, that their Provisions failed them: but Warnick followed them close, and killed great numbers, and dispersed them. Ket, and some of their Leaders were taken, and hanged in Chains. The news of this going to Yorkshire, the Rebels there that had not exceeded 3000. accepted the offer of pardon, that was fent them; and fome of the more factious, that were animating them, to make new commotions, were taken and hanged. On the 21. of August,

August, the Protector published a General. Book II. Pardon, in the Kings name, of all that had been done before that day. Many 1549 of the Council opposed this, and judged it better to keep the Commons under the lash; but the Protector thought, that as long as fuch Members continued in fuch fears, it would be easie to raise new disorders: so he resolved, though without the Majority of the Council, to go through with it. This difgusted the Council extreamly, who thought he took too much upon him.

A Visitati-

A Visitation of Cambridge followed soon on of after this. Ridley was the chief of the Cambridge. Visitors: When he found that a design was laid to suppress some Colledges, under pretence of uniting them to others, and to convert some Fellowships that were provided for Divines, to the study of the Civil Law, he refused to go along in that with the other Visitors; and particularly opposed the suppression of Clare Hall, which they began with. He said, the Church was already too much robbed, and yet fome Mens ravenousness was not satisfied. It seemed the design was laid, to drive both Religion and Learning out of the Land; therefore he desired leave to be gone. The Visitors complained of him to the Protector, and imputed his concern for Clare-Hall to his partiality for the North, where he was born, that being a House for the Northern Counties. Upon that, the Protector wrote him a chiding

ding Letter, but he answered it with the freedom that became a Bishop, who was Book II. resolved to suffer all things, rather than fin against his Conscience: and the Pro- 1549. tector was fo well fatisfied with him, that the Colledge was preserved. There was at this time an end put to a very foolish Controversie, that had occasioned fome heat, concerning the pronunciation of the Greek Tongue; which many used more suitably to an English than a Greek accent. Cheek being the Professor of Greek, had taught the truer Rules of Pronunciation, but Gardiner was an Enemy to every thing that was new, and so he opposed it much in King Henry's time : and Cheek was made leave the Chair: but both he, and Sir Tho. Smith wrote in Vindication of his Rules, with so much Learning, that all People wondred to fee fo much brought out upon fo flight an occasion; but Gardiner was not a Man to be wrought on by reason. Now the matter was fetled, and the new way of pronunciation took place, and that the rather, because the Patrons of it were in such power, the one being the King's Tutor, and the other made Secretary of State: and that Gardiner, who opposed it, was now in the Tower. So great an Influence has Greatness, in supporting the most spe-culative and indifferent things.

Bonner was now brought in trouble: It Bonners was not easie to know how to deal with Process. him, for he obeyed every Order that was

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August.

fent him; and yet it was known that he Book II. fecretly hated and condemned all that was done; and as often as he could declare that fafely, he was not wanting by fuch ways to preferve his interest with the Papists: And though he obeyed the Orders of Council, yet he did it in so remis a manner, that it was visible that it went against the grain. So he was called before the Council, and charged with several particulars. That whereas he used to offciate himself on the great Festivals, he had not done it fince the New Service was fet out; that he took no care to reprefs Adultery, and that he never Preached. So they ordered him to officiate every Festival, to Preach once a quarter, and to begin within three weeks, and Preach at S. Pauls: and to be present at every Sermon when he was in health, and to proceed feverely against those who withdrew from the new Service, and against Adulterers. They required him to fet forth the heinousness of Rebellion, and the nature of true Religion, and the indifference of outward Ceremonies, and particularly to declare that the Kings Authority was the same, and as much to be obeyed before he was of age as after. On the first of September he Preacht; he said nothing of the power of Kings under Age, and spoke but little to the other points; but enlarged much on the Corporal Prefence in the Sacrament. Hooper, and W. Latimer, two of his hearers, informed against him. So a Commis-

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fion was granted to Cranmer, Ridley, the two Secretaries of State, and May, Dean Book II. of S. Pauls, to examine that matter, and to imprison, or deprive him, as they should 1549. fee cause for it: They were also authorized to proceed in the fummary way of the Spiritual Courts. He was fummoned to Lambeth, where he carried himself with great difrespect and disingenuity towards the Delegates; and gave the Informers very foul language; and in his whole discourse he behaved himself like one that was disturbed in his Brain. When the Commission was read, he made a Protestation against it, referving to himself power to except to diverse things in it. He said the Informers were Hereticks, and only profecuted him because he had taught the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. At the next meeting Secretary Smith was there, who was not present at the first: So upon that account, Bonner protested against him, he also charged Heresie on his Accusers, who were thereby under Excommunication, and fo not capable to appear in any Court. He denied that any Injunctions had been given him under the Kings hand or Signet; he faid he had preached against the late Rebels, which implied that the Kings power was compleat, though he was un-der age. It was answered to this, that the Court might proceed ex Officio, without Informers: And that the Injunctions, concerning the heads of which he was required to treat in his Sermon, were read

to him by one of the Secretaries, and were gi-

Book II. ven him by the Protector, and they were afterwards called for, and that Article about 1549 the Kings power under age was, by Order of Council, added; and the Paper was delivered to him by Secretary Smith. third appearance the Informers offered to vindicate themselves of the charge of Heresie; but after some scurrilous language given them by Bonner, he was called upon to answer to the main business, which was, his faying nothing of the Kings power under age; to this he said, he had prepared notes about it, both from the Instances in Scripture, of Solomon, Joash and Manasses, of Josiah and Joakim, that reigned under age: as also several instances in the English story, as Henry the Third, Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fifth; but he pretended these things had escaped his memory; and a long account of the defeat of the Rebels being fent to him by the Council, with an Order to read it, had put him in fome confusion, and that the Book in which he had put his Notes, fell from him; for which he appealed to his Chaplains, whom he had imployed to gather for him the names of those Kings who had reigned before they were of age. But this did not fatisfie the Court, so they proceeded to examine Witnesses, whom Bonner intangled all he could with Interrogatories, and the niceties of the Canon Law. Bonner built his main defence on this.

this, that in the Paper which the Protector gave him, that Article concerning the Book II. Kings age was not mentioned, but was afterwards added by Smith; fo that he was not 1549, bound to obey it: But it was proved that the whole Council ordered that addition to be made. Smith had treated him somewhat sharply, for his carriage was very provoking; upon that, he renewed his former Protestation against him, and refused to look on him as his Judge, fince he had declared himself so partial against him: He complained, that Smith had compared him to Thieves and Traytors. Smith faid it was visible he acted as they did: To which Bonner answered, that as he was Secretary of State he honoured him, but as he was Sir Thomas Smith, he lied, and he defied him. And being threatned with Imprisonment, he seemed not much concerned at it; he faid he had a few Goods, a poor Carkass, and a Soul; the two former were in their power, but he would take care of the latter. And upon that he appealed to the King, and would not answer any more, unless Smith should withdraw: For that contempt he was fent to the Marshalfea; but as he was carried away, he broke out into great passion both against Smith and Cranmer. Being called again before them, he adhered to his former Appeal, and some new matter being brought against him, he refused to answer. Great endeavours were used to perswade him to submit, and promises H 2

And deprivation.

were made him of gentler usage for the fu-Book II. ture, but he continued obstinate, and inflead of retracting, he renewed his Ap-1549 peal. So on the first of October, Cranmer, Ridley, Smith and May, pronounced sentence of deprivation, because he had not obeyed the Orders of the Protector and Council, nor declared the Kings power while he was under age. He was fent back to prison till the King should give further Order, and a large Record was made of his whole deportment during the Process, and put in the Register of the See of London, which he took no care to deface when he was afterwards restored. This was much censured, as at best a great stretch of Law, if not plainly contrary to it. Some complained that Lay-men concurred in such a Sentence: But it was said this was no Spiritual Censure, for he was not degraded, but only deprived of his Bishoprick; and he had taken a Commission for holding it during the Kings pleasure, and so those that were Commissioned by the King might well deprive him, fince he held it so precariously. It was also said that Constantine had appointed Triers for hearing the Complaints made of some Bishops; and they examined the business of Cecilian and the Donatists, upon an Appeal from some Synods, that had before judged that mat-That same Emperour did also by his own authority, turn out the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and the Bishop of Constantinople: And though the Orthodox

dox party complained of his doing it upon the false suggestions of the Arians, yet they Book II. did not deny his authority in fuch cases: And it was ordinary for the Emperours to appoint the Bishops that followed their Court to judge some other Bishops, which was not done Canonically, but by the Emperours authority. But to the matter of the Sentence, it was also said that it was hard to deprive Bonner for an omission, that might be only a defect of his memory, as he pretended it was, though few believed that. Upon the whole matter, it was vifible that it had been resolved to turn him out on the first occasion that could be found, and that they took hold of him on this disadvantage, and that the fault was rather aggravated for his fake, than he deprived for the fault, which would have been more gently past over in another; but he had been fierce and cruel, and fo was much hated, and little pitied. Heremained a Prisoner till Queen Mary's Reign, but continued to behave himself more like a Glutton than a Divine; for he sent about to his Friends to furnish him well with Puddings and Pears, and gave them all to the Devil that did not supply him liberally: Such Curses were strange acts of Episcopal Jurisdiction; yet they were mild, compared to those he gave out when he was again restored to his See in the next Reign, by which he condemned fo many Innocents to the fire.

The English affairs in Foreign parts went Ill success very unsuccessfully this year, for when they of the La

were so distracted at home, no wonder if

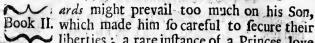
Book II. both the French and Scots took advantage from thence. Most of the Forts about Bul-1549 loigne were taken by the French, but though those that commanded them, did for their own excuse, pretend they were ill provided, yet the French Writers publish. ed that they were well stored. From these they came and fat down before Bulloigne, and though the Plague broke into the French Camp, yet the Siege was not raifed: The King left the Army under the Command of Coligny, the famous Admiral of France. He found the fure way to take it, was to cut it off from Sea, and so to keep out all Supplies: But the feveral attempts he made to do that proved unfuccefsful. The Winter that came on, forced him to raise the Siege; but he lodged a great part of his Army in the Forts about, so that it was in danger of being lost next year. In Scotland there was also a great turn; the Castle of Broughty was taken by the Scots, and the Garrison almost wholly cut off. The English took care to provide Hadington well, expecting a Siege; but upon that the Scots let it alone; yet the charge of keeping it was fo great, and the Countrey about it was so wasted, that all their provisions were to be sent from Berwick, so that the Protector thought it more advisable to abandon it; and upon that, fent orders to the Garrison to slight the works, and come back to England. So that now the. English had no place beyond the Borders, except Lander: and Thermes the French

### of the Reformation, &c.

General fat down before it, and if a Peace had not come, it had fallen into his hands. Book II. The Protector had now no Foreign Ally to depend on but the Emperour; and little was to be expected from him, for he was fo diffatisfied with the changes that had been made in the matters of Religion, that they found his affiftance was not to be trufted to. At this time the Emperour brought his Son to the Netherlands, that he might put him in possession of those Provinces; though the fecret considerations that made him do it so early, in those places where the Prince was not Elective, is not visible. It was thought they enclined to shake off his yoke, and that if the Emperour should have then died, they would have put themselves under Maximilian, Ferdinand's Son, afterwards Emperour. It was some such apprehension that moved Charles to make them swear obedience so early to his Son; and fettle not only many limitations on him in the matter of impoling Taxes, and of not putting strangers in places of trust, not governing them by a Military power, but make a special pro-vision, that in case his Son should break those rules, the Provinces should not be bound to obey him any longer: Which was the chief ground both in Law and Conscience, upon which they afterwards justified their shaking off his yoke. Charles, that was born in those parts, had a peculiar tenderness for them, and did perhaps fear that the rigid Councils of the Spani-

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Book II. which made him fo careful to fecure their liberties; a rare instance of a Princes love 1549 for his people, by which he took fuch care of their rights, as to make their tye of obedience to his Son, to depend on his maintaining them inviolably. The Princes of Germany were now at the Emperours mercy, and faw no way to recover their liberty but by the help of the French King: So there were applications made to him, which he cheerfully entertained, only he was resolved first to make himself mafter of Bulloigne, and then to turn his whole force towards Germany. Advertisements were given of this to the Protector, upon which he entred into a deep confultation with his Friends what was fit to be done in fo critical a conjuncture; whether it was better to deliver up Bulloigne to the French by a Treaty, or to engage in a War to preserve it; which being on the French fide, would prove a much more chargeable War to the English than to the French; and this was of very dangerous consequence when affairs were in so unsetled a condition at home; ill success, which was like to be the event of fuch a War, would turn on him that had the chief administration of affairs: fo both regard to the publick, and to the establishing his private fortune, which could not be done in time of War, without drawing much envy on him, inclined him to deliver up Bulloigne. But his Enemies faw that the

continuance of the War was like to ruine him, whereas a General Peace would put Book II. the Nation wholly in his hands, and therefore they who were the majority in the 154 9. Council, set themselves against all motions for a Treaty; and faid it would be a la-fting reproach on the Government if such a place as Bulloigne were fold.

Paget gave his opinion in Writing, in Several. which, after he had with great Judgement expedients

ballanced the affairs of Europe, he conclu- proposed. ded that the restoring the liberty of Germamy, and the bearing down the Emperours greatness, was at present to be preserred to all other things, and that could not be done without a conjunction with France; and that was to be purfued by the mediation of the Venetians. Thomas, a Clerk of the Council, and much imployed in foreign affairs, was of another mind: He thought it was very dishonourable to deliver up the late Conquests in France, therefore he proposed their casting themselves on the Emperour, that so some time might be gained: They knew the Emperour would not be hearty, unless they would promise to return to the Roman Religion; but he thought that was to be done in such an extremity of affairs; and when the present difficulty was over, they might turn to other Councils. There was great danger in this, it would very much dishearten the few Towns that refused to bear the Emperours yoke in Germany, and it would provoke the Emperour more against them

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afterwards, if he should find that he had Book II. been deceived by them: he also proposed that in order to the imbroiling of Scotland, ¥ 549 fome should be imployed to perswade the Governour to aspire to the Crown, and that he should be assured of the assistance of England, for this would separate that Nation from the Interests of France.

The Fmperor refuses his affiftance.

The issue of these Consultations, was, first, the sending over Paget to the Emperor, to try what might be expected from him: His publick Instructions were to obtain an explanation of some ambiguous words in the former Treaty, and a ratification of it by Prince Philip, and to adjust some differences in the matter of Trade: but his fecret Instructions were to see, if the Emperor would include Bulloign in the League defensive, and so protect it: or, if that could not be obtained, he was ordered to try, whether the Emperour would take Bulloign into his hands, and what recompence he would give for it; but this he was ordered to propose as a motion of his own. The Emperour shifted him off for some time by delays, and pretended that the carrying his Son about from Town to Town, making them swear obedience, took him up so, that till that was over, he could not receive his Propositions. But the Progress of the French about Bulloign, made Paget impatient, fo the Bishop of Arras, and the Emperour's other Ministers were appointed to treat with him. They at first treated of some diffe-

differences between the Courts of Admiralty of both fides, and proposed some Book II. Expedients for adjusting them: for the Confirmation of the Treaty, it was offer- 1549: ed, that the Prince should do it, but Paget moved likewise, that it might be confirmed by the States. It was answered. that the Emperor would never fue to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties: he had fifteen or fixteen Parliaments, and would be in a very uneasse condition, if all these must know the secrets of his Negotiations: But fince the King of England was under Age, it was more reasonable for them to demand a ratification from his Parliament. Paget answered, the King's power was the same at all Ages, and a ratification under the Great Seal did oblige him, as much, as if he had made the Treaty himself: and objected, that their last Treaty with France, was ratified by the Assembly of the States. To this they answered, that the Prerogative of the Kings of France was so limited, that they could not alienate any thing, which belonged to the Crown, without consent of the Parliament of Paris, and of the States; but the Emperor had a more unlimited power in making Treaties. for the business of Bulloign, the Bishop of Arras faid, it was taken after the Emperor's Treaty with England, and fo was not included in it, nor could the Emperor comprehend it within it, without breach of his Faith and Treaties with France, which

which was fo contrary to the Emperor's Book II. honour, that it could not be done. For the honour of a Prince is a good excuse, 1549 when he has no mind to engage in a deceitful or unjust War, but it is often forgotten, when the Circumstances are more favourable. Paget, after several other Conferences, found there was nothing more to be expected of the Emperor: so he returned back to England. It was upon that proposed in Council, whether since by the Treaty with France, Bulloign was to be delivered up within a few Years. it were not better to prevent a new War and a Siege, the issue of which was like to prove very dangerous, and to enter into a Treaty for doing it presently: and if at the same time it were not more advisable to make an end of the War in Scotland, fince there was no possibility of compassing the Marriage, for which it was first begun.

A Faction Protector.

Upon this, all the Protector's Enemies against the took off the Mask, and declared themselves against it. The Earl of Southampton, and the Earl of Warwick were the chief sticklers: the one hated him for turning him out of his Office, and the other hoped to be the chief Man in business, if he should fall. Many things concurred to raise the Protector many Enemies, his partiality to the Commons provoked the Gentry, his cutting off his Brothers head, and building a Magnificent Palace in the Strand, upon the ruines of some Bishops Houses

Houses and Churches, and that in a time both of War and Plague, disgusted the Book II. People. The Clergy hated him, not only for his promoting the changes made in 1549. Religion, but for his possessing himself of fo many of the Bishops best Mannors: his entertaining foreign Troops, both Germans and Italians, though done by the consent of Council, yet gave a general distast: and that great advancement he was raifed to, wrought much, both on himself and others; for it raised his pride, as much as it provoked the envy of others: The Privy Counsellors complained, that he was become so Arbitrary in his proceedings, that he little regarded the opposition that was made by the Majority of the Council, to any of his defigns. All these things concurred, to beget him many Enemies: and except Cranmer, who never forfook his friend, and Paget and Smith, all turned against him: so they violently opposed the propolition, for a Treaty with France: they also complained, that the Places about Bulloign were lost by his carelesness, and by his not providing them well, and that he had recalled the Garrison out of Hadington; and they put him in mind of the conditions, upon which he was first made Protector, by which he was limited to do nothing, but by their advice; though he had fince that, taken out a Patent, which cloathed him with a far greater power. Upon Pagets return, when it was

Book II. And from the Emperor, he prest them much to confent to a Treaty with France, 1549 but it was faid, that he had fecretly directed Paget to procure no better answer, that so he might be furnished with an excuse, for so dishonourable an Action, therefore they would not give way to it.

Which turns to a publick breach. October.

The Protector carried the King to Hampton: Court, and put many of his own Creatures about him, which increased the Jealousies, so Nine of the Privy Council met at Ely-House, and assumed to themfelves the Authority of the Council; and Secretary Petre being fent by the King, to ask an account of their meeting, instead of returning, joyned himself to them. They made a large Declaration of the Protector's ill government and bad defigns, and of his engaging the King to fet his hand to Letters, for raising Men, and for dispersing Seditious Papers; therefore they resolved to see to the safety of the King and Kingdom. Both the City of London, and the Lieutenant of the Tower declared for them: They also fent Letters all over England, desiring the assistance of the Nobility and Gentry. Seven more Privy Counsellors came and joyned with them. They wrote to the King, complaining of the Protector's obstinacy, and his refusing to hearken to their Counsels. though the late King had left the Government of his Person and Kingdom to them

in common, and the Protector was addrawanced to that dignity by them, upon Book II. conditions which he had little regarded; therefore they defired the King would 1549. construct well of their Intentions and pro-ceedings. The Protector had removed the King from Hampton Court, as being an open place, to Windfor, which had some more defence about it; and had armed fome of his own Servants, and fet them about the King's Person, which heightned the Jealousies of him; yet seeing himself abandoned by all friends, except a few, and finding the Party against him, was formed to fuch a strength, that it would be in vain to struggle any longer, he offered to submit himself to the Council: So a Propolition of a Treaty was let on foot; and the Lords at London were defired to fend two of their number with their Propositions, and a Passeport was sent them for their fafety. Cranmer, and the other two writ to the Council, to dispose them to an agreement, and not to follow Cruel Counsels. Many false reports, as is usual on such occasions, were carried of the Protector, as if he had threatned, that if they intended to put him to death, the King should dye first, which served to increase the prejudices against him. The Council writ to Cranmer, and Paget charging them to look well to the Kings Person, that he should not be removed from Windsor, and that the Duke of Somerset's Servants might be put from him,

Book II. 1549.

and his own fworn Servants admitted to wait: they also protested that they would proceed with all the moderation and favour towards the Duke of Somerfet, that was possible. The Council understanding that all things were prepared, as they had defired, fent first three of their number, to see that the Duke of Somerset, and fome of his Creatures, Smith, Stanhop, Thynne, Wolf and Cecil should be confined to their Lodgings; and on the 12th. of October, the whole Council went to Windsor, and made great protestations of their duty to the King, which he received favourably, and assured them he took all that they had done in good part-

The Prote-Stor's fall.

The Duke of Somerset, with the rest of his friends, except Cecil, who was prefently inlarged, were fent to the Tower, and many Articles were objected to him. That he being made Protector, with this condition, that he should do nothing, but by the consent of the other Executors. had treated with Ambassadours apart, had made Bishops and Lord-Lieutenants without their knowledge, had held a Court of Requests in his House, had embased the Coin, had neglected the Places the King had in France, had encouraged the Commons in their late Insurrections, and had given out Commissions, and proclaimed a Pardon without their consent: that he had animated the King against the rest of the Council, and had proclaimed them! Traitors, & had put his own Servants armed about

about the King's Person. By these, it appears, the Crimes against him were the Book II. effects of his fudden exaltation, that had made him too much forget that he was a 1549 fubject, but that he had carried his greatness with much Innocence, fince no acts of Cruelty, Rapine, or Bribery, were objected to him: for they were rather errours and weaknesses than Crimes. His embasing the Coin was done upon a common mistake of weak Governments, who flye to that as their last refuge, in the neceffity of their affairs. In his Imprisonment, he fet himfelf to the study of Moral Philosophy and Divinity, and writ a Preface to a Book of Patience, which had made great Impressions on him. His fall was a great affliction to all that loved the Reformation, and that was increased, because they had no reason to trust much to the two chief Men of the party against him, Southampton and Warwick: the one was a known Papilt, and the other was lookt on as a Man of no Religion: and both at the Emperor's Court, and in France, it was expected, that upon this revolution, matters of Religion would be again fet back, into the posture, in which King Henry had left them. The Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner hoped to be discharged; and Bonner lookt to be re-established in his Bishoprick again, and all People began to fall off much from the new fervice: but the Earl of Warwick finding the King was zealously addicted to the Refor-

Reformation, quickly forfook the Popish Book II. party, and feemed to be a mighty promoter of that work. A Court of Civilians 1549 was appointed to examine Bonner's Appeal, and upon their report the Council rejected it, and confirmed the Sentence that was past upon him.

The Emnot affift them.

But next, foreign affairs come under peror will their care. They suspected that Paget had not dealt effectually with the Emperour, to affift them in the preservation of Bulloign: fo they fent over Sir Tho. Cheyney, to try what might be expected from him: they took also care of the Garrison, and both encreased it, and supplied it well. Cheyney found the same reception with the Emperour, and had the same answer that Paget got. The Emperor prest him much, that matters of Religion might be again considered, and confest, that till that were done, he could not affift them so effectually, as otherwise he would do: so now the Council found it necessary to apply to the Court of France for a Peace. The Earl of Southampton left the Court in great discontent, he was neither restored to his Office of Chancellour, nor was he made one of the fix Lords, that were appointed to have the charge of the King's Perfon; this touched him fo much, that he died not long after of grief, as was believed.

A Seffion of Parliament.

In November, a Session of Parliament met: in which an Act was past, declaring it Treason to call any to the number of

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Twelve together, about any matter of State, if being required, they did not dif- Book II. perse themselves: other Riotous Assemblies were also declared felonious, the gi- 1549. ving out of Prophecies concerning the King, or Council, was also made Penal. Another Law was made against Vagaabonds, the former Statute was repealed, as too fevere, and Provisions were made for the relief of the Sick and Impotent, and Imploying fuch as could work. The Bishops made a heavy complaint of the growth of Vice and Impiety, and that their power was fo much abridged, that they could not repress it: so a Bill was read, enlarging their Authority, but it was thought, that it gave them too much power; yet it was so moderated, that the Lords past it. But the Commons rejected it: and instead of it, sent up a Bill, that impowered XXXII. who were to be named by the King, the one half of the Temporalty, and the other of Spiritualty, to compile a body of Ecclesiastical Laws within three years, and that these, not being contrary to the Common or Statute Law, and approved of by the King, should have the force of Ecclefiastical Laws: of the 32. Four were to be Bishops, and as many to be Common Lawvers.

Six Bishops and fix Divines were im- 1550 powered to prepare a new form of Ordination, which being confirmed under the Great Seal, should take place after April 1 2 next.

### Abzidgment of the billory

let fined. but restored to fa-

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next. Articles were also put in against Book II. the Duke of Somerset, with a Confession figned by him. But some objected, that The Duke whether he had figned it voluntarily, or not; and some were sent to examine him, he acknowledged he had done it freely. but protested that his errours had flowed rather from Indifcretion than Malice, and denied all treasonable designs against the King, or the Realm: he was fined in 2000 L a year in Land, and in the loss of all his Goods and Offices. He complained of the heaviness of this Censure, and defired earnestly to be restored to the Kings favour, and promised to carry himself so humbly and obediently, that he should make amends for his past follies, which was thought a fign of too abject a mind; others excused it, since the power and malice of his Enemies was fuch, that he was not fafe as long as he continued in Prison: he was discharged in the beginning of February: foon after he had his pardon, and did so manage his interest in the King, that he was again brought both to the Court and Council in April, But if these submissions gained him some favour at Court, they funk him as much in the esteem of the World.

A Progress in the Re-

The Reformation was now, after this confusion was over, carried on again with formation vigour. The Council sent Orders over England, to require all to conform themfelves to the new fervice, and to call in

all

### of the Reformation, &c.

all the Books of the old Offices. An Act past in Parliament to the same effect, Book II. one Earl, fix Bishops, and four Lords only differting: all the old Books and Images were appointed to be defaced, and all prayers to Saints were to be struck out of the Primers published by the late King. A Subfidy was granted, and the King gave a General Pardon, out of which all Prisoners on the account of the State, and Anabaptists were excepted. In this Session the Eldest Sons of Peers were first allowed to fit in the House of Commons.



The Committee appointed to prepare the Book of Ordination, finished their work with common confent, only Heath Bishop of Worcester refused to sign it, for which he was called before the Council, and required to do it, but he still refusing, was sent to Prison. This was thought The Book hard measure, to punish one for not con of Ordinacurring in a thing not yet fetled by Law. out. Heath was a Complier, who went along with the changes that were made, but was ready upon the first favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old superstition. It was found, that in the Ancient Church, there was nothing used in Ordinations, but Prayer and Imposition of hands: the Additions of Anointing and giving consecrated Vestments were afterwards brought in. And in the Council of Florence, it was declared that the Rite of Ordaining a Priest, was the delivering the

the Vessels for the Eucharist, with a pow-

Book II. er to offer Sacrifices to God for the Dead and Living, which was a Novelty invent-\$550 ed to support the belief of Transubstantiation. So all these additions were cut off, and Ordination was restored to a greater simplicity, and the form was made almost the same that we still use, only then in ordaining a Priest, the Bishop was to lay one hand on his Head, and with the other to give him a Bible, and a Chalice. and Bread in it. In the Confecration of a Bishop, the form was the same, that we still retain, only then they kept up the custom of giving the Bishop a staff, saving these words, Be to the Flock of Christ a Shepherd. In the middle of the fixth Century, the Anointing the Priests hands was begun in France, but was not used in the Roman Church, for two Ages after that. In the eighth Century, the Vestments were given with a special blessing, impowering Priests to offer Expiatory Sacrifices; then their Heads were Anointed: and in the tenth Century, the belief of Transubstantiation being received, the Vesfels for the Sacrament were delivered. It is evident from the feveral forms of Ordination, that the Church did not believe it felf tied to one manner, and that the Prayer, which in some Ages was the Prayer of Confecration, was in other Ages esteemed only a Prayer preparatory. to it. There were some sponsions promised, as a Covenant, to which the Ordination

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was, that the Persons that came to receive Book II. Orders, professed that they believed they were inwardly moved to it by the Holy Ghost. If this were well considered, it would no doubt put many that thirst after Sacred Offices to a stand, who, if they examine themselves well, dare not pretend to that, concerning which, perhaps they know nothing, but that they have it not: and if they make the answer prescribed in the Book, without feeling any such motion in their heart, they do publickly lye to God, and against the Holy Ghost, and have no reason to expect a blessing on Orders fo obtained. But too many confider that only as a Ceremony in Law, necessary to make them capable of some Place of Profit, and not as the Dedication of their Lives and labours to God, and to the gaining of Souls. It were happy for the Church, if Bishops would not think it enough barely to put these questions, but would use great strictness in examining before hand the motives that fet on those, who come to be Ordained.

Another sponsion is, that the Priests shall teach the People, committed to their charge, and exhort them both in private and publick, and visit the sick. By this they plight their faith to God, for the care of Souls, to be managed by them in person, and upon that they must find the Pastoral care to be a load indeed: and fo will neither

TIQ 1550.

desert their Flocks, nor hire them out to I 4 weak. Book II. ries.

weak, and perhaps scandalous Mercena-L ries. In which the faultiness of some have brought a blemish on this Church, and gi-\$550 ven scandal to many, who could not have been so easily perswaded to divide from it, if it had not been, that they were prejudiced by fuch gross and publick abuses.

The Council was now much perplexed with the business of Bulloign, and though they had opposed the delivering it up by the Protector, yet that end being ferved in pulling him down, they were convinced of the necessity of doing it, and so were induced to liften to the proposition that one Guidotti made for a Treaty. He was imployed by the Constable Monmorancy, and gave them assurances that as soon as that was ended, the French King would engage on the behalf of the opprest Princes of the Empire.

Paol chofen Pope, but lost it.

At this time Pope Paul the Third died. In the Conclave that followed, Cardinal Farnese set up Cardinal Pool, whose wife behaviour at Trent had raised his esteem much; it also appeared that though he was of the Emperours faction, yet he did not ferve him blindly. Some loaded him both with the imputations of Lutheranism, and of Incontinence: The last would not have hindred his advancement much, though true, yet he fully cleared himfelf of it: But the former lay heavier, for in his retirement at Viterbo, where he was Legate, he had given himself much to the study of Controversies; and Tranellius, Flaminio,

and others suspected of Lutheranism, had lived in his house; and in the Council of Book II, Trent he feemed favourable to some of their opinions; but the great fufferings .1559, both of himself and Family in England, feemed to fet him above all suspicions. When the party for him, had almost gain-ed a sufficient number of Suffrages, he feemed little concerned at it, and did rather decline, than aspire to that dignity: And expressed a pitch of Philosophy on this occasion, that was more suitable to Ancient than Modern patterns. When a full number had agreed, and came to adore him, according to the ordinary Ceremony, he received it with his usual coldness; and that being done in the night, he said, God loved light, and therefore advised them to delay it till day came. The Italians, among whom Ambition passes for the Character of a great mind, looked on this as an unfufferable piece of dulness; so the Cardinals shrunk from him before day, and chose de Monte Pope, who reigned by the name of Julius the Third. His first promotion was very extraordinary, for he gave his own Har to a Servant that kept his Monkey; and being askt the reason of it, he said, He saw as much in his Servant to recommend him to be a Cardinal, as the Conclave faw in him to induce them to chuse him Pope. But others imputed this to an unnatural affection for him.

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# Abzidgment of the Pillozp

France:

Embassadours were fent over to France, Book II. the Lord Ruffel, Paget made also a Lord, and some others, to settle the Treaty of Peace: They were ordered in the first A Treaty place to ask the delivery of the Scottifb Queen, and payment of the perpetual Pension; but the French would not treat about these, their Master intended to marry the Scottish Queen to the Dauphin, and would not be tributary to another Prince, or pay a perpetual Pension, but they offered a sum of money for Bulloign; things stuck a little at the razing the Fortifications in Aldernay and Sark, two small Islands in the Channel which the French delivering up of Roxburgh and Aymouth to the Scots, then in the hands of the English. The Council ordered their Commissioners to insist on these things, and to offer to break up their Conference rather than yield to them; but if that had no effect on the French, then they were to let them go. In Conclusion, the English after a Protestation, by which they referved to the King all the rights that he had at the beginning of the War, agreed to deliver up Bulloign, and all the places about it, and all the Ordnance in it, except what the English had cast, for which the French were to pay them four hundred thouland. Crowns: All the places which the English had in Scotland were to be delivered up, and the Forts razed; and fix Hostages were to be given on both fides for the performance, who were the Sons of the

the men of the greatest quality. So was the Peace fully concluded, and the Ar- Book II. ticles were duly performed on both hands: The Council approved of the proceedings 1 550. of their Plenipotentiaries, only the Earl of Warwick, who had declared himself much against the delivery of Bulloign, pretended lickness, and was absent.

At this time the Earl of Warwick ordered a review to be made of all accounts. and brought in much money, by the Fines of those who were accused for Malversation: The Earl of Arandel was fined in 12000 l. Sir James Thynne in 60001. and many others of the Protectors creatures in 3000 l

In February, Ridley was made Bishop of Ridley London and Westminster, 1000 l. a year of made Bithe Rents of the See were assigned him, shop of with licence to hold two Prebends. Reps, London. Bishop of Norwich resigned, upon which Therleby, Bishop of Westminster, was removed to Norwich; and it was intended to re-unite London and Westminster, but though they still remained different Sees yet they were now put under one mans care. His Patent was not during pleasure, but during life. It does not appear that there was any delign in this Reign to put down Cathedrals; for though Westminster, Gloucester , and Durham were suppressed, the two former being united, one to London, and another to Worcester; and the latter being to be divided in two, yet in none

Abzidament of the Wistory

none of these were the Dean and Chapter Book II. Lands fallen on.

Gardiners Process.

Gardiner continued still in prison: Du ring the Protectors Ministry fome Privy Counsellors dealt with him, to sue to him for mercy, and to declare whether he approved the new Service or not: But he faid he had done no fault, and fo would not ask Pardon; nor would he declare his opinion while he continued a Prisoner, lest his Enemies might fay he did it only to be fet at liberty. Upon the Protectors fall, he expected he should have been difcharged of his Imprisonment, and thought it so near, that he made a farewel Feast to the Officers in the Tower. Some Privy Counsellours were sent to him with Articles, acknowledging former offences, approving the Book of Common Prayer, and afferting the Kings Power when he was under age, and his authority to reform abuses in the Church, and that the fix Articles were justly abrogated. He figured the Paper, Jonly he wrote on the Margin, that he could not confess former offences, for he was not convinced of any fault he had done. Upon this, it was believed that he was to be quickly let out; but another Message was sent him, that he must confess that he had been justly punished: This he plainly refused to do, and faid he would never defame himself. Rid-19 ley was fent to him with a new Paper, in which the confession of his faults was. more

more foftly worded; the rest related to the Popes power, the suppressing the Ab- Book IL bies and Chantries, Pilgrimages, Masses, Images, the Adoration of the Sacra- 1550 ment, Communion in both kinds, the abolishing the old Books of Service, and fetting up the new; with the Book of Ordinations, and the lawfulness of a married Clergy: But he said he would sign no more Articles while he continued in Prison; and desired that he might be either tried, or fet at liberty; for he asked not Mercy, but Justice. And being called before the Council, and required to fign those Articles, he gave them the same answer: He said some of these points were already fetled by Law, others were not fo, and in these he was at liberty to do as he pleased. Upon this, his Bishoprick was sequestred, and he was required to conform himself within three months, under pain of deprivation, and the freedome of the Tower was denied him. All this was much cenfured, as contrary to Law, and the liberties of English men, and it was faid that it savoured more of a Court of Inquisition, than of a legal way of proceeding. The Canon Law was not yet rectified, fo the King being in the Popes room, this way, ex Officio was excused, as grounded upon the forms of the Spiritual Courts.

There was a discourse on foot, of a Marriage between the King, and a Daughter of France, which grieved the Resormers, who rather wisht him to marry Ma-

ximilians

Book II 1550. Latimer preaches at Court.

ximilians Daughter, who was believed to favour the Reformation, and was esteemed one of the best men of the age. Old Latimer preached at Court, and warned the King of the ill effects of bad Marriages, which were made up only as bargains, without affection between the parties; and that they occasioned so much Whoring, and fo many Divorces: He also complained of the luxury and vanity of the Age, and of many called Gospellers, who were concerned for nothing but Abbey and Chantry Lands; he also prest the setting up a Primitive Discipline in the Church. He preached this as his last Sermon, and so used great freedome: He complained that the Kings debts were not paid, and yet his Officers grew vaftly rich: He prayed the King not to feek his pleafures too much and charged all about him to be faithful to him.

Hooper made Bithop of Gloncefter, has scruples concerning the Veftments.

The See of Gloucester fell vacant, and Hooper was named to it; upon which the heats concerning things indifferent, that have fince that time so fatally rent the Church, had their their first rife. He had fome scruples about the Episcopal Vestments, and thought that all those Garments, having been Consecrated with much superstition, were to be reckoned among the Elements condemned by S. Paul: But Ridley justified the use of them, and said the Elements condemned by S. Paul were only the Fewish Ceremonies; which, though the Apostles condemned, when they were

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### of the Reformation, &c.

imposed as necessary, for that imported that the Mosaical Law was not yet abrogated, Book II. and that the Messiah was not come; Yet they themselves used them at other times, 1550. to gain upon the Jews by that Compliance. And if Apostles did such things to gain them, Subjects ought much more to obey the Laws in matters indifferent: And Superstitious Consecrations was as good an Argument for throwing down all the Churches, as for laying aside those Habits. Cranmer desired Bucer's opinion concerning the lawfulness of those Habits. and the obligation lying on Subjects to obey the Laws about them. His opinion was, that every creature of God was good. and that no former abuse could make a thing indifferent in its felf, become unlawful: He thought ancient customes ought not to be lightly changed, and that there might be a good use made of those Garments; that they might well express the purity and candour that became all who ministred in Holy things, and that it was a fin to disobey the Laws in such matters. Yet fince those Garments had been abused to Superstition, and were like to become a subject of Contention, he wished they might be taken away by Law; and that Ecclesiastical Discipline, and a more compleat Reformation might be fet up, and that a stop might be put to the robbing of Churches; otherwise, they might fee in the present State of Germany, a dreadful prospect of that which England ought

1550.

ought to look for. He also writ to the Book II. same effect to Hooper, and wished that all good men would unite against the greater Corruptions, and then lesser abuses would easily be redressed. Peter Martyr did also deliver his opinion to the same purpose, and was much troubled at Hooper's stiffness, and at such contests among the professors of true Religion. Hooper was suspended from Preaching; but the Earl of Warwick writ to Cranmer to dispense with him. in that matter: He answered, That while the Law continued in force, he could not do it without incurring a Pramunire. Upon that, the King writ to him, allowing him to do it, and dispensing with the Law: Yet this matter was not fetled till John à Lasco, with some a year after. Germans of the Helvetian Confession, came this year into England, being driven out of: Germany by the Persecution there: They were erected by Letters Patents into a Corporation, and à Lasco was their Superintendent; he being a stranger, medled too much in English affairs, and wrote both against the Habits, and against kneeling in the Sacrament. Polydore Virgil was this year suffered to go out of England, and still to hold the preferments he had in it. Pomet was made Bishop of Rochester, and Caverdale Co-adjutor to Veyfy in Exeter.

A review of the Common-Prayer-Book.

There was now a defign fet on foot, for a review of the Common-Prayer-Book: In order to which Bucer's opinion was asked. He approved the main parts of the

former

former Book, he wished there might be not only a denunciation against scanda. Book II. lous persons that came to the Sacrament, but a discipline to exclude them: That the Habits 1550. might be laid aside, that no part of the Communion Office might be used, except when there was a Sacrament; that Communions might be more frequent, that the Prayers might be said in a plain voice; that the Sacrament might be put in the peoples hands, and that there might be no Prayers for the Dead, which had not been used in Justin Martyr's time: He advised a change of some phrases in the Office of the Communion, that favoured Transubstantiation too much, and that Baptism might be only in Churches: He thought the hallowing the Water, the Chrisme, and the White garment, were too scenical; nor did he approve of adjuring the Devil, nor of the Godfathers answering in the Childs name: He thought Confirmation should be delayed till the person was of Age, and came fincerely to renew the Baptismal Covenant. He advised Catechizing every Holy-day, both of Children and the Adult, he disliked private Marriages, Extream Unction, and offering Chrisomes at the Churching of Women: And thought there ought to be greater strictness used in the examining of those who came to receive Orders.

At the same time he understood that the King expected a New-years gift from him, of a Book written particularly for his

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the King.

own use: So he made a Book for him. Book II. concerning the Kingdom of Christ: He prest much the setting up a strict discipline. 550 the Sanctification of the Lords day, the appointing many days of Fasting, and that advices to Pluralities and Non-residence might be effectually condemned, that Children might be Catechized, that the Reverence due to Churches might be preserved, that the Palftoral function might be restored to what it ought to be, that Bishops might throw off Secular affairs, and take care of their Diocesses, and govern them by the advice of their Presbyters; that there might be Rural Bishops over twenty or thirty Parithes, and that Provincial Councils might meet twice a year, that Church-lands should be restored, and that a sourth part should be assigned to the poor; that Marriage, without confent of Parents, should be annulled; that a second Marriage might be declared lawful, after a Divorce, for Adultery, and some other Reasons; that care should be taken of the education of youth, and for repressing luxury; that the Law might be reformed, that no Office might be fold, but given to the most deferving; that none fhould be put in Prifon upon flight offences, and that the feverity of some Laws, as that which made Theft capital, might be mitigated.

The Kings great understanding.

The young King was much pleased with these advices; and upon that, began himfelf to form a Scheme for amending many things

things that were amiss in the Government, which he writ with his own hand, and in Book II. a stile and manner that had much of a Child in it, though the thoughts were man- 1550. ly: It appears by it, that he intended to fet up a Church discipline, and settle a method for breeding of youth; but the dif-course is not finished. He also writ a Jours nal of every thing that past at home, and of the news that came from beyond Sea. It has clear marks of his own Compoling, as well as it is written with his own hand. He wrote another discourse in French, being a Collection of all the places of Scripture against Idolatry, with a Preface before it, dedicated to the Protector.

At this time Ridley made his first Visita- Altars put tion of his Diocess; the Articles upon down. which he proceeded, were chiefly relating to the Service and Ceremonies that were abolished, whether any continued to use them or not, and whether there were any Anabaptists, or others, that used private Conventicles. He also carried some Injunctions with him, against some remainders of the former superstition, and for exhorting the people to give Alms, and to come oft to the Sacrament, and that Al-tars might be removed, and Tables put in their room, in the most convenient place of the Chancel. In the Ancient Church their Tables were of Wood: But the Sacrament being called a Sacrifice, as Prayers, Alms, and all Holy Oblations were,

they came to be called Altars. This gave

Book II. the rise to the Opinion of Expiatory Sacrifice in the Mass, and therefore it was 1550 thought fit to take away both the name and form of Altars. Ridley only advised the Curates to do this, but upon some contests arising concerning it, the Council in-terposed, and required it to be done; and fent with their Order, a Paper of Reasons justifying it: Shewing that a Table was more proper than an Altar; especially, fince the opinion of an Expiatory Sacrifice was supported by it. Sermons began to be preached in some Churches on working-days, this occasioned great running about, and idleness; and raised emulation among the Clergy: upon which the Council ordered them all to be put down. Since that time there has been great contention concerning these; they were factioufly kept up by some, and too violently suppressed by others: But now that matter is quieted, and they are in many places still continued, to the great edification of the people. The Government was now free of all disturbance: the Coyn was reformed, and Trade was encouraged. The faction in the Court seemed also to be extinguisht, by a Marriage between the Earl of Warwick's Son, and the Duke of Somerset's Daughter. The Duke of Lunenburgh made a Proposition of Marriage with Lady Mary, but the Treaty with the Infant of Portugal did still depend, so it was not entertained. In Scotland, the Governor, now made Duke

Affairs of Scotland.

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of Chastelherault in France, was wholly led wo by his base Brothers Counsels, who, though Book II. he was Arch-bishop of St. Andrews, yet gave himself up, without any difguise, to his pleasures, and kept another mans Wife avowedly; by fuch means were the people more easily disposed to hearken to the new Teachers, and beprepared for the changes that followed . The Queen Mother went to France, on delign to procure the Government of Storland to be put in ther hands. The warb of as of anothern

A Diet was called min Germany mithe And Gur-Town of Mag deburg was profcribed But many. they published a Manifesto, expressing their readiness to obey the Emperour according to Law; and that they only flood to the defence of their liberties, without doing acts of Hostility to others. It was now visible that the design of the late War was to extinguish the Protestant Religion, and to fet up Tyranny. "It was better to obey God than Man: And they were resolved to put all to hazard, rather than give up their Religion. Tumults were raised in Strasburg and other Towns, when the Mass was again set up; and all Germany was disposed to a Revolt, only they wanted a Head Severe Edicts were also fet out in Flanders; but the execution of them was stopt, at the intercession of the English in Antwerp, who were resolved otherwise to remove the Trade to another. place. The Emperour prest the Diet to submit to the Council, when it should be brought

brought back to Trent: But Maurice of Book Il. Saxe, to whom all the Protestants joyned, refuled to do it, unless all their former de-550 crees should be reviewed, and their Divines heard, and admitted to Vote; and that the Pope would dispense with the Oath which the Bilhops sware to him: Yet he fo far infinuated himself into the Emperours confidence, that he was made General of the Empire, for the reduction of Magdeburg, and resolved to manage that matter, so as to draw great advantages from it. The Emperour reckoned that he might well trust him as long as he had John Duke of Saxe, in his hands: But he had provoked him too much in the matter of the Landgrave of Heffe, his Father-in-Law, to repose such consequence in him; fo that this proved a fatal errour to him: by which he lost the power he had then in Germany, and Maurice proved too hard for him in diffimulation, in which he was so great a Master. -

1551. ThePopish Clergy comply generally.

The Popish Clergy did now generally comply to every Change that was made. Oglethorp afterwards Bishop of Carlifle, beding informed against, as favouring the old Superstition, did under his hand declare; that he thought the Order of Religion then fetled, was nearer the use of the Primitive Church, than that which was formerly received; and that he condemned Transubstantiation, as a late Invention, and approved the Communion in both kinds, and the Peoples receiving always 1. . .

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with the Priest. Smith, who had written against the Marriage of the Clergy, and Book II was upon fome complaints pur in Prison, being discharged by Cranmer's Intercession, writ a submission to him, acknowledging the mistakes he had committed in his Book, and the Arch-bishops gentleness towards him: and wished he might perish, if he did not write fincerely, and called God a witness against his Soul, if he lied. Day, Bishop of Chichester did also preach a Sermon at Court against Transubstantiation. The Principle, by which most of that Party governed themselves, was this, they thought they ought to oppose all the changes, before they were established by Law; yet that being done, that they might afterwards comply with them. Cranmer was a moderate and prudent Man, and willing to accept of any thing they offered, reckoning that whether they acted fincerely, or not, yet their compliance would be a means to quiet the Nation'; he was also of fo compassionate a nature, that he would never drive things to extremities, against Men that were grown old in their errours, and could not be easily weaned from them: only Gardiner and Bonner were fuch deceitful and cruel Men, that he thought it might be more excufable to make stretches, for ridding the Church of them.

Martin Bucer dyed in the beginning of Bucer's of death. this Year, of the Stone, and griping of the Guts. He had great apprehensions of

a fatal revolution in England; by reason Book II. of the ill lives of the People, occasioned chiefly by the want of Ecclesiastical Disci-155 1. pline, and the neglect of the Pastoral charge. Orders were fent from the Court. to Cambridge, to bury him with all the Publick honour to his Memory, that could Speeches and Sermons were be devised. made both by Haddon, the University Orator. and Parker, and Redmayn. The last of these was one of the most extraordinary Men, both for Learning, and a true Judgment of things, that was in that time: he had also in many things differed from Bucer, and yet he acknowledged, that there was none alive, of whom he hoped now to learn fo much, as he had done by his conversation with him. Bucer was inferior to none of all the Reformers in Learning, but fuperior to most of them, in an excellent temper of mind, and a great zeal for preserving the Unity of the Church: a rare quality in that Age, in which Melangthon and he were the most eminent, He had not that nimbleness of disputing, for which Peter Martyr was more admired, and the Popilh Doctors took advantage from that to carry themselves more infolently towards him.

Gardiner's

Soon after this, Gardiner's Process was deprivati- put to an end: A Commission was issued out to Cranmer, and three Bishops, and fome Civilians, to proceed against him, for his contempt, in refuling to light the Articles offered to him: he complained,

that all that was done against him, was out of malice, that he had been long impri- Book H. foned, and nothing was objected to him, that he was refolved to obey the Laws 1551. and Orders of Council, but that he would acknowledge no fault, not having committed any. The things objected to him, were, that he refused to set out in his Sermon the King's power, when he was under Age, and had affronted the Preachers, whom the King had fent to his Diocess; that he had been negligent in executing the King's Injunctions, and refufed to confess his fault, or ask the King pardon; and it was faid that the Rebellions raised in England, might have been prevented, if he had timoully fet forth the King's authority: he answered, that he was not required to do it by any Order of Council, but only in a private difcourse; yet Witnesses being examined upon those particulars, the Delegates proceeded to sentence of deprivation against him, notwithstanding his Appeal to the King in Person: and he was appointed to lie still in the Tower, where he continued till Queen Mary discharged him. Nothing was pretended to excuse the severity of these proceedings, but that he having taken out a Commission for holding his Bishoprick, only during the King's pleasure, he could not complain when that was intimated to im: and if he had been turned out meerly upon pleasure, without the Pomp of a Process, the matter might have been bet-

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Book II. and had 2000. Marks in Lands affigned him for his subsistence. Story was put in 1551. Rochester, and upon Veysy's resignation Coverdale was made Bishop of Exeter. fcruples that *Hooper* made, were now fo far fatisfied, that he was content both to be consecrated in his Vestments, and to wife them when he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral, but he was difpenfed with upon other occasions.

The Articles of Religion agreed on.

By this time the greater number of the Bishops were Men that heartily received the Reformation: so it was resolved now to proceed to a fettlement of the Do-Etrine of the Church: many thought that should have been done in the first place. But Cranmer judged it was better to proceed slowly in that matter: he thought the Corruptions in the Worship were to be begun with, fince while they remained, the addresses to God were so defiled, that thereby all People were involved in unlawful compliances: he thought speculative Opinions might come last, since er-rours in them were not of such ill consequence: and he judged it necessary to lay these open, in many Treatises and Disputes, before they should proceed to make alterations, that so all People might be before-hand fatisfied with what should be done. So now they framed a Body of Articles, which contained the Doctrine of the Church of England: they were cast into forty two Articles, and afterwards fome

fome few alterations being made in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, they Book II. were reduced to XXXIX. which being in all Peoples hands, need not be much in- 1551,

larged on. 11 11 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

In the Ancient Church, there was at first a great simplicity in their Creeds: but afterwards, upon the breaking out of Herefies, concerning the Person of Christ, equivocal fenses being put on the terms formerly used, new ones, that could not be so easily eluded, were invented. A humour of explaining Mysteries by similies and niceties, and of palling Anathema's on all that did not receive these, did much over run the Church: and though the Council of Ephesus decreed, that no new additions should be made to the Creed, yet that did not restrain those, who loved to make all their own conceits be received, as parts of the Faith. The Fathers were carried too far with this curiofity, but the Schoolmen went farther, and foun the Thread much finer. they condemned every thing that differed from their Notions, as Heretical: Many of the Lutherans had retained much of that peremptoriness, and were not easie to those who differed from them. In England great care was taken to frame these Articles in the most comprehensive words, and the greatest simplicity pos-Changes

When this was fetled, they went about made in the Comthe review of the Common prayer Book. mon-pray-

In er-book.

Book II. fession and Absolution, that so the worthip of God might begin with a grave and 155 1. humble Confession conceived in general words, but to which every one ought to joyn a secret confession of his particular fins: after which a folemn declaration of the mercy of God, according to the terms of the Gospel, was to be pronounced by the Priest. This was thought much better, than the giving Absolution in such formal words, as, I absolve thee, which begat in the undiscerning Vulgar an Opinion, that the Priest had authority to pardon fin, and that made them think of no. thing fo much, as how to purchase it at his hands: and it proved, as it was managed, the greatest Engine that ever was, for overthrowing the power of Religion. In the Communion-Service, they ordered a recital of the Commandments, with a short devotion between every one of them, judging that till Church-Discipline were restored, nothing could more effectually awaken such, as came to receive it, to a due feriousness in it; than the hearing the Law of God thus pronounced, with those stops in it, to make the People reflect on their offences against it. The Chrism, the use of the Crofs in confecrating the Eucharift, Prayers for the Dead, and some expressions that favoured Transubstantiation were laid aside, and the Book was put in the same Order and Method, in which it continues to this day, excepting only fome incon-

inconsiderable variations, that have been made fince. A Rubrick was added to the Book II. Office of the Communion, explaining the reason of kneeling in it, that it was only 1551. as an expression of due reverence and gratitude, upon the receiving fo particular a mark of the favour of God: but that no

adoration was intended by it, and that they did not think Christ was corporally present in it. In Queen Elizabeth's time this was left out, that fuch as conformed in other things, but still retained the belief of the Corporal Presence, might not be offended at such a Declaration: It was again put in the Book, upon his present Majesties Restoration, for removing the Scruples of those who excepted to that posture. Christ did at first institute this Sacrament, in the ordinary Table-gesture. Moses appointed the Paschal Lamb to be eaten by the People standing, with staves in their hands, they being then to begin their march; yet that was afterwards changed by the Jews, who did eat it in the posture common at Meals, which our Saviour's practice justifies: so, though Christ in his state of Humiliation did Institute this Ordinance, in so familiar a posture, yet it was thought more becoming the reverence due to him in his Exaltation, to celebrate it with greater expressions of humility and devotion. The Ancient Christians received it standing, and bowing their Body downward: Kneeling was afterwards used as a higher ex-

pression

Book II ference is to be made, between the adora-tion practifed in the Church of Rome, in 1551. which, upon lifting up the Hoft, all fall down and worship, and our being, during the whole action, in one continued posture of devotion: and if the Jews, who were more bound up to Ceremonies, made a change in the posture, at the Memorial of their deliverance, without any warrant mentioned in the Old Testament; it must be acknowledged, that the Christian Church, which is more at liberty in fuch matters, had authority to make the like change of the posture, in this Memorial of Christ's sufferings. At this time six of the most eminent Preachers were appointed to wait on the Court by turns, two at a time, and the other four were fent as Itinerant Preachers, into all the Counties of England, in a Circuit, for supplying the defects of the Clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

Lady Mary in trouble for having Mass said.

The Mass said in Lady Mary's Chappel, was now again challenged. The Court was less afraid of the Emperours displeafure than formerly, and fo would no longer bear with fo publick a breach of Law: And the Promise they had made being but Temporary, and never given in Writing, they thought they were not bound by it. But the Emperour affured her, that he had an absolute Promise for that Priviledge to her: This encouraged her fo much, that when the Council wrote to her, she said she would

### of the Reformation, &c.

would follow the Catholick Church, and adhere to her Fathers Religion. Answer Book II. was writ in the Kings name, requiring her to obey the Law, and not to pretend that ISS F. the King was under age, fince the late Rebels had justified themselves by that. The way of Worship then established was also vindicated, as most consonant to the word of God. But she resuled to engage into any disputes, only she said she would continue in her former courfes. And the was thinking of going out of England, infomuch that the Emperour ordered a Ship to lie near the Coast for her Transportation; which was strange advice, for it is probable, if she had gone beyond Sea, she had been effectually shut out from fucceeding to the Crown. The Emperour espoused her quarrel so warmly, that he threatned to make War, if she should be hardly used, and the Merchants having then great effects at Antwerp, it was not thought fit to give him a colour for breaking with them, and feizing on these; so the Council were willing to let the matter fall, and only advised her to have her Mass privately faid: yet the young King could not be easily induced to yield to that, for he said, he ought not to connive at Idolatry. The Council ordered Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, to fatisfie him in it: And they convinced him, that though he ought not to consent to any sin, yet he was not at all times obliged to punish it. He burst out in weeping, lamenting his Sifters obstinacy,

# Abridgment of the Hillory

Book II.

stinacy, and his own circumstances, that obliged him to comply with fuch an impious way of Worship. Dr. Wotton was fent over to the Emperour, to convince him that no absolute Promise was ever made: For Paget and Hobbey, whom the Emperour vouched for it, declared upon Oath. that they made not any but what was Temporary; and fince the King did not meddle in the concerns of the Emperours Family, it was not reasonable for him to interpose in this. The Emperor pretended, that he had promised to her Mother at her death to protect her, and fo he was bound in honour to take care of her: But now when the Council were not in fuch fear of the Emperours displeasure as formerly, they fent to seize on two of her Chaplains, that had faid Mass in her House, when she was abfent; they kept out of the way, and she writ to the Council to stop the prosecution, and continued to stand upon the Promise made to the Emperour. A long answer was returned to her by the Council, in which, after the matter of the Promise was cleared. they urged her with the absurdity of Prayers in an unknown tongue, offering the Sacrament for the dead, and worshipping Images: All the Ancients appealed upon all occasions to the Scriptures, by these she might easily discover the errours and cheats of the old Superstition, that were supported only by false Miracles and lying Stories. They concluded, that they being trusted with the execution of the Laws, were obli-

ged

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ged to proceed equally. Mallet, one of the Chaplains, was taken, and she earnest Book II. ly desired that he might be set at liberty, but it was denied her. The Council sent 155 1. for the chief Officers of her House, and required them to let her know the Kings pleasure, that she must have the new Service in her Family, and to give the like charge to her Chaplains and Servants. This vexed her much, and did almost cast her into fickness: She said, she would obey the King in every thing in which her Conscience was not touched: But charged them not to deliver the Councils Message to her Servants. Upon that, the Lord Chancellour, Petre and Wyngfield, were fent with the same orders to her, and carried to her a Letter from the King, which she received on her knees; but when she read it, she cast the blame of it on Cecyl, then Secretary of State. The Chancellour told her, the whole Council were of one mind, that they could not suffer her to use a form of Worship against Law: And had ordered them to intimate this both to herself and her Family. She made great protestations of duty to the King; but said, she would die rather than use any form of Worship but that which was left by her Father, only she was. afraid the was not worthy to fuffer on lo good an account. When the King was of age, she would obey his Commands, in Religion, and though he now knew many things above his age, yet as they did not think him yet capable of matters of War or Policy,

Policy, fo much less could he judge in points

Book II. of Divinity. If her Chaplains refused to fay Mass, she could have none, but for the 155 1. new Service she was resolved against it. and if it were forced on her, she would leave her house. She desired her Officers might be fent back to her, whom they had put in the Tower, for not intimating the Councils order to her Servants; which had been strange for them to have done, when fhe forbid it. She charged them to use her well for her Fathers sake, who had raised them all out of nothing. She was fick by reason of their ill usage, and if she died, she would lay it at their door. She infifted on the Promise made to the Emperour, who writ of it to her, and she believed him more than them all: She gave them a token, to be carried to the King, and so dismist them. When they had laid a charge on her Chaplains and Servants, to the same effect, and were going away, she called after them. and defired they would fend her Comptrol-Ier to her, for she was weary of receiving her accounts, and examining how many Loaves were made of a Bushel of Meal. Upon this resolution that she exprest, the Council went no further, only after this, her Mass was said so secretly, that she gave no publick scandal. From Copthall, where this was done, she removed, and lived at Hunsden, and thither Ridley went to fee her: She received him very civilly, and ordered her Officers to entertain him atdinner: But when he begged leave to Preach

Preach before her, the at first blusht, but being further prest, she faid he might Book II. Preach in the Parish Church, but neither the nor her Family would be there: He 1551, asked her if she refused to hear the word of God: She answered, they did not call that Gods word now, that they had called fo in her Fathers days; and that in his time they durst not have said the things which they then Preached: And after some sharp and reproachful discourse, she dismist him. Wharton, one of her Officers, as he conducted him out, made him drink a little, but he reflecting on that, blamed himfelf for it; for he faid, when the Word of God was rejected, he ought to have shaken off the dust of his Feet, and gone away. The Kings Sifter Elizabeth did in all things conform to the Laws; for her Mother at her death recommended her to Dr. Parker's care, who instructed her well in the Principles of Christian Religion.

The Earl of Warwick began now to form The Earl great designs of bringing the Crown into of Warhis Family: The King was alienated from wick's dea his Sifter Mary, and the Privy Council had imbroiled themselves with her, and so would be easily engaged against her. The pretence against both the Sisters was the same, that they flood illegitimated by two Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, confirmed in Parliament. So that it would be a difgrace to the Nation to let the Crown devolve on Bastards: And fincethe fears of the Eldests revenge, made



made the Council willing to exclude her, the Book II. onlyreason on which they could ground that, must take place against the second likewise. 155 1. And therefore though the Crown was provided to them, both by Act of Parliament, and the late Kings Will, yet these being founded on an Errour that was indifpenfable, which was the baseness of their descent, they ought not to take place. They being laid aside, the Daughters of the French Queen, by Charles Brandon, stood next in the Act, and yet it was generally believed that they were Bastards: For it was given out that Brandon was secretly married to one Mortimer, at the time that he married the French Queen, and that Mortimer out-lived her, so that the issue by her was Illegitimate. The Sweating Sickness did this year break out in England. with fuch Contagion that eight hundred died in one week of it in London; those that were taken with it, were inclined much to fleep, and all that flept died, but if they were kept awake a day, they did sweat it out. Charles Brandon's two Sons by his last Wife died within a day one of another. His eldest Daughter by the French Queen was married to the Marquess of Dorset, a good, but weak man, and so he was made Duke of Suffolk: They had no Sons, their eldeft Daughter Jane Gray, was thought the wonder of the age. So the Earl of Warwick projected a Match between her and his fourth Son Guilford, his three elder Sons being then married: And because the Lady Elizabeth was

was like to stand most in the way, care was taken to fend her out of England; and Book II. a Match was treated for her with the King of Denmark.

1551.

A splendid Message was sent to France, A Treaty with the Order of the Garter. The Mar- for a Marquess of Northampton carried it, three Earls, the King. the Bishop of Ely, and five Lords were sent with him, and above two hundred Gentlemen accompanied them. They were to make a Proposition of Marriage for the King with a Daughter of France. The Bishop of Ely made the first Speech, and the Cardinal of Lorrain answered him: it was foon agreed on, yet neither Party was to be bound, either in Honour or Conscience, till the Lady should be of Years to give consent. A noble Embassy was sent in return from France to England, with the Order of Saint Michael. They defired in their Master's name the continuance of the King's friendship, and that he would not be moved by Rumors, that might be raised to break their Alliance. The young King answered on the fudden, 'that Rumours were not always to be believed, nor always to be rejected, for it was no less vain to fear all things, than to doubt of nothing: if any differences hapned to arife, he should be always ready to determine them, rather by reason than by force, so far as his Honour should not be thereby diminished. This was thought a very extraordinary answer,

answer, to be made by one of Fourteen?

of Somerfer's fall.

There was at this time a great Crea-5.1. tion of Peers. Warwick was made Duke of Northumberland, the blood of the Piercies being then under an Attainder: Pawlet was made Marquess of Winchester, Herbert was made Earl of Pembroke, and a little before this, Russel had been made Earl of Bedford; and Darcy was made a Lord. There was none so likely to take the King out of Northumberlands hands, as the Duke of Somerset, who was beginning to form a new Party about the King; fo upon some Informations, both the Duke of Somerfet & his Dutchess, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Tho. Palmer, S. Tho. Arundel, & several others. of whom, some were Gentlemen of Quality, and others were the Dukes fervants. were all committed to the Tower. The committing of Palmer was to delude the World, for he had betrayed the Duke, and was clapt up as a Complice, and then pretended to discover a Plot: He said, the Duke intended to have raised the People, and that Northumberland, Northampton and Pembroke, having been invited to dine at the Lord Pagets, he intended to have fet on them by the way, or have killed them at Dinner; that Vane was to have 2000. Men ready: Arundel was to have seized on the Tower, and all the Gendarmoury were to have been killed. All these things were the young King with fuch Circumstances, that he too easily believed them, and

and fo was much alienated from his Uncle, judging him guilty of fo foul a Con- Book II. fpiracy. It was added by others, that the Duke intended to have raised the City of 1551. London, one Crane confirmed Palmers testimony, and both the Earl of Arundel, and Paget were also committed as Complices. On the first of December, the Duke His Trial. was brought to his Trial: The Marquess of Winchester was Lord Steward, and 27. Peers fat to judge him, among whom were the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and the Earl of Pembroke. The particulars charged on him were, a delign to seize on the King's Person, to impri-fon the Duke of Northumberland, and to raise the City of London; it seemed strange to see Northumberland sit a Judge, when the crime objected, was a design against his life: for though by the Law of England no Peer can be challenged, yet by the Law of Nature no Man can well judge where he is a Party. The Chancellour, though a Peer, was left out, upon suspicion of a reconciliation, which he was making with the Duke: He was not well skilled in Law, and neither objected to the Indictment, nor desired Councel to plead for him, but only answered to matters of fact: he denied all deligns to raise the People, or to kill Northumberland; if he had talked of it, it was in passion without any Intention: and it was ridiculous to think, that he with a small Troop, could destroy the Gendarmoury, who were

were 900. The armed Men he had about

Book Il him, were only for his own defence, he had done no mischief to his Enemies, though it was once in his power to have done it; and he had rendred himself without making any relistance: He defired the Witnesses might be brought face to face, and objected many things to them; chief-ly to Palmer; but that was not done, and their Depositions were only read The King's Councel pleaded upon the Statute, against unlawful Assemblies, that to contrive the death of Privy Counsellors was Felony, and to have Men about him for his defence, was also Felony. The material defence was omitted, for by that Statute those Assemblies were not felonious, except being required to disperse themselves, they had refused to do it, and it does not appear that any such Proclamation had been made in this case. The Proofs of his raising Rebellion were insufficient, so he was acquitted of Treason, which raised a great shout of joy, that was heard as far as Charing-Cross, but he was found guilty of Felony, for intending to imprison Northumberland. He carried himself, during the Trial, with great temper, and all the sharpness which the Kings Councel expressed in pleading against him, did not provoke him to any undecent passion. But when Sentence was given, he funk a little, and asked the three Lords, that were his Enemies, pardon, for his ill defig is against them, and made sute for

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his life, and for his Wife and Children. Book II. being found against him, but an Intention to imprison a Privy Counsellor, that new 1551; ver took effect, one so nearly related to the King, would not have been put to death on that account. It was therefore necessary to raise in the King a great Aversion to him: so a story was brought to the King, as if in the Tower he had confessed a design to imploy some to Asfassinate those Lords; and the Persons named for that wicked fervice, were also perswaded to take it on them. This being believed by the King, he took no more care to preserve him, assassination being a crime of so barbarous a nature, that it possessed him with a horrour, even to his Uncle, when he thought him guilty of it: and therefore he was given up to his Enemies rage. Stanhop, Partridge, Arundel and Vane were tried next, the two first were not much pitied, for they had made a very ill use of their Interest in the Duke, during his greatness: the other two were much lamented. Arundels Jury was shut up a whole Day and a Night, and those that were for the acquittal, yielded to the fury of the rest, only that they might fave their own Lives, and not be starved. Vane had done great services in the Wars, and carried himself with a Magnanimity, that was thought too extravagant: they were all condemned, and Partridge and he were hanged, the other Two were beheaded.

Rich gives up the given to Ely.

The Lord Chancellor was become Book II. fecret friend to the Duke of Somerfet, and that was thus discovered: he went aside once at Council, and writ a Note, giving the Duke notice of what was then in a-GreatScal, gitation against him, and endorsed it only and it was for the Duke, and fent it to the Tower. but his Servant not having particular dithe Bilhof rections, fanfied it was to the Duke of Norfolk, and not to Somerfet, and carried it to him. He to make Northumberland his friend, fent this to him; Rich understanding the mistake, in which his Servant had fallen, prevented the discovery, and went immediately to the King, and pretending fome indisposition, desired to be discharged; and upon that took his Bed, fo it feemed too barbarous to do any thing further against him, only the Great Seal was taken from him, and was put in the Bishop of Ely's hands. This was much censured, for all the Reformers had inveighed severely against the secular imployments, and high places, which Bishops had in the Church of Rome, since by these they were taken wholly off from the care of Souls, or those spiritual exercises that might dispose them for it, and assumed only the name and garb of Churchmen, to serve their Ambition and Covetousness; and by this the People were much prejudiced against them, so upon Goodrick's advancement, this was turned against the Reformers: it was faid, they only complained of those things, when their Enemies enjoyed them.

them, but changed their minds, as foon as they fell into the hands of their friends:but Goodrick Book II. was no Pattern, he complied only with the Reformation, but turned when Queen Mary succeeded. Christ faid, Who made me a Judge? St. Paul left it as a Rule. that no Man that warreth, entangleth himfelf with the affairs of this life. This Saint Cyprian, and the other Fathers understood, as a perpetual prohibition of Churchmen's medling with fecular matters; and condemned it severely. Many Canons were made against it in Provincial Councils, and a very full one was decreed at Chalcedon. But as the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria grew rich, and powerful, they establisht a fort of secular principality in the Church: and other Sees, as they encreased in wealth, affected to imitate them. Charles the Great, raised this much every where, and gave great Territories and Priviledges to the Church; upon which, the Bishop and Abbots, were not only admitted to a share, in the Publick Counsels, by virtue of their Lands, but to all the chief Offices of the State; and then Ecclesiastical Preferments were given Courtiers, as Rewards for their services: and by these means the Clergy became very corrupt, Merit and Learning being no more the standards, by which Men were esteemed or promoted: and Bishops were only considered, as a fort of great Men, who went in a peculiar Habit, and on great

1551.

1551.

great Festivities were obliged to say Mass? book II. or perform some other Solemnities, but they wholly abandoned the Souls committed to their care, and left the spiritual part of their callings, to their Vicars and Arch-deacons, who made no other use of it, but to squeeze the Inferiour Clergy, and to oppress the People: and it was not easie to perswade the world, that those Bishops did much aspire to Heaven, who were so indecently thrusting themselves into the Courts of Princes, and medling so much in matters, that did not belong to them, that they neglected those, for which they were to account to God.

The Duke of Somerfet's Exccution.

On the 22. day of January, the Duke of Somerset was executed at Tower-Hill, the substance of his Speech, was a Vindication of himself, 'from all ill designs, 'he confessed his private sins, and ac- knowledged the mercies of God, in granting him time to Repent: he declared that he had acted fincerely in all he did, in matters of Religion, while he was in power: and rejoyced for his being Inftrumental in so good a work: he exhorted the People to live futably to the doctrine received among them; other-wise they might look for great Judgments from God. As he was going on, there was an unaccountable Noise heard, which so frighted the People, that many run away. Sir Anthony Brown came up, riding towards the Scaffold, which made the

the Spectators think, that he brought a Pardon, and this occasioned great shouts Book II. of Joy, but they soon saw their mistakes; fo the Duke went on in his Speech, 'He declared his chearful submission to the will of God, and defired them likewise to acquiesce in it; he prayed for the King and his Council, and exhorted the People to continue obedient to them: and asked the forgiveness of all, whom at any time he had offended. Then he turned to his private devotions, and fitted himself for the blow, which upon the sig-nal given, severed his Head from his

Body.

He was a Man of extraordinary Virtues, of great candor, and eminent Piety: he was always a promoter of Justice, and a Patron of the oppressed. He was a better Captain than a Counsellor, and was too easie and open-hearted, to be so cautious, as fuch times, and fuch Imployments required. It was generally believed, all this Conspiracy, for which he, and the other Four luffered, was only a forgery: all the other Complices were quickly discharged, and Palmer, the chief Witness became Northumberlands particular confident: and the indifcreet words, which the Duke of Somerset had spoken, and his gathering armed Men about him, was imputed to Palmer's artifices, who had put him in fear of his life; and so made him do, and fay those things, for which he lost it. His four friends did all end their Lives,

1551.

Lives, with the most solemn protestations

Book II of their Innocence, and the whole matter was lookt on, as a contrivance of Nor-1551. thumberlands, by which he lost the affections of the People entirely. Some reflected on the Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Surrey's death, occasioned likewise by a Conspiracy of their own Servants, in which it was thought. this Duke was too active. He was also much cenfured for his Brothers death. He had raised much of his Estate out of the spoils of Bishops Lands, and his Palace out of the Ruines of some Churches: and to this some added a remark, that he did not claim the benefit of his Clergy, which would have faved him, and fince' he had fo spoiled the Church, they imputed it to a particular Judgment on him, that he forgat it: But in this they were mistaken, for in the Act by which he was condemned, it was provided that no Clergy should purge that Felony.

In Germany, Maurice began this year to The affairs of Germa- firm a great delign: He enter'd into correspondences not only with the Princes of ny. Germany, but also with France and Eng. hind; and having given intimations of his defigns for the liberty of Germany, and the focurity of the Protestant Religion, to fome that had great credit in Mag deburg, he brought that Town to a surrender, and having made himself sure of the Army, he quartered his Troops in the Territories

of

of the Popish Princes, by which they were all much alarmed, only the Emperour did Book II. not apprehend the danger till it was too late for him. A quarrel fell in between 1551. the Pope and the King of France, about Parma: The Pope threatned, if that King would not restore Parma, he would take France from him. Upon that, the Council being now again opened at Trem, the King of France protested against it, and declared that he would call a National Council in France, and would not obey, nor receive their Decrees. The Emperor still presfed the Germans to fend Embassadours and Divines to Trent. The Council began with the points about the Eucharist, and it was ordered that these should be handled according to the Scriptures and Ancient Authors; the Italians did not like this, and faid the bringing many quotations was only an Act of Memory, and that way would give the Lutherans great advantages: The fublime speculations of the Schools, together with their terms, were much safer Weapons to deal with. A Safe-Conduct was demanded from the Council, for the Emperours Conduct was not thought Sufficient, fince at Constance, John His, and Jerome of Prague were burnt, though they had the Emperours Safe-Conduct. The Council of Basil had granted a very full one to the Bohemians; so the Lutherans demanded one in the same form, but though one was granted, yet it was in many things fhort of that. The Elector of Bran-

Book II. who made a general Speech of the respect his Master had for them. The Legates J55 1. answered, and thanked him for submitting to their Decrees, of which the Embassa-dour had not said a word; but when he expostulated about it, the Legates said. they answered him according to that he ought to have faid, and not to that he did fay. The Council decreed, the manner of Christs presence to be ineffable, and yet ad ded that Transubstantiation was a fit term for it; for that was a notion as unconceivable as any that could be thought on : Then they decreed the necessity of Auricular Confession, that thereby Priests might keep a proportion between Penances and Sins, which was thought a mockery; for the trade of slight Penances, and case Abfolutions for the greatest sins, shewed there was no care taken to adjust the one to the other. The Embassadour of the Duke of Wirtemberg came, and moved for a Safe-Conduct to their Divines to come and maintain their Doctrine: The Legates and swered, they would enter into no disputes with them, but if they came with an humble mind, and proposed their scruples, they would fatisfie them. Embassadours from fome Towns arrived at Trent, and those fent by the Duke of Saxe were on their way, upon which the Emperour ordered his Agents, to gain time, and hinder the Council to proceed in their decisions till chose were heard, but all he could prevail in

in, was that the Article concerning the Communion in both kinds, was postponed Book II. till they should come. they should come. The same of the same of

The day after the Duke of Somerfet's exe- 1552. cution a Seffion of Parliament was allembled. A Seffion The first Act they past was about the Com. of Parliamon-Prayer-Book, as it was now amend ment.

ed: To it only one Earl, two Bishops, and two Lords differted. The Book was appointed to be every where received after All-hallows next. The Bishops were required to proceed by the censures of the Church, against such as came not to it they also authorized the Book of Ordinations, and enacted the same Penaltics against offendors, that were in the Act for the former Book three years before. The Papifts took occasion on the changes now made in. the Book, to fay, that the new Doctrines; and ways of Worship changed as fast as the fashions did. It was answered, That it was no wonder if corruptions, which, had been creeping in for a thousand years, were not all discovered, and thrown out at once; and fince they had been every age making additions of new Ceremonies, it might be excused, if the Purging them out? was done by fuch easie degrees. The Book was not to be received till All-hallows, be. cause it was hoped that between and then the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws would have been finished: A Bill concerning Treasons past with only one diffent, fit wasmuch opposed in the H. of Commons; fore

the multiplying of Treasons is always lookt Book II. on as a severity in the Government. One Bill was rejected, but another was agreed 1552. on, 'If any called the King, or his Succeffors, named in the Statute of 35 Hen. 8. Heretick, Tyrant, or other opprobrious words, he was for the first offence to be punished with a forfeiture of Goods and Chattels, for the second with a Pramuenire, and the third offence was made Treason: but if it was done in printing or writing, the first offence was Treafon. None were to be profecuted for words, but within three Months: and two Witnesses were made necessary, who should aver their Depositions to the Parties face. This feems to relate to the proceedings against the Duke of Somerset, in which the Witnesses did not appear, fo that he lost the advantage of cross examining them: and many times Innocence and guilt discover themselves, when: the Parties are confronted. Another Law past for Holy-days and Fasts. 'No days were to be esteemed Holy in their own nature, but by reason of those Holy duties which ought to be done in them, for which they were dedicated to the fervice of God. Days were esteemed to be dedicated only to the honour of God, even those in which the Saints were commemorated; Sundays, and the other Holy-

days were to be religiously observed, and the Bishops were to proceed to Censures against offenders, only Labourers or Fi-

fher-

'sher-men in case of necessity, might work on them: The Eves before them were Book II. to be Fasts, and abstinence from Flesh was enacted, both in Lent, and on Fridays 1552.
and Saturdays. This liberty to Tradesmen to work on these days, was abused to a publick profanation of them, but the stricter clauses in the Act were little regarded. An Act past, empowering Churchwardens to gather Collections for the poor, and the Bishops to proceed against such as refused to contribute; which though it was a Bill that taxed the people, yet had its first rise in the House of Lords. was past by the Lords, but rejected by the Commons, for fecuring the Clergy from falling under the lash of a Premunire by Ignorance; and that they ought to be first prohibited by the Kings Writ, and not be fued unless they continued after that, stiff in their disobedience. An Act past for the Marriage of the Clergy, four Earls and fix Lords diffenting from it: 'That whereas the former Act about it was thought only a permission of it, as some other unlaw-'Iful things were connived at; upon which the Wives and Children of the Clergy were reproachfully used, and the Word of God was not heard with due reverence; therefore their Marriages were declared 'good and valid. The Marquess of Northampton procured an Act, confirming his fecond Marriage, and that occasioned another to be proposed in the House of Lords, that no man might put away his Wife and M 2 marry

marry another, unless he were first Di-Book II. vorced; but it was laid aside by the Commons. The Bishoprick of Westminster 1551. was re-united to London, only the Collegiate Church was still continued.

An Act ary.

An Act past concerning Usury, repealing gainst Usu- a Law made 37 Hen. 8. That none might take above 20 per Cent. All Usury, or profit for Money lent, was condemned, as contrary to the Word of God, and transgressors were to be imprisoned, and fined at pleasure. This has been since that time repealed, and feveral regulations have been made of the gain by lent Money, which is now reduced to 6 per Cent. The prohibitions of Usury by Moses have been thought Moral, others have believed that they were founded only on the equal division of the Land; and since it was then lawful to take Usury of a stranger, they have inferred that the Law was not Moral, otherwise it must be of perpetual obligation: It was also a great incitement to industry not to lend upon profit, and it made every man lay out his Money in fome way of advantage, and their neighbourhood to Tyre and Sidon gave them a quick vent of their Manufacture, without which it is not easie to imagine how fuch vast numbers could have lived in so narrow a Countrey: So that these Laws seem'd to be only judiciary. It was thought at first suitable to the Brotherly kindness that ought to be among Christians, to lend without gain; but at last Canons were made against

against taking Usury, and it was put among the reserved Cases. Mortgages were an Book II. invention to avoid that, for the ule was paid as the Rent of the Land mortgaged, and not of the Money lent. Inventions alfo were found for those who had no Land to mortgage, to make fuch bargains that gain was made of the Money, and yet not in the way of Usury. These were tricks only to deceive people, and it is not eafie to shew how the making such a gain as holds proportion to the value of Land is immoral in it felf; if the rule fetled by Law is not exceeded, and men deal not unmercifully with those, who by inevitable accidents are disabled from making payment. Another Bill was past against Simony, the referving pensions out of Benefices, and granting Advowsons while the Incumbent was yet alive, but it had not the Royal Assent. Simony has been oft complained of, and many Laws and Canons have been made against it, but new contrivances are still found out to elude them all: And it is a disease that will still hang on the Church, as long as Covetoufness and Ambition ferment so strongly in the minds of Church men.

A Bill was fent to the House of Com. A Repeal mons, figned by the King, repealing the of the ferfettlement of the Duke of Somerfet's E-tlement of the Duke of favour of his of Somer-Children, by his second Wise, to exclude set's estate the Children by his first, of whom are descended the Seimours of Devonskire, which

fome M 2

fome imputed to a Jealousie, he had of Book II. his first Wife, and others ascribed it to the power his second Wife had over him. 1552. But the Commons were very unwilling to void a settlement confirmed in Parliament. and so for Fifteen days it was debated: A new Bill was devised, and that was much altered, and the Bill was not finished till the day before the dissolution of the Parliament. The Lords added a Proviso. confirming the Duke of Somerfet's Attain. der, but that was cast out by the Com-Some Writings had been fealed with relation to a Marriage between the Earl of Hartford, the Dukes Son, and the Earl of Oxford's Daughter, and the Lords fent down a Bill voiding these, but upon a division in the House of Commons, 68. were for it, and 69. were against it; so it was cast out. The House was now thin, when we find but 137. Members in it: but that is one of the effects of a long Parliament: many grow infirm, and many keep out of the way on design, and those who at their first Election were the Reprefentatives of the People, after they have fat long, become a Cabal of Men, that pursue their own Interests, more than the Publick Service. Tonftall Bishop of Durham, upon some Informations, was put in Prison in the former year: The Duke of Northamberland intended to erect a great Principality for his Family in the North; and the accession of the Jurisdiction of the County Palatine, which is in that See, feemed

Tonfall is imprison-

# of the Reformation, &c.

seemed so considerable, that he resolved to ruine Tonftall, and so make way Book II. for that. He complied in all the changes that were made, though he had protested 1552. against them in Parliament; he writ also for the Corporal Presence, but with more Eloquence than Learning: He was a candid and moderate Man, and there was always a good correspondence between Cranmer and him: and now when the Bill was put in against him, he opposed it, and protested against it, by which he abfolutely lost the Duke of Northumberland: but all the Popish complying Bishops went along with it. There were some Depofitions read in the House of Lords to justifie it, but when the Bill with these was fent down to the Commons, they resolved to put a stop to that way of condemning Men without hearing them: so they fent a Mesfage to the Lords, that he and his Ace cusers might be heard face to face, and that not being done, they let the Bill fall. By these Indications, it appeared that the House of Commons had little kindness for the Duke of Northumberland. Many of them had been much obliged to the Duke of Somerset; so it was resolved to have a new Parliament, and this which had fat almost five years, was on the 15th. of April dissolved.

The Convocation did confirm the Ar A Reforticles of Religion, that had been prepared Ecclefia-the former year, and thus was the Refor-flical Laws mation of Worship and Doctrine now prepared.

Book II. that time there has been very little alteration made in these. But another Branch 1552 of it was yet unfinished, and was now under consultation, touching the Govern-ment of the Church, and the rules of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Two Acts had pasfed in the former reign, and one in this, impowering XXXII. to revise all the Laws of the Church, and digest them into a body. King Henry issued out a Commisfion, and the Persons were named, who made some progress in it, as appears by some of Cranmer's Letters to him. In this Reign it had been begun several times, but the Changes in the Government made it be laid aside. Thirty two were found to be too many for preparing the first draught, so Eight were appointed to make it ready for them: These were Cranmer and Ridley, Cox and Peter Martyr, Traheron and Taylor, and Lucas and Gosnold, two Bishops, two Divines, two Civilians, and two Common Lawyers; but it was generally believed, that Cranmer drew it all himself, and the rest only corrected what he designed. Haddon and Cheek were imployed to put it in Latine; in which they succeeded so well, and arrived at so true a purity in the Roman stile, that it looks like a work of the best Ages of that State, before their Language was corrupted with the mixture of barbarous terms and phrases, with which all the later Writings were filled, but none were more naufeoully

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feoully rude than the Books of the Canon-Book II. Titles, perhaps it was deligned to bring it near the number of the Books, into which Justinian digested the Roman Law. The Eight sinished it, and offered it to the XXXII. who divided themselves into Four Classes, every one was to offer his Corrections, and when it had past through them all, it was to be offered to the King for his Confirmation; but the King died before it was quite finished, nor was it ever afterwards taken up: yet I shall think it no useless part of this work, to give an account of what was intended to be done in this matter, as well as I relate what was done in other things.

the Catholick Faith: it was made Capital of it, to deny the Christian Religion. The Books of Scripture were reckoned up, and the Apocrypha left out. The four first General Councils were received, but both Councils and Fathers were to be submitted to, only as they agreed with the Scriptures. The fecond enumerates and condemns many Herefies, extracted out of the Opinions of the Church of Rome, and the Tenets of the Anabaptists: and among others, those who excused their lives, by the pretence of Predestination, are reckoned up. 3. The judgment of Heresie was to lye in the Bishops Court, except in exempted places. Persons suspected might

be required to purge themselves, and those

The first Title of it was concerning The heads

who

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Book II. do Penance, but such as were obstinate, were declared Infamous, and not to have the benefit of the Law, or of making Teframents, and so all Capital proceedings for Heresie were laid aside. 4. Blasphemy against God was to be punished as obstinate Heresie. 5. The Sacraments, and other parts of the Pastoral Charge, were to be decently performed. 6. All Magick, Idolatry, or Conjuring was to be punished arbitrarily, and in case of obstinacy, with Excommunication. 7. Bishops were appointed once a Year to call all their Clergy together, to examine them concerning their Flocks: and Itinerant Preachers were to be often imployed for visiting such Precincts as might be put under their care. 8. All Marriages were to be after asking of Banes, and to be an-nulled, if not done according to the Book of Common Prayer. Corrupters of Virgins were to marry them; or if that could not be done, to give them the third part of their Goods, and suffer Corporal punishment. Marriages made by force, or without consent of Parents, were declared null. Polygamy was forbid, and Mothers were required to fuckle their Children. o. The degrees of Marriage were fetled according to the Levitical Law, but spiritual kindred was to be no barr. 10. A Clergy-man guilty of Adultery, was to forfeit his Goods and Estate to his Wife and Children, or to some pious use; and to be

be banished or Imprisoned during life: a Book II-half, and be banished or Imprisoned during life: Wives that were guilty, were to be punished in the same manner. The Innocent Party might marry again after a Divorce. Desertion, or Mortal Enmity, or the constant perversness of a Husband, might induce a Divorce, but little quarrels, nor a perpetual Disease might not do it; and the separation from Bed and Board, except during a Trial, was never to be allowed. 11. Patrons were charged to give presentations, without making bargains; to choose the fittest persons, and not to make promises till the Livings were vacant. The Bishops were required to use great strictness in the Trial of those, whom they ordained: all Pluralities and Non-residence were condemned, and all that were presented were to purge themselves of Simony by Oath. The twelfth and thirteenth were concerning the changing of Benefices. The fourteenth was concommon fame: all superstitious Purgations were condemned. Others followed, about Dilapidations, Elections and Collations. The nineteenth was concerning Divine Offices. The Communion was ordered to be every Sunday in Cathedrals, and a Sermon was to be in them in the afternoon: fuch as received the Sacrament, were to give notice to the Minister the day before, that he might examine their Consciences:

fciences: The Catechism was appointed

Book II. to be explained for an Hour in the afternoon on Holy days: After the Evening 1952. Prayer, the Poor were to be taken care of, Penances were to be enjoyned to scandalous Persons, and the Minister was to confer with some of the Ancients of the People, concerning the state of the Parish. That admonitions and censures might be applied, as there was occasion given. The twentieth was concerning other Church-A Rural Dean was to be in Officers. every Precinct to watch over the Clergy. according to the Bishops directions: Archdeacons were to be over them, and the Bishop over all: who was to have yearly Synods, and visit every third Year. His Family was to confift of Clergymen, in imitation of St. Austin, and other ancient Bishops, these he was to train up, for the service of the Church: When Bishops became infirm, they were to have Co-adjutors: Arch bishops were to do the Episcopal duties in their Diocess, and to vifit their Province. Every Synod was to begin with a Communion, and after that the Ministers were to give an account of their Parishes, and follow such directions as the Bishop should give them. Other heads followed concerning Church-Wardens; Tithes, Universities, Visitations, and several forts of Censures. In the thirtieth, a large Scheme was drawn of Excommunication, which was intrusted to Churchmen, for keeping the Church pure, and

was not to be inflicted, but for obstinacy in some gross fault: all causes upon which Book IL. it was pronounced, were to be examined before the Minister of the Parish, a Justice 1552. of Peace, and fome other Church-men. It was to be pronounced and intimated with great seriousness, and all were to be warned not to keep company with the perfon censured, under the like pains, except those of his own Family: Upon his continuing forty days obstinate under it, a Writ was to be iffued out for Commitment, till the Sentence should be taken off. Such as had the King's Pardon for Capital offences, were yet liable to Church censures. Then followed the Office of absolving Penitents. They were to come to the Church-door, and crave admittance, and the Minister having brought them in, was to read a long discourse concerning. Sin, Repentance, and the Mercies of God. Then the Party was to confess his fin, and to ask God, and the Congregation pardon; upon which the Minister was to lay his hands on his Head, and to pronounce the Absolution. Then a thanksgiving was to be offered to God, at the Communion Table, for the reclaiming that finner. The other Heads of this work, relate to the other parts of the Law of those Courts. It is certain, that the abounding of Vice and Impiety, flows in a great measure from the want of that strictness of censure, which was the glory of the Christian Church in the Primitive times:

Book II there have not been more effectual ways taken for making sinners ashamed, and denying them the Priviledges of Christians, till they have changed their ill course of life.

The Poverty of the Clergy.

There were at this time also remedies under consideration, for the great misery and poverty the Clergy were generally in: but the Laity were fo much concerned to oppose all these, that there was no hope of bringing them to any good effect, till the King should come to be of Age himfelf, and endeavour to recover again a competent maintenance, for the Clergy, out of their hands, who had devoured their Revenues. Both Heath and Day, the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, were this Year deprived of their Bishopricks, by a Court of Delegates, that were all Laymen. But it does not appear, for what offences they were fo censured. The Bishopricks of Gloucester and Worcester were both united, and put under Hooper's care; but foon after, the former was made an exempted Archdeaconry, and he was declared Bishop only of Worcester. In every See, as it fell vacant, the best Mannors were laid hold on by fuch hungry Courtiers, as had the Interest to procure the Grant of them. It was thought, that the Bishops Sees were so out of Measure enriched, that they could never be made poor enough: but fuch hast was made in spoiling them, that they were reduced to

fo low a condition, that it was hardly possible for a Bishop to subsist in them. Book II. If what had been thus taken from them, had been converted to good uses, such as 155.2. the supplying the Inferiour Clergy, it had. been some mitigation of so heinous a robbery: But their Lands were fnatched up by Laymen, who thought of making no Compensation to the Church for the spoils thus made by them.

This Year the Reformation had some Affairs in more footing in Ireland than formerly. Ireland. Henry the VIII. had affumed to himself, by confent of the Parliament of that Kingdom, the Title of King of Ireland: the former Kings of England having only been called Lords of it. The Popes and Emperours have pretended, that such Titles could be given only by them: The former said, all power in Heaven and Earth was given to Christ, and by consequence to his Vicar. The latter, as carrying the Title of Roman Emperour, pretended, that as they Anciently bestowed those Titles, fo that devolved on them, who retained only the name and shadow of that Great Authority. But Princes and States have thought that they may bring themselves under what Titles they please. In Ireland, though the Kings of England were well obeyed within the English Pale, yet the Irish continued barbarous and uncivilised, and depended on the heads of their Names or Tribes, and were obedient, or did rebel as they directed them. In Ulfter they had

1552.

a great dependance on Scotland: and there Book II. were some risings there, during the War with Scotland, which were quieted, by giving the Leading-men Pensions, and getting them to come and live within the English Pale. Monluc, Bishop of Valence, being then in Scotland, went over thither to engage them to raise new Commotions; but that had no effect: while he was there, his lasciviousness came to be discovered by an odd accident, for a Whore was brought to him by some English Friars, and secretly kept by him: but she fearching among his Clothes, fell on a Glass, full of somewhat, that was very odoriferous, and drank it off; which being discovered by the Bishop, too late, put him in a most violent passion: for it had been given him, as a Present, by Soliman the Magnificent, when he was Ambassadour at his Court. It was call'd the richest balm of Egypt, and valued at 2000. Crowns. His rage grew fo boisterous, that all about him, discovered both his Passion, and Lewdness at once. The Reformation was set up in the English Pale, but had made a small progress among the Irish. This Year Bale was sent over to labour among them. He was a busie Writer, and was a Learned zealous Man, but did not write with the temper and decency that became a Divine. Goodaker! was fent to be Primate of Armagh, and he was to be Bishop of Offory. Two Irish. Men were also promoted with them; who underundertook to advance the Reformation there. The Archbishop of Dublin intend-ed to have ordained them by the old Pon-tifical, and all, except Bale, were willing 1552. it should be so, but he prevailed that it should be done according to the new book of Ordinations: after that he went into his Diocess, but found all there in dark Popery, and before he could make any Progress, the King's death put an end to his designs. There was a change A Change fetled in the Order of the Garter this Garter. Year. A Proposition was made the former year, to consider how the Order might be freed from the Superstition, that was supposed to be in it. St. George's fighting. with a Dragon, lookt like a Legend forged in dark Ages, to support the humour of Chivalry, then very high in the world. The story was neither credible in it felf, nor vouched by any good Author: nor was there any of that name mentioned by the Ancients, but George the Arrian. Bishop, that was put in Alexandria, when Athanasius was banished. Some Knights were appointed to prepare a Reformation of the Order: and the Earl of Westmorland, and Sir Andrew Dudley were this Year Installed according to the New Mo-, del. It was appointed to be called in all time coming, the Order of the Garter, and no more the Order of St. George; instead of the former George, there was to be on the one side of the Jewel, a Man on Horseback, with a Bible on his Swords points

point: On the Sword was written Prote-Book II. Etio, and on the Bible Verbum Dei; and on the Reverse a Shield, and Fides writ-1552 ten upon it: to shew that they would maintain the Word of God, both with offensive and defensive Weapons: but all this was reversed by Queen Mary, and the old Statutes were again revived, which continue to this day.

Northumberlands severity.

There was at this time a strict enquiry made into the accounts of all, who had been imployed in the former part of this Reign; for it was believed, that the Vifitors had embezel'd much of the Plate of the Churches: and these were the Creatures of the Duke of Somerset, which made Northumberland profecute them more vehemently: On none did this fall more feverely, than on the Lord Paget, who was not only fined in 6000 l. but was degraded from the Order of the Garter, with a particular mark of Infamy on his Extraction; yet he was afterwards restored to it with as much honour. He had been a constant, friend to the Duke of Somerset, and that made his Enemies execute fo fevere a Revenge on him. Northumberland was preparing matters for a Parliament, and being a Man of an Insolent temper, no less abject when he was low, than lifted up with prosperity, he thought extream feverity was the only way to bring the Nation easily to comply with his administration of affairs; but this, though it

it succeeded for some time, yet when he needed it most, it turned violently upon Book II. him: for nothing can work on a free People so much, as Justice and Clemency 1552. in the Government.

A great design was settled this Year, Trade which proved to be the foundation of all flourishes that Wealth and Trade, that has since much, that time flourished so much in this Nation. Henry the III. had been much supported in his Wars, by the affiftance he got from the Free-Towns of Germany, in recompence of which he gave them great Priviledges in England. They were formed here in a Corporation, and lived in the Still Yard near London-Bridge. They had gone fometimes beyond their Charters, which were thereupon judged to be forfeited, but by great Presents they purchased new ones. They traded in a Body, and so ruined others by under felling them; and by making Presents at Court, or lending great Summs, they had the Government on their side. Trade was now rifing much, Courts began to be more Magnificent, so that there was a greater confumption, particularly of Cloth, than formerly. Antwerp and Hamburgh lying, the one near the mouth of the Rhine, and the other at the mouth of the Elbe, had then the chief Trade in these Parts of the World; and their Factors in the Still-Yard, had all the Markets in England in their hands; and fet fuch Prices, both on what

what they imported or exported, as they Book II. pleased, and broke all other Merchants to fuch a degree, that the former Year they 1552 had shipped 44000. Clothes, and all the other Traders had not shipped above 1 100. So the Merchant-adventurers complained of the Still-Yard Men, and after fome hearings, it was judged that they had forfeited their Charter, and that their Company was dissolved: nor could all the applications of the Hanse Towns, seconded by the Emperour's Intercession, procure them a new Charter. But a greater defign was proposed, after this was settled; which was to open two free Mart Towns in England, and to give them such Priviledges, as the free Towns in the Empire had, and by that means to draw the Trade to England: Southampton and Hull were thought the fittest. This was so far entertained by the young King, that he writ a large Paper, ballancing the conveniencies and inconveniencies of it, but all that fell with his Life.

Cardan in This year Cardan, the great Philosopher of England. that Age, past through England, as he returned from Scotland. The Archbishop of St. Andrews had fent for him out of Italy, to cure him of a Dropsie: in which he had good fuccefs; but being much conversant in Astrology and Magick, he told him he could not change his fate, and that he was to be hanged. He waited on King Edward as he returned, and was

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so charmed with his great knowledge and rare qualities, that he always spake of Book II. him, as the rarest Person he had ever feen: and after his death, when nothing 1552. was to be got by flattering, he writ the following Character of him.



All the Graces were in him: he had many Tongues, when he was yet but a 'Child; together with the English, his Natural Tongue, he had both Latin and French; nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish and perhaps fome more; But for the English, French and Latin, he was exact in them, and was apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ignorant of Logick, of the Principles of Natural Philosophy, nor of 'Musick; The sweetness of his Temper was fuch as became a Mortal, his Gravity becoming the Majesty of a King, and his Disposition was suitable to his high Degree: In fum, that Child was fo bred, had fuch parts, and was of fuch expectation, that he looked like a Miracle of a Man: These things are not spoken Rhetorically, and beyond the Truth, but are indeed short of it. And afterwards he adds, 'He was a marvellous Boy; when 'I was with him, he was in the 15th. year of his Age, in which he spake Latin as 'politely, and as promptly as I did: He asked me, what was the subject of my Book, de Rerum varietate, which I dedi-'cated to him? I answered, that in the first. N 3

Book II. Comets, which had been long enquired into, but was never found out before. 1552. What is it, faid he? I faid, it was the concourse of the Light of wandring Stars. He answered, How can that be, fince the Stars move in different motions? How comes it that the Comets are 'not foon dissipated, or do not move after them, according to their motions. To this I answered, they do move after them. but much quicker than they, by reason of the different aspect, as we see in Crystal. or when a Rain-bow rebounds from a Wall: for a little change makes a great difference of place. But the King faid, 'How can that be, where there is no subject to receive that Light, as the Wall is the subject for the Rain-bow? To this I answered, That this was as in the Milky way, or where many Candles were 'lighted, the middle place, where their fhining met, was white and clear. From this little tast, it may be imagined what he was." And indeed the ingenuity, and 'sweetness of his Disposition had raised in all good, and learned Men the greatest expectation of him possible. He began to love the Liberal Arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them: and in him there was such an Attempt of Nature, that not only England, but the World hath rea-fon to lament his being so early snatcht away. How truly was it faid of fuch

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extraordinary Persons, that their Lives Book II. be old? He gave us an Essay of Vertue, though he did not live to give a Pat-tern of it. When the gravity of a King was needful, he carried himself like an old 'Man, and yet he was always affable, and gentle, as became his Age. He played on the Lute; he medled in affairs of State: and for Bounty, he did in that emulate his Father; though he, even when he endeavoured to be too good, might appear to have been bad: but there was no ground of suspecting any such thing in the Son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of Philosophy.

These extraordinary blossoms gave but too good reason to fear, that a fruit which ripened so fast, could not last long.

In Scotland there was a great change in Affairs in the Government: the Governor was dealt Scotland. with, to refign it to the Queen Dowager, who returned this Year from France, and was treated with all that respect that was due to her rank, as she past through England. She brought Letters to the Governour, advising him to resign it to her, but in fuch terms, that he faw he must either do it, or maintain his power by force: he was a foft Man, and was the more easily wrought on, because his ambitious Brother was then desperately ill: but when he recovered, and found what N 4

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## Abzidgment of the bistopp

Book II. at it in very vehement terms. The young Queen of Scotlands Uncles proposed a Match 1552 for her with the Dolphin, which had been long in discourse, and the King of France inclined much to it. Constable Monmorancy opposed it: He observed how much Spain suffered, in having so many Territories at a distance: though those were the best Provinces of Europe. So he reckoned the keeping Scotland, would cost France more than ever it could be worth: A Revolt to England would be easie, and the sending Fleets and Armies thither would be a vast charge: He therefore advised the King. rather to marry her to some of the Princes of the Blood, and to fend them to Scotland, and fo by a small Pension, that Kingdom would be preserved in the Interests of France. But the Constable was a known Enemy to the House of Guile. and so those wife advices were little considered, and were imputed to the fears he had of fo great a strengthning, as this would have given to their Interest at Court. In Scotland there were now two Factions: the one was headed by the Archbishop, and all the Clergy were in it, who were jealous of the Queen, as leaning too much to fome Lords, who were believed to incline to the Reformation; of whom the Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the Earl of Murray was the chief: These offered to serve the Queen in all her defigns; in particular, in fending the Matri monial

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monial Crown to France, upon their young Queens Marriage with the Dolphin, if the Book II. would defend them from the Violence of the Clergy in matters of Religion, which 1552, being made generally subservient to other Interests in all Courts, this was well entertained by the Queen, though she was otherwife very zealous in her own Religion.



There was a great and unexpected turn The affairs this year, in the affairs of Germany. The in Germany: Emperour's Ministers began to entertain some jealousie of Maurice, so that the Duke of Alva advised the Emperour to call for him, and so to take him off from the head of the Army; and then make him give an account of some suspicious passages, in his treating with other Princes: but the Bishop of Arras said, he had both his Secretaries in pay, and he knew by their means all his Negotiations, and relied fo on their Intelligence, that he prevailed with the Emperour not to provoke him, by feeming distrustful of him. But Maurice knew all this, and deluded his Secretaries, so that he seemed to open to them all his fecretest Negotiations; yet he really let them know nothing, but what he was willing should come to the Emperor's ears, and had managed his Treaties fo fecretly, that they had not the least fuspicion of them. At last the Emperour was so possest with the Advertisements that were fent him from all parts, that he writ to Maurice to come and clear himfelf:

himself; and then he refined it higher: for Book II. he presently left the Army, and took Post, with one of his Secretaries, and a small Retinue: after a Days riding, he complained of a pain in his fide, fo that he could not go on, but fent his Secretary with his excuses: This appearance of con-fidence made the Emperour lay down all his jealousies of him. He had also sent his Ambassadours to Trent, and had ordered Melantthon, and some Divines to follow them flowly, and as foon as a fafe conduct was obtained, to go to Trent. The Emperour's Agents had a hard task, between the Legats and the Lutherans: they dealt with the Legates to hear the other; but they answered, that it was against the rules of the Church, to treat with professed Hereticks. The Lutherans on the other hand, made such high demands, that they had as much to do to moderate them: they prest them not to ask too much at once, and promised, that if they would proceed prudently, the Emperour would concur with them, to pull down the Popes power, and to reform abuses. A Safe-Conduct was demanded, fuch as had been granted by the Council of Basil, that their Divines might have a decifive voice, and the free exercise of their Religion, and that all things might be examined according to the Scriptures. But the Legates abhorred the name of that Council, that had acted so much against the Papal authority, and had granted fuch

a Conduct, that so they might unite Germany, and engage the Empire to joyn with Book II. them against the Pope. The Ambassa. dours from the Linberans were heard in \$552. a General Congregation, where they gave the Council a very cold Complement, and defired a Safe-Conduct. The Pope understood, that the Emperor was resolved to fet on the Spanish Bishops, to bear down the power of the Court of Rome, therefore he united himself to France, and refolved to break the Council on the first occasion, upon which he ordered the Legates to proceed to settle the doctrine; hoping the Protestants would upon that despair of favour, and go away. But while thefe things were in agitation, the War of Germany broke out, and the Legates su-spended the Council for two Years.

After this, I shall have no occasion to An Acfpeak more of this Council, fo I shall of-count of fer this remark here, that this Council the Counhad been much desired both by Princes cil of Trent. and Bishops, in hopes that differences of Religion would have been composed in it, and that the Corruptions of the Court of Rome would have been reformed by it, and that had made the Popes very apprehensive of it: but such was the cunning of the Legates, the number of Italian Bishops, and the dissensions of the Princes of Europe, that it had effects quite contrary to what all fides expected. The breach in Religion was put past reconciling

ling, by the politive decisions they made: Book II. the abuses of the Court of Rome were confirmed by the Proviso's, made in favours 1552. of the Priviledges of the Apostolick See: and the World was so cured of their longings for a General Council, that none has been desired since that time. The History of that Council was writ with great exactness and Judgment, by Father Paul of Venice, while the thing was yet fresh in all Mens memories; and though it discovered the whole secret of transactions there, yet none fet himself to write against it, for Forty Years after: of late then Pallavicini undertook it, and upon the credit of many Memorials, he in many things contradicts Father Paul; but as many of these are likely enough to be forged, so in the main of the History, they both agree so far, that it is manifest, things were not fairly carried, and that all matters were managed by Intreagues and fecret practices, in which it will be very hard to discern such a particular conduct of the Holy Ghost, as should induce the World to submit to their authority: and indeed Pallavicini was aware of this. and therefore he lays down this for a foundation; 'That there must be a Principality in the Church, supported by great Wealth and Dignity; and many practices are now necessary that are contrary to what were in the Primitive time, which was the Infancy of the Church, and ought not to be a rule to it now, when

when it is grown up to its full state. Maurice declared for the liberty of Book III
Germany, and took Auburg, and several other Towns. The King of France fell 1552. also in, upon the Empire, with a great perour's Force, and by surprise made himself Ma-designs are ster of Metz, Toul and Verdun, and thought blasted. to have got Strasburg. Maurice fent his demands to the Emperour for the Landgrave's liberty, and for restoring the freedom of the Empire: and the Emperour being flow in making answer, he marched on to Inspruck, where he surprised a Post, and was within two Miles of him, before he was aware of it, so that the Emperor was forced to fly away by Torch-light: and from thence went to Italy. Thus that very Army and Prince, that had been chiefly Instrumental in the ruine of the Empire, did now again affert its freedom; and all the Emperor's great design on Germany was now fo blasted, that he could never after this put any life in it: he was forced to discharge his Prisoners, and to call in the Profcriptions, and after some Treaty, at last the Edict of Passaw was made, by which the free exercise of the Protestant Religion was granted to the Princes and Towns: and fo did that storm, which had almost overwhelmed the Princes of that Perswasion end, without any other considerable effect, besides the Translation of the Electoral dignity from John to Maurice. The Emperour's miffortunes encreased on him, for against all reason

reason he besieged Metz in December, but Book Il after he had ruined his Army in it, he was forced to raise the Siege. Upon that he re-tired into Flanders, in such discontent, that for some time he would admit none to come to him. Here it was believed, he first formed that design, which some years after he put in execution, of forfaking the World, and exchanging the Pomp of a Court, with the retirement of a Monastery. This strange and unlookt for turn in his affairs, gave a great demonstration of an over-ruling Providence, that governs all humane affairs, and of that particular care that God had of the Reformation, in recovering it, when it seemed to be gone, without all hope, in Germany.

1553.

In the beginning of this Year, there was a regulation made of the Privy Council. Several Committees had proper work affigned them, and directions given them for their conduct; of which there is an account extant, corrected with King Edward's hand. A new Parliament was called, and fat down the first of March; a motion was made for a Subsidy of two tenths, and two fifteenths to be paid in two years: at the passing of the Bill there was a great debate about it in the House of Commons, which feems to have been concerning the Preamble, for it contained a high accusation of the Duke of Somerfet's administration, and was set on by the Duke of Northumberlana's Party, to let the King

#### of the Reformation. &c.

King see how well pleased the Representative of the Nation was with his fall. Book II.

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The Sons of the Nobility and Gentry I 553. had ordinarily Prebends given them, under this pretence, that they intended to that Layfollow their studies, and make themselves men capable of entring into Orders: and this should was like to become a great prejudice to not hold Churchthe Clergy, when so many of the digni- dignicies. ties of the Church were in Lay-hands. Upon this the Bishops procured a Bill to be past in the House of Lords, that none might hold these, that was not either Priest or Deacon: but at the third reading, the Commons threw it out.

Another Bill past for suppressing the An Act Bishoprick of Durham, and erecting two suppressing the new Sees, the one at Durham, and the Bishop of other at Newcastle; the former was to Durham. have 2000, and the latter 1000. Marks Revenue; there was also a Dean and a Chapter to be endowed at Newcastle. Ridley was designed to be made Bishop of Durham. But though the secular Jurisdiction of that See was given to the Duke of Northumberland, yet the King's death stopt the further progress of this affair. Tonstall was deprived, as Heath and Day were, by a Court of Lay-delegates, upon the Infor-mations that had been brought against him of Misprision of Treason, and was kept in the Tower till Queen Mary set him at liberty. The King granted a General Pardon 1000

1553.

Book II. the Lords, that fome words might be put, though that is not usual to be done; for Acts of Pardon, are commonly past without any Changes made in them: After the passing these Acts, the Parliament was dissolved on the last of March. For it feems either the Duke of Northumberland was not pleased with the proceed. ings in the House of Commons, or he was resolved to call frequent Parliaments, and not continue the same, as the Duke of Somerset had done.

Another Visitation.

Visitors were sent after this to examine what Plate was in every Church, and to leave them one or two Chalices of Silver, with Linnen, for the Communion-Table, and for Surplices, and to bring in all other things of value to the Treasurer of the King's Houshold, and to sell the rest, and give it to the Poor. This was a new rifling of Churches, by which it feemed some resolved not to cease, till they had brought them to a Primitive Poverty, as well as the Reformers intended to bring them to a Primitive purity. The King fet his hand to these Instructions, from which some have inferred, that he was ill principled in himself, when at such an Age, he joyned his Authority to fuch proceedings. But he was now so ill, that it is probable, he set his hand to every thing, that the Council fent him, without examining anxiously what it might import.

Skips

Skip, Bishop of Hereford, dying, Harley fucceeded him, and was the last that was Book II. promoted by the Kings Letters Patents; as Barlow was the first, being removed Rishops by them, from St. Davids to Bath and made by Wells. The form of the Patent was, the Kings That the King appointed fuch a one to Patent. be Bishop during his Natural life, or as long as he behaved himself well: and gave him power to ordain or deprive Ministers, to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and perform all the other parts of the Episcopal Function, that by the Word of God were committed to Bifhops, and this they were to do in the King's Name, and by his Authority. Ferrar was put in St. Davids, upon Barlow's removal: he was an indifcreet Manand drew upon himself the dislike of his Prebendaries, and many complaints were made of him, which, if true, discovered great weakness in him: at last he was sued in a Premunire, for acting in his own name, and not in the King's, in his Courts; and was put in Prison, where he continued, till Morgan, that was his chief Accuser, being put in his place by Queen Mary, condemned him to the Fire; which turned all former Censures, that he had given occasion for, by his simplicity, into esteem and compassion. By these Patents, the Episcopal Power was still declared to flow from Christ; they were only prefentations to Bishopricks, such as other Patrons gave to inferiour Benefices; and fuch

fuch as Christian Princes in France, and Book II. other Kingdoms gave in elder times, for Bishopricks. Their Courts were ordered to 1553. be held in the King's Name; but all this was repealed by Queen Mary: and when Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, instead of reviving this, she revived that made in the 25 Hen. 8. by which Bishops were authorised to hold their Courts, as they had done formerly: and though Queen Mary's repeal of the Statute of this King, was afterwards taken away, so that this Act feemed thereby to be again in force; yet Queen Elizabeth's reviving that made by her Father, was understood to be, in effect, a Repeal of it: so that in King Fames's time, when some scruples were flarted about it, the Judges did not think it necessary to make an Explanatory Act, to clear the matter, for the thing did not feem to admit of any debate. A new and fuller Catechism was this Year composed by Poinet, and was published with

Affairs in Germany.

The state of affairs beyond Sea, was now quite turned, so that the Progress the French had made, set the English Council on mediating a Peace. The Emperour represented to them the danger the Netherlands were in, since the French were Masters of Metz, and so could in a great measure divide them from the assistance, that they might receive from the Empire; therefore he desired that according

the Kings approbation.

cording to the Ancient Leagues, between England, and the House of Burgundy, they Book II. would now engage against the French. The Council fent over Ambassadours, both to 1553. the Emperour, and the French King, to mediate. The Emperour was then indifposed, but his Ministers complained much, that the French had broken with them perfidioufly, when they were making folemn protestations, that they intended to observe the Peace religiously. The Germans proposed a League between the Emperour, the King of the Romans, the King of England, and the Princes of the Empire. The Emperour moved that the Netherlands might be comprehended within the perpetual League of the Empire; but the Princes refused that, since those Provinces were like to be the perpetual Seat of War, when ever it should break out between France and Spain; unless they might have reciprocal advantages, for exposing themfelves to so much danger and charge. The French made extravagant Propositions, by which it appeared, that their King had a mind to carry on the War. They askt the restitution of Millan, Sicily, Naples, and Navarre, and the Soveraignty of the Nes therlands; and that Metz, Toul and Verdun should continue under the Protection of France. The English would not receive these as Mediators, but took them only as a Paper of News, and so ordered their Ambassadours to communicate them to the Emperour. But the King's death broke off this Negotiation. He

fickness.

He had contracted great Colds by Vi-Book II. olent Exercises, which in January setled in a deep Cough: and all Medicines proved ineffectual. There was a suspicion taken up, and spread over all Europe, that he was poisoned: but no certain grounds appear, for justifying that. During his sickness, Ridley preached before him, and among other things, run out much on works of Charity, and the duty of Men of high condition, to be Eminent in good works. The King was much touched with this; fo, after Sermon, he fent for the Bishop, and treated him with fuch respect, that he made him sit down, and be covered: then he told him, what Impression his Exhortation had made on him, and therefore he desired to be directed by him, how to do his duty in that matter. Ridlev took a little time to consider of it, and after some consultation with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, he brought the King a Scheme of several Foundations. one for the fick and wounded, another for fuch as were wilfully idle, or were mad. and a third for Orphans: so he endowed St. Bartholomew's Hospital for the first, Bridewell for the second, and Christ's Church near Newgate for the third; and he enlarged the Grant he made the former year, for St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark. The Statutes and Warrants relating to these, were not finished before the 26. of June, though he gave order to make all the hast that was possible:

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and when he fet his hand to them, he bleft God that had prolonged his life, till Book II. he finished his designs concerning them. These Houses have, by the good Government, and great Charities of the City of London, continued to be so useful, and grown to be fo well-endowed that now they may be well reckoned among the Noblest in Europe.

197 1553,

The King bore his sickness with great The Pa-fubmission to the will of God; and seemed concerned in nothing fo much, as the fluct. state that Religion, and the Church would Crown. be in, after his death. The Duke of Suffolk had only three Daughters, the eldest of these was now married to Lord Guilford Dudley; the second to the Earl of Pembroke's eldest Son; and the third, that was crooked, to one Keys. The Duke of Northumberland, for strengthning his Family, married also his own two Daughters, the one to Sir Henry Sidney, and the other to the Earl of Huntington's eldest Son. He grew to be much hated by the People, and the jealousie of the King's being poifoned, was fastened on him. But he regarded these things little, and resolved to improve the fears the King was in concerning Religion, to the advantage of Lady Jane. The King was easily perswaded to order the Judges, and his Learned Council to put fome Articles, which he had figned, for the fuccession of the Crown, in the common form of Law. They anfwered.

fwered, that the Succession being settled Book II. by Act of Parliament, could not be taken away, except by Parliament: yet the 1553. King required them to do what he commanded them. But next time they came to the Council, they declared, that it was made Treason to change the Succession by an Act past in this Reign, so they could not meddle with it. Mountague was chief Justice, and spake in the name of the rest. Northumberland fell out in a great passion against him, calling him Traitor, for refuling to obey the King's commands: for that is always the language of an Arbitrary Minister, when he acts against Law. But the Judges were not shaken by his threatnings; fo they were again brought before the King, who sharply rebaked them for their delays, but they said, all that they could do, would be of no force, without a Parliament, yet they were required to do it, in the best manner they could: At last Mountague desired they might have a Pardon for what they were to do, & that being granted, all the Judges, except Gofnald and Hales, agreed to the Patent, & deliver'd their Opinions, that the Lord Chancellor might put the Seal to it, and that then it would be good in Law; yet the former of these two was at last wrought on, so Hales was the only Man that stood out to the last: who, though he was a zealous Protestant, yet would not give his Opinion against his Conscience, upon any consideration whatsoever. The Privy Councellours

### of the Reformation, &c.

lours were next required to fet their hand to it: Cecyl, in a Relation he writ of this Book II. transaction, says, that hearing some of the Judges declare to politively, that it was against Law, he refused to set his hand to it, as a Privy Councellour, but signed it only as a Witness to the King's subscription. Cranmer stood out long, he came not to Council when it was past there, and refused to consent to it, when he was preft to it; for he faid, he would never have a hand in disinheriting his late Master's Daughters. The young dying King was at last set on him, and by his Importunity prevailed with him to do it. and so the Seal was put to the Patents. The King's distemper continued to encrease, so that the Physicians despaired of his Recovery. A confident Woman undertook his Cure, and he was put in her hands, but the left him worfe than the found him; and this heightned the jealousie of the Duke of Northumberland, that had introduced her, and put the Physicians away. At last, to Crown his designs, he got the King to write to his Sisters, to come and divert him in his sickness: and the matter of the Exclusion had been carried fo fecretly, that they apprehending no danger, had begun their Journey.

In the 6th. of July, the King felt death The Kings approaching, and prepared himself for it, death and in a most devout manner: He was often Character. heard offering up Prayers and Ejaculations

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to God: Particularly a few Moments be-Book II. fore he died, he prayed earnestly that God would take him out of this wretched life. \$ 553. and committed his Spirit to him, he interceded very fervently for his Subjects, that God would preferve England from Popery, and maintain his true Religion among them; foon after that, he breathed out his Innocent Soul, being in Sir Henry Sidney's arms. Endeavours were used to conceal his death. for fome days, on design to draw his Sisters into the snare, before they should be aware

of it, but that could not be done.

Thus died Edward the VI. in the sixteenth Year of his Age. He was counted the wonder of that time: he was not only Learned in the Tongues, and the Liberal Sciences. but knew well the state of his Kingdom. He kept a Table-Book, in which he had writ the Characters of all the eminent Men of the Nation; he studied Fortification, and understood the Mint well: he knew the Harbours in all his Dominions, with the depth of Water, and way of coming into them. He understood foreign affairs so well, that the Ambassadours that were sent into England, published very extraordinary things of him, in all the Courts of Europe. He had great quickness of apprehension, but being distrustful of his Memory, he took Notes of every thing he heard, that was considerable, in Greek Characters; that those about him might not understand what he writ, which he afterwards Copied out fair in the Journal that he kept.

His



His Virtues were wonderful, when he was made believe, that his Unkle was guil. Book II. ty of conspiring the death of the other Counfellours, he upon that abandoned him. Barnaby Fitzpatrick was his Favourite, and when he sent him to travel, he writ oft to him, to keep good Company, to avoid excess and Luxury, and to improve himself in those things, that might render him capable of Imployment, at his return. He was afterwards made Lord of Upper-Offory in Ireland, by Queen Elizabeth, and did answer the hopes that this excellent King had of him. He was very merciful in his nature, which appeared in his unwillingness to fign the Warrant, for burning the Maid of Kent. He took great care to have his debts well paid, reckoning that a Prince who breaks his Faith, and loses his Credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual distrust, and extreme contempt. He took special care of the Petitions, that were given him by poor and opprest People. But his great zeal for Religion crowned all the rest. It was not only an angry heat about it that acted him, but it was a true tenderness of conscience. founded on the love of God, & his Neighbors.

These extraordinary qualities set off with great sweetness and affability, made him be univerfally beloved by all his People. Some called him their Josias, others Edward the Saint, and others called him the Phanix that rife out of his Mothers ashes; and all People concluded, that the fins of England must



"Land

have been very great, fince they provoked Book II. God to deprive the Nation of so signal a bleffing, as the rest of his Reign would have, by all appearance, proved. Ridley, and the other good Men of that time, made great lamentations of the Vices, that were grown then so common, that Men had past all shame in them. Luxury, Oppression, and a hatred of Religion had over-run the higher rank of People, who gave a countenance to the Reformation, meerly to rob the Church, but by that and their other practices, were become a great scandal to so good a work. The inferiour fort were so much in the power of the Priests, who were still. notwithstanding their outward Compliance, Papists in heart, and were so much offended at the spoil they saw made of all good endowments, without putting other and more useful ones in their room, that they who understood little of Religion, laboured under great prejudices against every thing that was advanced by fuch tools. And these things, as they provoked God highly, fo they disposed the People much to that sad Catastrophe, which is to be the subject of the next Book.



## BOOK III.

THE

and REIGN

OF

# Queen MARY.



Y King Edward's death, the Qu. Mary Crown devolved, according succeeds. to Law, on his Eldest Sister Mary, who was within half a days Journey to the Court, when she had notice given

her by the Earl of Arundel, of her Brother's death, and of the Patent for Lady Jane's fuccession, and this prevented her falling into the Trap, that was laid for her. that she retired to Framlingham in Suffolk, both to be near the Sea, that she might escape

escape to Flanders, in case of a missortune : Book III and because the slaughter that was made of Kets People, by Northumberland, begat him 1553 the hatred of the People in that Neighbourhood. Before she got thither, she wrote on the 9th. of July, to the Council, and let them know she understood, that her Brother was dead, by which she succeeded to the Crown, but wondred that she heard not from them; she knew well what Confultations they had engaged in but she would pardon all that was done, to fuch as would return to their duty, and proclaim her Title to the Crown. By this it was found, that the Kings death could be no longer kept fecret; so some of the Privy Council went to Lady Jane, and acknowledged her their Queen. The news of the King's death afflicted her much, and her being raised to the Throne, rather encreased, than lesfened her trouble. She was a very extraordinary Person, both for Body and Mind. She had learned both the Greek and Latine Tongues, to great perfection; and delighted much in study. She read Plato in Greek, and drunk in the Precepts of true Philosophy fo early, that as she was not tainted with the levities, not to fay Vices of those of her Age and condition, so she feemed to have attained to the practice of the highest notions of Philosophy: for in those sudden turns of her condition, as she was not exalted with the prospect of a Crown, so she was as little cast down, when her Palace was made her Prison. The

### of the Reformation, &c.

The only passion she shewed, was, that of the Noblest kind, in the concern she ex- Book III prest for her Father and Husband, who fell with her, and seemingly on her account, though really Northumberland's ambition, and her Father's weakness ruined her. She rejected the offer of the Crown. when it was first made her; she said, she knew, that of right it belonged to the late King's Sisters, and so she could not with a good Conscience assume it; but it was told her, that both the Judges and Privy Councellours had declared, that it fell to her according to Law. This, joyned with the Importunities of her Husband. who had more of his Father's Temper. than of her Philosophy in him, made her fubmit to it. Upon this XXI. Privy Councellours set their hands to a Letter to Queen Mary, letting her know that Queen Jane was now their Soveraign, and that the Marriage between her Father and Mother was null, so she could not succeed to the Crown: and therefore they required her to lay down her Pretensions, and to fubmit to the fettlement now made: and if she gave a ready obedience to these Commands, they promifed her much favour.

The day after this they proclaimed Jane. But Lady In it they fet forth, 'That the late King Jane Gray had by Patent excluded his Sifters, that is proboth were illegitimated by fentences past claimed. in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and confirmed in Parliament, and at best they were

only his Sifters by the half blood, and fo

not

onot inheritable by the Law of England. Book III 'There was also cause to fear, that they might marry strangers, and change the 1553. Laws, and subject the Nation to the Ty-'ranny of the See of Rome. Next to them, the Crown fell to the Dutchess of Suffolk; and it was provided, that if she 's should have no Sons, when the King died, the Crown should devolve on her Daughter, who was born and married in the 'Kingdom: Upon which they afferted her right, and she promised to maintain the true Religion, and the Laws of the Land. This was not received with the shouts ordinary on fuch occasions. A Vintners Boy expressed some scorn, when he heard it, for which he was next day set on a Pillory, and his Ears were nailed to it, to strike terror in the rest.

Cenfures that.

Many descanted variously on this Propast upon clamation. Those who thought that the King had his power immediately from God, said, that then it must descend in the way of Inheritance, and since the King's two Sisters were both under sentences of illegitimation, they faid the next Heir in blood must succeed, and that was the young Queen of Scotland; but she being of the Church of Rome, claimed nothing upon the sentence against Queen Mary, esteeming it unlawful, and null, yet afterwards she made her claim against Queen Elizabeth. Others faid, that though a Prince were named immediately by God, yet upon great reasons he might alter the Succes-

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Succession from its natural course: for so David preferred Solomon to Adonijah. In Book III England, the Kings claimed the Crown by a long Prescription, confirmed by many 1553. Laws, and not from a divine designation: and therefore they inferred, that the Act of Parliament for the Succession ought to take place, and that by vertue of it, the two Sifters ought to succeed: and it was faid, that as the King could limit the Prerogative, fo he could likewise limit the fuccession. It was also said, that Charles Brandon's Issue by the French Queen, was unlawful, because he was then married to one Mortimer; yet this was not declared in any Court, and so could not take place. Others faid, if the Right of blood could not be cut off, why was the Scotch Queen cut off? and her being born out of the Kingdom, could not exclude her, as an Alien, for though that held in other cafes, yet it was only a Provision of Law. which could not take away a Divine right, and by special Law the King's Children were excepted. It was also urged, that the Dutchess of Suffolk ought to be preferred to her Daughter, who could only claim by her Right: and though Mand the Empress, and Margaret Countess of Richmond had not claimed the Crown, but were satisfied that their Sons, two Henries, the fecond and feventh, should reign in their right, yet it was never heard that a Mother should quit her right to a Daughter: that of the half blood was faid to be

## Absidgment of the History



be only a rule in Law for private Families, and that it did not extend to the Crown. The power of limiting the fuccession by Patent or Testament, was said to be only a Personal trust lodged in King Henry the Eighth, and that it did not descend to his Heirs, so that King Edward's Patents were thought to be of no force.

Many turn to Queen Mary.

The feverity against the Vintners Boy in the beginning of a Reign founded on so doubtful a Title, was thought a great errour in Policy: and it feemed to be a well grounded Maxime, that all Governments ought to begin with acts of Clemency, and affect the love rather than the fear of the People. Northumberland's proceeding against the Duke of Somerfee, upon so foul a Confpiracy, and the suspicions that lay on him, as the Author of the late Kings untimely death, begat a great aversion in the People to him: and that disposed them to fet up Queen Mary. She gathered all in the neighbouring Counties about her. The Men of Suffolk were generally for the Reformation, yet a great Body of them came to her, and asked her, if she would promise not to alter the Religion set up in King Edward's days, the affured them the would make no changes; but should be content with the private Exercise of her own Religion. Upon that they all vowed that they would live and dye with her. The Earl of Suffex, and feveral others raised Forces for her, and proclaimed her Queen. When the Council heard this, they fent the

the Earl of Huntington's Brother to raise Men in Buckinghamshire, and meet the For- Book III ces that should be sent from London at Newmarket.

ewmarket.
The Duke of Northumberland was or- Northumdered to Command the Army. He was berland now much distracted in his thoughts. It marches was of equal Importance to keep London, her. and the Privy Councellours steady, and to conduct the Army well: A misfortune in either of these was like to be fatal to

him. So he could not refolve what to do; there was not a Man of spirit that was firm to him, to be left behind, and yet it was most necessary once to dissipate the Force, that was daily growing about Queen Mary. The Lady Jane and the Council were removed to the Tower, not only for state, but for security; for here the Council were upon the matter Prifoners. He could do no more, but lay a strict charge on the Council, to be firm to Lady Jane's Interests, and so he marched out of London with 2000. Horse, and 6000. Foot, on the 14th. of July: but no acclamations or wishes of success were to be heard, as he past through the Streets The Council gave the Emperor notice of the Lady Jane's succession, and complained of the disturbance that was raised by Queen Mary, and that his Ambassadour had officiously medled in their affairs. But the Emperour would not receive their Letters. Ridley was appointed to preach up Queen Jane's Title, and to animate

the People against Queen Mary, which he Book III too rashly obeyed. But Queen Mary's Party encreased every day. Hastings went 1553 over to her with 4000. Men out of Buckinghamshire, and she was proclaimed Queen in many places. And now did the Privy Council begin to see their danger, and to think how to get out of it. The Earl of Arundel hated Northumberland. The Marquess of Winchester was dextrous in shifting fides for his advantage. The Earl of Pembroke's Son had married the Lady Jane's Sifter, which made him think it necessary to redeem the danger he was in, by a speedy turn. To these many others were joyned. They pretended it was necessary to give an Audience to the foreign Am-

When they got out, they resolved to declare for Queen Mary; and rid themselves of Northumberland's uneasie Yoke, which they knew they must bear, if he were victorious. They sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and easily perswaded them to concur with them, and so they went immediately to Cheapside, and proclaimed the Queen on the 19th. of July: and from thence they went to St. Paul's,

where Te Deum was fung. They fent next

bassadours, who would not have it in the Tower. And the Earl of Pembroke's House was pitched upon, he being least suspected. They also said it was necessary to treat with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, for sending more Forces to Northumberland, concerning which he had writ very earnestly.

The Council declares for her.

to the Tower, requiring the Duke of Suffolk to quit the Government of that place, Book III and the Lady Jane to lay down the Title of Queen; the submitted with as much 1553. greatness of mind, as her Father shewed of abjectness. They sent also Orders to Northumberland to dismiss his Forces, and to obey the Queen; and the Earl of Arundel; and the Lord Paget were fent to carry these welcome tidings to her. When Northumberland heard of the Turn that was in London, without staying for Orders he discharged his Forces, and went to the Market-place at Cambridge, where he was at that time, and proclaimed the Queen. The Earl of Arundel was fent to apprehend him, and when he was brought to him, he fell at his Feet to beg his favour: for a mind, that has no ballance in it felf. turns insolent or abject, out of measure, with the various changes of fortune. He, and three of his Sons, and Sir Tho. Palmer, (that was his wicked Instrument against the Duke of Somerset) were all sent to the Tower. Now all People went to implore the Queen's favour, and Ridley among the rest, but he was sent to the Tower: for the was both offended with him for his Sermon, and resolved to put Bonner again in the See of London. Some of the Judges, and feveral Noblemen were also sent thither, among the rest the Duke of Suffolk, but three days after he was fet at liberty. He was a weak Man, and could do little harm, fo he was pitched on as

the first Instance, towards whom the Queen Book III should express her Clemency.

She came to London on the 3d. of Angust, and on the way was met by her Sito London. Ster, Lady Elizabeth, with a thousand Horse, whom the had raifed to come to the Queen's affiftance. When she came to the Tower, the discharged the Duke of Norfolk, the Dutchess of Somerset, and Gardiner, of whose Commitment mention has been formerly made; as also the Lord Courtney, Son to the Marquess of Exeter, who had been kept there ever fince his Fathers Attainder, whom she made Earl of Devonshire. And thus was she now peaceably settled on the Throne; notwithstand. ing that great Combination against her, which had not been so easily broken, if the Head of it had not been a Man for Univerfally distastful.

Her former life.

She was a Lady of great Vertues, the was strict in her Religion to superstition; her Temper was much corrupted by Melancholy; and the many cross accidents of her life increased this to a great degree. She adhered so resolutely to her Mothers Interests, that it was believed her Father once intended to have taken her Life: upon which her Mother wrote a very devout Letter to her, charging her to trust in God, and keep her felf pure, and to obey the King in all things, except in matters of Religion: She fent her two Latine Books for her entertainment, Saint Ferome's Epistles, and a Book of the Life of

of Christ, which was perhaps the famous Book of Thomas a Kempis. The Kings dif. Book III pleasure at her was such, that neither the Duke of Norfolk, nor Gardiner, durst ven- 1553. ture to intercede for her. Cranmer was the only Man that hazarded on it, and did it so effectually, that he prevailed with him about it. But after her Mothers death, she hearkned to other Counsels, so that upon Anne Boleyn's fall, she made a full submission to him, as was mentioned before. She did also in many Letters, which she writ both to her Father, and to Cromwell, 'Protest great sorrow for her former ftubornness, and declared that she put her Soul in his hand, and that her Confcience should be always directed by him; and being asked what her Opinion was concerning Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Reliques; she answered, that she had no Opinion, but such as she received from the King, who had her whole heart in his keeping: and might imprint upon it, in these, and in all other matters, whatever his inestimable Vertue, high Wisdom, and excellent Learning should think convenient for her. So perfectly had she learned the stile, that she knew was most acceptable to her Father. After that, she was in all points obedient to him, and during her Brothers Reign, she set up on that pretence, that she would adhere to that way of Religion, that was fetled by her Father.

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Two different Schemes were now fet Book III before her; Gardiner, and all that had complied in the former times, moved, that 1553 at first she should bring things back to The Count the state in which they were, when her laid down. Father died: and afterwards by easie and flow steps she might again return to the obedience to the See of Rome. But she her felf was more inclined to return to that immediately; she thought she could not be legitimated any other way, and fo was like to proceed too quick. Gardiner finding that Political Maximes made no great Impression on her, and that he was lookt on by her as a crafty temporifing Man, addressed himself to the Emperour, who understood Government and Mankind better: and undertook, that if he might have the Seals, he would manage matters for that in a little time he should bring all things about to her mind: and that there was no danger, but in her precipitating things; and being so much governed by Italian Counsels: for he understood, that she had fent for Cardinal Pool, The People had a great Aversion to the Papal authority, and the Nobility and Gentry were apprehensive of losing the Abbey Lands; therefore it was necessary to remove these prejudices by degrees. also assured the Emperour, that he would ferve all his Interests zealously, and shewed him how necessary it was to stop Cardinal Pool, who stood Attainted by Law: In this he was the more earnest, because

# of the Reformation, &c.

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he knew Pool hated him. The Emperour upon this, writ so effectually to the Queen, Book III to depend on Gardiner's Counsels, that on the 13th. of August, he was made Lord Chancellour, and the conduct of affairs was put in his hands. The Duke of Norfolk being now at liberty, pretended that he was never truly attainted; and that it was no legal Act, that had past against him, and by this he recovered his Estate; all the Grants that had been made out of it, being declared void at Common Law.

He was made Lord Steward for the Northum-Trial of the Duke of Northumberland, and berlands his Son the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquess of Northampton. All that they pleaded in their own defence, lay in two points'; the one was, whether any thing that was acted by Order of Council, and the authority of the Great Seal, could be Treason? The other was, whether those that were as guilty as they were, could fit and judge them? The Judges answered, that the Great Seal, or Privy Council of one, that was not lawful Queen, could give no Authority, nor Indemnity: and that other Peers, if they were not con-victed by Record, might judge them. These Points being determined against them, they pleaded Guilty, and fubmitted to the Queens Mercy: So Sentence past upon them: and the day after that, Sir John Gates, Sir Tho. Palmer, and some others, were tried and condemned: But of all

all these, it was resolved, that only Nor-Book III thumberland, Gates and Palmer should suffer.

And Execution.

Heath was appointed to attend on Northumberland, and to prepare him for death. He then professed he had been always of the old Religion in his heart, and had complied against his Conscience in the former times, but whether that was true, or whether it was done in hopes of life, as it cannot be certainly known, so it shews, he had little regard to Religion, either in his life, or at his death. But he was a Man of fuch a temper, that it was refolved to put him out of a capacity of revenging himself on his Enemies. On the 22. of August, he and the other two were beheaded. There past some expostulation between Gates and him: each of them accusing the other as the Author of their ruine. But they were feemingly reconciled, and professed they forgave one another. He made a long Speech, confessing his former ill life, and the Justice of the Sentence against him; 'He exhorted the People to fland to the Religion of their Ancestors, to reject all Novelties, and to drive the Preachers of them out of the Nation, and declared he had e temporised against his Conscience, and that he was always of the Religion of his Fore-fathers. He was an extraordinary Man, till he was raised very high: but that transported him out of measure, and he was fo strangely changed in the last

last passages of his life, that it encreased the Jealousies that were raised of his ha- Book III ving hastned King Edward's death: and that the horrors of that Guilt did so haunt him, that both the Judgment and Courage he had expressed in the former parts of his life, feemed now to have left him. Palmer was little pitied, for he was believed the betrayer of his former Master. the Duke of Somerset, and was upon that service taken into Northumberland's confidence.

There was no strict enquiry made into King Ed-King Edward's death: all the honour done wards his Memory, was, that they allowed him Funeral. Funeral Rites. On the 8th. of August, he was buried at Westminster, and the Queen had an Exequie, and Masses for him at the Tower. Day was appointed to preach the Sermon: in it he praised the King, but inveighed feverely against the administration of affairs under him. It had been refolved to bury him according to the old Forms, but Cranmer opposed that, and prevailed that he should be buried according to the form then fetled by Law: and he himself did officiate, and ended the folemnity with a Communion, all which it may be supposed he did with a very lively forrow, having both loved the King beyond expression, and looking on his Funeral, as the Burial of the Reformation, and as a step to his own.

# Abzidgment of the History

Book III On the 22. of August, the Queen declared in Council, 'That though she was fixed in her own Religion, yet she would at S. Pauls. 'not Compel others to it: but would leave that to the motions of God's Spirit, and the labours of good Preachers. The day after that, Bonner went to Saint Panls; and Bourn, that was his Chaplain, preached; he extolled Bonner much, and inveighed against the sufferings he was put to. Upon this a Tumult was raised, for the People could not hear reflections made on King Edward: fome flung stones at him, and one threw a Dagger at the Pulpit, with fuch force, that it stuck fast in the wood. Rogers and Bradford were present, who were in great esteem with the People: fo they stood up and quieted them, and conveyed Bourn fafe home. This was a very welcome Accident to the Papifts, and gave them a colour to prohibit preaching, by a Publick Inhibition in the Queen's Name: in which the declared, 'That her Religion was the same that it had been from her Infancy, but that 'she would compel none of her Subjects 'in matters of Religion; till publick Order should be taken in it by common Asfent. She required her People to live 'quietly, not to use the terms of Papist, or Heretick, or other reproachful speeches, and that none should Preach without Licence: she also charged them not to puinish any on the account of the late Rebellion,

bellion, but as they should be authorised by her. She would be forry to be dri- Book III 'ven to execute the severity of the Law; but was resolved not to suffer Rebellious 1553. 'doings to go unpunished. This gave great occasion to censure, and was thought a Declaration, not for her Fathers Religion, but for Popery: since it was that which she professed from her Infancy. It was also observed, that she limited her promise of not compelling others, till Publick Order should be taken in it: the meaning of which was, till a Parliament could be brought to concur with her. The restraint upon Preaching, without Licence, was justified from what had been done in King Edward's time; though then, at first, all might preach in their own Churches without it; It was only necessary, if they preached any where else: Bishops had also the power of Licenfing in their Dioceses: and the total restraint that followed afterwards, lasted but a short while. But now all the Pulpits were put under an Interdict, till the Preachers should obtain a Licence from Gardiner: and that he resolved to grant to none, but those that would Preach as he should direct them. "The Queen's threatning to proceed against such as were guilty of the late Rebellion, struck a general terrour in the City of London; for the greatest part had been in some meafure concerned in it.

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proceedings against the men of Suffolk, and others.

In Suffolk the people thought their Ser-Book III vices, and the Queens promises gave them a Title to own their Religion more avow-\* \$ 5 3 edly: But orders were fent to the Bishop of Norwich to execute the Queens Injunctions, and to see that none should preach that had not obtained a Licence. this, some of those that had merited most, came and put the Queen in mind of her Promise: But she sent them home with a cold Answer; and told them, they must learn to obey her, and not pretend to govern her: And one that had spoken more confidently than the rest, was set in a Pillory for it three days, as having faid words that tended to defame the Queen. was a fad Omen of a fevere Government, in which the claiming of Promifes went for a crime. Bradford and Rogers were also seized on; and it was pretended, that the authority they shewed in quieting the Tumult, was a fign that they had raifed it. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, Heath and Day, were restored to their Bishopricks; they had all Appealed to the King before Sentence had past against them; so Commissions were given to some Civilians to examine the grounds of these Appeals, and they made report that they were good, and so that the Sentences against them were null. Gardiner had authority given him to grant Priests Licences to preach in any Church, as he should appoint: By this the Reformed were not only silenced, but their Churches and Pulpits were cast open to

to fuch as Gardiner pleased to send among They differed in their opinions how Book III far they were bound to obey this Prohibition: Some thought they might forbear publick Preaching, when they were fo required: But they made that up by private Conferences and Instructions: Others thought that if this had been only a particular hardship upon a few, the regard to Peace and Order should have obliged them to submit to it; but fince it was general, and done on design to extinguish the light of the Gofpel, that they ought to go on, and preach at their peril; of this last fort several were put in Prison for their disobedience, and

among others Hooper and Coverdale.

The people that loved the old Superstition, began now to set up Images, and the old Rites again in many places: And. though this was plainly against Law, yet the Government encouraged it all they could. Judge Hales thought his refusing to Particularconcur with the rest in excluding the Queen, ly against gave him a more than ordinary priviledge. Judge So when he went the Circuit, he gave the charge in Kent, requiring the Justices to fee to the execution of King Edward's. Laws, that continued still in force. upon his return he was committed for this, and removed from Prison to Prison; which, with the threatnings that were made him, terrified him so much, that he cut his Throat; but not mortally: As he recovered he made his submission, and obtained his liberty. Yet the disorder he

was in, never left him till he drowned him-Book III felf. This shewed that former merit was not fo much confidered as a readiness to 1553 comply in matters of Religion; Judge Bromley, though he made no difficulty in declaring his opinion for the Queens exclusion, yet since he profest himself a Papist, was made Lord Chief Justice: and Montague, who had proceeded in it with great aversion, yet because he was for the Reformation, was put in Prison, and severely Fined; though he had this merit to pretend, that he had fent his Son and twenty men with him, to declare for the Queen; and had this also to recommend him to pity, that he had fix Sons, and ten Daugh-Peter Martyr was forced to retire from Oxford: He came to Lambeth, but was not like to find long shelter there.

Eranmers Imprisonment.

Cranmer kept himself quiet for some time, which gave the other party occasion to publish that he was resolved to turn with the Tyde. Bonner writ upon that to a friend of his, that Mr. Canterbury ( so he called him in derision ) was become very humble; but that would not serve his turn, for he would be fent to the Tower within a very little while. Some advised him to fly beyond Sea; he answered, That though he could not disliwade others to fly from the persecution they faw coming on, yet that was unbecoming a man in his station, that had fuch a hand in the changes formerly made. He prepared a Writing, which he intended to have published: The substance of

it was, 'That he found the Devil was more ~ than ordinary busie in defaming the Ser. Book III vants of God; and that whereas the corruptions in the Mass had been cast out, 1553. and that the Lords Supper was again fet up, according to its first Institution; the Devil now, to promote the Mass, which was his invention, fet his Instruments on work, who gave it out, that it was now faid in Canterbury by his order: Therefore he protested that was false, and that a dissembling Monk (this was Thornton Bi-shop Suffragan of Dover) had done it without his knowledge. He also offered that he and Peter Martyr, with fuch other 'four or five as he should name, would be ready to prove the errours of the Mass, and to defend the whole Doctrine and Service set forth by the late King, as most conform to the word of God, and to the ' practice of the Ancient Church for many Ages. Before he had finished this, Scory, that had been Bishop of Chichester, coming to him, he shewed it him and desired his opinion in it. He being a hot man, liked it so well, that he gave Copies of it: and one of these was read publickly in Cheapside. So three days after that he was cited to the Star-Chamber to answer for it: he confessed it was his, and that he had intended to have enlarged it in some things, and to have affixed it with his Hand and Seal to it, at Saint Pauls, and many other Churches. He was at this time dismist: Gardiner saw the Queen intended to put Cardinal Pool in

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Book III

his room, and that made him endeavour to preserve him. Some moved that a small Pension might be assigned him, and that he should be suffered to live private: for the sweetness of his Temper had procured him so Universal a love from all People, that it was thought too hardy a step to proceed to extremities with him. Others said, he had been the chief Author of all the Heresie that was in the Nation. and that it was not decent for the Queen to shew any favour to him, that had pronounced the Sentence of her Mothers divorce. Within a Week after this, both Latimer and he, and several other Preachers were put in Prison.

The firangers driven out of England.

Peter Martyr that had come over upon the publick faith, had leave given him to go beyond Sea: fo had also a Lasco, and the Germans: and about two hundred of them went away in December : but both in Denmark, where they first landed, and in Lubeck, Wismar and Hamburgh, to which they removed, they were denied admittance; because they were of the Helvetian Confession, and in all these places the fierce Lutherans prevailed; who did so far put off all bowels, that they would not to much as fuffer these Refuges to stay among them, till the rigours of the Winter were over: but at last they found shelter in Friseland. Many of the English foreseeing the storm, resolved to withdraw in time: so the strangers being required

to

to be gone, they went under that Cover in great numbers. But the Council un- Book III derstanding that about a thousand had so conveyed themselves away, gave order that 1553. none should be suffered to go as strangers, but those that had a Certificate from the Ambassadour of the Princes, to whom they belonged. With those that fled beyond Sea, divers Eminent Preachers went: among whom were Cox, Sandys, Grindall, and Horn, all afterwards highly advanced by Queen Elizabeth.

These things began to alienate the Peo- Popular ple from the Government, therefore on arts used the other hand great care was taken to by Gardis fweeten them. The Queen bestowed the nerchief Offices of the Houshold on those that had affifted her in her extremity; there being no way more effectual to engage all to adhere to the Crown, than the grateful acknowledgment of past services. An unusual honour was done to Raicliffe Earl of Suffex, he had a Licence granted him under the Great Seal, to cover his Head in her Prefence. On the 10th of October the Queen was Crowned, Gardiner with ten other Bishops performing that Ceremony, with the ordinary folemnity. Day being esteemed the best Preacher among them, preached the Sermon. There was a General Pardon proclaimed, and with that, 'the Queen discharged the Subjects of the two Tenths, two Fifteenths, and a Subsidy that had been granted by the last Parliament and

fhe also declared that she would pay Book III both her Fathers Debts and her Brothers; and though her Treasure was much ex-1553. hausted, yet she esteeming the love of her People her best Treasure, forgave those Taxes, in lieu of which she desired only the hearts of her Subjects, and that they would ferve God fincerely, and pray earnestly for her.

A Parliament repeals feveral Laws.

On the 20th. of October, a Parliament met. There had been great violences used in meets, and many Elections, and many false Returns were made: some that were known to be zealous for the Reformation were forcibly turned out of the House of Commons; which was afterwards offered as a ground upon which that Parliament, and all Acts made in it, might have been annulled: There came only two of the Reformed Bishops to the House of Lords: The two Arch-bishops, and three Bishops were in Prison: Two others were turned out, the rest stayed at home, so only Taylor and Harley, the Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford came. When Mass began to be said, they went out, as some report it, but were never suffered to come to their places again: others fay, they refused to joyn in that Worship, and so were violently thrust out. In the House of Commons, fome of the more forward moved, that King Edward's Laws might be reviewed, but things were not ripe enough for that. Nowell a Prebendary of Westminster, was returned.

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returned Burgess for a Town; but the Book III presented in the lower House of Convocation, could not be admitted to fit a. 1553.
mong the Laity. The Commons fent up. a Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, which the Lords fent down amended in two Proviso's, and the Commons did not then insist on their Priviledge, that the Lords could not alter a Bill of Money. The only publick Bill that was finished this Session, was a Repeal of all late Statutes, making any Crime, Treason, that was not so by the 28. of Edward the Third; or Felony, that was not so before King Henry the Eighth: excepting from the benefit of this Act, all that were put in Prison besore the end of September last, who were also excepted out of the General Pardon. The Marchioness of Exeter, and the Earl of Devonshire her Son, were restored in blood by two private Acts: and then the Parliament was prorogued for three days, that it might be faid, the first Session under the Queen, was meerly for Acts of Mercy.

At their next Meeting, after the Bill The Qui's of Tonnage and Poundage was past: a Mother's Bill past through both Houses in Four confirm d. days, repealing the Divorce of the Queens Mother: 'In which they declared the Marriage to have been lawful; and that malicious Persons had possessed the King with scruples concerning it; and had by Corruption procured the Seals of Foreign,

Universities condemning it, and had by Book III threatnings and finistrous Arts obtained the like in England: Upon which Cranmer 1553. 'had pronounced the Sentence of Divorce, which had been confirmed in Parliament: They therefore looking on the miseries. that had fallen on the Nation, since that time, as Judgments from God for that fentence, condemn it, and repeal the Acts confirming it. Gardiner, in this, performed his promise to the Queen, of getting her to be declared Legitimate, without taking notice of the Pope's authority: but he shewed that he was past shame, when he procured such a Repeal of a Sentence, which he had fo fervilely promoted: and he particularly knew the falshood of this pretence, that the foreign Universities were corrupted. had also set it on long before Cranmer engaged in it, and fat in Court with him, when it was pronounced. By this Act the Lady Elizabeth was upon the matter again. illegitimated, fince the ground upon which her Mothers marriage subsisted, was the Divorce of the first Marriage: and it was either upon this pretence, or on old scores, that the Queen, who had hitherto treated her as a Sifter, began now to use her more feverely. Others suggest that a secret rivalry was the true spring of it. It was thought the Earl of Devonshire was much in the Queens favour, but he either not prefuming so high, or liking Lady Elizabeth better, who was both more beautiful, and

was XIX. Years younger than the Queen,

made

made his addresses to her, which provoked the Queen so much, that it drew a Book III great deal of trouble on them both.

Laws, made in King Edward's reign, con- Laws acerning Religion: it was argued fix days bout Reli-in the House of Commons, and carried gion re-nealed without a Division: by this, Religion was pealed. again put back into the state, in which King Henry had left it: and this was to take place after the 20th. of December next, but till then it was left free to all, either to use the old, or the new Service, as they pleased. Another Act past against all, that should disquiet any Preacher for his Sermons, or interrupt Divine Offices, either fuch as had been in the last year of King Henry, or such as the Queen should fet out: by which fhe was empowered to restore the service in all things, as it had been, before her Father made the breach with Rome: Offenders were either to be punished by Ecclesiastical Censures, or by an Imprisonment for three Months. And the House of Commons was now fo forward, that they fent up a Bill, for the Punishing of all such as would not come to Church or Sacraments, after the Old Serwice should be again set up: yet the Lords fearing this might alarm the Nation too

much, let it fall. Another Law was made, that if any, to the number of Twelve, should meet to alter any thing in Religion, or for any Riot, or should by any

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The next Bill was a Repeal of all the ward's

Book III gather the People together, and upon Proclamation made, should not disperse them-1553 selves; they, and all that assisted them, were declared guilty of Felony: and if any more than two, met for these ends, they should lye a Year in Prison; and all People were required, under severe Penalties, to affift the Justices, for repressing fuch Assemblies. So the favour of the former Act of Repeal, appeared to be a mockery, when so soon after it, so severe a Law made: by which disorders, that might arise upon sudden heats, were declared to be Felonies. The Marquels of Northampton's second Marriage was also annulled; but no Declaration was made against Divorces in general, grounded on the Indissolubleness of the Marriage bond; only that particular fentence was condemned, as pronounced upon false surmifes.

The Duke of Norfolks Attainder repealed.

An Act also passed, annulling the Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk: those who had purchased some parts of his Estate from the Crown, opposed it much in the House of Commons: but the Duke came down to the House, and desired them earnestly to pass it, and assured them, that he would refer all differences between him and the Patentees, either to Arbiters, or to the Queen: and so it was agreed to "It set forth the pretences," that were made use of to Attaint him; as that he used Coats of Arms, which he

the and his Ancestors had lawfully used. There was a Commission given to some, Book III to declare the Royal affent to it; but that was not figned, but only stamped by the King's 15 53. mark: and that not at the upper end, as was 'usual, but beneath; nor did it appear, that the Royal Assent was ever given to it, and they declared, that in all time com. ing, the Royal affent should be given, either by the King in Person, or by a Com-'mission under the Great Seal; signed by the King's hand, and publickly declared to both Houses. Cranmer, Guilford Dudley, and his Wife the Lady Jane, and two of his Brothers were tryed for Treason; they all confessed their Indictments: only Granmer appealed to the Judges, who knew how unwillingly he had confented to the Exclusion of the Queen, and that he did it not, till they, whose profession it was to know the Law, had figned it. They were all Attainted of Treason, for levying War against the Queen, and their Attainders were confirmed in Parliament; so was Cranmer legally divested of his Archbishoprick; but fince he was put in it by the Pope's authority, it was resolved to degrade him by the forms of the Canon-Law: and the Queen was willing to pardon his Treason, that it might appear she did not act upon revenge, but Zeal: she was often prevailed with, to pardon Injuries against her self, but was always inexorable in matters of Religion.

# Abridgment of the vistory

for reconciling England to

But now her Treaty with the Pope be-Book III gan to take vent, which put the Parliament in some disorder. When she came first to the 5 3. Crown the Popes Legate at Bruffels fent over Commendone, to fee if he could speak with her, and to perswade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apostolick See. The the Pope: management of the matter was left to his discretion, for the Legate would not trust this fecret to Gardiner, nor any of the other Bishops. Commendone came over in the difguise of a Merchant, and by accident met with one of the Queens Servants, who had lived fome years beyond Sea, and was known to him, and by his means he procured access to the Queen. She assured him of her firm resolution to return to the obedience of that See, but charged him to manage the matter with great prudence; for if it were too early discovered, it might disturb her affairs, and obstruct the design: By him she wrote both to the Pope, and to Cardinal Pool; and instructed Commendone, in order to the sending over Pool with a Legatine power: She also asked him, whether the Pope might not dispence with Pool to marry, fince he was only in Deacons Orders. This was a welcome Message to the Court of Rome, and proved the foundation of Commendane's advance-There was a publick rejoicing for three days, and the Pope faid Mass himself upon it; and gave a largess of Indulgences, in which he might be the more liberal, because they were like to come into credit again,

again, and to go off at the old rates. Yet all that Commendone faid in the Confistory, Book III was, That he understood from good hands, that the Queen was well disposed to a reunion. Some of the stiffer Cardinals thought it was below the Popes dignity to fend a Legate, till an Embassie should come first from the Queen, desiring it: Yet the secret was fo whispered among them, that it was generally known. It was faid, they ought to imitate the Shepherd in the Parable, who went to feek the stray Sheep: And therefore Pool was appointed to go Legate, with ample powers. Gardiner was in fear of him, and so advised the Emperour to stop him in his journey; and to touch the Emperour in a tender part, it is said that he let him know that the Queen had some Inclinations for the Cardinal. The Empe- And for a rour had now proposed a Match with her Match for his Son, though he was nine years young-er than she was; yet she being but thirty spain. Spain. for Children; and the uniting England to the Spanish Monarchy seem'd to be all that was wanting to strengthen it on all hands, fo as to ruine the French Kingdom. The Queen faw reasons enough to determine her to entertain it: She found it would be hard to bring the Nation about in matters of Religion, without the affiftance of a foreign power: Yet it is more reasonable to think that Gardiner, who was always governed by his Interests, would have rather promoted the match with Pool, for

#### Abzidgment of the Wistory

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then he had been Infallibly made Arch bi-Book III shop of Canterbury, and had got Pool's Hat; and the Government would have been 1553 much easier, if the Queen had married a Subject, than it could be under a Stranger, especially one whose greatness made all people very apprehensive of him.

Post's advices to

The restoring the Papal power, and the Match with the Prince of Spain, were things the Queen, of such uneasse digestion, that it was not fit to adventure on both at once; therefore the Emperour prest the Queen to begin with her Marriage, and by that she would be powerfully assisted to carry on her other designs; and at last the Queen her self was perswaded to fend to Pool, to advise him to stop his Journey for some time. She sent over the Acts of this Parliament, to let him fee what progress she was making, and to assure him the would make all convenient hafte in the Re-union: But the Parliament had expreffed fo great an aversion to the restoring the Popes power, and were so apprehenfive of losing the Abbey-Lands, that it would prejudice her affairs much, if he should come over before the peoples minds were better prepared. She also desired him to fend her a List of those that were fit to be made Bishops, in the room of those that were turned out. To this he writ a long and tedious answer; he rejoiced at the Acts that were passed, but observed great defects in them: In that concerning her Mothers Marriage, there was no mention made of the Popes Bull of Dispensation.

tion, by which onlysit could be a lawful Marriage. The other for fetting up the Book III Worship, as it was in the end of her Fathers reign, he censured more; for they 1553. were then in a state of Schism, and so this established Schism by a Law: And he said, that while the Interdict lay on the Nation, it was a fin to perform Divine Offices. He had been very frankly dispatched by the Pope and the Confistory, with many favourable Instructions; but if these were so despised, and he still stopt, it might provoke him to recal his power. He knew all this flowed from the Emperour, who would perhaps advise her to follow such Political Maximes as himself was governed by, but his ill fuccess in the business of the Interim, might well frighten others from following such Counsels: And he was afraid that Carnal Policy might govern her too much, and that so she would fall from her simplicity in Christ. He desired her to take Courage, and to depend on God; and advised her to go her self to the Parliament, having before-hand prepared some to second her, and to tell them that she was touched in Conscience with a sense of the fin of Schism, and that therefore she defired the Act of Attainder that stood against him might be Repealed, and that he might be invited to come over, and reconcile them to the Apostolick See: And she might affure them that all necessary caution should be used to prevent the Nations being brought under a thraidome to the Papacy.

But

But the Queen was now possest with Gar-Book III diner's Counfels, and look'd on Pool's advices as more candid than prudent. Gardi-1 \$ 5 3 ner perswaded her that though he was a good and learned man, yet he understood not the present genius of the Nation; and Pool lookt on Gardiner as a man of no Conscience, and that he was more conversant in Intrigues of State, than touched with any fense of Religion: But the Emperour was convinced that Gardiner's Methods were furer, and preferred them to Pool's.

The Parliament oppoles the match. and is diffolved.

When the Treaty of the Queens Marriage came to be known, the House of Commons was much alarmed at it; and they fent their Speaker with twenty of their Members, with an Address to her, not to marry a stranger: And they were fo inflamed, that the Court judged it necessary to dissolve the Parliament. Gardiner upon this, let the Emperour know that the jealousies which were taken up on the account of the Match were such, that except very extraordinary conditions were offered, it would occasion a general Rebellion. He also writ to him that great sums must be fent over both to gratifie the Nobility, and to enable them to carry the Elections to the next Parliament, in opposition to fuch as would stand against them. As for Conditions, it was refolved to grant any that should be demanded; for the Emperour reckoned that if his Son were once married to her, it would be easie for him to govern the Councils as he pleased: And for Money there

there was 400000 pound ordered to be divided up and down the Nation, at the Book III discretion of Gardiner, and the Emperours Ambassadours: A great part of it was payed in hand, and the rest was brought over with the Prince. This the Emperour borrowed from some of the Free Towns of Germany; and when they were pressing him for the re-payment of it about a year after; he for his excuse told them the charge he had been at for his Sons Marriage, but that he hoped to be re-imbursed from England; which was thus bought and fold by a practifing Bishop and a corrupted House of Commons. Gardiner did also make use of his power, as Chancellour, to force all people to comply with him; for there was no favour nor common Justice shewed in his Court of Chancery to any others.

With the Parliament a Convocation A Convomet, Harpsfield preached to them, he flat- cation tered the Queen, and the Bishops that had meets, and disputes been deprived in the late times, with a about the zeal that shewed how fervently he aspired Sacrato preferment: He inveighed against the ment. late times with great sharpness; so that his Sermon was divided between Satyr and Panegyrick. Six of the Reformed Divines were qualified by their dignities to fit in the lower House, being either Deans or Arch-Deacons, who were Philpot, Philips, Haddon, Cheyney, Ailmer and Young. They made a vigorous opposition to a motionthat was proposed for condemning the Catechism and Common-Prayer-Book that

1553.

had been fet out in King Edward's time, Book III and particularly the Articles against Tran-fubstantiation: To this all agreed except those fix. It was pretended that the Catechism was not set out by authority of Convocation: To which Philpot answered, That the Convocation had deputed fome to compole it, and so it was on the matter, their work. A disputation was proposed concerning the Sacrament, though all the rest of the Convocation subscribed the Conclusion first; which was complained of as a preposterous method. The fix defired that Ridley and Rogers, with some others, might be suffered to come and join with them; but that was refused, fince they were no members, and were then in Prison.

> On the twenty third of October the difpute began, many of the Nobility, and others, being present; Weston was Prolocutor, he opened it with a Protestation, that they went not to dispute, as calling the Truth in question, but only to satisfie the objections of a few. Hadden, Ailmer and Toung, foresaw that it was resolved to run them down with numbers & noise, so at first they refused to dispute, and the last of them went away. Cheyney argued from St. Paul's calling the Sacrament Bread, Origen's faying that it nourished the Body, and Theodoret's saying that the Elements did not depart from their former substance, form, and shape. Moreman answered, that Theodoret's words were to be understood of an accidental substance: It was replied, that form and

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and shape belonged to the accidents, but ~ fubstance belonged to the nature of the Ele. Book III ments. Philpse shewed that the occasion of his using these words was to prove against \$553. the Encychians, that there was a true humane nature in Christ, notwithstanding its union with the Godhead; which he proved by this simile, that the Elements in the Eucharist remained in their nature; so this must be understood of the substance of Bread and Wine: But to this no answer was made; and when he seemed to press it too far, he was commanded to be filent. Haddon cited many passages out of the Fathers, to shew that they believed Christ was still in Heaven, and that the Sacrament was a memorial of him till his second coming: He also asked, whether they thought that Christ did eat his own natural Body; and when that was confessed, he faid it was needless to dispute with men who could swallow down fuch an absurdity. The disputation continued several days: Philper made a long Speech against the Corporal presence, but was oft interrupted; for they told him that he might propose an Argument, but they would not hear him make Harangues. He undertook to prove before the Queen and her Council, that the Mass, as they had it, was no Sacrament at all, and that the body of Christ was not present in it; and if he failed in it, he would be content to be burnt at the Court Gate. After some short time

fpent in citing passages out of the Fathers. Philpot was commanded to hold his peace,

other-



otherwise they would fend him to Prison : Book III He claimed the priviledge of the House for freedome of Speech, but being much cried down, he faid they were a company of men who had diffembled with God and the World in the late Reign, and were now met together to set forth false devices which they were not able to maintain. Theodoret's words were much and often infifted on; so Weston answered, if Theodores should be yielded to them, they had an hundred Fathers on the other side. Cheyney shewed out of Hesychius, that the custome of Ferusalem was to burn so much of the Elements as was not confumed: And he asked what it was that was burnt: One answered, it was either the Body of Christ. or the substance of Bread put there by Miracle; at which he smiled, and said a reply was needless. When much discourse had past, Weston asked if the House were not fully fatisfied, to which the Clergy anfwered Tes; but the Spectators cried out No, No; for the doors were opened: then Weston asked the five Disputants if they would answer the Arguments that should be put to them? Ailmer faid, they would not enter into fuch a Disputation, where matters were fo indecently carried: They proposed only the Reasons why they could not joyn with the Vote that had been put concerning the Sacrament, but unless they had fairer Judges, they would go no further. Weston broke up all by saying, You have the Word, but we have the Sword; rightly pointing

ing out that wherein the strength of both fides confifted. It is not to be doubted Book III but that the Popish party pretended they had the Victory, for that always the stronger side does upon such occasions : Yet it was visible that this dispute was not so fairly carried, as those were in King Edward's days; in which for near a year before any change was made, there were publick disputes in the Universities; which were more proper places for them, than a Town full of noise and business. The question was also here determined first, and then disputed : And the presence and favour of the Privy Council did as much raise the one party, as it depressed the other. In the end of this year Veysey was again repossessed of the See of Exeter, Coverdale being now a Prisoner in the Tower.

In the beginning of the next year, a great 1554. Embassy came from the Emperour, to agree The Treathe conditions of the Marriage between his ty of Mar-Son and the Queen. Gardiner took care riage beto have extraordinary ones granted, both to induce the Parliament more eafily to consent to it, and to keep the Spaniards from being admitted to any share in the Government, that so he might keep it in his own hands: But the Emperour was refolved to grant every thing that should be asked. It was agreed that the Government should be entirely in the Queen, and that though Pr. Philip was to be named in all Writs, and his Image was to be on the

Coin



Coin and Seals, yet the Queens hand Book III alone was to give authority to every thing, without his: No Spaniard was to be capa-1554 ble of any Office: No change was to be made in the Law, nor was the Queen to be required to go out of England against her will: Nor might their issue go out of England but by the consent of the Nobility. The Queen was to have of Jointure 40000 l. out of Spain, and 20000 l. out of the Netherlands: If the Queen had a Son, he was to inherit Burgundy and the Netherlands, as well as England; if Daughters only, they were to succeed to her Crowns, and to have such portions from Spain, as was ordinary to be given to Kings Daughters: The Prince was to have no share in the Government after her death: And the Queen might keep up her League with France, notwithstanding this Match.

Which provokes fome to rebel

But this did not fatisfie the Nation, which lookt on these offers only as baits to hook them into flavery. The severities of the Spanish Government in all the Provinces that were united to that Crown, and the monstrous Cruelties exercised in the West Indies were much talkt of, and it was said England must now preserve it self, or be for ever inslaved. Carew and Wiat undertook to raise the Countrey, the one in Compall, and the other in Kent, and the Duke of Suffolk promised to raise the Midland Counties: for the disposition to rise was general, and might have been fatal to the Queen, if there had been good heads to have led the people,

people. But before it grew ripe, the defign was discovered, and upon that Sir Peter Book III · Carew fled to France.

Wiat gathered some men about him, and 1554on the twenty fifth of January he made Pro- bellion. clamation at Maidstone, that he intended nothing but to preferve the Nation from the yoke of strangers; and affured the peor ple that all England would rife. The Sheriff of Kent required him, under pain of Treason, to disperse his Company, but he did not obey his Summons: One Knevet raised a body of men about Tunbridge, and marched towards him, but was intercepted and routed by a force commanded by the Duke of Norfolk, who was fent with two hundred Horse, and six hundred Londoners to dissipate this Infurrection; but some that came over from Wiat as deferters perswaded the Londoners that it was a common cause, in which they were engaged, to maintain the liberty of the Nation: So they all went, over to Wist. Upon this, the Duke of Norfolk retired back to London; and Wiat, who had kept himself under the defence of Rochester-Bridge, advanced towards it. The Duke of Suffolk made a faint attempt to raise the Country, but it did not succeed, and he was taken and brought to the Tower. The Queen sent the offer of a Pardon to Wiat and his men; but that not being received by them, she sent some of her Council to treat with him. He was blown up with his small success, and moved that the Queen would come to the Tower of London, and

Book III new Council were fetled about her: So it appeared there was no Treaty to be 1554 thought on. The Queen went into Lon-

don, and made great protestations of her love to her people, and that she would not dispose of herself in Marriage, but for the good of the Nation. West was now four thousand strong, and came to Southwark, but could not force the Bridge of London: He was informed the City would all rife, if he should come to their aid; but he could not find Boats for passing over to Effex, fo he was forced to go to the Bridge of Kingston. On the fourth of February he came thither, but found it cut; yet his men mended it, and he got to Hide Park next morning. His men were weary and disheartned, and now not above 500; fo that though the Oueens forces could have easily disperfed them, yet they let them go forward, that they might cast themselves into their hands: He marched through the Strand, and got to Ludgate, where he hoped to have found the Gate opened; but being disappointed, he turned back, and was forfaken by his men, for that a Herauld without using any force, apprehended him at Temple-bar. It was on Alh-Wednesday, and the Queen had shewed such Courage that she would not stir from White hall, nor would she omit the Devotions of that day; and this fuccess was looked on as a reward from Heaven on her Piety. This raw and ill formed Rebellion was as 45 m lucky

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lucky for the ends of the Court, as if Gardiner had projected it; for in a weak Book III Government an ill digested Insurrection raises the power of the Prince, and adds as much Spirit to his Friends, as it depresses the faction against him; and it also gives a handle to do some things for which it were not easie otherwise to find either Colours or Instruments. The Popish Authors studied to cast the blame of this on the Reformed Preachers: but did not name any one of them, that was in it; so it appears, that what some later Writers have said of Poinet's having been in it, is false; otherwife his name had certainly been put in the number of those, that were Attainted for IE.

Upon this it was resolved to proceed Lady Jane against Lady Jane Gray, and her Husband; Grays Exethe had lived fix Months in the daily Me- cution. ditations of Death, fo she was not much furprised at it: Fecknam, who was fent to prepare her for Death, acknowledged that le was aftonished at her calm behaviour, her great knowledge, and the extraor mary fence she had of Religion. She writ to her Eather, to moderate his grief for her death, fince it was great matter of joy to her, that she was so near an end of her Miseries, and the enjoyment of Eternal glory. One Harding, that had been her Fathers Chaplain, and a zealous Preacher in King Edward's time, had now changed his Religion: to him she wrote a long and pathetick Letter, fetting forth his Aposta-Rз

# Abzidament of the village

of fie, and the Judgments of God, which he Book III might expect upon it. She fent her Greek New Testament to her Sister, with a Let-1554 ter in Greek, recommending the study of that Book to her, and chiefly the following it in her practice: these were the last exercises of this rare young Person. She was at first much moved, when she saw her Husband led out to his Execution, but recovered her felf, when she considered how foon the was to follow him: and when he defired they might take leave of one another, she declined it; for she thought it would encrease their Grief, and disorder: and continued so setled in her temper, that fhe saw his beheaded Body carried to the Chappel in the Tower, without expressing any visible concern about it. She was carried out next to a Scaffold fet up within the Tower, to hinder great Crouds from looking on a fight, which was like to raife much compassion in the Spectators. She confessed her sin, in taking an honour that was due to another, though it was a thing neither procured nor defired by her; and acknowledged her other fins against God, that she had loved her self, and the World too much; and thanked God for making her afflictions a means to her repentance: she declared she died a true Christian, trusting only to the Merits of Christ; then she repeated the LI. Pfalm, and stretched out her Head on the Block, which upon the fignal given, was cut off. Her Death was as much lamented, as her Life had been admired.

## of the Keformation.&c.

mired. It affected Judge Morgan, that had pronounced the Sentence, fo much, that Book III he run mad, and thought the still followed him. The Queen her felf was troubled at 1554 it; for it was rather reason of State, than private Resentment, that fet her on to it.

La Lewins C . Tolling the Her Father was foon after tried by his Several o-Peers, and Condemned and Executed. He thers fufwas the less pitied, because by his means fered. his Daughter was brought to her untimely end. Wiat was brought to his Trial, he begged his Life in a most abject manner. but he was Condemned and Executed, and fo were Fifty eight more: Six hundred of the Rabble were appointed to come with Ropes about their Necks, and beg the Queen's pardon, which was granted them. A flander was cast on the Earl of Dovon-Shire, and Lady Elizabeth, as if they had fet on the rising that was intended in the West. Wiat, in hopes of Life, had accused them. but he did them Justice at his Death ; yet they were both put in Prison upon it. Sir Nicolas Throgmorton was accused of the same crime, but after a long Trial, he was a acquitted, yet his Jury were hardly used; and feverely fined. Sir Jo. Cheek was fought for: so he fled beyond Sea, but both he, and Sir Peter Carew, hoping that Philip would be glad to fignalize his first coming to Eng. 1 land with Acts of Grace, rendred themselves to him: After that, Cheek, was again taken in Flanders, upon a new suspicion, and to deliver himself out of his trouble, he re-RA

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## Abridginent of the Wistorp

nounced his Religion: But though he got Book III his Liberty upon that, yet he could never recover the quiet of his mind; fo he land 1554 guilhed for some time and dyed. 157 104 11187 11

TheImpoflure of the Spirit in the Wall.

There was at this time a base imposture discovered in London, one seemed to speak ont of a Wall, in a strange tone of Voice. Great numbers flockt about the House, and feveral things, both relating to Religion. and the State, were uttered by it; but it was found to be one Elizabeth Crefts, who by the help of a Whiftle spoke those words through a Hole in the Wall. There was no other Complice found, but one Drake, and they both were made to do Penance for it; publickly at S. Pauls. It is I such more I

Injunctions fent to the Bishops.

Injunctions were now given to the Bio shops to execute such Ecclesiastical Laws as had been in force in K. Henry's time: That in their Courts they should proceed in their own Names, that the Oath of Sull premacy should be no more exacted: none: fuspected of Herefie was to be put in Orders; they were required to suppress Heresie and Hereticks, and to turn out all married Clergymen, and to separate them from their Wives: If they left their Wives, they might put them in some other Cured or referve a Pension for them, out of their Livings: none that had vowed Chastity, was to be fuffered to live with his Wife: those that were ordained by the Book, set out in King Edward's time, were to be confirmed by all the other Rites then left out.

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and that was declared to be no valid Or-

The Queen gave also a special Commisfron to Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstall, Day, and Kicchin, to proceed against the Archbishop Many Bl of Tork, and the Bishops of St. Davids, ned out. Chefter and Bristoll, and to deprive them of their Bishopricks, for having contracted Marriage, and thereby having broken their Vows, and defiled their Function. 'She also authorised them, to call before them the Bishops of Lincoln, Glocester and Hereford. who held their Bishopricks, only during their good behaviour, and fince they had done things contrary to the Laws of God, and the Practice of the Universal Church. to declare their Bishopricks void, as they mere indeed already void. And thus were feven of the Reformed Bishops turned out at a dash. It was much censured, that those who had married according to a Law then in force, which was now only repealed for the future, should be deprived for it: and this was a new feverity: for in former times, when the Popes were most set against the Marriage of the Clergy, it was put to their option, whether they would part with their Wives, or with their Benefices: but none were fummarily deprived, as was now done. The other Bilhops, without any form of Process, or special matter objected to them, were turned out, by an Act of meer Arbitrary Government. And all this was done by vertue of the Queens being Head of the Church, which, though she condemned

Book III Many Bl250

as a finful and facrilegious power, yet she Book III now imployed it against those Bishops, whose Sees were quickly filled with Men, 154 in whom the Queen confided. Goodrick died this Year: It seems he complied with the change now made, otherwise he that put the Seal to Lady fane's Patents, could not have escaped the being questioned for it. He was an ambitious Man, and fo no wonder, if earthly considerations prevailed more with him, than a good Conscience. Scory, that was Bishop of Chichester, renounced his Wife, and did Penance for his Marriage, but foon after he fled beyond Sea, and returned in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign: so that his Compliance was the effect of his weakness and fears. Barlow refigned Bath and Wells, and a Book of recantation was published in his name, containing fevere reflections, both on the Reformers, and on the Reformation it felf; but it is not certain, whether it was writ by him, or was only a forgery, put out in his Name: for if he turned so heartily, as the strain of that Book runs, it is not likely, that he would have been put from his Bishoprick: but he sled beyond Sea: yet it feems, both Scory and he, gave great offence by their behaviour; for though they were the only surviving Reformed Bishops, when Queen Elizabeth succeeded, yet they were so far from being promoted, that they were not so much as restored to their former Sees, but put in meaner ones. By all these deprivations and refignations, there were fixteen

1554

fixteen new Bishops made, which made no small change in the face of the English Church. Book III Now the Old Service was every where fet up, in which Bonner made fuch hast, that before the Royal Assent was given to the Bill for it, he began the Old Service and Processions. The first opening of it was fomewhat strange, for it being on Saint Katherine's day, the Quiristers went up to the Steeple, and fung the Anthem there, according to the Custom for that Day. Great numbers of the Clergy were summarily deprived for being Married, they were estimated by Parker to be 12000. and most of them were judged upon common fame, without any Process, but a Citation; and many being then in Prison, yet were Censured, and put out for Contumacy, and held guilty. Many Books were written against the Marriage of the Clergy, and the accusing them of Impurity and fenfuality on that account, was one of the chief Topicks used by the Popish Clergy, to disgrace the Reformers, which made some recriminate too indecently, and lay open the filthiness of the Unmarried Clergy, and those that were called Religious, who led most irregular lives; in particular, it was said Bonner had no reason to be a friend to that state, for he was the Bastard of a Bastard, and his Father, though a Priest, begat him in Adultery.

On the 2d. of April a Parliament met, A new Parbut the most considerable Members were liament. before-hand corrupted by Gardiner, who

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gave

1554.

gave them Penfions, some 200. and others Book III 1001. a Year for their Voices. The first Act that past was declaratory, that all the Prerogatives and Limitations, which by Law belonged to the Kings of England were the fame, whether the Crown fell into the hands of a Male or a Female. The fecret of this was little known, fome were afraid there was an ill delign in it, and that it being declared that fhe had all the authority, which any of her Progenitors ever had, it might be inferred from thence, that she might pretend to a right of Conquest, and so seize on the Estates of the English, as William the Conqueror had done. But it was fo conceived, that the Queen was put under the same limitations, as well as acknowledged to have the same Prerogatives, with her Progenitors: The fecret of this was afterwards discovered. A projecting Man, that had ferved Cromwell, and loved to meddle much, had been deeply engaged both in

Lady Jane's business, and in the late Insurrection, and was now in danger of his life, fo he made application to the Emperour's Am. baffadour, and by his means obtained his

Queen should declare, that she succeeded to the Crown by the Common-Law, but was not tied by the Statute Law, which did only bind Kings, and therefore a Queen was not obliged by it, thus she might pretend

He offered a Project, that the

A propofition to make the Queen ab-Colute.

> to be a Conqueror, and rule at pleafure: and by this means might restore both Religion, and the Abbey-Lands, and be un-

der

der no restraint : This the Ambassadour brought to the Queen, and prayed her to Book IM keep it very fecret. "But she disliked it, yet the fent for Gardiner, and charged him to 1554 give her his Opinion of it fincerely, as he would answer to God for it, at the Great Day. He read it carefully, and told her it was a most pernicious contrivance, and beg'd her not to liften to fuch Plat-forms, which might be brought her by base Sycophants: Upon that, she burnt the Paper, and charged the Ambassadour not to bring her any more such Projects. This gave Gardiner great apprehensions of the mischiefs that Spanish Counsels might bring on the Nation, and fo he procured the Act to be made, by which the Queen was bound by the Law, as much as her Ancestors were. He also got an Act to be past, ratifying the Articles of the Marriage, with strong clauses, for keeping the Government entirely in the Queen's hands; that so Philip might not take it on him, as Henry the VII. had done, when he married the Heir of the House of Tork: for, as he fet up a Title in his own Name, and kept the Government in his own hands; so the Spaniards began to reckon a defcent from John of Gaunt, which made Gardiner the more cautious: and it must be confessed, that the preserving the Nation

out of the hands of the Spaniards, was almost only owing to his care and wisdom. The Bishoprick of Durham was again restored, after a vigorous refistance made by those of Gateside near Newcastle. The At-

tainders

Book III

tainders of the Duke of Suffolk, and Fiftyeight more, for the late Rebellion, were confirmed: The Commons fent up four several Bills against Lollard's, one confirming the Act of the fix Articles, and others against Erroneous Opinions, but they were all laid aside by the Lords: for the corrupted Members in the lower House, were officious to shew their Zeal for Spain and Popery: Another Bill was fent up by them, that the Bishop of Rome should have no authority to trouble any for possessing Abbey Lands. But it was faid this was preposterous to begin with a limitation of the Pope's authority, before they had acknowledged, that he had any power at all in England: and that would come in more properly, after they had reconciled the Nation to him.

New disputations at Oxford with Cran-

During this Parliament, the Convocation fat, and that they might remove the objections that some made, to the Disputations at their last meeting, that the ablest Men of the Reformers were kept in Prison, while that cause was debated, they sent a Committee of their ablest men to Oxford, to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who were also sent thither. The Points to be disputed about, were Transubstantiation, and the facrifice of the Mass. When Cranmer was brought before them, and they exhorted him to return to the unity of the Church; he answered, that he was always for that Unity, which could confift with truth. They fell

fell into a long dispute concerning the words of the Institution, that they must Book III be true, for Christ was Truth, and was then making his Testament: many Passages of 1554 the Fathers were also alledged against him; it was said that he had translated many things falfly out of the Fathers, in his Book: and the Prolocutor called him often an Unlearned and Impudent Man: But he carried him. felf with that gravity and mildness, that many were observ'd to be much affected at it. and to weep: he vindicated his fincerity in his Book, he shewed that Figurative speeches were true, and when the Figures were clearly understood, they were likewise plain, he said, the Sacrament was effectually and really Christs Body, as it was broken on the Cross, that is, his Passion effectually applied to us. The whole action was carried with fuch hiffing and infulting, and ended with fuch shouts of Triumph, as if Cranmer had been quite baffled, that it was visible there was nothing intended, but to abuse the ignorant People, and make them believe he was run down. Ridley was brought out next day, he began with deep Protestations of his fincerity, and that he had changed the Opinion he had been bred up in, meerly upon the force of Truth; he argued from the Scriptures, that speak of Christs leaving the World, and fitting at the right hand of God; and that the Sacrament was a Memorial, which good and bad might equally receive; that it was against the Humane Nature, to swallow down a living Man:

Man; that this Opinion was contrary to the Book III humanity of Christ, and was a new Doctrin.

unknown to the Fathers, and brought into 1554 the Church in the later Ages. Smith argued against him, from Christ's appearing to Saint Stephen, and to Saint Paul, that he might be in more places at once. Ridley faid, Christ might either come down and appear to them, or a Representation might be made of him, but he could not be both in Heaven and Earth at once. Many of Chryfostome's expressions were alledged, but he faid, these were Rhetorical figures, and to be explained by other plainer passages. The dispute was carried on with the same Infultings, that had been used the Day before: and in conclusion, Westen the Prolocutor faid, they faw the Obstinacy, Vainglory, and Inconstancy of that Man, but they saw likewise the force of Truth; so he bid them cry out with him, Truth has the Victory: upon which that was ecchoed over and over again, by the whole Assembly. Latimer was brought out next Day, he told them he was Fourscore Years old, and not fit for diffuting, so he would declare his Opinion, and then leave them to fay what they pleafed. He thought the Sacrament was only a Memorial of Christ, all who fed on Christ had Eternal life, and therefore that feeding could not be meant of the Sacrament. fince both good and bad received it; he said, his Memory was much impaired, but his Faith was founded on the Word of God: fo though he could not dispute well, yet his

Faith

## of the Reformation, &c.



Faith was firmly rooted: Upon this there were extraordinary shouts raised, and du- Book III ring the whole Debates, the noise and diforder was fuch, that it lookt liker a Coun- 1554. trey Game, than a Dispute among Divines: four or five spoke oft at once, so that it was not possible to hear what they faid, much less to answer it. The Committee of Convocation condemned them all, as obstinate Hereticks, and declared them to be no Members of the Church: They appealed from their Sentence to the Judgment of God, and expressed great joy in the hopes they had, they should glorifie God by dying for his Truth. Cranmer fent a Petition to the Council, complaining of the disorder of these Disputes, and of hudling them up in fuch haft, that it was visible, nothing was intended by them, but to shuffle up things fo, that the World might be more easily abused with the name of a Disputation. But this was not delivered, for it was intended to keep up this boasting, that the Champions of the Reformation were publickly baffled.

It was also resolved to carry some of the Prisoners, that were in London, to Cambridge, and there to erect new Trophies in the same manner, they had done at Oxford. Upon this, three of the imprisoned Bishops, and feven Divines, figued a Paper, by which they declared, that they would engage in no dispute, except it were in Writing, unless it were in the presence of the Queen,

or the Council, or before either of the Houses Book III of Parliament. It was visible, the design of disputing was not to find out the Truth, 1554 otherwise it had been done, before these Points had been so positively determined: but now there was no benefit to be expected by it; nor could they look for fair dealing, where their Enemies were to be their Judges: nor would they fuffer them to speak their minds freely, and after so long an Imprisonment, their Books and Papers being kept from them, they could not be furnished to answer many things that might be objected to them. Then they added a short account of their Perswasions in the chief points of Controverse, which they would be ready to defend on fair and equal terms: and concluded with a charge to all People not to Rebel against the Queen, but to obey all her Commands, that were not contrary to the Law of God.

The Pr. of Spain marries the Queen.

In July, Prince Philip landed at Southampton: when he fet foot to Land, he drew his lands, and Sword, and carried it a little way naked in his hand. This was interpreted, as a fign, that he intended to rule by the Sword, but his friends faid, it imported, that he would draw his Sword for the defence of the Nation. The Mayor of Southampton brought him the Keys of the Town, which he took from him, and gave them back, without the least shew of his being pleased with this expression of that respect done him. This not being sutable to the Genius of the Nation.

tion, that is much taken with the gracious looks of their Princes, was thought a fign Book III of valt pride and moroseness. The Queen met him at Winchester, where they were 1554married: he being then in the XXVII. and the in the XXXVIII. Year of her Age. The Emperour refigned to him his Titular Kingdom of Jerusalem, and his more valuable one of Naples, so they were proclaimed with a Pompous Enumeration of their Titles. The Kings gravity was very unacceptable to the English, who love a mean between the stiffness of the Spaniards, and the gaiety of the French. But it they did not like his temper, they were out of measure in love with his Bounty and Wealth: for he brought over a vast Treasure with him, the greatest part of which was distributed among those, who for his Spanish Gold, had fold their Countrey and Religion. At his coming to London, he procured the Pardon of many Prifoners, and among others, of Holgate Archbishop of York, of whom I find no mention made after this. It is very likely he changed his Religion, otherwise it is not probable that Philip would have interceded for him. He also interposed for preserving Lady Elizabeth, and the Earl of Devonshire. Gardiner was much fet against them, and thought they made but half work, as long as she lived. Wiat had accused them, in hopes of faving his life, but when that did not preserve him, he did publickly vindicate them on the Scaffold. The Earl of Devon-5 2

Devenshire, to be freed from all jealousie,

Book III went beyond Sea, and dyed a Year after in Italy, as some say, of Poison. Philip at first 1554 took care to preserve Lady Elizabeth, on a generous account, pitying her Innocence. and hoping by so acceptable an act of favour, to recommend himself to the Nation: but Interest did soon after fortisse those good and wife Inclinations, for when he grew to be out of hope of iffue by the Queen; he considered that the Queen of Scotland, who was foon after married to the Dolphin, was next in succession after Lady Elizabeth; so if she should be put out of the way, the Crown of England would have become an Accession to the French Crown: and therefore he took care to preferve her. and perhaps he hoped to have wrought fo much on her, by the good offices he did her, that if her Sister should dve without Children, she might be induced to marry him. But this was the only grateful thing he did in England. He affected so extravagant a state, and was so sullen and silent, that it was not easie for any to come within the Court, and Access to him was not to be had, without demanding it with almost as much formality as Ambassadours used. when they defired an Audience: So that a General discontent was quickly spread into most places of the Kingdom, only Gardiner was well pleased, for the Conduct of affairs was put entirely in his hands. Many malicious reports were spread of the Queen, particularly in Norfolk; at one of these the Queen.

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Queen was much concerned, which was, that she was with Child before the King Book III came over; but after great examinations, nothing could be made out of it.

The Bishops went to make their Visita- The Bitions this Summer, to see whether the old shops visit Service, with all its Rites, was again set their Dioup; they also enquired concerning the lives and labours of the Clergy, of their Marriage, and their living chaftly; whether they were suspected of Heresie, or of favouring Hereticks? whether they went to Tayerns or Alehouses? whether they admitted any to officiate, that had been Ordained schismatically, before they were reconciled, or to preach, if they had not obtained a Licence? whether they visited the sick, and administred the Sacraments reverently? whether they were guilty of Merchandise, or Usury? and whether they did not once every Quarter at least, expound to the People, the Elements of the Christian Religion in the Vulgar Tongue? They did not proceed steadily, in relation to the Ordinations made in King Edward's time; for at this time all that they did, was to add the Ceremonies that were then left out in the Book of Ordinations: but afterwards they carried themselves, as if they had esteemed those Orders of no force; and therefore they did not degrade those Bishops or Priests, that had been ordained by it: Nor has the Church of Rome been steady in this matter, for though upon some Schisms, they

have

have annulled all Ordinations made in them;

Book III yet they have not annulled the Ordinations of the Greek Church, though they esteem 1554 the Greeks both Hereticks and Schismaticks: Thus there were many questions put in among the Articles of the Visitation vet these were asked only for form, the main business was Herelie, and the performing all Offices according to the old customes: and the least failing in these matters, was more severely enquired after, and more exemplarily punifhed, than far greater offences. Bonner carried himself like a Madman, and it was said by his friends, to excuse the Violences of his rage, that his brains were a little disordered by his long Imprisonment: for if either the Bells had not rung, when he came near any Church, or if he had not found the Sacrament exposed, he was apt to break out in. to the foulest language: and not content with that, he was accustomed to beat his Clergy, when he was displeased with any thing: for he was naturally cruel and bru-He took care to have those places of Scripture, that had been painted on the Walls of the Churches to be washed off: and upon this it was faid, that it was necesfary to dash out the Scripture, to make way for Images, for they agreed fo ill, that they could not decently stand together. mock Poems and Satires were flying up and down; but none was more provoking, than one that followed on an Accident at Saint Pauls on Easter-Day: The custom was to lay the Host in the Sepulchre at Even-Song

## of the Kefozmation,&c.

Song, on Good-Friday, and to take it out on Easter Morning; and the Quire Sung Book III these words, He is risen, he is not here, when it was taken out: but when they lookt to 1554. take it out, they found it was not there indeed, for one had stollen it away, but another was quickly brought; fo a Ballad was made, that their God was loft, but a new one was put in his room; Great pains was taken to discover the Author of this, but he was not found.

The Queens third Parliament met on the Another 11th. of November: In the Writ of Sum-Parlia-mons the Queens Title of Supream Head ment. was left out, though she had hitherto not only used the name, but had assumed the power Imported by it, to a high degree. Pool was now suffered to come so near as Flanders; and the Temper of the Parliament being quickly found to be favourable to the work he came for, the Queen sent two Lords, Paget and Hastings for him. Both King and Queen rode in state to Westminster, and each had a Sword of state carried before them. The first Bill that past, was a Repeal of Pool's Attainder, it was read by the Commons three times in one Day; and the Bill was passed without making a Session by a short Prorogation. He came over, and entred privately to London, on the 24th, of November, for the Pope's authority not being yet acknowledged, he could not be received as a Legate. His Instructions were full, besides the authority commonly lodged S 4

# Abridament of the Bistory

ed with Legates; which confifts chiefly in Book III the many Graces and Dispensations, that they are impowered to grant; though it might be expected, that they should come rather to see the Canons obeyed, than broken; only the more scandalous abuses were still reserved to the Popes themselves, whose special Prerogative it has always been, to be the most Eminent Transgressors of all Canons and Constitutions.

Pool made his first Speech to the King The Nation is

and Queen, and then to the Parliament, in reconciled the Name of the Common Pastor, inviting to the See them to Return to the Sheepfold of the of Rome. Church. The Queen felt a strange emotion of joy within her, as he made his Speech, which she thought was a Child quickned in her Belly; and the flattering Court Ladies heightned her belief of it. The Council ordered Bonner to fing Te Deum; and there were Bonefires, and all other publick demonstrations of joy upon it. The Priests said, that here was another John Baptist to come, that leapt in his Mother's Belly, upon the Salutation from Christ's Vicar. Both Houses agreed on an Address to the King and Queen, that they would intercede with the Legate, to reconcile them to the See of Rome, and they offered to repeal all the Laws' they had made against the Pope's authority, in fign of their repentance. Upon this, the Cardinal came to the Parliament: He first thanked them for repealing his Attainder, in recompence of which, he

was now to reconcile them to the Body of the Church: He made a long Speech, of Book III the Conversion of the Britains and Saxons to the Faith, and of the Obedience they \$554. had payed to the Apostolick See; and of the many favours that See had granted the Crown, of which none was more Eminent than the Title of Defender of the Faith. The ruine of the Greek Church, and the distractions of Germany, and the Confusions themselves had been in, since they departed from the Unity of the Church, might convince them of the necessity of keeping that bond entire. In Conclusion, he gave them and the whole Nation a Plenary Absolution. The rest of the Day was spent in singing Te Deum, and the Night in Bonefires. The Act, repealing all Laws made against the Poper authority, was quickly past, only it stuck a little, by reasonof a Proviso, which the House of Lords put in for some Lands, which the Lord Wentworth had of the See of London. wehtheCommons opposed so much, that after the Bill was offered to the Royal affent, it was cut out of the Parchment by Gardiner. They did enumerate and repeal all Acts made fince the 20th. of Hen. 8. against the Pope's authority, but all foundations of Bishopricks and Cathedrals, all Marriages, tho' contrary to the Laws of the Church, 'all Institutions, all Judicial Processes, and the settlements made, either of Church or Abbey Lands, were confirmed. The Con-vocation of Canterbury had joyned their Intercession with the Cardinal, that he

would confirm the right of the present Book III 'Possessors of those Lands: Upon which he did confirm them, but he added a heavy 1554 charge, requiring those that had any of the Goods of the Church, to remember the Judgments of God that fell on Bellhaz. for profaning the holy Vessels, though they were not taken away by himself; but by his Father; and that, at least, they would take care, that fuch as ferved the Cures should be sufficiently maintained: all which was put in the Act, and confirmed by it, and it was declared, that all Suits concerning those Lands were to be tried in the Civil Courts: and that it should be a Pramunire, if any went about to diflurb the Possessors, by the pretence of an Ecclefiastical power. They also declared, that the Title of Supream Head of the Church, did never of right belong to the Crown: & enacted that it should be left out of Writs in all time coming. All Exemptions granted to Monasteries, and now continued in Lay hands, were taken away, and all Churches were made subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction, except Westminster, Windfor, and the Tower of London. ftatute of Mortmain was repealed for 20. vears to come, and all things were brought back to the state in which they were, in the 20th. year of King Henry's reign. The Lower House of Convocation gave occasion to many clauses in this Act, by a Petition which they made to the Upper-house, 'consenting to the settlement made of Church and Abbey-

Abbey Lands; and praying that the Statute of Mortmain might be repealed, and Book III that all the Tithes might be restored to the Church: they proposed also some things 1534 in relation to Religion, for the condemning and burning all Heretical Books; and that great care should be had of the Printing and venting of Books, that the Church should be restored to its former Jurisdiction, that Pluralities and Non-residence might be effectually condemned, and all Simoniacal pactions punished, that the Clergy might be discharged of paying firstfruits and Tenths, that Exemptions might be taken away, that all the Clergy should go in their Habits, and that they should not be fued in a Pramunire, till a Prohibition were first served and disobeyed, that fo they might not be furprised and ruined a fecond time. By another Bill all former Acts made against Lollards were revived. The Commons offered another Bill for voiding all Leases made by married Priests, but it was laid aside by the Lords. Thus were the Pensioners and aspiring Men in the House of Commons, either redeeming former faults, or hoping to merit highly by the forwardness of their Zeal. By another Bill feveral things were made Treason: and it was declared, that if the Queen died before the King, and left any Children, the King should have the Government in his hands, till they were of Age; and during that time the conspiring his Death was made Treason, but none were to be tried · for

Book III they were spoken. Another Act past, declaring it Treason in any to pray for the Queens death, unless they repented of it, and in that case they were to suffer Corporal punishment at the Judges discretion. A fevere Act was also passed against all that spread lying Reports of the King, the Queen, the Peers, Judges, or great Officers. Some were to lose their Hands, others their Ears. and others were to be fined according to the degree of their offence.

Gardiners policy in the fleps of this change.

And thus all affairs were carried in Parliament, as well as the Court could wish: and upon this, Gardiner's reputation was much raised, for bringing about so great a change in fo little time, with fo little opposition. He took much pains to remove all the Objections, that were generally made use of: they were chiefly two, the one was the fear of coming under fuch Tyranny from Rome, as their Ancestors had groaned under; and the other was the loss of the Abbey-Lands. But to the first, he faid, that all the old Laws against Provisions from Rome, should still continue in force: and to shew them, that Legates should exercise no dangerous authority in England, he made Pool take out a Licence, under the Great Seal, for his Legatine power. As for the other, he promifed both an Act of Parliament, and Convocation, confirming them, and undertook that the Pope should ratifie these, as well as his Legate did now consent to them. But to all this, it was answer-

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1554.

answered, that if the Nation were again brought under the old Superstition; and the Book III Papal authority established, it would not be possible to bridle that power, which would be no longer kept within limits, if once they became Masters again, and brought the World under a blind obedience. It was objected, that the Church-Lands must be certainly taken back, it was not likely the Pope would confirm the alienation of them; but though he should do it, yet his Successors might annul that as facrilegious. And it was observed in the charge, which Pool gave to all, to make restitution; & by the repeal of the statute of Mortmain. that it was intended to possess the Nation with an Opinion of the Unlawfulness of keeping those Lands, which would probably work much on Men that were near death, and could not relift the terrours of Purgatory, or perhaps of Hell, for the fin of Sacriledge: and fo would be easily induced to make restitution of them, especially at such a time when they were not able to posless them any longer themselves. and the state of

Now the Parliament was at an end : Consultaand the first thing taken into consideration tions about on, was, what way they ought to proceed proceed-against the Hereticks. Pool had been su- ing against spected to bear some favour to them for Hereticks. merly, but he took great care to avoid all occasions of being any more blamed for that: and indeed he lived in that distrust of all the English, that he opened his thoughts to very few: for his chief

the way of

Confidents



Confidents were two Italians that came Book III over with him, Printi and Ormaneto, Secretary Cecyl, who in matters of Religion complied with the prefent time, was obferved to have more of his favour than any English Man had. Pool was an Enemy to all severe proceedings, he thought Churchmen should have the tenderness of a Father, and the care of a Shepherd, and ought to reduce, but not devour the stray sheep; he had observed that Cruelty rather inflamed than cured that Distemper: he thought the better and furer way, was to begin with an effectual Reformation of the manners of the Clergy, fince it was the scandals given by their ill conduct and Ighorance, that was the chief cause of the growth of Herefie: so he concluded that if a Primitive Discipline should be revived; the Nation would by degrees lay down their prejudices, and might, in time be gained by gentle methods. Gardiner, on the other hand, being of an abject and cruel temper himself, thought the strict execution of the Laws against the Lollards, was that to which they ought chiefly to trust: if the Prencherswere made pub. lickExamples, he concluded the People would be easily reclaimed: for he pretended, that it was visible, if King Henry had executed the Act of the fix Articles vigorously, all would have submitted: he confessed a Reformation of the Clergy was a good thing, but all times could not bear it: if they hould proceed feverely against scandalous Church:

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Churchmen, the Hereticks would take advantage from that, to defame the Church Book III the more, and raise a clamour against all Clergymen. Gardiner's spite was at this time much whetted by the reprinting of his Books of true Obedience, which was done at Straiburg, and fent over. In it he had called King Henry's marriage with Queen Catherine, Incestuous, and had justified his Divorce, and his second Marriage with his most godly and vertuous Wife, Queen Anne. This was a fevere exposing of him, but he had brow enough, and bore down these reproaches, by saying Peter had denied his Mafter: but others faid a Compliance of 25. years continuance was very unjustly compared to a sudden denial, that was prefently expiated with so sincere a Repentance. The Queen was for joining both these Councils together, and intended to proceed at the same time, both against scandalous Churchmen and Hereticks. After the Parliament was over, there was a folemn Procession of many Bishops and Priests, Bonner carrying the Host, to thank God for reconciling the Nation again to Saint Peter's Chair; and it having been done on St. Andrew's Day, that was appointed to be an Anniversary, and was called The Feast of the Reconciliation.

But soon after began the Persecution: 1555. Rogers, Hooper, Taylor, Bradford, and feven A Persecumore were brought before the Council, thon fet on and asked one by one, if they would re-

turn

turn to the Union of the Catholick Church, Book III and acknowledge the Pope: but they all anfwered resolutely, that they had renounced: 1555 the Pope's power, as all the Bishops had also done; they were assured he had no authority, but over his own Diocess, for the first four Ages, so they could not submit to his Tyranny. Gardiner told them. Mercy was now offered them, but if they rejected it, Justice would be done next: fo they were all fent back to Prison, except one, who had great Friends, fo he was only asked, if he would be an honest man; and upon that promise was dismist. They began with Rogers, whose Imprisonment was formerly mentioned. Many had advised him to make his escape, and flie to Germany: but he would not do it, though a Family of Ten Children was a great Temptation.

Rogers and Hooper condemned, and burnt.

Both he and Hooper were brought before Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstall, and three other Bishops. They asked them whether they would submit to the Church, or not? but they aniwered, that they looked on the Church of Rome, as Antichristian. Gardiner faid, that was a reproach on the Queen. Rogers said, they honoured the Queen, and lookt for no ill at her hands, but as the was fet on to it by them; Upon that Gardiner, and the other Bishops declared, that fo far were they from fetting on the Queen to the executing of the Law, that she commanded them to do it, and this was confirmed by two Privy Councellours that were

present.

present. In conclusion, they gave them time till next Morning to consider what they would Book III do, and then they continuing firm, they declared them obstinate Hereticks, and 1555. degraded them: but they did not esteem Hooper a Bishop, so he was only degraded from the Order of Priesthood. Rogers was not suffered to see his Wife nor his Children, yet so little did this terrible sentence fright him, that the morning of his Execution, he was fo fast asleep, that he was not easily awakened: He was carried from Newgate to Smithfield, on the 4th. of February, a Pardon was offered him at the stake, if he would recant, but he refused it on such terms; and faid he would not exchange a quick fire for Everlasting burnings, but declared that he refigned up his Life with joy, as a testimony to the Doctrine which he had preached. Hooper was fent to Glocester, at which he rejoyced, for he hoped by his death to confirm many there. He spake to several, whom he had formerly known, some of them, in compassion to him, wept by him, which made him shed tears; but he faid, all he had fuffered in his Imprisonment, had not moved him to do fo much: he was burnt on the 9th. of Fe. bruary: a Pardon was also offered him at the Stake, but to no effect. A great Wind blew while he was burning, and hindred the Flame to rife up and choke him, or defroy his Vitals; so that he was near three quarters of an hour in great Torment, but he continued still calling on God.

God; his last words were, Lord Jesus re-Book III ceive my Spirit. Sanders, that had been Minister at Coventry, and Taylor that was Mi-1555 nister at Hadly, were at the same time condemned, and fent to be burnt at the places where they had ferved: The former was first committed for preaching without Li-cence, after the Queens Prohibition; and the latter for making opposition to some Priests, that broke violently into his Church, and faid Mass in it. Gardiner was in hope, that these four Executions being made in several parts of England, would have struck so general a terrour in the whole Party, that there would have been little occasion for further severities: but when he saw six more were foon after apprehended on the fame account, and that the spirits of those, call'd Hereticks, were now rather inflam'd than depressed, he resolved to meddle no more in those Trials; and turned over that Invidious matter to Bonner, whose temper was so cruel, that he undertook it cheerfully.

The burncondemned.

These severities were very hateful to ings much the Nation. It was observed, that in King Edward's time, those that opposed the Laws, were only turned out of their Benefices, and fome few of them were put in Prison; but now Men were put in Prison on trifling pretences, and kept there till Laws were made, by which they were condemned meerly for their Opinion, for they had acted nothing contrary to Law. One Piece of Cruelty was also singular: when the Coun-

cil

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cil fent away those that were to be burnt in the Countrey, they threatned to cut out Book I their Tongues, if they would not promife to make no Speeches to the People; which 1555. they, to avoid that butchery, were forced to promise. Some made reflections on the length and sharpness of Hooper's Torment, as a punishment on him, for the contest he had raised in the Church about the Vestments: Ridley and he had been entirely reconciled, and writ very affectionate Letters to one another. The fense they had of those differences, when they were preparing for another World, and that bitter palfage, through which they were to go to it, ought to inspire all others with more moderate thoughts in fuch matters. Those that loved the Reformation, were now possessed with great aversion to the Popish Party, and the whole Body of the Nation grew to diflike this Cruelty; and came to hate King Philip for it. Gardiner, and the other Councellours had openly laid, that the Queen fet them on to it, so the blame of it was laid on the King, the sowreness of whose temper, together with his bigottry in matters of Religion, made it seem reasonable to charge him with it. He finding that this was like to raise such prejudices against him, as might probably spoil his design of making himself Master of England, took care to vindicate himself. So his Confessor Alphonsus, a Franciscan, preached a Sermon at Court, against the taking of Peoples lives for Opinions in Religion; and Inveighed against'

against the Bishops for doing it: By this Book III the blame of it was turned back on them, and this made them stop for some Weeks; 1555 but at last they resolved rather to bear the blame of the Perfecution avowedly, than not to go on in it.

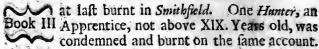
Arguments against them, and for them.

At this time a Petition was printed beyond Sea; by which the Reformers addreffed themselves to the Queen, they set before her the danger of her being carried by a blind zeal, to destroy the Members of Christ, as St. Paul had done before his Conversion: they remembred her of Cranmer's interpofing to preserve her Life in her Fathers time: they cited many Passages out of the Books of Gardiner, Bonner and Tonstall, by which she might see that they were not acted by true Principles of Conscience, but were turned as their Fears or Interests led them. They shewed her how contrary Perfecution was to the spirit of the Gospel. that Christians tolerated Jews; and that Turks, notwithstanding the barbarity of their tempers, and the Cruelty of their Religion, yet tolerated Christians. They remembred her, that the first Law for burning in England, was made by Henry the IV. as a reward to the Bishops, who had helped him to depose Richard the second, and so to mount to the Throne. They represented to her, that God had trusted her with the Sword, which she ought to imploy for the protection of her People, & was not to abandon them to the Cruelty of such Wolves: The Petition

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Petition also turned to the Nobility, and rest of the Nation, and the dangers of a Book III Spanish Yoke, and a bloody Inquisition were fet before them. Upon this the Popish Au- 1555. thors writ several Books in Justification of those proceedings. They observed that the Jews were commanded to put blasphemers to death; and faid the Hereticks blafphemed the Body of Christ, and called it only a piece of Bread. It became Christians to be more zealous for the true Religion, than Heathens were for the false: Saint Peter, by a Divine Power, struck Ananias and Saphira dead. Christ, in the Parable, said, Compel them to enter in. Saint Paul said, I would they were cut off that trouble you. Saint Austin was once against all severities in such cases, but changed his mind, when he faw the good effects that some Banishments and Fines had on the Donaists: That on which they infifted most, was, the burning of Anabaptists in King Edward's time. So they were now fortified in their cruel Intentions, and refolved to spare none, of what Age, Sex, or condition foever they might be.

Bonner kept one Tomkins, a Weaver, fome Months in his House, who was found to doubt of the Presence in the Sacrament, he used divers Violences to him, as the tearing out the Hair of his Beard, and the holding a Candle to his Hand, till the Veins and Sinews burft; and these not prevailing, to make him change, he was



Book III Apprentice, not above XIX. Years old, was condemned and burnt on the fame account. 1555 Bonner was fo much concerned to preserve him, that he offered him Forty Pound to change: so mercenary did he think other Mens consciences were, measuring them probably by his own. Two Gentlemen, Causton and Highed, one Lawrence a Priest, and two meaner Persons, were burnt near their own Houses in Esex. The Method in these, and in all the other proceedings, during the rest of this reign, was summary, and ex officio: Upon complaints made, Persons were imprisoned, and Articles containing the Points, for which they were fuspected, were offered to them, which they were required to answer; and if their answers were Heretical, they were burnt for them, without any thing being objected to them, or proved against them. Ferrar, that had been Bishop of S. Davids, was dealt with in the same manner, by his Successor Morgan. When he was condemned, he appealed to Cardinal Pool, but that had no other effect, save, that his Execution was stopt three Weeks. Rawlins White; a poor Fisherman, was condemned by the Bishop of Landaffe, and afterwards burnt: Marsh a Priest, was burnt at Chefter; and to the ordinary Cruelty of burning, they added a new Invention of pouring melted Pitch on his Head. One Flower, a rash and furious Man, wounded a Priest at S. Margaret's Westminsten, as he was

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was officiating for which being feifed on, and found to be an Heretick, he was con- Book III demned and burnt. The fact was disapproved by all the Reformed, and he became fincerely Penitent for it, before he died. After this, for some Weeks, there was a Hop put to those severities.

1555.

The Queen about this time sent for her TheQueen 1. assurer, and some of the other Officers restores of her Revenue, and told them, that she the thought her felf bound in Conscience to re-Lands. store all the Lands of the Church, that were then in her hands; she thought they were unlawfully acquired, and that they could not be held by her without a fin, therefore she declared she would have them disposed of, as Cardinal Pool should think fit. Some imputed this to a Bull fet out by the Pope, excommunicating all that kept any Lands belonging to Abbies or Churches: This alarmed many in England, but Gardiner pacified them, and told them, that Bull was made only for Germany, and that no Bull did bind in England, till it was received. But this did not fatisfie Inquisitive People, for a sin in Germany was likewise a fin in England, and if the Pope's authority came from Christ, it ought to take place every where equally.

Pope Julius died in March, and Marcellus Marcellus was chosen to succeed him: he turned his chosen thoughts wholly to the Reformation of a pope. Paul buses: He suffered none of his Nephews, succeeds

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### Abridgment of the History

nor Kindred to come to Court, and resolved Book III effectually to put down Non-residence and Pluralities: but he found it very difficult to 1555 bring about the good designs he had projected, and that the Popes power was fuch, that it was more easie for him to do mischief, than good: which made him once cry out, That he did not fee how any could be faved, that fat in that Chair. things wrought so much on him, that he fickned within Twelve Days of his Election, and died Ten Days after that. Upon his death, the Queen endeavoured to engage the French to consent to the Promotion of Cardinal Pool, which she did without his knowledge or approbation: but at Rome they were so apprehensive of another Pope fet on Reformations, that they made hast in their choice; and fet up Caraffa, called Paul the Fourth, who was the most extravagantly ambitious and infolent Pope, that had reigned of a great while.

The English Ambassadours come to Rome.

On the day of his Election, the English Ambassadors entred Rome in great state, having in their Train 140. Horse of their own Attendants, but the Pope would not admit them to an Audience, till they had accepted of a Grant of the Title of the Kingdom of Ireland; for he pretended it belonged only to him to confer those Titles. The Ambassadours, it seems, knew it was the Queen's mind, that they should in every thing submit to the Pope, and so took that grant from him. Their Publick Audience

was given in great Solemnity, in which the Pope declared, that in token of his Book III pardoning the Nation, he had added to the Crown the Title of the Kingdom of 1555. Ireland, by that Supream Power which God had given him to destroy, or to build 'Kingdomes at his pleasure. But in private discourse, he complained much, that the Abbey-Lands were not restored. He said it was beyond his power to confirm Sacriledge, and all were obliged, under the pains of damnation, to restore to the last farthing, 'every thing that belonged to the Church: 'he said likewise, that he would send over a Collector to gather the Peter-Pence, for they could not expect that St. Peter would open Heaven to them, so long as they deinied him his rights upon Earth. These were heavy tidings to the Lord Mountacute, (Sir Anthony Brown) whose Estate consisted chiefly of Abbey-Lands, that was one of the Ambassadours. But the Pope would endure no contradiction, and repeated this every time they came to him.

In England, Orders were fent to the Ju- The Engflices to look narrowly to the Preachers of lish grow Heresie, and to have secret Spies in every backward in the Per-Parish, for giving them Information of all secution. Peoples behaviour. This was imputed to the sowrness of Spanish Councils, and seemed to be taken from that base practice of the Roman Emperours, that had their Informers (or Delatores) that went into all Companies, and accommodated themselves to all Men's Tempers, till they had drawn

them

them into fome discourses against the State, Book III and thereby ruined them. People grew fo averse to Cruelty, that Bonner himself find-1555 ing how odious he was become, and observing the flackness of the other Bishops, refused not to meddle any further, and burnt none in five Weeks time: Upon which the Queen writ to him, and required him to do the Office of a good Pastor, and either to reclaim the Hereticks, or to proceed against them according to Law: and he quickly shewed how ready he was to mend his pace, upon fuch an admonition.

The Queens delivery in vain lookt for. In the beginning of May, the Court was in expectation of the Queen's Delivery. The Envoys were named, that were to carry the good News to the neighbouring Courts: the tidings of it did flye over England, and Te Deum was fung upon it in several Cathedrals. But it proved to be a false conception, and all hopes of Issue by This tended much to alieher, vanished. nate King Philip from her; and he finding it more necessary to look after his Hereditary Crowns, than to stay in England, where he had no hopes of making himself Master, left her, and that increased her Melancholy.

More Hereticks burnt.

New Fires were kindled. Cardmaker, that had been a Prebendary at Bath, and Warne a Tradesman, were burnt in Smithfield, in May. The body of one that suffered for Robbery, but at his Execution faid somewhat

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what favouring of Herefie, was burnt for it. Seven were burnt in several parts of Esex. Book III They were condemned by Bonner, and fent down to be burnt near the places of their 1555 abode. The Council writ to the Great Men of the County, to gather many together and affift at those Spectacles: and when they heard that some had come of their own accord to the burnings at Colchester, they writ to the Lord Rich to give their thanks to those Persons for their Zeal, so dexteroully did they study to cherish a spirit of Cruelty among the People. Bradford, who had been committed soon after he had saved Bourne in the Tumult at Saint Paul's, had been condemned with the rest, and was preserved till July. He was so much confidered, that Heath Archbishop of York, and Day Bishop of Chichester, Weston and Harpsfield, with the King's Confessor, and Alphonfus à Castro went to see, if they could prevail on him, and had long Conferences with him in Prison, but all to no purpose. Bourn was made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and his Brother was Secretary of State; but though Bradford had preserved his life, yet he neither came to vifit him, nor did he interpose for his life; on the contrary, it was objected to Bradford, that by his carriage in suppressing that Tumult, it appeared that he had fet it on: but he appealed to God, who faw how unworthily they returned him evil for good: and he appealed to Bourn, who was fitting among the Bishops that judged him, if he had not pray-

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ed him for the Passion of Christ to endea"

Book III your his preservation; and if he had not done it, at the hazard of his own Life: 1555. But Bourn, as he was ashamed to accuse him, so he had not the honesty, nor the courage to vindicate him: a young Apprentice was burnt with him, whom he en-couraged much in his sufferings, and in transports of joy, he hugged the Faggots that were laid about him. Thornton, Harpsfield, and others, fet on a Perfecution at Canterbury, though Cardinal Pool was averfe to it, but he durst not now discover so much, for the Pope had an inveterate hatred to him, and was refolved upon the first occasion to recall him, and for that end, he entred in a Correspondence with Gardiner, who hoped thereby to have been made a Cardinal, and Archbishop of Canterbury: and upon the hopes he had of that, he still preserved Cranmer, for tho' he was now condemned for Herefie, yet the See was not esteemed void, till he was formally degraded. Some faid it was fit to begin with him, that had been the chief promoter of Heresie in England. But Gardiner said, it was better to try if it could be possible to shake him, for it would be a great blow to the whole Party, if he could be wrought on to forfake it, whereas if he should be burnt, and fhould 'dye with fuch resolution as others expressed, it would much raise the spirits of his followers. The See of Canterbury was now only fequestred in Pool's hands, and

and he being afraid of falling under the Pope's rage, was willing to let the cruel Book III Prebendaries do what they pleased. They burnt two Priests, and two Laymen at 1555. Canterbury, and fent a Man and a Woman to be burnt in other Places in Kent. Two that belonged to the Dioceses of Winche. fter and Chichester were condemned by Bonner, and were burnt near the places of their abode. There were at this time feveral pretended discoveries of Plots both in Dorsetshire and Essex: and Orders were given to draw Confessions from some that were apprehended, by Torture, but the thing was let fall, for it was grounded only on the furmiles of the Clergy.

The Queen was this Year rebuilding Religious the House of the Franciscans at Greenwich, Houses and had recalled Peyto and Elston, of which mention was made, Book 1. pag. 117. the one she made her Confessor, and the other was to be Guardian of that House: The People expressed such hatred of them, that as they were passing upon the River, some threw stones at them: but they that did it, could not be discovered. Judge Rastall published Sir Tho. More's Works at this More's Works time; but as was formerly observed, he published. left out his Letter concerning the Nun of Kent; though it lies among his other Letters, in that very Manuscript, out of which he published them. He prefixed nothing concerning More's Life, to his Works, which makes it highly probable, that he

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Book III

never writ it: for this was the proper time and place for publishing it, if he had ever writ it. So that Manuscript life of Mores, pretended to be writ by him, out of which many things have been quoted fince that time, to the difgrace of King Henry, and Anne Boleyn, must be a later forgery contrived in spite to Queen Elizabeth. 'The Queen did now go on with her Intentions, of founding Religious Houses out of those Abbey-Lands, that were still in the Crown. She recommended it also to the Councils care, that every where there might be good Preaching, and that there might be a Visitation of the Universities: she desi-'red that Justice might be done on the Hereticks, in such a manner, that the People 'might be well satisfied about it, and prest them to take care, that there might be no 'Pluralities in England, and that the Preachers might give good Example, as well as make good Sermons.

The burnings went on: Seven were burnt in August in several places; six more were burnt in one fire at Canterbury, and sour were burnt in other places, but the particular days are not marked. In September sive were burnt at Canterbury, and seven in other places. In October two were burnt at Ely, by Shaxton's means, who now compleated his Apostasse by his Cruelty. The 16th of that month became remarkable by the sufferings of Ridley and Latimer. Three Bishops, Lincoln, Gloucester and Bristol were sent with a Commission from Cardinal Pool,

Ridley and Latimer are burnt.

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to proceed against them. Ridley said, he payed great respect to Pool as he was of Book III the Royal Family, and esteemed him much for his Learning and Vertues, but as he 5555; was the Popes Legate, he would express no reverence to him, nor would uncover himfelf before any that acted by authority from him. The Bishop of Lincoln exhorted him, 'To return to the obedience of the See of S. Peter, on whom Christ had founded his Church, to which the Ancient Fathers had submitted, and which himself had once acknowledged: He began his anfwer with a Protestation, 'That he did not thereby fubmit to the authority of the Pope or his Legate; he said Christ had founded his Church not on St. Peter, but on the Faith which he had confessed: The Bishops of Rome had been held in great efteem, but that was either on the account of their personal worth, or by reafon of the dignity of the City: He con-'fessed he had once been involved in that fuperstition; but St. Paul was once a Blasphemer: And he had discovered such errors in that See, that he would never acknowledge it any more. Latimer adhered to what he faid. A nights respite was granted them, but they continuing stedfast next day, they were condemned as obstinate Hereticks, and delivered to the Secular Arm, and the Writs were sent down for their burning. They prepared themselves for it with fuch patience and cheerfulness as very much amazed their Keepers: As they

Book III mer's Window, but he was not in it, for he was then held in dispute by some Friers; 1555 yet he lookt after them, with a very tender fense of their condition, and prayed earnestly to God to assist them in their sufferings. When they came to the Stake, they embraced and encouraged one another. Smith preached on those words, If I give my body to be burnt, and have not Charity it profiteth nothing: And he compared their dying for Heresie, to Judas's that hanged himself. Ridley desired leave to answer some points in his Sermon; but it was told him, that he was not to be fuffer'd to speak, except he intended to recant: So he turned himself to God, when he saw men were resolved to be so unreasonable to him. He fent a defire to the Queen, in behalf of the Tenants of the Bishoprick of London, from whom he had taken Fines, for which he had renewed their Leases; and prayed that either their Leases might be confirmed, or that their Fines might be restored out of his goods, which had been feized on when he was first put in prison: After both had prayed, and undressed themselves, the fire was kindled. Some Gun-powder was hanged about their necks, and that being fired, put Latimer quickly out of his pain; but Ridley had a more lingring torment: For they threw on fo much wood that it was long before the flame broke through it; and his Legs were almost wholly confumed before the flame choaked him.

him. Thus did these two Bishops end their days and their Ministry: The one was Book III esteemed to be the ablest of all that advanced the Reformation; both for Piety, 1555. Learning, and folidity of Judgement; the other was lookt on as a truly Primitive Bishop, that seemed to have more of the fimplicity of the first Ages, than the politeness or the learning of later times. Ridley was ill rewarded both by Bonner and Heath; he had used Bonner's Mother and Friends with great kindness, while he was Bishop of London; and had kept the latter a year and a half in his house, after he fell in trouble, but he made him ill returns; and when he went through Oxford he did not fo much as visit him: And so far had men been taught to put off all humanity, that during their Imprisonment in Oxford, none of the University either came to visit them, or took care to relieve their necessities.



It was observed that Gardiner was very Gardiner's impatient to have those Bishops burnt, and death. delayed his dinner that day till the news should be brought him, that the Fire was kindled: But at dinner he was taken with an illness, which turned to a suppression of Urine, of which he died the twelfth of November. He went twice to the Parliament which was opened the twenty first of Ottober, but could go abroad no more : he expressed great sorrow for his former fins, and often said, He had erred with St. Peter, but had not repented with him. He was belie-

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ved to be of noble extraction, though base-Book III ly born; for his true father was supposed to be Richard Woodvill, that was Brother 1555 to Edward the Fourth's Queen, Grandmother to King Henry the Eighth: And this was believed to be the occasion of his fudden preferment to the See of Winchester. So those that reflected on him for his oppofition to the Married state, faid that no wonder if persons basely born, as both he and Bonner were, had no regard to that stare of life. He was learned in the Civil and Canon Law; he had a good Latin Stile, and had some knowledge in the Greek Tongue, but was a very indifferent Divine: He had a quickness of apprehension, with a great knowledge of mankind, and the Intrigues of Courts: He had all the arts of Infinuation and Flattery, and was inferiour to none in profound Dislimulation. He died now when he had the prospect of a Cardinals Hat, and of all the honours which a Pope, that found him after his own heart, could do him. Heath was made Chancellour during pleafure, and the Queen gave to the See of York the Duke of Suffolk's house, fallen to her by his Attainder, in recompence for White-hall, and it was afterwards called Tork-House.

The Parliament was now affembled, and The Parit appeared that the Nation was much turnliament ill ed in their affections. It was proposed to pleased with the give the Queen a Subfidy, and two fifteenths. Queens This was the first aid that the Queen conduct. had

had asked, though she was now in the third year of her Reign; and what was now de Book III fired, was no more than what she might have exacted at her first coming to the 1555. Crown; and fince she had forgiven so much at her Coronation, it seemed unreasonable to deny it now: Yet great opposition was made to it. Many faid, the Queen was impoverishing the Crown, and giving away the Abbey-Lands, and therefore she ought to be supplied by the Clergy, and not turn to the Laity: But it was answered, that the Convocation had given her 65. in the pound, but that would not ferve her prefent occasions; so the debate grew high : But to prevent further heats the Queen fent a Message, declaring that she would accept the Sublidy without the fifteenths, and upon that it was granted. The Queen fent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him she could not with a good Conscience exact the Tenths and First-fruits of the Clergy, fince they were given to her Father to support his unlawful dignity, of being the Supream Head of the Church: She also thought, that all Tythes and Impropriations were the Patrimony of the Church, and therefore was refolved to refign such of them as were in her hands. The for-mer part past easily in the House, but great opposition was made to the latter part of her motion: for it was lookt on as a step to the taking all the impropriations out of the hands of the Laity; yet upon a divilion of the House, it went so near that 126.

were against it, and 193 were for it, so it was

Book III carried by 67 voices. A Bill was put in against the Dutchess of Suffolk, and several others 1555 that favoured the Reformation, and had gone beyond Sea that they might freely enjoy their Consciences; requiring them to return, under severe penalties: The Lords past it, but the Commons threw it out; for they began now to repent of the severe Laws they had already consented to, and refolved to add no more. They also rejected another Bill, for incapacitating some to be Justices of Peace, who were complained of for their remissies in prosecuting Hereticks. An Act was put in for debarring one Bennet Smith, who had hired fome Assassinates to commit a most detestable Murder, from the benefit of Clergy; which by the course of the Common Law, would have faved him. This was an invention of the Priests, that if any, who was capable of entring into Orders, and had not been twice married, or had not married a Widow, could read, and vowed to take Orders, he was to be faved in many criminal cases. And it was looked on as a part of the Ecclefiastical Immunity; which made diverse of the Bishops oppose this Act; Yet it past, though four of them, and five Temporal Lords protested against it. There was fuch heat in the House of Commons in this Parliament, that one Sir Anth. Kingston, who was a great stickler, called one day for the Keys of the House; but when the Parliament was dissolved, he

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was sent to the Tower for it: He was soon after set at liberty, but next year he and Book III fix others, were accused of a design of robbing the Exchequer: He died before he was brought up to London; the other fix were hanged: But the Evidence against them does not appear on Record.

Cardinal Pool called a Convocation, having first procured a Licence from the Pools de-Queen, empowering them both to meet, crees for the Re ormand to make such Canons as they should mation of think fit. This was done to preferve the the Clergy. Prerogatives of the Crown, and to secure the Clergy, that they might not be afterwards brought under a Pramunire. In it several decrees were proposed by Pool, and assented to by the Clergy: 1. For observing the Feast of the Reconciliation made with Rome. with great folemnity: They also condemned all Heretical Books, and received that exposition of the Faith which Pope Eugenius fent from the Council of Florence to the Armenians. 2. For the decent administration of the Sacraments, and putting down the yearly Feasts in the dedications of Churches. 3. They required all Bishops and Priests to lay aside Secular cares, and to give themselves wholly to the Pastoral charge: And all Pluralists were required to refign all their benefices except one, within two months, otherwise to forfeit all. 4. Bishops were required to preach often, and to provide good Preachers for their Dioceses, to go over them as their Visitors. 5. All the Pomp and Luxury of the

Tables, Servants, and Families of the Bi-Book III shops was condemned; and they were required chiefly to lay out their Revenues on works of Charity. 6. They were required not to give Orders, but after a long and strict Trial; which they ought to make themselves, and not to turn it over to others. 7. They were charged not to bellow Benefices upon partial regards, but to confer them on the most deserving, and to take them bound by Oath, to reside upon them. 8. Against giving Advowsons before Benefices fell vacant. 9. Against Symony. 10. Against Dilapidations. 11. For Seminaries in every Cathedral for the Diocess; and the Clergy were taxed in a fourth part of their Benefices for their maintenance: The twelsth was about Visitations.

It was designed also to set out four Books of Homilies: The first for points of Controversie; the second was for the exposition of the Creed, the Lords Prayer, the ten Commandments, the Ave, and the Sacraments: The third was to be a Paraphrase on all the Lessons on Holy-days; and the fourth was to be concerning the feveral Vertues and Vices, and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. In these, the wise and good temper of Cardinal Pool may be well discerned. He thought the people were more wrought on by the scandals they faw in the Clergy, than by the Arguments which they heard from the Reformers; and therefore he reckoned if Pluralities

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and Non-residences, and the other abuses Book ill and if he could have brought the Bishops to have lived better, and laboured more, to be stricter in giving Orders, and more impartial in conferring Benefices, and if he could have established Seminaries in Cathedrals, Heresie might have been driven out of the Nation by gentler methods than by Racks and Fires: In one thing he shewed the meanness of his Spirit, that though he himself condemned cruel proceedings against Hereticks, yet he both gave Commissions to other Bishops and Arch-Deacons to try them, and fuffered a great deal of Cruelty to be exercised in his own Diocess; but he had not courage enough to relist Pope Paul the Fourth, who thought of no other way for bearing down Herefie, but by fetting up Courts of Inquisition every where. He had clapt up Cardinal Morone, that was Pool's great friend, in prison, upon suspicion of Heresie; and would very probably have used himself so, if he had got him at Rome.

The Jesuites were at this time beginning He resules to grow considerable: They were tied, to bring besides their other Vows, to an absolute the Jesuites obedience to the See of Rome; and fet them- to England. selves every where to open Free Schools, for the education of youth, and to bear They were excused from down Heresie. the hours of the Quire, and so were looked on as a mungrel Order, between the Us Regu-

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Regulars and the Seculars. They proposed

Book III to Cardinal Pool, that fince the Queen was restoring the Abbey-Lands, it would be 1555 to little purpose to give them again to the Benedictine Order; which was now rather a clog than a help to the Church: And therefore they defired that Houses might be affigned to them, for maintaining Schools and Seminaries; and they did not doubt but they should quickly both drive out Heresie, and recover the Church Lands. Pool did not listen to this, for which he was much censured by the Fathers of that So-It is not certain whether he had then the fagacity to foresee that disorder which they were like to bring into the Government of the Church, and that corruption of Morals that had fince flowed from their Schools, and has been infused by them generally in Confessions, so that their whole Church is now over run with it. Three were burnt at one Stake in Canterbary in November, and Philpot was burnt in Smithfield, in December: he had been put in Prilon, foon after that Convocation was disfolved, in which he had disputed in the beginning of this Reign: and was now brought out to the Stake. In all fixty feven were burnt this Year; of whom Four were Bishops, and Thirteen were Priests.

More of the Reforaued are burnt.

Affairs in Germany.

In Germany, a Diet was held, in which it was left free to all the Temporal Princes, to fet up what Religion they pleased; but a restraint was put on the Ecclesiastical Princes.

Princes. Both Ferdinand, and the Duke of Bavaria, appointed the Chalice to be given Book III to the Laity in their Dominions, at which the Pope stormed highly, and threatned to 1555. depose them: for that was his common stile, when he was displeased with any Prince. The Resignation of Charles the Charles the Fifth, which was begun this Year, and com. Fifth's Repleated the next, drew the Eyes of all En fignation. rope upon it. He had enjoyed his Hereditary Dominions Forty years, and the Empire Thirty fix. He had endured great Fatigues, by the many Journies he had made; Nine into Germany, six into Spain, seven into Italy, four through France: he was ten times in the Netherlands, made two Expeditions to Africk, and was twice in England: and had croffed the Sea eleven times. He had unusual success in his Wars, he had taken a Pope, a King of France, and some German Princes, Prisoners: and had a vast accession of Wealth' and Empire from the West-Indies: but now as success followed him no more, so he was much afflicted with the Gout, and grew to be much out of love with the Pomp and Vanities of this World, and so serioully to prepare for another Life. He refigned all his Dominions with a greatness of mind, that was much superiour to all his other Conquests. He retired to a private Lodge of seven Rooms, that he had ordered to be built for him in the confines of Portugal: He kept only twelve Servants to wait upon him, and referved

Book III In this retreat he lived two years: His first year was spent chiefly in Mechanical In-1555 ventions, in which he took great pleasure: from that he turned to the cultivating his Garden, in which he used to work with those hands, that now preferred the grafting and pruning Tools, to Scepters and Swords. But after that he addicted himfelf more to study and Devotion, and did often discipline himself with a Cord. It was also believed, that in many points he came to be of the Opinion of the Protestants, before he died. His Confesfor was foon after his death burnt for Herefie, and Miranda Archbishop of Tole. do, that conversed much with him at this. time, was clapt into Prison on the same fuspicions. At the end of two years he died, having given a great Instance of a mind forfeited with the Glories of this World, that fought for quiet in a private Cell, which it had long in vain fearched after in Palaces and Camps.

1556. Cranmer's sufferings.

In March next Year came on Cranmer's Martyrdom. In September last, Brooks, Bishop of Glocester, came down with authority from Cardinal Pool, to judge him: with him two Delegates came to assist him in the King and Queen's Name. When he was brought before them, he payed the respect that was due to those that sat in the King and Queen's Name, 'but would shew none to Brooks, since he sat there by an authority

thority derived from the Pape, which he faid, he would never acknowledge. He Book III could not ferve two Mafters, and fince he had fworn Allegiance to the Crown, he could never submit to the Pope's authority: He also shewed that the Pope's power had been as unjustly used, as it was ill grounded: that they had changed the Laws ferled by Christ, which he inflanced in denying the Chalice, in the Worship in an unknown Tongue, and in their pretences to a power to depose 'Princes: he remembred Brooks, that he 'had fworn to maintain the King's Supremacy, and when he studied to cast that back on him, as an invention of his, he told him that it was acknowledged in his Predecessor Warham's time, and that Brooks had then fet his hand to it. Brooks, and the two Delegates, Martin and Scory, objected many things to him, as that he had flattered King Henry, that so he might be preferred by him, and that he had condemned Lambert for denying the Pre-Sence in the Sacrament, and had been afterwards guilty of the same Heresie himfelf. But he vindicated himself from all aspirings to the See of Canterbury, which appeared visibly by the slowness of his motions, when he was called over out of Germany, to be advanced to it: for he was feven Weeks on his Journey. He confessed he had changed his Opinion in the matter of the Sacrament, and acknowledged that he had been twice married; which

which he thought was free to all Men, Book III and was certainly much better than to. defile other Men's Wives: After much 1556. discourse had past on both sides, Brooks required him to appear before the Pope within Eighty Days, and answer to the things that should be objected to him: he faid, he would do it most willingly, but he could not possibly go, if he were still kept a Prisoner.

14 Febr. In February this Year, Bonner and Thirleby were fent to degrade him, for his Contumacy in not going to Rome; when he was all the while kept in Prison: He was clothed with all the Pontifical Robes made of Canvas, and then they were taken from him, according to the Ceremonies of degradation, in which Bonner carried himself with all the Insolence, that might have been expected from him: Thirleby was a good natured Man, and had been Cranmer's particular friend, and performed his part in this Ceremony, with great expressions of forrow, and shed many tears at it. In all this Cranmer seemed very little concerned; he faid, it was gross Injustice to condemn him for not going to Rome, when he was shut up in Prison; but he was not forry to be thus cut off, even with all this Pageantry, from any relation to that Church: he denied the Pope had any authority over him, so he appealed from his Sentence to a free General Council.

But now many Engines were fet on work, to make him recant: both English Book III and Spanish Divines had many Conferences with him, and great hopes were given 1556. him, not only of Life, but of Preferment, cante if he would do it: and these at last had a fatal effect upon him; for he figned a Recantation of all his former Opinions, and concluded it with a Protestation, that he had done it freely, only for the discharge of his Conscience. But the Queen was refolved to make him a Sacrifice to her refentments; she faid, it was good for his own Soul that he repented, but since he had been the chief spreader of Heresie over the Nation, it was necessary to make him a publick Example: fo the Writ was fent down to burn him, and after some stop had been made, in the Execution of it, now Orders came for doing it suddenly. This was kept from Cranmer's knowledge, for they intended to carry him to the Stake, without giving him any notice, and fo hoped to make him dye in despair: yet he fuspecting somewhat, writ a long Paper, containing a Confession of his Faith, such as his Conscience, and not his fears had dictated.

He was on the 21. of March carried to He Re-St. Maries, where Dr. Cole preached, and pents, and vindicated the Queen's Justice, in condem. is burnt. ning Cranmer; but magnified his Converfion much, and ascribed it wholly to the workings of God's Spirit: he gave him

great

Book III

great hopes of Heaven, and promised him all the relief that Diriges and Masses could give him in another state. All this while Cranmer was observed to be in great Confusion, and Floods of Tears run from his Eyes; at last, when he was called on to speak, he began with a Prayer, in which he expressed much inward remorfe and horrour: then after he had exhorted the People to good Life, Obedience and Charity, he in most pathetick expressions confessed his sin, that the hopes of Life had made him sign a Paper contrary to the Truth, and against his Conscience: and he had therefore refolved, that the hand that figned it, should be burnt first; he also declared, that he had the same belief concerning the Sacrament, which he had published in the Book he writ about it. Upon this there was a great Consternation on the whole Assembly, but they resolved to make an end of him fuddenly, so without fuffering him to go further, they hurried him away to the Stake: and gave him all the disturbance they could, by their reproaches and clamours: But he made them no answer, having now turned his thoughts wholly towards God. When the Fire was kindled, he held his right Hand towards the Flame, till it was confumed, and often said, that unworthy hand; he was soon after quite burnt, only his heart was found entire among the ashes: from which his Friends made this Inference, that though his Hand had erred, yet it appeared his Heart

## of the Reformation, &c.

Heart had continued true. They did not make a Miracle of it, though they said Book III the Papists would have made a great matter of it, if such a thing had fallen out 1556. in any that had dyed for their Religion.

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Thus did Thomas Cranmer end his days, His Chain the LXVII. Year of his Age: He was rafter. a Man of great Candor, and a firm Friend, which appeared fignally in the misfortunes of Anne Boleyn, Cromwell, and the Duke of Somerset: He rather excelled in great Industry and good Judgment, than in a quickness of apprehension, or a closeness of stile. He employed his Revenues on pious and charitable uses; and in his Table he was truly hospitable, for he entertained great numbers of his poor Neighbours often at it. The Gentleness and Humility of his deportment were very fingular: His last fall was the greatest blemish of his Life, yet that was expiated by a fincere repentance, and a patient Martyrdom: and those that compared Ancient and Modern times, did not stick to compare him, not only to the Chrysostomes, the Ambroses, and the Austins, that were the chief Glories of the Church, in the fourth and fifth Centuries, but to those of the first Ages, that immediately followed the Apostles, and came nearest to the Patterns, which they had left the World; to the Ignation's, the Policarps, and the Cyprians. And it seemed necessary that the Reformation of the Church, being the restoring of the Primitive

nings.

Primitive and Apostolical Doctrine, should Book III have been chiefly carried on by a Man thus Eminent, for Primitive and Aposto-1556. lical Vertues. In January, five Men, and More burt two Women were burnt at one Stake in Smithfield: and one Man and four Women were burnt at Canterbury. In March, two Women were burnt at Ipswich, and three Men at Salisbury. In April, ix Men of Essex were burnt in Smithfield: a Man and a Woman were burnt at Rochester, and another at Canterbury: and fix, who were fent from Colchester, were condemned by Bonner, without giving them longer time to consider whether they would recant, than till the Afternoon: for he was now so hardned in his Cruelty, that he grew weary of keeping his Prisoners some time, and of taking pains on them, to make them recant; he fent them back to Colchester, where they were burnt: He condemned also both a blind Man, and an aged Criple, and they were both burnt in the same Fire at Stratford. In May, three Women were burnt in Smithfield; the day after that, two were burnt at Glocefter, one of them being blind. Three were burnt at Beckles in Suffolk; five were burnt at Lewis, and one at Leicester. But on the 27th of June, Bonner gave the fig-nallest Instance of his Gruelty, that Eng-land ever saw: for 11. Men, and two Women were burnt in the fame Fire at Stratford. The horror of this Action it feems had some Operation on himself, for he burnt

burnt none till April next year. In June three were burnt at Saint Edmondsbury, and Book III three were afterwards burnt at Newbury. This cruelty was not kept within England, but it extended as far as to the adjacent Islands. In Guernsey, a Mother and her two Daughters were burnt at the fame stake; one of them was a married Woman, and big with Child: The violence of the Fire bursting her Belly, the Child that proved to be a Boy, fell out into the Flame: He was fnatched out of it, by one that was more merciful than the rest: but the other barbarous Spectators, after a little Confultation, threw it back again into the Fire. This was Murder without question, for no Sentence against the Mother could excuse this Inhumane piece of Butchery, which was thought the more odious, because the Dean of Guernsey was a Complice in it: vet fo merciful was the Government under Queen Elizabeth, that he, and Nine others. that were accused for it, had their Pardons. Two were after this, burnt at Greenstead, and a blind Woman at Darby; Four were burnt at Briftoll, and as many at Mayfield in Suffex, and one at Nottingham: so that in all LXXXV. were this Year burnt, without any regard had, either to Age, or Sex, to young or old, or the Lame and the Blind; which raised so extream an aversion in this Nation to that Religion, that it is no wonder if the apprehensions of being again brought under so Tyrannical a Yoke, break out into most Violent and Convulsive Symptoms.

The Reformed

By these means, the Reformation was so Book III far from being extinguished, that it spread daily more and more, and the Zeal of those 1556 that professed it grew quicker. They had frequent Meetings, and feveral Teachers, increase that instructed them: and their Friends upon this. that went beyond Sea, and fetled in Strafburg, Frankfort, Embden, and some other places in Germany, took care to fend over many Books for their Instruction and Comfort.

The troubles at Frankford.

An unhappy difference was begun at Frankford, which has had fince that time great and fatal Consequences; some of the English thought it was better to use a Liturgy, agreeing with the Geneva forms; whereas the rest thought, that since they were a part of the Church of England, that fled thither, they ought to adhere to the English Liturgy, and that the rather, since those who had compiled it, were now fealing it with their Blood. This raised much heat, but Doctor Cox that lived in Strasburg, being held in great esteem, went thither, and procured an Order from the Senate, that the English should continue to use the forms of their own Church: but the fire was not thereby quenched, for Knox, and fome other hot spirits, began to make exceptions to some parts of the Liturgy; and got Calvin to declare on their fide: upon which some of them retired to Geneva. Another contest arose concerning the censuring of Offenders, which some faid belonged only to the Minister, and others

others thought that the Congregation ought to be admitted to a share in it. Great ani. Book III molities were railed by these debates, which gave scandal to the strangers, among 1556. whom they lived, and made many reflect on the Schisms of the Novatians and Donarifts, that rent the Churches of Africk; the one during the Persecutions, and the other immediately after they were over,

In England, Pool was Confecrated Arch. Pool made bishop of Canterbury, the day after Cranmer Archbish. was burnt : which gave occasion to many of Canterto apply the words of Elijah to him, Thon bury. baft killed and taken possession: A Week after that, he came into London in great state, and had the Pall put about him, by Heath, in Bow-Church: and after that, he made a cold Sermon concerning the beginning, the Use and Vertues of the Pall: without either Learning or Eloquence: for it was observed, that he had so far changed his stile, which in his Youth was too luxuriant, that it was now become flat, and had neither Life nor Beauty in it. The Pall was a device of the Popes, in the 12th. Century, in which they began first to send those Cloaks to Archbishops, as a Badge of their being the Pope's Legates born.

The Queen had founded a House for the More Re-Franciscans of the Observance in Greenwich last ligious Year: This year she founded Houses for Houses, the Franciscans and Dominicans in London, as also a House for the Carthusians at Skeen, and

and a Nunnery at Sion: She also converted Book III the Church of Westminster, into an Abbey. And that way might be made to the restor 1556. ring Religious Orders, she took care to have all the Reports, Confessions, and other Records, that tended to the dishonour of their Houses, be rased: So that no Memory might remain of them to the next Age. For this end she gave a Commission to Bonner, and others, to fearch all Registers, and to take out of them every thing, that was either against the See of Rome, or the Religious Houses: and they executed this Commission fo carefully, that the steps of it appear in the defectiveness of all the Records of that time: yet many things have escaped their diligence. This Expurgation of theirs was compared to the rage of the Heathens in the last Persecution, who destroyed all the Books and Registers, that they could find among the Christians. The Monks of Glassenbury were in hope to have got their House, that had been dedicated to the honour of Joseph of Arimathea, raised again: they desired only the House, and a little Land about it; which they resolved to Cultivate, and did not doubt but the People of the Countrey would contribute towards their sublistence: and it is probable that the like defigns were fet on foot for the other Houses: and it was not to be doubted, but that as foon as they had again infused in the Nation the belief of Purgatory, they would have perswaded those that held their Lands, especially if they could come near them, when they were dying.

# of the Reformation, &c.

ing, to deliver themselves from the sin and punishments of Sacriledge; by making re- Book III stitution. It is true, the Nobility and Gentry were much alarmed at these proceedings: and at the last Parliament, many in the House of Commons laid their Hands on their Swords, and declared, that they would not part with their Estates, but would defend them. Yet all that intended to gain favour at Court, made their way to it, by founding Chantries for Masses, to be faid for them and their Ancestors; and took out Licences from the Queen, for making those Endowments.

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A Truce was now concluded between The Pope France and Spain for five years: but the fets on a Violent Pope broke it. He was offended war be-tween at the House of Austria, and chiefly at France and Ferdinand's assuming the Title of Emperour, Spain. without his consent: he used to fay, that all Kingdoms were subject to him: that he would fuffer no Prince to be too familiar with him: and that he would fet the World on fire, rather than be driven to do any thing below his Dignity. pretended that he had reformed the abuses of his own Court, and that he would in the next place reform all the abuses that were in other Courts, of which he ordered a great Collection to be made: when he was prest to call a Council, he said, he needed none; for he himself was above all; and the World had already feen twice, to how little purpose it was to send about Sixty weak Bishops, and Forty Divines,

that

that were not the most learned, to Trem: Book III he resolved it should never meet there any more; but he would call one to fit in the \$556. Lauran: he signissed this to the Ambassadours of Princes, only in courtesie: for he would ask advice of none of them, but would be obeyed by them all: and if Princes would fend none of their Prelates thither, he would hold a Council without them, and would let the World see what a Pope, that had courage, could do. This imperious humour of his, made him talk sometimes like a mad-man: He intended, as was believed, to raise his Nephew to be King of Naples, and in order to that, he fent one of his Nephews to France, to absolve the King from the Truce which he had fworn; and promifed to create what Cardinals that King would nominate, if he would make War on Spain; though to the Queen's Aniballadours, and all others at Rome, he gave it out, that he would mediate a Peace between the Crowns, for a Truce did not fufficiently secure the quiet of Europe. The French King was too easily perswaded by the Instigation of the Pope, and the House of Guize, to break his Faith, and begin the The Pope also began it in Italy, and put the Cardinals of the Spanish faction in Prison, and threatned to proceed to Cenfures against King Philip, for protecting the Colonnesi, who were his particular Enemies. He made some Levies among the Grisons, that were Hereticks; but said, he lookt on em as Angels of God, and was confident, God

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God would convert them. The Duke of Alva had that Reverence for the Papacy, that he took Arms against the Pope very unwillingly: He could have taken Rome, but would not: and for the places that he took, he declared he would deliver them up to the next Pope. It gave great scandal to the World, to see the Pope set on so perfidious a breach of Truce; and it was thought strange, that in the same Year, a Great Prince in the 56. Year of his Age, should retire to a Monastery; and that one bred a Monk, and So. Years old, should set Europe in a Flame.

The next Year Pool fent Ormancto with some 1.557. English Divines, to visit Cambridge. They put A Visitatithe Churches, in which the Bodies of Eucer on of the and Fagius lay, under an Interdict. They made ties. a Visitation of all the Colledges and Chappels, in which Ormaneto shewed great Integrity; and without respect of Persons, he chid some Heads of Houses, whom he found guilty of misapplying the Revenue's of their Houses. The two dead Bodies were burnt with great folemnity: They were raised and cited to appear, and anfwer for the Herefies they had taught, and if any would answer for them, they were required to come. The Dead faid nothing for themselves; and the living were afraid to do it, for fear of being fent after them: fo Witnesles were examined, and in conclusion they were condemned as obstinate Hercticks, and the

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dead Bodies, with many Heretical Books Book III were all burnt in one Fire. Peru was Vice-Chancellour at this time, and hap-1557 pened to be in some Office four years after, when, by Queen Elizabeth's Order, publick honours were done to the Memory of these Learned Men, and he obeyed both these Orders with so much zeal, that it appeared how exactly he had learned the Lesfon fo much studied in that Age, of ferving the time. After this there was a Visitation of all the Colledges in Oxford, and there it was intended to act fuch Pageantry on the body of Peter Martyr's Wife, as had been done at Cambridge. But she that could speak no English, had not declared her Opinions so, that Witnesses could be found to convict her of Heresie: yet since it was notoriously known, that she had been a Nun, and had broken her Vow of Chastity, they raised her Body, and buried it in a Dunghill: but her Bones were afterwards mixed with Saint Frideswide's, by Queen Elizabeth's Order.

A severe of Hereticks.

The Justices of Peace were now every Inquifition where so slack in the Prosecution of Hereticks, that it seemed necessary to find out other Tools. So the Courts of Inquisition were thought on. These were set up first in France against the Albigenses, and afterwards in Spain, for discovering the Moors; and were now turned upon the Hereticks. Their power was uncontrolable, they feifed on any they pleased, upon such Informations, or Prefumptions, as lay before them.

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They managed their Processes in secret, and put their Prisoners to such sorts of Torture, as they thought fit for extorting Confessions or Discoveries from them. At this time both the Pope and King Philip, though they differed in other things, agreed in this, that they were the only fure means for extirpating Herelie. 'So as a step to the setting them up, a Commission was given to Bonner and twenty more, the greatest part Lay-'men, to fearch all over England for all suspe-'cted of Heresie, that did not hear Masse, 'go in Processions, or did not take Holy bread, or Holy water: they were authori-'fed, three being a Quorum, to proceed either by Presentments, or other Politick 'ways: they were to deliver all they disco-'vered to their Ordinaries; and were to use 'all fuch means as they could invent; which 'was left to their discretions and Conscien-'ces, for executing their Commission. Many other Commissions subalterne to theirs, were issued out for several Counties and Diocesses.

This was looked on as fuch an advance towards an Inquisition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The burnings were carried on vigorously in some places, and but coldly in most parts, for the dislike of

them grew to be almost Universal.

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In January, six were burnt in one Fire at More bur-Canterbury, and four in other parts of Kent: nings. 22. were sent out of Colchester to Bonner; but it seems Pool had chid him severely for the Fire he had made of thirteen the last

Year,

Year, fo he writ to Pool for directions. Book III The Cardinal imployed some to deal with the Prisoners, and they got them to sign a 1557 Paper in general words, acknowledging 'that Christ's Body was in the Sacrament, and declaring that they would be subject to the Church of Christ, and to their lawful Superiours. And upon this they were fer at liberty; by which it appeared that Pool was willing to have accepted any thing, by which he might on the one hand preserve the Lives of those that were informed against, and yet not be exposed to the rage of the Pope, as a favourer of Hereticks. April, three Men and one Woman were burnt in Smithfield: In May, three were burnt in Southwark, condemned by White the new Bishop of Winchester, and three at Bri. Goll. Five Men and nine Women were burnt in Kent, in June: and in the same Month, six Men and four Women were burnt at Lewis. In July, two were burnt at Norwich; and in August, ten were burnt in one day at Colchester. They were some of those 22. that were by Pool's means discharged: but the Cruel Priests informed against them, and faid, the favour shewed to them had so encouraged all others, that it was necessary to remove the scandal, which that mercy of the Cardinals gave, and to make Examples of some of them. In August, one was burnt at Norwich; two at Rochester, and one at Linchfield. One Eagle, that went much about from place to place, from which he was called Trudge over, was condemned as a Traytor,

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Traytor, for some words spoken against the Queen: But all this Cruelty did not fa. Book III tisfie the Clergy, they complained that the Magistrates were backward, and did their duty very negligently: upon which, fevere Letters were written to several Towns, from the Council-board: and zealous Men were recommended to be chosen Mayors, in fundry Towns. In September, three Men and one Woman were burnt at Islington, and two at Colchester; one at Northampton, and one at Laxefield: a Woman was burnt at Norwieh: a Priest with thirteen other Men and three Women, were burnt at Chichester. In November, three were burnt in Smithfield: Rough a Scotchman, that had a Benefice in K. Edward's time, kept a private Meeting at Islington: but one of the Company being corrupted, discovered the rest, so they were apprehended as they were going to the Communion, and he, and a Woman were burnt in December: so 79. were burnt in all this year.

This Year a horrid Murder of one Argol, The Lord and his Son was committed by the L. Stour- Stourton ton, and fome of his Servants: who after hanged. they had butchered them in a most barbarous manner, buried them fifteen Foot deep in the ground. The Lord Stourton was a zealous Papist, and had protested against all the Acts that had past in King Edward's time; yet the Queen not only would not pardon him, but would not fo much as change the Infamous death of hanging, into a beheading: not because the Prerogative extends not fo far, as fonic have without reason

Book III

reason asserted: for both the Duke of Somerset condemned in the Reign of King Edward, and the Lord Audley condemned under King Charles the First, for Felony, were beheaded: but the Queen resolved in this case to shew no favour. All the distinction was, that the Lord Stourton was hanged in a silken Rope. This was much extolled as an Instance of the Queens Impartial Justice; and it was said, that since she left her Friends to the Law, her Enemies had no cause to complain, if it was executed on them.

TheQueen joyns in the War against France.

The War breaking out between Spain and France, King Philip had a great mind to engage England in it. The Queen complained often of the kind reception that was given to the fugitives, that fled from England to France, and it was believed that the French fecretly supplied and encouraged them to imbroil her One Stafford had this Year gathered many of them together, and landing in Yorkshire, he surprised the Castle of Scarborough, and published a Manifesto against the Queen, that by bringing in strangers to govern the Nation, she had forfeited her rightto the Crown: but few came in to him; fo he and his Complices were forced to render, and four of them were hanged. glish Ambassadour in France, Dr. Wotton, discovered that the Constable had a design to take Calais: for he fent his own Nephew, whom he had brought over, and instructed secretly, to him, he pretended he was fent from a great Party in that Town, who

who were resolved to deliver it up: at which the Constable seemed not a little glad, Book III and entred into a long discourse with him of the Methods of taking it: yet all this made 155.7. no great Impression on the Queen; All her Council, chiefly the Clergy, were against engaging; for they faw that would oblige them to flacken their feverities at home: fo the King found it necessary to come over himself, and perswade her to it. He prevailed with her: and after a denunciation of War, she fent over 80000. Men to his affiftance, who joyned the Spanish Army consisting of 50000. that was set down before St. Quintin.

The Constable of France came with a The Battel great force, to raise the Siege; but when of S. the two Armies were in view of one ano- Quintin. ther, the French by a mistake in the word of command, fell in disorder; upon which the Spaniards charged them with fuch fuccess, that the whole Army was defeated: Many were killed on the place, and many were taken Prisoners, among whom was the Constable himself: and the Spaniards lost only fifty Men. Had Philip followed this blow, and marched straight to Paris, he had found all France in a great confternation, but he sat still before S. Quintin, which held out till the terror of this defeat was much over. The Constable lost his reputation in it, and all looked on it as a curse upon that King, for the breach of his The state of the second

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Book III

The Pope recalls

Pool.

The French Troops were called out of Italy, upon which the Pope being now exposed to the Spaniards, fell in strange fits of rage; particularly he inveighed much against Pool, for suffering the Queen to joyn with the Enemies of the Apostolick See: and having made a General Decree, recalling all his Legates and Nuntio's in the Spanish Dominions, he recalled Pool's Legatine power among the rest: and neither the Intercessions of the Queen's Ambassadours, nor the other Cardinals could prevail with him to alter it: only as an extraordinary Grace, he confented not to intimate it to him. But after this he went further: He made Friar Peyto a Cardinal: he liked him for his railing against King Henry to his Face, and thought that fince the Queen had made him her Confessor, he would be very acceptable to her. He recalled Pool's powers, and required him to come to Rome, and answer to some Complaints made of him, for the fayour he shewed to Hereticks: He also declared Peyto his Legate for England, and writ to the Queen to receive him: but the Queen ordered the Bulls and Briefs that were fent over, to be laid up without opening them, which had been the method formerly practifed, when unacceptable Bulls were fent over: She fent word to Peyto, not to come into England, otherwise she would fue him, and all that owned him, in a Pramunire. He died soon after. Cardinal Pool laid aside the Ensigns of a Legate, and fent over Ormaneto with so submissive a Message,

Message, that the Pope was much mollified by it, and a Treaty of Peace being fer on Book III foot, this storm went over. The Duke of Alva marched near Rome, which was in no 1557. condition to refift him: fo the Pope in great fury called the Cardinals together, and told them, he was resolved to suffer Martyrdom, without being daunted, which they who knew that he had drawn all this on himfelf. by his Ambition and Rage, could scarce hear without laughter. Yet the Duke of Alva was willing to treat. The haughty Pope, though he was forced to yield in the chief points, yet in the punctilio's of Ceremonies, he stood so high upon his honour, which he faid was Christ's honour, that he declared he would fee the whole World ruined, rather than yield in a Title: In that the Duke of Alva was willing enough to comply with him, so he came to Rome, and in his Master's name, asked pardon for Invading the Patrimony of S. Peter; and the

manner, as if he had been the Conqueror. The news of this Reconciliation were received in England, with all the publickest expressions of joy. In Scotland, the Queen Regent fludied to engage that Nation in the War: all that favoured the Reformation were for it; but the Clergy opposed it. The Queen thought to draw them into it, whether they would or not, and fent in D'oisell to besiege

complained much of that, and required him

Pope gave him Absolution, in as Insolent a

a Castle in England. But the Scotch Lords

to give over his attempt, otherwise they would

would declare him an Enemy to the Nation.

Book III So after some slight skirmishes on the Borders, the matter was put up on both fides. 1557. This made the Queen Regent write to France, pressing them to conclude the Marriage between the Dolphin and the Queen:upon which a Message was sent from that Court, desiring the Scots to fend over Commissioners to treat about the Articles of the Marriage, and some of every State were dispatched for fetling that matter. There was this Year great want of Money in the Exchequer of England; and the backwardness of the last Parliament made the Council unwilling to call a new one. It was tried what Sums could be raifed by Loan, upon Privy Seals: but so little came in that way, that at last one was Summoned to meet in 74nuary, yet in the mean while advertisements were given them, of the ill condition, in which the Garrisons of Calais, and the neighbouring places were, and that the French had a defign on them: but either they thought there was no danger during the Winter, or they wanted Money fo much, that no care was taken to fecure them.

Affairs in Germany.

In Germany, the Papilts did this Year blow up the differences between the Lutheruns and the Zuinglians, with so much Artifice, that a Conference, which was appointed for fetling matters of Religion, was broken up, without any good effect: Only it discovered a common practice of the Popish party, in ergaging those that divided from

from them, into heats and animolities one against another, by which their strength Book III. was not only much weakned, but their Zeal, instead of turning against the Common E- 1557 nemy, turned upon one another. But yet the many Experiments that have been made of this, have not been able to infuse that moderation and prudence in many of the Reformed Churches, which might have been expected. In France, the numbers of the Reformed increased so much, that 200. assembled in St. Germains, one of the Suburbs of Paris, to receive the Communion. This was obferved by the People of the Neighbourhood, and a Tumult was raifed: the Men for most escaped, but 160. Women, and some few Men were taken: of these fix Men and one Woman were burnt: and most horrid things were published of that Meeting; and among other Calumnies, it was faid, they facrificed and eat a Child. All these were confuted in an Apology, Printed for their Vindication: The German Princes, and the Cantons interposed so effectually, and their Alliance was then fo necessary to the Crown of France, that a stop was put to further severities. The Pope complained much of that, and of some Edicts that the King had set out, annulling Marriages without consent of Parents, and requiring Churchmen to reside at their Benefices, as Invasions on the Spiritual Authority.



Book III

1 5 5 8.

Calais and other places taken by the French.

The beginning of the next Year was fall mous by the loss of Calais. The Duke of Guise sat down before it, on the 1. of 7a. nuary. The Garrison consisted but of 500. Men, so that two Forts about it, of which the one commanded the Avenue to it by Land, and the other commanded the Harbour, were easily taken: for the Lord Wentworth, that was Governour, could not spare Men enough to defend them. The French drew the Water out of the Ditches, and made the Assault, and carried the Castle; which was thought Impregnable: After that the Town could do little, fo it was furrendred, and the Governour with 50. Officers, were made Prisoners of War. Thus was this Important place, which the English had kept 210. Years, lost in a Week, and that in Winter. From this the Duke of Guise went to besiege Guines, which had a better Garrison of 1100. Men, but they were much disheartned by the loss of Calais; they retired into the Castle, and left the Town to the French; but yet they beat them once out of it. The French, after a long Battery, gave the Affault, and forced them to Capitulate: The Souldiers, as at Calais, had leave to go away, but the Officers were made Prisoners of War. Garrison that was in Hammes, seeing themfelves cut off from the Sea, and loft, abandoned the Place before the French fummoned them. The loss of Calais raised great complaints against the Council, and they to

to excuse themselves, cast the blame on the Lord Wentworth; and ordered a Citation to Book III be made of him, when he was a Prisoner with the French: his Defence was not fit to 1558. be heard, otherwise it had been easie for the Council to have brought him over. He had not above the fourth part of that number, that was necessary to defend the place, and in time of War had no more, than were usually kept there in times of Peace; of this, both he, and Sir Edward Grimston, that was Controuler, gave full and timely advertisements, but had not those Supplies fent them that were necessary. They both came over in Queen Elizabeth's time, and offered themselves to Trial, and were acquitted. Grimfton was unwilling to pay the great Ransom that was set on him; so after two years Imprisonment, he made his escape out of the Bastile, & came to England, and lived till the 98, year of his Age. He was Great grand father to Sir Harbottle Grimston, the Author's Noble Patron and Benefactor. The French after this took Sark, a little Island in the Channel: but it was ingeniously retaken by a Fleming, who pretended that he defired to bury a Friend of his that had died aboard his ship, in that Ifland: the French were very careful to fearch. the Men that came ashore, that they should have no Arms about them; but did not think of looking into the Coffin, which, was full of Arms, and when they thought the Seamen were burying their dead Friend, they armed themselves, and took all the French,

French, that were in the Castle. The Inge-Book III niousness, rather than the Importance of this, makes it worth the mentioning.

The discontent that the loss of Calais gave to the English, was such, that the Queen could in England. not hope ever to overcome it: and it funk fo deep in her mind, that it hastned her death not a little. Both sides took upon them to draw Arguments from this loss: The Reformers faid, it was a Judgment on the Nation, for the contempt of the true Religion, and the Cruelties that had been of late practifed: The Papists said, the Hereticks had found fuch shelter and connivence there, that no wonder the place was loft. Philip fent over, and offered his affiftance to go, and retake the place, before the Fortifications should be repaired, if the English would fend over a Force equal to fuch an undertaking: but they upon an Estimate made of the Expence, that this, and aWar for the next · Year would put them to, found it would rise to 520000 l. Sterling: and as the Treafure was exhausted, and could not furnish fuch a Sum, fo they had no reason to expect fuch liberal Supplies from the People. The Bishops were afraid lest the continuance of the War should make it necessary to proceed more gently against Hereticks, and thought it better to sit down with the loss of Calais, than hazard that : they feemed confident that within a Year, they should be able to clear the Kingdom of Heresie: and therefore moved that preparations might

might be made for a War to begin the Year after this.

The Parliament assembled; for which the Abbot of Westminster, and the Prior of St. The P John of Jerusalem had their Writs, and sat ament in it. The Lords defired a Conference meets. with the Commons, concerning the fafety of the Nation, and upon that a Subsidy, a Tenth, and a Fifteenth were given by the Laity, and the Clergy gave eight shillings in the Pound, to be payed in four Years. The Abbot of Westminster moved, that the Priviledges of Sanctuary might be again restored to his House; but that was laid aside. The procurers of wilful Murder were denied the benefit of the Clergy: but great opposition was made to it in the House of Lords. A Bill was brought in, confirming the Letters Patents, which the Queen had granted, or might grant. This related to the Foundations of Religious Houses, but one Coxley opposed this; and infinuated, that perhaps the Queen intended to dispose of the Crown, in prejudice of the right Heir: at which the House expressed so great a dislike, as shewed, they would not have it so much, as imagined, that Lady Elizabeth could be excluded. He had a publick reprimend given him for infinuating a thing fo much to the Queen's dishonour.

Book III

A Proposition of Marriage, was at this The carritime privately made by the King of Sweden, age and to Lady Elizabeth; but she rejected it, be Lady Elicause it was not sent to her by the Queen: zebtth all

though this Reign.

though the Messenger declared that his Ma-Book III ster, as he was a Gentleman, began at her, and as he was a King, he had ordered him to 1558. propose it next to the Queen. But she affured him, that if the Queen would leave her to her felf, she would not change her state of life. When the Queen knew of this. the approved much of her Sifter's answer, and fent one to her to try her mind in it; for now the Proposition was made to her: but the expressed her dislike of a married state so firmly, that this motion fell to the ground. It feems her aversion was very great, otherwise the condition she was then in, was neither so easie, nor so secure, but that the had reason to desire to be out of her Keeper's hands; and to apprehend that her danger encreased, as the Queen's health was impaired: for many of the Bishops were offering Cruel counsels against Her. She had been first fent for upon the breaking out of Wiat's Conspiracy: and though she lay then sick in Bed, she was forc'd to come to Court: There she was at first confined to her Lodgings, and was afterwards carried to the Tower, and led into it by the Traytor's Gate, and was strictly guarded: Her Servants were put from her, and none had access to her, but those that were Spies upon her: nor was she suffered to walk on the Leads, or have the ordinary comforts of Air. Some were put to the Rack to draw Confessions from them, but none accused her, except Wiat, and he retracted what he had faid in hopes of a Pardon,

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when he was upon the Scaffold. When it appeared that nothing could be made out Book III against her, she was sent down to Woodstock: and was kept under strict Guards, and very roughly used by Sir Henry Benefield. But King Philip so far mollified the Queen towards her, that he prevailed with her to bring her to Court; and to admit her to her Presence. Gardiner, and many others dealt much with her, to confess her offences, and ask the Queen's pardon: but she always stood upon her Innocence, and faid she had never offended her, not so much as in her When she was brought to the Queen, she renewed the same protestations to her, and begged that she would entertain a good opinion of her. The Queen, though she pressed her much to acknowledg some faultiness, yet seemed to be satisfied with what she said; and parted with her in good terms: of which King Philip had some apprehensions, for he had conveyed himself fecretly into a corner of the Room, that he might prevent a further breach, in case the Queen should fall into heats with her. After this her Guards were discharged, and she feemed to be at liberty: but she had so many Spies about her, that to avoid all fuspicion, the medled in no fort of bufiness; but gave her felf wholly to study: Thus was she Imployed for five years, during which time, she was under continual apprehensions of Death, which was perhaps a necessary preparation for that long course of Prosperity and Glory, with which she was afterwards bleft.

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### Abridgment of the History

During the fitting of Parliaments, the Bi-Book III shops did always intermit their Cruelties, but as foon as they were over, they returned 1558. to them. Cuthbert Simpson, one in Deacons More bur, Orders, had been taken at the Meeting in Islington, and was rackt with extream severity, to make him confess all the Friends they had in London: but nothing was drawn from him; fo in March, he and two others were burnt in Smithfield. In April one was burnt at Hereford; and in May, three were burnt. at Colchester: Several Books were Printed beyond Sea, and secretly conveyed into England: upon which a Proclamation of a very Strange nature was fet out; 'That if any received any of these Books, and did not presently burn them, without either reading them, or shewing them to any Person, they were to be Executed immediately by "Martial Law. Seven were burnt in Smithfield in the end of May; and another Proclamation was at that time made in the Queens name, against all that should speak to them, or pray for them: but no Authority could restrain those prayers, which devout minds offered up fecretly to God. Six were burnt at Brainford, in July: a Minister was burnt at Norwich, in that Months In August, a Gentleman was burnt near Winchester: At St. Edmondsbury, four were burnt in August, and three more in November: at the same time, a Man and a Woman were burnt at Ipswich: a Wo. man was also burnt at Exeter; and on the joth. of November, three Men and two Women were burnt at Canterbury; in all XXXIX. this

this Year. All that were burnt during this Reign, as far as I could gather the number, Book III were 284. though Grindall, that lived in that time, writes, that in two Years 800. 1558. were burnt: many more were imprisoned, 60. died in Prison; others, after much cruel usage. Bonner himself often disciplining them with Whips and Tortures, were prevailed on to abjure; but carried in their minds a deep aversion to that Cruelty which had tempted them to fuch Apostasie. At first pardons were offered at the Stake, to tempt the Martyrs to the last moment of their life; but afterwards the Priefts Cruelty, as it continued to the last Week of the Queens life, so it encreased to that degree, that. Bembridge, who was burnt near Winchester, in August, crying out, when he felt the Violence of the fire. that he recanted; the Sheriff made his People put out the Fire, and hoped, that fince the Clergy pretended, that they defired the Conversion, and not the destruction of the Hereticks, this act of Mercy would not displease them: but the Council writ to him, ordering him to go on and execute the Sentence, and to take care that he should dye a good Catholick; for it was faid, if he recanted fincerely, he was fit to dye; and if he did it not fincerely, he was not fit to live: and when this was done. the Sheriff was put in the Fleet for his Prefumption.

This Year the Lord Clinton was fent with Ill success, a Fleet of 120. Ships, and 7000. Land men & strange in it, against France, he made but one des- accidents.

cent, and lost 600. Men in it; so after an

Book III inglorious and expenceful Voyage, he returned back. The English had lost their 1558. Hearts, and began to think that Heaven was against them: Extraordinary accidents encreased those Apprehensions: Thunder broke violently in Nottingham; the Trent fwell'd excessively, and did much mischief. Hail-stones of a huge bigness fell in some places. Intermitting Fevers were fo Universal and Contagious, that they raged like a Plague, fo that in many Places there were not People enough to reap the Harvest: all which tended to encrease the aversion to the Government, and that disposed the Queen to hearken to overtures of Peace. This was projected between the Bishop of Arras, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, who were the chief Favourites to the two Kings, and were both much fet on extirpating Heresie, which could not be done, during the continuance of the War; the Cardinal of Lorrain was more earnest in it, because the Constable, who was the Head of the Faction, against the House of Guise, was suspected to favour it, and his three Nephews, the Coligny's, were known to encline to it: The King of France had also lost another Battel, this Year, at Gravelin, which made him defire a Peace: for he thought the driving the English out of France, did compensate both that, and his loss at St. Quintin: So both thole Princes reckoned they had such advantages, that they might make Peace with honour: and they being thus disposed to it,

it.a Treaty was opened at Cambray. Philip, in his own disposition, was much inclined Book III to extirpate Heresie, and the Brothers of Guise possessed the King of France with 1558 the same Maximes: which seemed more necessary, because Heresie had then spread fo much in that Court, that both the King and Queen of Navarre declared themselves for the Reformation: and great numbers in the Publick Walks about Paris, used to affemble at Nights, and fing David's Pfalms in Verse. The King of Navarre was the first Prince of the Blood, and so was in great consideration for his rank, but was a weak Man: His Queen was the wonder of her Age, both for great Parts, Eminent Vertues, and a most Extraordinary fense of Religion. There was an Edict set out, forbiding this Psalmody, but the dignity of these crowned Heads, and the Numbers of those that were engaged in it, made it seem not advisable to punish any for it, at least, till a general Peace had been first made.

In April was the Dauphin married to The Dauthe Queen of Scotland, which was honou- phin and red by an Epithalamium, writ by Bucha- Queen of nan, reckoned to be one of the rarest married. Pieces of Latine Poetry. The Deputies fent from Scotland, were defired to offer the Dauphin the Crown of Scotland, in the Right of his Wife: But they faid, that exceeded the bounds of their Commission, so they only promised to reprefent .

1558.

fent the matter to the States of Scotland: Book III but could not conceal the aversion they had to it. Soon after Four of the Seven, that were fent over, died, and the Fifth escaped narrowly. It was generally suspected, that they were poisoned: when the rest returned to Scotland, an Assembly of the States was called, in which it was agreed to allow the Dauphin the Title of King, but with this Proviso, that he should have no power over them, and that it was only a bare Title, which they offered him. This was appointed to be carried to him, by the Earl of Argile, and the Prior of St. Andrews, who had been the chief Sticklers for the French Interest, in hopes of the Queen Regents Protection, against the rage of the Bishops, in matters of Religion.

A Parliament in Fegland.

In England, a Parliament was called, the 5th, of November: the Queen being ill, fent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and laid before him the ill condition of the Nation; and the necessity of putting it in a posture of defence: But the Commons were so ill satisfied with the Conduct of affairs, that they could come to no resolution: so on the 14th. of that Month, twelve of the chief Lords of both Estates, came down to the House of Commons, and defired them to grant a Subsidy to defend the Nation, both against the French and Scots: but the Commons came to no conclusion, till the Queen's death.

death, on the 17th. put an end to the Parliament.

Her false Conception, and the Melan-choly that followed it, which received a 1558. furcharge from the lofs of Calais, brought The Queens her into an ill habit of body, and that peath. turned to a Dropsie, which put an end to her unhappy Reign, in the forty-third year of her Age, after she had reigned five Years, four Months, and eleven Days. Sixteen hours after, her Cardinal Pool died, in the fifty ninth year of his Age. He left Priuli a Noble Venetian, that had lived twenty fix years in an entire friend-fhip with him, his Executor: but as Pool had not studied to heap up much Wealth, fo Priuli, who had refused a Cardinal's Hat, rather than be obliged thereby to lose his Company, gave it all away, and referved nothing to himself, but his Breviary and Diary.

Pool was a learned, humble, prudent Paul's and moderate Man: and had certainly the Death and best notions of any of his Party, then in Character. England: but he was almost alone in them; so that the Queen, whose temper and principles were fierce and severe, preferred the bloody Counsels of Gardiner and Bonner. to the wifer and better methods which he proposed. And though his superstition for the See of Rome, continued still with him, yet his Eyes were opened in many things: his being Legate at Trent, and his retirement at Viterbo, had both enlightned and composed his mind; and that joyned to

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Book III 1558.

the Probity and sweetness of his Temper produced great effects in him: his Character offerves the more to be enlarged on, because there were no others of the Clergy, at that time, concerning whom even a partial Historian can find much good to relate; for their temporifing and dissimulation, in the changes that were made, and their Cruelty, when power was put in their hands, were so scanda-. lous, that it is scarce possible to write of them, with that softness of stile, that becomes an Historian.

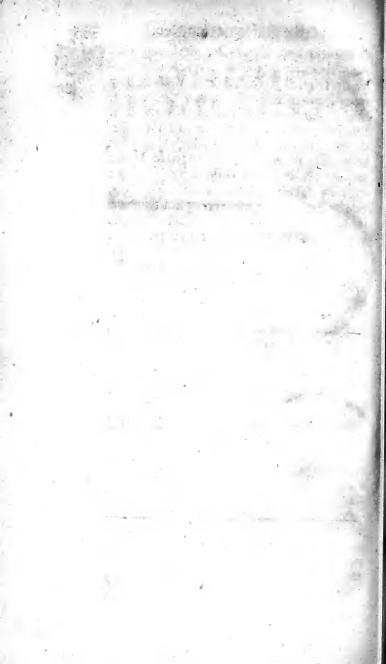
The Queens

The Queen had been bred to some more than ordinary knowledge: A fro-Character. ward fort of Vertue, and a Melancholy Piety, are the best things that can be said of her: she left the Conduct of Affairs wholly in the hands of her Council, and gave her felf up to follow all the dictates and humours of the Clergy: and though she esteemed Pool beyond them all, yet she imputed the moderateness of his Counsels, rather to his Temper, than to his Judgment: and perhaps thought that the Pope, who pressed all Princes to set up Courts of Inquisition, for extirpating of Heresie, was more likely to be Infallible than the Cardinal: and as Princes were required by the fourth Council in the Lateran, to extirpate Hereticks, under the pain of forfeiting their Dominions; so the Pope had set out a Decree this Year, by the advice of all his Cardinals, confirming all Canons

Canons against Hereticks, declaring that fuch Princes, as fell into Heresie, did there- Book III by forfeit all their Rights, without any special sentence, and that any that could, might seize on their Dominions. The Bishops had also this to say for their Severities, that by the Oath which they took at their Confecrations, they were bound to persecute Hereticks with all their might: fo that the Principles of that Religion, working on fowre and revengeful tempers, it was no wonder that Cruel Councils were more acceptable than moderate ones.



BOOK



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# BOOK IV.

## ETTLEMENT

OF THE

## REFORMATION

In the beginning of

Du. ELIZABETH's Reign.



HE Morning after Queen Mary died, the Lord Chancellor went to the House of Lords, and beth Procommunicated to them the News of Her death, and then

fent for the Commons, and declared it to them: and added, that the Crown was now devolved on their present Queen Elizabeth,

whole

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whose Title they were resolved to proclaim: Book IV This was Echoed with repeated Acclamations, which were so full of Joy, that it ap-1558 peared how weary the Nation was of the Cruel and weak administration of affairs, under the former Reign, and that they ho. ped for better times under the next. indeed the Proclaiming the new Queen. both at Westminster, and in the City of London, was received with such unusual transports of Joy, as gave the Melancholy Priests, just cause to sear a new Revolution in matters of Religion; and though the Queen's Death affected them with a very sensible forrow, yet the Joy in this change was so great, and so Universal, that a sad look was thought Criminal, and the Priests were glad to vent their griefs at their forfaken Altars, which were now like to be converted again to Communion Tables.

The Queen came to Lendon.

The Queen came from Hasfield, where she had lived private, to London. The Bishops met Her at Highgate, she received them all kindly, only the lookt on Bonner as defiled with so much blood, that it seemed indecent to treat him with the sweetness, that always attends the beginnings of Reigns: for common Civility to a Person fo polluted, might feem fome countenance to his Crimes. She past through London, in the midst of all the Joys, that People, delivered from the Terror of Fires and Slavery, could express: She quickly shewed, that she was resolved to retain no Impres-

sions of the hardships she had met with in her Sister's time, and treated those that Book W had used her worst, with great gentleness, Bennefield himself not excepted; only with 1558. a fharpness of raillery, she used to call him her Faylor. She gave notice of her coming to the Crown to all foreign Princes, and writ particular acknowledgments to King Philip, for the good offices he had done her. Among the rest, she writ to Sir Edward Karn, that was her Sifters Ambaffadour at Rome. But the Pope in his usual stile told him, that England was a Fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high Presumption in her, to take the Crown without his confent. especially she being illegitimate: but he faid, if the would renounce her Pretenfions, and refer her felf wholly to him, the might expect from him all the favour, that could confift with the dignity of the Apostolick See. The Queen hearing this, recalled Karn's power; but he being a zea-- lous Papist, continued still at Rome.

Philip proposed Marriage to the Queen, Philip proand undertook to procure a Dilpenfation poses marfor it, from Rome: But the Queen, as she the Queen, continued all her life averse to that state but in of life, fo she knew how unacceptable a vain. stranger, and particularly a Spaniard, would be to her People: She did not much value, the Pope's Dispensation, and if two Sisters; might marry the same Person, then two Brothers might likewise marry the same;

Woman: which would have overthrown;

all the Arguments for her Father's Divorce Book IV with Queen Catherine, upon which the Validity of her Mothers Marriage, and her le-1558 gitimation did depend. Yet though fhe firmly refolved not to marry King Philip, she thought, that during the Treaty at Cambray, it was not fit to put him quite out of hopes: so he sent to Rome for a Dispensation, but the French sent to oppose it, and fet up a Pretension for the young Queen of Scotland, as the righteous Heir to the Crown of England.

The Counfels about changing Religion.

The Queen continued to imploy most of her Sisters Privy-Councellours, and they had turned so often before, in matters of Religion, that it was not likely they would be Intractable in that point: but to these she added divers others; the most Eminent of whom, were Sir Will. Cecyl, and Sir Nicolas Bacon. She ordered all, that were Imprifoned on the account of Religion, to be fet at liberty: upon which one, that used to talk pleafantly, told her, the four Evangelists continued still Prisoners, and that the People longed much to fee them at liberty: She answered, she would talk with themfelves, and know their own mind. Some proposed the annulling all Queen Mary's Parliaments, because force was used in the first, and the Writs for another were not lawful, since the Title of Supream Head was left out in the Summons, before it was taken away by Law: but it was thought a Precedent of dangerous Consequence, to and nul

nul Parliaments upon Errors in Writs, or Book IV particular disorders. The Queen desired, that all the changes that should be made, might be so managed, as to breed as little division among her People, as was possible: She did not like the Title of Supream Head, as importing too great an Authority. She loved Magnificence in Religion, as she affected it in all other things; this made her incline to keep Images still in Churches: and that the Popish party might be offended as little as was possible, she intended to have the manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament defined in general terms, that might comprehend all fides. A Scheme was formed of the Method, in which it was most advisable for the Queen to proceed, and put in Cecyl's hands.

'It was thought necessary to do nothing A Scheme 'till a Parliament were called: The Queen proposed. had reason to look for all the mischief that the Pope could do her, who would fet on the French, and by their means, the Scots, 'and perhaps the Irish, against her. The 'Clergy, and those that were imployed in Queen Mary's time, would oppose it; and do what they could to inflame the Nation: and the greater part of the People loved the Pomp of the old Ceremonies. It was therefore proposed, that the Queen should on any terms make Peace with France; and encourage the Party in Scotland, that 'defired a Reformation. The Clergy were generally hated for their Cruelty, and it Z 3

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would be easie to bring them within the Book IV Statute of Premunire: Care was also to be taken to expose the former Councellours, 1 5 5 8. for the ill conduct of affairs in Qu. Mary's time, and so to lessen their credit. It was 'also proposed to look well to the Commissions, both for the Peace and the Militia. and to the Universities. Some Learned 'Men were to be ordered; to consider what alterations were fit to be made, and by what steps they should proceed. It was thought fit to begin with the Communion in both kinds. Now did the Exiles, that had fled beyond

Sea, return again; and some zeasous People

The Impatience of fome.

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began, in many places, to break Images, and fet up King Edward's Service again. Upon this the Queen ordered, that the Litany, and other parts of the Service should be said in English, and that no Elevation should be used in the Mass: but required 27 Decemb. her Subjects by Proclamation, to avoid all Innovations, and use no other forms, but those that she kept up in her Chappel, till it should be otherwise appointed in Parlia-She ordered her Sifter's Funeral to be performed with the ordinary Magnificence: White, Bishop of Winchester, that Preached the Sermon, not only extolled her Government much but made severe Resections on the present state of affairs; for which he

> Many Sees were now vacant: So one of the first things that came under Con-.. fultation.

was confined to his House for some time.

fultation, was the finding out fit Men for wo them. Dr. Parker was pitched on, as the Book IV been Chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and had been Parker reimployed in infructing the Queen, in the fuses the Points of Religion, when the was young: See of can-He was well known to Sir Nicolas Bacon, and terbury both he and Cecyligave so high a Character long. of him, that it meeting with the Queen's particular esteem, made them resolve on advancing him: but as foon as he knew it he used all the Arguments he possibly could against it, both from the weakness of his Body, and his unfitness for so great a charge. He defired that he might be put in some small Benefice of 20 Nobles a Year; So far was he from aspirings to great Wealth, or high Dignities: and as Cranmer had done before him, he continued for many Months fo averse to it, that it was very hard to overcome him. Such Promotions are generally, if not greedily fought after, yet at least willingly enough undertaken: but this looked liker the practifes in Ancient than Modern times. In the best Ages of the Church, instead of that Ambitus, which has given such scandal to the World in later times, it was ordinary for Men to flye from the offer of great Preferments, and to retire to a Wilderness, or a Monastery, rather than undertake a charge, which they thought above their Merit or Capacity to discharge. And this will still shew it self in all such as have a just fense of the Pastoral care, and consider the discharging that, more than the raising

or enriching themselves or their Families. Book IV And it was thought no small honour to the Reformation, that the two chief Instru-1558 ments that promoted it , Cranmer and Parker, gave such evidences of a Primitive Spirit, in being fo unwillingly advanced.

Keeper.

The Seals were taken from Heath, and put in Bacon's hands, who was declared made Lord Lord Keeper, and had all the Dignity and Authority of the Chancellors Office without the Title, which was perhaps an effect of his great Modesty, that adorned his other great qualities. As he was Eminent in himself, so he was happy in being Father to the Great Sir Francis Bacon, one of the chief Glories of the English Nation.

The Queen cd.

On the 13th. of January, the Queen was is Crown- Crowned: When she entred into her Chariot at the Tower, she offered up an humble acknowledgment to God, for delivering her out of that Lions Den, and preserving her to that Joyful Day. She passed through London in great Triumph, and received all the expressions of Joy from her People, with so much sweetness, as gained as much on their Hearts, as her Sisters sowrness had alienated them from her. Under one of the Triumphal Arches, a Child came down, as from Heaven, representing Truth with a Bible in his hand, which she received on her Knees, and kissed it, and said, she preferred that above all the other Presents that were that Day made her : She was Crown-

ed by Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlisle, for all the other Bishops refused to affist at it; and Book IV he only could be prevailed on to do it. They perceived that the intended to make changes in Religion, and though many of them had changed often before, yet they resolved now to stick firmer; to that which they had fo lately professed, and for which they had shed so much Blood.

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The Parliament was opened on the 25th. A Parliaof January; Bacon made a long Speech, ment is both concerning matters of Religion, and called. the State of the Nation. He defired they would examine the former Religion, without heat or partial affection; and that all reproaches might be forborn, and extreams avoided: and that things might be fo fetled, that all might agree in an Uniformity in Divine Worship. He laid open the errours of the former Reign, and aggravated the loss of Calais: but shewed, that it could not be easily recovered. He made a high Panegyrick of the Queen, but when he shewed the necessities she was in, he said, she would defire no supply, but what they should freely and chearfully offer. The House of Commons began at a Debate, Whether the want of the Title of Supream Head in the enumeration of the Queen's Titles, made a Nullity in the Writs, by which this and some former Parliaments had been fummoned: but they concluded in the Negative.

The

## Abzidament of the Willozp

The Peace at Cambray.

The Treaty at Cambray stuck chiefly at Book IV the restitution of Calais: and King Philip for a great while infifted fo politively on it. that he refused to make Peace on other terms. England had loft it by a War, in which they engaged on his account; fo in honour he was bound to fee to it. But when the hopes of his marrying the Queen vanished, and when he saw she was going to make changes in Religion, he grew more careless of her Interests, and told the English Ambassadours, that unless they would enter into a League for keeping up the War fix Years longer, he must submit to the neceffity of his affairs, and make Peace. So the Queen listned to Propositions sent her from France. She complained of the Queen of Scotland's affuming the Title and Arms of England: It was answered, that since she carried the Title and Arms of France, she had no reason to quarrel much on that account. She faw she could not make War with France alone, and knew that Philip had made a separated Peace. She had no mind to begin her Reign with a War, that would probably be unsuccessful, or demand Subsidies that would be so grievous, as that thereby she might lose the affections of her People. The loss of Calais was no reproach on her, but fell wholly on her Sifter's Memory: and fince she intended to make some changes in matters of Religion, it was neceffary to be at quiet with her Neighbours: Upon this, she resolved to make Peace with France, on the best terms that could be obtained.

tained. It was agreed, that at the end of eight Years, Calais should either be restored, Book IV or 500000. Crowns should be payed the Queen: yet if, during that time, she made War, either on France, or Scotland, the was to forfeit her right to Calais. Aymouth in Scotland was to be rased, and all differences on the Borders there, were to be determined, by some deputed on both sides; this being adjusted, a General Peace between the Crowns of England, France and Spain was concluded: and thus the Queen being freed from the dangerous confultations, that the continuance of a War might have involved her in, was the more at liberty to fettle matters at home.



The first Bill, that was brought to try Acts past the Temper of the Parliament, was for the ment. Restitution of the Tenths and First-fruits to the Crown; against this, all the Bishops protested, but that was all the opposition made to it. By it, not only that Tax was of new laid on the Clergy, but all the Impropriated Benefices, which Queen Mary had furrendred, were restored to the Crown.

After this, the Commons made an Ad- The Comdress to the Queen, desiring her to choose mons pray fuch a Husband, as might make both her the Queen felf, and the Nation happy. She received to marry. this very kindly, fince they had neither limited her to time, nor Nation: but declared, that as hitherto she had lived with great satisfaction in a single state, and had refused

1559.

refused the Propositions that had been made her, both in her Brothers and Sifters reign. fo she had no Inclination to change her course of life. If ever she did it, she would take care, that it should be for the good, and to the satisfaction of her People. She thought she was married to the Nation at her Coronation, and looked on her People, as her Children; and she would be well contented, if her Tombstone might tell Posterity, Here lies a Queen that reigned so long, and lived and dyed a Virgin. was little more progress made in this matter, fave, that a Committee was appointed by both Houses, to consider what should be the Authority of the Person, whom the Queen might happen to marry; but she fent them a Message, to proceed to other affairs, and let that alone.

Her Title to the Crown acknowledgcd.

A Bill for the Recognition of her Title to the Crown was put in: It was not thought necessary to Repeal the Sentence of her Mothers Divorce, for the Crown purged all defects: and it was thought needless to look back unto a thing, which could not be done, without at least casting some reproach on her Father; so it was in general words Enacted, 'That they did affuredly believe and declare, that by the Laws of God, and the Realm, she was their lawful Queen, and was rightly and lineally defeended. This was thought a much wifer way, than if they examined the Sentence of Divorce, that past, upon the Confession

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of a Precontract, which must have revived ~ the remembrance of things that were better Book IV left in silence.

Bills were put in for the English Service, Acts confor reviving King Edward's Laws, and for cerning annexing the Supremacy again to the Religion. Crown. To that, concerning the Supremacy, two Temporal Lords, and nine Bishops, with the Abbot of Westminster disfented. It was proposed to revive the Law. for making the Bishops by Letters-Patents, as was in King Edward's time, but they choosed rather to revive the Act for Electing them, made in the 25. Hen. 8. They revived all Acts made against the Pope's power, in King Henry's time, and repealed those, made by Queen Mary. They enacted an Oath, for acknowledging the Queen Supream Governour in all causes, and over all Persons: Those that refused it, were to forfeit all Offices that they held, either in Church or State, and to be under a disability, during life. If any should advance the authority of a Foreign Power; for the first offence, they were to be fined, or imprisoned; for the second, to be in a Pramunire; and the third was made Treason: The Queen was also impowered to give Commissions, for Judging and Reforming Ecclesiastical matters; who were limited to judge nothing to be Heresie, but what had been already so judged by the authority of the Scriptures, or the first four General Councils. All Points that were not decided.

1559.

Book IV or by those Councils, were to be referred or by those Councils, were to be referred to the Parliament and Convocation. The Title of Supream Head was changed, partly, because the Queen had some scruples a. bout it, and partly to moderate the oppofition, which the Popish party might otherwife make to it: and the refusing the Oath was made no other way Penal, but that all Offices or Benefices were forfeited upon it, which was a great mitigation of the feverity. in King Henry's time. The Bishops are said to have made feveral Speeches against this. in the House of Lords: but that which goes under the name of Heath's Speech must be a forgery; for in it the Supremacy is called a new and unheard of thing, which could not have flowed from one that had fworn it fo often, both under King Henry, and King Edward. Tonstall came not to this Parliament, and he was so offended with the Cruelties of the last Reign, that he had withdrawn himself into his Diocess!: where he burnt none himself, upon that it was now thought, that he was so much alienated from those Methods, that some had great hopes of his declaring for the Reformation. Heath had been likewise very moderate, nor were any burnt under him. Upon the power given the Queen, to appoint some to Reform and direct all Ecclefiastical matters, was the Court, called the High Commission Court, founded: which indeed was nothing, but the sharing that authority, which was in one Person in King Henry's time, into many

many hands: for that Court had no other authority, but that which was lodged for Book IV merly in Cromwell, as the King's Vicegerent, and was now thought too great to be trufted to one Man.

Great complaints were made of feditious Preaching Sermons, preached by the Popish Clergy: without Licence upon which, the Queen followed the Prece-forbidden. dent that her Sifter had made, and forbid all Preaching, excepting only by fuch, as obtained a Licence under the Great Seal for it: She likewise sent an Order to the Convocation, requiring them, under the pains of a Pramunire, to make no Canons. Yet the lower House, in an Address to the upper House, declared for the Corporal Presence, and that the Mass was a Propitiatory Sacrifice, and for the Supremacy, and that matters of Religion fell only under the Cognisance of the Pastors of the Church. The greatest part of both Universities had also set their hands to all these Points, except the laft.

This, it feems, was the rather added by the A publick Clerks of Convocation, to hinder a publick Confe-Conference, which the Queen had appointed, rence a-between the Bishops and the Reformed Di-ligion. vines. It was first proposed to Heath, who was still a Privy Councellour, and he, after fome Conference about it, with his Brethren, accepted of it. Nine of a side were to dispute about three Points: Worship in an Unknown Tongue, the power that every particular Church had to alter Rites and Cere-

Book IV 1559.

Ceremonies, and the Masse's being a Propitiatory Sacrifice, for the Dead and the Living: All was to be given in in Writing: The Bishops were to begin in every Point, and they were to interchange their Papers, and answer them. The last of March was the first day of Conference, which held in Westminster Abby, in the presence of the Privy Council, and both Houses of Parliament. The Bishop of Winchester pretended, there had been some mistake in the Order, and that their Paper was not quite finished? but that Dr. Cole should deliver in discourse what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order, that it could be Copied out. The fecret of this was, The Bishops had refolved openly to Vindicate their Doctrine. but not to give any Papers, or enter into dispute with Hereticks, or so far to acknow. ledge the Queen's Supremacy, as to engage in Conferences, at her command. Cole was observed to read almost all he said, though he affected to be thought only to deliver a discourse so, as if most part of it had been Extemporary.

Argu. ments for & against the Worthip in an unknown Tongue.

The substance of it was, that though the Worship in a known Tongue had been appointed in the Scriptures, yet the Church had power to change it, as she changed the Sabbath, and had appointed the Sacrament to be received fasting, though it was Instituted after Supper: to eat blood was forbid, and a Community of goods was fet up by the Apo ftles; yet it was in the power of the Church to

alter

alter these things; he enlarged on the evil of Schism, and the necessity of adhering to Book IV the Church of Rome. Vulgar Tongues changed daily, but the Latine was the same, & was 1559. spread over many Countries. The People might reap profit from Prayers, which they understood not, as well as absent Persons. The Queen of Ethiopia's Eunuch read Isaiah, though he understood him not; and Philip was fent to explain that Prophecy to him.

Horn, when this was ended, read the Paper drawn by the Reformers; he began it with a Prayer, and a Protestation of their fincerity. They founded their Assertion on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians; in which he enjoyned them to pray with understanding, that so the Unlearned might fay, Amen, and that nothing should be spoken, that might give an uncertain found, but that all things should be done to edification; and though the speaking with strange Tongues, was then an extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghost, yet he forbids the using it, where there was not an Interpreter. Things fo expresly enjoyned could not be indifferent, or fall under the power of the Church. The Tews had their Worship in the Vulgar Tongue, so had also the most barbarous Nations, when converted to Christianity. The natural use of Speech was, that every thing which was faid, might be understood: Quotations were brought, to shew that Psalms were daily sung in the Vulgar Tongue among all Nations.

When

# Abzidgment of the **billo2**p

When they ended their Paper, it was re-

Book IV ceived with a shout of applause; and was put in the Lord Keeper's hands, figned by 1559 them all. But the Bishops refused to deliver theirs. The next day was appointed for considering the second Point, but the Bishops resolved to go no further in the Conference; for they faw by the applause of the People, that the Audience was more favourable to the other side: so the next day of Meeting, they offered an answer to the Paper given in the former day by the The Lord Keeper told them, Reformers. that according to the Order laid down, they were first to go through the three Points, before they might be suffered to reply: but they faid, Cole had the former day only given his own sense in an Extemporary discourse. Their foul dealing in this was condemned by the whole Audience, so the Lord Keeper required them to go to the fecond Point: but they refused to begin, and moved that the other side should be made to begin; and though the Lord Keeper shewed them, that this was contrary to the Order agreed on before hand, yet they continued all resolute, and would not proceed any further; Ferknam only excepted: but he faid, he could do nothing alone, fince the rest would not joyn with him. The Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln said, the Faith of the Church ought not to be examined, except in a Synod of Divines: and it gave too great an encouragement to Hereticks, to dispute with them: and that both the Queen

and her Council deserved to be excommunicated, for suffering them to argue against Book IV the Catholick Faith, before an Unlearned Multitude. Upon this, they were fent to 1559. the Tower, and the Conference broke up: but the Reformers thought the advantage was much on their fide, and that things were now carried much more fairly, than had been in those Conferences and Disputes, that were in the beginning of the former Reign. The Papists, on the other hand, faid, it was vifible the Audience was prepossessed, and that the Conference was appointed only to make way for the changes, that the Parliament was then about, with the Pomp of a Victory; and therefore as they blamed the Bishops. for undertaking it, so they justified them for breaking it off.

The Book of Common-Prayer was now The Engrevised, the most considerable alteration life Services was, that the express Declaration, which is again was made in the fecond Book, fet out by fet up. King Edward, against the Corporal Presence, was left out, that so none might be driven out of the Communion of the Church upon that account. The matter was left undetermined, as a speculative Point, in which People were left at liberty. The Book of Ordination was not specially mentioned in the Act, which gave occasion to Bonner afterwards, to question the Legality of Ordinations made by it. But it had been made a part of the Common Prayer-Book in the 5th. year of King Edward; and the whole Aa 2 Book.

Book, then set out, was now confirmed: Book IV so that by a special Act made some years after this, it was declared, that that Office 1559 was understood to be a part of it.

Speeches made against it by some Bishops.

When the Bill for the English Service was put in to the House of Lords, Heath, and Scot Bishop of Chester and Ferknam, made long Speeches against it, grounded chiefly on the Authority of the Church, the Antiquity of the established Religion, and Novelty of the other; which was changed every day, as appeared in King Edward's time. They faid, the consent of the Catholick Church, and the perpetual succession in St. Peter's Chair, ought to have more authority, than a few Preachers rifen up of late. They also enlarged much against the Sacriledge, the robbing of Churches, and the breaking of Images, that had been committed by the Reformers, and those that favoured them. What was faid in opposition to this in the House of Lords, is not known, but a great deal of it may be gathered from the Paper which the Reformed Divines drew upon the fecond Point, about which they were appointed to dispute, of the power that every Church had to Reform it felf. This they founded on the Epistles of St. Paul to the particular Churches, and St. John's to the Angels of the feven Churches. In the first three Ages there were no General Councils, but every Bishop in his Diocess, or such few Bishops as could Assemble together, condemned Heresies, or deter-

determined matters that were contested; Book IV fo did also the Orthodox Bishops, after Ari. anism had so over-spread the World, that even the See of Rome was defiled with it. And abuses were condemned in many places without staying for a general concurrence: though that was then more possible, when all was under one Emperour, than it was at present. Even in Queen Mary's time, many superstitions, as Pilgrimages, & the worshipping of Reliques were laid aside. Therefore they concluded, that the Queen might by her own authority, reform even the Clergy, as Hezekiah and Josias had done under the old Law. When the Act past in the House of Lords, eight Spiritual Lords, and nine Temporal Lords, protested against it; among whom was the Marquels of Winchester, Lord Treasurer. Another Act past with more opposition, that the Queen might referve some Lands belonging to Bishopricks to her felf, as they fell void, giving in lieu of them improprietated Tithes to the value of them: but this was much opposed in the House of Commons, who apprehended, that under this pretence, there might new spoils be made of Church-lands, so that upon a Division of the House 90. were against it, but 133. were for it, and so it was past. All Religious Houses founded by the late Queen, were supprest and united to the Crown. The deprivation of the Popish Bishops in King Edward's time was declared valid in Law, by which all the Leases which had been made by those that were Aa a put

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put in their Sees, were good in Law: A Book IV Subfidy, and two Tenths, and two Fifteenths, with the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, and so the Parliament was difsolved, on the 8th. of May.

> Some Bills were proposed, but not past: one was for restoring the Bishops deprived by Queen Mary, who were Barlow, Scory and Coverdale: but the first of these had been made to relign, and the last being extream old, resolved to follow Latimer's example, and not return to his See. So it was not thought worth the while to make an Act for Scory alone. Another Bill, that was laid aside, was, for restoring all Churchmen to their Benefices, that had been turned Out. because they were married: but it seems, it was not thought decent enough to begin with such an Act. Another Bill that came to nothing, was, for impowering XXXII. Persons to revise the Ecclesiastical Laws; but as this last was then let fall, so to the great prejudice of this Church, it has flept ever fince.

Many Bimed out.

After the Parliament was dissolved, the shops tur- Oath of Supremacy was tendred to the Bishops, and all, except Kitchin, Bishop of Landaffe, refused it. Tonstall continued unresolved till September, and so long did the Queen delay the putting it to him: But at last he refused it, and so lost his Bishoprick. It was generally believed that he quitted it, rather because being extream

old, he thought it indecent to forfake his Brethren, and to be still changing, than out Book IV of any scruple he had in his Conscience, concerning it. All the Bishops were at first put under confinement, but they were foon after fet at liberty: only Bonner, White and Watson, were kept Prisoners. Many complaints were brought against Bonner, for the Cruelties he had been guilty of against Law, and the Tortures he had put his Prisoners to himself: but yet the Queen resolved not to stain the beginnings of her Reign with blood, and the Reformed Divines were, in Imitation of Nazianzen, upon the like revolution, in the Roman Empire; exhorting their Followers, not to think of revenging themselves, but to leave that to God. Heath lived privately at his own House, in which he was sometimes visited by the Queen. Tonstall and Thirleby were appointed to live in Lambeth, with the new Archbishop. White and Watson were morose, and haughty Men, much addicted to the School Divinity, which has been often observed, to incline People to an overvaluing of themselvs. All the other Bishops, except Pates, Scot and Goldwell, that had been Bishops of Worcester, Chester, and St. Asaph, continued still in England: but these had leave to go beyond Sea. A few Gentlemen, and all the Nuns went likewise out of England; and so gentle was the Queen, that she denied that Liberty to none that asked it.

to keep

The Queen inclined to keep Images still Book IV in Churches, and though the Reformed Divines made many applications, to divert her 1559 from it; yet she was not easily wrought on. The Queen The Divines put all their Reasons against them in Writing, and defired her to com-Images in mit the determining of that matter, to a Churches. Synod of Bishops and Divines, and not to take up an unalterable resolution upon Political Considerations. They laid before her the second Commandment against making Images for God, and the Curle pronounced against those that made an Image, and put it in a secret place, that is, in an Oratory: The Book of Wisdom calls them a snare for the feet of the Ignorant, S. John charged the Christians to beware of Idols, and not only of worshipping them. The use of them fed fuperstition, and ended in Idolatry, and would breed great Divisions among themselves. They shewed that Images were not allowed in the Church, till the 7th. Century, and the Contests that were raised about them, in the Eastern Empire, occasioned fuch distractions, as in a great measure made way for its ruine, and laid it open to the Mahometans. These things wrought so much on the Queen, that she was at last content they should be put down.

A General Visitation.

It was now resolved to send Visiters over England, so Injunctions were prepared for them. Those appointed in the first year of King Edward, were now renewed with some

little alteration: To which, 'Rules were added concerning the Marriages of the Book IV Clergy, for avoiding the scandals given by them. The Clergy were also required 5599 to use Habits, according to their degrees 'in the Universities. All People were to refort to their own Parish Church; and fome were to be appointed to examine and give notice of those who went not to 'Church: all flanderous words were forbidden. No Books were to be Printed without Licence: Inquiry was ordered to be made into all the proceedings against 'Hereticks, during the late Reign: Reverence was to be expressed, when the name 'Jesus was pronounced: An Explanation was made of the supremacy, that the "Queen did not pretend to any authority for Ministring Divine Service; but only that she had the soveraignty over all Perfons, and that no foreign Power was to be acknowledged: and fuch as had fcru-'ples about it, might declare, that they took it only in that sense. A Commu-'nion Table was to be fet, where the Altars stood formerly, but on Sacrament

Days, it was to be brought into the most convenient place in the Chancel. The Bread for the Sacrament was to have no figure on it, and to be thicker than Wafers. The bidding Prayer was appointed to be the same, that had been 'used in King Edward's time, only an Expression that imported a Prayer for the Dead, was changed. The obliging Church-

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men to go always in their Habits, was Book IV thought a good mean to make them obferve the Decencies of their Function. 3 15 9 when their Habit declared what they were. and would be a reproach to them, if they behaved themselves unsutably to it. bowing at the name Jesus was considered, as such an acknowledgment of his Divinity, as was made by standing up at the Creed, or the Gloria Patri. The liberty given to explain in what sense the Oath of Supremacy was taken, gave a great Evidence of the Moderation of the Queen's Government; that she would not lay snares for her People, which is always a fign of a wicked and Tyrannical Prince. But the Queen reckoned, that if such Comprehenfive Methods could be found out, as would once bring her People under an Union, though perhaps there might remain a great diversity of Opinion, that would wear off with the present Age, and in the next Generation all would be of one mind. this had the good effect that was expected from it, till the Pope and the King of Spain began to open Seminaries beyond Sea, for a Mission to England; which have since that time been the occasion of almost all the distractions this Nation has laboured under.

The High-

The Queen granted Commissions for the Commission two Provinces of Canterbury and York, conon Courts. filting most of the Laity; some few of the Clergy being mixed with them: 'Impowering them to visit the Churches, to suspend

or deprive unworthy Clergymen, to pro-ceed against scandalous Persons, by Im. Book IV prisonment or Church censures; to reserve Pensions for such, as resigned their Benefices, and to restore such as had been un-'lawfully put out in the late Reign. By these reserved Pensions, as the Clergy that were turned out, were kept from extream want, so they were in great measure bound to their good behaviour by them: The Impowering Laymen to deprive Churchmen, or Excommunicate, could not be eafily excused, but was as justifiable, as the Commissions to Lay-chancellours for those things were. There are 9400. Benefices in England, but of all these, the number of those who chose to resign, rather than to take the Oath, was very inconsiderable. Fourteen Bishops, six Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Archdeacons, fifteen Heads of Colledges, fifty Prebendaries, & eighty Rectors, was the whole number of those that were

The See of Canterbury was now to be Parker is filled: but Parker stood out long, before very un-he would submit to a burden, which he made thought disproportioned to his strength. Archbish. He said, he was afraid of incurring God's of Canter-Indig- bury.

gion.

turned out. But it was believed, that the greatest part complied against their Consciences, and would have been ready for another turn, if the Queen had died, while that Race of Incumbents lived, and the next Successor had been of another Reli-

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Indignation, for accepting a trust which he Book IV could not discharge, as he ought, having neither strength of body, nor mind, equal to it: he was threatned with Imprisonment in case of refusal; but he said, he would fuffer it chearfully, rather than engage in a station, that was so far above him: and he had such a sense of the Episcopal Function, that he resolved never to aspire to it. He thought he had but two or three years more of life before him, and defired to imploy these well, and not to be advanced to a place, in which he knew, he could not answer the expectations, that fome had of him: he wished the Queen would feek out a Man, that were neither Arrogant, Faint-hearted, nor Covetous: and expressed the great apprehensions he had, that some Men, who he perceived, were Men still, notwithstanding all the Trials they past through of late, would revive those heats that were begun beyond Sea, and that they would fall a quarrelling among themselves, which would prove a pleasant diversion to the Papists. But when by many repeated commands, he was required to accept of that great advancement, he at last writ to the Queen her self, and protested, 'that out of regard to God, and the good of her service, he held himself bound in Conscience, to declare to her, his great unworthiness, for so high a Fun-'ction; and so, as prostrate at her feet, he begged her to press it on him no further: for that Office did require a Man of more

Learning, Vertue and Experience, than he perfectly knew was in himself. But as Book IV these denials, so earnestly and frequently repeated, shewed, that he had certainly 1559. fome of the necessary qualifications, which were true humility, and a contempt of the World; fo they tended to increase the esteem, which the Queen, and her Minifters had of him: And they perfifting in their Resolution, he was at last forced to yield to it. He was upon the fending of the Conge d'eslire, chosen by the Chapter of Canterbury; and in September, the Queen issued out a Warrant for his Confectation, which was directed to Tonstall, Bourn and Pool (the last was Cardinal Pool's Brother, and was Bishop of Peterborough) and to Kitchin, Barlow and Scory: by which it appears, that there was then some hope of gaining the former three to obey the Laws, and to continue in their Sees: but they refusing to execute this, there was a second Warrant directed to Kitchin, Barlow, Scory and Coverdale, and to Bale, Bishop of Osfory, and two suffragan

After this Parker ordained Grindall for The other the See of London; Cox for Ely, Horn for Bishops Winchester, Sandys for Worcester, Merick for consecra-Bangor, Toung for St. Davids, Bullingham ted.

omitted.

Bishops to Consecrate Parker: and on the 17th. of December, he was Consecrated by four of these, according to the Book of Ordination, set out under King Edward, only the giving the Pastoral Staff was now

# Absidgment of the History

Book IV 1559.

for Lincoln, Jewell' for Salisbury, Davis for St. Asaph, Guest for Rochester, Berkley for Bath and Wells, Bentham for Coventry and Litchfield, Alley for Exeter, and Parre for Peterborough, Barlow and Scory were put in the Sees of Chichester and Hereford, The Sees of York and Duresme were kept vacant a Year, upon some hopes that Heath and Tonstall would have conformed; but in the Year 1561. Young was translated from St. Davids to York; and Pilkinton was put in Duresme.

The Fable of the Naggshead confured.

All this is opened the more particularly, for discovering the Impudence of the Contrivance of the Naggs-Head Ordination, which was first vented in King James's time, above forty Years after this. It was then faid, that the Elect Bishops met at the Naggs Head Tavern in Cheapside, and were in great disorder, because Kitchin refused to confecrate them; upon which Scory made them all kneel down, and laid the Bible on their Heads, saying, Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God sincerely; and that this was all the Ordination that they ever had: and to confirm this, it was pretended, that Neale, one of Bonner's Chaplains, watched them into the Tayern, and faw all that was done through the Key hole. This was given out, when all that wereconcerned in it were dead; yet the old Earl of Nottingham, who had feen Parker's Confecration, was still alive, and declared, that he faw it done at Lambeth, in the Chap-

pel,

pel, according to the Common-Prayer-Book, and both the Records of the Crown, Book IV and the Registers of the See of Canterbury do plainly confute this. The Author did also see the Original Instrument then made, describing all the particulars relating to Parker's Confectation, preserved still in Corpus Christi Colledge in Cambridge, among the other Manuscripts which he left to that House, in which he had his Education.

The first thing that the Bishops set about, The Artiwas, the publishing the Doctrine of the cles of the Church. In order to this, a Review was Church made of those Articles, that had been com- Published. piled under Edward the VI. and some small alterations were made. The most considerable, was, that a long determination, that was made formerly against the Corporal Presence, was now left out; and it was only said, That the Body of Christ was given and received in a spiritual manner, and that the means by which it was received, was Faith. Yet in the Original Subscription of the Articles, by both Houses of Convocation, still extant, there was a full declaration made against it, in these words, 'Christ, when he 'ascended into Heaven, made his Body Immortal, but took not from it the nature of a Body. For still it retains, according to the Scriptures, a true Humane Body, which must be always in one definite place, and cannot be spread into many, or all places at once: fince then Christ was car-'ried up to Heaven, and is to remain there

to the end of the World, and is to come Book IV 'from thence, and from no other place, to 'judge the Quick and the Dead; None of the Faithful ought to believe, or profess the Real, or as they call it, the Corporal Presence of his Flesh and Blood in the Eucharift. But the defign of the Queen's Council, was, to unité once the whole Nation, into the Communion of the Church; and it was feared, that so express a definition against the Real Presence, would have driven many out of the Communion of the Church, who might have been otherwise kept in it: and therefore it was thought enough to affert only the Spiritual Presence, but that it was not necessary to condemn the Corporal Presence, in such express words; and therefore, though the Convocation had so positively determined this matter, it was thought more conducing to the publick peace, to dash it in the Original Copy, and to suppress it in the Printed Copies.

Bible.

A Transla. The next thing they took in hand, was a tion of the new Translation of the Bible: Several Books of it were given to several Bishops, who were appointed to call for fuch Divines, as were learned in the Greek or Hebrew Tongues, and by their assistance they were to translate that parcel that fell to their share: and so when one had compleated that which was affigned to him, he was to offer it to the Correction of those that were appointed to translate the other

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other parts, and after every Book had thus past the Censure of all, who were imployed Book IV in this matter, then it was approved of. And so great hast made they in this impor- 1559. tant work, that within two or three years, the whole Translation was finished.

There was one thing yet wanting, to The want compleat the Reformation of this Church, of Church which was the restoring a Primitive Disci-discipline, pline, against scandalous Persons, the establishing the Government of the Church in Ecclesiastical hands, and the taking it out of Lay-hands, who have fo long profaned it; and have exposed the authority of the Church, and of the Censures of it, chiefly Excommunication to the contempt of the Nation, by which the reverence due to Holy things, is in so great a measure lost, and the dreadfullest of all Censures, is now become the most scorned and despised. upon what reasons, it cannot be now known, this was not carried on with that Zeal; nor brought to that perfection that was necelfary. The want of Ecclesiastical Discipline, fet on some to devise many new Platforms, for the administration of it, in every Parish; all which gave great offence to the Government, and were so much opposed by it, that they came to nothing. Other differences were raised concerning the Vestments of the Clergy, and some Factions growing up in the Court, these differences were heightned, by those who intended to serve their own ends, by making the feveral Parties quarrel

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or quarrel with so much animosity, that it Book IV should scarce be possible to reconcile them: Since that time, the fatal Division of this 1559 Nation, into the Court and Country party, has been the chief occasion of the growth. and continuance of those differences; so that all the attempts which have been made by moderate Men to compose them, have proved ineffectual.

The Refor-Scotland.

At this time there was a great revolution mation in of affairs in Scotland. When there was a probability of bringing the Treaty of Cambray to a good effect, the Cardinal of Lorrain writ to his Sister, the Queen Regent of Scotland, and to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and let them know the Resolution that was taken, to extirpate Heresie, and exhorted them to use their endeavours for that end. The Queen Regent saw, that by doing this, she would not only break her faith to the Lords, who had hitherto adhered to her, upon the affurance she gave them of her Protection, but that the Peace of Scotland would be endangered; for as their Party was strong, so it was not to be doubted, but the Queen of England would support them, and so she was not easily brought to follow her Brother's cruel Coun-But the Bishops shut their eyes upon all dangers, and resolved to strike a terror into the People, by some severe Executions. They began with Walter Mell, an old infirm Priest, who had preached in some places against many of the Opinions then recei-

yed: he was particularly accused for having afferted the lawfulness of the Marriage Book IV. of the Clergy, and for having condemned the Sacrifice of the Mass and Transubstan-1559. tiation, with some other particulars, all: which he confessed, and upon his refusal to abjure them, he was condemned to be burnt. Yet so averse were the People from those Cruelties, that it was not easie to find any that would execute the Sentence: Nor would any do so much as fell a Cord to tve. him to the Stake, fo that the Archbishop was forced to fend for the Cords of his own Pavilion. The old Man expressed great. firmness of mind, and such chearfulness in his sufferings, that the People were much affected at it: and this being every where looked on as a Prologue to greater feverities, that were to follow, the Nobility and Gentry began to consider what was fit to be done. They had offered a Petition to the Queen Regent the last year, that the worship might be in the Vulgar Tongue, that the Communion might be given in both kinds, and that scandalous Priests might be turned out, and worthy Men be put in their places. The Queen Regent being unwilling to irritate so great a Party, before the Danphin was declared King of Scotland, promised that they should not be punished for having their Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue. In Parliament, they moved for a Repeal of the Laws, for the Bishops proceedings against Hereticks, and that nothing might be judg. ed Herefie, but that which was condemned

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by the Word of God; but the Queen Re-Book IV gent told them, these things could not pass, because of the Opposition, which was made 1559 to them, by the Spiritual Estate; upon that they made a Protestation, that whereas they had modeftly moved for a redress of abuses, they were not to be blamed for the ill effects of rejecting their Petition, and the Violences that might follow.

> But when the Queen had gained her end, in relation to the Dauphin, she ordered a Citation to be ferved on all the Reformed Preachers: The Earl of Glencawn was, upon that, fent to put her in mind of her fermer promises; she answered him roughly, 'That maugre all that would take those 'Mens part, they should be banished Scot-'land; and added, that Princes were bound only to observe their promises, so far as they found it convenient for them to do it. To this he replied, that if she renounced her Promises, they would renounce their obedience to her.

It is first fet up in St. Johnstown.

In St. Johnstown, that Party entred into the Churches, and had Sermons publickly in them. The Ministers were coming from all parts, to appear on the 20th. of May. for to that day they had been cited; and great numbers came along with them. The Queen apprehending the ill effects of a great Confluence of Feople, fent them word not. to come, and upon this many went home again; yet upon their not appearance, they

were all declared Rebels. This foul dealing made many leave her, and go over to Book IV those that were met at St. Johnstown. And the heat of the People was raifed to that pitch, that they broke in upon the Houses of the Monks and Friars, and after they had distributed all that they found in them, except that which the Monks conveyed away to the Poor, they pulled them down to the ground. This provoked the Queen fo much, that she resolved to punish that Town, in a most exemplary manner: so she gathered the French Souldiers together, with fuch others, as would joyn with her: but the Earl of Glencairn gathered 2500. Men together, and with incredible hast, he marched to that place, where there were now in all 7000. armed Men. This made the Queen afraid to engage with them; fo an agreement was made. An oblivion was promifed for all that was past; Matters of Religion were referred to a Parliament, and the Queen was to be received into St. Johnstown, without carrying her Frenchmen with her: But she carried them with her into the Town, and as she put a Garrison in it, so fhe punished many for what was past; and when her promises were objected to her, she answered, 'Princes were not to be strictly charged with their Promises, especially when they were made to Hereticks; and that she thought it no sin to kill and deftroy them all, and then would excuse it as 'well as could be, when it was done. This turned the Hearts of the whole Nation from Bb 3 her,

her, and in many places they began to pull

Book IV down Images, and to rafe Monasteries. The Queen Regent represented this to the King 1559 of France, as done on delign to shake off the French voke, and desired a great Force to reduce the Countrey. On the other hand, some were sent over from the Lords, to give a true representation of the matter. and to let him know, that an Oblivion for what was past, and the free Exercise of their Religion for the time to come, would give The French King began full fatisfaction. now to apprehend, how great a charge the keeping that Kingdom in peace, was like to come to; and faw the danger of the Scots casting themselves into the Arms of the Queen of England, therefore he fent one, in whom the Constable put an entire confidence to Scotland, to bring him a true report of the state of that matter, that was fo variously represented: But before he could return, the King of France was dead, and the Constable was in disgrace; and all affairs were put in the hands of the Brothers of the House of Guise, so that all moderate Councils were now out of doors. The people did so universally rise against the Queen Regent, that she was forced to retire to Dunbar-Castle: She was once willing to refer the whole matter to a Parliament: But 2000. Men coming over from France, and affurances being sent Her, of a greater Force to follow, she took heart, and came and fortified Leith, and again broke her last agreement, upon which the Lords pretended,

that in their Queens Minority, the Government was chiefly in the States, and Book IV that the Regent was only the chief Administrator, and accountable to them: fo they 1559. resolved to depose her from her Regency.



They objected many Maleadministrations The Queen to her, as her beginning a War in the King- Regent is dom, and bringing in strangers to subdue it, deposed. her embasing the Coin, governing without consent of the Nobility, & breaking her Faith and Promises to them, upon which they declared that she had fallen from her Regency, and suspended her Power till the next Parliament. The Lords, now called the Lords of the Congregation, retired from Edenburgh to Sterlin: upon which the French came to Edenburgh, and fet up the Masse again in the Churches, then a new Supply came from France, commanded by the Marquess of Elbenfe, one of the Queen Regents Brothers, fo that there were in all 4000. French in Scotland. But by her having this foreign Force, the whole Nation came to be united against the Queen, and to look on her as a common Enemy. The Scots, who had been hitherto animated, and fecretly supplied with Money and Ammunition from England, were now forced to defire the Queen of England's aid more openly: and France was now like to be so much divided within it felf, that the Queen did not much apprehend a War with that Crown; fo she was more easily determined to affift the Scots.

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Scots.

A Treaty was made between the Duke of Book IV Norfolk, and the Scots: they promised to be the Queen's perpetual Allies, and that after the French were driven out of Scotland, they of England should continue their Obedience to their assists the own Queen: upon which, 2000. Horse, and 6000. Foot, were fent to affift the Scots. These besieged Lieth, during which, there were considerable losses on both sides, but the losses on the side of the English were more easily made up, supplies being nearer at hand. The French offered to put Calais again in the Queen of England's hands, if the would recall her Forces out of Scotland: She answered on the sudden, that she did not value that Fish-Town, so much as she did the quiet of the Isle of Brittain. But the offered to Mediate a Peace between them and the Scots.

To June. TheQueen Regent dies.

Before this could be effected, the Queen Regent of Scotland died, the fent for some of the Scottish Lords in her sickness, and asked them pardon for the Injuries she had done them: She advised them to send both the French and English out of Scotland, and prayed them to continue in their Obedience to their Queen: She also discoursed with one of their Preachers, and declared that she hoped to be faved only by the Merits of Christ. She had governed the Nation, before the last year of her life, with such Jufrice and Prudence, and was fo great an Example, both in her own Person, and in the Order of her Court, that if she had died before

before her Brother's bloody Counsels had involved her in these last passages of her Book IV life, she had been the most lamented and esteemed Queen that had been in that Nation, for many Ages. Her own Inclinations were Just and Moderate; and she often said, that if her Counsels might take place, she did not doubt, but she should bring all things again to perfect Tranquillity and Peace: Soon after a Peace was concluded, between England, France and Scotland: An Oblivion was granted for all that was past: The French and English were to be sent out of Scotland, and all other things were referred to a Parliament. During the Queen's ab. fence, the Kingdom was to be governed by a Council of 12. all Natives; of these the Queen was to name 7. and the States were to choose 5. So both the English and French were fent out of Scotland? and the Parliament met in August.

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In it, all Acts for the former way of Re- A Parlialigion were repealed, and a confession of ment Faith penned by Knox, afterwards inserted meets, and settles the among the Acts of Parliament, 1567. was Reformaconfirmed. These Acts were opposed only tion. by three Temporal Lords, who faid, they would believe as their Fathers had done: but all the Spiritual Lords, both Bishops. and Abbots, confented to them; and they did dilapidate the Lands and Revenues of the Church in the strangest manner, that was ever known: the Abbots converted their Abbies into Temporal Estates, and the

the Bishops, though they continued Papists Book IV still, divided all their Lands among their Bastards or Kindred; and procured confir-1559 mations of many of the Grants they gave from Rome: by which, that Church was fo impoverished, that if King James and King Charles the First, had not with much zeal. and great endeavours, retrieved some part of the Ancient Revenues, and provided a confiderable maintenance for the Inferiour Clergy, all the encouragements to Religion and Learning had been to such a degree withdrawn, that Barbarism must have again over-run that Kingdom. When these Acts thus agreed on in the Parliament of Scotland. were sent over to France, they were reject. ed with great scorn; fo that the Scots began to apprehend a new War: but Francis the fecond's death, foon after delivered them from all their fears: for their Queen having no more the support of so great a Crown, was forced to return home, and govern in fuch a manner, as that Nation was pleased to submit to.

The Queen the Head of all the Prote-Stants,

Thus had the Queen of England divided of England Scotland from its ancient dependance on France, and had tied it so to her own Interests, that she was not only secure on that side of her Dominions, but came to have so great an interest in Scotland, that affairs there, were for most part governed according to the Directions she fent thither. ther Accidents did also concur to give her a great share in all the most Important affairs of Europe.

In

Book IV

Both in

France

In France, upon Henry the second's fatal Book I end, great Divisions arose between the Princes of the Blood, and the Brothers of the House of Guise, into whose hands the administration of affairs was put, during Fran. cis the second's short Reign: It was pretended on the one hand, that the King was not of Age, till he was 22, and that during his Minority, the Princes of the Blood were to Govern by the Advice of the Courts of Parliaments, and the Assembly of Estates: On the other hand, it was faid, that the King might assume the Government, and Imploy whom he pleased at 14. A design was laid, in which many of both Religions concurred, for taking the Government out of the hands of the strangers, and seising on the King's Person, but a Protestant, moved by a Principle of Conscience, discovered it. this the Prince of Conde, and many others, were seised on, and if the King had not died foon after, they had suffered for it. Charles the Ninth succeeding, who was under Age, the King of Navarre was declared Regent, but he, though before a Protestant, was drawn into the Papist Interest; and joyned himself with the Queen Mother, and the Constable. A severe Edict was made against the Protestants, but the Execution of it was like to raise great disorders, so another was made in a great Assembly of many Princes of the Blood, Privy Councellours, and 8. Courts of Parliament, allowing the free exercise of that Religion: yet after this, the Duke



Duke of Guise reconciled himself to the Book IV Queen Mother, and they resolved to break the Edict: so the Duke of Guise happening to pass by a Meeting of Protestants, his Servants offered violence to them; from reproachful words, it went to the throwing of stones; by one of which the Duke was hurt: upon which his Servants killed 60. of the Protestants, and wounded 200. and upon this the Edict was every where broken. It was faid, that the Regent's power did not extend fo far, as that he could break so Publick an Edict. and that therefore it was lawful for the Protestants to defend themselves. Prince of Conde set himself at the Head of them, and the King of Navarre being killed foon after the breaking out of the War, he, as the first Prince of the Blood, that was of Age, ought to have been declared Regent: fo that the Protestants faid, their defending themselves was not Rebellion, fince they had both the Law and the first Prince of the Blood on their side. The Wars lasted near 30. Years, for in all that time, notwithstanding some Intervals of Peace, the seeds of War were never fo rooted out, but that they were ready to spring up, upon every new occasion. In this the Queen Interposed, and supported the Protestant Party, sometimes with Men, but oftner with Money, fo that she had near the half of that Kingdom depending on her.

In the Netherlands, a long continuance Book IV of civil Wars almost on the same account, gave her the like advantages. The King 1559. of Spain, by endeavouring to fet up the And in the Courts of Inquisition in those Provinces, lands. and by keeping some Spanish Troops among them, and other excelles in his Government, contrary to the Articles of the Latus Introitus, provoked them fo much, that they shook off his Yoke: and were supported by the Aid and Money which the Queen sent them. So that the Queen met with such a Conjuncture of affairs in the Dominions of those Princes that were next her, of whom only she had reason to be afraid, as scarce any Prince ever had.

In foreign Parts, she was the Arbiter The excelof Christendom; and at home things were lent admifo happily managed, Trade did fo flou-of affairs rish, and Justice was to equally distribu-in England. ted, that she became the wonder of the World. She was Victorious in all her Wars with Spain; and no wonder: for it appeared fignally in the ruine of the great Armada, which Spain lookt on as Invincible, that Heaven fought for her. She reigned more absolutely over the Hearts, than the Persons of her Subjects. She always followed the true Interests of her People, and so found her Parliaments always ready to comply with her defires, and to grant her Subsidies, as often as she called for them: and as she never asked



Book IV them was visible, so after they were granted, if the state of her affairs changed for that she needed them not, she readily discharged them. Rome and Spain fet many Engines on work, both against her Perfon and Government: but she still lived and triumphed. In the first ten Years of her Reign, the Papists were so Compliant, that there was no stir made about matters of Religion. Pope Pins the fourth condemned the madness of his Predecesfor, in that high and provoking Message, which he fent her; and therefore he attempted a reconciliation with her, at two feveral times: and offered, if she would joyn her self to the See of Rome, that he would annul the sentence against her Mothers Marriage, and confirm the English fervice, and the Communion in both kinds. But she refused to enter into any Treaty with him. Pius the fifth, that succeeded him in that Chair, resolved to contrive her death, as is related by him, that writes his Life. The unfortunate Queen of Scot. land was forced to take Sanctuary in England; where it was resolved to use her well, and restore her to her Crown and Countrey. But her own officious friends. and the frequent Plots that were laid, for taking away the Queens life, brought on her the Calamities of a long Imprifonment, that ended in a Tragical death: which, though it was the greatest blemish of this Reign, yet was made in some fort iusti-

Catena.

Justifiable, if not necessary, by the many Attempts that the Papifts made on the Book IV Queen's Life: and by the Deposition which Pope Pius the fifth thundred out 1559 against Her; from which it was inferred, that as long as that Party had the hopes of fuch a Successor, the Queen's Life was not fafe, nor her Government secure.

This led her towards the end of her Severities Reign, to greater severities against those against the of the Roman Communion, of which a Papifts Copious Account is given by Sir Francis were necessary. Walfingham, that was for fo many Years imployed, either in foreign Emballies, or in the fecrets of State at home; that none knew better than he did, the hidden springs that moved and directed all Her Councils. He writ a long Letter to a French man, giving him an account of all the severities of the Queen's Government, both against Papists and Puritans.

The substance of which is, 'That the Sir Fr. IFal-Queen laid down two Maximes of State; fingham's account of the one was not to force Consciences, the steps the other was not to let factious practi- in which ces go unpunished, because they were co- she proevered with the pretences of Conscience: ceeded. At first, she did not revive those severe Laws past in her Father's time, by which the refusal of the Oath of Supremacy was made Treason, but left her People to the freedom of their thoughts, and made

made it only Penal to extol a foreign Book IV 'Jurisdiction: She also laid aside the word 'Supream Head, and the resusers of the 'Oath were only disabled from holding Benefices, or Charges, during their Re-fusal. Upon Pius the Fifth's Excommunicating her, though the Rebellion in the North was chiefly occasioned by that, 'she only made a Law against the bring-'ing over, or publishing of Bulls; and the venting of Agnus Dei's, or such other Love-tokens, which were fent from Rome, on design to draw the Hearts of Her People from her, which were no Essen-'tial parts of that Religion; fo that this could hurt none of their Consciences. But when after the 20th. Year 'of her Reign, it appeared that the King of Spain designed to Invade her Domi-'nions, and that the Priests that were fent over from the Seminaries beyond Sea, were generally employed to corrupt the Subjects in their Allegiance, by which, Treason was carried in the Clouds, and Insused secretly in Conses-'fion; Then pecuniary Punishments were inflicted on such as withdrew from the 'Church: and in Conclusion, she was forced to make Laws of greater rigour, but did often mitigate the severity of them, to all that would promife to adhere to her, in case of a Foreign Inva-'fion. As for the Puritans, as long as they only inveighed against some abuses, as Plura:

Pluralities, Non residence, or the like, it was not their Zeal against those, but Book IV only their Violence that was condem-'ned: When they refused to comply with fome Ceremonies, and questioned the 'superiority of Bishops, and declared for a Democracy in the Church, they were connived at with great gentleness: But it was observed, that they affected Po-'pularity much, and the Methods they took to compass their ends, were judged dangerous, and they made fuch use of the aversion the Nation had to Popery, that it was visible they were in 'a hazzard of running from one Extream to another: They fet up a New Model of Church Discipline, which was like to prove no less dangerous to the Liberties of private Men, than to the Sovereign Power of the Prince: Yet all this was born with, as long as they proceeded with those expressions of duty, which became Subjects. But afterwards, when they refolved to carry on their Deligns, without waiting for the consent of the Magistrate, and entred into Combinations; when they began to defame the Government by ridiculous Pasquils, and boasted of their Numbers and strength, and in some Places brake out into Tumults, then it appeared that it was Faction, and not 'Zeal, that animated them. Upon that, the Queen found it necessary to restrain 6 them

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Book IV ly; yet the did it with all the Moderation that could confift with the Peace of the Church and State. And thus, from this Letter, an Idea of this whole Reign may be justly formed.

#### The Conclusion.

Thus have I profecuted, what I at first undertook, the Progress of the Reformation, from its first, and small beginnings in England, till it came to a compleat settlement in the time of this Queen. Of whose Reign, if I have adventured to give an Account, it was not intended so much for a full Chara-Aer of Her, and her Councils, as to fet out the great, and visible Bleffings of God that attended on her; the many Preservations the had, and that by fuch fignal Discoveries. as both fav'd her Life, and fecured her Government; and the unufual happiness of her whole Reign, which raifed Her to the E. steem, and envy of that Age, and the wonder of all Posterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a Virgin Queen could rule fuch a Kingdom, for above 44 Years, with fuch constant success, in so great Tranquillity at home, with a vast increase of Wealth, and with fuch Glory abroad. All which may justly be esteemed to have been the Rewards of Heaven, crowning that Reign with fo much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Reformation of Religion.

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