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THE
CHURCH HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

PART II.—EDWARD VI.

ARTICLE I.

FARTHER REFORMATION.—FORMATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT—HERTFORD, LORD PROTECTOR—THE REFORMERS ENCOURAGED—NEW COMMISSIONS TO THE BISHOPS—RELIGIOUS INNOVATIONS—GARDINER'S REMONSTRANCES—A VISITATION—JURISDICTION OF THE BISHOPS SUSPENDED—THEY ARE FORBIDDEN TO PREACH—ECCLESIASTICAL INJUNCTIONS—A PARLIAMENT—REPEAL OF NEW TREASONS—AND OF THE SIX ARTICLES—PETITION OF THE CONVOCATION—BILL FOR COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS—MARRIAGE OF THE CLERGY—ELECTION OF BISHOPS—PROCLAMATION AGAINST INNOVATIONS—REMOVAL OF IMAGES—ATTEMPT OF THE BISHOPS TO RECOVER THEIR JURISDICTION—IT FAILS—NEW FORM OF COMMUNION.

THE general distraction, in which king Henry VIII. left his people, gave designing men an opportunity ¹⁵⁴⁷ of setting several projects a-foot; wherein, it is to be feared that domestic views were the chief things they aimed at, and that religion was no farther concerned, than it proved serviceable to those purposes. Now, according to the politics of those days, it was judged to be the interest of the nation to continue the breach with Rome. This was the most general and received notion: and, at the same time, some were disposed to push for a farther reformation, who, considering that small breaches were soon made up, were resolved to widen them; which they could not more effectually bring to pass, than by removing all those from the administra-

tion of affairs, who were of a reconciling temper. The late king's last will was, in all appearance, inconsistent with such an undertaking. However, means was found out to overcome the difficulty, though with little credit to the contrivers. It is to be remembered, that king Henry VIII. was empowered, by act of parliament, to settle the succession, either by deed, or last will ;¹ and, accordingly, that power was executed by him, in his last will, whereby Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth were appointed to reign successively : and, in case of a failure of issue male in any of them, the crown was to devolve upon the house of Suffolk, with an exclusion of the Scottish line, which, notwithstanding, was the next in blood. Sixteen persons were nominated by the king to see his will performed, viz. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Tunstal, bishop of Durham, Wriothesley, lord chancellor, lord St. John, lord Russell, the earl of Hertford, lord viscount Lisle, sir Anthony Brown, sir William Paget, sir Edward North, sir Edward Montague, justice Bromley, sir Anthony Denny, sir William Herbert, sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. It is confidently reported, by good authors, that Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was also once named by the king, but craftily struck out of the list by Cranmer's contrivance, whose projects, in favour of the reformation, could never have succeeded, had Gardiner been suffered to act ; he being a politician of great experience, of a genius far superior to any of the rest, and, at the same time, well disposed to make up the breach with the see of Rome.² Care was likewise taken to secure the young king to the party ; and, that he might receive deep and early prejudices against the see of Rome, two persons, remarkably zealous for the reformation, were appointed to be his tutors, viz. Dr. Cox, and Mr. Cheek. It was ordered, by king Henry's will, that the sixteen executors should govern the nation, by a majority of voices, during the young king's minority, which was to cease when he arrived at

¹ Stat. 28, Hen. VIII. c. 7.

² Foxe, ii. 549.

the age of eighteen.¹ The two leading persons among the executors were, Wriothesley, lord chancellor, a friend to the old religion, and the earl of Hertford, the king's uncle, a great promoter of the reformation. Wherefore, to lessen the interest of the chancellor, Hertford FEB. was chosen lord protector; and, though it was not ^{1.} designed that he should act by a separate power from the rest, in things of moment, yet he strained his commission so far, as to become almost independent, and found means to have the chancellor and some others discharged, who were enemies to the reformation; so that, at last, the king's will was neglected, and almost entirely laid aside.² By these methods, all that were friends to the reformation were encouraged to speak, and act freely in its behalf. "And the Gospellers, as they were then called, presuming on the countenance of the court, overran the motions of the state, and ventured to reform without public authority."³ Cranmer and the protector, in the mean time, suffer the zealots to go on in this preposterous way, and compliment each other with privileges, which all tended towards establishing the reformation. The protector allows Cranmer the liberty to reform, or alter, several things by his private orders, before the representatives of the nation had delivered their sense upon them; and Cranmer, by way of requital, assured the protector, that he should meet with no interruption from the episcopal order, whose jurisdiction was held from the crown only, *quandiu se bene gesserint*; and the bishops, for the most part, being averse to a farther reformation, were, by that clause, become useless, and almost insignificant, in regard of all the functions belonging to their character. This is what Cranmer was well apprised of, and that it would be to no purpose to attempt a reformation, till the episcopal jurisdiction was declared precarious, and the whole power lodged in the protector and his council.⁴ Bishop Gardiner complained loudly against the

¹ Rymer, xv. 115. Burnet, ii. 24. ² Burnet, ii. 4, 5, 15. ³ Collier, ii. 222.

⁴ [Cranmer, in fact, reverting to the doctrine established in the late reign, maintained that, as his power had emanated from the bounty, so it had expired

protector, for this illegal way of proceeding, and several letters passed between them on the subject; but Gardiner, being out of power, was not attended to; he had only the satisfaction of speaking his mind, and exposing their methods.¹

The protector and his council having secured themselves thus far, as to power, the next thing they went upon was, ways and means how to dispose the people for a change, against the meeting of the parliament.

MAY First, they appointed visitors to inspect all ecclesiastical affairs. These visitors were one-half laymen, the other ecclesiastics. All other courts, archi-

with the demise, of the crown. In pursuance of this doctrine, his first step, on the accession of Edward, was, to solicit and accept a new commission, authorizing him to exercise the functions of archbishop in the name, and during the pleasure, of his sovereign; his example was immediately followed by Bonner; and it is not improbable that the rest of the bishops found themselves compelled to submit to a similar degradation. Cranmer's commission, which is dated February 7, 1547, is printed in Wilkins, iv. 2, and Burnet, ii. rec. 82. Bonner's has not been published, but may be seen in his Register, f. 102.—*T.*]

¹ [From Gardiner's letters it appears, that his remonstrances were directed, not against the lay commissions of the bishops, but against the violences and innovations, which, under the secret encouragement of the court, were rapidly spreading through the country. Though no legislative measure had yet been passed, or proposed, on the subject, the reformers, aware of the dispositions of the government, were already busily engaged in rooting out "the old superstition." In several places, the crucifixes and sacred pictures, which adorned the churches, were torn down, and replaced by the more edifying representations of the royal arms: books, inculcating the most objectionable opinions, were publicly circulated among the people; and, in one remarkable instance (the lent sermon of bishop Ridley), the pulpit itself had been employed, to revile the religion of the state, and to inflame the passions of the multitude against it. It was in opposition to these proceedings that Gardiner addressed the protector. He called his attention to the spirit that was abroad: he reminded him of the arguments in favour of the ancient creed; and he implored him to remember that he had received the important trust of chief governor, not for the destruction, but for the preservation, of the religion of the country. "If," says he, "my lord of St. David's (Barlow, who had also preached against the old religion) or such others, have their head cumbered with any new platform, I would wish they were commanded, between this and the king's majesty's full age, to draw the plat, diligently to hew the stones, dig the sand, and chop the chalk, in the unseasonable time of building, and, when the king's majesty cometh to full age, to present their labours to him; and not, in the mean time, to disturb the state of the realm, whereof your grace is protector, but that you may, in every part of religion, laws, lands, and decrees (which four contain the state), deliver the same unto our sovereign lord, according unto the trust you be put in, which shall be much to your honour, and as all honest men wish and desire." "I cannot forget," he says in another letter, "your grace told me you would suffer no innovation." The whole correspondence will be found in the Appendix, No. I.—*T.*]



episcopal, episcopal, capitular, &c. were superseded by their commission.¹ They were provided with thirty-nine injunctions, which they were to publish, and press upon the people, with orders to have them read once a quarter; to which purpose the kingdom was divided into six circuits. The most remarkable articles were,—the pope's power was to be preached down once a quarter, and a sermon as often against superstitious practices: all noncomplying clergy were to provide others that would conform: the gospel and epistle were to be read in English, when mass was celebrated: processions were to be laid aside, as it was pretended, to avoid disputes about precedency: several ornaments were to be removed out of the churches, viz. pictures, images, &c. However, the custom of praying for the dead was to be continued, and was particularly enjoined in the following words: "You shall pray for all them that be departed out of this world in the faith of Christ, that they with us, and we with them, at the day of judgment, may rest, both body and soul, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven."²

¹ Wilkins, iv. 10, 14, 17; Burnet, ii. Rec. 94. [In the preceding reign, the jurisdiction of the ordinary pastors had been suspended, only during the period of the visitation: in the present instance, it was withdrawn indefinitely, "donec et quousque," says the instrument, "licentiam et facultatem vobis in eâ parte largiendam et impertiendam fore duxerimus" (Wilk. iv. 10). Nor was this all. By a subsequent clause, every bishop was forbidden to preach, except in his own cathedral; every clergyman, except in his own church; a prohibition, which was subsequently extended to all persons, and to every place, unless the special license of the protector, or of the archbishop, should have been previously obtained (Strype, Mem. ii. 90.—See Appendix, No. II). Of course, the object of this regulation was, to silence all persons, but such as were disposed to adopt and enforce the reformed doctrines.—T.]

² [For the Injunctions see Appendix, No. III. The form of procedure, adopted by the visitors, may be gathered from their mandate to the bishop of London. Having opened their commission, in any given diocese, they immediately summoned the bishop, the clergy, the heads and trustees of all colleges, and eight, six, or four, of the principal lay inhabitants of each parish, to appear before them: they administered to them the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; compelled them to answer, upon oath, such interrogatories as they chose to put to them; and required from them a solemn engagement to perform whatever duties or precepts might arise out of the present visitation. The royal injunctions were then delivered, to the bishops for their several cathedrals, to the archdeacons for their respective districts: a new work, bearing the title of the "Book of Homilies," was produced, and ordered to be read publicly, on Sundays, for the instruction of the people; and every rector and curate was enjoined to provide himself, and to see that his church and congregation were provided, not

This injunction was observed at St. Paul's, in London, at the funeral rites of Francis I., king of France, who died, March 22, 1547; for, "on the 19th of June, a dirge was sung for him, in all the churches of London. The choir of St. Paul's was hung with mourning, and no other circumstance of state, or solemnity omitted. The archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) with eight other bishops, in their richest pontifical habits, sung a mass of requiem, and a sermon was preached by Dr. Ridley, elect of Rochester."¹ This complaisance of archbishop Cranmer to the old religion may, perhaps, appear somewhat mysterious to those, that look upon the whole secret of the reformation to have been committed to him; and some may imagine, that either he was a notorious occasionalist, or, as yet, a stranger to the pretended superstition and idolatry of the mass; though, at the same time, it is hard to conceive how the Author of truth could permit the inconsistency in a person, who was designed to be the instrument of his glory. However, time brought every thing about, and Cranmer, by becoming every thing to every body, established his interest, though not his reputation; and gained upon many unthinking persons, who were not guarded against such a behaviour.

During this time also, other matters were determined, which very much strengthened the party, and favoured the cause in hand. Not only the six-article act was suspended, but several divines, who had been obliged to go abroad, upon account of their heterodoxy, were permitted to return home; others that were under confinement, for suspected doctrine, were released out of prison: and certain homilies and injunctions, contrary to the religion of the late reign, and to acts of parliament still in force, were recommended to the people.² These pro-

only with a bible, but also with a copy, in English, of the Paraphrase of the New Testament, by Erasmus (Collier, ii. Rec. 59; Strype's Cranmer, 147, 148). The interrogatories, put by the visitors, may be seen in Strype's Memorials, ii. 48—53; in Wilkins, iv. 23; and in Sparrow, 25. Gardiner's remarks on the Homilies and the Paraphrase will be found in the Appendix, No. IV.—T.]

¹ Collier, ii. 229.

² Heylin, 33, 34. [These Homilies and Injunctions have been mentioned in a preceding note (² page 5): they will be referred to again, in a future article.—T.]

ceedings were thought justifiable, upon a presumption that both these things, and a great deal more, would be ratified by the ensuing parliament, which met; Nov. 4, 1547, and, continuing all Edward VI.'s reign, under several prorogations, went all the lengths of the ministry, in favour of the reformation. For, "though the parliament consisted of such members as disagreed amongst themselves, in respect of religion, yet they agreed well enough in one common principle, which was, to serve the present time, and to preserve themselves. For, though a great part of the nobility, and not a few of the chief gentry in the house of commons, were cordially affected to the church of Rome, yet were they willing to give way to all such acts and statutes as were made against it, out of a fear of losing such church lands as they were possessed of, if that religion should prevail, and get up again. And, for the rest, who either were to make, or improve their fortunes, there is no question to be made, but that they came resolved to further such a reformation, as should most visibly conduce to the advancement of their several ends."¹

¹ Heylin, 48. [Some proceedings of this parliament deserve to be briefly noticed. 1^o Among the principal obstacles to the designs of the reformers, were the restrictions, imposed by the enactments of the late reign on the religious opinions of the people. To remove this impediment, an act was now brought in and passed, with the general assent of the two houses. By it, all felonies created since the first year of Henry VIII., all treasons created since the twenty-fifth of Edward III., were abolished. The statute for the punishment of Lollards and other heretics, the statute of the Six Articles, all laws concerning doctrine and matters of religion, and all prohibitions of reading, teaching, and expounding the scriptures, and of printing, selling, and retaining certain English publications, were repealed. The statute, giving to the royal proclamations the force of law, was also annulled: but the spiritual supremacy of the crown was still asserted; the penalties, attached to its denial, were still retained; and words, which might be spoken with impunity against the most sacred doctrines of revelation, became punishable, only when uttered against this fundamental article of the new creed (Stat. 1 Ed. VI. c. 12).

2. The repeal of the Six Articles left the reformers at liberty to discuss their plans, without danger, or interruption. This advantage was eagerly seized by the convocation; and a petition, emanating from the lower house, prayed, either that its members might be admitted to their ancient share in the legislative functions of the commons house of parliament, or, at least, that no ordinances, respecting the persons, estates, or jurisdiction of the clergy, might be adopted, without their concurrence; that the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom might be revised and published, in pursuance of a statute made in the late reign; that the progress made by the bishops, in correcting the public service of the church,

The bishops, in the meantime, were under a great uneasiness, perceiving that they were not like to be attended to, in the cause of religion, and that the precarious tenure of *quamdiu se bene gesserint* obliged them

might be reported; and that all matters of religious controversy might be "quietly, and in good order, reasoned and disputed among them, whereby the verities of such matters should the better appear" (Wilkins, iv. 15, 16; Collier, ii. 233, 234). To the last only of these requests an answer was returned. Two questions, the one concerning communion in both kinds, the other relating to the lawfulness of marriage among the clergy, were drawn up, as it is supposed, by Cranmer, and submitted to their consideration. The former was carried (Dec. 2, 1547) with the unanimous approval of the sixty-four members present; and, the next day, a bill, embodying the substance of this decision, was read in the house of lords. It stated, that the ministering of the blessed sacrament to christian people, under both kinds, was more agreeable both to the institution of Christ, and to the practice of the apostles and the primitive church: it averred that the same institution and early practice shewed it to be more proper for the priest and people to communicate together, than for the former to receive alone; and it concluded by providing that the said most blessed sacrament should thenceforth be commonly delivered and ministered to the people, within the church of England and Ireland, under both kinds. In cases of necessity, however, it still permitted the former custom of communicating under one kind to be retained; and it expressly declared that, by thus reverting to the apostolic practice, it by no means intended to "condemn the usage of any church out of the king's majesty's dominions." After several debates, this bill was attached to another, prohibiting the use of irreverent language towards the sacrament of the altar. In this form, it passed the two houses (Dec. 10), and ultimately received the royal assent (Stat. 1 Ed. VI. c. 1; Lords' Journals, i. 306; Strype's Cranmer, 155, 156; Burnet, ii. 39). For a proclamation connected with the latter of the two bills, and a letter from Pole on the same subject, see Appendix, No. V.

3. The other point, proposed to the convocation, met with greater resistance. Instead of the unanimous assent given to the preceding question, a minority of twenty-two voices, out of seventy-five, was immediately raised against it; and though a bill, founded on the decision of the majority, was drawn up and passed by the commons (Dec. 20), yet its advocates, unwilling, perhaps, to encounter the opposition which seemed to threaten it in the upper house, silently abandoned its prosecution, for the present session (Strype's Cranmer, 156; Commons' Journals, i. 3). In the following year, however, the subject was again revived. On the third of December, 1548, the bill was introduced in the commons. It was debated again, two days later: but, on the third reading (Dec. 6), it was discovered that, although it permitted married men, who should take orders, to retain their wives, it did not allow persons, already ordained, to contract marriage. To remedy this mistake, another bill was prepared, and, after an angry discussion, at length (Dec. 13) transmitted to the lords. Here, however, it remained unnoticed, for nearly two months; nor was it until the ninth of February, that the subject was able to attract the attention of the house. Even then, it was found necessary to substitute a new bill, for the one sent up from the commons. This was now debated: ten days later, it was carried by a majority of thirty-nine, out of fifty-one; and, having been accepted by the lower house, finally received the royal assent (Journals, of Commons, 4, 5, 8, 9; of Lords, 323, 339, 343; Burnet, ii. 84). The bill, as it was ultimately passed, will be found in the Appendix, No. VI.

4. It had been asserted by the late king, and acknowledged by the bishops

either to throw up their commissions, or comply with the ministry. Wherefore, to rescue themselves out of the hands of the laity, into which Cranmer had betrayed them, they procured a bill to be brought into the house, tending towards the recovery of their jurisdiction: but it was discountenanced and thrown out. "The colour for laying the bill aside was, that the

and clergy, that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, was derived immediately from the crown. In conformity with this doctrine, an act was now passed, depriving the chapters of the right to elect their bishops, and vesting the appointment of the latter exclusively in the king. On the same ground, the independent power of the spiritual courts was abolished: all summonses, citations, and processes of archbishops and bishops, were ordered to be made in the name of the king; and all instruments, issuing from their offices, were required to be sealed, not with the episcopal, but with the royal, arms. From the operation of these clauses, however, an exception was made, in favour of all faculties and dispensations granted by the archbishop of Canterbury, and of all collations, presentations, letters of order, and instruments published for the appointment or reform of any ecclesiastical officers. See Appendix, No. VII.

5. The proceedings of parliament respecting chantries, colleges, and hospitals, will be the subject of a separate article: those of the protector and his associates, concerning other matters, may here be shortly enumerated. On the twenty-seventh of January, 1548, Cranmer addressed a letter to his suffragans, ordering them in future to prevent the carrying of candles on Candlemass-day, the receiving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and the bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday (Wilk. iv. 22). The example was not without effect on the more impatient of the reformers. If the primate, by his own authority, could abolish these ceremonies, why might not *they* also remove others, which were equally offensive to their piety? The council was compelled to interfere. In a proclamation, published on the sixth of February, it noticed the scandals likely to arise from these unauthorized attempts: it denounced the "pride and arrogance" of those "curates, preachers, and other laymen," who, "according to their several fantasies," sought to substitute their own inventions for "the old and accustomed ceremonies" of the church; and it forbade any person, under pain of imprisonment, to "omit, change, alter, or innovate any order, rite, or ceremony, commonly used in the church of England, and not commanded to be left undone, at any time in the reign of the late king, other than such as his present majesty, or the Archbishop of Canterbury by his majesty's desire, had already, or should thereafter, command to be omitted, left, innovated, or changed (Wilk. iv. 21; Burnet, ii. Rec. 118). At the same time, it hastened to vindicate the activity of its own zeal, in the eyes of the people. By the late king, an injunction had been issued, requiring all images to be removed, which had ever been the objects of superstition or abuse. The vagueness of the description became the source of frequent disputes: and, to prevent their recurrence, a more definite and comprehensive order (Feb. 24, 1548) was now published. It complained of the dissensions, that had arisen among the people, spoke of the necessity of restoring harmony, and concluded by enjoining each bishop, in his own diocese, to "give order that all images remaining in any church or chapel be removed and taken away." To shew, however, that the council was not wholly inattentive to things of lesser moment, another mandate required that all shrines should be destroyed, and that all the plate, jewels, and other valuables belonging to them, should be seized to the king's use.—Wilk. iv. 22; Burnet, ii. 57. Rec. 120.—T.]

majority of the bishops and clergy were still popishly affected ; that, if power were put into such men's hands, they might probably turn it upon those who abetted the reformation."¹ Where this was the management, it will be a difficult matter to conceive, how the reformation could be the work of a national church. That it was a contrivance of the ministry, in which the bishops and clergy were little regarded, is pretty plain : insomuch that Cranmer seems to have been the only prelate that acted with any thing of zeal upon the occasion. "Some there were (viz. Vesey of Exeter, Heath of Worcester, Day of Chichester, Gardiner of Winchester, Tunstal of Durham, Bonner, &c.) so stiff in their old opinions, that neither terror nor persuasion could prevail upon them, either to give their approbation of the king's proceedings, or otherwise to advance the service. And some there were (viz. Kitchin of Llandaff, Capon of Salisbury, and Sampson of Coventry and Litchfield, &c.) who, though they outwardly complied with the king's commands, yet did it so coldly, and with such reluctancy, as laid them open to the spoil, though not to the loss, of their bishoprics."² As for the inferior clergy, they were under a general restraint. By an express order from court, "none of the clergy were to preach, but in their own cures, without the king's license. The reason of this restraint was, to hinder those that opposed the intended reformation, from spreading their opinions, and haranguing where they pleased : whereas those of the protestant sentiment might move at large, have the countenance of the royal authority, and make proselytes as they were able."³

It was visible to all persons, that these methods tended towards an utter overthrow of the old religion. However, they moved on slowly, all the beginning of this reign. They were willing to satisfy the court, and, at the same time, find out such a temper, as might not be shocking to those of the old persuasion. To this purpose, a medley-service was performed, accordingly as people

¹ Collier, ii. 266.

² Heylin, 100.

³ Collier, ii. 224.

were disposed. Some said mass in Latin, as formerly; others in half Latin half English; but, generally, all the reformers, during this time, retained the word *mass*, allowed it to be a sacrifice, and prayed for the dead. Afterwards, viz. March 8, 1548, a proclamation was set forth, concerning some ceremonies to be observed at communion, which intimated, that, in a little time, care would be taken to fix people's minds, as to what related to religion. In this proclamation, the king is introduced saying; "We would not have our subjects so much to dislike our judgment, so much to mistrust our zeal, as though we either could not discern what were to be done, or would not do all things in due time. God be praised, we know both what, by his word, is meet to be redressed, and have an earnest mind, with all diligence and convenient speed, to set forth the same, &c. The king was but ten years old, in October last; and therefore, to suppose him a judge in controversy thus early, and make him say he knew what was fit to be done, is somewhat extraordinary."¹

¹ Collier, ii. 246. [To explain this, it is necessary to mention some circumstances, which are omitted by Dodd. Parliament had declared that the communion should, in future, be commonly administered to the people under both kinds; but it had said nothing of the language to be used by the priest, and had made no provision for any alteration of the ancient form. These omissions were now to be supplied; and a committee of divines, with Cranmer at their head, was therefore appointed, with instructions to draw up "*a uniform order for administering the holy communion, in the English tongue, under both kinds of bread and wine.*" As an introduction to their labours, however, and in imitation of the proceeding adopted in the late reign, a body of questions was delivered to each member, for his opinion in writing. He was required to say, 1. Whether the sacrament of the altar was instituted, to be received by one man for another, or to be received by every man for himself; 2. Whether the receiving of the said sacrament by one man did avail and profit another; 3. What was the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass; 4. Wherein consisted the mass by Christ's institution; 5. At what period commenced the custom, that the priest alone should receive the sacrament; 6. Whether it were convenient that the same custom should continue still within this realm; 7. Whether it were convenient that priests should still be hired, to sing [masses] for souls departed; 8. Whether the gospel ought to be taught, at the time of mass, to the understanding of the people being present; 9. Whether in the mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people might understand; 10. And at what time the reservation of the sacrament, and the hanging up of the same, first began. To these questions the members returned separate answers. Those of Cranmer, Holbech, Ridley, and Cox, were all, of course, in accordance with the views of the reformers: those of Goodrich, Salcot, and others, were less uniform in their tendency; but the opinions of Bonner, Tunstal, Heath, Skip, Rugg, Day, and

ARTICLE II.

SEIZURE OF COLLEGES, HOSPITALS, AND CHANTRIES.—THEIR NUMBER—NOT SEIZED BY HENRY VIII.—BILL CONVEYING THEM TO EDWARD—PROVISION FOR THEIR INCUMBENTS—GENERAL PURPOSES OF THE ACT NEGLECTED—DESTRUCTION OF LIBRARIES—PLUNDER OF CHURCHES—PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN THESE SCENES—VIOLENCE OF THE REFORMERS—REMOVAL OF ALTARS.

BESIDES the greater and lesser monasteries, which had been dissolved in king Henry VIII.'s reign, there were a great many other pious foundations, which were in like manner bestowed upon the king; but death prevented him from completing that work, which Edward VI.'s ministry was now to have the credit and profit of. These foundations were collegiate churches, hospitals, free-chapels, chantries, guilds, &c. Their number was computed to be about 2374, all endowed with lands, pensions, and moveable goods, to an immense value.¹ When

Parfew, were, in most instances, expressed in language, conformable to the established doctrine and practice of the church (Burnet, ii. Rec. 123—136; Heylin, 57, 58). How far these persons were afterwards induced to yield to the sentiments of their colleagues is unknown. The work, however, went forward: the committee met and deliberated, for several weeks; and, Cranmer having unsuccessfully endeavoured to shake the opinions of Bonner and the other dissentients (Burnet, ii. Rec. 136—138), a form of communion was at length produced, which seemed intended to meet the prejudices, and conciliate the approbation, of both parties. It left the mass unaltered, to be recited, as usual, in Latin, to the end of the priest's communion. It then added the English exhortation, "*Dearly beloved in the Lord,*" with the *Invitation*, the *General Confession*, and *Sentences of Scripture*, as they stand in the present liturgy; and finally, omitting the *Preface*, passed to the prayer, "*We do not presume,*" and ordered the distribution of the sacrament, under both kinds, and with the form which is still preserved. The sacramental bread was to be "such as heretofore had been accustomed": and the benefit of auricular confession was to be inculcated on all, who were about to approach the holy table. This form of communion was embodied in the proclamation mentioned in the text, and published by the king's authority, on the eighth of March, 1548. Burnet, ii. 63; Heylin, 58. See Appendix, No. VIII.—*T.*]

¹ [This was the number of the chantries and free-chapels only, without the hospitals, colleges, and guilds (Speed, 1085). The reader will remember the act, by which these establishments were placed at the disposal of the late king. Instead of vesting the property immediately in the crown, it merely empowered Henry to appoint commissioners for carrying it into effect: these commissioners were to enter on possession of such colleges, chapels, or other foundations, as

the law passed for their dissolution, "the act promised, the estates of these foundations should be converted to good and godly uses, in erecting grammar-schools, in further augmenting the universities, and better provision for the poor and needy. But these lands being mostly shared amongst the courtiers and others of the rich laity, the promise in the preamble was, in a great measure, impracticable."¹ When the monasteries were dissolved, some kind of care was taken for the subsistence of the ejected monks: some were provided with pensions, which were greater or less, according to the willingness they shewed in resigning; others were placed in benefices, as they fell out, their pensions ceasing upon the promotion. But as for the chantry priests, and such as served in the hospitals, &c., though some few were taken care of, the greatest part of them were reduced to the extremities of want, as also were many thousands of the laity who depended upon them. Nor was want

should be named in their commission; and, until this form had been observed, the original proprietors could not be legally disturbed. It so happened, that, when Henry died, but few of these commissions had been executed. Of course, the powers, granted by the statute, were at an end; and, before Edward, or rather his courtiers, could hope to obtain possession of the prize, a new law was necessary, to enable him to assert his claim. On this account, the bill, alluded to in the text, was framed and presented to the lords, on the 6th of December, 1547. It proposed that all hospitals, chantries, and free-chapels, not actually seized during the late reign, together with all provisions for anniversaries, obits, and church lights, and all guild-lands held by fraternities for the same purposes, should be conveyed to the king, to be by him employed in the maintenance of grammar-schools, in the payment of additional curates for such larger parishes as might require them, and in the competent endowment of vicarages, hitherto appropriated to collegiate, or other suppressed establishments. By Cranmer, who foresaw that the professed objects of the measure were not likely to be realized, it was warmly opposed. But his resistance was speedily overpowered by the hungry expectants of the court. The bill passed, first through the lords, and afterwards, but with more difficulty, through the commons; and the lands, goods, rents, and tenements, of nearly three thousand establishments were at once transferred to the crown (stat. 1, Ed. VI. c. 14). From a document printed by Strype (Mem. ii. append. 85—94), it appears that part of the chantries, colleges, and free-chapels, disposed of, in 1548, were valued at 2,307*l.* 12*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, per annum, and sold for 46,249*l.* 6*s.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* From such of the sales as we are acquainted with, in 1552, and 1553, a further sum of 138,765*l.* 18*s.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* was obtained; making a gross amount, derived only from a portion of the confiscated property, of 185,015*l.* 5*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* (Strype, ii. 362, 373, 427). Out of all this, twenty-two grammar schools were founded and endowed, at different times. Ibid. 535—537.—T.]

² Collier, ii. 239.



the only hardship they laboured under : they were ridiculed, and publicly insulted in the streets ; insomuch, that the ministry, being ashamed to suffer persons of their character to be treated with so much contempt, were obliged to issue forth a proclamation, November 12, 1547, for redressing the abuse.¹

¹ [The proclamation is in Collier (ii. 239), and relates, not to chantry priests alone, but to the clergy generally. "Forasmuch as the misorders, by the serving-men, and other young and light persons and apprentices of London, towards priests, and those that go in scholars' gowns, like priests, hath of late been so great, * * * * the king's highness willetth and straightly commandeth that no serving-man, or apprentice, or any other person, shall use hereafter such insolency and evil demeanour towards priests, as revelling, tossing of them, taking violently their caps and tippets from them," &c. It should be remarked, in reference to Dodd's account, that the proclamation is dated on the 12th of November, and that the bill for the alienation of chantry lands was not introduced until the sixth of the following month.

The destitution of the priests, and the neglect of making provision for their support, are contradicted in the act itself. By it, the commissioners, to be appointed under its authority, are specially commanded to attend to this matter: they are authorized to assign any competent sum, not exceeding the original income of the several establishments, for the maintenance of the ejected or deprived persons ; and they are required to promise upon oath, that they will "execute their commissions beneficially towards the deans, masters, wardens, provosts, and other incumbents and ministers aforesaid, and towards the poor people, concerning the said assignments" (stat. 1, Ed. VI., c. 14). That, as regards the clergy, these provisions were faithfully complied with, there is every reason to believe. In a sermon, preached before the king, in 1550, Lever, afterwards master of St. John's College, Cambridge, publicly mentioned their fulfilment, as a subject of reproach. He told Edward that the intentions of the legislature had been contravened, and that, for the private purposes of the commissioners and their friends, they had been "setting abroad encloistered papists, to give them livings by giving them pensions ; yea, and thrusting them into benefices, to poison the whole commonwealth, for the resignation of those pensions" (Apud Strype, ii. 64).

But the general purposes of the act were far from obtaining the same degree of attention. With the exception of the few foundations mentioned in a preceding note, nothing seems to have been done, to accomplish the professed objects of the legislature. Schools, already in existence, were destroyed : paupers, relieved or supported by the hospitals and guilds, were left to perish ; and the whole funds of these various establishments were squandered among the parasites of the court. "Your majesty," said Lever, "hath received, by act of parliament, colleges, chantries, and guilds, for many good considerations. * * * * But now, many grammar-schools, and much charitable provision for the poor, be taken, sold, and made away, to the great slander of you and your laws, to the utter discomfort of the poor, to the grievous offence of the people, to the most miserable drowning of youth in ignorance, and sore decay of the universities. For God's sake," he concluded, "you that be in authority look upon it : for, if you wink at such matters, God will scowl upon you." (Ibid.).

In illustration of the atrocity of these proceedings, I may mention the instance of York. That city contained, either within the walls, or in its immediate vicinity, the five hospitals of St. Leonard, St. Nicholas, Bawtre, Bowtham, and Fossgate, valued together, at the period of the dissolution, at 41*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* (New Dugd.

Nothing was now left, besides the gleanings of the field, viz. church plate, rich vestments, unfurnishing altars, defacing windows, rifling libraries, tearing off brass from the tombs of their ancestors, and disturbing the ashes of the dead. In this manner it was, that “luxury, oppression, and a hatred to religion, had overrun the higher rank of the people, and countenanced the reformation, merely to rob the church.”¹ To complete these matters, visitors were sent about,¹⁵⁵⁰ and, upon a pretence of rooting out superstition, made spoil of all things that might conduce to support either learning or piety. Upon this occasion, a letter was sent for the purging the library at Westminster from “all superstitious books, as missals, legends, and such like, and to deliver the garniture of the books to sir Anthony Aucher. These books were many of them plated with gold and silver, and curiously embossed. This, as far as we can collect, was the superstition that destroyed them. Here avarice had a very thin disguise, and the courtiers discovered of what spirit they were, to a remarkable degree. . . . Merton college had almost a cart-load of manuscripts carried off, and thrown away to the most scandalous uses. These books were written upon the subjects of divinity, astronomy, and mathematics, by some of the most eminent of that society. Baliol, Exeter, Queen’s, and Lincoln colleges were purged of a great part of the fathers and schoolmen; and, to shew the discretion of some people was much of the same size with their justice, and what an antipathy they had to learned men, great heaps of these books

i. 1045; Speed, 1082). At the same time, the priory of Wetherall, in Cumberland, was valued at 117*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* (New Dugd. 1045). Now, the property belonging to the latter is at present held under leases from the dean and chapter of York; and a portion of it, situated in one parish (that of Corby), produces, at this moment, an annual income of 2,350*l.*, in rent and tithes. This is the return from a *part* only of a property, valued at no more than 117*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* Apply the calculation to the York hospitals, worth nearly four times the amount, and, but for the plunder under Edward, there would have been a gross revenue of little less than 9000*l.* per annum, for the support of the aged and the sick, in a city, which now, with the aid of every charitable contrivance, can scarcely maintain a single infirmary.—*T.*]

¹ Echard, i. 750, 751.

were set on fire in the market-place. The public library, made up, in a great measure, of the books given by Angerville, bishop of Durham, Cobham, bishop of Worcester, and Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester, underwent the same fate. The books marked with red were generally condemned, at a venture, for popery; and where circles, and other mathematical figures were found, they were looked upon as compositions of magic, and either torn or burnt. This was a strange inquisition upon sense and learning; and looks as if the earl of Warwick and some others of the visitors intended to seize the superstitious foundations, and reform them to nothing. The universities languished in their studies, the remainder of this reign, and were remarkable for nothing, but some trifling performances in poetry and grammar.”¹ And not only the reformers of this reign, but, in general, all of them, ever since, have been reproached by many judicious persons as too careless and deficient in those essential parts of learning, which properly belong to the character of a divine. For, though school divinity, the canon law, &c., are not without their trifles, yet it cannot be denied, but that the rich ore of learning lies in those mines; being nothing else but the doctrine of the Scriptures and fathers, and the synodical decrees of the prelates of the church, ranged under certain heads, for the ease and benefit of those who ought to be acquainted with them; while the generality of the reformers are, for the most part, wrapped up in the classics, and pedantic observations. The classics, I own, are a commendable study, a good foundation in the beginning, and a pretty amusement by their continuance, at proper times, and for proper persons. But it is beneath the dignity of a divine to live always with *Horace* in his hand, to dive no farther than etymologies, and bubble mankind with their skill in the orientals; and, at the same time, represent the Latin tongue as a trap to catch the foolish and the ignorant. But, to proceed:

In consequence of the act of parliament for the seizures

¹ Collier, ii. 307. He cites Wood, *Hist. Oxon. lib. i.* 271, 272, *lib. ii.* 48—50.

above-mentioned, the ministry issued out orders to JUNE 10, strip the churches of their unnecessary furniture;¹ 1552 to the more speedy execution of which orders, bishop Hooper's doctrine did contribute very much. This divine, pressing for a farther reformation, was very much displeased at the word *altar*, as well as with the situation of it. It was chiefly through his persuasion, that it was removed from the end of the chancel to the middle, that it might appear to be no more than a table. This proved to be a very serviceable alteration, and encouraged the execution of the orders for the dismantling of altars.² For a table placed in the middle, having no adjuncts, a few ornaments would suffice, and the visitors took care to leave none, but what were absolutely necessary. "Some profit was thereby raised to the king's exchequer; yet the far greatest part of the prey came to other hands: insomuch, that many private men's parlours were hung with altar-cloths, their tables and beds covered with copes, instead of carpets and coverlets; and many made carousing cups of the sacred chalices, as once Belshazzar celebrated his drunken feast in the sanctified vessels of the temple. It was a sorry house, and not worth the naming, which had not somewhat of this furniture in it, though it were only a fair large cushion, made of a cope, or altar-cloth, to adorn their windows, or make their chairs appear to have somewhat in them of a chair of state. Yet how contemptible were these trappings, in comparison of those vast sums of money which were made of jewels, plate, and cloth of tissue, either conveyed beyond the seas, or sold at home, and good lands purchased with the money, nothing the more blessed to the posterity of them that bought them, for being purchased with the

¹ Fuller, lib. vii. 417. Wilkins, iv. 77. [The commissioners were permitted to leave, "one, two, or more chalices, or cups, according to the multitude of people, in every such church or chapel, and also such other ornaments, as, by their discretion, should seem requisite for the divine service in every such place, for the time." Ibid.—*T*.]

² Heylin, 95, 132.

consecrated treasures of so many temples.”¹ “This order for undressing the churches was, it seems, represented to the king (as Burnet relates the fact) as an inoffensive expedient, and only calling for the superfluous plate, and other goods that lay in churches, more for pomp than use. But those, who called these things superfluous, and showed so slender a regard for the honour of religion, were none of the best reformers. Had these people governed in the minority of Josiah, as they did in this of Edward VI., they would, in all likelihood, have retrenched the expence of the Mosaic institution, and served God at a more frugal rate. They would have disfurnished the temple of most of the gold plate, carried off the unnecessary magnificence, and left but little plunder for Nebuchadnezzar.”²

Notwithstanding the care taken by the visitors, in removing these pretended superstitious ornaments, the council was informed, that there had been several concealments of church plate, which occasioned a new order from the king, not long before he died, to enquire after such concealments. “This was still a new rifling of churches, by which it appeared, some were resolved not to desist, till they had reduced them to a primitive poverty, as well as the reformers designed to have raised them to a primitive purity. The king himself set his hand to these instructions; from which some have severely inferred, that he was ill-principled in himself, when, at such an age, he joined his authority to such proceedings.”³ Mr. Echard, willing to represent the king in the best manner, upon this scandalous occasion, pretends, “he was now in his last sickness, and so weak,

¹ Heylin, 134. [Fuller (lib. vii. 417) describes this scene of plunder precisely in the same way.—*T.*]

² Collier, ii. 336, answering Burnet, ii. 205.

³ Echard, i. 748. [That much of the plate, &c., was concealed is certain: but Dodd is mistaken in supposing that a second commission was issued. Echard, in fact, to whom he refers, speaks only of the one already mentioned, which expressly states the fact of the embezzlement, and orders the commissioners to enquire into it (Fuller, lib. vii. 418). Echard, however, places it in 1553,—a year too late; and hence, probably, Dodd’s mistake.—*T.*]

that it is probable he set his hand to every thing sent him by the council, without anxiously examining the contents of it.”¹ But this is a poor apology, either for the king or ministry. It is somewhat to be admired, that a prince, otherwise esteemed to be discerning and religious, should give into sacrilege and impiety, when he was upon the point of leaving the world, and giving an account of all his actions. The approach of death is a time when persons are most serious, and most inclinable to do good. But here is a prince, introduced signing every thing, right or wrong, without examination, issuing out sacrilegious orders, and settling the crown contrary to law, merely to support the cause of the reformation. How unhappy was the fate of that church, which depended upon a delirious prince, a rapacious ministry, and a time-serving clergy!—To conclude this seizure: the last order was for burning and destroying all ^{Feb. 14,} the public service-books, formerly made use of ^{1550.} in the churches, viz. missals, antiphoners, graduals, manuals, primers, portuasses, couchers, processionsals, &c.; by which means these hungry zealots, having devoured the flesh and substance of what they called superstition, were now obliged to pick the bones.²

I remit the reader to our historians, for a more particular account of the persons, that were employed in carrying on these matters: from whence it will appear, that they merited as ill from the hands of men, as of God; many of them being condemned to die, and all, in a manner, of so scandalous a behaviour, that they were very unfit instruments to reform the world. I shall only mention the protector, Seymour, the king’s uncle, who, for his avarice, and sacrilege, was punished, even in this life, with the loss of his head. “He, who had destroyed so many churches, invaded the estates of so many cathedrals, deprived so many learned men of their means and livelihood, did want, or rather not de-

¹ Echard, i. 748.

² Wilkins, iv. 37. [For this, however, there was a special act of parliament stat. 4 Ed. VI., c. 10), which will be mentioned in a subsequent note.—*T.*]

sire, the benefit of the clergy, in his greatest extremity.”¹ The like judgment fell upon sir Michael Stanhope, sir Thomas Arundel, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Miles Partridge, who were become notorious for plundering the churches, and reforming after the new method.² And then again, as for the behaviour and morals of the reformers, in this reign, they are thus described by bishop Burnet, an author dexterous enough to disguise matters in favour of the reformation, where they were capable of it. “The open lewdness in which many lived, without shame or remorse, gave great occasion to their adversaries to say, they were in the right to assert justification by faith, without works, since they were, as to every good work, reprobate. Their gross and insatiable scrambling after the goods and wealth, that had been dedicated with good designs, though to superstitious uses, without applying any part of it to the promoting the Gospel, the instructing the youth, and relieving the poor, made all people conclude, that it was for robbery, and not for reformation, that their zeal made them so active. . . . The irregular and immoral lives of many of the professors of the Gospel gave their enemies great advantages, to say, they ran away from confession, penance, fasting, and prayers, only that they might be under no restraint, but indulge themselves in a licentious and dissolute course of life. By these things, that were but too visible in some of the more eminent among them, the people were much alienated from them; and as much as they were formerly prejudiced against popery, they grew to have kinder thoughts of it, and to look on all the changes that had been made, as designs to enrich some vicious courtiers, and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedness upon the nation.”³

This establishment of the reformation, under Edward VI., has so ill an aspect, that it is a difficult matter to reconcile it to common understanding, so as to represent it as either a religious or prudential undertaking. Let us see how some of their historians have managed the

¹ Heylin, 116. ² Strype, ii. 310; Heylin, 116, 117. ³ Burnet, iii. 216, 217.

story. Dr. Heylin and Mr. Collier, two noted writers, are accused, by many of their own church, for being too severe in their charges against both the method and motives of the first reformers ; and yet, notwithstanding that disadvantage, the account given by those authors is recommended to the world, as a sufficient justification of the reformation, as to what is essential. Now, to disengage themselves from this difficulty, and inconsistency in divine providence, of having God's cause carried on by wicked instruments, and upon the worst of motives, they seem to distinguish three sorts of persons, that were labouring for a reformation, in Edward VI.'s reign. First, the courtiers, under the direction of the protector ; all these, they candidly own, were highly guilty of ambition, avarice, and sacrilege. A second sort were those they are pleased to call gospellers, excited by Calvin and others, that bellowed out reformation from the pulpit, without either fear or wit. A third sort they would have to have been certain moderate bishops and divines, who moved in order, and with great decency, in the work they had undertaken. By ranging persons under these heads, they would signify, that the moderate reformers were not chargeable with the injustices and sacrileges of the rest, that busied themselves with reforming the church. But, when the king himself, who is head of the church, concurs in all things with his sacrilegious ministry ; when the visitors, who were appointed to see justice done, made themselves notorious by misrepresentations and oppression ; when preachers were allowed, by authority, to ridicule the sacred mysteries of religion ; when the prelates, who were established by Christ, to rule and govern the church, were obliged either to be silent, or talk in the key of the ministry ; when all, in fine, were employed either in giving or executing the scandalous orders, it will be a hard task to find out those moderate reformers, who carried on the work in a legal and evangelical manner. On the other hand, catholics look upon the disadvantageous character, which several of their adversaries give of these first reformers, to be a stroke of

providence, to discover the nakedness of their cause ; and that their pens were invisibly directed by Almighty God, in favour of the old religion. Now, that persons of figure and power were concerned in the oppressive methods of those times, either by directing, or slavishly submitting, is apparent, from several instances. The bishops accepted of their dignities, upon any terms whatever. For, “in all the vacancies of sees, there were a great many of their best lands taken from them, and their revenues brought to so low a condition, that it was scarce possible for them to subsist.”¹ “Even Cranmer was forced to part with the better half of the possessions of his see ; and Ridley, soon after his entry into London, was forced to give away four of the best manors of his see, in one day. These two were the greatest favourites among all the bishops of that day.”² When a commission was granted to reform the university of Oxford, “the visitors were so fond of novelty, that they ridiculed the university degrees, and discouraged the exercises. They called the universities a seat for block-heads, and the stews of the whore of Babylon ; and the schools had commonly no better name than the devil’s chapel.”³ Mr. Camden tells us, that “sacrilegious avarice ravenously invaded church livings, colleges, chantries, hospitals, and places dedicated to the poor, as things superstitious ; ambition and emulation among the nobility, presumption and disobedience among the common people, grew so extravagant and insolent, that England seemed to be in a down-right frenzy.”⁴ The preachers of those days, even those that were chosen to fill the best pulpits, observed no decorum, and appeared to be carried away with enthusiastic raptures, in their declamations. “Such a peccancy of humour began then manifestly to break out, that it was preached at Paul’s cross, by one sir Stephen (for so they commonly called such of the clergy as were under the degree of doctor), the curate of St. Catherine’s, Christ-church, that it was

¹ Collier, ii. 325. [He cites the words from Burnet, ii. 192, 193.—*T.*]

² Collier, ii. rec. 80. ³ Idem, ii. 326. ⁴ Camd. in Kennet, ii. 366.

fit the names of churches should be altered, and the names of the days in the week changed ; that fish-days should be kept on any other days than on Fridays and Saturdays, and the Lent at any other time, except only between Shrovetide and Easter. We are told also, by John Stowe, that he had seen the said sir Stephen to leave the pulpit, and preach to the people out of a high elm, which stood in the midst of the church-yard, and, that being done, to return to the church again, and, leaving the high altar, to sing the communion service upon a tomb of the dead, with his face toward the north. To such wild fancies do men grow, when once they break those bounds, and neglect those rules, which wise antiquity ordained, for the preservation of peace and order."¹ This passage may, perhaps, appear trivial, and below the dignity of the subject ; but, I suppose, our historians have recorded it, to give us a true idea of the humour of those times. Something like this may be observed in the reformers, in regard of several other matters. For instance, when they were at a stand, about the sacrifice of the mass, one while they were disposed to retain the names *sacrifice* and *mass*, and, as a necessary consequence also, the word *altar*. Soon after, they discarded those words, as favouring superstition. Afterwards, the altar was to be called a table ; and, that it might not put them in mind of superstition, it was removed at some distance from the wall ; and again, this not being thought sufficient, they placed it in the middle of the chancel, and, at last, it was returned to its first place, where the high altar stood. Upon which occasion, Dr. Hugh Weston merrily said, "The reformation was like an ape, not knowing which way to turn his tail."²

¹ Heylin, 93, 94.

² Foxe, iii. 70.

ARTICLE III.

INSURRECTIONS.—IN WILTSHIRE AND OTHER COUNTIES—THEY ARE SUPPRESSED—IN DEVONSHIRE AND CORNWALL—DEMANDS OF THE REBELS—THEY BESIEGE EXETER—AND ARE DEFEATED AND DISPERSED—IN NORFOLK—KETT'S ARMY VICTORIOUS—BUT AFTERWARDS ROUTED.

UPON the alterations that were made in the discipline of the church, a general discontent appeared all over the nation. They saw plainly that all was going to ruin, and that the system of religion was aimed at, no less than the revenues of the church. Many of the nobility and gentry had agreed to take in the waste grounds, which lately belonged to the religious houses, of which now they were become proprietors, either by purchase, or gifts from the crown. Several disturbances happened upon this occasion; but most especially in Devon-¹⁵⁴⁹shire and Norfolk, where there was a general insurrection.¹ In Devonshire, a body of ten thousand men was commanded by Humphrey Arundel, Thomas Holmes, and other neighbouring gentlemen. They drew up a manifesto, which consisted of fifteen articles, the chief whereof were; that the six-article act against heresy should be revived, and the new liturgy abolished: that Dr. Moreman and Dr. Crispin might be permitted to preach without molestation: that cardinal Pole's attainder might be reversed, he sent for over, and be one

¹ [The insurrections in Devonshire and Norfolk had been preceded by disturbances in the counties of Wilts, Sussex, Hants, Kent, Gloucester, Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, Hertford, Leicester, Worcester, and Rutland. As in the other instances, the real or immediate origin of the tumults lay in the scarcity of provisions, the low rate of wages, and the injury inflicted on the poor, by the enclosure of the waste lands: but "by fair persuasions, partly of honest men among themselves, partly by gentlemen, they were often appeased" (Edward's Journal, 4). The indiscretion of the protector, however, soon revived the commotion. Alarmed at the proceedings of the insurgents, he had dispatched a commission to enquire into their complaints, and to throw open the obnoxious enclosures. This measure encouraged the resolution of the people: the partiality of the commissioners enkindled their resentment; and, in a few days, the counties of Oxford, Devon, Norfolk, and York, were added to the disturbed districts (Strype, ii. 171, 172; Edward's Journal, 5). The task of reducing the Oxfordshire insurgents was committed to the lord Grey of Wilton, with a body of 1500 men. As he advanced, his force was strengthened by the gentlemen of the county: the rebels were defeated in the first encounter; and the death of some, the capture of others, and the execution of the most conspicuous of the ringleaders, effectually restored the tranquillity of the neighbourhood. Edward's Journal, 5: Strype, ii. 171, 172.—*T.*]

of the privy-council : that some of the abbeys might be rebuilt, and their lands restored to the ancient proprietors. Answers were distinctly returned to every article; but not being to the satisfaction of the party, they still continued under arms.¹ Some of them went upon this notion, that, during the king's minority, the ministry had no power to establish new laws, destructive of the acts in force, in the former reign; and particularly, that religion ought to remain in the same posture it was left in, at the decease of king Henry VIII. To this it was answered, in general terms, that it was not age, but birthright, which invested the king with power and prerogative. In the conclusion, they were promised a pardon, if they would lay down their arms, and return to their respective places of abode; otherwise, the government would use force, and proceed against them with the utmost severity.² But the offer was refused. They went on with the siege of Exeter, where, having lain about six weeks, the city was relieved by the royal army, under the command of lord Russell and lord Grey,

¹ [The articles, with the reply, an elaborate argument from the pen of the primate, is in Strype's *Cranmer* (Appendix, 86—113). Besides the matters mentioned in the text, the insurgents demand the restoration of the mass, of the ancient Latin services of the church, of images, crucifixes, and pictures, of the various ceremonies that had been abolished, and of the pious custom of praying for the souls in purgatory. They require the English scriptures to be called in, and suppressed; and they positively refuse to receive the new service, first, "because it is but like a christmas game"; secondly, because, as regards the Cornish part of the confederates, who "understand no English", it is, of course, unintelligible. To this latter reason Cranmer replies, that Latin is equally unintelligible: but he forgets that he has just before assigned this very fact, as a reason why the mass should not be said in Latin. If a want of acquaintance with the Latin tongue render a Latin service improper, will an ignorance of the English tongue be less conclusive against an English form of prayer?

. Before I close this note, I must be permitted to remark on a passage in Mr. Sharon Turner's history. Having discovered that the insurgents demanded the recall of Pole, he first talks of that prelate's "treasonable intercourse with the supporters of the papacy in England"; and then, advancing a step farther, boldly asserts that the insurrection was the result of the cardinal's "extensive correspondence and secret activity" (*Hist. Edw. VI.*, 254, 255). Perhaps it is needless to observe, that, of this "treasonable intercourse" and "extensive correspondence", no trace has been discovered, save in the imagination of the historian himself.—*T.*]

² [This answer was put forth in a proclamation, running in the king's name, and informing the insurgents, in a tone of bitter contempt, that, in thus addressing them, their sovereign had "descended from his high majesty for love, to consider them in their base and simple ignorance". The Proclamation is in Foxe, ii. l. ix. 15, 16.—*T.*]

supported by a body of Germans, Lutherans, sent for over, purposely to overawe the English, upon this critical juncture of establishing the reformation. After a sharp AUG. engagement, the Devonshire army was entirely^{6.} routed, 4000 of their men being killed and taken prisoners. The royal army entered the city August 6, 1549. Some of the chief of this insurrection were executed in the neighbourhood. Humphrey Arundel, the general, and one or two more, were conducted to London, and suffered at Tyburn, January 27, 1550.¹

About the time of this insurrection, another, no less formidable, appeared in Norfolk, headed by Robert Kett. The rebels of Devonshire "did openly avouch the advancing of popery; these others were only suspected secretly [to be] fomented by some papists."² They first rendezvoused July 6, 1549, at Moushold-hill, JULY near Norwich, being 20,000 men, though rather a^{6.} rabble than a regular army. It does not appear that they proposed any thing concerning religion. All they pretended was, a reformation of the ministry, and pulling down the late enclosures.³ It was not long before an army was sent down to disperse them, under the command of William Parr, marquis of Northampton, being assisted by a number of Lutheran troops, foreigners. The marquis was repulsed with considerable loss, and lord Sheffield lost his life in the engagement. Afterwards, the king's army being reinforced by a body of AUG. men, under the command of John Dudley, earl of^{27.} Warwick, Kett, and his army were entirely routed, and near 2000 men killed upon the spot. Kett being taken prisoner, was executed on a gallows, in the castle of Norwich, and a great many suffered in other places. This engagement happened August 27, 1549.⁴

¹ Edward's Journal, 5; Strype, ii. Append. 103—108; Hayward, 292, 295; Stowe, 596, 603.

² Fuller, l. vii. 397. [The word "*only*", in this citation, is not in Fuller.—*T.*]

³ [These were the whole of their professed objects, *at first*: but as their numbers increased, their views also extended, and they afterwards hesitated not to complain, that "holy rites, established by antiquity, were abolished, new ones authorized, and a new form of religion obtruded, to the subjecting of their souls to those horrid pains, which no death could terminate." Heylin, 77; Godwin, 93.—*T.*]

⁴ Edward's Journal, 5, 6; Hayward, 296—300; Stowe, 597.

ARTICLE IV.

A NEW LITURGY, ETC.—TROOPS ENGAGED TO SUPPORT THE REFORMATION—CRANMER'S CATECHISM—A COMMISSION FOR REVISING THE LITURGY—THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER—THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY—FASTS, ABSTINENCES, AND HOLIDAYS ENJOINED BY PARLIAMENT—DISPENSATIONS FROM FASTING—DESTRUCTION OF MISSALS, &c.—ARTICLES OF RELIGION—CODE OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS—NEW ORDINAL—THE BOOK OF HOMILIES.

WHILE the ministry proceeded no farther than ceremony and discipline, in the alterations they made, a great many of the clergy, though they wanted not zeal to support the cause of the old religion, yet thought it prudence to sit down in quiet, imagining, perhaps, that there might be a superfluity and an abuse of ceremonies, especially among the populace, and ignorant sort of people. But finding, by degrees, that there was a design, in some persons, to attack the discipline established over the whole church, and even to break into the creed of their ancestors, they appeared very uneasy, published several books in defence of the ancient faith, and frequently challenged the opposite party to try the cause by disputation. But "the court, who, it is thought, might have something farther than religion in view, did not think it advisable to venture the cause upon disputation, and rely wholly upon arguments. They might be apprehensive, that, unless the disagreement between Rome and England was carried to a wider distance, the breach might possibly be closed, and that such an union might prove unfriendly to their church estates. On the other hand, they were not assured, whether any farther alterations in doctrine and worship would be well received. The minority of the prince was a circumstance of disadvantage: and, how far the people would be passive under a new face of things, was not easy to conjecture. To guard against the worst, it was thought fit to be furnished with forces to awe the opposite party, and prevent them from giving disturbance. And, as an army was a seasonable provision, there wanted not a colour to raise it. A marriage (as hath been observed)

was agreed, in the late reign, between the young queen of Scotland and the present king; but the Scots failed in their articles. The protector and the council, therefore, resolved to bring them to reason. For this purpose, men were levied, a fleet equipped, and the veteran troops at Boulogne and Calais embarked for England. The protector likewise had several regiments of Walloons and Germans in his pay: not that he had a better opinion of their courage, but because he might believe them more ready to execute any harsh service at home, if occasion required."¹

By these forcible methods, in conjunction with several other motives, capable of working upon the infirmities of human nature, the nation became more susceptible of the impressions, in favour of the reformation; so that, in a little time, the project was set a-foot of a new liturgy, a new ordinal, with a collection of articles, canons, and homilies, which were designed as a standard, both for doctrine and discipline.² Wherefore, in the year 1548, the second of Edward VI., a commission was granted by the protector and council, to certain bishops and divines, to draw up a form of prayer, by way of liturgy. The persons in commission were, the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Durham, Worcester, Norwich, St. Asaph's, Salisbury, Litchfield, Hereford, Westminster, and Rochester. Those of this commission among the inferior clergy were, Dr. Cox, Dr. May, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Haynes, Dr. Robertson, and Dr. Redman, all

¹ Collier, ii. 228, 229. See also Heylin, 39, 40.

² [I may here mention Cranmer's Catechism, a work which immediately preceded the book of Common Prayer. It was a translation, made and published by the archbishop, from the Dutch; and, under the title of "*A short Instruction to Christian religion, for the singular profit of children and young people*", contained a familiar exposition of the Lord's prayer, the creed, the commandments, and the two sacraments of baptism and the eucharist. There are some points in this treatise, that are worthy of notice. With the catholic church, Cranmer comprises the two prohibitions of false Gods and images in one commandment; an arrangement, which both Burnet and Strype acknowledge to be "of no great consequence." He speaks of penance as a sacrament, inculcates the duty of frequent confession, expresses a wish for the revival of the ancient penitential canons, and, contrary to the principles avowed by him in the late reign, distinctly asserts the divine origin of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. See Collier, ii. 251; Strype's Cranmer, 159, 160; Burnet, ii. 67.—*T.*]

deans, excepting Redman, who was master of Trinity college in Cambridge.¹ They pretended to work upon the plan of the four rituals, hitherto used in England, viz., those of Sarum, York, Bangor, and Lincoln. When this work was completed, many months passed before it obtained a legal establishment; during which time, many of the bishops and clergy made use of the ancient liturgy, or mass, in Latin; others took up the new one, which was well concerted to carry on the interest of the reformation. For no doctrinal point being imposed directly by this new liturgy, this made a great many of the clergy conform to it, who otherwise were enemies to the reformed doctrine, and hitherto had gone no farther than renouncing the pope's supremacy. By this means many were drawn, unthinkingly, into the snare that was laid for them. For by reconciling the clergy to a liturgy, which carried a pretty good face, and varied very little, only in certain omissions, from the Latin liturgy, the pill was swallowed with more ease. However, it was far from giving a general content. Catholics made their exceptions against it, both as to the substance and manner. They alleged, that it was a bold undertaking, to model a-new the liturgy of the universal church; that the omissions were suspected of a design against the Christian sacrifice; that it was a piece of presumption to affirm (as the act specified) that it was carried on with the aid of the Holy Ghost. "Some also censured this provision of a common prayer, because it is said to have been composed by one uniform consent; and yet four of the bishops, who were in the committee for drawing it, protested against the bill. These were the bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster:"² while others were in hopes it was only a temporary scheme, to humour a set of men unreason-

¹ [Burnet (ii. 58), and Collier (ii. 243) add to this list the bishops of Carlisle, Bristol, St. David's, Ely, Lincoln, and Chichester. Fuller (l. vii. 386) and Heylin (58), who give a different list, are undoubtedly wrong.—*T.*]

² Collier, ii. 264. [Besides these, there were four other dissentient bishops, who had been on the committee, namely, those of London, Durham, Carlisle, and Worcester. Lords' Journals, i. 331.—*T.*]

ably disposed for novelties, as, indeed, a great many were, who never rested, till it was revised, and many ceremonies, which they esteemed to be superstitious, entirely left out. The truth is, the compilers of this first common prayer were so complaisant to the old religion, as to retain several practices, which some of their party thought to be inconsistent with the purity of the Gospel. For instance, the cross was ordered upon the head and breast of those that were baptized; as also, upon the forehead of those that received confirmation. The ceremony of anointing was, for some time, kept up in baptism; as also in extreme unction, if the sick person demanded it. Prayer for the dead was retained as a part of the service, and the liturgy styled a sacrificial oblation.¹ However, most of these, and such like ceremonies and practices were soon after discharged, accordingly as the reformers received new lights, and a plausible turn was given to the whole affair. They pretended, that only such ceremonies were discharged as were visibly superstitious, that darkened the Gospel, and were cumbersome to religion; and that they retained such as guarded religion from nakedness and contempt; there being a great deal of difference, said they, between the gaudy attire of popery, and the decent dress of the reformation.² But, to speak without passion, or prejudice, concerning this point, it must be owned, that, although ceremonies are not things of the greatest consequence, yet there may be both inconvenience and danger, in permitting every particular church to act as they please

¹ [See Collier, ii. 255—261, and L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices. It may be added, that, in the prayer of consecration, the blessing of the priest was added to the invocation of the Holy Spirit, thus,—“Heare us O mercyfull Father, we beseeche thee, and with thy Holy Spirite and Worde vouchsafe to bl+esse and sancti+fie these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wyne, that they maye be unto us the bodie and blood of thy most derely beloved Sonne, Jesus Christe”. By the rubric, the bread was still ordered to be unleavened; the sacrament was to be received “in the mouth, at the priest's hands”; and one individual in each family was to communicate, in person or by substitute, every Sunday, and pay his accustomed share of the expence. Besides the unction, in baptism, the ancient practice of exorcising the child, and of clothing it with a white garment, was retained; and the blessing, pronounced on the married couple, was accompanied with the sign of the cross.—*T.*]

² L'Estrange, 13—15.

upon these occasions. There is sometimes a great connection between ceremonies and articles of faith; inso-much, that the former are, as it were, a comment upon the latter, for the instruction of the ignorant, and to keep the mystery alive in their memory. Again, many ceremonies have been consecrated, from the earliest times of Christianity, for the perpetual use of religion; which, it is to be supposed, are neither ridiculous nor superstitious. The pretence of reforming and purging the church from certain practices is only a stratagem of the devil, who, in all ages, has stirred up pretended zealots to attack the mystery, through the ceremony, and to lop off the branches, only with a design to kill the tree. Those, that have refined upon the late reformation, afford us a proof of this observation. The church, by law established, has not given content in the matter of ceremonies. The dissenters still quarrel with their discipline, and represent it as full of superstition; and some have not been satisfied, till they have stripped religion of all its leaves and branches, upon a pretence of making a thorough reformation, and adoring the Lord only in spirit and truth.

To leave this digression, and return to the account of the liturgy, or common prayer:—it was first drawn up, in the year 1548, and, though frequently made use of, yet not enjoined, till a proclamation came forth, June 24, 1549, ordering that no one, for the future, should, so much as in private, make use of any other liturgy, and that the service, or mass, in Latin, should be laid aside. Soon after, it was established by act of ^{1549.} parliament, called the uniformity act, with severe ^{JAN. 15.} penalties for non-compliance.¹ Every clergyman not

¹ [There is an important error in this passage. The document, here called a Proclamation, and said to have preceded the act of parliament, was, in reality, a letter from the council to Bonner, and was written more than five months after the passing of the bill. By the latter, which was carried on the 15th of January, 1549, it was enacted that the new liturgy should come into general use, at the following feast of Pentecost. On that day, the English service was, for the first time, solemnly performed in the cathedral of St. Paul's. But the clergy, though, to escape the penalties, they had been induced to conform to the provisions, of the act, were not disposed to abandon the ancient liturgy: the bishop, moreover, was known to be favourable to their views; and, accordingly, while

making use of it, in the church service, was, for the first offence, to suffer half a year's imprisonment, and forfeit

the Common-Prayer was publicly recited at the high altar, mass continued to be privately celebrated in the different chapels of the cathedral. This evasion of the law was, of course, speedily reported to the council; and it was for the purpose of preventing it, that the letter in question was addressed to Bonner. It recited the facts, on which it was grounded; denounced the conduct of the clergy, in this instance, as "a scorn to the reverence of the communion of the Lord's body and blood"; and concluded by prohibiting any deviation, in the liturgy, from the form "appointed in the book of the public service". The letter and the act of parliament will be found in the Appendix, No. IX.

I may here mention two other acts, which Dodd has printed among his records, but which he has otherwise omitted to notice. The first is for the regulation of the fasts and abstinences of the church. It was passed in March, 1549, and was directed against the "sensuality" of those reformers, who, together with the doctrines, had been careful to throw aside the restraints, of religion. Its preamble, however, sufficiently indicates the character of the time. The king's subjects, it says, have now "a more perfect and clear light of the Gospel, and true word of God". But they employ their knowledge, to indulge their appetites; and, instead of endeavouring to "encrease in virtue", seek only "to satisfy their sensuality". These abuses must be remedied. Wherefore, since "godly abstinence is a mean to virtue", and, at the same time, an assistance to trade; since it will at once "subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit", and encrease the employment of those, who live "by fishing in the sea", it is now enacted and ordained, that, from and after the first day of May next ensuing, all persons, not specially licensed, or exempted by this act, shall be bound, under pain of fine and imprisonment, to abstain from flesh-meat, on the Friday and Saturday in each week, on the ember days, on the days of Lent, and on all other days commonly known and accepted as fish-days.—Such was the manner, in which piety and profit could be associated, in the discipline of a reformed church!—See Appendix, No. X.

The other act, to which I have alluded, was passed in March, 1552. It is called "An Act for the keeping of holidays and fasting days": but it relates principally to the former; and will not be uninstrucive to those, who have been accustomed to hear the festivals of the catholic church condemned and reviled. It begins by lamenting the negligence of the people, in the discharge of their religious duties; says that, "to help their infirmity", certain days have been set apart, and consecrated to the exercises of prayer, and to the hearing of God's word; and declares, that, as no certain or definite number of such days has been prescribed in holy Scripture, so "the appointment both of the time, and also of the number of days, is left, by the authority of God's word, to the liberty of Christ's church, to be determined and assigned orderly, in every country, by the discretion of the rulers and ministers thereof, as they shall judge most expedient to the true setting forth of God's glory, and the edification of their people". It then proceeds to specify the days, which shall henceforth be kept holy, and on which the people shall be "commanded to abstain from lawful bodily labour". It names the festivals still retained in the calendar of the Common-Prayer book: it ordains that the eves or vigils of the Nativity, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of our Lord, of Pentecost, of the Purification and Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, of All Saints, and of all festivals of the Apostles, except that of St. John and of SS. Philip and James, shall be observed as fasting days; and it specially authorizes all archbishops, bishops, and other persons possessing spiritual jurisdiction, to enquire into all offences against its provisions, to proceed against the violators of its regulations, and to enforce its observance either

a year's profits of one of his benefices ; the second offence was deprivation, *ipso facto*, and imprisonment for twelve months ; the third offence was imprisonment during life.¹ Thus the common prayer stood, from its first establishing, anno 1549, till it was revised and altered in the year 1552. It was revised and altered again under queen Elizabeth, anno 1559 ; again under king James I., in 1604 ; afterwards under king Charles II., anno 1662. Several alterations were made at those times, at the instance of the dissenters ; and, lastly, they attempted to have it revised and corrected, in the year 1689, but without success. I will give all the particulars, as they fall in with the course of my history.

The common prayer being thus established, the reformers still wanted a standard for doctrine, whereby they might appear, at least, to be united in one belief.

“ by the censures of the church ”, or by “ such penance as, in their discretion, shall be thought meet and convenient ”. This act was repealed in the reign of Mary, but was restored to the statute book, at the accession of James I., and remains still in force. It will be found in the Appendix, No. XI.

Before I close this note, I must be permitted to refer to a curious letter, addressed by bishop Hooper to Cecil, and lately published by Mr. Tytler, in his Illustrations of the reigns of Edward and Mary. The prelate has been complaining of the high price of provisions, and of the consequent destitution of the poor ; and, having called on the secretary “ for the passion of Christ, to take the fear of God and a bold stomach, to speak herein for redress ”, thus concludes his epistle :—“ May it please you to be so good, as to desire a license of the king's majesty, for me to eat flesh upon the fish days. Doubtless, my stomach is not as it has been. In case it were, I could better eat fish than flesh : but I think it past for this life. There is also here a wise and sober man, one of the elder men of the town, a good and necessary subject for this little commonwealth here (Gloucester), called John Sanford, that is a weak and sickly man, desired me also to be a suitor to you for him in this case : and doubtless we will so use the king's authority, as none, I trust, shall take occasion for liberty and contempt of laws by us”. Tytler, i. 365, 366.—T.]

¹ [The arrest, however, of Somerset, in the following October, seems to have revived the hopes of those, who were still attached to the “ old learning ”, and to have induced them to look for the restoration of the ancient liturgy of the church. To dispel the illusion, Edward, at the suggestion of the council, addressed a letter to the bishops, informing them of the expectation that was abroad, and requiring them to see that all books, containing any portion of the ancient service, were forthwith delivered up and destroyed (Wilkins, iv. 37, 38. See page 19, ante). But this measure was soon discovered to be unavailing. The bishops were unwilling to enforce, the clergy to obey, the royal mandate ; and a bill, therefore, was soon after passed, by which it was enacted, that any person refusing to surrender, or any archbishop, bishop, or other officer, neglecting to destroy, such books, should suffer fine or imprisonment, as the case might be. The act will be found in the Appendix, No. XII.—T.]

¹⁵⁵² To this purpose, a kind of committee of divines, under Cranmer's direction, were ordered to draw up a certain number of articles; for, as yet, the tenets of the old and new religion were so blended together, that they made one confused chaos; and though, outwardly, men seemed to be under the same regulation, they were, inwardly, under a continual distraction, every one being at liberty to carve out a creed for himself: so that it is a difficult matter to determine of what persuasion the generality of the people either lived, or died, in those struggling times of the reformation. When the commissioners had gone through their work, they presented the nation with a system of reformed doctrine, containing forty-two articles; and it was expected, that all, that were members of the reformation, should submit to them, as soon as they had the approbation of the king and council, which they readily obtained. "It is not altogether improbable," says Dr. Heylin, "but that these articles, being debated, and agreed upon by the said committee, might also pass the vote of the whole convocation, though we find nothing to that purpose in the acts thereof, which either have been lost, or were never registered. Besides, it is to be observed, that the church of England, for the first five years of queen Elizabeth, retained these articles, and no others, as the public tenets of the church, in point of doctrine; which certainly she had not done, had they been commended to her by a less authority than a convocation."¹ However, it is certain they never had a parliamentary establishment, and came forth only by royal authority,¹⁵⁵³ as they were forged by the committee.² Some difference is observable, between these forty-two articles

¹ Heylin, 122. [Burnet, however, has shewn that they were never submitted to the convocation (iii. 210—212). In Wilkins, they are called "Articuli, de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, anno Domini MDLII., ad tollendam opinionum dissentionem, et consensum veræ religionis firmandum, inter episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat, regiâ auctoritate in lucem editi" (iv. 73). The articles, with the several points, wherein they differed from those adopted in the reign of Elizabeth, may be seen in Burnet, ii. Rec. 190—200; Collier, ii. Rec. 75—80; and Heylin, 351 to the end.—*T.*]

² Strype's Cranmer, 272, 293; Heylin, 121.

and the thirty-nine articles of queen Elizabeth, which has occasioned some contest among the reformers. I may, perhaps, have an opportunity of taking notice of this matter, in the course of this history. In the mean time, I will proceed, and give an account of some other advances made by these reformers.

Besides this regulation, as to doctrine, several things were still wanting, as to discipline. For the church being now swallowed up by the state, and the canon law, built upon the decrees of popes and councils, being rendered insignificant, by the nation's withdrawing itself from the usual jurisdiction, it was requisite that some sort of ecclesiastical laws should be established, that would answer the purposes of the reformation. This was thought of, from the beginning of England's defection from the see of Rome, and the embryo of a design was prepared in Henry VIII.'s reign; but that prince's death, and some difficulties that arose in the execution, retarded the project. Those that were of Erastian principles judged, the civil magistracy was qualified to make such a provision, and that it was making backward steps in the reformation, to allow a national church a power of making laws, which they refused to a church of nations. However, the bishops and clergy were unwilling to appear insignificant upon this occasion; and, therefore, the matter was so compromised, that a certain number of their body, jointly with some ¹⁵⁴⁹ learned men of the laity, should compile a collection of laws, for the use of the church; and it was to be performed according to the scheme laid in Henry VIII.'s reign, when it was decreed, by act of parliament, that thirty-two commissioners, one half to be ecclesiastics, the other half laymen, were to finish the said work in three years, and, the mean while, church affairs were to be managed by occasional laws.¹ The wording of these

¹ Stat. 3 and 4 Ed. VI. c. 11. [The commission was issued on the 10th of February, 1550, to the archbishop of Canterbury; the bishops of London, Ely, Winchester, Exeter, Bath, Gloucester, and Rochester; the divines, Taylor of Lincoln, Tyler of Hadley, Cox, almoner to the king, Sir John Cheek, Sir Anthony Cook, Peter Martyr, John Alasco, and Parker of Cambridge; the civilians,

constitutions was left to a sub-committee of eight persons, viz. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Goodrick, bishop of Ely, Dr. Cox, the king's almoner, Peter Martyr, Dr. William May, Dr. Rowland Taylor; to these were joined two laymen, John Lucas, and Richard Goodrick, esquires. And then the polishing of the work was committed to two polite writers, sir John Cheek and Dr. Haddon. The entire collection was ¹⁵⁵² completed, anno 1552, under fifty-one titles, besides an appendix "De Regulis Juris." It was called "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum." King Edward VI. happening to die soon after, this notable scheme was knocked on the head, being never confirmed, either by parliament or convocation; and the reformers, at this day, are at a loss for some such sort of a provision, as it appears by the awkward and blundering proceedings of their spiritual courts, where they want standing laws for their direction. I remit the reader to the book itself, if he is curious to be informed of particulars, and shall only mention a few of the articles, which, perhaps, will not be according to the taste of every reformer. For instance, by the third article, apostates, and such as opposed Christianity in general, were to forfeit both life and estate. The eighth article annulled marriages, made without the consent of parents, or guardians. In the ninth article, the Levitical degrees were explained with remarkable severity. The tenth article allows of marriage after a divorce, in the case of adultery; especially, the party injured has this liberty; the woman, an adulteress, forfeits her jointure; the husband, an adulterer, is to return his wife's portion, and part with one-half of his substance; and both parties, being guilty, are either to be imprisoned for life, or banished. Marriage might be annulled, in all cases where the parties were allowed to separate as to bed and board, viz. in attempts of poisoning, implacable hatred, &c. The

secretary Petre, secretary Cecil, Traherne, Read, Coke, May, and Skinner; and the lawyers, Justice Bromley, Justice Hales, Gosnald, Goodrick, Stamford, Caril, Lucas, and Gaudy (Edward's Journal, 42). There was, probably, another civilian, whose name has been omitted by the king.—T.]

twenty-fifth article debars heretics from making wills. Also, those under sentence of death, perpetual banishment, perpetual imprisonment, strumpets, pandars, libellers, and usurers, are declared to be under the same disability.¹

Another thing, the reformers went upon, was the ordination of their new ministry. During the first and second year of Edward VI., it does not appear that any alteration had been made in the ancient ordinal, or Roman pontifical, excepting the oath of obedience to the bishop of Rome, which had been omitted ever since king Henry VIII. assumed the spiritual supremacy. It was judged convenient, therefore, to set forth a new ordinal, and an act of parliament passed to that purpose, January 31, 1550. The book was drawn up by six bishops, and six others, learned in the canon law; ¹⁵⁵⁰ but the bishops of Worcester, Durham, Carlisle, Westminster, and Chichester, dissenting from the bill, and not concurring in other matters relating to the reformation, were, soon after, deprived.² When this ordinal

¹ [See the "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum", published by archbishop Parker, in 1571. An abstract of its contents is given in Collier (ii. 326—332). I may add to what is mentioned in the text, that the third article treats of Heresy, and of the process to be adopted against heretics. If they repented and abjured their errors, within sixteen days, they might be absolved, on giving proofs of their sincerity: but if they remained obstinate in their opinions, and bade defiance to the censures of the church, they were then to be delivered to the secular magistrate, to suffer death according to the law. Of excommunication it pronounces, that it belongs to the power of the keys, granted by Christ to his church. Its object is, to repress those greater crimes, which strike at the root of morality and religion: its effect, to cut off the offender from the society of the faithful, to deprive him of the expectation of happiness and of the protection of Providence, and to consign him to everlasting punishment and the tyranny of the devil.—The commission to the eight persons, forming the sub-committee, is in Wilkins (iv. 69). See also Dr. Lingard's reply to Sir James Macintosh, on the nature of the punishment, awarded by these laws to the obstinate heretic (Hist. of Eng. vii. 188, note). Burnet's misrepresentation on this subject, was long since exposed by Collier, ii. 326.—*T.*]

² ["Forasmuch as, concord and unity to be had within the king's majesty's dominions, it is requisite to have one uniform fashion and manner of making and consecrating of bishops, priests, deacons, or ministers of the church, be it therefore enacted by the king's highness, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that such form and manner of making and consecrating of bishops, priests, deacons, and other ministers of the church, as by six prelates, and six other men of this realm, learned in God's law, by the king's majesty to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them, shall be

was examined, in the next ensuing reign of queen Mary, it was declared to be insufficient, and invalid, as to the purposes of consecrating a true ministry, both the bishops and parliament being of that opinion. The reasons, in general, of its insufficiency, were an essential defect, both as to the matter and form of the episcopal and sacerdotal orders. There was no anointing, a ceremony always made use of from the earliest times, without which ordination was doubted, and, according to the common opinion, invalid. There was no porrection of instruments, another significative ceremony, generally esteemed to be essential. But, what was still of the greatest moment, there was no form of words specifying the order that was conferred, and particularly, no words, or ceremony made use of, to express the power of absolving, or offering sacrifice. For these, and several other reasons, which I have distinctly mentioned in another place, all the orders conferred, according to this new ordinal, were looked upon by the catholics, in queen Mary's reign, to be null and invalid. The authority of the ordinal being previously established by act of parliament, it was afterwards confirmed by another act, anno 1552, whereby the common prayer lately revised received its approbation.¹

I will conclude this article with a word or two, concerning certain homilies which were ordered to be read publicly in all the churches. They were first designed to serve instead of sermons, as it was pretended, to hinder preachers from running into unseasonable excursions, and exasperating the opposite party. The first part of the book of homilies was composed in Edward VI.'s reign, and contained twelve lessons; the second part contained twenty-one lessons, and was not pub-

devised for that purpose, and set forth under the great seal of England, before the first day of April next coming, shall, by virtue of this present act, be lawfully exercised and used, and none other, any statute, or law, or usage, to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding" (Stat. 3 and 4 Ed. VI. c. 12). It was read three times on the same day (Jan. 31, 1550), and passed, with no other opposition, than that of the prelates mentioned in the text (Lords' Journals, i. 387).—The deprivation of the bishops of Carlisle and Westminster is a mistake.—*T.*]

¹ See Appendix, No. XIII.

lished till queen Elizabeth's reign.¹ Several divines of the church of England do not look upon them as a standard of their doctrine; first, because they were composed by unknown persons; and again, they cannot allow of certain assertions advanced by the authors, viz. the demolishing of images, fixing idolatry upon the church of Rome, and the doctrine of passive obedience to the civil government. "And therefore," says Fuller, "such use these homilies as an upper garment, girding them close unto, and casting them from them, at pleasure."² Others among the reformers insist upon the orthodoxy of these homilies; and, to this purpose, allege the thirty-fifth article of the church of England, which declares, that the books of homilies do contain a godly and wholesome doctrine. Now, whether this expression does extend to all, or only to part, of those homilies, is left to the reader's judgment. I will proceed to give an account, what share foreigners had in the reformation, under Edward VI.

¹ [The twelve Homilies, published in this reign, form what is called the first book. They treat respectively of the Scriptures, of the misery of sin, of salvation through Christ, of faith, good works, and charity, of swearing and apostacy, of the fear of death, of obedience to the civil magistrate, of adultery, and of contention in matters of religion. Those published under the authority of Elizabeth are comprised in the second book; and are described in the thirty-fifth article of the church of England. Edward's Homilies have already been mentioned in page 6 of this volume.—T.]

² Lib. ix. 75.

ARTICLE V.

FOREIGNERS CALLED OVER.—DISPUTATION AT OXFORD—FOXÉ'S DISHONESTY—
DISPUTATIONS AT CAMBRIDGE—THE COMMON-PRAYER BOOK REVISED—
BUCER'S OPINIONS.

THE controversy in the late reign, concerning the divorce, having brought Cranmer, and our English reformers, acquainted with several foreign divines that had embraced Lutheranism, the protector was persuaded to invite them over; and immediately three learned men were sent for, viz. Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer,¹⁵⁴⁹ and Paulus Fagius, all of them expert men in reforming; and, though designed chiefly to model the studies of the two universities, which were in a very languishing condition, yet they happened to busy themselves more than some desired, and laid the plan of a reformation, according to the Zuinglian and Calvinistical taste, and, in many respects, proved successful. Peter Martyr was placed in Oxford, the other two in Cambridge.¹ Peter Martyr was immediately made a canon of Christ-church; "with him also settled his beloved wife Catharine, as the wife of Dr. Richard Cox did, about the same time, with him, in the dean's lodgings; being the first women, as it was observed, that resided in any college, or hall in Oxford: by whose example, it was not only permitted, that any canon besides might marry, if he pleased, but also a head of a college, or hall; whereby other women, or idle huswives, were tolerated (if the said head allowed it) to serve in them. Which act (beside their permitting of bawling children to come among them) was looked upon as such a damnable matter by the catholics, and others too, that they

¹ [Strype's Cranmer, 196, 197. Besides these, Utenhoffe and Pierre Alexandre were stationed at Canterbury, Tremelio and Cavalier read Hebrew lectures at Cambridge, Angelo Florio, Valerandus Polanus, and John à Lasco were preachers in London and Glastonbury. Ibid. and Lingard, vii. 74, 75.—T.]

usually styled them concubines.”¹ At Peter Martyr’s arrival in Oxford, the reformers were hugely encouraged, by the fame of his learning, and controversial abilities. There was, at that time, a noted divine in Oxford, Dr. Richard Smith, who was judged to be a fit match for him, in all respects, and who immediately offered to engage Peter Martyr in a public disputation ;² which Martyr, at first, declined, pretending he could not accept of such an engagement, without leave from the court ; which being afterwards obtained, Dr. Smith, suspecting he should be overawed by the managers, and not allowed to speak with that freedom he desired, made a demur in his turn.³ However, soon after, a conference was agreed upon, wherein Dr. Tresham, and others, undertook Peter Martyr. The subject of the conference was Christ’s presence in the blessed sacrament : “but on which side the victory lay is hard to determine, unless the conference was extant. The Oxford historian observes, that Tresham, Smith, Chedsey, and Morgan (who encountered with Peter Martyr) were all extraordinary men. And here he laments the mismanagement of some of the reformed divines of this university: that they went the last lengths of indiscretion and scandal ; that both in their sermons and at disputations, they treated the holy mysteries in a very unbecoming manner ; and thus the common people were encouraged to make a jest of the most solemn part of religion.”⁴ Several letters

¹ Wood, Athen. Oxon. i. 139. See also Persons, Three Conversions, iii. 349—354.

² [Smith had been king’s professor of divinity in the university, but had been compelled to resign, in the preceding year. Martyr succeeded him. Athen. Oxon. 139, 143 ; Strype, ii. 39.—*T.*]

³ [Smith had met Martyr, had arranged the form and terms of the disputation, and was only waiting for the arrival of the day, named by the privy council for the commencement of the discussion, when “sive aliã de causã, sive quòd liberam non fore disputationem, quia a magistratibus quos dixi suffulciendos iri reformatos, presentiret, clam se, ut aliqui ferunt, ante diem præstitutum proripuit” (Wood, Hist. Oxon. 267). It is not unlikely that the appointment of Cox, who, with Holbein, bishop of Lincoln, Heynes, dean of Exeter, and some others, was sent down from the court to act as moderator, was an additional reason in the mind of Smith for anticipating an unfair decision. Sanders, in fact, who was present, says that Martyr ventured not to accept the challenge, until he was assured that Cox would preside. De Schism. l. ii. 265.—*T.*]

⁴ Collier, ii. 273. [Wood’s words are much stronger than Collier here repre-

passed between Bucer and Peter Martyr, concerning this conference. Bucer was not pleased with Martyr's way of arguing; for, instead of denying only a local presence, he seemed to reject a real presence; which, Bucer pretends, was going too far. This conference, which began May 28, 1549, was variously reported by the two parties; especially Dr. Tresham, in the preface of his account, taxes his adversaries with many notorious misrepresentations, and complains, that Martyr, during the conference, wearied the assembly with tedious quotations from the fathers, merely out of ostentation.¹

sents them. "Id unicè addam", says he, "de eucharistiâ, sive in concionibus, sive in disputationibus, sive denique in colloquiis familiaribus, disserentes, theologos nonnullos reformatos indignis adeo modis sacra mysteria tractasse, ac si non tantum non adoranda, verum ludibrio et contemptui habenda decreverint; quâ ratione currentem, quod aiunt, populum incitabant: nil enim solemnius jam erat, quàm ut ludis, cantilenis, profanis denique et ludicris vulgi sermonibus materiam præberent sacra Synaxeos symbola". Hist. Oxon. 268.—T.]

¹ [The substance of Bucer's and Martyr's letters is given by Collier, ii. 273, 274. Tresham's prefatory letter to the council is in Strype's Cranmer, Append. 121. See also Wood, Hist. Oxon. 267, 268.—The points, discussed on this occasion, were three: 1. Whether, in the sacrament of the eucharist, there was any transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ: 2. Whether the body and blood of Christ were carnally or corporally present under the appearances of bread and wine: 3. Whether the body and blood of Christ were sacramentally united with the bread and wine. Of course, the first and second were denied, the third asserted, by Martyr and his friends. The reformer's arguments are detailed by Foxe (ii. lib. ix. 100—103), in a tone of triumph not unusual with that writer: but of the replies of his opponents not a word is said. These are carefully suppressed; nor is it known that any record of them has been preserved. Father Persons, however, in his "Review of Ten Disputations" (c. ii. et seq. p. 89—370), has abundantly supplied their loss: while Sanders assures us that Martyr was so pressed by the catholic disputants, and so ridiculed by the auditory, that Cox, to relieve him from the disgrace of open defeat, pretended to be unexpectedly summoned to London, and suddenly dissolved the meeting (De Schism. l. ii. 266). Perhaps it will be thought to offer some confirmation of this statement, that, of the three questions entered for discussion, Foxe recites the arguments only on the first and second, and, breaking off suddenly, leaves the third wholly unnoticed.]

Besides this disputation, three others followed, during the next month. They were held at Cambridge; they turned on the same subject as their predecessor at Oxford; and, like that, were chiefly remarkable for the pertinacity with which the reformers insisted on discussing the *manner*, before they had decided the *fact*, of Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament. At the close of the arguments, Ridley, who had presided on each occasion, delivered his decision. Of the real presence he said nothing: but he pronounced against the sacrifice of the altar; and he condemned transubstantiation on five distinct grounds:—"the authority, majesty, and verity of holy Scripture; the most certain testimonies of the ancient catholic fathers; the definition of a sacrament; the abominable heresy of Eutiches, that might ensue of transubstantiation; and the most sure belief of the article of our faith, 'He ascended into heaven'" (Foxe, ii. l. ix. 120).

While these disputes were carried on, between the reformers and the catholic party, Calvin kept a continual correspondence with the foreigners employed in England. "He first began to quarrel with some passages in the sacred liturgy, and, afterwards, never left soliciting the lord protector, and practising, by his agents, on the court, the country, and the universities, till he had laid the first foundation of the Zuinglian faction."¹ Both Calvin, Bucer, and Peter Martyr had many things to allege against the new liturgy, as well in general, as in particular. By letters to archbishop Cranmer, Calvin "certifies him, that, in the service of this church, as then it stood, there remained a whole mass of popery, which did not only darken, but destroy God's holy worship."² And, in particular, the aforesaid foreigners inveigh bitterly against prayer for the dead, invocation of angels, and other practices and ceremonies allowed of by the liturgy. The opinion the king had of these foreign reformers, with the impression they had made upon the people, by their clamorous exceptions against the common prayer, at length obliged the ministry to have it revised and purged; and the king was so bent upon it, that, as sir John Cheek assured Peter Martyr, had not the bishops, and other ecclesiastics concerned, yielded to Calvin's remonstrances, he

"There", says Persons, in a passage powerfully illustrative of his peculiar manner, "these be maister Ridley's five bulwarks, or castles of defence builded in the ayre, which he handleth so fondly and childishely, as, after, yow shall see in the particular examinations of his arguments. Only heere I will say in generall, that the reader shall find his authority, majestie, and verity of scriptures against transubstantiation, to be a meere vaunt and vanity; for he hath no one cleere or substantiall place at all. And as for his certayne testimonyes of the ancient fathers, they will prove so uncertaine for his purpose, as yow shall see them most certaynely against him. His third castle, of the definition of a sacrament, will prove a cottage of no strength at all; for that the true nature of a sacrament standeth well with transubstantiation. His fourth head-springe (he had called them "grounds, or rather head-springs"), about the heresie of Eutiches, will prove a puddle, and himselfe puzzeled therin; for that the heresie of Eutiches, confoundinge two distinct natures in Christ, hath no more coherence with transubstantiation, then Rochester with Rome. And finally, his last ground, about the article of Christ's ascendinge into heaven, hath no ground to rest on, but is a meere imagination in the ayre, to witt, that, for so much as Christ ascended into heaven, *ergo*, there is no transubstantiation".
Review, c. i. s. 25. p. 57, 58.—*T.*]

¹ Heylin, To the Reader, iii.

² Heylin, 107. See also pp. 79, 80.

had taken a resolution, that the secular power should manage the affair, and see it executed.¹ It is not known who were the persons employed in this work, since nothing can be met with, either as to their names, or manner of proceeding, either in the acts of convocation, or any other record; only that the following alterations, which reduced the book nearly to its present form, were made. The unction, exorcism, and use of the white garment in baptism, the anointing of the sick, and the sign of the cross in confirmation and matrimony were abolished: the form of absolution was changed; the commandments were introduced into the communion service; and all traces of prayer for the souls of the departed were removed. The cross, also, in the prayer of consecration was omitted: an order was introduced for kneeling at communion, with a rubric, however, annexed, signifying that it was not for adoration, but only for decency; and, in place of the words, used at the delivery of the elements, "*The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life,*" and, "*The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life,*" was substituted the more approved form of, "*Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart, by faith with thanksgiving,*" and, "*Drink this in remembrance, Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.*"² It is Dr. Heylin's opinion, that these alterations were never agreed to in

¹ Strype's Cranmer, Append. 154. [As a preparatory step, Ales, or Alesius, a Scottish divine, was employed to produce a Latin translation of the book. In this form, its contents were submitted, first to Bucer, and afterwards to Peter Martyr: the suggestions of the former were approved and enforced by the latter; and a committee of divines was appointed to receive their report, and remodel the book in conformity with their views (Heylin, 79; Strype's Cranmer, 210, 252, Append. 154; Burnet, ii. 147). The substance of Bucer's animadversions may be seen in Collier, ii. 296—304.—T.]

² Collier, ii. 310. Kneeling at communion was not ordered, in the next revision of the liturgy, in queen Elizabeth's reign; yet, under king Charles II., the ceremony was restored again (ibid.). [Collier, who is here cited, is, on the subject of Elizabeth's liturgy, at variance both with himself and with the fact. In a subsequent page (430) he says correctly, that, though the divines who revised the liturgy, in 1559, left the posture for receiving the sacrament to the option of the communicant, yet the parliament, in conformity with "the rubric of

convocation, which, as far as we can learn from records, had no power in this reign, if they ever sat at all; the whole affair of the gospel and reformation being managed by a number of picked men, under the direction of the protector and archbishop Cranmer. However, in 1552, the new common prayer was established by act of parliament, together with a new ordinal; but the act was not to commence till All-saints day following; so that there was three quarters of a year allowed to use the old liturgy.¹ Mr. Collier observes, that “the first common prayer book, authorized by a parliament in the second and third years of this reign, is called ‘a very godly order, agreeable to the word of God, and the primitive church, very comfortable to all good people desiring to live in christian conversation, and most profitable for the estate of this realm.’ Thus Bucer’s and Calvin’s animadversions are, in effect, declared frivolous, and of no weight.”² Upon these considerations, several eminent divines of the church of England have still followed the old liturgy, or common prayer, as to all those doctrinal points left out in the late purgation; and, if I am not misinformed, have attempted to make use of it in their little assemblies. The first time their new common prayer was read, was in St. Paul’s church, by bishop Ridley, on All-saints day, 1552. Afterwards, the bishops began to lay aside their copes, crosses, &c.; the prebendaries also threw away their hoods, but retained their surplices; with many other alterations of the same kind.

Among all the foreign divines, Martin Bucer was chiefly attended to, not only upon account of his learning, but because he was a man of temper. What his thoughts were, concerning the present management of church affairs, may be gathered from a book he published, intitled, “*De Regno Christi*,” in which he appears to have projected a reformation according to his own taste. In this book, he calls tenths and first-fruits a

the old book restrained it to kneeling” (see also Strype, *Annal.* i. 83). I should add, that, by Elizabeth, the two forms, mentioned in the text, were united: they are still used as one, in the administration of the sacrament.—*T.*]

¹ See Appendix, No. XIII.

² Collier, ii. 320.

sacrilegious encroachment of the church of Rome ; and exhorts the young king to quit his hands of them. He tells him, his ancestors maintained their conquests abroad, and yet, without these acquisitions, found means to endow churches and hospitals at home ; but, now they had seized upon church-lands, the kingdom was reduced to beggary : they were driven from their ancient conquests ; not an acre of church-land left to bestow upon a favourite ; but, on the contrary, the clergy were so pillaged, upon every public occasion, that they were able to bleed no longer. He goes on in his scheme, and pleads for the marriage of cousin-germans, as also for marriage after divorce, upon account of adultery ; with several other such like pieces of casuistry. Again, he is for having adultery punished with death, and all strolling persons excommunicated. Then, his zeal breaking out of his proper sphere, he is for reforming fashions, as well as faith and manners. For this purpose, he would have merchants tied out from importing trifles, or any thing that tended towards the encouragement of vanity, or superfluous dress ; and, to put the church and state upon the same foot, he was for having all the laws of the nation only in English. In fine, he was for reviving the Mosaic dispensation, so far as to make even blasphemy, breaking of the sabbath, and disobedience to parents, capital crimes. “ This book of *The Kingdom of Christ* was dedicated to the king, and presented for a new-year’s gift. The young prince, it seems, was pleased with the performance ; began to draw a plan from some part of it, and project a reformation of the government.”¹ This was the state of the reformation, during Edward VI.’s reign. The whole carried on by a rapacious ministry ; the king, in a manner, a child, and unexperienced, though the head of the church ; the convocation silenced ; the inferior clergy giving into any scheme, to secure a livelihood ; the whole nation in the utmost distraction, in point of belief ; and daily imposed upon by a few renegado friars, who had usurped the title of *reformers*.

¹ Collier, ii. 303. [He gives an abstract of the work.—T.]

ARTICLE VI.

CHARACTER OF EDWARD.—HIS ABILITIES—HIS RELIGIOUS OPINIONS—HIS INTOLERANCE—HIS SETTLEMENT OF THE CROWN ON THE LADY JANE GREY—HIS DEATH.

PITY and praise, though commonly bestowed upon the unfortunate, yet are a token of merit, and of the subject's deserving a better fate. This seems to have been the case of king Edward VI., whom, though qualified, by nature, to have been a subject of panegyric, the circumstances of his life rendered an object of most men's pity; and, had not his minority, and a disadvantageous education, been some abatement to the miscarriages of his short reign, he might have deserved a much worse character than what is commonly given him. Though the hasty marriage of king Henry VIII. with Jane Seymour, his mother (the very day after queen Ann was beheaded), was no good omen, yet the issue of it ought not to be chargeable with the consequences of so rash a proceeding. He was born, or rather hurried into the world, October 12, 1537; for, as some of our historians take notice, the mother was ripped open to save the child, or, at least, was so abused, that she lost her life. The feeble prince was nursed up with great care, till February 20, 1547, when he was crowned, upon the decease of his father, being little more than nine years of age. If several historians (who are but too apt to flatter persons in high stations) may be credited, this king was a prodigy as to all natural qualifications, and improved himself so much, under his tutors, as to be master of the Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian languages, at an age when others could not be judged capable of expressing themselves in their mother tongue. But then, when they describe him to have been a nice observer of politics, and a collector of the best maxims for government, and not only this, but a proper judge

of the doctrine and discipline of the church; and shew us his private thoughts and determinations upon these matters, when he was scarce fifteen years of age, the account they give is very surprising; and it is altogether incredible, that a weak sickly youth could ever attain to such high matters. However, it is generally agreed, he was a very extraordinary person, and, with the advantage of years and experience, might one day have been the man they made him.

As to the management of affairs during his reign, the king had the name, but the ministry were the sole contrivers. There had been a design, and a kind of agreement, in the late reign, between Scotland and England, wherein it was proposed, that prince Edward and the young queen of Scotland should be married, or contracted. This treaty was set a-foot by those that favoured the reformation, hoping hereby to draw in the Scots, who, as yet, adhered firmly to the see of Rome; and, for this and some other politic reasons, Scotland refused to ratify the treaty. King Henry VIII. had already begun to call the Scots to an account for this affront:¹ the present ministry under Edward VI. pursued the charge; and, ordering a powerful army to march towards Scotland, a remarkable victory was gained at Musselburgh, by the English, and several strong places taken. However, this did not bring the Scots to a compliance. They soon recovered their losses, and were assisted by the French, who gave the English a diversion in Picardy, taking from them Boulogne, and other dependencies; so as to leave nothing of the ancient conquests, excepting Calais, and a small territory belonging to it.² In the mean time, great disputes happened among king Edward's ministry, which proved fatal to some of the great ones. Thomas Seymour, lord admiral, the protector's brother, was accused of treasonable practices, and beheaded. The protector, Edward Seymour, soon after, came to the same end, by

¹ [See vol. i. 314, of this history.—*T.*]

² Lingard, vii. 13—16, 38—42, 49, 57—60.

the contrivance of Dudley, duke of Northumberland, who, by this means, became master of the king, and of all his affairs.

If any judgment can be formed of Edward VI.'s religion (which is a difficult matter, considering the unsettled state of church affairs, during his reign), he was not only a reformer, but so bigotted in that way, that he appeared wholly taken up with the project. It is true, he seemed not inclined to shed blood on that account; and, therefore, no sanguinary, but only penal, laws were executed upon such as stood off:¹ but then he is represented as scrupulous, to a great degree, and would not suffer his sister, princess Mary, to serve God in her own way, though she had a promise of it, at the emperor's intercession. Nay, so stiff he was in his purpose, that his divines could not persuade him, that such a toleration was allowable, or the promise binding.² Had his tutors taken care to have informed him of the faith of his noble ancestors, for near a thousand years, had not this pretended zeal for the reformation been downright childishness, ignorance, and bigotry, he might easily have overcome his scruple, in tolerating a practice which all the Christian world agreed in. On the other hand, that he was either ill principled, or, at least, his zeal under a wrong influence, is manifest, from many unjustifiable methods, during his whole reign, which are taken notice of by most of the reformed historians. They tell us, that all things were managed by a rapacious ministry, who stripped the church of all its ancient rights, upon a pretence of banishing superstition; and that the king, to his dying day, continued signing every order, without thought or reflection, and that his last hours were employed in subverting the estab-¹⁵⁵³lished laws of the nation, and altering the succession

¹ [If by "*such as stood off*" Dodd means only the professors of the ancient creed, he is right: but the burnings of Bocher and Von Paris will shew that, in other instances, even Edward's unwillingness to shed blood might be subdued by the zeal and the importunities of such a prelate as Cranmer.—*T.*]

² [The particulars of this part of Edward's history will be given in the following reign.—*T.*]

in favour of the ambitious duke of Northumberland, who continually buzzed in his majesty's ear, that if the crown devolved upon princess Mary, according as it had been settled in the late reign, the noble project of the reformation would fall to nothing; that there was the same danger apprehended, if it should come into the Scottish line; adding, that both princess Mary and princess Elizabeth were declared illegitimate, by act of parliament: and then he craftily suggested his own ambitious designs, of having the crown settled upon lady Jane Grey, of the house of Suffolk, to whom he had married his son lord Dudley. This, he said, would be a means of establishing the reformation, both the parties being zealous in carrying it on.¹ The king being educated with an utter aversion to the old religion, and both his want of experience, and corporal infirmities, having hindered him from penetrating into the duke's designs, gave into the project. When the case came to be debated in council, several of the nobility shewed a dislike to the proposal. But, at last, being overcome by the duke's arguments, or rather by the apprehension they had of his power, and revengeful temper, submitted to him: so that the whole privy council, being thirty-three (excepting sir James Hales), agreed to settle the crown upon lady Jane Grey, and an instrument, drawn up to that purpose, was signed by the king.

JUNE 21. Some pains (as it is reported) was taken to bring over archbishop Cranmer, who pretended to be scrupulous in breaking into king Henry VIII.'s will and settlement of the crown: but, as he had often concurred to break into the will before, and was as active as any of the rest, in opposing queen Mary's title, I cannot think he could entertain any real scruple, on that score, and that he is very much obliged to his friends, for making that apology in his favour.² After this stratagem was completed, in order to secure the reformation, king Edward died, July 6, 1553, leaving the kingdom in a kind of equilibrium, as to religion, which the ensuing reign easily turned in favour of the ancient belief.

¹ Godwin, 103; Hayward, [325], [326].

² Strype's Cranmer, Append. 163, 164, 169; Fuller, l. viii. 1—6.

PART III.—MARY.

ARTICLE I.

LADY JANE GREY'S ATTEMPT—THE LADY JANE PROCLAIMED—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MARY AND THE COUNCIL—RIDLEY PREACHES AGAINST HER—HER FRIENDS IN ARMS—SHE IS PROCLAIMED—NORTHUMBERLAND AND OTHERS EXECUTED—MARY'S PROMISE TO THE NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK MEN.

KING Edward VI. dying on the sixth of July, 1553, the duke of Northumberland immediately procured Jane Grey, of the house of Suffolk, to be proclaimed queen, the greatest part of the privy-council concurring JULY with him ; though more out of fear, than real affection for the cause. In the mean time, princess Mary (who was retired into Norfolk, upon an intimation, that she was to be seized, by Northumberland)¹ writes to the lords of the council, and asserts her claim ; which they did not allow of, as appears by a common letter, subscribed by archbishop Cranmer ; the bishop of Ely, lord chancellor ; the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland ; the marquesses of Winchester and Northampton ; the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Pembroke ; the lords Cobham, Darcy, and Rich ; sir Thomas Cheney, sir Robert Cotton, sir John Gates, sir William Petre, sir William Cecil, sir John Cheek, sir John Mason, sir Edward North, and sir Edward Bowes.²

¹ [This intimation was conveyed in a letter, written by the earl of Arundel, on the evening of Edward's decease. It found Mary at Hoddesdon, in Hertfordshire, and, having apprized her of her brother's death, informed her that the event was still concealed, for the purpose of " entrapping her before she knew of it ". Burnett, ii. 215.—*T.*]

² See Appendix, No. XIV.

Soon after, the duke of Northumberland raised an army of 8000 men, which was to assemble at Newmarket; and, as the design was visibly to support the interest of the reformation, no less than lady Jane's pretended title, Ridley, bishop of London, made a sermon in defence of the undertaking.¹ On the other hand, princess Mary had gathered together a considerable body of men, under the conduct of Ratcliff, earl of Sussex, the earl of Bath, sir Thomas Wharton, son of lord Wharton, sir John Mordaunt, son of lord Mordaunt, sir William Drury,

¹ [Burnet, ii. 219, 220. Ridley, in his sermon, denounced the claims both of Mary and Elizabeth; spoke of the intolerant creed and foreign connexions of the former; and, having pointed out the dangers to be apprehended from the succession of a papist, concluded by conjuring the people to uphold the Gospel, and support the title of the lady Jane. As a proof of Mary's bigotted adherence to the ancient faith, he detailed the following interesting particulars of an interview between himself and that princess, only a few months before.

It was on the eighth of September, in the preceding year, that he had visited Mary at Hunsden, for the purpose, as he assured her, of "doing his duty to her grace". He was received with affability and kindness, was recognised by the princess as one of her father's chaplains, and, after a short and "pleasant" conversation, was requested to remain and "dine with her officers". After dinner, he was again admitted to her presence, and, having informed her that one object of his visit was still to be performed, offered, "if it might please her", to preach before her on the following Sunday. Mary replied, by desiring him to make the answer himself. He repeated the offer, as "the duty of his office and calling": she pointed to the parish church, and told him that its doors would be open, that he might preach, if he would, but that neither she nor hers would hear him.

Ridley. "Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word".

Mary. "I cannot tell what ye call God's word. That is not God's word now, that was God's word, in my father's days".

Ridley. "God's word is all one, in all times; but hath been better understood and practised, in some ages than in others".

Mary. "You durst not, for your ears, have avouched that for God's word, in my father's days, that now you do. And as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them, nor ever will do".

She then attacked the religious innovations introduced by the government; declared that she was not bound to submit to changes, made during the nonage of her brother; and finally dismissed the bishop with these words,—“My Lord, for your gentleness, to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit”.

As he retired, he passed through the hall where he had dined, and drank, with sir Thomas Wharton, the customary parting-cup. But, in an instant, he recollected himself. “Surely”, said he, “I have done amiss. I have drunk in that place, where God's word offered hath been refused; whereas, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes, for a testimony against this house”.—“These words”, adds the historian, who has recited the story after Ridley himself, “were by the said bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads”. Foxe, ii. l. ix. 131.—*T.*]

sir John Skelton, sir Henry Bedingfield, Mr. Jernegan, Mr. Suliard, &c., who being 13,000 strong, and seeming resolved to maintain the cause to the last, it occasioned a sudden alteration of affairs. The earl of Arundel, with several of the privy-council, who had never any liking to the duke of Northumberland's project, went off from him, and sent thirty gentlemen to tender their obedience to princess Mary : upon which the duke of Northumberland disbanding his army, lady Jane and the whole JULY party submitted themselves.¹ After this attempt, ^{19.} which was called the nine days wonder (it lasting no longer), queen Mary contented herself with the execution of the duke of Northumberland, the principal author of all the disturbance.² Others, indeed, were also condemned to die, as lady Jane Grey, with her husband, lord Guilford Dudley ; and both suffered afterwards : but it was upon a new provocation, given by the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane's father, when, rising again, at the time of Wyat's rebellion, he accelerated the fate of those two unfortunate young persons. For, as they already lay under sentence of condemnation, for pretending to the crown, it would have been a wrong step in politics, if queen Mary had suffered them to live, whose father had relapsed into rebellion, to support their claim.³ Our historians take notice, that, "before this revolt, the queen seemed disposed to deal gently with this lady : for, after she was found guilty of high treason, she had the liberty of the parade in the tower, and of walking

¹ Godwin, 107, 108 ; Burnet, ii. 221. [I should remark, 1. That Mary's forces amounted to not less than 30,000 men (Lettere de' Principi, i. 137) : 2. That the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget were the only persons sent by the council, to acknowledge its submission. The letter, of which they were the bearers, is in Strype's Cranmer (Append. 166). Mary was proclaimed on the 19th of July.—*T.*]

² [Besides Northumberland, two others, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were executed. Stowe, 615.—*T.*]

³ [In opposition to this sentiment, let me cite the more sensible, as well as more humane, opinion of Dr. Lingard. "Her life", says he, speaking of the lady Jane, "had before been spared, as a pledge for the loyalty of the house of Suffolk. That pledge was, indeed, forfeited by the rebellion of the duke ; but it would have been to the honour of Mary, if she had overlooked the provocation, and refused to visit on the daughter the guilt of the father". vii. 162, new edit.—*T.*]

in the queen's garden ; but now it was thought necessary to proceed to extremities, and that the queen could not be safe, as long as the other was living. * * * In her speech she owned herself guilty ; not that she had grasped at the crown, but because that she had not refused the offer."¹ Again, it cannot be denied, but that the queen gave great instances of clemency and mercy, in regard of many others involved in the same guilt ; viz., the earl of Huntingdon and his son, Ambrose Dudley, Henry Dudley, sir Edmund Dudley, sir John Cheek, sir Roger Cholmondeley, sir Edward Montague, together with the twelve judges, and some of the principal men among the clergy, Cranmer, Ridley, and Dr. Edwin Sandys, &c. These, with many more of an inferior rank, though they appeared at the head of lady Jane's party, were generously pardoned ; but some of them still kept in prison, by way of caution.²

It is hinted by some writers, that this opposition, in favour of lady Jane, would have been much stronger, and continued much longer, had not queen Mary made the Norfolk and Suffolk men easy in point of religion, with a promise, that there should be no alteration of the worship established in the late king's reign. But it is misrepresenting the case : the promise, they speak of, was no more than a bare intimation, that nothing should be attempted, as to religious matters, by compulsion, or in an illegal way. For more than this was not in her power to promise, seeing she could not divine what the wisdom of the nation and legislative power would be pleased to determine, upon the occasion. "If they engaged upon condition, and articed with their sovereign, their caution went too far. For either she had a right, or she had none : if she had none, their correspondence was criminal ; if they believed she had a right, they ought to have run the risk of her government,

¹ Collier, ii. 361.

² Collier, ii. 344. [The number of prisoners, originally selected for trial, was twenty-seven. When the list was shewn to Mary, she at once drew her pen through the names of sixteen, and thus reduced it to eleven. Apud Ling. vii. 122.—T.]

served her without terms, and rested the event with providence."¹ Now, that she went no farther in her assurances, concerning religion, than what I have mentioned, appears from the contents of her proclamation, August 18, 1553, mentioned by Dr. Heylin. "She doth signify unto all her loving subjects, that, of her most gracious disposition and clemency, her highness mindeth not to compel any her said subjects thereunto, until such time as farther order, by common consent, may be taken therein."² It is true the Suffolk men petitioned, that there might be no alteration in religion; but she made no promise: only she gave them "a very hopeful answer," which amounted to no more, than that she would attempt nothing in that way, but by a general consent.³

¹ Collier, ii. 343.

² Heylin, 193.

³ [Arundel's speech, apud Heylin, 163. [It is probable, indeed, that Mary gave no *specific* promise on the subject: but this speech incontestably proves, not only that her words were susceptible of a construction, favourable to the wishes of the reformers, but also that such construction was actually put on them by her partisans, in order to win the support of the people. In fact, it is with this view, and in this manner, that Arundel here appeals to them. "Religion", he tells his wavering associates, "is the thing pretended. Yet how doth it appear that the princess Mary intends any alteration in religion? Certainly, having been lately petitioned to, in this point, by the Suffolk men, she gave them a very hopeful answer".—*T.*]



ARTICLE II.

THE OLD RELIGION RESTORED.—MARY CONSULTS THE EMPEROR—CATHOLIC BISHOPS RESTORED—EXCESSES OF THE REFORMERS—OUTRAGE AT PAUL'S CROSS—PROCLAMATION AGAINST PREACHING—A PARLIAMENT—THE QUEEN'S LEGITIMACY ESTABLISHED—RESTORATION OF THE ANCIENT WORSHIP—A CONVOCATION—DISPUTATION WITH THE REFORMERS—THE POPE NOMINATES POLE AS HIS LEGATE—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN POLE AND MARY—POLE ARRIVES IN ENGLAND—HE ABSOLVES THE NATION FROM THE CENSURES OF THE CHURCH—AND CONFIRMS THE ALIENATION OF ABBEY LANDS—THE PAPAL AUTHORITY IS RESTORED.

THE obstacle of lady Jane's title being removed, queen Mary was crowned, October 1, 1553, and the parliament met, the 5th of the same month.¹ It was opened with a high mass in Latin, according to usual custom before the schism, and the members of both houses readily concurred to make up the breach, by repealing those acts, which had passed in the late reign,

¹ [I must here briefly sketch some of the occurrences of the last two months. 1. Mary's first anxiety, on her accession to the throne, was to restore the ancient worship. With this view, she wrote to the emperor, requesting his advice; and by him was exhorted to persevere in her purpose, to proceed, however, with caution, and to resort to no public measures, until she had obtained the sanction of parliament (Renard, apud Griffet, *Nouveaux Eclaircissemens*, 53, 56). It was, probably, in deference to this counsel that the reformed liturgy was still permitted to retain its place in the service of the church. Yet the queen herself made no secret either of her religion, or of her designs. The former she practised without disguise: the latter, as the reader will presently see, she publicly avowed; and if she afterwards proceeded to interfere with the established order of worship, it was not without the concurrence of that authority, by which the ancient service had originally been abolished.]

2. It was on the third of August, that Mary publicly entered London as queen. As she passed to her apartments in the tower, Gardiner, who had been deprived and committed to custody, in the late reign, was seen, with the other state prisoners, kneeling on the green. In the name of the rest, he pronounced a congratulatory address. Mary turned to the party. She raised them up, saluted them, called them *her* prisoners, and instantly ordered them to be discharged. Two days later, Bonner and Tunstall, the deprived bishops of London and Durham, were released, the former from the Marshalsea, the latter from the King's Bench: Day of Chichester, and Heath of Worcester, who had shared the imprisonment, shared also in the enlargement, of their colleagues; and, shortly after, a court of delegates having solemnly reversed the proceedings, taken against them in the late reign, they were all restored to their respective bishoprics (Rymer, xv. 334; Godwin in Kennet, ii. 333; Stowe, 613).

3. If these manifestations of the royal feelings alarmed the jealousy of the reformers, they were not less calculated to excite the hopes, perhaps to encour-

in favour of the reformation; chiefly those concerning the divorce and her majesty's pretended illegitimacy, with several others concerning doctrinal matters; as the marriage of priests and religious persons, communion in both kinds, the liturgy, the ordinal, &c. This parliament was dissolved, the 6th of December, having gone through all points which obstructed a re-union, excepting that of the supremacy, which was too tender an article to meddle with as yet.¹ However, all hands

rage the violence, of those, who were still attached to the ancient faith. In some places, the mass was publicly restored; in others, images were again introduced, the Latin service was revived, and sermons, as irritating as they were convincing, not unfrequently provoked the resentment of the people (Strype, iii. 22; Burnet, ii. 229). On the 13th of August, Bourne, a canon of the cathedral and one of the royal chaplains, was appointed by Bonner to preach at St. Paul's Cross. His discourse was directed against the innovations of the late reign. He spoke of prayer for the dead; and he denounced the deprivation and imprisonment of Bonner, as barbarous and illegal. The allusion roused the anger of the populace. "Pull him down", exclaimed a voice from the crowd. "Pull him down", was re-echoed, in every direction; while a dagger, thrown at the preacher from an unknown hand, admonished him to consult his safety, by retiring into the adjoining school (Stowe, 613, 614; Foxe, iii. 14). This outrage awakened the precaution, if it did not excite the alarm, of Mary. She instantly summoned the lord mayor and aldermen before the council; ordered them to inform the citizens that they would be held responsible for the conduct of their children and servants; and concluded by repeating to them the assurance, which she had given on the preceding day, that, "albeit her grace's conscience is stayed in matter of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compell or straine other menes consciences, otherwise than God shall (as she trusteth) putt in their heartes a perswasyon of the truth that she is in, thorough the openinge of his worde unto them, by godly, vertuous, and learned preachers" (Council Book, apud Archæologia, xviii. 173). Five days later, however, a proclamation was issued, apparently intended to qualify or explain this declaration. In it, the queen informs her subjects that she can no longer "hide that religion, which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy". She could wish, indeed, that all her people would unite in receiving it: but, as she "mindeth not to compell them thereunto, *until such time as further order, by common assent, may be taken*", so she strictly forbids all persons to excite seditions among them, or to disturb the harmony of her subjects, by using "the new-found devilish terms of papist and heretic". She also prohibits the publication of any treatises or books touching controverted points of doctrine, and charges the clergy and others, not specially licensed, to abstain from preaching and expounding the scripture. See Appendix, No. XV.—T.]

¹ [It was originally intended to include this subject in the proceedings; and, with that view, a bill was introduced in the lords, by which, under one enactment, it was proposed to repeal all the laws, relating either to religion or to the divorce, which had been passed in the last two reigns. It was soon discovered, however, that a feeling was existing among the commons, on the subject of the supremacy, which was likely to endanger the success of the measure. Its prosecution was, therefore, abandoned: parliament was suddenly prorogued, for three days; and, when it again assembled, two separate bills were laid before it,

were at work to surmount that difficulty, and put the nation in the same state it was in, before the fatal breach made by king Henry VIII. In the mean time, the convocation met, October 6, going hand in hand with the two houses of parliament. Dr. Hugh Weston, dean of Westminster, was chosen prolocutor of the lower house, and Dr. Harpsfield preached a remarkable sermon, wherein he laid open the mercenary and slavish condescension of the English clergy, during the two late reigns. Then they proceeded to several points of doctrine; particularly transubstantiation. The reformers were permitted to plead their cause, and make what objections they pleased in defence of their innovations: but only two of them thought fit to open their mouths upon the occasion, viz. Haddon, and Philpot. When the article of Christ's natural presence was brought to a conclusion, only five members of the convocation dissented from it, viz. Haddon, dean of Exeter, Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, Philips, dean of Rochester, Aylmer, archdeacon of Stow, and Cheney, archdeacon of Hereford.¹ As for the bishops, they scarce appeared

the one establishing the legitimacy of the queen, the other repealing all acts on the subject of religion, passed since the accession of her brother (Stat. 1 Mar. Sess. 2. c. 1 and 2. See also Lingard, vii. 139).

I should add, that two other bills were soon afterwards introduced and carried, whose object was, to protect the restored worship from the violence of the reformers. By the first, it was provided that any person, disturbing a preacher in his sermon, or interrupting a priest in the celebration of divine service, or insulting the host, or injuring, breaking, or defacing the altars and images of the churches, should be imprisoned, for the term of three months. By the second, all persons assembling, to the number of twelve, for the purpose of forcibly altering the religion now established by law, were brought within the statute for the prevention of riotous meetings. They might be required by any justice, or other officer, to disperse; and, if they refused to obey the mandate, they were judged guilty of felony, and ordered to suffer death accordingly. Stat. 1 Mar. Sess. 2. c. 3, 12.—*T.*]

¹ [Wilkins, iv. 88; Foxe, iii. 16 et seq.—Dodd is mistaken in the assertion, that Haddon and Philpot were the only reformers, who spoke on this occasion. When the house met, on Friday, the twentieth of October, Weston, the prolocutor, produced two papers for the signature of the members, one asserting the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, the other denying that the articles, set forth in the late reign, had received the sanction of that body. To these papers all present, except the five persons mentioned in the text, instantly subscribed. The latter, however, demurred to the propriety of signing what had not been discussed: they demanded an opportunity of arguing the question, which had been proposed to them; and, to obtain some chance in an assembly,

in the cause. Some of them were under confinement, upon account of the late disturbance in lady Jane's cause; others absconded. Several of them conformed; and only two of them, viz. Taylor of Lincoln, and Harley of Hereford, made their appearance in the house of lords, when these grand matters were debating. Thus, the reformation was contracted into a very little compass, and the whole nation quietly took up the ancient practices of their ancestors, as if they had met with no interruption.

In the next place, we are to look abroad, how matters were carried on between the English nation and the see of Rome. Several great difficulties occurred, which retarded the re-union: but the prudent behaviour of those, that were employed, quickly overcame them. Several letters passed between the queen and his holiness, many whereof related to cardinal Pole, who was to be the chief instrument of this great reconciliation. The conclusion was, that the cardinal should come over: but he, having many other concerns upon his hands, till these were completed, could not move. In the mean time, matters were to be prepared by Francesco Comendone, his agent in London, who was sent to reside there, for that purpose.¹ At length, in September 1554,

where they were so greatly inferior both in numbers and in learning, they desired that Ridley, Rogers, and some other divines might be permitted to assist them in the disputation. This request was referred, as a petition, to the bishops; and the house adjourned, to wait for a reply. When it reassembled, on the following Monday, the petition had been rejected. Haddon, therefore, and Aylmer, refused to enter on the debate: but Cheney was, at length, induced to open the discussion: by degrees, Aylmer and Haddon were both drawn into the argument: Philipps and Philpot followed, on the same side; and, for four days, the dissentients continued to maintain their opinions, against the whole body of the convocation. Of course, each party, as usual, claimed to be victorious:—each might also have claimed the additional honour of having failed to convince its opponents. See Foxe, iii. 16—23. For an account of the disputation in which Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were engaged at Oxford, in the following April, 1554, see the same writer, iii. 36—74, and Persons's Review, c. i. s. 8. p. 73—77.—*T.*]

¹ [The transactions, here but imperfectly alluded to, deserve to be more particularly noticed. The intelligence, which announced the accession of Mary, was received at Rome with feelings of the liveliest satisfaction. The pontiff, when he heard it, burst into tears, and, instantly summoning the cardinals, officially acquainted them with the joyful tidings. With the approbation of all present, he then appointed cardinal Pole to proceed as legate to the queen, the

lord Paget and sir Edward Hastings were sent to Brussels ^{1554.} to conduct the cardinal over ; but the middle ^{Nov. 20.} of November was passed before he took shipping at Calais, where six of the queen's men of war were waiting to convoy him. At Dover, he was met by lord Montague and the bishop of Ely, with many others of the nobility, and their attendants. Then, having crossed the country to Gravesend, the bishop of Durham and the earl of Shrewsbury were there, ready to present him with the act reversing his attainder. The barge, which

emperor, and the king of France ; gave him power to act in all cases as he should deem expedient, without waiting to consult the holy see ; and, to hasten his departure on his new mission, sent him a sum of two thousand crowns, to defray the expenses of his journey (Raynaldi, xxi. 83. See Appendix, No. XVI.). But Pole, in his monastery at Magguzzano, on the borders of the lake of Guarda, had already weighed the difficulties of the enterprise. From the duties of the legation he had no desire to shrink : but he hesitated to commit the pontiff in the prosecution of a hopeless scheme ; and he thought that, before he assumed the character of envoy, information should be obtained, as to the feelings and dispositions of his countrymen. With this view, therefore, he addressed a letter to Mary (see Appendix, No. XVII.), and placing it in the hands of a trusty servant, named Henry Penning, despatched him, in company with Giovanni Francesco Commendone, a gentleman in the suite of the Nuncio at Brussels, on his way to England. Sailing from Gravelines, the travellers arrived in London on the eighth of August, Penning probably in the character of a servant, Commendone in that of a stranger come to settle the accounts of a deceased uncle. They found that Mary, surrounded by enemies, and almost a prisoner in her own capital, was not easily accessible. For some days, therefore, they remained unnoticed and unknown, mixing in the crowd, and carefully noting what they observed ; till chance at length brought them in the way of a servant in the royal household, named Lee, with whom Commendone had formerly been acquainted in Italy. By the influence of this person—he was a relative of the duke of Norfolk—they obtained a secret interview with the queen. Penning delivered the cardinal's letter : Commendone more fully explained the object of their mission ; and Mary, having assured them of her friendly dispositions, finally despatched Commendone with a private message to the pope, informing him that, with a view to effect a reconciliation between her kingdom and the holy see, she was about to procure the repeal of all laws inimical to the ancient faith ; that, in the prosecution of her design, she hoped to have the concurrence of the pontiff, and the assistance of the cardinal, as legate ; but that, at the same time, it would be necessary to proceed with all possible caution, to wait until the popular feeling against Rome should have subsided, and, in the meanwhile, carefully to conceal her present message, and the communication, which she was now establishing with the pope (compare Pallavicino, ii. l. 13. c. 7. p. 407—410, with the letters in the Appendix, No. XVIII.). Penning was detained to witness the coronation, and the opening of parliament ; and was then dismissed, with a letter written by the queen, in answer to that of which he had been the bearer from Pole (see Appendix, No. XIX.).

This letter expressed the determination of Mary to avail herself of the first favourable opportunity for restoring the ancient faith : it was followed by two others, explaining the difficulties of her situation, stating the impossibility of

was prepared to carry him up the river, had a large silver cross fixed at the stern; and an infinite number of boats, filled with persons of all ranks, attended upon him. The bishop of Winchester stood ready, at Whitehall stairs, to receive him as he landed; the king was at the gate, the queen at the top of the palace stairs, to compliment him upon his happy arrival. After he was landed, and some short discourse between him and their majesties, he was conducted to the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, which had been prepared for his reception.¹ Not long after, he paid a visit to their majesties, taking along with him such letters and instructions as he had brought from Rome. In the next place, he took his seat in the council, where he opened his power in an eloquent speech, mentioning the business he came about, with a general idea of the method for reconciling the nation to the see of Rome. He was seconded with another speech made by bishop Gardiner, lord chancellor, signifying, how willing the nation was to be freed from those misfortunes they had lately lain under; and in particular, he lamented his own fate, for having been so instrumental in promoting and abetting their defection from the holy see.²

obtaining a recognition of the papal authority in the present parliament, and desiring the cardinal to consult the interests both of religion and of his country, by suspending his journey for a short period (see Appendix, No. XX.). That she might have the benefit of his advice, however, she requested him to proceed to Brussels, where she could more easily communicate with him. But the jealousy of the emperor had been awakened. He had been taught to regard Pole as the enemy, perhaps the competitor, of Philip, in the projected marriage with the queen; and he hastened, therefore, to avert the danger to be apprehended from his influence, by ordering him to remain in Germany. Pole retired to Dillinghen, on the Danube, whence, after the conclusion of the treaty of marriage between Mary and the prince of Spain, he was at length permitted to go to Brussels. Pallavicino, ii. l. 13. c. 8. p. 414—416. See Appendix, No. XXI.—*T.*]

¹ [Quirini, v. Append. 303—310. Letter from Paget and Hastings to the king, in Burnet, iii. Rec. 237. The bill, reversing his attainder, was passed on the twenty-second of November.—*T.*]

² [It was not in the council that this occurred, but in an assembly of the lords and commons, summoned by a royal message at Whitehall, four days after the arrival of the legate. On the following morning (Nov. 29), the two houses met, and the question of a reunion was put and carried. It was then agreed to present a petition to the king and queen, acknowledging, with sorrow, their late schismatical proceedings; promising to repeal whatever laws had been enacted in opposition to the papal authority; and expressing a fervent hope, that, in consequence of their repentance, they might now be absolved from all

The 30th of November, St. Andrew's day, being the Nov. time appointed for the reconciliation in form, the ^{30.} cardinal appeared in parliament; and, having delivered in all the bulls and briefs relating to his commission,¹ he made a long and moving speech, touching upon every thing that might be capable of exciting them to grief for their mismanagement, during the two late reigns, and encouraging them, upon the present prospect of affairs. He compared England to the prodigal son, who, having wasted their spiritual substance, and destroyed all the monuments of religion erected by their pious ancestors, was now returning again to their father's house and centre of unity, the see of Rome; and, if heaven rejoiced, and the angels were pleased, at one sinner's repentance, what would they not be, when a whole kingdom lay prostrate before them? Afterwards, both houses of parliament, kneeling down, implored the mercy of God both for themselves and the whole kingdom, and received absolution in the following form: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse, without spot or wrinkle, and whom the father hath appointed head over all his church; he, by his mercy absolve you: and we, by apostolic authority given unto us (by the most holy lord, pope Julius III. his vice-gerent in earth) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censures, and pains, for that

ecclesiastical censures, and admitted into the bosom of the universal church. The proceedings of the next day were the result of this petition. The proposal for the reunion was again carried, in the lords unanimously, in the commons with the approbation of all but two persons, who, however, abandoned their opposition on the following morning. "Perciochè di 440 voti, che erano in tutto, due soli di quelli del popolo si mostrarono in tanto numero discrepanti, l'uno tacendo, e l'altro dicendo havere scrupolo del giuramento altra volta preso in contrario, di non esser mai sotto la obediienza del Papa. * * * I quali due tuttavia, vedendo poi il comun consenso di tutti gli altri, consentirono anco essi, il giorno seguente, nell'atto che si fece della riunione". Quirini, v. Append. 314.—*T.*]

¹ They will be found in the Appendix, No. XXII.

cause incurred : and also, we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother, the holy church, as in our letters more plainly it shall appear, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This absolution being pronounced, both houses of parliament answered aloud, "Amen," "Amen." Then rising up, many of them were seen to embrace and congratulate with one another, with tears in their eyes, for joy of so happy a deliverance.¹ On the 2d of December, it being the first Sunday of Advent, a public service WAS DEC. performed at St. Paul's cathedral, at which the ² cardinal imparted the apostolic benediction, in presence of their majesties, the lord mayor and aldermen, and chief of the citizens ; bishop Gardiner, lord chancellor, preaching a sermon upon the occasion, wherein he declared publicly, that king Henry VIII., not long before he died, showed a willingness to be reconciled to the see of Rome, made some overtures towards it, and wished it could be effected without reflecting upon his honour and dignity.² On Thursday, being St. DEC. Nicholas' day, both houses of convocation made ⁶ their submission to the holy see, in a very public and solemn manner : and, soon after, three ambassadors, representing the three orders of the kingdom, viz. the lord Montague, the bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Carne, were dispatched to Rome, to tender the obedience of the whole nation. This was followed with a jubilee, proclaimed over the whole church, December 24, so that the joy became universal.³

¹ Quirini, v. Append. 315—318 ; Foxe, iii. 91.

² [Quirini, v. Append. 293, 319. The substance of Gardiner's sermon is in Foxe, iii. 92 ; a Latin translation, in Quirini, *ibid.* 293—299.—*T.*]

³ [Quirini, v. 131 ; Wilk. iv. 111 ; Heylin, 212, 213. See also Appendix, No. XXIII. There are some other circumstances connected with this transaction, which require to be noticed. Among the difficulties to be encountered in restoring the jurisdiction of the Roman see, it was always foreseen that the opposition of those, who had profited by the spoliation of the church during the last two reigns, would be the most formidable. To avert their hostility, a bull, which the reader has already seen (Appendix, No. XXII.), was issued on the twenty-eighth of June, 1554 ; and full power was conferred on the legate to "treat, compound, and dispense" with the holders of ecclesiastical property, in all matters affecting their present possessions. But it was apprehended that, under the words "treat and compound", Pole might discover a pretext for

ARTICLE III.

FUGITIVE REFORMERS.—ROYAL INJUNCTIONS—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE REFORMED CLERGY—SOME SEEK AN ASYLUM ABROAD—LIST OF THE EXILES—THEIR DISPUTES—FULLER'S ACCOUNT OF THEIR PROCEEDINGS—REFLECTIONS.

IT is, perhaps, an instance, we seldom read of in history, of so general defection as there was in Henry VIII.'s reign; unless it was in queen Mary's reign, when the nation returned again to the religion of their ancestors, and the change was much more universal. Besides, several circumstances occurred in the former case, to lessen the surprise. King Henry contended only with the see of Rome about the article of the supremacy (being orthodox in all other points), and that article was so expounded, that the generality seem not to have

evading the spirit of his commission. The matter was represented to the pope, the opinions of the divines and canonists at Rome were taken, and, on the fifth of October, another bull was despatched, authorizing the cardinal absolutely, and without reserve, "to give, aliene, and transfer" to its present possessors whatever property they had obtained from the church (Pallavicino, ii. l. 13. c. 9. p. 422, 423. See Appendix, No. XXIV).

The period had now arrived for the exercise of these powers. By the proceedings described in the text, the nation had been absolved from the censures, and restored to the unity, of the church. It still remained to abrogate the laws affecting the supremacy, and, as a preliminary step, it was resolved to obtain a settlement of the important question, respecting ecclesiastical property. On the same day, two petitions were presented to the throne. The first, from the clergy, expressed their willingness to abandon all claim to the alienated possessions of the church, and their hope that the legate might be induced to make such arrangement, as would be most conducive to the welfare of religion. The second, from the lords and commons, was more specific. It besought the mediation of the king and queen in their behalf; it prayed for such dispensations as the necessities and misfortunes of the times required; and it concluded by desiring, 1. That all cathedral churches, hospitals, colleges, and schools, founded during the schism, might be preserved: 2. That all marriages contracted within the prohibited degrees, but under the sanction of the civil law, might be declared valid: 3. That all institutions to benefices, all dispensations granted under the act of parliament, and all judicial processes made before the ordinaries, or before delegates on appeal, might be confirmed; and 4. That all persons having sufficient conveyance of any lands, tenements, or other property, formerly belonging to the church, might, without scruple of conscience, and without impeachment or trouble, by pretence of any general council, canons, or ecclesiastical laws, continue to enjoy the same. Pole acceded to these requests, by an

extended it to an article of faith, in opposition to the whole church ; so that they might easily be led astray in that particular. But, when queen Mary ascended the throne, a system of religion, consisting of many articles, was renounced in an instant by the whole nation. I may truly say, *by the whole nation* ; because the number of those, called reformers, was so very inconsiderable, that they could scarce be called a party ; and would still have been much less, had not the ministry been somewhat cautious and slow in advancing them to preferments.¹ This occasioned some of them to grow

instrument published on the twenty-fourth of December : and, a few days later (Jan. 4, 1555), a bill, completing the great work in which they were employed, was drawn up and passed by the two houses. This bill deserves to be noticed. It first adverts to the engagement made by the lords and commons, in their original address to the legate, and immediately repeals all acts, together with all clauses, sentences, and articles in any act, passed since the twentieth year of Henry VIII., in derogation of the spiritual authority of the Roman pontiff. It then recites the two petitions, with the answer and dispensation of the cardinal ; ordains that every article and clause in that dispensation shall be reputed a good and sufficient plea in any action at law ; and, having asserted the exclusive jurisdiction of the queen's courts in questions of property, and the right of each possessor to hold it, independent of the present statute, declares that any person who shall seek to disturb such possessor, by process issued from any ecclesiastical court, either within the realm or without, shall incur the penalty of a premunire. It then proceeds to the subject of bulls, dispensations, and privileges, obtained, or to be obtained, from Rome : it provides that all such instruments, not containing matter prejudicial to the royal authority, or to the laws and customs of the realm, may be put in execution, used, and alleged, in any court whatsoever : it establishes the jurisdiction of the bishops over all exempt churches and chapels, in their respective dioceses : it suspends the operation of the statutes of mortmain, for the space of twenty-one years next ensuing ; and it concludes by declaring, that nothing, which it contains, shall be construed to lessen the authority or prerogatives belonging to the crown in the twentieth year of Henry VIII., that the pope shall have and enjoy, without diminution or enlargement, the same authority, preeminence, and jurisdiction, which he might then have lawfully exercised, in virtue of his supremacy, and that the jurisdiction of the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, shall be restored to the same state, in which it existed at that period. Such was the statute, by which the reunion of the nation with the universal church was finally ratified and confirmed. A copy of the act, together with Dodd's argument on the validity and sufficiency of the dispensation, granted by the cardinal to the possessors of ecclesiastical property, will be found in the Appendix, No. XXV.—*T.*]

¹ [It is right to observe that the measures of government were not confined to the mere withholding of preferment from the reformers. By the repeal of the statutes passed during the reign of Edward, the canon law had been restored to its ancient authority ; and, in accordance with its provisions, a body of injunctions was drawn up (March 4, 1554), and sent to the bishops, ordering each one in his diocese to repress heresies, and other notable crimes, especially among the clergy, to remove all married clergymen from their benefices, and to divorce and punish all such as, having taken the monastic vows, should afterwards have

obstinate; others took pet and went abroad, where they were not out of hopes of being pitied and relieved. Four or five of the reformed bishops did, indeed, appear firm and constant to their persuasion: but many others of them pulled off the mask, and returned to the ancient

presumed to contract marriage (See Appendix, No. XXVI.). That, in consequence of these proceedings, a large number of persons was deprived, is certain. Wharton, who writes under the assumed name of Anthony Harmer, discovered that, of three hundred benefices within the jurisdiction of Canterbury, the incumbents of seventy-three were removed: and if we apply this computation to the other dioceses, we shall have a total of about one-fourth of the whole. Still, the deprivation of these persons was not the harsh and summary proceeding, which Burnet (iii. 257) would represent it. They were neither ejected "upon common fame", nor turned adrift, without the power of regaining their possessions. The space of a year was accorded to them; and if, within that period, they chose to conform, by "abjuring their heresy and putting away their wives", they might recover their benefices (Harmer, 138). On this part of the subject, it is only necessary to add, that Burnet's dishonest reference to archbishop Parker, as well as his other extraordinary misrepresentations, has been sufficiently exposed by Collier (ii. 366).

Of the bishops a larger portion seems to have been placed within the operation of the law. By the restoration of Gardiner and the other prelates, mentioned in a preceding note (page 56, note ¹), Ridley, Poynt, Scory, and Hooper had already been ejected from the respective sees of London, Winchester, Chichester, and Worcester. Cranmer, as the reader is aware, was in the tower; Coverdale had been compelled to surrender Exeter to Voysey, its former bishop (Rymer, xv. 340); and, of the patrons, or advocates of the new doctrines, eight only now remained in possession of their sees. They were, Holgate of York, Ferrar of St. David's, Bird of Chester, Bush of Bristol, Taylor of Lincoln, Hooper of Gloucester (he had been deprived only of Worcester), Harley of Hereford, and Barlow of Bath and Wells. With regard to the process by which Barlow was ejected, it is only known that the see was declared to be vacant, by his "deprivation and removal" (Rymer, xv. 376). To expel the others, two commissions were issued. One, dated March 13, 1554, was addressed to the bishops of Winchester, Durham, London, St. Asaph, Chichester, and Landaff. It charged Holgate, Ferrar, Bird, and Bush, with having contracted marriage, contrary to their solemn vows; it directed the commissioners, or any three of them, to enquire into the truth of this allegation; and it authorized them, in case the fact were satisfactorily established, to deprive the offenders of all their ecclesiastical preferments, and, in addition, to enjoin them such suitable penance, as the enormity of their crime might require. The other commission, dated two days later, but directed to the same persons, assumed a different ground. It stated that Taylor, Hooper, and Harley, the remaining three, had accepted their bishoprics, to hold them only during good behaviour; that, in defiance, however, of this stipulation, they had scandalized the church by their erroneous teaching, and inordinate conduct; and that, since, by these proceedings, they had at once manifested their unworthiness, and forfeited the tenure by which they held their offices, the commissioners were ordered to summon the delinquents before them, and forthwith proceed to declare their respective sees void (See Appendix, No. XXVII.). The instructions, contained in these instruments, were, of course, complied with. The accused were immediately deprived; and catholic prelates were consecrated, to supply the vacant bishoprics. Pallavicino, ii. 420, 421, ex act. Consist. 6 Jul. 1554.—T.]

faith, in which they had been educated; viz., Thirlby, King, Bush, Kitchin, Buckley, Purefoy, Bird, &c.; nay, even Scory and Barlow, who from the beginning had discovered a particular inclination to the reformed doctrine, thought fit to conform for a while; till, meeting with no preferment, they relapsed and went abroad. For, "Scory, late bishop of Chichester, though removed upon Day's being restored, went a full length in his compliance. He made his appearance before Bonner, renounced his matrimony, submitted to penance, and had a formal absolution, July 14, 1554. * * * Also, about this time, there was a book published in Barlow's name, in which he retracts his former persuasion."¹ To these, we may join sir John Cheek, who, among the laity, was a principal pillar of the reformation; yet, in queen Mary's time, being brought prisoner out of Flanders, his zeal forsook him, and, as Mr. Fuller, expressing the matter in an apologetic strain, says, "hard usage drew from his mouth an abrenunciation of that truth, which he so long had professed, and still believed."²

But now, let us follow the English reformed church abroad, and take a view of their discipline and behaviour at Strasburg, Frankfort, Zurich, Geneva, &c., whither they retired at different times, during this reign.³

¹ Collier, ii. 365.

² Fuller, lib. viii. 37.

³ In Whitehead's "Brief Survey of the Troubles begun at Frankfort", printed in 1575, we have the following list of the exiles. *Bishops*: Poynt, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Bale. *Deans*: Richard Cox, James Haddon, Robert Horn, William Turner, and Thomas Sampson. *Archdeacons*: Edmund Cranmer, John Aylmer, — Babington, and Thomas Young. *Others of the Clergy*: Edmund Grindal, Robert King, Edwin Sandys, Joseph Juel, — Reynolds, — Pilkington, — Nowel, John Knox, — Gilby, William Whittingham, William Cole, — Montague, Robert Beaumont, and Augustine Broadbridge. *Lay Persons of Note*: Robert Bertie and family, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Richard Morrison, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir John Cheek, Sir Francis Knolles, and Sir Peter Carew. *Other Persons, Clergymen, Merchants, Artificers, Servants, &c., found abroad*: Thomas Leaver, Robert Poumal, Richard Langhorn, Thomas Turpin, — Boys, — Wilford, — Upchair, John Huntingdon, Guido Eaten, John Geoffrey, Thomas Eaten, John Peader, Michael Rhemuger, Arthur Saule, Thomas Steward, Christopher Goodman, Humphrey Alcocson, Thomas Lakin, Thomas Crofton, Richard Chambers, Thomas Leaver, Nicholas Carvil, John Mullins, Thomas Spencer, John Parkhurst, Roger Kelkye, Lawrence Humphrey, Henry Cockraft, Thomas Bentham, John Pretio, Edmund Sutton, John Makebray, Thomas Cole, William Williams, George Chidley, William Hammon, Thomas Steward, Thomas Wood, John Stanton,

Some (who, however, seem only to guess at random, at the whole number, that left England upon account of religion) make them 300, including persons of all ranks and professions; others, and among them Heylin¹ are pleased to swell up the number to 800. The account we have of their behaviour is this. Those at Frankfort “gave into the German and French novelties, and refined to a considerable alteration upon their own common prayer book. * * * * They declared against a spiritual monarchy, and made choice of two or three pastors with co-ordinate authority.”² The English at Zurich and Strasburg not relishing the Frankfort discipline, the church of Geneva was consulted upon the controversy; and Calvin, being sole master there, advised Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, Foxe, Cole, &c. (who were by much the stronger party), to oppose the English liturgy. But this being not agreed to by their adversaries, matters were compromised, and a medley service was drawn up and made use of. Things remained in this posture till Dr. Cox came over to Frankfort, who, finding himself a stranger to the discipline of what he thought his own church, he exhorts his countrymen to resume the liturgy, or common prayer, as it was established in Edward VI.’s reign. But this had no effect, only to add fuel to the fire; so that, at last, both parties were so exasperated, that, had not the magistrates of Frankfort (who were now head of the English reformed church) interposed, they were upon the point of coming to blows. Soon after, the Coxian party, finding themselves obliged to submit to the medley liturgy, went another way to work. They “accuse Knox to the state for no less than high treason against the emperor. Hereupon, the state of Frankfort (as an imperial town, highly concerned to be tender of the emperor’s honour) willed Knox to depart the city.”³ Knox retired to Ge-

William Walton, Jasper Swift, John Geoffrey, John Gray, Michael Gill, John Sandford, John Wood, Thomas Sorby, Anthony Carier, Hugh Alford, George Whetnal, Thomas Whetnal, Edward Sutton, John Foxe, Laurence Kent, William Keith, John Hollingham, and the writer, David Whitehead.

¹ P. 229.

² Collier, ii. 393, 394.

³ Fuller, lib. viii. 30, 31.

neva, and was soon after followed by John Foxe and several others, who took Calvin for their pattern in reforming. This stratagem gave Dr. Cox an opportunity of restoring king Edward's liturgy. Dr. Heylin seems to fetch the origin of the Protestant dissenters from these divisions among the exiles of Frankfort:¹ but the date of their rise seems to be of a longer standing. Bishop Hooper's refusing to comply with certain ceremonies, at his consecration, and the great power Calvin and his party had in reforming the English liturgy, in the late reign, shows, that the seeds of presbytery were sown in England before those exiles imported it; and that it was the afternoon production of the English reformation. But methinks, both parties contend about antiquity with a very ill grace, when they look upon that church, from which they separated themselves.

In perusing the account which Mr. Echard gives of queen Mary's reign, I was surprised to find so very little in him, concerning this church of theirs, that lived in exile. But, indeed, it made so poor and scandalous a figure, that, though it was hugely his business to have taken more notice of it, yet he showed his caution and prudence in touching upon it so very tenderly. Dr. Fuller has been more candid, upon this occasion. He gives us a full account of the whole matter, from an author, that was an eye-witness to the behaviour of those primitive reformers; and, perhaps, a larger account of their proceedings will not be unwelcome to the reader; which I will deliver in Mr. Fuller's own words. "The English exiles came first to Frankfort, June 24; and, on the 14th of July following, by the special favour and mediation of Mr. John Glauberg, one of the chief senators of that state, had a church granted unto them; yet so, as they were to hold the same in coparceny with the French protestants; they one day, and the English another: and, on Sunday, alternately to choose their hours, as they could best agree among themselves. The church was also granted them with this proviso, that

¹ Heylin, 229.

they should not dissent from the French in doctrine, or ceremonies, lest thereby they should minister occasion of offence. On the 25th of the same month, our English, with great joy, entered their new church, and had two sermons preached therein, to their singular comfort. About which time, they constituted their church, choosing a minister and deacons, for a time; and, out of conformity to the French, abrogated many things, formerly used by them in the church of England; as namely:

“1. They concluded, that the answering aloud, after the minister, should not be used.

“2. The litany, surplice, and other ceremonies in service, and sacraments, they omitted, both as superfluous and superstitious.

“3. In place of the English confession, they used another, adjudged by them of more effect, and framed ‘according to the state and time.’

“4. The same ended, the people sung a psalm in metre, in a plain tune.

“5. That done, the minister prayed for assistance of God’s spirit, and so proceeded to the sermon.

“6. After sermon, a general prayer for all states, and particularly for England, was ‘devised,’ which was ended with the Lord’s prayer.

“7. Then followed a rehearsal of the articles of belief; which ended, the people sung another psalm, as before.

“8. Lastly, the minister pronounced the blessing: *The peace of God, &c.* or the like, and so the people departed.

“What is meant by framing their confession ‘according to the state and time,’ I understand not (must our confessions, as our clothes, follow the fashions of the state and place we live in?), except it be this, that it was made more particularly, not only for sinners, but for exiles, acknowledging their present banishment justly inflicted on them for their offence. The prayer ‘devised’ after sermon, according to the genuine sense of the word, seems no extemporary prayer then con-

ceived by the minister, but a set form formerly agreed upon by the congregation. Thus have we a true account of their service; conceive it only of such things wherein they differed from the English liturgy, not of such particulars wherein they concurred therewith; the cause, as I conceive, why no mention [is made] of reading psalms and chapters in their congregation. These, certainly, were not omitted; and probably were inserted between the confession and singing the first psalm.

“Thus settled in their church, their next care was, to write letters, dated August 1, to all the English congregations at Strasburg, Zurich, Wesel, Embden, &c. to invite them, with all convenient speed, to come, and join with them at Frankfort. This is the communion of saints, who never account themselves peaceably possessed of any happiness, until, if it be in their power, they have also made their fellow sufferers partakers thereof. However, this their invitation found not any great entertainment amongst the other English church-colonies; all delaying, and some denying to come: but, especially, those of Zurich were most refractory, and showed least inclination to repair to Frankfort.

“This occasioned several reiterated letters from Frankfort, pressing and ‘requiring’ those of Zurich deeply to weigh this matter of God’s calling, and the necessity of uniting themselves in one congregation. Let none say that Frankfort might as well come to Zurich, as Zurich to Frankfort, because the English Zurichians (though not in number) in learning and quality equalled, if not exceeded, those of Frankfort: for Frankfort was nearer to England, and more convenient for receiving intelligence thence, and returning it thither. Besides, all Christendom met at Frankfort twice a year (the vernal and autumnal mart); and, grant there was more learning at Zurich, there were more books at Frankfort, with conveniences to advance their studies. But chiefly, at Frankfort the congregation enjoyed most ample privileges; and it was conceived it would much conduce to the credit and comfort of the English church, if the dispersed handfuls of their exiles

were bound up in one sheaf, united into one congregation, where they might serve God in purity of faith, and integrity of life, having both doctrine and discipline, free from any mixture of superstition.

“Notwithstanding this their importunity, those of Zurich made no other addresses to Frankfort, than by dilatory letters, excusing themselves from coming thither. Some saw no absolute necessity, that all the English should repair to one place; conceiving it rather safer to adventure themselves in several bottoms, and live in distinct colonies. Others were displeased with the imperative style of the letter from Frankfort, ‘requiring’ them to come thither; exceeding the bounds of counsel for convenience, into command for conscience: yea, charging recusancy herein, as a sin on the souls of the refusers. They pleaded, they were already peaceably seated, and courteously used at Zurich; and, to go away, before they had the least injury offered them, was to offer an injury to those, who so long and lovingly had entertained them. Some insisted on the material point, how they should be maintained at Frankfort; there being more required to their living there, than their bare coming thither. But the main was, those of Zurich were resolved no whit to recede from the liturgy used in England, under the reign of king Edward VI., and, except those of Frankfort would give them assurance, that, coming thither, they should have the full and free use thereof, they utterly refused any communion with their congregation.

“About this time, Mr. John Knox came from Geneva, and was chosen, by the congregation of Frankfort, for their constant minister. Let none account it incongruous, that, among so many able and eminent English divines, a Scotchman should be made pastor of the English church; seeing Mr. Knox his reputed merit did naturalize him, though a foreigner, for any Protestant congregation. At which time, also, Mr. Chambers and Mr. Edmund Grindal came thither, as agents, with a letter from the congregation of Strasburg. This Strasburg, as, in the position thereof, it is almost seated in

the just mid-way betwixt Zurich and Frankfort, so the English, there residing, embraced a moderate and middle expedient, betwixt the extremities of the two foresaid congregations. These made a motion, that they might have the substance and effect of the common prayer book, though such ceremonies and things, which the country could not bear, might well be omitted. Knox and Whittingham asked them, what they meant by 'the substance' of the book? And whilst the other wanted commission to dispute the point, the motion, for the present, came to no perfection. However, it gave occasion, that Mr. Knox, and others in Frankfort, drew up, in Latin, a platform, or description of the liturgy, as used in England under king Edward, and tendered the same to the judgment of Mr. John Calvin in Geneva, to pass his sentence thereon. This is that Mr. Calvin, whose care of all the churches is so highly commended by some; and as much censured he is by others, as boasting himself in another man's line, and meddling with foreign matters, which did not belong unto him. Take Mr. Calvin's judgment herein, from his own letter, bearing date the 20th of January following. *'In the liturgy of England, I see there are many tolerable foolish things. By these words, I mean, that there is not that purity, which were to be desired. These vices, though they could not, at the first day, be amended, yet, seeing there was no manifest impiety, they were, for a season, to be tolerated. Therefore, it was lawful to begin with such rudiments, or abcedaries; but so, that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly ministers of Christ, to enterprize further, and to set forth something more filed from rust, and purer.'* This struck such a stroke, especially in the congregation of Frankfort, that some therein, who formerly partly approved, did afterward wholly dislike; and more, who formerly disliked, did now detest, the English liturgy.

In this case stood matters in Frankfort, when Dr. Richard Cox, with some of his friends out of England, arrived there. This doctor was a man of an high spirit, deep learning, unblameable life, and of great credit

amongst his countrymen : for he had been tutor unto Edward VI., and well may the nurse herself be silent, whilst the well batteling of the babe pleads aloud for her care and diligence : as here, the piety and pregnancy of his prince pupil added much to Dr. Cox his deserved reputation. He, with others, coming into the congregation, March 13, discomposed the model of their service ; first, answering aloud after the minister ; and, on the Sunday following, one of his company, without the consent and knowledge of the congregation, got up into the pulpit, and there read all the litany. Knox, highly offended hereat, in the afternoon, preaching in his course, out of Genesis, of Noah's nakedness in his tent, took occasion sharply to tax the authors of this disorder ; avowing many things in the English book to be superstitious, impure, and imperfect ; and that he would never consent, they should be received into the congregation.

“Here I omit many animosities and intermediate bickerings, betwixt the opposite parties ; especially at one conference, wherein Dr. Cox is charged to come with his inartificial argument *ab autoritate*, ‘*Ego volo habere*,’ I will have it so. In fine, Knox's party, finding themselves outvoted by Dr. Cox his new recruits out of England, got one voice on his side, which was louder and stronger than all the rest ; I mean the authority of the senate of Frankfort, interposing on his behalf : and Mr. John Glauberg (principal procurer of their congregation, as is aforesaid) publicly professed, that, if the reformed order of the congregation of Frankfort were not therein observed, as he had opened the church door unto them, so would he shut it again.

“‘The wringing of the nose’ (says wise Agur, Prov. xxx. 33) ‘bringeth forth blood : so the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife.’ See here, the Coxian party, depressed, embrace a strange way to raise themselves, and accuse Knox to the state, for no less than high treason against the emperor, in an English book of his, intituled, ‘An Admonition to Christians ;’ first privately preached in Buckinghamshire, and now publicly printed to the

world. Eight places therein were laid to his charge. The seven last may well be omitted, the first was so effectual to the purpose ; wherein he called the emperor no less an enemy to Christ, than Nero was. Strange, that words spoken some years since, in another land and language, against the emperor, to whom Knox then owed no natural allegiance (though since a casual and accidental one, by his removal into an imperial city), should, in this unhappy juncture of time, be urged against him, by exiles of his own religion, even to no less than the endangering of his life. But what said Rachael of Leah ? ‘ With great wrestlings have I wrestled with my sister, and I have prevailed ;’—with *great*, rather than *good*, wrestlings. Such, too often, is the badness of good people, that, in the heat of passion, they account any play to be fair play, which tends to the overturning of those with whom they contend. Hereupon, the state of Frankfort (as an imperial town, highly concerned to be tender of the emperor’s honour) willed Knox to depart the city ; who, on the 25th of March, to the great grief of his friends and followers, left the congregation.

“ After the departure (or rather the driving away) of Mr. Knox, Dr. Cox and his adherents clearly carried all, and proceeded to the election of officers in their congregation. But first, for a fit title for him, that was to take charge of their souls ; then, for a proper person for that title.

“ *Bishop* (though first in nomination) was declined as improper ; because here he had no inspection over any diocese, but only a care of a congregation ; on which very account, Mr. Scory (though formerly bishop of Chichester), when preacher to the congregation at Embden, took upon him the title of *superintendent*.

“ *Superintendent* was here also waved, as the same in effect ; only a bad Latin word instead of a good Greek.

“ *Minister* also was misliked for the principal preacher (though admitted to signify his assistants), perchance as a term of too much compliance with the opposite party.

“*Pastor*, at last, was pitched upon, as freest from exception, most expressive of the office, and least obnoxious to offence.

“Then was Mr. Whitehead chosen their pastor; yet so, as two ministers, four elders, and four deacons, were joined to assist him. And because this was then as well an university, as a congregation of the English, Mr. Horn was chosen reader of the Hebrew, Mr. Mullins of the Greek, and Mr. Trahern was made lecturer of divinity. In this new modelled congregation, I find no office by name assigned unto Dr. Cox (more honour for him to make all, than to be any officer), who was virtually influent upon all, and most active (though not in the doctrinal) in the prudential part of church government.

“As for the ‘oppressed congregation’ (for so their opposites styled themselves) it was headed by William Whittingham, one (though of less authority, yet) of as much affection to the cause as Knox himself. This party continued their dislike of the liturgy, calling it ‘the great English book,’ offended, it seems, with the largeness thereof. And they affirmed (may the report lie on the reporters to avouch it) how Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, did present a book of prayer, a hundred times more perfect than the liturgy used in king Edward’s days; yet the same could not take place, because he was matched with so wicked a clergy in convocation, with other enemies. Besides this their old grudge against the common prayer, they were grieved a-fresh, in this election of new officers in this English congregation, that their old officers were neither legally continued, nor fully discharged, nor friend-like consulted with, nor fairly asked their consent; but no notice at all taken of them. In a word, never arose there a greater murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in their daily ministrations, than here an heart-burning in the Whittinghamian against the other party, for the affront offered to their old officers, in this new election.

“Here a moderate motion was made, that the difference might be compromised, and referred to arbitrators,

which should be equally chosen on both sides. To this Dr. Cox's party would, in no wise, consent; whether because those pretended arbiters would be no arbiters, but parties, and widen the wound by dressing it; or because, being already possessed of the power, they would not divest themselves of the whole, to receive but part again, from the courtesy of others. However, this party lost much reputation by the refusal. For, in all controversies, that side, recusant to submit itself to a fair arbitration, contracts the just suspicion, either that their cause is faulty, or the managers thereof froward, and of a morose disposition. In fine, as when two swarms of bees daily fight in the same hive, the weakest grow so wise, as to seek themselves a new habitation; so here, Whittingham and his adherents resolve to depart, and to seek their several providences in another place.

“But alas! these two sides had a sad parting blow. The ‘oppressed congregation’ complained, that, instead of their *vale*, they had a *volley* of ill words discharged at them; amongst which, none so mortal to their reputation, as the word schismatic, wherewith the Coxians branded them at their departure. Much fending and proving there was betwixt them, whether schismatic was properly applicable to such, who, agreeing in doctrine, dissented only in superfluous ceremonies. In conclusion, nothing was concluded amongst them, as to agreement. And now, no pity showed at their departure, no sending of sighs, or shedding of tears on either side; the one being as glad of the room they left, as the other were desirous of their own removal.

“If any be curious to know the names of such, who separated themselves from this congregation at Frankfort, this ensuing catalogue will acquaint him therewith. William Williams, William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Christopher Goodman, Thomas Cole, John Fox, Thomas Wood, William Keith, John Kelke, John Hilton, Christopher Southhouse, Nicholas Purfote, John Escot, Thomas Grafton, William Walton, Laurence Kent, John Hellingham, Anthony Carier.

“Of these, Mr. Foxe, with a few more, went to Basil; the rest settled themselves at Geneva, where they were all most courteously entertained. And now, who can expect less, but that those, still remaining at Frankfort, as the same in opinion, should be the same in affection, and live in brotherly love together? But alas! man, while he is man, will be man; and Satan, the sower of tares, did set a sad dissension betwixt them, which we come now to relate.

“There was an eminent member of the congregation in Frankfort, Mr. Ashley by name, one of a worshipful degree, and, as it seems, of a spirit (not to say stomach) no whit beneath his extraction. Now, there happened some high words at supper, betwixt him and Mr. Horn (then pastor of the congregation), yet so, that all the difference, by the seasonable mediation of the guests, was then seemingly composed. But, two days after, Mr. Ashley was convened before the elders, where it was laid to his charge, that, at the time and place aforesaid, he had spoken words slanderous to them and their ministry. Ashley appealed from them, as an adversary part against him (and therefore no competent judges), unto the whole congregation (as men of estimation with both parties) to hear and determine the difference betwixt them. Hereat Mr. Horn and the elders were highly offended, pleading, that they had received authority from the whole church, to hear and decide such cases, and were resolved not to part with the power, so legally delegated unto them. And whereas many meetings were made of Mr. Ashley’s friends, to debate his business, Mr. Horn and the elders condemned them, as tending to schism; accounting their own presence so of the *quorum* to any lawful assembly, that, without it, all conventions were conventicles. Yea, Mr. Horn and the elders, perceiving that Mr. Ashley’s friends (being most numerous in the congregation) would bring his cause to be determined by the diffusive church, fully and freely forsook their ministry and service therein, preferring rather willingly to unpastor and diselder

themselves, than to retain the place, without the power; title, without the authority, due thereunto.

“This deserting of their duty was by others interpreted a high contempt of the congregation; especially, when, two days after, a full church met with an empty pulpit, wherein none [were] to teach the people. The Ashleyans (being far the major part) took exception, that Horn and the elders should so slightly and suddenly quit what before they had so seriously and solemnly accepted; as if their pastoral charges were like their clothes, or upper garments, to be put off at pleasure, to cool themselves in every heat of passion. Besides, these men, being married, in a manner, to their ministerial functions, could not legally divorce themselves, without mutual consent, and the church’s approbation thereof.

“Soon after, the state of the controversy was altered, Mr. Ashley’s business being laid aside, and another, of a higher concernment, taken up in the room thereof; namely, how the congregation should proceed against the pastor and elders, in case they were accused for misdemeanour. For, hitherto no provisions were made, in the constitutions of this church, to regulate this case, if chancing to occur: whether because the compilers of those constitutions charitably presumed on the integrity of all such officers, or omitted the making of any law against them, in favour to themselves (as most probable to obtain such places), or because no canons can at once be completed, but a reserve must be left for the additions of others, to perfect the same. But now, eight were appointed to regulate the manner of the proceeding of the congregation against pastor and elders, if peccant, who were without, or rather, above, censure, according to the old discipline; which still inflamed the anger of Mr. Horn and his party,—a party, much advantaged by Mr. Chambers siding therewith, because he was keeper of the charity conferred on, and contributions collected for, the congregation. Now, where goeth the purse, there goeth the poor. Most, in want, were on Horn’s side, in hope of the larger relief. This

made others complain of Chambers, as an unjust steward of the church's treasure ; too free to such as he affected, and bountiful only of taunts and ill terms to those of a different judgment ; making neither men's need nor deserts, but only his own fancy, the direction of his distributions.

“ Now began their brawls to grow so loud, that their next neighbours overheard them : I mean, the state of Frankfort took notice thereof, to the shame of all, and grief of all good [men] in the English nation. For, how scandalous was it, that exiles of the same country, for the same cause, could not agree together ! But man in misery (as well as man in honour) hath no understanding. Yea, they began to fear, lest many Dutchmen, hitherto their bountiful benefactors, should, for the future, withdraw their benevolences ; conceiving, these exiles wanted no money, who had such store of animosities ; and, probably, poverty would make them more peaceable amongst themselves. Their discords were the worse, because the vernal mart at Frankfort did approach, and it would be welcome ware, and an useful commodity, for popish merchants meeting there, to carry over into England, and all the world over, the news of their distractions. Hereupon the magistrate of Frankfort interposed, to arbitrate their differences ; but whether of his own accord, or by the secret solicitation of others, is uncertain. Sure it is, both parties solemnly disavowed any secret practice to procure the same. The magistrate interposed his counsels rather than commands, appearing very upright and unbiassed to either party. For, though, at the first, he seemed to favour Horn and his complices (out of that general sympathy which a magistrate beareth to all public officers), yet, afterwards quitting their cause, he bent all his endeavours to make a reconciliation. By his edict it was ordered, that the former pastors were put out of their functions, and made private men ; that new ones, or the same again (if the church so pleased), were to be chosen in their rooms ; that the treasure of their congre-

gation should be kept jointly, and distributed by the deacons, who, at an appointed time, should account for the same to the minister and elders. And, the day after, leave was given them to devise a new discipline (with convenient speed) amongst themselves, and tender the same, when drawn up, to the magistrate for his ratification. In fine, all, seemingly, were made friends, in token whereof, they (both parties) joined hands together.

“Soon after, fifteen were appointed to draw up a form of new discipline; but this new discipline occasioned new grudges, or rather, revived the old ones. Though short the book, it was long before fully finished; because such as were concerned therein drew the sheets thereof several ways. Some would have the old discipline stand still in full force; others would have it only altered; others, totally abolished. When the discipline was new drawn up, some required months, and the most moderate more days, of deliberation, before they would subscribe it. In conclusion, whereas the whole congregation of Frankfort consisted then but of sixty-two (understand them masters of families, besides women, children, and servants) forty-two subscribed this new discipline, and the rest refused.

“Presently they proceeded to the election of new pastors and ministers, when Mr. Horn, issuing into the church with his party, cast a bundle of paper bills on the table, standing in the middle of the church,—a table, surely, set there, not for the inflaming of discords, but the celebration of that sacrament, which should cement them all in a comfortable communion. Those bills contained their refusal to concur in this election, because they could not, in their consciences, allow the discipline, whereby it was made. However, the rest went on with their choice, and no one, saving Mr. Wilford, being formerly of the ministry, was now again elected; whereof this reason was rendered, because they, with Mr. Horn, had willingly relinquished their functions, and it was but just to take that from them, which they cast away from themselves. Besides, it is said that

some of them gave it out, that, if they should be re-elected, they would not accept thereof.

“Hitherto we have had no mention, for a long time, of Dr. Cox; and it may seem much, that the activity of his spirit should be so long concealed, which makes some presume him absent all the while. But let such know, that Dr. Cox engaged in the former controversy, in defence of the liturgy set forth in king Edward’s reign, as concerning his sovereign’s honour, and the general interest of the English church concerned therein: whereas he hitherto stood neuter, in this difference of Mr. Horn’s and his complices, as beholding it of narrower extent, and less consequence, betwixt particular persons. Whereupon, the magistrate of Frankfort (not at leisure himself, because of the business of the mart, to examine the matter) appointed him, with Dr. Sandys and Richard Berty esquire, as men of estimation with both parties, to hear and determine the difference betwixt them; by the powerful mediation of which umpires, they were persuaded into some tolerable agreement, though it was no better than a palliated cure.”¹

This behaviour of these strolling reformers does express, to the life, the properties of heresy; such disputes as they fell into being unavoidable among those, that forsake the centre of unity. Where there is no umpire to determine differences, every one frames a system both of doctrine and discipline according to his own taste. I insist not upon the contest these English reformers had among themselves, concerning the use of the surplice, reading the litany, answering the minister aloud, the management of their common purse, whether this or that person was to be made choice of to exercise the ministerial function, or whether he was to be styled *superintendent*, *minister*, or *pastor*; for, though they discovered very little of an evangelical spirit upon those occasions, yet, being of no great consequence of themselves, they may easily be passed over. The debates

¹ Fuller, lib. viii. 27—34.

among them were of a higher nature. They charge one another with superstition, schism, and, in many particulars, with a sinful compliance; to say nothing of several doctrinal points, in which, it is well known, they stood divided; and, to show they were in earnest, they came to an open breach, refused communion, and erected separate congregations. I am not concerned how far either party were capable of making good their pretensions: those that took Calvin for their pattern, are said to have been equal in number, as well as learning, to their adversaries. Dr. Cox, indeed, had one plausible argument, which he urged against them, which was, the authority of king Edward VI., and the laws of the nation, whereby the liturgy, he contended for, was established. But this could be of no force against them, in the present reign, when the statute, that made it obligatory, was repealed by a subsequent law of the same authority, and no less binding to the subject. Besides, one of the conditions of their admission and settlement in Frankfort was, that they should conform themselves, in doctrine and discipline, to the French church, which never approved of king Edward's liturgy. Had both parties attended to the principles of the reformation, and particularly to that law in favour of it, by which the king is declared to be the head of the church, and that all jurisdiction, both civil and ecclesiastical, was derived from that fountain, it would have put an end to all their squabbling, concerning the power of their pastor, elders, and congregational church. There was the queen and parliament of England, the dernier resort of all controversies: or, if they were disposed only to have regard to their local obedience, upon account of their present residence, the emperor was the proper and natural judge, in all their disputes. But the truth is, they had no rule to go by, besides their humour and passions; which appeared plainly from the confusion they were in, when any thing was to be done, that called for authority. They neither knew who was to command, nor who to obey, nor what method to embrace in their public worship; so that, in less than two years,

they drew up five different forms; and, as they never came to any agreement during their exile, so, when they returned into England, upon the decease of queen Mary, they brought their wrangling temper over with them, and, to this day, are still inventing new schemes and forms of worship, and may erect a separate congregation upon very easy terms, as our indulgent law-makers have provided. As to opinions, they still have a larger field to range in. England prides herself in the enjoyment of liberty and property, in regard of civil rights: but her spiritual privileges are far more extensive. Here the subject lies under no restraint: the Scriptures are his rule, his guide, and his judge: it is there he finds his creed, without any regard to those forms and injunctions, which ambitious churchmen would impose upon them. They have freedom of thought upon all occasions; and as for outward ceremonies, they look upon them no farther binding, than as they are expedients, authorised and enjoined by the civil power, to promote the good of a kingdom.

ARTICLE IV.

THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE.—THE PRINCE OF SPAIN PROPOSED—ARTICLES OF THE TREATY—A CONSPIRACY—RISING OF THE CONSPIRATORS—SIR THOMAS WYAT IN KENT—HIS SUCCESS—THE QUEEN'S SPEECH AT GUILDHALL—WYAT ENTERS LONDON—HE IS TAKEN PRISONER—EXECUTIONS—ELIZABETH AND COURTENAY ARRESTED—THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE INSURGENTS—REFORMERS IMPLICATED IN THE REBELLION—FOREIGNERS ORDERED TO QUIT THE REALM—MARY AND PHILIP ARE MARRIED—SLANDER AGAINST GARDINER.

THE ancient worship being re-established, by the bill passed in Mary's first parliament, the next thing they went upon was, to perpetuate the happiness: and, in order to this, it was requisite to put her majesty in mind of marrying, that, by having an heir of her own body, she might remove those jealousies, she had conceived, lest those, that were now the next in succession, might break the scheme she had laid, of establishing the religion of her ancestors upon a lasting bottom. Three persons were talked of by the public, as proper to be joined to her in marriage. Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, cardinal Pole, and Philip, prince of Spain. The last was pitched upon by bishop Gardiner, with the approbation of the emperor, Charles V.,¹ and a treaty was concluded on, in the beginning of 1554. Besides many national advantages arising from this match, it was rightly judged, that a powerful assistance from catholic princes would put a stop to any attempt in favour of the reformation. With this view, therefore,

¹ [This is a mistake. Dr. Lingard, in opposition to almost all our historians, has clearly shewn that Gardiner, instead of being the deviser, or advocate, was, in reality, the determined opponent, of the Spanish match; that his policy was resolutely directed towards the advancement of Courtenay; and that it was only when his resistance to Philip had utterly failed, that he consented, by negotiating the treaty of marriage, to render it less odious to the nation. Of this Charles himself was fully aware. In a letter from Brussels, dated on the twenty-first of November, and addressed to Renard, his ambassador, he says, "puisque vous cognoissez les desseigns du chancellier tendre à continuer ses pratiques pour Cortenay, tant plus est il requis, que soyez soigneux à les contreminer" (See Lingard, vii. 132, 146, notes). The real advocates of Philip were the earl of Arundel, the lord Paget, and Rochester, comptroller of the household.—T.]

it was agreed, that, matrimony being contracted between Philip and Mary, it should be lawful for Philip to usurp the titles of all the kingdoms and provinces belonging to his wife, and should aid her in the government of those kingdoms; the privileges and customs thereof always preserved inviolate; and the full and free distribution of bishoprics, benefices, favours, and offices, always remaining entire to the queen: that the queen likewise should be assumed into the society of all the realms, wherein Philip either then was, or should be afterwards, invested: that, if she survived Philip, sixty thousand pounds per annum should be assigned for her jointure, as had been formerly assigned to lady Margaret, sister to Edward IV., and widow to Charles, duke of Burgundy; whereof forty thousand pounds should be raised out of Spain and Arragon, and twenty thousand pounds out of the Netherlands, and the provinces thereto belonging. And, to prevent all future jars and contentions, about the division of the inheritance of the kingdoms and provinces, which either then were, or afterwards should be, belonging to either, it was farther agreed, that the issue begotten by this marriage should succeed in all the queen's kingdoms and dominions, and in all the principalities of the Netherlands and Burgundy, whereof the emperor did stand possessed: that Charles, the eldest son of Philip by a former marriage, should likewise succeed in all the kingdoms, as well of his father, as of his grandmother, and of his grandfather, the emperor, both in Italy and Spain; and, by reason thereof, should stand obliged for the payment of the forementioned forty thousand pounds: that, if by this matrimony no other issue should be begotten, but female, the eldest should succeed in all the provinces of the Netherlands; but with this caution, that, by the counsel and consent of her brother, Charles, she should make choice of a husband, either out of England, or out of the Netherlands: that if she married from elsewhere, without his consent, she should be deprived of her right of succession, and Charles be invested therein; but to her and her sisters a convenient dowry should be assigned,

according to the laws and customs of the places : that if Charles, or his successors, should die without issue, in that case the first-born of this marriage, although a female, should succeed in all the kingdoms belonging to both these princes, as well of the Netherlands as of Spain ; and in all the principalities of Italy ; and should be bound to preserve inviolate all the laws, privileges, immunities, and customs of each kingdom ; and that between the emperor, Philip, and his heirs, and the queen and her children and heirs, and between both their realms and dominions, constant amity, concord, and a perpetual and inviolable league should be continued. By an additional article, it was provided, that Philip should not advance any to any public office or dignity in England, but such as were natives of England, and the queen's subjects : that he should admit of a competent number of English in his household, whom he should use respectfully, and not suffer them to be injured by foreigners : that he should not transport the queen out of England, but at her request ; nor any of the issue begotten by her, who should have their education in the realm, and should not be suffered, but upon necessity, or some good reasons, to go out of the realm ; nor then either, but with the consent of the English : that the queen deceasing without children, Philip should not make any claim to the kingdom, but should leave it freely to him, to whom of right it should belong : that he should not change any thing in the laws, either public or private, the immunities and customs of the realm ; but should be bound to confirm and keep them : that he should not transport any jewels, or any part of the wardrobe, nor alienate any of the revenues of the crown : that he should preserve our shipping, ordnance, and munition, and keep the castles, forts, and block houses in good repair, and well manned : lastly, that this match should not any way derogate from the league, lately concluded between the queen and king of France ; but that the peace between the English and the French should remain firm and inviolate ; only it should be

lawful for Philip, out of other kingdoms and dominions belonging to his father, the emperor, to send aids unto him, either for repelling injuries, or for taking revenge for any already received.¹

While these matters were carrying on, many, that were enemies to the government, were caballing in several parts of the kingdom, to excite the people against the match. It was represented as a design to enslave the nation, and bring it under a foreign power; and underhand, those, that had been lately pardoned for abetting lady Jane's title, were observed to be very busy. Others were more than suspected of a design of promoting the interest of Edward Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, and the lady Elizabeth; and, as it appeared by the persons concerned, their principal aim was to support the reformation.² Their design was not to have risen before the prince of Spain's arrival; but the fury

¹ Rymer, xv. 377—381.

² "It cannot be denied, but that the restitution of the reformed religion was the matter principally aimed at, in their rebellion, though nothing but the match with Spain appeared on the outside of it; which appears plainly by a book, writ by Christopher Goodman, * * * * in which, * * * having filled almost every chapter of it with railing speeches against the queen, and stirring up the people to rebel against her, he falleth, amongst the rest, upon this expression, viz., 'Wyat did but his duty, and it was but the duty of all others, that profess the gospel, to have risen with him for maintenance of the same. His cause was just, and they were all traitors that took not part with him. O noble Wyat! Thou art now with God, and those worthy men, that died in that happy enterprise!'" Heylin, 204, 205.

[Courtenay's own object, however, seems to have been limited, in the first instance, to the attaining of Mary's hand. Her kindness had first inspired, her displeasure, the consequence of his immoralities, had subsequently destroyed, his hopes (Noailles, ii. 219); and, to regain his position, he eagerly listened to the advice of men, who, by the murder of Arundel and Paget, proposed (Nov. 9, 1553) to remove the most powerful of his rival's supporters, and thus to reopen for him a passage to the throne. When this plan failed, another was devised. The conclusion of the treaty with Philip effectually barred the hope of an alliance with the present sovereign. But Elizabeth, her sister, was still unmarried: with her Courtenay might be united: the feelings of the people might be roused; and, when Philip should arrive in the spring, they might openly oppose his landing, and proclaim Courtenay and Elizabeth king and queen. It was not, however, in the nature of Courtenay to proceed steadily, or with intrepidity, to his object. Before the appointed time, he had revealed the secret to Gardiner: and the other conspirators, finding themselves betrayed, but unwilling to submit, immediately unfurled the standard of rebellion. See Dr. Lingard's narrative, founded on the despatches of the ambassadors, vii. 130, 144, 145, 149, 150.—T.]

of their zeal would admit of no delay. Wherefore, news was brought to court, January 25, 1554, that sir ^{JAN.} Thomas Wyat, and most of the gentry of Kent were ^{25.} up in arms. About the same time, sir Peter Carew, sir Gawen Carew, sir Thomas Denny, &c., appeared at the head of a party in Devonshire. Also sir James Croft, a person of great interest towards the borders of Wales, went down thither, to cause a revolt in those parts. Besides these, Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, father to lady Jane, though he had lately received a pardon for treason, appeared in the field in Leicestershire and Warwickshire, being joined by his two brothers, lord John Grey and lord Thomas Grey, with several other persons of note. The queen, having lately disbanded her army, was but indifferently provided against such an attack, which seemed almost general; but, by the diligence of the lord lieutenants in their respective counties, all the rebels were dispersed in a few days, excepting the body of men commanded by sir Thomas Wyat,¹ who were computed to be above two thousand; among whom were several persons of great substance and interest: and they seemed disposed to run all hazards to keep off the Spanish slavery,—for that was the popular word they made use of, to seduce the common people, and well adapted to carry on designs of another nature. Sir Thomas Wyat and his army being at Rochester, on the 29th of January, a body of men were sent down from London to attack them.² They were commanded ^{JAN.} by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, and ^{29.} sir Henry Jernegan, captain of the queen's guards. They had along with them Alexander Brett, with five hundred men drawn out of the city of London, who, together with their commander, went over to the rebels as soon as they came near Rochester: for many of the citizens of London were enemies to the Spanish match, and no great friends to the queen. This accident obliged the

¹ Lodge, i. 187—189; Stowe, 618, 619; Heylin, 203.

² [They were sent on the twenty-fifth; but attacked Rochester on the twenty-ninth. Stowe, 618.—*T.*]

queen's forces to retire, and gave the rebels an opportunity of advancing nearer London : so that the first day of February, they came to Greenwich and Deptford. At this moment the queen alone was able to calm the fears, and confirm the doubtful loyalty, of the citizens. Entering the Guildhall, where the lord mayor had convened a meeting of the principal inhabitants, she thus addressed the assembly:—" I am come unto you, in mine own person, to tell you that, which already you see and know, that is, how traitorously and rebelliously a number of Kentish men have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their pretence, as they said at the first, was for a marriage determined for us ; to the which, and to all the articles thereof, ye have been made privy. But since, we have caused certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and to demand the cause of this their rebellion ; and it appeared then unto our said council, that the matter of the marriage seemed to be but a Spanish cloak, to cover their pretended [real] purpose against our religion ; for that they arrogantly and traitorously demanded to have the governance of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our counsellors.

" Now, loving subjects, what I am ye right well know. I am your queen, to whom, at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realm and laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be, left off), you promised your allegiance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all christendom to witness. My father, as ye all know, possessed the same regal state, which now rightly is descended unto me ; and to him always ye shewed yourselves most faithful and loving subjects, and therefore I doubt not but ye will shew yourselves likewise to me, and that ye will not suffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our person, and to occupy our estate,—especially being so vile a traitor as Wyatt is, who, most certainly, as he hath abused mine ignorant subjects, which be on his side, so

doth he intend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoil of your goods. And I say to you, in the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any : but, certainly, if a prince and governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects, as the mother doth love the child, then, assure yourselves that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you. And I, thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me ; and then, I doubt not but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

“ As concerning the marriage, ye shall understand that I enterprised not the doing thereof, without the advice of all our privy council, who so considered and weighed the great commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but also expedient, both for the wealth of the realm, and also of you our subjects. And, as touching myself, I assure you I am not so bent to my will, neither so precise nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure I would choose [a husband] where I lust, or that I am so desirous as needs I would have one. For God I thank him (to whom be the praise therefore), I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing but, with God's grace, I am able so to live still. But if, as my progenitors have done before, it may please God that I might leave some fruit of my body behind me, to be your governor, I trust you would not only rejoice thereat, but also, I know, it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know that this marriage were to the hurt of any of you, my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal state of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry, while I lived. And, in the word of a queen, I promise you that, if it shall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abstain from marriage while I live.

“ And now, good subjects, pluck up your hearts, and, like true men, stand fast against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not; for, I assure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my lord Howard and my lord Treasurer, who shall be assistants with the mayor, for your defence.”—With this assurance she quitted the hall: the acclamations of the people followed her, as she passed; and, in the course of a few hours, she found herself surrounded by an additional force of more than twenty thousand men.¹

FEB. The next day, the rebels proceeded to South-
^{3.} wark; but were stopped at London bridge. They remained in Southwark two days and a half:² but the lieutenant of the Tower threatening to fire the Borough
 FEB. about their ears, they left that post, and marched to
^{6.} Kingston-upon-Thames; where, finding the bridge broken down, they immediately repaired it, and, obliging the forces that guarded it to retire, they passed over, and advanced as far as Brentford, almost before the court could have any notice of it. In the mean time, the queen, on the first of February, had published a pardon for all that had taken up arms, excepting sir Thomas Wyat, and about four or five more; upon which many of the rebels had already returned to their respective
 FEB. homes. With diminished forces, therefore, on the
^{7.} 7th of February, sir Thomas Wyat entered the suburbs of London, with a design to have penetrated into the city through Ludgate: but returning back to-

¹ Hollinshed, iv. 16, 17; Foxe, iii. 25. [The latter says that Mary delivered her speech so easily, that “ she seemed to have perfectly conned it without book”. Florebello, alluding to the calmness and resolution, which she exhibited on this occasion, thus apostrophises her. “ At tu, cæteris tam repentino tuo periculo perturbatis, animo ipsa minimè fracta ac debilitata es; sed ita te gessisti, ut omnes et prudentiam tuam admirati sunt, et animi magnitudinem agnoverint. Nam et celeriter tanta præsidia, quanta temporis patiebatur exiguitas, comparasti; et populum hunc gravi et ad tempus accommodatâ oratione confirmasti. Appropinquante verò huic urbi jam hostium exercitu, cum tui te hortando et obsecrando urgere non desisterent, ut in arcem te reciperes, ne tum quidem ullum timoris signum misisti, non tam copiis nimirum, quàm Dei freta præsidio”. Apud Quirini, v. Append. 332.—*T.*]

² [During their stay, they pillaged Gardiner’s episcopal palace, tore off the locks and doors, and committed such havoc with his library, “ that men might have gone up to the knees in leaves of books, cut out, and thrown under feet”. Stowe, 619.—*T.*]

wards Charing-cross, he was opposed at Temple-Bar by the queen's army; and, after a small skirmish, surrendered himself to sir Maurice Berkeley.¹

Thus ended Wyat's attempt; wherein, from the beginning, not above forty persons lost their lives. Afterwards, several of the rebels were brought to justice. Lord Guilford Dudley and lady Jane, formerly condemned for claiming the crown, were beheaded, February 12; the duke of Suffolk was beheaded, February 23; sir Thomas Wyat, April 11; and lord Thomas Grey, April 27. About fifty more inferior persons suffered in other places; the rest were pardoned and discharged by her majesty's most gracious clemency: the chief whereof were Thomas Cobham, George Cobham, sir William Cobham, Hugh Booth, Thomas Vane, sir Robert Rudstone, sir George Harper, Edward Wyat, Edward Fogg, George Moor, Cuthbert Vaughan, two Culpeppers, sir James Croft, with several others, all persons of fortune and great interest. As for princess Elizabeth and Edward Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, whom the rebels seemed to have their eye upon, they were confined MAR. to the Tower by way of caution; but afterwards dis- 12. charged: yet so as to be under inspection.² Many MAR. 18. believed, that princess Elizabeth was in the secret of this conspiracy, and Wyat once confessed as much; though, at his death, he softened his information, and would accuse neither of them; at least, as to that rising in which he was concerned. His words are thus recorded by Stowe:—" ' And where it is said and noised abroad, that I should accuse the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtenay, it is not so, good people; for I assure you, neither they nor any other now yonder, in hold, was privy of my rising, before I began, as I have declared no less to the queen's council, and that is most true.' Then said Dr. Weston, at those words, ' Mark this, my

¹ Stowe, 619—621.

² Stowe, 621—623; Hollinsh. iv. 18—25; Strype, iii. 86—98. [For an answer to the charge of cruelty, preferred by most of our historians against Mary, for imprisoning her sister, on this occasion, see Tytler's *England under Edward and Mary*, ii. 421—429.—*T.*]

masters, he saith that that which he hath shewed to the council in writing of them, is true :’—and so, without any more talk, sir Thomas Wyat turned him, and put off his gown.”¹ This answer is very equivocal, and does not free the parties from being acquainted with other risings, which happened about the same time ; and namely, that of the duke of Suffolk, who was charged with words spoken at his table, as if a hundred men were able to set the crown upon the earl of Devonshire’s head. It was also more than suspected, that what were left of the reformed bishops and divines were as busy in fomenting Wyat’s rebellion, as they had been in opposing the queen’s title to advance lady Jane. “ Stowe reports, that Poyntet, bishop of Winchester, was in Wyat’s army, and encouraged the enterprise ; but that, when he perceived Wyat was likely to miscarry, — taking leave of his friends, with promise to pray for their success, he embarked for Germany.”²

These storms being blown over, Philip landed at

¹ Stowe, 624. [It is the remark of Dr. Lingard on this passage, 1. That the parties in question might not have been privy to Wyat’s rising, because he rose unexpectedly, six weeks before the appointed time : 2. That the silence of Wyat, when virtually charged by Weston with an equivocation, was equal to an acknowledgment that he had not spoken sincerely (vii. 167, note). That Elizabeth, in fact, was privy to the designs of the conspirators cannot be doubted by any one, who has attended to the evidence produced before the council, or to the facts detailed in Renard’s despatches to the imperial court. See Lingard, vii. 151, 165 ; and Tytler, ii. 302—419.—*T.*]

² Collier, ii. 360, citing Stowe, 620. [So convinced was the government that the reformers were in correspondence with the rebels, that one of its first acts, after the defeat and punishment of the insurgents, was to issue a proclamation for the immediate banishment of all foreigners. This instrument began by stating, that a multitude of evil disposed persons, flying from the pursuit of justice in their own countries, had taken up their abode in England : it asserted that these persons were constantly employed in scattering the seeds of their malicious doctrine and lewd conversation among the queen’s subjects : it declared that, by their secret practices, they had not only excited the late rebellion “ against God and her grace”, but were still engaged in propagating their seditious notions among the people ; and it concluded, therefore, by ordering that all foreign preachers, printers, booksellers, and artificers, and all other strangers, of whatever calling or condition, except merchants, and servants to resident ambassadors, should, under pain of forfeiture and imprisonment, avoid and quit the realm, within the space of twenty-four days next ensuing (Wilkins, iv. 93). Foxe (iii. 32) says, that it was in consequence of this proclamation, that Peter Martyr, John à Lasco, and their friends, were compelled to leave the country. They had, however, voluntarily departed some months before. Strype’s Cranmer, 311, 317 ; Burnet, ii. 231 ; Heylin, 196.—*T.*]

Southampton, July 20, 1554, and the queen meeting him, at Winchester, they were married in the cathedral there, on St. James's day, by Bishop Gardiner. This match was judged to be so advantageous to England, that both houses of parliament went readily into it: and it is plain from the articles, that it could not be any fear of Spanish slavery, but of what they called Popish slavery, that induced so many to oppose it. Mr. Collier reports from Stowe, that the king "imported a vast mass of treasure", which was "carried to the tower in twenty carts, each of them laden with twenty-seven chests of silver bullion, each chest being a yard and four inches long."¹ The disaffected party (as it was a popular topic upon the occasion) gave out, that this treasure was to be employed, in order to bribe members of parliament, when they went upon the supremacy and other difficult articles, yet undetermined. A report was also spread abroad, that Gardiner and lord Paget proposed, in council, to have princess Elizabeth cut off, as a means to secure the Catholic succession. This, indeed, had been a politic stroke, the idea whereof, perhaps, was cherished by queen Elizabeth, when she took off Mary, queen of Scots, to secure the Protestant interest: only there is this difference,—the queen of Scots was a sovereign independent princess, and, had she been a subject, stood as clear of Babington's plot, as princess Elizabeth did of Wyatt's rebellion. If queen Mary's ministers are reproveable for sinning in thought, what a heavy charge must lie against queen Elizabeth and her ministry, who put the like, nay, a much more wicked stratagem in execution? Some are pleased to speculate, that king Philip and the majority of the council were averse to Gardiner's proposal, upon a politic view, as well as out of natural clemency: for, besides the hopes of issue from their present majesties, queen Mary being only thirty-eight, and Philip twenty-five, years of age, they thought it more advisable to

¹ Collier, ii. 371. [Stowe, however, is misquoted by Collier. He says that there were "twenty carts laden with ninety-seven chests". P. 625.—T.]

hazard princess Elizabeth's inclinations for the Catholic interest, than, by cutting her off, make way for the Scottish line, who, being always in league with France, would render that nation too powerful, and weigh down the scales in favour of an enemy. However, I would not have the reader depend too much upon these reports, concerning this cutting off of princess Elizabeth; for which, very probably, there was no better grounds, than the malice of queen Mary's enemies, who, upon every occasion, laboured to asperse her reign.¹

¹ [This charge against Gardiner originates in the slander of Foxe, who, upon no better authority than a ridiculous hearsay, first asserts that a warrant was actually signed for the execution of Elizabeth, and then has the boldness to infer that it *must* have been procured by "the bloody bishop". "His death", says this pious disciple of the reformation, speaking of Gardiner, "happened so opportunely, that England hath a mighty cause to give thanks to the Lord therefore * * * *"; especially for that *he had thought to have brought to pass, in murdering our noble queen that now is*. For, whatsoever danger it was of death, that she was in, it did, *no doubt*, proceed from the bloody bishop, *who was the cause thereof*. And, *if it be certain*, which we have heard, that, her highness being in the tower, a writ came down from *certain of the council*, for her execution, *it is out of controversy* that wily Winchester was the only Dædalus and framer of that engine, who, *no doubt*, in that one day, had brought this whole realm into woful ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious counsel, through Mr. Bridges, then the lieutenant, coming in haste to the queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented Achiophel's bloody device" (iii. 450).—And yet it has been proved, that the prelate, who is here charged with such eagerness for blood, as to have resorted to the wild expedient of procuring and issuing a warrant, unknown to the queen, and signed only by some individuals of the council, for the execution of his sovereign's sister, was, in reality, the very man, who long stood between that sister, and the death to which she would otherwise have been consigned; who actually risked the favour of his royal mistress, in defence of her accused kinswoman; and who ultimately, in defiance both of the predictions of his friends, and of the opposition of his enemies, succeeded in procuring the enlargement of her, whose death he is asserted to have been compassing. For the proof of this, the reader will do well to consult the despatches of the ambassador, Renard, apud Griffet, xl, xli, xliii, and Tytler, ii, 339.—T.]

ARTICLE V.

REFORMERS PERSECUTED.—PROVOCATIONS GIVEN TO MARY—PLOT OF THROCKMORTON—OF CLEOBURY—OF DUDLEY—ELIZABETH IMPLICATED—WRITINGS OF THE REFORMERS—THE COUNCIL DISCUSSES THE PROPRIETY OF RESORTING TO MEASURES OF SEVERITY—LAWS AGAINST HERESY REVIVED—PETITIONS OF THE REFORMERS—THE COUNCIL STILL HESITATES—A COMMISSION ISSUED—EXECUTIONS—ARGUMENTS ON THE SUBJECT OF PERSECUTION—MOTIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT—NUMBER OF THE SUFFERERS—FOXÉ'S DISHONESTY—THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS REFUSE TO ENFORCE THE REVIVED STATUTES.

NEAR two years of queen Mary's reign were passed, and nothing was attempted, that looked like persecution for conscience sake. "Many of the reformed, who had neither outraged the papists, nor appeared for the lady Jane, had either the liberty to go beyond sea, or, if they happened to be seized, were dismissed without much difficulty, at their friends' intercession." However, "it must be confessed that eagerness of temper, and injudicious aversion, carried some of the reformed to practices by no means defensible."¹ Both at home and abroad they gave many instances of their uneasy, factious, and rebellious disposition. William Thomas, esquire, who had been clerk of the council in the late reign, and one of Wyat's adherents, was executed for attempting to assassinate, or advising others to assassinate, the queen. "At his execution he justified his treason, and said, he died for his country."² The queen's preacher was shot at, in the pulpit, at St. Paul's cross. One Fetherstone was put upon personating king Edward VI., and giving a disturbance to the queen's title. Father Peto and Father Elston, two of the queen's chaplains, were mobbed, and pelted with stones, as they walked in the streets. Robert Mendrain shaved a dog's head, in contempt, and to deride ecclesiastical tonsure. A cat was hung up in Cheapside, with a wafer in her paws, to ridicule the blessed sacrament. When it was presumed that the queen was with child, and public

¹ Collier, ii. 375, 380.

² Ibid., 362; Wood, Athen. Oxon. i. 90.

prayers were ordered upon that occasion, several of the reformers who lived in London, and exercised their religion privately, prayed, indeed, for the queen, though after another manner. For, one parson Rose, and many honest citizens, as John Foxe is pleased to style them, inserted this clause in their public prayer: "That God would either turn the queen's heart from idolatry, or shorten her days." Whereupon, about thirty of these zealots, with their leader, parson Rose, were imprisoned; and, notwithstanding the heinousness of their crime, they were comforted by a letter from bishop Hooper, as suffering saints.¹ This form of prayer seems to have been a general practice; as appears from an act of parliament made upon the occasion, which declared it to be treason.² They also made use of pretended revelations and divine inspirations, to promote the interest of their cause. For, "the 15th of July, Elizabeth Croft, a wench about the age of eighteen years, stood upon a scaffold, at Paul's cross, all the sermon time; where she confessed, that she, being moved by divers lewd persons thereunto, had, upon the 14th of March last before past, counterfeited certain speeches, in the wall of a house without Aldersgate of London, through the which the people of the whole city were wonderfully molested, for that all men might hear the voice, but not see her person. Some said it was an angel, and a voice from heaven; some the Holy Ghost, &c. This was called '*the Spirit in the Wall.*' She had lain whistling, in a strange whistle made for the purpose, which was given her by one Drakes, servant to sir Anthony Nevil. Then were there

¹ Foxe, iii. 93, 95; Stowe, 626; Heylin, 217; Collier, ii. 370, 375, 379. [To the outrages here mentioned, may be added that of Flower, an apostate monk of Ely, who, entering St. Margaret's church, at Westminster, during the time of the communion, attacked one of the assistant priests with a knife, and seriously wounded him (Strype, iii. 212). For his offence, Flower was condemned to the stake, having previously, "for the more terrible example", had his right hand cut off (Privy Council Book, in *Archæologia*, xviii. 181). Flower's "martyrdom" is, of course, related by Foxe, iii. 199—203.—*T.*]

² Stat. 1 and 2 Phil. et Mar. cap. 9. [By the last clause in the act, however, it was provided, that any persons, already committed for this offence, might, by expressing their sorrow, and submitting themselves to the queen's mercy, obtain a commutation of the capital punishment, for any other penalty, at the discretion of the court.—*T.*]

divers companions, one named Myles, clerk of St. Botolph's without Aldersgate, a player, a weaver, Hill, clerk of St. Leonard's, in Foster Lane, and other, confederate with her, which, putting themselves among the press, took upon them to interpret what the spirit said, expressing certain seditious words against the queen, the prince of Spain, the mass, confession, &c."¹ This insulting of the queen's religion (which was then the church by law established) was followed by several attempts and practices against the civil government. Udal, Throckmorton, Peckham, sir Anthony Kingston, &c., laid a design to rob the treasury, in order MAR. to raise a rebellion. Cleber, or Cleobury, with the 1536 three Lincolns, &c., appeared at the head of an in- JULY surrection in Norfolk; and, about the same time, FEB. Dudley, Ashton, and others, practised with the French king, to make an invasion; which was attempted not long after, when Stafford and a gang of fugitives APRIL, landed in Yorkshire, and seized Scarborough castle.² 1557. It was also thought by many, that the loss of Calais might, in a great measure, be attributed to certain English reformers abroad, who took that way to be revenged of the queen, and king of Spain. For, indeed, they left no stone unturned to embroil the nation; especially those of the Geneva faction, who were, by much, the stronger party of the reformed English church. Knox and Goodman were so open, as not only to attack the queen's title, but to urge the argument against all woman-kind, as to any right or capacity of governing. Nor were the rest much better employed. "Such of the

¹ Stowe, 624.

² Burnet, ii. 301, 302, 326. Rec. 284; Stowe, 626, 628, 630, 631; Strype, iii. 336; Philopater, 70; Heylin, 228, 229, 242. [That Elizabeth was implicated in Dudley's conspiracy is certain. Before the plot was ripe, Henry, the French king, had concluded a truce with the English crown. The plans of the confederates were, therefore, frustrated; the design of an insurrection was abandoned for the present; and Henry, through the agency of his ambassador, hastened to advise Elizabeth, as to the course which it would be prudent to adopt. "Et surtout éviter", says he, "que Madame Elizabeth ne se remue en sorte du monde, pour entreprendre ce que m'écrivez: car ce seroit tout gaster, et perdre le fruit qu'ilz peuvent attendre de leurs desseins, qu'il est besoign traicter et mesner à la longue". Noailles, v. 299.—T.]

English, as had retired to Geneva, employed themselves in setting out a new translation of the Bible, in the English tongue, which afterwards they published, with certain marginal notes upon it, most of them profitable for the understanding of the text; but so, that some were heterodox in point of doctrine, some dangerous and seditious in reference to the civil magistrate, and some as scandalous in respect of episcopal government."¹ Again, a kind of remonstrance and libel was sent over into England, as it imported, in the name of the exiles abroad. "They endeavour to alarm the nobility, by presenting a prospect of losing their abbey-lands; and, to make the danger more formidable, they presage the loss of their liberties."²

"These, it must be owned, were very unjustifiable

¹ Heylin, 230, 234. [Knox's book, against the government of women, was entitled *The first Blast of the Trumpet*: that of Goodman professed to be a treatise "*How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, and wherein they may lawfully, by God's law, be disobeyed and resisted: Wherein is declared the cause of all this present misery in England, and the only way to remedy the same.* 16mo. Geneva, 1558. The book is a violent incentive to rebellion. Whittingham, the fellow-labourer of Knox, wrote the preface, and Kethe, another of the Genevan exiles, appended to it the following metrical summary of its principles:

"Whom fury long fostered, by sufferance and awe,
Have right rule subverted, and made will their law,
Whose pride how to temper this truth will thee tell,
So as thou resist may'st, and yet not rebel.

"Rebellion is ill, to resist is not so
When right true resisting is done to that foe,
Who seeks but by ruin against right to reign,
Not passing what perish, so she spoil the gain.

"A public weal wretched, and too far disgraced,
Where the right head (*Lady Jane Grey*) is off-cut, and a wrong instead
placed;
A brute beast untamed, a misbegottén,
More meet to be ruled, than rule over men.

"A marvellous madness, if we will behold,
What sighs shall assure men, to see themselves sold;
And yet, when from slavery their friends would them free,
Do stick to their foes, so still slaves to be".

On which Strype remarks, that "such treating of the queen did, no question, irritate her much, and provoke her to issue out such angry declarations of her mind, and resolutions of taking vengeance of all such-like book-writers, or book-readers". iii. 460.—*T.*]

² Collier, ii. 383.

sallies. What could be more provoking to the court, than to see the queen's honour aspersed, their religion insulted, their preachers shot at, in the pulpit, and a lewd imposture played against the government? Had the reformed been more smooth and inoffensive in their behaviour, had the eminent clergy of that party published an abhorrence of such unwarrantable methods, it is possible, some may say, they might have met with gentler usage, and prevented the persecution from flaming out."¹ But "the governors of the church exasperated by these provocations, and the queen charging Wyatt's rebellion on the protestant party, she agreed on the reviving some ancient statutes made in the time of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., for the severe punishment of obstinate heretics, even to death itself."² Yet the point was a long time debated, before they came to a resolution. It is commonly said, that the emperor, king Philip, cardinal Pole, and the queen herself, were for lenity; and, as she acted otherwise, it is believed she was overruled by Gardiner, Bonner, and other leading men of the council, who, being better acquainted with the violent temper of some of the reformers, and how apt they would be to take all opportunities of rising against the government, in defence of their religion, judged there was no other way of putting a stop to their attempts, than by terrifying the party by some instances of justice; which, as it usually happens, degenerates into something like cruelty: as it seems to be the present case, when the persecution fell upon a number of poor illiterate wretches, who threw away their lives more like enthusiasts, than upon any rational conviction.³

¹ Collier, ii. 371.

² Heylin, 217.

³ [As Dodd has intimated, the subject of persecution was frequently discussed among the members of the council, before it was finally determined to resort to it. Early in November, 1554, the decision of those, in favour of violent measures, was laid before the queen; and, in a few days, she returned the following answer. "Touching punishment of heretics, we thinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving, in the meanwhile, to do justice to such, as, by learning, would seem to deceive the simple: and the rest so to be used, that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion, whereby they shall both understand the truth, and beware to do the like. And, especially within London, I would wish none to be burnt, without some of the

During the debate concerning the revival of the aforesaid laws, several books were published, for and against persecution for conscience sake; wherein were handled the convenience and necessity of putting such laws in execution, upon the present juncture of affairs, with what could be alleged against such proceedings. Against persecution on the score of religion it was alleged, That,

council's presence; and, both there, and every where, good sermons at the same". The paper, which contains this reply, is in Collier (ii. 371, 372) and Burnet (ii. Rec. 263), and commences with an instruction to "such as have commission to talk with my lord cardinal, at his first coming". It has been thought that the date, thus distinctly marked, would disprove the conversation, between Pole and Gardiner, in Hume (c. xxxvii), inasmuch as Pole had evidently not yet arrived. But the argument detailed by the historian is expressly said to have occurred after the revival of the statutes against heretics, in the following December, and, consequently, after the arrival of the legate; and though much of it is clearly dressed up by the imagination of the writer, yet, that some such discussion took place, is distinctly asserted both by Burnet (ii. 278), and Heylin (217).

The reader has seen in the text, that the statutes, to which I have just referred, were the three acts, passed in the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., for suppressing the heresy of the Lollards (See this Hist. i. 157, 162). On the twelfth of December, a bill for their revival was brought into the commons: three days later, it was carried up to the lords; and, on the eighteenth of the same month, it was passed without a dissenting voice (Journals of Commons, i. 39, Lords, i. 477, 478). But if this measure was calculated to alarm the great body of the reformers, it was unable to damp the ardour of those numerous preachers, who, on various charges, had already been committed to prison. From their cells, they addressed the king, the queen, and the two houses of parliament. In one petition, they complained that, "contrary to all laws of justice, equity, and right", they had been imprisoned, plundered, and defamed: they demanded to be forthwith heard in their own defence; and they engaged to shew that the tenets, for which they were accused as heretics, were, in reality, the only "true doctrines of Christ's catholic church" (Foxe, iii. 97). In a second petition, their language became even more bold. They called on the king and queen, and the other branches of the legislature, to repent of their enormities, in repealing the godly statutes of the last two reigns: they denounced "the Romish superstitions and vain service, which, by the popish, proud, covetous clergy, had been placed again, in contempt of God's word, all heaven, and all the Holy Ghost's lessons in the blessed bible": they charged the queen with breaking her engagements, the parliament with violating the rights of conscience, with introducing heresy and idolatry, and committing acts of "robbery and cruelty, such as in Turkey were never used": finally, they demanded to be heard in public, where, they continued, "if we be not able both to prove and approve, by the catholic and canonical rules of Christ's true religion, the church homilies and service, set forth in the most innocent king Edward's days, and also to disallow and reprove, by the same authorities, the service now set forth, since his departing, then we offer our bodies, either to be immediately burned, or else to suffer whatsoever other painful and shameful death, that it shall please the king and queen's majesty to appoint" (Strype's Cranmer, Append. 196).

The violence of these addresses was not calculated to mollify the advocates of severity. Yet the policy or propriety of enforcing the revived statutes still continued to be debated in the council. If the *bishop*, according to the represen-

God being the only judge of conscience, the magistrate had no jurisdiction there, so as to force obedience: that faith being a gift of God, and depending solely upon him, why should any one pretend to punish another, because God had not bestowed that gift upon him? that it would be irrational to persecute and punish a person, because he was subject to some corporal defect, or had less wit than his neighbour: that the weapons of christians were not carnal, but spiritual: that arguments, exhortations, prayers, and good life, were more suitable to the gospel than fire and faggot: that as it was impossible to compel the assent, so the attempt was both irrational and tyrannical: and that such a proceeding might make men

tation of his enemies, advised a recourse to persecution, the *cardinal*, by the confession of the same parties, as strenuously opposed it; nor was it but under the conviction, that a few examples would suffice to strike terror into the gossellers, that the power of the law was ultimately let loose against them (Burnet, ii. 278, 282; Heylin, 217).

It was, probably, the intemperate conduct of Rose, mentioned in the text, that immediately provoked the first sanguinary demonstration, on the part of the government. On the evening of new-year's day, that reformer, with his companions, was apprehended: on the twenty-eighth of the same month, a commission, with Gardiner at its head, was opened for the trial of the chief prisoners. Eight persons were brought before the court, Hooper and Ferrar, the deprived bishops of Gloucester and St. David's, Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, Saunders, rector of All Hallows in London, Taylor, rector of Hadley in Suffolk, and two others named Cardmaker and Crome. Of these, Cardmaker, who was a canon of Wells, pretended to recant, Crome requested and obtained a delay of two months, Ferrar was remanded without trial, and the remaining five, having refused to subscribe to the doctrines of the church of Rome, were first excommunicated, and then delivered to the civil magistrate, to be burnt (Foxe, iii. 96; Strype, iii. 208, 209). On the ninth of the following month, six others were sentenced in a similar manner, by Bonner: but, the next day, Alphonso di Castro, a Spanish friar, confessor to the king, ascended the pulpit, and, in the presence of the court, loudly condemned these inhuman and unchristian proceedings. For a moment, the spirit of intolerance seemed to quail. The execution of the prisoners was suspended; all further prosecutions in cases of heresy were arrested; nor was it until some of the excesses, mentioned in the text, had again provoked the anger of government, that, at the end of five weeks (March 16), the fires of persecution were rekindled (Foxe, iii. 149; Strype, iii. 209; Burnet, ii. 284).

To the atrocities which ensued, allusion will afterwards be made. To detail them would be a revolting task: the mind would shudder, the heart sicken, at the recital. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that the persecution continued to rage until the death of Mary. At times, indeed, a momentary suspension of cruelty seemed to indicate the presence of a milder spirit. But the illusion was quickly dissipated. New commissions were issued, new barbarities were enacted, and a monument of infamy was erected, which, even at the distance of three centuries, cannot be regarded without horror. One of the commissions may be seen in the Appendix, No. XXVIII.—T.]

hypocrites, and damn them; but never would make them believers. It was added, that St. Paul declares, *We lord it not over your faith*:¹ that the gospel pronounces against plucking up tares from amongst the good corn, till the last day, that it was to be done by the hands of the angels: in fine, that none were for persecution, but such as were in power; and that, commonly, it was nothing but revenge, and some temporal consideration, that prompted them to it. For persecution, it was alleged: That the church of God not being an invisible community, but a visible society of men, consisting of superiors and inferiors, there ought to be some expedient to restrain refractory members, in point of behaviour: that, though the civil magistrate could not claim any jurisdiction in spiritual matters, by the strength of his character, yet the ecclesiastical minister had a power from Christ, to inspect, advise, correct, punish, &c.; otherwise God had provided worse for the peace of his church, than for that of the civil government. Hence they inferred, that, though errors against faith were only punishable by God, or by his church, with spiritual censures, yet, as they affected society, and influenced mankind, in order to disturb the peace of the civil or ecclesiastical government, they fell under the cognizance of both the magistracies: that many years' experience had convinced the world, that heresy was an immediate disposition towards rebellion, and that an insurrection on account of religion was much more formidable, than when persons rose in defence of titles and civil rights, there being no obstinacy equal to that which was rooted in religion: that, though the conscience could not be compelled, yet methods might be made use of to remove prejudices, and oblige people to make use of such means as Christ had established, to inform the world, and preserve the peace of his church; and that both threats and punishments were advisable in such cases,—especially when the government was in danger, by unlawful assemblies, and doctrines of a pernicious tendency. They

¹ 2 Cor. i. 23.

endeavoured to enforce their arguments, by some instances of the old law, where persons were punished with death, not only for idolatry, but even for their schismatical behaviour. They also alleged the authority of St. Augustin, who, though he was once of opinion, that the law of Christ did not favour persecution, upon account of errors against faith, yet he afterward altered his sentiment, and judged the practice to be both lawful and advisable, in certain cases.

It is sufficient to have mentioned these general heads, which are discussed at large by divines. Now, whether the legislature, in queen Mary's reign, acted prudently in reviving the sanguinary laws, and whether they had a sufficient provocation and inducement to put them in execution, depends altogether upon the circumstances of those times; and particularly, on the behaviour of the persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious. That the queen was in daily apprehension of being disturbed in her title, by the reformed party, is very apparent;¹ and it is no less certain, that the persecution, which followed, was one of the expedients she made use of to secure herself. It would be an endless labour to examine the particular behaviour of every person, that suffered upon this occasion. In the biographical part of this work, I have given an account of the five reformed

¹ [In addition to what has been already stated on this subject, I may subjoin the following. On the twenty-fifth of May, 1554, Montmorency and Renard, the imperial ambassadors, thus write to their master. "Paget, avec les heretiques, contre le chancelier et les catholiques; aiant advis la dite dame (Marie) que le dit Paget et ceulx de sa partie s'arment, et que, si ilz peuvent prevenir, ilz prendront prisonnier le dit chancelier, qui avec ses adherens, par le sceu de la dite dame, [s'arme aussi], la conseillant de partir, le plustôt qu'il pourra, de ceste ville, et de mectre en la tour le conte d'Arondel et Paget, pour ce l'on entend que le dit conte fortifie ung chasteau qu'il a aupres de la marine, et fait plusieurs gens de chevaux, sans le congé de la dite dame; et que, de jour à l'autre, il y vient plusieurs souldars en ce lieu de Londres, par quartre et cinq; et que Paget pratique plusieurs gentilshommes pour les divertir de l'affection de la dite dame. * * * * Et a l'on advis, par particuliers espies, qu'il se brasse une grande revolte, tellement, Sire, que ceste partialité ne se peult appaiser sans grand trouble. * * * *"]

Le point de la religion, qui fut debattu au dernier parlement, est cause de ce trouble; et est la dite dame si perplex, qu'elle ne sçait quelle conseil prendre, car elle entend bien, *que le tout se fait en faveur de Madame Elizabeth.* Apud Tytler, ii. 399, 400.—T.]

bishops that were brought to justice, and have omitted nothing material concerning them.¹ As to the rest that underwent the same fate, I shall only take notice of them in general. Dr. Heylin says: "The martyrs, in all parts of the kingdom, amounted to the number of two hundred and seventy-seven persons, of all sorts and sexes. But, more particularly, there are said to have perished in these flames, five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants."² Father Persons, who has taken a great deal of pains in looking into the particulars of this account, has said so much concerning the number, opinions, and behaviour of these pretended martyrs, that any one, that will but give himself the trouble to peruse what he has published, in relation to that affair, will be obliged to own, that a great abatement is to be made.³ He has made it appear, that many of them died for treason; others maintained opinions inconsistent with the doctrine of the reformed church in England. Some were notoriously scandalous and wicked persons; others distracted, and no better than enthusiasts. In a word, he has made it appear, that John Foxe, the original compiler of those records, has failed against truth, in a vast number of particulars, and made himself suspected in many more; in so much, that a learned protestant divine says of him, that where John Foxe produces records, he may be credited; but as to other relations, he is of very slender authority.⁴ However, the bloody reign of queen

¹ [Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and Farrar.—*T.*]

² Heylin, 252. [He adds, "Sixty-four more, in those furious times, were presented for their faith, whereof seven were whipped, sixteen perished in prison, twelve buried in dunghills, and many more lay in captivity, condemned, which were delivered by the opportune death of queen Mary, and the most auspicious entrance of queen Elizabeth, *whose gracious government blotted out the remembrance of all former sufferings*" (ibid.). Thus it is with all parties, that persecution is only then reprehensible, when directed against themselves! Would the catholics, or the anabaptists of Elizabeth's reign have subscribed to Heylin's eulogy on her "*gracious*" government?—*T.*]

³ [In his *Three Conversions of England*, vols. ii. and iii.—*T.*]

⁴ [Foxe was long the oracle, he is still the idol, of protestant writers: yet one of the latest and warmest of his admirers can find no better praise for him, than

Mary is the nurse's language to all protestant children, and an article they are carefully instructed in, from their cradle. Not only those that were active in that persecution, but the whole catholic church is charged with those proceedings.¹ They were the proceedings of the legislative power of England; and that power alone is answerable, if any thing was done amiss. I dare not presume to call the supreme court of judicature to account. Thus much I dare venture to advance in their behalf: if persecution upon account of conscience is a doctrine to be allowed of; if the legislature judged it proper to revive the ancient laws in that case; if several bishops, clergy, and others, were become delinquents, by disobeying and deserting the communion of that church, in which they were baptized and educated, and, after being reconciled, relapsed again into the errors

that "he abhorred falsehood, but was very often deceived" (Mackintosh, ii. 333). In another place, the same writer says, "The stories in Foxe's Martyrology are not, indeed, to be indiscriminately believed. That honest, but *zealous and credulous* writer would himself reject the commendation of impartiality" (ibid., 329). In a catholic writer, perhaps such "*zeal*" would scarcely obtain the praise of *honesty*.

As to the number and character of the sufferers, certain it is, that no allowances can relieve the horror, no palliatives can remove the infamy, that must for ever attach to these proceedings. The amount of real victims is too great to be affected by any partial deductions. Were the catalogue limited to a few persons, we might pause to examine the merits of each individual case: but when, after the removal of every doubtful or objectionable name, a frightful list of not fewer than two hundred still remains, we can only turn with horror from the blood-stained page, and be thankful that such things have passed away.—*T.*]

¹ [On this point, even Sir James Mackintosh can descend to utter a remark, which should have belonged only to a more ignoble name. "It was," says he, "the first measure of the *restored church of Rome*" (ii. 319); and yet, only a few pages farther, he acknowledges that, "of fourteen bishoprics, the *catholic prelates* used their influence so successfully, as *altogether to prevent bloodshed in nine*, and to *reduce it within limits in the remaining five*" (ii. 328). How much more just is the observation of Mr. Tytler! "The truth," says he, "seems to be, that the principle of toleration, whether we look to catholics or protestants, was utterly unknown. In this respect, Gardiner and Knox, Pole and Calvin, Mary and Elizabeth, stand pretty much on the same ground". Edward and Mary, ii. 210.

As Pole's name is here mentioned, I may, perhaps, remark that Mr. Sharon Turner has lately discovered what every other writer has been unable to detect, namely, that the legate was "the instigator of Mary's sanguinary cruelties" (Hist. Mary, 492). That Pole was not wholly guiltless of persecution will be readily acknowledged: but that he was generally averse to it, is as certain as that the first and only commission against heresy, issued within his diocese, was not signed until the last year of his life. Wilkins, iv. 173, 174.—*T.*]

they had renounced ;—where this was the case, could there ever be a greater provocation, or better grounds to put such laws in execution ? All that seems particular, in queen Mary's reign, was an excess in the manner, either in punishing too many, or, may be, now and then, improper persons ; a mismanagement those only seem answerable for, who were immediately concerned to see the law executed. Bishop Bonner is chiefly mentioned, for having a hand in the rigorous executions of this reign. I will not say how far zeal for religion, warmth of temper, or some other less commendable circumstances might induce him to distinguish himself, upon the occasion. There is neither prudence nor charity in prying too nearly into men's intentions. It may be said, in his behalf, that, London being the stage where most of the offenders were to make their appearance, it is a thing not to be wondered at, if we find the bishop of that see more active than any of the rest, in seeing the laws executed : and it must be attributed to his being bishop of London, (if it is true what Heylin affirms) that he alone brought two hundred to the stake. As for other parts of the kingdom, great moderation was used. For “in all the province of York, I find none brought unto the stake, but George Marsh of Chester, condemned thereto by bishop Cotes ; and not much more to have been done in the four Welsh dioceses, in which, besides the burning of bishop Farrar, at Caermarthen, by bishop Morgan, and of Rawlins and White, at Cardiff, by bishop Kitchin, no extraordinary cruelty seems to have been acted. In the dioceses of Wells, Exeter, Peterborough, and Lincoln, though this last is the greatest in the kingdom, I find mention but of one a-piece, of two in Ely, and of no more than three a-piece at Bristol and Salisbury. In those of Oxon, Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, I find none at all.”¹ And, indeed, the generality of the bishops were persons of great compassion, and no friends to persecution ; and, if any cruelty was shown, it was by some leading men

¹ Heylin, 226, 227.

at court, and upon such persons as remarkably misbehaved themselves, in insulting the religion then by law established. What can be said in their justification (if regard be had to the cause for which they suffered) is not my present purpose to determine. It is certain, the reformers abroad had but a very indifferent opinion of their behaviour; since the Lutherans called the English, who suffered for religion, the devil's martyrs.¹

¹ [Ubi vociferantur quidam, martyres Anglicos esse martyres diaboli. Melancth. in epist. Octob. 8, apud Heylin, 250.—*T.*]

ARTICLE VI.

CHARACTER OF MARY.—HER VIRTUES—HER DEFENCE OF HER MOTHER—HER CORRESPONDENCE AND SUBMISSION—SHE IS PERSECUTED BY HER BROTHER—HER CHAPLAINS IMPRISONED—SHE RESTORES THE CHURCH PROPERTY—AND FOUNDS SEVERAL CONVENTS—LOSS OF CALAIS—REFLEXIONS—MARY DIES.

THOUGH queen Mary's memory be odious to the vulgar and ignorant, who charge her personally with all those seeming hardships¹ the reformers suffered under her reign, yet her very enemies, who have calmly, and without prejudice, considered all particulars, have been obliged to confess, that she was a princess in all respects worthy of that high station, in which providence had placed her. As to her person, she was neither handsome, nor remarkable for any corporal defect. Her features were not unlike those of her father, king Henry VIII., with an allay of softness becoming her sex. As to the inward perfections of her mind, she wanted nothing that might recommend her, either in a religious, or a politic capacity. "It may be affirmed without panegyric, that the queen's private life was all along strict and unblemished. It must be said, that religion had the over-balance: the other world was uppermost with her; and she valued her conscience above her crown. * * * * That she was not of a vindictive implacable spirit, may be inferred from her pardoning most of the great men in Northumberland's rebellion. She was well-furnished with resolution, and, I may say, with martial vigour, when occasion called for it, as appears by her behaviour on Wyatt's insurrection."² "A princess never sufficiently to be commended of all men, for her pious and religious demeanour, her commiseration towards the poor, and her munificence, and liberality towards the nobility and churchmen."³ "She was a woman of a strict and severe

¹ [He should have said, "those *real cruelties*."—*T.*]

² Collier, ii. 406.

³ Camden in Kennet, ii. 368.

life, who allowed herself few of the diversions belonging to courts; was constant at her devotions, &c. * * * She much endeavoured to expiate, and restore the sacrileges of the two last reigns."¹ "She hated to equivocate in her own religion, and always *was what she was*, without dissembling her judgment, or practice, for fear, or flattery. * * * She had been a worthy princess, had as little cruelty been done *under* her, as was done *by* her."² In a word, she stands clear from most of those censures and aspersions, which some of our sovereigns, both before and after her, could never wipe off. Her friends have no occasion to puzzle their brains, in making apologies for any unaccountable and mysterious actions of her reign. All was done openly, and by the direction of the legislative power. She gave no ambiguous replies, when questioned about her religion; lay under no suspicion of fomenting and encouraging rebels; amused not the neighbouring princes with sham treaties of marriage. She assisted not rebels abroad to rise against their lawful sovereigns: she entertained not favourites in her court, to the risking of her honour and reputation. She had a due regard to religion, and made the church the principal object of her care; restoring to her all her rights, and providing for her future security. She detained not church dignities in her hands, for her own convenience; nor made a prey of the revenues of the clergy, by lopping episcopal sees, and exchanging their manors for others, which bore no proportion. Her whole study was to make satisfaction for the depredations and sacrileges of the former reigns, and avert the indignation of heaven, which still threatens us upon that account.

Two things, in general, concurred to fix this noble princess in the best of resolutions,—her father's impiety,

¹ Echard, i. 787. [It is fair, however, to add, that, in the opinion of this writer, these qualifications were not sufficient to ward off the curses of heaven, entailed on her by the other parts of her conduct. "A barren womb, and an untimely death" were, if we may believe Echard, the special visitations of the Almighty on one, whose reign was "memorable for scarce any thing, besides the calamities and misfortunes of it." Ibid.—*T.*]

² Fuller, l. viii. 42.

and her mother's virtue. The exorbitancy of the one made vice detestable to her: the other was a continual inducement to all goodness. While her mother lived, she was a sharer, indeed, of her sorrows: but, at that time, they did not so immediately affect her, as afterwards, when she began to feel the whole weight of her father's resentment. He that had born down so many powerful enemies before him, who were overcome either by his craft, or cruelty, was baffled by a girl, who had nothing but virtue, to make an opposition. Many attempts, of all kinds, were made to shake her constancy: but she still held out (though with all the duty and respect of a child to a parent, as far as the case would allow of), and, at last, gained so much upon him, as to be admitted into the succession, notwithstanding the pretended spuriousness of her birth; for which proceeding we cannot well account, unless by believing, that the king was doubtful of his proceedings, and began to relent, and make some kind of satisfaction to her injured mother.¹ I need not mention what trials queen Mary underwent, while she was princess, in Edward VI.'s reign. Several risings happened; some upon a religious account, others in defence of property. The princess managed with caution, upon all these occasions: and notwithstanding that several of her enemies were industrious to bring her in as a party, her prudent beha-

¹ [It is true, that, for some time, Mary continued to brave the anger of her father, in defence of her mother's honour, and of her own religion: but it is equally true, that she ultimately surrendered both, and purchased her reconciliation, by subscribing to all that he required. On the death of Anne Boleyn, she applied to Cromwell, and through him obtained permission to open a correspondence with Henry. Her letters expressed her sorrow for her past obstinacy, offered to submit without reserve, and craved the forgiveness of her father. In reply, he dispatched a deputation, to wait on her at Hunsdon, and to require her signature to certain articles, which he had prepared. Her feelings, and her conscience alike revolted from the task: but the reproaches of Cromwell weakened, his threats destroyed, her resolution: she signed the paper which she had received; and thus acknowledged that she was bound to obey the laws and ordinances of the king, that Henry was "the supreme head in earth, under Christ, of the church of England," and that the marriage "between his majesty and her mother, the late princess dowager, was, by God's law and man's law, incestuous and unlawful." The demand to give up the names of her former advisers, and to declare the causes of her present submission, was all that she had the courage effectually to resist. See Appendix, No. XXIX.—T.]

viour disappointed them. All hands were at work, to make her conform to the new church, they were establishing. The king, the ministry, and the clergy attacked her by turns; and she entertained them with proper replies. She endeavoured to make the king sensible, that he had neither years, experience, nor, as yet, authority, sufficient to alter the religion of his ancestors. She spoke still more freely to the ministry, and taxed them with destroying her father's will, and breaking through several acts of parliament, whereby the religion of her father and his ancestors was confirmed. As for the bishops and clergy, who gave themselves the trouble to visit her upon the same account, she had little to say to them; only gave them to understand, as the reader will recollect, that, a year or two before, they were of a different opinion, as to religion; and she did not know what new lights they had received since, or by what authority they preached up their innovations. In conclusion, she signified both to the king and the rest of them, that she was at a point as to her religion; and death was more welcome to her, than life, upon the terms they proposed. What usage she met with, the remaining part of her brother's reign, is fully related by our historians, who tell us, that she was a prisoner at large, removed from place to place as the ministry directed. Her old servants were turned off and confined, her chaplains imprisoned, and prosecuted for saying mass; though, at the emperor's intercession, that liberty had been allowed to her, and her family. But now it was recalled upon a pretence of some abuses.¹

Queen Mary's behaviour, after she came to the crown, was answerable to her religious, and promising education. Nothing was done in a hurry. After she had discharged those from their confinement, who were imprisoned for recusancy, during her brother's reign, and caused all such acts to be repealed, which were inconsistent with the ancient belief of the nation, she gradu-

¹ Burnet, ii. 98, 162—167; Strype, ii. 249—256; Heylin, 102—104. [In the Appendix, No. XXX., will be found the whole correspondence and proceedings, in the matters here referred to.—*T.*]

ally proceeded to the grand point of the supremacy; which being got over, lesser matters were easily adjusted, and the church restored to her rights, as far as circumstances would permit. Cardinal Pole was indemnified by the queen's letter, to exercise his legatine power; yet so, as to leave the ancient laws of præmunire in their full force.¹ She generously gave up all the abbey-lands in possession of the crown, as also the first-fruits,¹⁵⁵⁵ and impropriations, which her father had seized, upon his defection from the see of Rome.² It was, in

¹ [The writ issued for this purpose is in Wilkins, iv. 109, and Strype, iii. 157.—*T.*]

² [This measure had long been contemplated by Mary. With some difficulty she had prevailed on Philip to assent to it, and, so early as the month of March, had proposed it for the adoption of her council. The speech, in which she declared her resolution to the treasurer and some others, is still extant, and deserves to be recorded, as an illustration both of her character and of her abilities. "You are here of our council," said she, "and we have willed you to be called unto us, to the intent, you might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions, as well of monasteries, as of other churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession.

"First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid, in time of schism; and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God, and of the church: for the which cause, my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them; and, therefore, I here expressly refuse, either to claim, or to retain the said lands for mine, but, with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here, and before God, I do surrender, and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever; and do renounce the same, with this mind and purpose, that [such] order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy lord, the pope, or else his legate, the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

"And albeit you may object to me again, that, considering the state of my kingdom, and the dignity thereof, my crown imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid, yet notwithstanding I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten kingdoms; and, therefore, the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title; and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given me an husband likewise minded, with no less good affection in this behalf, than I am myself.

"Wherefore, I charge and command that my chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before), and you four, to-morrow together do resort to the most reverend lord legate, and do signify to him the premises, in my name, and give your attendance upon him, for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the foresaid possessions, accordingly as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same" (Foxe, iii. 182).

When parliament assembled in October, a bill, to authorize the surrender of the property in question, was laid before it, and, after considerable opposition in the commons, was, at length, passed by the two houses. By it, the payment of tenths and first-fruits was abolished; all rectories, impropriations, tithes, glebelands, and other ecclesiastical possessions vested in the crown, since the twen-

like manner, proposed in parliament, that all lay-impropriations should be restored to the church. But this was opposed both by the nobility and gentry, who were not only permitted to enjoy them, but also confirmed in the possession of the abbey-lands.¹ However, that the church might recover herself from the depredations of the last two reigns, and assume her ancient countenance, the act, which had confirmed the alienation of these lands, had also suspended the statute of mortmain for the space of twenty-one years; that such, as were religiously disposed, might have an opportunity of erecting pious foundations. The queen had already shown her subjects a good example, by restoring what she was

tieth year of Henry VIII., were resigned; and the whole property, subject only to its original incumbrances, was placed at the disposal of the cardinal, to be by him employed in the augmentation of small livings, in the maintenance of preachers, and in providing exhibitions for poor scholars in the universities (Stat. 1 and 2 Phil. et Mar. c. 4). An annual revenue of not less than 60,000*l.* was thus surrendered, which Pole immediately proceeded to apply, according to the provisions and intentions of the act. Wilkins, iv. 153, 175, 177.—*T.*]

¹ [Dodd is not the only writer, who has erroneously supposed that Mary endeavoured to effect a general restoration of ecclesiastical property. Perhaps, at first sight, Pole's words, in one of his letters, may seem to favour this notion:—“*Ejus majestas intelligebat in eâ re hanc inesse difficultatem, quòd, sine illorum suffragiis, qui hoc genus bonorum tenent, res transigi non posset, quorum magnus est in parlamento numerus*”: but then, he immediately adds, that, for this reason, “*ad se ex utrâque domo complures vocari jussit, et cum his ita piè graviterque est locuta, ut post, cum continuis tribus diebus in superiore domo libellus dimissionis esset recitatus, tandem tertio die, vix uno et altero repugante, omnes assenserint; quod idem inferiorem domum facturam speramus, in quâ is hodie iterum recitabitur*” (Poli Epist. v. 53). In another letter, he says that his hope had been realized in the commons; and, consequently, the measure, as proposed by the crown, was adopted by the two houses. “*Triduò post, in inferiori parlamenti domo recitatum est decretum de bonis ecclesiasticis, quæ majestates vestræ (he is writing to Philip) summi pontificis et ejus legati arbitrio submiserunt; et quamquàm superioribus diebus, atque eo ipso die, eadem de re, non sine magnâ contentione, actum fuerat inter pios homines, et eos qui minùs huic causâ favere videbantur, tamen res multò majore suffragiorum parte obtenta est, nihilque restat nisi ut parlamentum dimittatur, quod serenissima regina ut cràs fiat decrevit*” (Ibid. 56). The persons, whose concurrence was necessary, must have been the lessees of the property.

As to the assurance of the abbey-lands to the present holders, this originated in a bull, published by Paul IV., in the preceding July, and supposed to revoke the alienations formerly sanctioned by the legate. In reality, the bull did not relate to this country. Pole, however, applied to Rome; and, when parliament assembled, he was able to produce another instrument, specially exempting England from the effects of any such revocation. “*De bullâ, quâ hujus regni bona ecclesiastica ab ejus sanctitatis revocatione nominatim excipiantur, scripsimus*” (Epist. Poli. v. 42). It was read at the opening of parliament. Commons' Journals, i. 42.—*T.*]

possessed of. In pursuance whereof, Dr. Feckenham, dean of St. Paul's, was made abbot of Westminster, and took possession of it, having called together fourteen monks of his order; and Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, with the prebends, was otherwise provided for. The Black-friars, or Dominicans, were resettled in Smithfield; the observant friars at Greenwich; the Bridgittins at Sion-house; the Carthusians at Sheen, near Richmond. Also the Hospitallers, or Knights of Jerusalem, had several parts of their lands restored to them, under sir John Tresham, who was appointed lord prior, but who, dying immediately after, was succeeded by sir Richard Shelley, the last grand prior.¹

In the last year of queen Mary's reign, a war¹⁵⁵⁷ happening between Spain and France, and king Philip's presence being required in his own dominions, he was assisted by some choice English regiments, at the remarkable victory he obtained over the French, at St. Quintin's.² About this time, he was informed,^{DEC.} that the French had laid a design to surprise Calais, and took care to give queen Mary and her ministry

¹ Heylin, 235, 236. [Among these restorations, Dodd ought to have mentioned the hospital at the Savoy, which Mary re-established, and endowed with abbey-lands, and which her ladies, moved by her example, furnished at their own expense (Heylin, 237). It was the only one of her foundations, which escaped destruction in the following reign.]

On the subject of Westminster, I should here remark, 1st. that Feckenham was appointed abbot, not for life, but only for three years, according to the custom of the Italian convents: 2nd. that the number of monks associated with him, though generally stated to have been no more than fourteen, was, in reality, double that number. See a letter from Priuli to Beccatello, in the Appendix (No. XXXI.), from which it will also appear, that Pole intended to establish, among the English communities, the more austere discipline of some of the foreign houses.

There is another point which deserves notice in this place. On the dissolution of Sion House, under Henry VIII., the sisters had sought an asylum in the bosom of their respective families: but, in the following reign, they had assembled, under the direction of Catherine Palmer, one of their body, and had retired to a house of the same order, at Dermond, in Flanders. Here they were found by Pole, as he returned to England. Their existence was mentioned by him to the queen; and the order for their reestablishment was soon after issued. On their arrival, Catherine Palmer was elected abbess. Account of the Travels and Dangers of the Nuns of Sion, MS. belonging to the earl of Shrewsbury, p. 5.—T.]

² Hollinsh. iv. 87—89.

timely notice of it; offering, at the same time, to reinforce the garrison by a detachment from his Spanish army. But this being either refused, or neglected, and no supply sent from England, Calais, after seven days JAN. 8, that the French had lain before it, was given up 1558. to the duke of Guise; lord Wentworth the governor, and fifty more of the garrison being made prisoners of war.¹ This spot of ground was the last that remained on the continent, of all the English conquests in France. We had been masters of it above three hundred years, ever since Edward III.'s reign. Thus it was, that the glory of England expired with the old religion; and the riches drawn from the abbey-lands, with a design of making new conquests, could not maintain our ancient rights. All was consumed and dispersed, at home, and Calais thrown away, as the last stake, by the treachery, as it was reported, of certain reformed English exiles, who informed the French, how to become masters of it. But to let this pass, only as a report; it certainly was in queen Elizabeth's power to have recovered it again, had she not ingloriously accepted of a sum of money in lieu thereof, and, by making an alliance with France, to secure her title in England, quitted her claim entirely to it.

I cannot, upon the present occasion, pass over in silence a remarkable reflection, made by an English gentleman, at the surrendering of this town. Being called upon from the walls, by a French officer, at their departure, and asked, by way of derision, when they designed to visit France again? the English gentleman replied, "when your sins are greater than ours." Temporal success, however, is no proof of a nation's being more in favour with the Almighty. In the language of the Scriptures, it is often the contrary. Yet so far the observation may be allowed, that the loss of temporal dominions, and the loss of the true faith do often concur. Africa was overrun by the Vandals, in punishment of several schisms in their church, especially that remark-

¹ Godwin in Kennet, ii. 355, 356; Hardw. Papers, i. 103—120.

able one, occasioned by the Donatists. Asia was gradually subdued by the Saracens and the Turks, accordingly as they advanced in their separation from the universal church. I could mention several other parts of the world, which have been treated in the same manner for their disobedience, and bring down the reflection to families, and private persons, whose temporal misfortunes and ruin have been the consequence of deserting the church of God. But I leave the rest to every man's private consideration; and conclude with observing, that, when there was a fair prospect of settling England in the religion of their ancestors, and the inhabitants were come within sight of the land of promise, providence interposed, and made them sensible, they were unfit for the blessing. For, after a short reign of five years, four months, and eleven days, queen Mary was cut off, November 17, 1558, aged 43, to make way for a successor, who, for a while, was in suspense; but at last found it convenient to strike in with the reformers, for the more security of her title.

PART IV.—ELIZABETH.

ARTICLE I.

REFORMATION ESTABLISHED.—ELIZABETH DECLARES HERSELF A CATHOLIC—SHE IS URGED TO ADOPT THE REFORMED WORSHIP—IRRITATING CONDUCT OF THE POPE—AMBIGUOUS PROCEEDINGS OF THE QUEEN—SHE FORMS HER COUNCIL—SCHEME FOR ADVANCING THE REFORMATION—PROCLAMATION AGAINST INNOVATIONS—BISHOPS REFUSE TO ASSIST AT THE CORONATION—ELIZABETH CROWNED BY OGLETHORPE—SHE TAKES THE OATH—GOVERNMENT INFLUENCES THE ELECTIONS—A PARLIAMENT—QUEEN'S TITLE ESTABLISHED—FIRST FRUITS RESTORED TO THE CROWN—OATH OF SUPREMACY—ENGLISH LITURGY REVISED—THE CONVOCATION CONDEMNS IT—ACT OF UNIFORMITY—ELIZABETH'S INJUNCTIONS—SHE APPOINTS AN ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION—CONFERENCE ON RELIGION—CATHOLIC DISPUTANTS PUNISHED.

No sooner was princess Elizabeth proclaimed ^{1558.} queen, but the chief persons, both in church and ^{Nov. 17.} state, made a public acknowledgment of her right and title. "At Highgate, four miles from the city, she was met by all the bishops then living; who presented themselves before her upon their knees, in testimony of their loyalty and affection to her."¹ Now, as she had all along conformed to the church of Rome, during the late reign, there was reason to believe she acted sincerely, and would continue the work begun by her predecessor.²

¹ Heylin, 274.

² When Mary, on her death-bed, urged her sister to declare her real sentiments on the subject of religion, the latter "prayed God that the earth might open and swallow her up alive, if she were not a true Roman catholic" (MS. life of the duchess of Feria, cited by Lingard, vii. 241). "Yea, saith sir Francis Englefield, when she was upon other matters sometimes examined by commissioners from the queen, she would herself take occasion to complain that the queen, her sister, should seem to have any doubt of her religion, and would thereupon make protestation, and swear that she was a catholic". Pattinson's Jerusalem and Babel, 435.—T.]

She had, indeed, a very hazardous game to play, at her first setting out ; and those, that are disposed to excuse her former life from hypocrisy, must own, she laboured under great perplexity, as to the present situation of her affairs. A considerable party, who were enemies to the old religion, had concealed themselves under occasional conformity, during queen Mary's reign. These seized the juncture, and plied her with such arguments as were capable both to augment her fears, and tempt her ambition. She was not ignorant that the act of her illegitimacy was still in force against her, that her claim, by virtue of her father's will, was somewhat precarious, and that there were other pretenders, who wanted neither power nor plausible pretences to put her title to the test. In particular, it was suggested, that the see of Rome would certainly stand by their decree in favour of queen Catherine's marriage ; which being inconsistent with her claim, she could expect no favour from that quarter, and, by consequence, she was obliged to support herself by some other interest.¹ They exaggerated what Henry II., king of France, had lately done, by ordering the arms of England to be quartered with those of Scotland, upon the marriage of his son Francis with Mary Stuart ; which they pretended was a direct questioning of her majesty's title. To this they added, by way of advice, that she had no other way left to secure herself, than by setting up the reformation, which had still many well-wishers in England, and would meet with powerful assistance from abroad.² These consi-

¹ "She knew full well, that her legitimation, and the pope's supremacy could not stand together; and that she could not possibly maintain the one, without discarding the other". Heylin, 275.

² Camd. i. 30. [Habuit tamen (Cæcilius) primis illis diebus, non exiguam difficultatem, ut eam (reginam) induceret ad religionis formam publicè permittendam ; non quòd illa religionem ullam magnopere curaret, sed quòd res ipsa magnas in se difficultates, ac nonnihil etiam periculi habitura videbatur, si hoc tentaretur. * * * * Sed contra, Cæcilius atque Baconus affirmare, expeditè penitus reginæ ut religionis forma (ad tempus saltem) permutetur, ne illa pontificis Romani approbare videatur auctoritatem, cujus decreto matris suæ cum Henrico nuptiæ improbatæ fuerunt, et consequenter ipsamet etiam Elizabetha ab omni regni hereditate, tanquam illegitima, exclusa. Non defuturas in posterum redeundi cum pontifice in gratiam, rebus suis benè compositis, si ita videretur, occasiones" (Philopater, 26, 27). I may add that, if this rea-

derations worked so upon her majesty, as to have the desired effect. Yet she thought it not convenient to declare herself, till she had secured a stronger party, and disposed several great men to become serviceable to her, when matters came to be debated in a parliamentary way. Meantime, she managed in such a manner, as not to deprive either party of hopes. Several circumstances made those of the old religion judge favourably of her. She had hitherto conformed to that belief: she both heard divine service after the Romish manner, and was often confessed. "She performed the obsequies of her sister, queen Mary, with solemn and sumptuous preparations in the church of Westminster, and, shortly after, of Charles V. also."¹ And, when the convocation met by her orders, January 27, 1559, it was opened with a high mass, according to ancient custom.² But then, on the other hand, she gave more than presumptive signs, that she would prove a friend to the reformers. She permitted the reformed divines to return home from exile, and released those, that were in prison upon account of their novel doctrine. She refused bishop Bonner to kiss her hand, and Dr. Cox, a

soning was calculated, from its own force, to operate on the queen's mind, its power was not likely to be diminished by the imprudent and irritating conduct of the papal court. One of the first acts of Elizabeth was, to announce her accession to the different sovereigns of Europe. Among these, Paul IV., who then occupied St. Peter's chair, was not omitted. Carne, the resident ambassador at Rome, was instructed to wait on the pontiff, to acquaint him with the change which had occurred in the English government, and to assure him, at the same time, of the determination of the new queen to offer no violence to the consciences of her subjects. But Paul, with a mind at once enfeebled by age, and distorted by prejudice, had already listened to the interested suggestions of the French ambassador. He replied that, as a bastard, Elizabeth was incapable of succeeding to the English crown; that, by ascending the throne without his sanction, she had insulted the authority of the apostolic see; but that, nevertheless, if she would consent to submit herself and her claims to his judgment, he was still desirous of extending to her whatever indulgence the justice of the case should allow. Elizabeth, as might have been expected, instantly ordered Carne to return. Pallavicino, ii. lib. xiv. c. 8. p. 532; Strype, *Annal.* i. 36; Heylin, 275.—*T.*]

¹ *Camd.* 20, 32. [White, bishop of Winchester, preached the sermon at the funeral of Mary, and was immediately afterwards ordered to be confined to his house. As the terms, in which he had spoken of Mary and the reformers, were the groundwork of the charge on which he was imprisoned, I will give some extracts from the sermon in the Appendix, No. XXXII.—*T.*]

² *Collier*, ii. 413; *Wilkins*, iv. 179.

zealous reformer, was ordered to preach upon the meeting of her first parliament.¹ This was a kind of inconsistency of behaviour, but a necessary piece of management among the politicians, who were all this while privately labouring to carry on the interest of the reformation; and no less useful, to impose upon the sincerity of the other party, who otherwise might have been more sedulous in opposing them. And, indeed, they were so far imposed upon, that the queen suffered king Philip of Spain to apply to the see of Rome for a dispensation, upon the prospect of a marriage, as Echard reports.² Mr. Collier farther tells us, that “she thought it most adviseable to intermix papists and protestants at the board, that, by this means, neither party might despair of her favour, and the balance would be best kept in her own hands.” Yet, at the same time, “she selected a kind of cabinet council from some few of the protestant party; and with these she concerted measures for retrieving the reformation. But this was to be done with great precaution and gradual advances.”³ The per-

¹ Collier, ii. 411; Heylin, 274, 279.

² Echard, i. 789. [This is not correct. That Elizabeth did not, in the first instance, reject Philip's proposal, is certain; that he even applied to Rome for a dispensation, is probably true; but that he took this step with the concurrence or permission of the queen, is so far from being the fact, that the reason assigned by her for ultimately refusing his offer was, that, as he stood in the same degree of affinity towards her, as Henry VIII. had stood towards Catherine, to accept of such a dispensation would be to acknowledge her own illegitimacy. “*Perpexit hujusmodi matrimonium ex dispensatione contrahendo, non posse non agnoscere seipsam injustis nuptiis natam esse*” (Camd. i. 29).—I may add, in this place, that, though there can be no doubt of the ambiguity of Elizabeth's conduct, yet some of the instances, mentioned in the text, occurred, as the reader will presently see, some time after she had laid aside her disguise.—*T.*]

³ Collier, ii. 409. [This was Elizabeth's first act of authority. During the late reign, Cecil, whose services had been rejected by Mary, had obtained the confidence of her sister, and, on the accession of the latter, was instantly appointed secretary. With his assistance, the queen now proceeded to form her council. From the advisers of Mary she selected the most powerful, whether from their abilities or their influence; and to them added eight others, whose services had already proved their attachment to her person, or whose connexion with the secretary was a sufficient voucher for their principles. The first were all catholics: they were, Heath, archbishop of York, the marquess of Winchester, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Pembroke, the lords Clinton, and Howard of Effingham, sir Thomas Cheney, sir William Petre, sir John Mason, sir Richard Sackville, and doctor Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury. The others were protestants: they were, the earl of Bedford, William Parr, soon after restored to his title of marquess of Northampton, sir William

sons, to whom this grand secret was committed, were, Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Grindal, Whitehead, and Pilkington, under the direction of sir Thomas Smith. The modelling of the parliament was to be the care of Parr, marquess of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, the lord John Grey, and the earl of Pembroke; and no other to be let into the secret. The queen was satisfied that none of the bishops would concur with her; and she doubted, how far she could confide in the generality of the temporal lords. Now the method, these managers followed, was to remove all such heads of houses in the two universities, as might conveniently be done, without giving too much suspicion; to purge the privy council by degrees; not to be too easy in trusting those, that came over to their party; neither to run down, nor to encourage the mass with forwardness and seeming zeal; to connive at the liberty reformers took, though the laws against them were still in force; and finally to provide that no one should be permitted to preach without the queen's express license.¹

Cecil, Thomas Parry, Edward Rogers, Ambrose Cave, Francis Knolles, and Nicholas Bacon (Camd. i. 26, 27). The secret cabinet consisted of Northampton, Bedford, Pembroke, the lord John Grey, and Cecil.—*T.*]

¹ [To correct the inaccuracies of this passage, it is necessary to supply some circumstances, which Dodd has omitted. Early in December, a paper, supposed to have been drawn up by sir Thomas Smith, was placed in the hands of Cecil, and by him submitted to the queen. It began by stating the dangers to be apprehended from any attempt to alter the religion, so lately re-established in the country. Abroad, the anger of Rome, the power of France, and, perhaps, the assistance of Scotland would be united, to embroil the nation: at home, all who were attached to the ancient worship, all who were in authority under the late queen, but had been displaced by the present government, the bishops, the clergy, the magistracy, and the people, would be adverse to the change, and, perhaps, rise in opposition to the measure. To avert external dangers, it would be sufficient to make peace with France, to excite religious dissensions among its subjects, and to foment the divisions already existing among the Scots. To prevent the inconveniences of domestic resistance, a specific plan of proceeding would be necessary. Let means, therefore, be adopted, 1. to discredit the leaders of the opposite party, by enquiring into their conduct, and bringing them, if possible, within the reach of the law; 2. to intimidate the bishops and clergy, by prosecutions under the penal laws, and particularly by enforcing the statutes of premunire; 3d. to supersede the present magistrates by the appointment of others, "meaner in substance, and younger in years", to reinforce the militia with officers of known fidelity, and to remove all discontented persons from places of authority, whether in the universities or elsewhere. These measures would effectually open the way for the adoption of the reformed worship. In the mean time, a committee of divines, to be composed of Parker, Bill, May,

These proceedings gave the bishops a strong suspicion, that the queen would prove no friend to the old religion: and, as it is reported, archbishop Heath particularly felt out her dispositions, when, saying mass in her presence, she checked him for elevating the host.¹ This and several other occurrences, which were

Cox, Whitehead, Grindal, and Pilkington, should assemble at Sir Thomas Smith's house, and revise the liturgy published under the authority of Edward VI. But the real intentions of the government should be studiously concealed, until the opening of parliament. To conciliate the catholics, the queen might still be permitted to attend mass: to encourage the reformers, she might direct the communion to be administered under both kinds. An order against innovation in matters of religion should, however, be published; and no persons, except the marquess of Northampton, the earls of Bedford and Pembroke, and the lord John Grey, should be made acquainted with this plan, until such time as it should be proper to communicate it to the whole council. Such was the scheme, proposed, on this occasion, to Elizabeth, and afterwards carried into effect. It will sufficiently explain the nature of the "secret", entrusted, as Dodd says, to Parker, Bill, and their companions; and will, at the same time, correct his mistake as to the particular duty assigned to Northampton, and the other members of the secret council. See Appendix, No. XXXIII.

The reader will have remarked that one part of the plan, or "device", as it was called, was, to issue an order against religious innovations. For this pretext was soon after afforded, by the impatient zeal of the reformers, who, calculating on the queen's attachment to the new doctrines, hastened to promulgate their opinions, and restore the discarded liturgy of Edward VI. As they were opposed to the established clergy, violence frequently ensued. The priests were insulted: the altars and images were defaced; and the ancient service, interrupted, or banished from the churches, was replaced, in more than one instance, with the reformed worship (Burnet, ii. 350; Strype, Annal. i. 41, 48, 53). Under pretence of repressing these disorders, Elizabeth (Dec. 27) issued a proclamation, calculated to excite the most serious alarm in the minds of the clergy. It recited the acts against which it professed to be directed: it forbade the clergy to deliver, the people to attend, any sermons or other doctrinal discourses; and, whilst it permitted the gospel and epistle, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the litany, to be recited in English, it ordered the other parts of the church service to remain unaltered, only "until consultation might be had in parliament, by her majesty and her three estates of the realm" (Strype, Annal. i. Append. 3; Wilkins, iv. 180). It was this last reservation, which, more than any thing else, opened the eyes of the catholics to the real intentions of the government.—*T.*

¹ Camd. 33; Heylin, 277. [Cardinal Allen, in his "Answer to English Justice" (51), as well as Strype (Annal. i. 50), says that it was Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, who received the order not to elevate the host. The bishop, however, refused to obey the mandate, and Elizabeth, as soon as the gospel was ended, rose, with her attendants, and quitted the chapel.

"This night I came home late from London: and, for news, you shall understand that, yesterday, being Christmas-day, the queen's majesty repaired to her great closet, with her nobles and ladies, as hath been accustomed in such high feasts; and she perceiving a bishop preparing himself to mass, all in the old form, she tarried there until the gospel was done: and when all the people

tokens of her dislike to the old religion, opened the eyes of that party; so that, when the queen came ^{1559.} to be crowned, January 14, all the bishops re-^{JAN. 14.} fused to perform the ceremony, excepting Dr. Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle.¹ It is remarkable, that she took the usual oath for maintaining the faith of the church of Rome, and, in all parts of the ceremony, conformed to the ancient rites. And again, some have admired, that she never intimated any desire of being crowned by Barlow, Scory, or Coverdale, who were reformed bishops, and within call to have performed the ceremony. "It is possible the old form might sit easy enough upon her mind, and her conscience give her leave to humour the juncture."² Some pretend, that she would not apply herself to the reformed bishops upon this occasion, because their process being not yet revised, they were not legally qualified. But this is all conjecture. There appears to be only a custom, not a

looked for her to have offered, according to the old fashion, she, with her nobles, returned again from the closet and the mass, unto her privy chamber, which was strange unto divers". Sir W. Fitzwilliam, apud Ellis, Orig. Lett. ii. 262.—*T.*]

¹ [Alarmed by the proclamation, mentioned in a preceding note, the bishops appear to have consulted, as to the propriety of assisting at the coronation. It was probable that the queen would refuse to be anointed: it was certain that, if she consented to take the oath, she would afterwards violate that part of it, which bound her to maintain the laws and privileges of the church. It was, therefore, unanimously agreed, that the prelates could not conscientiously lend to the ceremony the sanction of their presence; nor was it without considerable difficulty that Oglethorpe was at length induced to abandon his colleagues, and officiate at the solemnity. Allen, speaking of Heath and the other bishops, says, "Whose courage and resistance for quarrel of God's religion, was such in them, and specially in the said archbishop, that he worthily, as became his excellency, refused to anoint or crown the queen's majesty that now is; * * * and so did all the rest of the bishops refuse the same, until, with much ado, they obtained the bishop of Carlisle, the inferior almost of all the rest, to do that function. * * * The cause why they durst not then, nor could be adduced by any human fear or authority, to invest her, was, for that they had evident probabilities and arguments to doubt, that she meant either not to take the oath, or not to keep the same, which all christian kings (and specially ours in England) do make in their coronation, for maintenance of holy church's laws, honours, peace, and privileges, and other duties due to every state, as in the time and grant of king Edward the confessor. They doubted, also, lest she should refuse, in the very time of her sacre, the solemn divine ceremony of unction" &c. Allen's Answer to English Justice, 50, 51.—*T.*]

² Collier, ii. 412.

law, for qualifying a bishop to officiate at the coronation.¹ Besides, I don't find that either the queen, or those she employed at this time, were apt to be scrupulous in observing the formalities of law. It is well, if their friends can bring them off with credit, even where honour, conscience, and the common rights of mankind are concerned. And, not to mention other matters, there was nothing in it very conformable either to the common rights of mankind, the laws of the nation, or the nature and institution of Christ's church, to have the clergy and bishops silenced, and not attended to, in the business of religion, and committed to prison for insisting upon a right, they might claim *jure divino*. Neither were these reformers very scrupulous in doing justice to the people of England, in regard to their civil rights, if we look into the manner of their proceeding with the parliament. "Such lords and gentlemen, as had the management of elections in their several counties, retained such men for members of the house of commons, as they conceived most likely to comply with their intentions for a reformation."² These were to be the people's representatives; if they may be so called, where the court-cabal managed the return of the members, and picked out a set of men proper for their purpose; as if religion, and men's consciences, were under the same direction with the trade of the nation, and the particular views of designing men. Hence, "the papists murmured that more of the protestants were chosen, of set purpose, both out of the counties, and boroughs; and that the duke of Norfolk, and earl of Arundel, amongst the nobility most potent, for their turn and hope, begged voices, as also Cecil had done."³ Those two noblemen were capable of swaying the house of

¹ [But the force of this custom was such, that, if departed from, the ceremony, in all probability, would have been deemed invalid by the people.—*T.*]

² Heylin, 279.

³ Camd. 36. [The truth is, that the elections were wholly managed by the government, which, availing itself of what it chose to regard as a precedent, in the late reign, sent letters to the different sheriffs, containing lists of candidates, out of whom the members were to be chosen. For the counties five persons were named; for the boroughs, three. Strype, *Annal.* i. 33; Clarendon Papers, i. 92.—*T.*]

lords; but unthinkingly complimented the queen with their interest, without foreseeing the consequences. The duke of Norfolk carelessly left the issue to proxies, who were obsequious to the court measures. The earl of Arundel, though entirely in the interest of the old religion, was in hopes of marrying the queen; and, upon this view, became her humble servant in a case, where gallantry ought to have no place.¹ Several other things occurred to make way for the reformation. The chief of the catholics, being craftily removed from places of trust, were rendered unserviceable at the elections. One half of the episcopal sees being vacant, and the bishops in being under oppression, there wanted so many voices to support the interest of the old religion. Again, the clamour, and apprehension of the church lands being wrested out of the hands of the laity (which was industriously spread abroad at that time), and the fear the nation was in, lest the queen should be disturbed in her title from Scotland, made every thing look unpromising on the catholic party.

The parliament met, January 25, 1559, and was to determine all matters in suspense, especially what regarded the fate of the new and old religion. It was opened with a speech made by sir Francis Bacon, who had lately superseded archbishop Heath, as lord JAN. keeper. He first dwelt much upon generals, talked ^{25.} much of moderation, and signified a great aversion to divisions about religion. But he quickly gave them to understand, at the close of his harangue, that every thing was to be carried on in favour of the reformation; and the acts, that passed in this parliament, made it appear, how diligent they had been in preparing matters in the cabinet. In the first place, "there passed an act FEB. for recognising the queen's just title to the crown, ^{9.} but without any act for the validity of her mother's marriage, on which her title most depended: for which

¹ Heylin, 279. [See also Philopater, 27; and Pattinson's Jerusalem and Babel, 440. These two writers say that Norfolk was influenced by resentment against the pope, who had hesitated to grant him a dispensation to marry a near relative. *Ibid.*—*T.*]

neglect most men condemned the new lord keeper, on whose judgment she relied, especially in point of law ; in whom it could not but be looked on as a great inco-
 gitancy, to be less careful of her own, and her mother's honour, than the ministers of the late queen Mary had been of her's."¹ Mr. Echard, and some others pretend to give reasons, why an act in favour of her legitimacy was not necessary ; viz. because being universally acknowledged by the parliament, and crowned as queen, this fact purged off all other defects and disqualifications. Again, they say, the act of recognition expresses her being lineally descended from the royal blood. But this is far from amounting to a declaration of her legitimacy. If I may be permitted to throw in my conjectures, perhaps the crafty lawyer had a mind to manage a reserve, in case any superior power could make good their claim : or, may be, it was a providential omission, that honour and justice might be done to the memory of the injured queen Catherine.

Before the grand cause of the supremacy came to be debated in parliament, it was ushered in by several previous acts : among the rest was that, which restored MAR. the first fruits to the crown ; for which several ^{22.} plausible reasons were alleged, especially the present necessities of the government, and low condition of the exchequer.² When the supremacy bill was brought in, it was opposed by all the bishops excepting one ;³ especially, archbishop Heath made an elaborate speech (if it was really his) against it, wherein he handled the controversy with a great deal of learning, accuracy, and strength of argument. He was seconded by Anthony Brown, lord viscount Montague, and again by Mr. At-

¹ Heylin, 279 ; Stat. 1 Eliz. c. 3. [Bacon's speech is in D'Ewes, 11, 12. All the bishops present voted for this bill. Ibid.—T.]

² Stat. 1 Eliz. c. 4. [There were eight bishops present, who, as well as Feckenham, all voted in the minority, against this bill. D'Ewes, *ibid.*—T.]

³ [At first, there were present, of the spirituality, only the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, Landaff, Coventry, Exeter, Chester, and Carlisle, and Feckenham, abbot of Westminster. Afterwards, the bishop of Ely, who had returned from his embassy, was added to the number. They all, without exception, vigorously opposed the bill. D'Ewes, 28 ; Strype, *Annal.* i. 58, 59, 60, 61.—T.]

kinson, in the house of commons, who made it appear, that it was contrary to the hitherto avowed principles of the reformers, that sanguinary laws should be pressed upon the catholics. “‘I desire, said he, it may be remembered, that people, who suffer for refusing this oath, are not to be considered as common malefactors, thieves, and murderers. They don’t offend from wicked intention, and malice prepense. No, it is conscience, and good meaning, which makes them clash with the law. I don’t deny, but they may be mistaken; but, when this happens, the case is still harder: for, if we let the penalty loose upon them under such mispersuasion, we bar recollection, and destroy both body and soul.’ There was another speech of a member of the lower house, in answer to this last mentioned. It was made by one learned in the law, but does not seem to disentangle the case. His arguments are some of them wide of the question, and, where his reasons are strongest, they conclude but for an oath of allegiance. He pretends the oath touches no spiritual thing, but only binds the subject to recognize the sovereignty in his prince. But this is a great mistake, as the reader may perceive by the form: for here the subject swears two things, in which religion is materially concerned; first, that the queen’s highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes; and secondly, that no foreign prelate or potentate has, or ought to have, any jurisdiction or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. Now no person, who believes the pope the principal of unity, and the spiritual head of the catholic church, can possibly take this oath, with a good conscience. But notwithstanding the error of this persuasion, if the papal supremacy is thus restrained to matters purely spiritual, those, who maintain it, have room enough for their allegiance, and may be loyal subjects to their prince.”¹ And this con-

¹ Collier, ii. 483. [Some remarks are necessary in this place. 1. Dodd speaks of the bill for the supremacy, without either describing its precise objects, or specifying the period at which it passed. It originated in the lower house, where it was carried as “A bill to avoid the usurped power, claimed by any foreign potentate in

struction of the oath seems to be favoured by some alteration, or at least by the softening term of chief *governor*, instead of *head*, as this act was pleased to style queen Elizabeth. It is this qualification of the

this realm, and for the oath to be taken for spiritual and temporal officers". With this title, it was brought to the lords on the twenty-seventh of February: on the eighteenth of the following month, it was returned, in an amended form, to the commons: new clauses were afterwards added by each of the two houses; and it was not until the twenty-ninth of April that it finally passed (D'Ewes, *apud Strype*, i. 58—61). It was now styled "An act for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same". In conformity with its title, it began by repealing the statutes passed in the late reign, in favour of the ancient creed, and revising such of the acts, passed under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., as militated against the supremacy of the pope. It enacted that the jurisdiction of every foreign person, potentate, or prelate, within the realm, should thenceforth cease and be suppressed; that the authority necessary for the visitation of spiritual persons, and the correction of errors, heresies, and abuses, should be annexed to the crown; and that the power of exercising this authority, by delegates to be appointed under the great seal, should remain to the queen and her successors for ever. It farther forbade any one to maintain, either by words or by writing, the supremacy of the papal see: it ordained that every person, presuming to violate this clause, should, for the first offence, suffer forfeiture of all real and personal property; for the second, incur the penalties of a premunire; and for the third, be adjudged to death as a traitor: and it provided, "for better observation and maintenance" of the premises, that all persons about to take orders, or degrees in the universities, all clergymen about to be promoted to any spiritual living, or already in possession of benefices, all judges, magistrates, and inferior officers receiving the wages of the crown, all laymen suing out livery of their lands, or doing homage to the crown, or entering into the service of the queen, should, on pain of deprivation and incapacity, take an oath, declaring her to be the only supreme governor of the realm, as well in spiritual things as temporal, renouncing all foreign ecclesiastical authority within her dominions, and promising to defend all jurisdiction, power, or preeminence, *granted* or belonging to her, or united and annexed to the imperial crown.—It is clear from this, as well as from the whole tenor of the act, that the supremacy was contemplated, not as a right inherent in the crown, but as a grant expressly made by the authority of the legislature. See the statute, in the Appendix, No. XXXIV.

2. The persons, whose arguments against this bill have been preserved, were Heath, archbishop of York, Scot, bishop of Chester, and Feckenham, abbot of Westminster (See Appendix, No. XXXV.): the speeches of lord Montague and Atkinson, mentioned in the text, were spoken on a different occasion. By the act, to which I have just referred, the obligation of taking the oath was limited to the classes there described: but, at the end of three years, it was found that the object of the government had, in a great measure, failed; that the churches were every where deserted; and that, although the queen, in a special admonition, had endeavoured to qualify the nature of her ecclesiastical jurisdiction (See Appendix, No. XXXVI.), yet the modern doctrine of the supremacy was still rejected by the bulk of the people. It seems to have struck the ministry that the boldness, with which the catholics continued to assert the spiritual authority of the Roman see, would offer a plausible pretext for extending the operation of the statute, and compelling all persons, without exception, to take the oath. With this view, therefore, a new bill was introduced, soon after the opening of

oath, I suppose, that has made several reformers presume still to maintain a spiritual independency, or headship, in their clergy, which is the doctrine of some of the episcopal party, and of presbyterians, especially those of the kirk of Scotland: from whence they infer, that

parliament, in 1563. In the commons, it was resisted by the more liberal of the members, and, among others, by Atkinson, who, in the speech alluded to in the text, denounced it, as calculated, by its severity, to weaken the nation, to ruin the universities, and to make hypocrites or rebels of the people. In the lords, the viscount Montague opposed it, in an eloquent and impressive address. It was not his intention, he said, to canvass the truth or falsehood of the reformed doctrines. They might be right or wrong; they might be salutary or otherwise: but was it necessary to legislate against people that had created neither trouble nor disturbance in the realm? Was it just to fetter their minds, to tyrannize over their consciences, and to compel them, under pain of death, to swear to that as certain, which, in their hearts, they believed to be doubtful? Look to the situation of this fundamental article of the protestant creed. By the very last parliament, it had been solemnly condemned. By parliaments, and councils, and the consent of christendom for ages, it had been practically denied. Grant that it were true, with such authority against it, was there no room for hesitation? Must men be at once constrained to affirm it as undoubted, and, in defiance of their own convictions, make God the witness of their lie?—Let their lordships beware of the precipice, on which they were rushing. No man of ordinary courage either could or would submit to the wicked alternative of perjury or death. They might provoke resistance; they might drive the catholics to rebellion; but let them be assured that, by so doing, they were only lending themselves to the designs of those, “who looked to wax mighty and of power, by the confiscation, spoil, and ruin of the houses of noble and ancient men”. See Appendix, No. XXXVII.

But the eloquence and the votes of its opponents were alike unavailing against a bill, for whose barbarity even Cecil is compelled to plead, as an excuse, that “such be the humours of the commons’ house, as they thynk nothing sharp ynough ageynst papists” (apud Wright, i. 26). After much resistance, the measure was at length carried. The temporal peers were, indeed, exempted from its operation, and the property of persons attainted under it was protected from forfeiture: but all members of the house of commons and of the inns of court, all barristers, attornies, notaries, and schoolmasters, all who had office in the church or ecclesiastical courts, either during the present, or the last three reigns, all who should refuse to conform to the established worship, or should openly condemn the ceremonies of the new church, or should celebrate, or hear others celebrate, any private mass, were added to the number of those, on whom the obligation of taking the oath was imposed. To lawyers, schoolmasters, and members of the house of commons, however, it could be tendered but once; and, in their case, a refusal was followed only by the penalties of a *premunire*. To others it was ordered to be tendered a second time: a second refusal was adjudged to be an act of treason; and the offender, on conviction, was condemned to suffer death accordingly. Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 1.

I may add that Mr. Wright, in his zeal to justify these enactments, refers to some “infamous resolutions”, passed “*this year*”, at Rome (i. 126, note). The “resolutions”, as they are called, are far too absurd to impose on any sensible person. Independently of this, however, the paper, in which they are said to have been transmitted from Venice, is dated April 13, in the *following year*. See Strype, Annal. i. 412.—T.]

the title of governor imports no more, than a subjection of the ecclesiastical power to their prince, in all the outward duties of a subject ; which in effect appears to be no more than a civil allegiance. Now, this is a friendly system to the catholic cause, if these gentlemen are good interpreters of the law. But then the query will be, how the civil power or magistrate can claim allegiance in its full extension, without rendering the spiritual power insignificant ; seeing, that the execution of the latter depends upon outward actions ?

While the parliament was taken up in completing the supremacy act, a select number of persons were preparing a bill for re-establishing the common prayer, and reducing matters to the same form, they were in, during the reign of Edward VI. : for, as yet, the legislators had gone no farther than Henry VIII.'s scheme, which chiefly regarded the supremacy. The persons employed to revise and correct the book of common-prayer (this being the second time it was reformed, since it was first set forth) were Parker, Whitehead, Grindal, Cox, Pilkington, May, Bill, Guest, and sir Thomas Smith ; none of the bishops, deans, or heads of the universities being advised with, concerning this work. "The most considerable alteration, says Echard, was, that the express declaration, made against the corporal presence, in the second book set out by king Edward, was now left out ; that none might be driven out of the communion of the church upon that account : therefore, the matter was left undetermined, as a speculative point, in which the people were at their liberty."¹ When this bill was proposed, it met with a general opposition from all the bishops, the convocation, and many of the temporal lords. Scot, bishop of Chester, made a resolute speech against it. He challenged the world to produce one single instance, where the bishops were not consulted and attended to, in a controversy of that nature. He was seconded by abbot Feckenham, who made it appear, "that these reformers floated in their opinion, quitted

¹ Echard, i. 793. [Guest was not among the persons, originally named to revise the liturgy, but was afterwards added to the committee. Strype, Annal. i. 82.—T.]

their first plan, and refined upon themselves; and yet always pretended to publish and decree nothing, but the sincere word of God."¹ The convocation, which was then sitting, and taking things into consideration, as they were debating in parliament, not only dissented to this act concerning the common-prayer, but drew up and signed a declaration, and profession of the catholic doctrine, which is left to posterity as a standing proof, that the reformation was entirely a contrivance of the laity, *reclamante clero*.² Even several of the temporal lords were averse to this new liturgy; namely, "the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Shrewsbury, the viscount Montague, the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North, dissented."³ But this opposition was unavailing. After a fruitless struggle, the bill was read a third time, and passed by a majority APRIL
28. of three.⁴

¹ Collier, ii. 425; Strype, Annal. i. 75—77. The speeches will be found in the Appendix, No. XXXVIII.

² [This instrument contained a profession of their belief in the real presence, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, and the supremacy of the pope; to which was added a declaration that, in all matters relating to faith, to the administration of the sacraments, and to the discipline of the church, the pastors, commissioned by the Holy Spirit, possessed the exclusive right of judging and deciding (See Appendix, No. XXXIX.). It was presented to the house of lords, on the first of March: on the tenth of the same month, the bishop of London informed the members who had signed it, that a copy had been forwarded to each of the universities, and that all the articles contained in it, "except the last", had been subscribed by those bodies. Wilkins, iv. 179, 180.—7.]

³ Collier, ii. 430; D'Ewes, 28.

⁴ [D'Ewes, *ibid.*; Stat. 1 Eliz. c. 2. It was called "An Act for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments". Having declared the act, passed in the first year of the late queen for the abolition of the reformed liturgy, to be void and of no effect, at least so far as regarded "the service, administration of the sacraments, rites, and ceremonies", contained in the book authorized by parliament, in the fifth and sixth years of Edward VI., it proceeded to enact that, from and after the nativity of St. John the baptist next ensuing, every minister should be bound to perform the public service of the church "in such order and form, as is mentioned in the said book, so authorized by parliament, in the said fifth and sixth years of king Edward VI., with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used, on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other, or otherwise". If a beneficed clergyman presumed to violate this law, he was to be punished, for the first offence, by the forfeiture of one year's profits of his living, and imprisonment for six months; for the second offence, by deprivation and imprisonment for twelve months; and for the third, in addition to deprivation, by imprisonment for the term of his natural life. Offenders, possessing no spiritual preferment, were to be impi-

The reformation being advanced thus far, as to these general matters, a method was proposed, how to manage particulars; to which purpose, the queen sets forth her injunctions, which were either drawn up, or retouched by Cecil, a man of singular craft and zeal.¹ The com-

JUNE missioners appointed to put them in execution, were

^{24.} Francis, earl of Shrewsbury, Edmund, earl of Derby, Thomas, earl of Northumberland, William, lord Evers, sir Henry Percy, sir Thomas Gargrave, sir James Crofts, sir Henry Gates, Edwin Sandys, D.D., Henry Hervey, LL.D., Richard Bowes, George Brown, Richard King-smale, and Christopher Escot, esqrs. Now, "among these, there was never a clergyman excepting Sandys, unless Harvey doctor in law was in orders, which is somewhat unlikely. * * * * These commissioners were not tied to the rules of ecclesiastical courts: their jurisdiction was unconfined and paramount. * * * * They had no authority, but what they received from the queen, who was without question a lay person, and by consequence could make out no claim to any share of the sacerdotal character, nor produce any

soned, for the first transgression, during twelve months; and for the second, during life. Persons, speaking in derogation of the service thus established, were to suffer fine for the first and second, forfeiture and imprisonment during life for the third, offence; and any one omitting, without reasonable excuse, to be present at its performance in the church, on all Sundays and holidays, was, for every such omission, subjected to a fine of twelve pence, to be levied on his goods, and applied to the use of the poor (See Appendix, No. XL.). I should add, that the alteration stated by the act to have been made in the litany, consisted in the omission of the words, "*From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord deliver us*", and the introduction of a supplication, that the queen might be "*strengthened in the true worshipping of God, in righteousness, and true holiness of life*". The addition to the form, used in the administration of the sacrament, was, in reality, the union of the two forms of Edward's first and second books, mentioned in a preceding page (44). The other variations, which were unimportant, may be seen in Strype, Annal. i. 84.—T.]

¹ [Collier, ii. 434. In general, they agreed with those published by Edward VI., in 1547: but there were some additional articles, concerning the use of singing in churches, the reverence to be paid to the name of Jesus, the adoption of communion tables, the dress and marriage of the clergy, and other points, which will be found in the Appendix, No. XLI. Before these injunctions appeared, it was apprehended that the queen, with a view to conciliate the catholics, and attract them to the reformed worship, would suffer the images and paintings, restored under the late government, to remain. To prevent this, the reformers addressed her in a long and laboured remonstrance; and Elizabeth, rather than offend them, immediately consented to adopt their views. Burnet, ii. 367, 368: Rec. 316.—T.]

warrant from our Saviour for the exercise of the keys.”¹ However, the commissioners above mentioned took upon them the modelling of the reformation, as to all its branches; beginning with the bishops and dignified clergy, who were deprived by their authority. Indeed, the bishops were permitted to be heard, as to what they could say in defence of the old religion; and a conference was held, March 31, MAR. 1559: but then the method was judged to be un-^{31.} fair. Sir Francis Bacon, a lay-man, was to sit in the chair as umpire. The articles to be debated were also chosen by him, viz. prayer in an unknown tongue, the authority of a national church in ceremonies, and whether the mass was a propitiatory sacrifice. Two of these points were scarce a matter of contest,² and the third not very proper to be heard, before other things were first determined. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, and White, bishop of Winchester, took the liberty to declare against the method of the conference; for which they were both fined and committed. They broke up, because “it was beneath their character to go through a disputation of this kind, where Bacon, a mere lay-man, was to sit as judge.”³

¹ Collier, ii. 435. [The commission is in Burnet (ii. Rec. 318), and is dated June 24, 1559. By it, any two of the commissioners are empowered to visit and reform all cathedral and other churches, to enquire into the faith, learning, and behaviour of the bishops and clergy, to punish the guilty, to remove the heterodox and incompetent, to institute and induct to vacant benefices, to convene synods, to exercise, in fact, every species of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to perform every episcopal and sacerdotal function, except that of ordination, consecration, and administration of the sacraments.—*T.*]

² [In explanation of this, Dodd elsewhere says, that, “comparatively speaking, those matters of discipline could scarce be esteemed a subject of contention, at a time, when several capital articles of faith were first to be discussed”. Apology, 106.—*T.*]

³ Collier, ii. 417. [There are some inaccuracies here, which require to be noticed. 1. From the manner, in which this conference is introduced, it would seem to have been connected with the proceedings of the commissioners. An attention to the dates, however, will shew that it took place almost three months before the commission was signed.

2. It was during the sitting of parliament, and whilst the two questions of the supremacy and the liturgy were still under discussion, that the archbishop of York received an order from the queen to select a certain number of catholic divines, who should meet an equal number of reformers in the abbey church at Westminster, and there discuss the three points mentioned in the text. The points themselves were selected by the queen, or by her council; Bacon was ap-

ARTICLE II.

CATHOLIC BISHOPS DEPRIVED.—THEIR NAMES AND TREATMENT—CONSECRATION OF PARKER—OF OTHER PROTESTANT BISHOPS—VALIDITY OF THIS ACT—THE CLERGY AVERSE TO THE REFORMED DOCTRINES—OCCASIONAL CONFORMISTS—QUEEN MARY'S PRIESTS—DESTITUTION OF THE NEW CHURCH—AND OF THE UNIVERSITIES—SPOILIATION OF BISHOP'S SEES—CONCILIATORY CONDUCT OF PIUS IV.—HE SENDS NUNCIOS TO THE QUEEN—THEY ARE REFUSED ADMISSION—VIOLENCES OF THE REFORMERS—OPINIONS OF THE QUEEN—SHE DISLIKES A MARRIED CLERGY—THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES DRAWN UP—THEIR VAGUENESS—PERSECUTING PROPOSALS OF THE CONVOCATION—PROTESTANT DISSENT—MEANS ADOPTED TO SECURE THE REFORMATION.

THE catholic bishops, having made a fruitless opposition in favour of their religion, were soon after put to the test of the new oath of supremacy. "It was refused by all the bishops, excepting Kitchen of Lan-

¹⁵⁵⁹ pointed to preside; and, to prevent confusion, it was further determined that the disputation should be conducted in writing, that the proceedings on each of the three questions should be opened by the catholics, and that, when these had explained the grounds of their belief, their adversaries should state their opinions in reply. On the appointed day, the champions of the two parties met. On one side, were ranged the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Lichfield, Carlisle, and Chester, with the doctors Cole, Harpsfield, and Chedsey; on the other, Scory, the deprived bishop of Chichester, Cox, Horn, Aylmer, Whitehead, Grindal, Guest, and Jewel. After some demur, Cole, on the part of the catholics, commenced the discussion with an extemporaneous discourse, in defence of the ancient language of the church: he was followed by Horn, on the other side, who, from a written paper, maintained the necessity of a vernacular liturgy: but, when the bishops claimed the right of reply, they were told that the other questions must be previously debated; and, with an order to proceed to the second point, at the next meeting, the conference was adjourned to the following Monday. When Monday arrived, the prelates, who had felt the disadvantage to which they were exposed, determined, if possible, to effect an alteration in the arrangements. They first attempted to reply to the arguments of their adversaries on the preceding day, but were overruled: they then desired that the opposite party might commence the discussion of the second point, but were refused. To all their remonstrances, Bacon answered by pointing to the orders of the council: and when, at length, he found them resolved to abide by their demands, he declared the conference at an end, and significantly promised that they should "shortly hear of him again" (Foxe, iii. 822—829). In the course of a few hours (April 3), the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, whose opposition in the house of lords might have defeated or obstructed the designs of government, were committed to the tower: on the following morning, the other six disputants were arrested, and bound, in their own recognizances, to present themselves daily before the council, until judgment should be pronounced; to confine themselves, in the mean time, to the cities of London and Westminster; and to be ready to pay whatever fines might be imposed on them, in punishment of "their contempt committed against the queen's majesty's order". When the parliament had closed its labours, and intimidation was no longer necessary,

daff, whom Camden calls the calamity of his see."¹ The commissioners proceeded to their deprivation; and they were accordingly displaced before December, 1559, and by this means made obnoxious to the penalty of the law: for, refusing the oath the first time was deprivation; the second time, was a *premunire*, viz. forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure; the third refusal was high-treason.² Their fate was various, accordingly as they met with friends at court. Some lived under strict confinement; others were prisoners at large; and I find that three of them went abroad, viz. Scot of Chester, Pate of Worcester, and Goldwell of St. Asaph.³ It was judged a necessary piece of policy, not to proceed against them to the utmost severities of the act; which would have exasperated a party, whom they endeavoured to gain over to them by milder methods. It will not be im-

their fines were thus declared,—the bishop of Lichfield one thousand marks, of Carlisle 250*l.*, of Chester two hundred marks, doctor Cole five hundred marks, doctor Harpsfield 40*l.*, and doctor Chedsey forty marks (Strype, *Annal.* i. 87—95; Burnet, ii. *Rec.* 313—315).—Sanders, who is followed by Camden and Collier, accounts for the imprisonment of Winchester and Lincoln, by saying that they threatened to excommunicate Elizabeth (*De Schism.* 333, 334): but Foxe, who details the whole proceedings, and would certainly not have omitted this circumstance, if it had occurred, makes no mention of any such threat.

3. From this account of the conference, it is evident that the words, which Dodd cites from Collier, do not assign the real cause of its abrupt termination: I must add that they are made to convey a meaning directly the reverse of what Collier has actually expressed. He says, in fact, that the prelates appeared "conscious of an ill cause", that they sought, by "trifling and evasion", to screen themselves from the disgrace of a defeat, and that, amongst other "pretences", put forward for this purpose, was the indignity of holding a theological discussion under the presidency and control of a layman. Collier's real assertion, however, is as much opposed to the fact, as Dodd's erroneous opinion.—*T.*

¹ Collier, ii. 417. "Only one bishop conformed himself to the queen's commands, and was continued in his place, viz., Anthony Kitchen, alias Dunstan, of Landaff". Fuller, i. ix. 59. [Before the oath was tendered to them, Elizabeth sent for them, and required them to take instant measures for "expulsing all schisms and superstitious idolatry of the church of Rome". Heath, in the name of his brethren, reminded her of the recent reconciliation of the country to the holy see: but she replied that *her* contract was with the God of heaven, not with the pope of Rome, that a covenant made by one sister had no power to bind another in subjection to an usurped authority; and that she must regard any person, that should presume to defend the papal jurisdiction, as the enemy of God, herself, and her successors. Hunting of the Romish Fox, 76—80.—*T.*]

² [This is a mistake. The penalty, under the act of 1559, was deprivation and incapacity only. See page 130, note, ante.—*T.*]

³ [A more particular account of their subsequent treatment will be found in the biographical part of this work. See also Strype, *Annal.* i. 142—145, 148; and Lingard, vii. 378, note *f.*—*T.*]

proper, in this place, to insert the names of the bishops of both persuasions, accordingly as they were placed and displaced.

Dioecese.	Prelates removed by death.	Prelates deprived.	Successors.	Consecrated or Confirmed.
Canterbury ..	{ Cardinal Pole, Nov. 18, 1558	.. ..	Matthew Parker.	Dec. 17, 1559
Clichester	{ John Christopherson. Jan. 2, 1559	.. ..	William Barlow.	{ Confirmed Dec. 20, 1559
Hereford	{ Robert Parfew, Sept. 22, 1558	.. ..	John Scory.	{ Confirmed Dec. 20, 1559
London .....	.. ..	{ Edmund Bonner, June 2, 1559	Edmund Grindal.	Dec. 21, 1559
Ely .....	.. ..	{ Thomas Thirby, Nov. 23, 1559	Richard Cox.	Dec. 21, 1559
Worcester ....	.. ..	{ Richard Pate, June 30, 1559	Edwin Sandys.	Dec. 21, 1559
Bangor	{ William Glyn, May 21, 1558	.. ..	Rowland Merrick.	Dec. 21, 1559
St. David's....	.. ..	Henry Morgan.	Thomas Young.	Jan. 21, 1560
Lincoln .....	.. ..	{ Thomas Watson, July 2, 1559	Nicholas Bullingham	Jan. 21, 1560
Salisbury	{ Cardinal Peyto, April, 1558	.. ..	John Jewel.	Jan. 21, 1560
St. Asaph ....	.. ..	{ Thomas Goldwell, July 15, 1559	Richard Davies.	Jan. 21, 1560
Rochester	{ Maurice Griffith, Nov. 20, 1559	.. ..	Edmund Guest.	Mar. 24, 1560
Bath & Wells..	.. ..	Gilbert Bourne.	Gilbert Berkley.	Mar. 24, 1560
Lichfield and Coventry. }	.. ..	{ Ralph Baynes, June 24, 1559	Thomas Bentham.	Mar. 24, 1560
Exeter .....	.. ..	{ James Turberville, Nov. 16, 1559	William Alley.	July 14, 1560
Norwich.....	{ John Hopton, Dec. 1558	.. ..	John Parkhurst.	Sept. 1, 1560
Peterborough..	.. ..	{ David Poole, Nov. 11, 1559	Edmund Scambler.	Feb. 16, 1561
Winchester ..	.. ..	{ John White, July 18, 1559	Robert Horn.	Feb. 16, 1561
York .....	.. ..	Nicholas Heath.	Thomas Young.	Tr. fm. St. Dav.'s Feb. 20, 1561
Durham.....	.. ..	{ Cuthbert Tunstall, Sept. 29, 1559	James Pilkington.	Mar. 2, 1561
Carlisle .....	.. ..	{ Owen Ogleshorpe, June 21, 1559	John Best.	Mar. 2, 1561
Chester .....	.. ..	{ Cuthbert Scot, June 21, 1559.	William Downham.	May 4, 1561
Gloucester	{ James Brookes, Sept. 7, 1558	.. ..	Richard Cheney.	Apr. 19, 1562
Bristol	{ John Holyman, Nov. 1558	.. ..	The same, <i>in com- mendam.</i> }	Apr. 19, 1562 ¹

¹ Strype, Annal. i. 142, 155; Collier, ii. 431; and Godwin in locis. [Dodd also mentions the sees of Oxford and the Isle of Man. The first became vacant on the death of Robert King (Dec. 4, 1557), and remained without a bishop until the 4th of October, 1567, when Hugh Curwen, archbishop of Dublin, was

To this list of the deprived bishops I might join another of the inferior clergy, who willingly underwent the loss

translated to it. The other was void by the deprivation of Henry Man, who was succeeded by Thomas Stanley, at the end of 1559, or the beginning of 1560.

The deprivation of the Catholic bishops was, of course, followed by the appointment and consecration of the new prelates. Of these, Dr. Matthew Parker, once chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and afterwards dean of Lincoln, had already been selected to fill the see of Canterbury. But he was sensible of the difficulties of the time: he mistrusted his own qualifications for the office; and, for nearly six months, the entreaties of the ministers, and the commands of the queen, were in vain employed, to shake the constancy with which he refused to accept the charge (Burnet, ii. Rec. 320—330). At length, however, he was reluctantly induced to yield; and, a *congé d'eslire* having been issued to the chapter, the dean, with four of the canons—the others refused to attend—asssembled on the first of August, 1559, and unanimously elected him to the vacant primacy (Strype's Parker, 51—53). On the ninth of the following month, a commission was issued for his consecration. It was addressed to Tunstal, bishop of Durham, Bourne of Bath and Wells, Poole of Peterborough, Kitchen of Llandaff, and Barlowe and Scory, who had been deprived under Mary, and, in the instrument, were simply denominated bishops (Rymer, xv. 541). Of these, Tunstal, Bourne, and Poole appear to have refused the office, and were soon after deprived. About the same period, the bishops of Exeter and Ely shared a similar fate; and, as the others had already been ejected, Kitchen alone, of the ancient prelacy, remained in possession of his see. Two formidable impediments now presented themselves to the government. The law required four bishops to confirm the election of the new primate, and the deprivation of the catholic prelates had left but one within the kingdom: the catholic and the reformed ordinal had alike been abolished by parliament, and the legislature had omitted to substitute another form, under which he might be consecrated. Cecil consulted Parker on the subject, and received from him an answer, which, however, left the difficulties untouched (Strype's Parker, 40). The matter was then submitted to the consideration of a certain number of canonists: it was decided that the queen, by virtue of her ecclesiastical supremacy, could supply every defect; and, on the sixth of December, therefore, a second commission, drawn up in conformity with this determination, was issued by the crown. The commissioners, named in this instrument, were, Kitchen of Llandaff; Barlowe, the deprived bishop of Bath, and Hodgkins, formerly suffragan of Bedford, who had both been consecrated according to the catholic pontifical; Scory and Coverdale, the deprived bishops of Chichester and Exeter, whose consecration had been performed according to the ordinal of Edward VI.; John, suffragan of Thetford, and Bale, bishop of Ossory, in Ireland (Rymer, xv. 549). By some means with which we are unacquainted, Kitchen, Bale, and the suffragan of Thetford contrived to be excused; and the duty having thus devolved on the remaining four, they first (Dec. 9) confirmed the election of the new primate, and then (Dec. 17) proceeded to consecrate him, after the form prescribed in the reign of Edward. Three days later, Parker, now archbishop, confirmed the election of two of his own consecrators, Barlowe and Scory, who were appointed to the sees of Chichester and Hereford; and then, with their assistance, hastened to confirm and consecrate the several prelates who had been selected to fill the other bishoprics. As this consecration of the primate still continues to be a subject of controversy, the reader will not, perhaps, be displeased to see Dodd's summary of the arguments employed by each party, in support of their different views. They will be found in the Appendix, No. XLII.—T.]

of their dignities and revenues. The reader will meet with one, at the end of this volume, whereby it will appear, in how different a manner the change was embraced in this reign, to what it was in the two former of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.¹ It cannot be denied, but that there was a surprising complaisance and tameness, among the ecclesiastics, under those two princes. The generality of them submitted to the will of an arbitrary and tyrannical king: but, as they were under a continual restraint, and the conveniences of life were an over-balance to futurity, it was rather a corruption in morals, than an error in faith, that occasioned their defection. That this was their case, appears from several circumstances, which attended the change, viz. the unwillingness they showed in complying; the ambiguous title of head of the church; the speedy return of most of the bishops in the succeeding reign of Edward VI.; while the inferior clergy, for the most part, were vicars of Bray, conforming more for bread, than out of principle. But what chiefly demonstrated the disposition of the nation, was the general profession of the catholic religion, when queen Mary ascended the throne. There was, indeed, an inconsiderable number of the reformers, who dissented during her reign, and, going abroad, settled at Strasburg, Frankfort, Geneva, Zurich, &c. But then, as to the number of those that opposed the reformation, the first of queen Elizabeth, according to the calculation of Camden and Heylin, there were fourteen bishops, twelve deans, twelve archdeacons, six abbots and abbesses, fifteen heads of houses of the universities, fifty prebendaries, and eighty rectors;² which, they say, was a very small number, when compared with the whole body of ecclesiastics. “But then, we are to know withal, that many who were cordially affected to the interest of the church of Rome, dispensed with themselves in these outward conformities, which some of

¹ See Appendix, No. XLIV.

² Camd. 47; Heylin, 287. [Collier adds three bishops elect, and “about twenty doctors in several faculties.” He also computes the archdeacons at fourteen, the prebendaries at sixty, and the rectors at one hundred. ii. 431.—*T.*]

them are said to do, upon a hope of seeing the like revolution by the death of the queen, as had before happened by the death of king Edward.”¹ And “it was strongly 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.”² It is not to be doubted, but that the reformation, set on foot by queen Elizabeth, was contrary to the inclinations of all the governing part of the clergy, or, at least, of a great majority; and that they protested against it. The bishops were all deprived, and imprisoned, on that account. The convocation met, as the reader has seen, and subscribed to a profession of faith, directly contrary to the reformed doctrine. Great numbers of the most eminent clergymen went abroad; and there was scarce any university, either in Flanders, France, or Italy, but one or more might be found in them, besides others, that were entertained as professors of divinity in foreign monasteries. A great many, indeed, still remained in England, and conformed for awhile, in hopes that the queen would relent, and things come about again. But their hopes vanishing, they forsook their benefices, and followed their countrymen over seas. There was not a province through all England, where several of queen Mary’s clergy did not reside, and were commonly called the old priests. They served as chaplains in private families. Their names and places of residence I have frequently met with, in the manuscripts I perused in composing this work. Again, several catholic clergymen found such friends, as to be permitted to enjoy sinecures, without being disturbed by oaths and other injunctions.

This non-compliance of so many of the clergy left the reformers unprovided with teachers, and persons proper for that function; in so much that Collier says, “that, upon the catholic clergy throwing up their preferment, the necessities of the church required the admitting of

¹ Heylin, 287.

² Echard, i. 794.

some mechanics into orders.”¹ The strength of the party, that opposed the reformation, appears still more from the account which the protestant writers give of the desertion, that happened in our universities, and scarcity of persons sufficiently qualified to instruct the people. “It must be known,” saith Anthony Wood, “that, in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the university of Oxford was so empty, after the catholics had left it, upon the alteration of religion, that there was very seldom a sermon preached in the university church called St. Mary.” And, in another place, he adds, “there was not one then [an. 1564] in that society [of Merton college], that could, or would, preach any public sermon in the college turn; such was the scarcity of theologians, not only in that house, but generally throughout the university.”² The same Oxford historian also gives us several particulars of this grand defection. He names twenty-two persons of note, ejected out of New college only; seven out of St. John’s college; and great numbers out of the colleges of St. Mary Magdalen, Lincoln, and Trinity; so that the university seemed to be entirely destroyed. He tells us, moreover, that the persons left were few, and so illiterate, that an order came out for every one to con over the bible, and lessons, being unable to read them distinctly otherwise: that a like order came out for liberty to make use of the common-prayer in the Latin tongue, there being some danger of losing that language in the university: and that Thomas Sampson, and Dr. Humphrey, and perhaps a third, named Andrew Kingsmill, were the only persons that could preach with any reputation. Now these preachers being all puritans, they filled the university with Calvinistical notions.³ This

¹ Collier, ii. 465. [See also Strype, Annal. i. 178, 179. Among other schemes adopted in consequence of this defection, it was proposed, in some instances, to unite several churches, and thus to carry on the duties of religion with a smaller number of clergy. See a letter on this subject, from the bishop of Winchester to Cecil, in the Appendix, No. XLV.—T.]

² Wood, Athen. Oxon. i. 161, 429.

³ Antiq. Oxon. 283, 284, 285. [He adds, that, after Sampson’s departure, Humphrey was frequently absent, that sermons of the most ridiculous kind were

desolate condition of Oxford is, in like manner, taken notice of by Jewel, Parker, and others. "Our universities," saith Jewel, "are in a most lamentable condition : * * * there are not above two in Oxford of our sentiments."¹ Archbishop Parker tells the queen, "there were not two men able or willing to read the lady Margaret's lecture; and, though they had a great many preachers, yet he was afraid several of them were but slenderly furnished for that employment."² It appears from these accounts, that, whatever these might be as to the number in the whole, most of the clergy of character, upon account either of morals or of learning, stood firm in the belief of the old religion.³

But, to leave this point, as being sufficiently attested, I will proceed, and let the reader know in what manner the episcopal sees were reformed, upon the ejection of the old incumbents. There is no need to observe, that liberty and gain were not the least things, the reformers had in view. The latter appeared visibly upon the present occasion. Those, that have computed the time from the deprivation of the old bishops, till the admission of the new, have informed us, that the interval was a plentiful harvest for plundering the church. For, by this opportunity, the queen and her managers kept the revenues in their hands, some a year, some a year and a half, and some almost two years. The pretence was, the queen had been empowered, by act of parliament, to exchange several parsonages improper for manors belonging to the episcopal sees;⁴ by which means, she

constantly delivered, and that, on one occasion, no preacher making his appearance, Richard Taverner, the high sheriff of the county, decorated in the ensigns of his office, ascended the pulpit of St. Mary's church, and addressed his audience in a discourse, which thus commenced. "Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's, in the stony stage (the pulpit was of stone), where I now stand, I have brought you some biscuits, baked in the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation." Ibid.—*T.*]

¹ [Apud Collier, ii. 432. Jewel's letter, however, is dated May 22, 1559, some months before the deprivation or removal of the catholic members.—*T.*]

² Collier, ii. 527.

³ [For an instance of the unwillingness, with which the people generally embraced the new doctrines, see a letter in the Appendix, No. XLVI.—*T.*]

⁴ Stat. of Realm, iv. 381; Collier ii. 422, 423.

drew great advantages from the equivalent, which was not so nicely proportioned, but the church became a considerable loser by the exchange : and the whole affair being chiefly by the management of lay-commissioners, they did not forget themselves upon so favourable an occasion. “ If this usage had been practised upon the queen’s wards as they fell ; had there been a bill brought in, to give the crown most of the manors of the temporal lords, when they happened to die, and leave their heir a minor ; had such a bill been brought in, we need not question its having been thrown out at the first reading. For why should a minor be ousted of his inheritance, without any faults of his ancestors, or his own ? If, when he sued out his livery, the best part of his estate had been detained ; if he had been forced upon an unequivalent exchange, and had nothing but a poor remainder of his birth-right left him ; had this been the point, the question is, whether he would not have thought the crown had over-rated the trouble of being a guardian, and taken too much for protection ? To tell him his estate is legally conveyed away, and his right transferred by act of parliament, would scarcely make him easy. Such an answer gives little relief. It only clinches the misfortune, and leaves the man without remedy. And therefore, peradventure, his thoughts might be so mutinous, as to fancy he had hard measure. * * * As to the parallel, I shall only observe that the patrimony of the church is settled upon succession, and has the force of the strongest entail. Not to mention that the holy revenues were given, to maintain the honour and interest of religion, and are vested, as it were, in the divine majesty. To which may be added, that the queen had lately sworn to maintain the rights of the church, at her coronation. It may be observed farther, that one remarkable consideration for granting the monasteries to king Henry VIII. was not thought necessary to this bill. For the 31st of Henry VIII. c. 13, sets forth in the preamble, that the religious houses had been freely surrendered into the king’s hands, without any manner of force, coaction, or compulsion. But here no such

voluntary surrender is alleged. On the contrary, the bishops declared their dislike of such an exchange, remonstrated loudly against the bill, and charged the alienation with no less than sacrilege."¹

This pillaging of bishoprics was a finishing stroke. Upon which occasion, we may observe how gradually the reformers proceeded, in their attacks against the church of Rome, and, in many respects, against religion in general. Henry VIII. (who began the attack with reviving the old controversy between England and Rome, concerning appeals in matters of discipline) lays claim to an independency, even in matters of faith; and the see of Rome is deprived of all those perquisites and allowances, which were judged convenient towards supporting the dignity of him, who was supreme pastor of God's church, viz. annates, peter-pence, and other benevolences, which the monarchs of England had ever bestowed upon the holy see, for the purpose mentioned. Then, having banished the pope's authority, he falls upon his own clergy at home, and declares himself to be the fountain of all their power and jurisdiction, both temporal and spiritual; and that all their synodical sanctions and decrees, concerning errors, abuses, &c., were void, and of no account, without his concurrence and approbation. By this step, the church was swallowed up in the state, and the whole affair of religion placed upon the same foot with trade and manufactures. Afterwards, by seizure of the abbey-lands, impropriated tithes, colleges, hospitals, chapels, &c., he drove his supposed enemies from their encampment, and deprived them of subsistence. Edward VI. still made farther advances. Besides completing the work his father had left unfinished, as to the seizure of colleges, hospitals, &c., he strips all the cathedrals and parochial churches of their plate, and rich ornaments; orders a new liturgy, and new articles of religion to be drawn up, which was never heard of or practised in the nation; and, that the clergy might be rendered incapable of ob-

¹ Collier, ii. 423, 424, 437.



structing the designs of the court, as his father had deprived the bishops of their power, so he enslaves their persons, and obliges them to hold their sees, only *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. And now, lastly, queen Elizabeth pursues this noble scheme of reforming, by depriving the bishoprics of many of their fairest manors, upon the pretence of allowing an equivalent out of impropriated tithes; a method both then, and ever since, complained of by their own clergy. For, besides the ancient claim the church had to tithes, “the mischief that has accrued to the church of England by appropriations, and the scandal (says Dr. Nicholson) of our reformation in continuing the sacrilege by our many impropriated tithes at this day, is well treated of by William Kennet, and several other learned writers of the protestant party.”¹ I cannot tell whether the supreme governing party, from 1641 to 1660, may be honoured with the title of reformers. If so, they finished Henry VIII.’s project very completely, by seizing the lands belonging to bishops, deans, chapters, &c., and might have clinched the whole affair of reforming, if, in imitation of their brethren, in Holland and other places, they had stripped the parochial clergy of all their tithes, and only allowed them a subsistence, by way of contribution. This would have been an effectual way of taming the ecclesiastical body, made them wholly dependent, and susceptible of any impression. It would then be in their choice, either to starve, or to embrace any creed, which the civil power would be pleased to impose upon them. I may, perhaps, mistake the intention of the lay-reformers; but I am confident, I have not misreported matter of fact. I have only epitomized the account given by their own authors; and leave the reader to judge, whether the comment be suitable to their intentions.²

¹ Nicholson’s English Historical Library, 169. See also Kennet’s Parochial Antiquities (433), and Sir H. Spelman’s three treatises, “De non temerandis ecclesiis,” On Tithes, and The History and Fall of Sacrilege.

² [Besides the two acts for exchanging bishops’ lands, and restoring to the crown the tenths and first fruits surrendered by Mary, a third, for conveying to the queen all the lands and possessions of the religious houses founded by her sister, was passed. D’Ewes, 35; Heylin, 280.—T.]

The queen having carried things on thus far, the catholics began to think their cause was irretrievable. However, some endeavours were made by the see of Rome, to be more satisfied of the truth of those reports, which were daily brought from England. At least, his holiness, as the common father of the church, thought it his duty to give her majesty a proper admonition. He, who then sat in St. Peter's chair, was Pius IV., a prelate of great worth, and one who was naturally disposed to oblige her majesty, as well as the whole English nation. Wherefore, about May 1560, he sent his nuncio as ¹⁵⁶⁰ far as Flanders, with orders to pass over into Eng-^{MAY}land, and exhort the queen to return back into the ^{5.} bosom of the Catholic church. And, the more to engage her, the person sent was Vincentius Parpalia, one she had formerly been acquainted with in England, in her sister's reign. This design being imparted to the queen and council, they entered into a consultation about it, whether it would be proper to admit of the visit; and the negative being resolved upon, the nuncio proceeded no farther than Calais. Heylin and Burnet are positive (but without mentioning the channel of their intelligence) that Parpalia had in commission to assure the queen, that his holiness would confirm the common-prayer book, allow of communion in both kinds, and declare her legitimacy, in case she would relax as to other pretensions. But Camden, better informed, tells us, this was only a report spread among the people.¹ In the year 1561, the said pope Pius IV. "renewed ¹⁵⁶¹ his attempt to gain the queen, gave her an invita-¹⁵⁶¹tion, with other Protestant princes, to the council of Trent, and dispatched abbot Martinengo into England, with letters of a very smooth contents. Amongst other things, he acquainted her, that, if she would please to send either bishops or ambassadors to the council, he

¹ Heylin, 303; Burnet, ii. 387; Camd. 72, 73; Strype, Annal. i. 227, 228. [Fuller, speaking of this report, says that it originated with "some who love to feign what they cannot find, that they may never appear to be at a loss" (b. ix. 69). The letter addressed by the pontiff to Elizabeth, on this occasion, will be found in the Appendix, No. XLVII.—T.]

did not question giving them such satisfaction as might open the way to a farther accommodation." But this messenger also was refused entrance.¹

All hopes, therefore, of an accommodation being precluded, several of the reformers, in imitation of their predecessors in Edward VI.'s reign, began to demonstrate their zeal against the poor remains of the old religion, in a very irreligious and unhuman manner. "They defaced all such images of Christ and his apostles, all paintings, which represented any history of the holy bible, as they found in any windows of their churches or chapels. They proceeded also to the breaking down of all coats of arms, to the tearing off of all the brasses on the tombs and monuments of the dead, in which the figures of themselves, their wives or children, their ancestors, or their arms, had been reserved to posterity. And being given to understand, that bells had been baptized in the times of Popery, and that even the churches themselves had been abused to superstition and idolatry, their zeal transported them in fine to sell the bells, to turn the steeples into dovecotes, and to rob the churches of those sheets of lead, with which they were covered."²

¹⁵⁶⁰ 'Tis true, a proclamation soon after came out, to
SEPT. put a stop to these mobbish doings: neither is it

^{19.} like good reasoning, to charge any church, or government, with such kind of proceedings. But, when persons of the first figure and character mingle themselves with the crowd, when bishops, deans, &c., are found to be deeply concerned, the reformation wants an eloquent apologist to wipe off the aspersion, and reconcile such instances of zeal with the spirit of religion. Besides, I don't find, but that the queen was of a different opinion from her bishops and clergy, as well in these pillagings, as in other points relating to doctrine and discipline; whereof I might produce several in-

¹ Collier, ii. 474; and Strype, Annal. i. 112. See Appendix, No. XLVIII.

² Heylin, 306. [The proclamation, issued by Elizabeth against these excesses, is in Fuller, b. ix. 66; and Wilkins, iv. 221.—T.]

stances. Particularly, in her private chapel, “the altar [was] furnished with rich plate, two fair gilt candlesticks with tapers in them, and a massy crucifix of silver in the midst thereof: which last remained there for some years, till it was broken in pieces by Patch, the fool (no wiser man daring to undertake such a desperate service), at the solicitation of Sir Francis Knolles, the queen’s near kinsman by the Cary’s.” Again, “when one of her chaplains (Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul’s) had spoke less reverently, in a sermon preached before her, of the sign of the cross, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and to return unto his text.”¹ Upon several other occasions she showed “she had honourable sentiments of the use of the cross, of the blessed virgin, and other saints; and never mentioned them without regard, and reverence.”² In fine, she was so fixed in this practice, that all Parker’s “learning and zeal could not persuade her to part with the crucifix and lighted tapers in her own closet. She thought, ’tis likely, that the arguing against the use, from the abuse, was short of an exact reasoning.”³ But then, as to another point of discipline, which regarded her clergy, she had no opinion either of their method, or conduct. She did not well approve of married bishops, and was far from being pleased with the behaviour of her new clergy; which she signified, when, in the year 1561, she went a progress into Essex and Suffolk. “It seems the figure and behaviour of the clergy did not please her: she did not find them everywhere so conformable in their habit, so perfect in their office, nor so discreet in their management, as she expected. She was particularly disconcerted, at seeing their wives in cathedrals and colleges. She issued out an order, therefore, to forbid all heads, and members of any college, or cathedral church, within the realm, having their wives, or any other woman within the precinct of such places. The penalty was forfeiting all ecclesiastical pro-

¹ Heylin, 296.² Collier, ii. 412.³ Collier, ii. 435.

motions belonging to any cathedral, or collegiate church. Secretary Cecil sent this unacceptable order to archbishop Parker. And, to explain himself the better to Parker's satisfaction, he told him, in a letter, that the queen stood strongly disaffected to matrimony in the clergy: that, had it not been for something of carriage and dexterity in himself, she had absolutely forbidden churchmen that state: that he was glad to compound with her majesty, and propose this expedient, to prevent her going farther." Parker, as it appears by his answer to Cecil, was not able to digest this regulation. It surprised him so much, that "it is plain, the archbishop was apprehensive, the queen had some intentions of returning popery upon them." He particularly took notice to Cecil, that he understood, she had threatened the clergy with other injunctions, no less detrimental to the cause of the reformation; but she would find a strong party, that would oppose her. As for his own particular, he said, he had created himself enemies on all sides; he was at a stand, how to proceed, and wished himself out of the world.¹

The reformation being advanced thus far, the managers were still at a loss, upon two accounts. The acts already passed had sufficiently incapacitated those of the old religion: but still a remedy was wanting, to unite the reformers amongst themselves, and to protect this new church against the clamours of a turbulent party, who pushed at a farther reformation. The bible alone

¹ Collier, ii. 472, 473. [Strype's Parker, 106—109. In connexion with the subject of Elizabeth's aversion to a married clergy, sir John Harrington, who was her godson, recounts the following anecdote:—"But now, though this archbishop (Parker) dissembled not his marriage, yet queen Elizabeth would not dissemble her dislike of it: for, whereas it pleased her often to come to his house, in respect of her favour to him that had been her mother's chaplain, being once above the rest greatly feasted, at her parting from thence, the archbishop and his wife being together, she gave him very special thanks, with gracious and honourable terms, and then looking on his wife, 'and you,' saith she,—'Madam I may not call you, and *Mistress* I am ashamed to call you; so I know not what to call you,—but yet I do thank you'" (Nugæ Antiquæ, ii. 16). As the subject may be interesting to those, who are accustomed to condemn the celibacy of the catholic clergy, I will subjoin Elizabeth's injunction, together with a letter from sir John Mason to Cecil, written only two days later. They will be found in the Appendix, No. XLIX.—T.]

did not answer their ends in procuring an unity; since every man was at liberty to give it a turn in favour of his own humour and whimsies, and several divines of figure, who had been documented at Geneva, in Edward VI.'s reign, daily exhibited complaints against their ceremonies and church economy. To guard themselves against inconveniences, it was thought proper¹⁵⁶³ to have certain articles drawn up, to be a standard of doctrine; and that all persons, who enjoyed ecclesiastical preferments, should be obliged to subscribe and assent to them. Several injunctions were likewise published relating to ceremonies and outward practices. To this purpose, a convocation met at St. Paul's, London, January 12, 1563, when the famous thirty-nine articles were proposed and approved of. They were published, says Heylin, partly that the reformers might "have a constant rule among themselves, by which all private persons were to frame their judgment."¹ This convoca-

¹ Heylin, 350. [With some omissions and improvements, they are, in reality, the same articles which had been drawn up, in the reign of Edward VI. The variations, as I have already intimated, may be seen in Burnet (ii. Rec. 190—200), Collier (ii. Rec. 75—80), and Heylin (351 to the end). The names of the subscribing members of the two houses are printed by Strype (Annal. i. 327, 328). Fuller, who honestly states both the nature and the object of the alterations in the new code, has left us an amusing sketch of the accommodating principles of the English reformers. "Some", he says, "have unjustly taxed the composers for too much favour, extended in their large expressions, clean through the contexture of these articles. * * * * * Children's clothes ought to be made of the biggest, because, afterwards, their bodies will grow up to their garments. Thus the articles of this English protestant church, in the infancy thereof, they thought good to draw up in general terms, foreseeing that posterity would grow up, to fill the same. I mean, these holy men did prudently prediscover that differences in judgments would unavoidably happen in the church, and were loth to unchurch any, and drive them off from an ecclesiastical communion, for such petty differences; which made them pen the articles in comprehensive words, to take in all, who, differing in the branches, meet in the root, of the same religion" (l. ix. 72). This, however, was not all. To the ignorant and the thoughtless the capacious generalities of the articles might afford an inviting retreat. But with others a different process was to be adopted. In their case, persecution was to effect what convenience had failed to accomplish; and the men, who had denounced, and, perhaps, endured, the cruelties of the last reign, were now the foremost to proclaim that very intolerance, which, when directed against themselves, they had so loudly and so justly condemned. Strype has published a paper, corrected, if not written, by archbishop Parker. It contains a summary of the matters to be discussed in the present convocation: and, having stated that "certain articles are to be set forth and authorized, as containing true doctrine", immediately proceeds

tion also took into consideration the present discipline of their church; wherein they not only met with opposition from some of the members, but were alarmed with a petition from the abovementioned Puritanical party. The petition was handed by no less a man than Dr. Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, and prolocutor, who also voted to have the contents complied with. These gentlemen, it seems, desired to be heard for a farther reformation; and particularly insisted, that several practices and ceremonies might be abolished, which darkened the light of the gospel, namely, baptism by women, the cross in baptism, kneeling at communion, festivals in honour of saints, copes, surplices, gowns, caps, &c.¹ The persons, who afterwards stood up for these amendments, were chiefly Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, ¹⁵⁶⁴ Pilkington, bishop of Durham, Sampson, dean of Christ-church, Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, Whittingham, dean of Durham, Humphreys, president of Magdalen College, and John Foxe, with a great many more of the inferior clergy. They were supported by the queen's great favourite, the earl of Leicester, who was always

to suggest "that whosoever shall preach, declare, write, or speak any thing in derogation, depraving, or despising of the said book (of articles), or any doctrine therein contained, and be thereof lawfully convicted before any ordinary, &c., he shall be ordered as in case of heresy; or else shall be punished as is appointed for those, that offend and speak against the book of common prayer, set forth in the first year of the queen's majesty's reign, that now is: that is to say, he shall, for the first offence, forfeit one hundred marks, for the second offence four hundred marks, and, for the third offence, all his goods and chattels, and shall suffer imprisonment during life" (Annal. i. 317, 318). This was instantly adopted by the lower house, and, with a blank for the punishment, transmitted to the upper. It was also accompanied with a second clause, proposing, that, "if any person should deny, directly or indirectly, publicly or privately, by writing or speaking, any article of doctrine contained in the said book, and be thereof lawfully convicted before any ordinary, and obstinately stand in the same, he should be ——" (Ibid. 341; Wilkins, iv. 241). The better feeling, or the prudence of the council, however, prevailed against the intolerance of the churchmen. The proposal was ultimately set aside; the Genevan reformers continued undisturbed; and the catholics were still left to be pursued only by the terrors of the act of supremacy. See Appendix, No. L.—T.]

¹ [The paper containing these demands was signed by thirty-two individuals, most of them exiles during the late reign. It was presented to the lower house, on the thirteenth of February, and, after a long and angry debate, was at length rejected by a majority of only one. The paper, together with the names of the subscribing parties, and the votes upon the division, may be seen in Strype, Annal. i. 335—339.—T.]

ready to ward off the blow, when they were threatened with the late injunctions and act of uniformity. So powerful a friend, and their number and character not being contemptible, by degrees encouraged them so far, as not only to neglect, but to despise, and utterly lay aside, several practices enjoined by the royal order. This happened in most of those parishes where the puritans were pastors; whereof there was no small number. In particular, they took down the altar steps; removed the communion table to the middle of the chancel; omitted the practice of godfathers, and use of the cross in baptism; and had no regard to the fast of Lent, or feasts in honour of the saints.¹ The queen, in the mean time, though she was displeased with their proceedings, yet was cautious in the execution of her injunctions; and the party offending was too formidable to be summoned to a general compliance. She contented herself with having her injunctions executed, now and then, in certain places; especially where the bishop of the diocese happened to be zealous for promoting the established discipline. The first remarkable attempt, that was made, was upon the clergy of the diocese of London, about the year 1566; when, being summoned to submit to the royal injunctions and act of uniformity, nine or ten of them refused to appear, sixty-one promised to conform, and thirty-seven peremptorily refused to submit.² After-

¹ [For an account of the transactions, here alluded to, see Strype's Parker, 151—173, and Append. 36—59; or Collier, ii. 493—504. The principal part of the controversy turned on the subject of the clerical habit; the English divines defending the use of the surplice, tippet, and square cap, and those of Geneva opposing it.—*T.*]

² [Strype's Parker, 215; Strype's Grindal, 104; Collier, ii. 506. Before this, however, Humphrey and Sampson had been summoned before the ecclesiastical commissioners, and, on their refusal to adopt the habit prescribed in the injunctions, had been committed to prison. Sampson, at the special desire of the queen, was deprived: but Humphrey, after a short confinement in London, seems to have been restored to his presidency of Magdalen college, where, at the end of some years, he was at length induced to conform (Strype's Parker, 184, 185). I may add, that Mr. Soames has described the proceedings against the London clergy, in two separate places, and as two distinct transactions (Eliz. Relig. Hist. 46—48, and 61, 62). A slight attention to his authority, Strype, will shew that the old historian and biographer is speaking but of one event.—*T.*]

wards, the reformers broke into parties, and, by degrees, into separate congregations; which the wisdom of the nation could never yet put a stop to. So hard a matter it is, to unite those, that are separated from the centre of ecclesiastical union.

The methods Queen Elizabeth made use of, afterwards, to secure the reformation in general, were altogether politic; and very often stood in need of an able apologist. The story of her life gives an account, that she was provided with a set of ministers, whose families being raised and enriched by the plunder of church lands, they had an immediate interest in supporting her, to carry on the quarrel with the see of Rome: that these ministers, being as remarkable for their want of religion, as they were famed for politics, stuck at nothing to carry their point, and not only risked their own private reputation, but frequently exposed the nation's, and their mistress's honour, to become masters of their project. They put her upon fomenting dissensions and civil wars in Scotland, France, and the Low Countries, that Catholic powers, having their hands full at home, might not turn their thoughts towards supporting the interest of the old religion in England.¹ Upon the same view, she amused several Catholic princes with treaties of marriage, who were willing to overlook the common cause of religion, upon the prospect of so advantageous an alliance. From hence, she proceeded to secure the reformation by the strong barrier of penal and sanguinary laws; making it capital, to be ordained, and to exercise spiritual functions after the ancient manner, as also to be concerned in reconciling, or to be reconciled, to the faith of our ancestors. Several plots and contrivances were made use of, to draw some desperate persons into a snare. These plots were fomented by emissaries of the ministry, who pretended to be of the party, and, being pardoned for making a discovery, the other poor wretches were sacrificed: and, what was chiefly intended by such practices, the whole body of Catholics

¹ See page 123, note ¹, ante.

became odious. It was a plausible pretence to draw money from them, and keep alive the aversion; the common people had conceived against the see of Rome. Lastly, to provide for the future state of the reformation, they laid the axe to the root; and, to the scandal and astonishment of all the nations in Europe, contrived to have Mary, queen of Scots, brought to the block; who being a zealous Catholic, and next heir to the crown, her life was judged to be inconsistent with the well-being of the reformation.

ARTICLE III.

COLLEGES FOUNDED ABROAD.—RELIGIOUS HOUSES DISSOLVED—THE CARTHUSIANS—THEY SETTLE AT NIEUPORT—THE NUNS OF SION—THEIR WANDERINGS—THEY ARE ESTABLISHED AT ROUEN—POLITICAL DEALINGS OF THEIR CONFESSOR—THEY ARE COMPELLED TO QUIT FRANCE—AND RETIRE TO LISBON—ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH COLLEGES ABROAD—FOUNDATION OF DOUAY COLLEGE—IT IS REMOVED TO RHEMES—ALLEN INVITED TO RETURN—BUT DECLINES THE OFFER—THE COLLEGE FLOURISHES—FOUNDATION OF THE ENGLISH COLLEGE IN ROME—ENGLISH HOSPITAL—BULL TRANSFERRING ITS PROPERTY TO THE COLLEGE—DISSENSION BETWEEN THE STUDENTS AND THE PRESIDENT—APPOINTMENT OF A JESUIT RECTOR—MEMBERS OF THE HOSPITAL REFUSE TO SURRENDER THEIR PROPERTY—HOSPITAL AND COLLEGE UNITED—BULL OF FOUNDATION PUBLISHED—OTHER COLLEGES—VALLADOLID—SEVILLE—ST. OMERS—ALLEN'S VINDICATION OF THE SEMINARIES—BENEDICTINE CONVENT AT BRUSSELS.

It has formerly been observed, that, during the reign of queen Mary, care was taken to collect together some of both sexes, who had made religious vows, and survived the disasters of the two foregoing reigns. Particularly, the Benedictines, Carthusians, Brigettins, and Franciscans had formed themselves into small communities, and taken up their residence at Westminster, Sheen, Sion-house, Greenwich, &c.; but now, upon queen Elizabeth's restoring the reformation, they were obliged to break up, quit their habitations, and submit to the same fate with the bishops and clergy, who refused to comply with the court measures. Some of them were cantoned abroad, in convents belonging to their order; others found means to subsist together in community. In the first place, the Carthusians, when driven from Sheen, retired to Bruges, under the conduct of their prior, Maurice Chauncey. Here they lived in great peace, till the tumults were raised by the Huguenots in Flanders: but, soon after, the mob having pillaged many churches and religious houses, and committed unheard-of barbarities at Antwerp, and other places, the same disaster befel Bruges, in 1578; and the English Carthusians were obliged to leave the town. They were permitted to take with them those few effects

they had saved from the plunderers ; and directed their course towards Douay, as hoping it would be a secure place of refuge. But, to their great disappointment, they found Douay under the same confusion ; and a rumour was spread among the inhabitants, by the Huguenots' contrivance, that the English had a design upon the town. Thus, by an order from the governor and magistrates, after two hours allowed them for refreshment, they were obliged to depart. This happened in May, 1578. They attempted afterwards to settle in the French dominions : but things not answering, they took up their residence at Louvain ; till, the disturbances at Bruges being appeased, they were invited to return thither. Meantime, a more convenient house being purchased and prepared for them at Nieuport, they disposed of what they had at Bruges, and settled at Nieuport, where they still remain, supported by an annual pension, charged by the crown of Spain on certain estates in the Netherlands.¹

The Brigettin nuns having obtained a safe conduct from the queen, by the means of the duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, twenty nuns, with their abbess, Catherine Palmer, transplanted themselves into Zealand, where they remained a while, with their confessor, father Hugh Hubert. But, finding the situation to be very unwholesome, and exposed to pirates, they removed to a place of better conveniences, near Antwerp, wherein they were assisted by Dr. Sanders. They resided there in 1571, and some time after. Their next removal was into Normandy, where they remained only, as it were, in their passage towards Lisbon, where they met with great civilities, through the duke of Feria's interest.²

¹ MS. Records of the Carthusians at Nieuport ; Bibl. Carth. 245, 246. [I have transferred most of this passage from the life of Chauncey. The Spanish pension amounted to twelve hundred florins per annum, and was originally granted about the year 1566 (Worthington, Catal. Mart. 6, 7).—Perhaps it is worth remarking, that Dodd himself once had a notion of joining this community. It was in the house at Nieuport, in fact, that he wrote his book entitled "The secret policy of the English Jesuits". Letter from Dr. Witham to Mayes, March 4, 1716. Original in my hands.—*T.*]

² Sanders, *De Visib. Monarch.* 686 ; *Bridgewater, Concert. Eccles.* 405^b ; *Diary of Douay College.* [This house also enjoyed a pension from the Spanish

This religious family still flourishes in the aforesaid city. These are the only two religious orders that have continued their succession: others were incorporated into respective foreign communities, where they waited the time of divine providence, to form themselves into separate and independent bodies.

Meantime, the catholic clergy, that lived in exile, were contriving how to perpetuate their succession,

crown of twelve hundred florins per annum, granted at the same time, as that to the Carthusians (Worthington, Catal. Mart. 6, 7).—It is necessary to add, that Dodd's account of the migrations of the community is by no means accurate. On leaving England, in 1559, the sisters first retired to their old asylum, at Dermond, where, in a portion of the monastery, assigned to their separate accommodation, they continued, for about four years, to follow the regulations of their institute. It was in 1563, that they removed to a house, bestowed on them by the duchess of Parma, in Ziric-Zee, the capital of Zealand: but the unwholesomeness of the situation soon admonished them to seek another retreat; and, in 1567, through the instrumentality of Dr. Sanders, they purchased a new residence, called Mesaghan, about nine miles from Antwerp. Here they remained nearly five years. The annoyances, however, to which they were exposed, at length drove them into the city: thence, after a few months, they removed to Mechlin; but this town having been taken by the prince of Orange, during the wars in Flanders, they were compelled, at the end of seven years, to seek an asylum elsewhere. After a short deliberation, they resolved to proceed to Rouen, where, in fact, they arrived some time during the year 1580. By the inhabitants they were hospitably received. The liberality of the duke of Mayenne provided them with a house, that of the citizens enabled them to erect a church: an allowance was voted to them by the parliament, in addition to the pension which they already received from Spain; and, for fourteen years, the sisters believed that the term of their wanderings had expired. But the establishment of Henry IV. on the throne of France was the signal for another removal. Imbued with the doctrines of the time, Foster, the confessor of the nuns, had worked himself into the belief, that, to obey an heretical prince, was to betray the cause of religion. This opinion he had publicly avowed: he had declared that both himself and the community would rather quit the country, than yield submission to Henry; and he had sedulously endeavoured, by his exhortations and his writings, to stimulate the resistance of the inhabitants to the rule of the new sovereign. These proceedings could scarcely fail to attach suspicion to the house, of which Foster was the acknowledged director. The parliament began by withdrawing the allowance, hitherto made for its support: it was apprehended that severer measures might speedily follow; and, to escape the danger, as well as to avoid what they deemed the crime of submission, the community at once resolved to retire to Lisbon. On Good-Friday, March 29, 1594, they left Rouen, and, on the following Monday, arrived at Havre. Five weeks, however, had elapsed, before they could obtain a vessel to convey them to Portugal. At length, a Flemish merchantman appeared in the harbour, and was engaged: on the fifth of May, they finally embarked; and, after a passage of fifteen days, landed safely in Lisbon.—These particulars are taken from a MS. belonging to the earl of Shrewsbury, entitled, "An Account of the Travels, dangers, &c. of the nuns of Sion, from their first leaving England to their settlement in Lisbon". The "Account" is written by a member of the house: the preface by Father Persons.—*T.*]

and supply their country with pastors, as the old Marian priests dropped off. He, that laid the first scheme that way, was William Allen, a divine of Oxford, and a dignity in queen Mary's reign; who, after a residence in Flanders of about two years, undertook a journey to Rome, in company with his old master, Morgan Philips, and Dr. John Vendeville, royal professor of the canon law in the university of Douay. An accidental discourse, they had upon the road, was the first rise of the English college at Douay, and, by degrees, of all the other colleges and communities, which have since furnished England with missionaries. Dr. Vendeville was mentioning a project for the relief of slaves out of Barbary; which gave Mr. Allen an opportunity to deplore the fate of his own country, which, in a little time, would fall into a much greater slavery, especially after the decease of the ancient non-conforming priests of queen Mary's reign; there being no prospect of successors, to preserve the poor remains of religion that had escaped the general defection; insinuating, at the same time, that it would be of singular service to the church, if some persons of zeal would employ their purse and labours in that way. Dr. Vendeville seemed to relish the proposal, which left a deep impression behind it, and ripened by degrees, till circumstances occurred to bring it to perfection. Some time after, Mr. Allen, being returned to Louvain, where he had previously resided, received an invitation from Dr. Vendeville to come over to Douay, and finish his academical degrees, with an assurance of being his friend and assistant upon all occasions. This invitation being willingly accepted of, Mr. Allen, now settled at Douay, had an opportunity of renewing the old project for continuing the succession of the catholic clergy in England; and frequent conferences being held upon the subject, he undertook the matter, in the year 1568. He invited the remains of Oxford and Cambridge, who hitherto had been scattered in several universities of France and Flanders, that, forming a small community, they might, by their joint labours, give a beginning to

the undertaking. They pitched upon the university of Douay for their place of residence, where Morgan Philips, formerly tutor to Mr. Allen, and provost of Oriel college, laid down the first sum of money towards purchasing a house; and the first persons, who put themselves under Mr. Allen's conduct, were Richard Bristowe, Edward Risdon, John Marshal, John White, Jeremy Collier, and Philip Raycoshan; the two last being Flemish divines, who were willing to employ their labour and interest in the undertaking. These were soon after followed by those eminent men, Stapleton, Webb, Baily, and others, who, being interrupted in their studies at home, came to complete their academical degrees in the university of Douay.

Dr. Vendeville, in the mean time, had recommended the design to all he thought would be inclinable to favour it.¹ He prevailed with the three rich monasteries of St. Vedastus, in Arras, Marchienne, and Anchienne, to contribute largely towards the establishment and support of the great number of priests and students that daily came in: while, in a little time, the college was so encreased, that the number of those, that depended upon it, amounted to near one hundred and fifty persons, whereof eight or nine were eminent doctors of divinity. But a maintenance by contributions being very precarious, and the occasion of much trouble to the managers, the president, Dr. Allen, was advised to make his application to the bishop of Rome for a farther supply. His undertaking had been already applauded by the holy see, and pope Pius V., by a kind letter, had encouraged him to go on: wherefore, upon the general hopes of success, he undertook a journey towards Italy, well recommended by a common letter from the university of Douay, and the joint concurrence of the neighbouring abbots. This journey was performed, an. 1575, the third year of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. His holiness being made acquainted with the state of the college, and foreseeing how strong a support it was likely to prove to the Catholic cause, gave

¹ See Appendix, No. LI.

orders that an allowance of 100 Roman crowns should be paid monthly, for its subsistence, out of the treasury of the holy see.¹ This was afterwards augmented to an annual pension of 2,000 crowns, which is continued to this day, and is the only certain revenue, whereby the college subsists, excepting a few small rents raised by good management, and some private benefactions, scarce to be mentioned as a part; they being very inconsiderable, and subject to so many casualties.

Before these matters were well completed, a storm was gathering, which now threatened this new establishment with utter ruin. Antwerp, as I have already had occasion to mention, had lately been pillaged by the populace, and several other towns underwent the same fate. The inhabitants of Douay, apprehending the like treatment, had their fears increased from so great a number of strangers, that resided among them: for, though the governor of the town, with the chief of the magistrates and university, were very well satisfied with the behaviour of the English, yet the common people could not be persuaded, but that several spies came over from England, upon the pretence of studying, that would take their opportunity to put the town in a combustion. Upon these surmises, the governor and rector of the university were obliged frequently to visit the college, and, at the same time, search for arms, taking a list of the names both of all the English in the college, and of those that sojourned in the town, with an oath to live quietly and peaceably. This quieted the populace for some time. But, upon every rumour of disturbances, that happened in any part of the Netherlands, the ma-

¹ See Appendix, No. LII. [Dr. Worthington thus mentions this grant. "Anno postea, 1575, cum in numerosum excrevisset collegium, et aliqui in Angliam jam missi essent sacerdotes, multique ad eandem messem præpararentur, summus et piissimus pontifex, Gregorius XIII., eâ de re universitatis Duacenæ et patrum societatis Jesu, *ibidem commorantium*, testimonio certior factus, vixque rogatus, menstruam concessit centum aureorum pensionem, quam postea aliis quinquaginta menstruis aureis auxit" (Catal. Mart. 5, 6).—Bartoli says that the grant was made at the special entreaty of Mercurianus, the general of the society. Lib. i. c. 10.—T.]

gistrates repeated their searching, and made the English very uneasy. They laboured under these difficulties, the greatest part of 1577; during which time, Dr. Allen was looking about, how to redeem his college from this perplexity. He proposed to the seniors of the house, whether it would not be convenient to remove to some other town. Louvain was the place they had in their eye: but this being a town exposed to the same inconveniences, they concluded to withdraw themselves out of the Spanish dominions. Accordingly, agents were dispatched to Rheims, where they were kindly received by the family of the Guises, who promised them a settlement and protection.

A rumour was now spread, that certain strangers, lately arrived in the town from England, had a design to assassinate Dr. Allen; upon which, he was advised to absent himself from the college, which he did for a while; taking that opportunity to prepare matters for their removal. About the beginning of 1578, upon the arrival of a new governor, care was taken betimes to inform him of what had passed, in relation to the English, and (not coming from a friendly hand) to make him jealous of their behaviour. This occasioned another visit, February 10, 1578. A list of their names was given up to him; their ages, abilities, how they subsisted, with several other particulars, were diligently inquired after. This scrutiny was made, not only in the college, but among all the English in the town, where there were a great many lodgers, and several whole families. This second attack frightened away a great many independent persons. Some ventured to return into England, from whence they had been lately driven; others went into the French dominions; and not a few towards Rome. The governor appeared satisfied with this last visit, and promised to use his endeavour, to lay the jealousy of the townsmen: but, though the rector of the university was disposed to assist the college, to his power, yet, upon a resolution taken some days before by the magistrates, he was obliged to acquaint them, February 19, that it would be prudence to thin the college, by sending away

about twenty of the students, and that a compliance was expected. The order appeared very unreasonable to the seniors of the college, considering the vast charges and inconveniences that attended it : wherefore they made a demur, and alleged their reasons, viz., that already the college had been searched, a list of names taken, and the usual oath of peace and good behaviour administered : that the students were unfit for arms, and incapable of giving any disturbance : that such a removal could not be made, without consulting his holiness and the king of Spain, by whose orders they had obtained an establishment : that no fact, tending towards sedition, had been alleged, much less made out, against them : that, in fine, it was the greatest hardship and injustice imaginable, to be sacrificed to the fears and jealousies of an unruly mob. Though these reasons prevailed upon the understandings of the magistrates, yet they did not tally with the circumstances the town lay under ; and, if oppressing a few poor exiles, who were not in a capacity of justifying themselves, either by force, or by law, would make things easy, they seemed willing to pursue the method, and remove the people's jealousies at any rate. Wherefore, March 12, 1578, they press the order, and insist upon having the number above-mentioned sent out of the town. On the other hand, the seniors of the college refuse to comply. Two days after, viz., March 14, the rector of the university acquainted Dr. Stapleton, Dr. Ely, Dr. Wright, Dr. Bristowe, and others, who managed the affairs in Dr. Allen's absence, with a fresh order from the magistrates, for all the English to leave the town, excepting priests, professors, women, children, and such as were incapable of bearing arms.¹ Soon after, there was a general meeting of the governor, magistrates, and rector, to which the English were also admitted. The governor spoke very much in favour of the college, alleging the insignificancy of their number, and their peaceful behaviour. The rector said several things to the same purpose. Upon

¹ See Appendix, No. LIII.

which, March 20, the year above-mentioned, it was agreed, that the English should remain in the town, provided they did not show themselves too publicly in the streets, which might continue the jealousy, the common people had conceived of them. But this resolution not being relished by the townsmen, the very next day, March 21, another order came from the magistrates, that all the English should leave the town in twenty-four hours, or should be compelled to it by force. The day following, March 22, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a beadle went through every street, publishing the order for their departure before five o'clock in the afternoon, the next day. Though this removal, as it was attended with such circumstances of reproach, was very disagreeable to the English, yet it was nothing, but what they expected in the main: for Dr. Allen, apprehending the fate of his college, had, for near a year before, been preparing for a removal. Dr. Webb, according to order, went out of the town immediately, with several professors and students. They arrived at Rheims, March 27, 1578. The rest followed by degrees, excepting two or three persons, that were permitted to remain in the house, which they kept possession of, for fifteen years, till the college returned again to Douay.¹

Many conjectures have been made, concerning the occasion of this little revolution; wherein our historians, being strangers to the affair, have very much deviated from truth, especially Mr. Camden, who tells us, that Requesens, governor of the Low Countries, had, at the intercession of Wilson, the English ambassador, removed the earl of Westmoreland, and other English, out of the Netherland provinces of the Spaniards, and had dissolved the English seminary at Douay.² So far as rumours and conjectures may contribute, Mr. Camden may be supported in the account he gives of Douay

¹ [They were recommended to the magistrates of Rheims by a letter from the cardinal Guise. See Appendix, No. LIV.—T.]

² Hearne's Camden, 296. [Camden is right only as regards the exiles. He is speaking, in fact, of what occurred in 1575; and the college was not dissolved till 1578. Requesens died in 1575 (Ibid. 299). See also Philopater, 75.—T.]

college. But fact is plainly against him, from the original records in my hands; which mention not the removal, as the effect of any agreement between Elizabeth and the court of Spain. Indeed, the report went, that the English agent did move for their removal; and not only for that, but for having Dr. Allen, and some others, delivered up to queen Elizabeth, by way of preliminaries to a treaty. But if this was proposed, it was not attended to, much less executed. Those, that have searched into the bottom of the affair, tell us, that all the disturbance was occasioned by the Huguenots, who, out of hatred to religion, or for the hopes of plunder, lay privately in the town, and instilled such notions into the common people, as if the English, that resided amongst them, were in the French interest, and had a design to deliver up the town.¹ This was the perplexed state of the poor English Catholics in exile; represented at home as traitors corresponding with Spain, and, by a strange inconsistency, combining with the French to betray the Spaniards. But in this they stand in need of no other justification, than what appeared from the circumstances of their removal from Douay. For both the governor and the magistrates, being fully satisfied of their innocence, gave them a certificate of their good behaviour at their departure; and by a common letter, dated November 15, 1578, invited them to return, even before they were half settled in Rheims. Dr. Allen seemed willing to accept of the invitation: but the pope advised him to wait for a better season, till the people had recollected themselves, and were convinced by ex-

¹ [That Elizabeth, however, was the real instigator of these proceedings, is positively asserted by Persons. "Cum, ante annos plus minus viginti quatuor, primum Anglorum catholicorum seminarium in civitate Duacensi, regionis Belgicæ, singulari Dei bonitate ac providentiâ ceptum fuisset, et eò confluisent non spernanda juventutis Anglicanæ multitudo, ut catholicè instituerentur (quod quidem domi non licebat), regina, graviter rem accipiens, primum ut à se transfugas, et Hispaniarum regi addictos, deinde etiam ut Hispanicæ factionis ac nominis complices, apud omnes accusabat: eoque nomine, non longè post, tumultuante jam universo ferè populo Belgico, è civitate Duacensi ejiciendos curavit; idque per ipsam plebem catholicam, falsissimis reginæ criminationibus deceptam, quasi aliquid secretioris commercii inter Hispanos, religionem catholicam propugnantes, et Anglos, ejusdem religionis causâ exulantes, necesse fuisset intervenire." Philopater, 65, 66.—T.]

perience as well of the injustice done, as of the damage, they themselves sustained by such rash proceedings.¹

I must now follow the college to Rheims. The university was very well pleased with the addition of so many learned men: but here again the president was alarmed by an attempt from England; for queen Elizabeth, imagining that it was by the queen of Scots' interest (then a prisoner in England) with the Guisian family, that the exiles met with so kind a reception at Rheims, questioned her about it, and used some means, by her ambassador at Paris, to put a stop to their settlement.² But her design proved ineffectual; and, in a little time, the college flourished so much, that the diary gives an account of two hundred persons entertained either within the house, or in lodgings depending upon it.³ Yet this increase was attended with great inconveniences, especially as to subsisting; the pension from Rome not answering their expenses. However, they rubbed on for a while by the generosity of the house of Guise, and through the intercession of Mary, queen of

¹ [The Rheims Diary for 1579 and 1580, a MS. belonging to the Dean and Chapter, thus mentions this subject. "In superiore narratione nostrâ, illud erat postremum, quòd Duaceni magistratus, catholicissimi viri, suis nos literis vehementer revocarunt, et quòd cæpimus jam tum cogitare de reditu. Nunc autem sequentis relationis hujus hoc erit initium, Deo. Opt. Max., et, post illum, sanctissimo domino nostro, vero patri ac parenti nostro, gratias agere quòd non redierimus. Cum enim nihil absque illo tentandum statueremus, dignata est sanctitas sua significare nobis non prius esse migrandum, quàm major esset securitas: ubi et incredibilem curam suam in nobis conservandis, et singularem prudentiam in futuris prospiciendis, facillè declaravit. Ecce enim annus jam est et amplius, cum nihil interim ibi tutum, propter excursantium hostium vicina quædam et munitissima præsidia: tum verò, hoc tempore, ita sublata est omnis securitatis expectatio, ut, hostibus quotidie invalescentibus, plurimi etiam cives Duaceni (nescio quibus insidiis) in eorum potestatem armati devenerint" (page 1). For the testimonial of the magistrates, and for a letter from Allen to Vendeville, declining another invitation, to settle at Louvain, see the Appendix, No. LV.—Perhaps I ought to add, that I have transferred this more detailed account of the foundation, and subsequent removal of Douay college, from the life of Cardinal Allen, where Dodd originally placed it. Dodd's principal authority is the Douay Diary, which, in his time, seems to have been perfect. At present, with the exception of the small Rhemish portion, to which I have just referred, and which evidently belongs to it, none of the entries previous to 1598 remain.—T.]

² Philopater, 66.

³ [Of the correctness of this we may judge from the fact, that, so early as the twenty-second of July, 1580, there were no less than one hundred and twelve convicts in the house, besides the members resident in the town, and indepen-

Scotland, who, though detained in prison, was not unmindful of the general cause of religion.¹

Soon after, a method was thought on, to ease the house of their charge, after another manner; which was, to erect a college at Rome, to the same end and purpose, and supply it with scholars from this at Rheims.²

dently of a large number of the Douay students, who were pursuing their philosophical course in the Jesuits' college, "quod hujus collegii quasi pedagogium philosophicum constituimus". In addition to this, the president, during the preceding fourteen months, had been able to send twenty-six students to the newly established college at Rome, and to dispatch thirty-five priests on the English mission. Six deacons, also, and three subdeacons, had been ordained within the same period; and the applications for admission, from persons of the best families, were daily encreasing. Rheims Diary, 1, 2, 3, 6.—*T.*]

¹ [It ought, however, to be mentioned that, early in 1580, an addition of fifty crowns a month was made by the Pope to his former pension (Rheims Diary, 2); and that, in January, 1582, he published a breve, strongly recommending the necessities of the college to the charity of the faithful (See Appendix, No. LVI.). The result of this appeal, coupled with the earnest solicitations of Allen and Persons, was the grant of an annual pension, from Philip the second of Spain, of two thousand crowns (Catal. Mart. 7). This, however, as well as a previous grant of sixteen hundred crowns for the relief of the exiles, was withdrawn after the removal of Dr. Worthington, in 1613. Douay Diary, i. 205, 232.—*T.*]

² [Dodd, following the received accounts, has dated the foundation of the English college at Rome from the suppression of the hospital, which he now proceeds to describe. This is an error. The attention of the pope, Gregory XIII., had long been turned to the situation of England. It was suggested to him by Dr. Owen Lewis, afterwards bishop of Cassano, that the erection of a seminary in the Roman capital, for the education of English clergymen, might be productive of the greatest good: and, accordingly, some houses in the vicinity of St. Peter's were opened, a body of exiles, already resident in the city, was admitted, and the superintendence of the establishment was placed in the hands of Dr. Maurice Clenock, who had just succeeded to the wardenship of the hospital. This must have been in 1578. Soon afterwards, however, the idea of providing for the permanency of the institution, by endowing it with the possessions of the hospital, was suggested: and, in the following year, the bull, which will be presently mentioned in the text, was drawn up. As this first foundation of the college is of much importance, I will subjoin the passage, from the Visitation, in which it is described.

"Questo santo papa (Gregorio XIII.), commiserando le deplorabili sciagure, frà le quali, per opera dell'eresia, gemeva la cattolica religione nel regno d'Inghilterra, giudicò, col parere di monsign. Odoueno, che, a conservare frà quei suddetti popoli intatti i semi della sana credenza, giovevole cosa sarebbe stato l'aprire in Roma un seminario di giovani di quella nazione. * * * * * Concepito dal cuore apostolico del sommo pastore il provido consiglio, si diede bentosto principio all'opera, con essere stati di suo ordine ricevuti in alcune case, nelle vicinanze de S. Pietro, quei giovani di quella lingua, che, dimoranti in Roma, si mostrarono pronti a secondare le sante idee del pio pontefice. Godeva, di quel tempo, la nazione Inglese il proprio spedale, . . . regolato dal custode che allora era il probò sacerdote, Maurizio Clenocco. Volle il S. padre che alla di lui direzione soggetti fossero i giovani prescelti", &c. (Act. Visit. 1738, 1739, art. i. MS. in the Eng. Coll. at Rome).—It is evident from all this,

There was in Rome a small community, called the English hospital, which had been built and endowed by the kings of our nation, in the time of the Saxon heptarchy, chiefly for the entertainment of pilgrims and travellers, who constantly visited that city out of devotion. It continued under this regulation, till the reign of king Henry VIII., when, the rupture happening between England and the see of Rome, several persons, both laymen and ecclesiastics, who fled out of England, were entertained there, as to lodging, diet, and other conveniences. In the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir Edward Carne, formerly agent at Rome for king Henry VIII., in the cause of the divorce, was made master, or custos, of the hospital; and, about the time that Dr. Allen removed his college from Douay to Rheims, it was in the possession of Dr. Thomas Goldwell, bishop of St. Asaph's, who, with about eight or nine of queen Mary's priests, and two or three lay persons, made up that community.¹ About the same time, pope Gregory XIII., at the

as well as from the bull afterwards published, that the college was originally established, not, as Dodd says, to relieve that at Rheims, but for the express purpose of providing additional supplies for the English mission.—*T.*]

¹ [In this account of the English hospital at Rome, Dodd has followed Polydore, Harpsfield, Spelman, and the other historians who have spoken of it: it is incorrect, however, in almost every particular. 1^o. The establishment, founded in the time of the heptarchy, was the Saxon school, or hospital, for Saxon pilgrims. It was erected by king Ina, in 727, and was situated beyond the Tiber. Having been twice burned, and frequently destroyed by the violence of war, it was at length abandoned. In 1204, Innocent III. transferred its revenues to the brethren attached to the church of Santa Maria in Saxia; and on its site was then raised the present Roman hospital of Santo Spirito (Bullar. tom. i. Const. 7, Innoc. III., and Southwell's original MS. in my possession).

2. The institution, or revival of the Jubilees, in 1300 and 1350, thronged Rome with visitors and pilgrims from every part of the Christian world. The English now felt the loss of their national hospital: to supply it, John Shepherd, a merchant of London, purchased several houses in the Via di Monserrato, in the vicinity of the Piazza Farnese, and, having converted them into an establishment for the reception of pilgrims and travellers, under the patronage of the Blessed Trinity and St. Thomas, became, with his wife, the first superintendent of the new institution (Original deeds in the Archives of the English College at Rome, marked "*Ospedale degli Inglesi, anno 1360, lib. 14, p. 81, and anno 1362, Cassetto delle Pergamene*"). This was about the year 1362: in 1396, another hospital, appropriated to the same purposes, was founded by John Whyte, Thomas Polton, afterwards bishop of Chichester, and others. It was dedicated to St. Edmund, and was situated near the church of San Crisogono in Trastevere: but, in 1464, it was united with the elder establishment in

instigation of Dr. Allen, but chiefly of Dr. Lewis, arch-deacon of Cambray, thought proper to make some alteration, as to the use of this house; which was, to make it a college for the education of English clergymen. And accordingly, afterwards, viz., 9 Calend. Maij, 1579, it obtained an establishment, by an express bull of pope Gregory XIII., his holiness adding very plentifully to the old rents, so that by computation the whole yearly revenue amounted to 1500*l.* sterling; a sufficient fund, as it was thought, for the maintaining of sixty persons.¹ Dr. Lewis, who had the chief management of

the Via di Monserrato (Lib. Hosp. S. Edm. 272, p. 77); and, for the next fifty years, the hospital of St. Thomas seems to have been regarded as an object of national importance. It was during the dispute between Henry VIII. and the Roman see, that it first began to decline. As the schism advanced, its resources gradually failed: the supplies, which it had hitherto received from England, ceased: the pilgrims that had frequented it no longer appeared; and, in 1538, almost all the resident members were dead. In that year, pope Paul III., anxious to preserve the hospital for the English nation, ordered the vacant places to be filled up, and committed the wardenship to cardinal Pole (*Ospedale degl' Inglesi*, anno 1538, Lib. iv. p. 370). Still the institution continued to languish. Even the restoration of religion under Mary failed to revive its fortunes: and, at the accession of Elizabeth, it had so far ceased to answer its original purposes, as to threaten a speedy dissolution. It was about this period (1559) that Sir Edward Carne was nominated warden: but, in the following year, the appointment was revoked: Carne, for some unknown cause, was expelled the hospital; and, at the end of a few years, died in Rome (*Ibid. Cassetto delle Pergam. No. VI.*). In 1561, Dr. Goldwell, bishop of St. Asaph's, became master. He was succeeded, in 1567, by Edward Taylor: Thomas Kirton and Henry Henshaw followed at different intervals; and, sometime in the year 1578, Maurice Clenock, the last warden, was appointed (*MS. in the Eng. Coll.*). Such was the situation of the English hospital, when the alteration, mentioned in the text, took place.—*T.*]

¹ [The bull will be found in the Appendix, No. LVII. It was dated April 23, 1579: but, for reasons which will appear in a subsequent note, was not published until the twenty-fourth of December, in the following year. The pontiff begins it, by stating the motives and object of the new foundation. He has remembered the claims of England on the attention of the holy see: he has seen its youths flying from persecution in their own country, to seek instruction in the Roman capital; and he has determined to assist them in their holy purpose, to provide for them the means of education, and thus to qualify them for the arduous and important duty of announcing the truths of religion to their deluded countrymen. With this view, therefore, he erects a college in the hospital of St. Thomas, wherein not less than fifty English students shall be constantly instructed in whatever may tend to fit them for the exercise of the sacred ministry. For their residence, he gives them the hospital and two contiguous houses, hitherto occupied by the chaplains, or brethren of that establishment; for their accommodation and support, the church of the Blessed Trinity and St. Thomas, an annual pension of six thousand crowns, and whatever property, in rents, houses, and other possessions, the members of the hospital have hitherto enjoyed. At the same time, he exempts them from the payment of all taxes,

this new establishment, procured considerable benefactions towards furniture and other conveniences, and contributed very largely out of his own substance.

Now, for the better management of this nursery, he employed two Jesuits, one as a procurator, the other as a prefect; who, being Italians, and well acquainted with the customs and language of the place, were, at that juncture, hugely necessary. But these, as well as the scholars, were under the direction of Dr. Maurice Clenock, bishop elect, in queen Mary's reign, who was appointed rector, or chief president, by the pope, or, more immediately, by the cardinal protector.¹ When Dr. Clenock had enjoyed this dignity about a year, he was obliged to surrender it to an Italian Jesuit, one father Paul, who became rector:² and, not long after, the sole government of the college fell into the hands of the English Jesuits; and so it continues at present. In-

places them under his own immediate control, and, having invested them with all the privileges of a university, appoints the cardinal Morone as the protector, through whose intervention whatever difficulties they may encounter shall be adjusted. By whose influence, or at whose suggestion, this bull was issued, there is no direct evidence to prove. In the acts of the Visitation, already referred to, the pope is merely said to have acted "*col consiglio del cardinale Morone*" (MS. ut sup. art. i.): but it is not impossible that Lewis, and, perhaps, through Lewis, Dr. Allen, may, in the first instance, have proposed the matter to the pontiff.—I ought to add, that, at this period, the rents of the hospital amounted to 1460 crowns, which, with the additional grant stated in the bull, gave to the new establishment an annual income of 7460 crowns, or rather more than 1800*l.* sterling. As it presents a tolerably correct notion of the economy of the hospital, I will subjoin a copy of its account-roll for the year 1575, of which I happen to have the original. See Appendix, No. LVIII.—*T.*]

¹ [This, as well as all that follows, on the subject of the Roman College, is given by Dodd, in the former edition, under the life of Dr. Clenock. His account in this place is somewhat different. "Gregory XIII.," he says, speaking of a period after the promulgation of the bull, "looking upon Dr. Lewis to be the chief promoter of this work, gave him the liberty to make choice of a president; and Dr. Maurice Clenock was the person pitched upon." The reader, however, has already seen that Clenock's appointment was previous to the date of the bull: and from Allen's letter, which will afterwards be referred to, it is evident that Lewis, though certainly consulted on the subject, could not have had the nomination of the president. In a subsequent note, I shall have occasion to shew that Clenock's authority had terminated, before the bull was drawn up.

Dodd adds, "the college was furnished, at first, from Rheims, during the life of Dr. Allen, and his successor, Dr. Barrett; but, afterwards, a grammar school being founded by the Jesuits, at St. Omers, it was chiefly supplied from that nursery, whence they cull out such youths as they think proper for that education."—*T.*]

² [This is a mistake. Agazzari was the first Jesuit rector.—*T.*]

deed, it was still to serve as a nursery for the clergy ; but yet the Jesuits reaped a double advantage by the change. The juniors of their order had a maintenance, and opportunity of improving themselves, by being made tutors to the clergy, and *quasi* professors. Again, it became a kind of nursery to their order ; for very often those, that were designed for the clergy, before they had completed their studies, were inrolled among the Jesuits. But what chiefly was regarded as an advantage to their society was, to be masters and managers of the revenues belonging to the college. Now, the occasion of Dr. Clenock's removal was this, as I have faithfully drawn it out of the original letters of Dr. Allen, Dr. Lewis, Dr. Haddock, Dr. Clenock, &c. There had been frequent contests between Dr. Clenock, the president, and the two Italian Jesuits, who were employed as procurator and prefect ; which, by degrees, were fomented into a party quarrel among the scholars. The debate first ran upon two heads : first, the house being originally designed for the entertainment of English travellers, bishop Goldwell, with several others of our nation, both priests and laymen, had their apartments and maintenance there, ever since they left England, the first of queen Elizabeth. This they claimed, as an ancient right ; the house and old revenues being purchased by our Saxon kings, for that purpose, and supported by their successors ever since, till the reformation.¹ Now, the two Italian Jesuits were for overthrowing this establishment, upon a pretence, that the additional revenues of pope Gregory XIII., by whom the hospital was erected into a college, were a sufficient ground to turn the whole income into another channel : and, in consequence of this, they were for having bishop Goldwell and the rest removed from their apartments. This

¹ [The mistake, relative to the Saxon origin of the college, has already been pointed out. The reader will also remember that Goldwell and the others were not admitted as "travellers", or pilgrims, who, by the statutes, could claim a maintenance only for three, or eight days, according to the character in which they came, but were actually associated to the hospital as resident brethren, and were, of course, entitled to be domiciled within its walls.—T.]

project was zealously opposed by Dr. Clenock, as being contrary to the original intent of the founders. While this debate was carrying on in private, it was attended with another, wherein the scholars were divided, and made parties. Some of them quarrelled with the president's conduct and management, and, upon every occasion, showed a disgust to him. The disgust grew up into murmurings, and murmurings into open complaints; which at last produced a petition, offered to his holiness, signed by Sherwin, Array, Gore, and Haddock, the chief of the mal-contents. Meantime, Morone, the cardinal protector, being made acquainted with the affair, the four petitioners were threatened with expulsion. But, before that could be concluded on, a second petition was drawn up against the present administration of the house, and signed by a large majority of the students. The principal heads of the accusation were, that the president, Clenock, was not qualified for the place; that the two Jesuits, the prefect and procurator, were maltreated; and, what was the capital grievance, that the Welshmen were, upon all occasions, preferred to the English. Great pains were taken, to compose these differences; and the protector seemed resolved that those, that would not obey the president, should be expelled. To prevent this, thirty-three of the scholars, all Englishmen, voluntarily left the college; resolving to return to Douay and Rheims, or to England. They remained two days in Rome, after their desertion; during which time, the Jesuits not only took care to furnish them with victuals, lodging, and other necessaries, but also interceded with his holiness in their behalf; and it was concluded, that they should all return to the college, with an assurance of being made easy, in a little time, as to Dr. Clenock. Meanwhile, several schemes were proposed, and Dr. Allen, president of Rheims college, consulted upon the matter. One of the proposals was, that Dr. Clenock should be continued custos, or governor of the hospital only, with the ancient rents of 500 crowns per annum, belonging to it.¹ As for a pre-

¹ [Haddock's letter, which will afterwards be referred to, says only that, "if

sident, some of the students mentioned Dr. Moreton, others Dr. Bernard. Dr. Lewis was for sending to Rheims for Dr. Bristowe, who had an established reputation for the management of a college, both as to learning and discipline: but, as a great majority of the English at Rome were desirous to have a Jesuit made rector, one of that order immediately was installed. These proceedings were very displeasing to Dr. Lewis, and several of the ancient clergy, who remonstrated against them; alleging, that this was destroying the original institution of the community, besides the interest and reputation of the whole body. They wrote to Dr. Allen, desiring he would concur with them, to have things turned into their ancient channel. His answer was, as I find in one of his letters, that he was sorry Dr. Lewis had been treated with so much ingratitude by the students; he having been the chief promoter, and a singular benefactor towards that establishment: that, at the same time, he thought the Jesuits were very capable of the undertaking, being famed for their method in the education of youth: that, considering, another change would disoblige a great many, be a token of levity, and revive several odious controversies, for these reasons, he advised his brethren of the ancient clergy to sit down quiet, and let matters go on, as they were ordered. There have ever since been frequent remonstrances against this heterogeneous education of the clergy, and many inconveniences alleged, as flowing from it; especially an hereditary, and often a scandalous, faction among those, who ought to be united in the same interest. For, though charity ought to overlook such considerations, yet the general rules of good economy will not permit persons of different interests to make up one and the same body: and many think it prudence, to dry up such a source of contests.¹

About this time, or soon after, other projects were set

he (Clenock) get it, it will be, at the least, five hundred crowns a-year, close unto our seminary". The "ancient rents", as the reader will remember, were nearly three times that amount.—*T.*]

¹ [This account is drawn from a paper, purporting to be the statement of Dr. Clenock, and from the letters of Lewis, Haddock, and Allen, which, with two other papers from the archives of the college, will be found in

on foot for erecting colleges at Valladolid, Seville, and St. Omers. They owe their rise to the zeal and industry

the Appendix, No. LIX. Some remarks, however, are here necessary. 1. From Dodd's narrative it would appear that, at the period of the dispute, the students were in actual possession both of the hospital and of its property, that the Jesuits proposed to expel Goldwell and the other brethren from their apartments, and that Clenock's opposition to this proceeding was one cause of his dismissal from the presidentship. This is by no means correct. That the scholars, in addition to the establishment near St. Peter's, were permitted to occupy a portion of the college, and that, to accommodate them, six of the chaplains were removed from their lodgings, and pensioned in the town, is certain: but that the Jesuits sought the expulsion of any part of the brethren, or that the students possessed more than a temporary residence within the house, there is every reason to disbelieve. Of these assertions, in fact, the former rests only on the very questionable authority of the pretended statement by Clenock: the latter is contradicted by the best possible evidence, the date of the bull, transferring the rents and property of the hospital to the new college. That instrument, as the reader is aware, was not signed until April 23, 1579. Now, the letters of Haddock and Lewis, which speak of the removal of Clenock as already determined on, were written on the ninth and tenth of the preceding month: and it is clear, therefore, that the dispute between the students and the president had terminated, nay, that the latter had been actually deposed, not only before the members of the new establishment were put in possession of the hospital, but also before any measures had been taken, to transfer its property from the original owners. Nor is this all. When the bull was drawn up, an opposition to its ordinances was immediately raised. The rights of the hospital were asserted: the ownership of the brethren was pleaded; and, for more than eighteen months, the chaplains continued to offer a successful resistance to the wishes and the mandates of the pontiff. At length, a compromise was effected. The hospital, instead of being suppressed, was united with the college, and, on the twenty-fourth of December, 1580, the bull was published, and the students, under the Jesuit rector, removed from the establishment near St. Peter's, to their new residence. "Non rimase però la detta bolla publicata, che il dì 24 Decembre del seguente anno, 1580, a cagione dell' ostacolo vi fecero i sacerdoti dello spedale ed ospizio suppresso. * * * * Nel dì sudetto, giorno che servir può d'epoca alla nuova fondazione, fù, con devota solennità, aperto il collegio nelle case contigue, e di ragione della chiesa della santissima Trinità, volgarmente detta di S. Tommaso degli Inglesi, che, unitamente agli altri beni e rendite dello spedale ed ospizio, venne in possesso data ai direttori dell' eretto collegio, vi furono altresì, nell' indicato giorno, trasferiti dalle case di S. Pietro, ed ammessi, in qualità di alunni, i cinquanta giovani Inglesi, che, alla presenza di monsig. Spaziano, come procuratore del cardinale Morone, e dei PP. Cola, provinciale, e Roberto Bellarmino, prestarono solenne giuramento di abbracciare lo stato sacerdotale, e di trasferirsi nell' Inghilterra, al servizio della santa fede cattolica" (Act. Visit. ut sup. art. i.). That the hospital was united with the college, I gather from the fact, that there is still preserved, in the archives of the latter, a paper dated in 1581, and containing notices "delli pellegrini ricevuti nel collegio, col titolo di ospizio, *dopo l'unione fatta dell' ospedale al collegio, in virtù della bolla di Gregorio XIII.*"—(Lib. 282.)

I should add, that the oath, mentioned in the preceding extract, as having been taken by the students on the day of their admission, was that prescribed in the bull of foundation: consequently, More's assertion (Hist. Prov. Ang. 57), that it was subsequently adopted, at the suggestion of father Persons, is a mistake.

2. Dodd's account of the progress and termination of the dispute, between Clenock and the students, has sometimes been condemned, not only as partial,

of Robert Persons a Jesuit, who had such interest at the court of Spain, as to procure respective pensions for their subsistence. They were all designed for the education of young clergymen ; the English Jesuits, as yet, not being formed into a distinct body, or provincial

but also as dishonest. I am not aware, however, that the letters of Lewis, Haddock, and Allen have been impugned; and from them it evidently appears, 1. that the president, who had been originally appointed, in opposition to the advice, or, at least, to the opinion, of Dr. Allen, was unqualified for the situation : 2. that his administration excited the complaints of a large majority of the students, whose discontent was at length manifested in acts of open rebellion : 3. that the avowed object of the disaffected was, to alter the government of the college, to remove Clenock, and place the house under the direction of the Jesuits : 4. that, refusing to submit to the decision of the protector, and persisting in their opposition to the established authority of the president, they were ordered, both by the protector and the pope, to leave the college : 5. that the Jesuits, who were aware of the object, and had constantly seconded the efforts, of the refractory, now openly proclaimed their friendship for the ejected scholars, and filled the pulpits of Rome with appeals in their behalf : 6. that the general of the society, though he had previously found it necessary to “forbid the fathers to meddle”, now publicly avowed his sympathy with the offenders, and privately employed the influence of his friends, to combat the resolution of the pontiff : 7. that the result of these proceedings was the recal and triumph of the disaffected, the removal of Dr. Clenock, and the appointment of a Jesuit, the father Alphonso Agazzari, to succeed him : lastly, that Allen, Bristowe, and the other leading members of Rheims, while they condemned the proceedings of the students, still rejoiced in the change that had been accomplished ; that they regarded it as the realization of their first and warmest desire; and that they willingly forgot the “hazardous and scandalous means”, by which the revolution had been effected, in the contemplation of the advantages, anticipated from the zeal and talents of the fathers. With the exception of the supposed consultation with Allen, which is evidently a mistake, I think that these facts will not be found to differ materially from the substance of Dodd’s narrative.

3. But the interest, manifested by the members of the society in the proceedings of the scholars, coupled with the fact of their having ultimately accepted the government of the college, has suggested the unfavourable inference, that they were secretly endeavouring to foment the prevailing discord, in order more effectually to realize their ambitious designs upon the establishment. To repel this accusation, Bartoli, More, and others have asserted that the students were commanded by the pope to retire into separate apartments, and each, in writing and under the obligation of an oath, to signify his unbiassed wishes as to the future government of the house ; that the result of this measure was a unanimous expression in favour of the society ; but that, nevertheless, it was not until the desires of the scholars had been enforced by the authoritative injunctions of the pontiff, that the general would consent to accept the proposed charge. There is reason, indeed, to question the accuracy of this statement. Haddock himself, one of the parties concerned, expressly tells us that, having been ordered to “give the names of some of their own countrymen,” they selected those of Morton and Bernard, two secular clergymen, for the choice of the pontiff. The same fact, with the omission of the names, is mentioned in a petition from the students, which I have inserted in the Appendix (No. I.X.) : and though, from that document, it is clear that they still continued to demand the appointment of the fathers, *if the latter “could be induced to accept the office,”* yet the official account of the Visitation, to which

community, nor having any college for their education, only those, where they were inspectors over the clergy ; and from thence they were commonly supplied with novices. The college at Valladolid was completed, in May, 1589, when Thomas Stillington, D.D., was sent thither from Rheims, with several scholars, viz., Henry Floyd, deacon, John Blackfan, and John Boswell, divines, John Fisher, and Thomas Lovelace.¹ In 1590,

I have already referred, instead of noticing the refusal of the general, or the commands of the pope, merely intimates that the cardinal Morone had employed his influence, as previously suggested by the scholars (Appendix, No. LIX.), and says that he had *concerted* the matter with Mercurianus ("avendone il cardinale Morone *concertata* col padre Everardo Mercuriano generale di detta compagnia l'accettazione"). Still, there is no evidence to prove the existence of any preconceived design, on the part of the society, to obtain the rectorship of the college. The ready acceptance of that office is perfectly compatible with the honest, though certainly the unwise, support previously given to the disaffected students. Had the Jesuits aspired to the government of the house, there is no doubt that their reputation and their services would have enabled them to obtain it, in the first instance: nor can we suppose that the lapse of only a few months would so far have altered their views, and influenced their feelings, as to induce them to seek now, by artifice and fraud, what, but a short period before, they might have attained as an honourable testimony to their merits.

4. Of the jealousies, the dissensions, and the complaints, alluded to by Dodd, as the consequence of this arrangement, I shall hereafter have occasion to speak. In the mean time, it will be sufficient to observe, that, as the cause is now happily removed, so its irritating effects ought naturally to subside; that persons, engaged in the same work, should be united in the same spirit; and that we should recur to the errors or the weaknesses of the past, only to provide more effectually against the failings and the disasters of the future. It is by defending the faults, that we become answerable for the delinquencies, of our predecessors: it is by a prompt and honest condemnation of their misdeeds, that we prove ourselves uninfluenced by their example, and establish the integrity of our own views. We are to judge of actions by their nature and tendency, not by the accidental relation, in which their authors may stand to ourselves. Perfection is not the privilege of any order of men: and if history, contemplating the events of earlier times, condemns the encroachments of some, the jealousies of others, and the faults of all, it is not for the purpose of reviving the disputes, or embittering the recollections, of the past; but solely with a view to point out those errors, which each should be solicitous to avoid.—Perhaps the insertion of the following passage is due as much to the memory of Dodd, as to the merits of those to whom he alludes. He has not unfrequently been charged with enmity and injustice towards the Jesuits: yet referring to the opinions of cardinal Allen, and addressing a member of the society, he says, unhesitatingly, "I am so far from differing from that worthy clergyman, that I agree with him, in all he says in your commendation, viz., that your order was remarkably serviceable to the cause of religion; that you abounded with persons of great virtue and learning; that none were better qualified for the education of youth; that the clergy were, in a particular manner, obliged to shew their gratitude, for your assisting them upon several occasions; and that Dr. Allen was very well content, when the Roman college was placed under the government of persons of your order." *Apology for Ch. Hist.* 93.—*T.*]

¹ [It is a mistake to suppose that the college of Valladolid was completed at his time. The disturbed state of France had suggested to father Persons the

September 17, ten more students set out from Rheims towards Valladolid, viz., four deacons, Thomas Green, Edmund Gervaise, Thomas Pierpoint,¹ and Walter Owen; also six students in philosophy, viz., John Worthington, Robert Drury, John Thompson, Matthew Bedingfield,² Francis Kemp, and John Bennet. Again, September 29, the year above mentioned, ten more began their journey to the said place, viz., William Johnson, and George Hothersal, divines, Roger Pilcock, and Thomas Lowden, Hugh Hodgson, John Parsons, Griffith Thomas,

propriety of providing for the future supply of the English mission, in case the establishment at Rheims should chance to be dissolved. With this view, he had written to doctor Allen from Rome; the matter was proposed to the scholars; and the three students, Floyd, Blackfan, and Boswell, were selected to proceed to Spain, and make, or seek, a settlement in that country. It was the beginning of May, 1589. By the end of the month, they had landed at Corunna; and, after many difficulties and escapes, at length arrived friendless and unknown in Valladolid. Here they accidentally met with two Englishmen, Henry Sherrott and John Giltbrand, who were pursuing their studies in the town, and by them were introduced to a small lodging which they hired, in the vicinity of one of the principal monasteries. For some days, they continued to frequent the public schools: but their funds were gradually failing; their means of subsistence became exhausted; and they were at length compelled to address themselves to the charity of a benevolent nobleman in the town, the Don Alfonso de Quinones. For three months they were supported by the liberality of this person. At length, however, father Persons arrived in the Spanish capital. He had heard of the distresses and the fortunes of the little colony at Valladolid; and, with funds collected from the bounty of the duchess of Feria, sir Francis Englefield, and others, now hastened to relieve its necessities. His first care was to remove the scholars from the small and inconvenient lodging, which they had hitherto occupied. For this purpose, he hired the house, which afterwards became the college: he then assigned an academical dress to the students, drew up a body of rules for their government, and, before Michaelmas, had the satisfaction to see the new institution assume the form of a regular establishment. He soon after appointed father Ceciliano, a member of the society, to the office of first rector. At the beginning of the following year (1590), he was enabled by the munificence of Don Alfonso de Quinones, to purchase the house, which had hitherto been hired. The buildings were now altered and enlarged: other contributions flowed in; and, in the course of a few months, a permanent pension, which Persons had solicited, was settled by the Spanish crown upon the college.—This account, which, in some points confirms, and in others corrects, that of More (Hist. Prov. Ang. 156—159), is taken from the MS. Annals of the college, written by Blackfan, one of the first three students, and now belonging to the Rev. Thomas Sherburne, of the Willows, in Lancashire. Perhaps I ought to add that Blackfan makes no mention of Dr. Stillington; that, instead of *Lovelace*, he names *John Cecil*; and that Fisher and Cecil, the former from Rheims, the latter from Rome, did not, according to his account, join the new college, until after Persons's arrival at Valladolid (p. 7.). The bull of confirmation will be found in the Appendix, No. LXI.—T.]

¹ [Called *Browne*, by Blackfan, p. 10.—T.]

² [Called *Silisdon* by Blackfan, *ibid.*—T.]

Richard Garth, John Scot, and Nicholas Ashton.¹ The yearly revenue of this college, as I find it upon record, in 1605, amounted to 4,000 crowns, well and constantly paid by the King of Spain.²

There were also two small communities of clergy established at Seville and Madrid: but their revenues being very precarious, they have never made any extraordinary appearance.³ As for the college at St. Omers, which was established in 1594, it has always been in great repute, and much esteemed for well grounding their students in classic learning; whereby they were fitted for higher studies in the other colleges, whither, in the beginning, commonly fifteen or sixteen were sent yearly.⁴

¹ [Besides these, Richard Blunt, Richard Dudley, and James Younger, priests, from Rome, Thomas Salaway, Henry Roke, and Peter Amblen, priests, from Rheims, had, at the beginning of the year, entered the college. The original students had previously been joined by William Cullin and Francis Lockwald, priests, from Lisbon (Blackf. MS. 5, 8). About the same period, father Ceciliano, the first rector, was recalled to Madrid by the king: father Pedro de Guzman was appointed to succeed him; and father Richard Gibbons was named prefect of the studies. Ibid. 9.—T.]

² [Blackfan, whose account was written about the year 1618, says that the pension, settled by king Philip on the college, was about sixteen hundred crowns (p. 9): the remainder of the revenue must, therefore, have been made up by the contributions of the nobility, gentry, and others (See Bartoli, 350, 351). Amongst these, I may mention Don Francisco Sarmiento de Mendocça, bishop of Jaen, who, for several years, allowed a pension of one thousand crowns for the support of the college (Stonyhurst MSS. Ang. A. iii. 99). A similar sum was afterwards bequeathed to it by Gaspar de Quiroga, archbishop of Toledo. Blackf. 15.—T.]

³ [The college at Seville was founded in 1592, and placed under the superintendance of father Francis Peralta, the first rector (More, 159). For an interesting letter, describing its origin and progress, see Appendix, No. LXII.—T.]

⁴ [An account of this foundation may be seen in More (161—163). It was at first intended for the reception of only sixteen youths, for whose support the king of Spain undertook to allow a monthly pension of one hundred and sixty ducats. This sum was afterwards encreased; and the number of students was then to be regulated by the discretion of the fathers of the society, to whom the whole government of the college was committed. It appears, however, from More, that both Allen and Dr. Barret disapproved of this establishment. “Alano præterea cardinali, et Barretto, præsi Duaceno, non arridebat hoc novum penè in conspectu domicilium: aliò enim avertendam juventutem et subsidia verebantur, et suum isto non exonerandum, sed evacuandum seminarium (p. 162.)

Besides the establishments here mentioned, I may notice another, which Dodd has omitted. It was called the Residence of the English clergy at St. Lucar, in the neighbourhood of Seville. In 1517, the English merchants, resident in the town, formed themselves into a confraternity, under the patronage of St. George, and, having obtained a grant of land from the duke of Medina Sidonia, erected a church, with a house adjoining, for the benefit and accommodation of their countrymen. To support the foundation, the two sove-

The first monastery of English nuns was erected at Brussels, in the year 1598, by the zeal and industry of Mrs. Jane Berkley, and lady Mary Percy. The first was daughter of sir John Berkley, of Beverston, in Gloucestershire; the second was daughter to the earl of Northumberland. Mrs. Berkley had been a professed nun of the Benedictine order, in the city of Rheims, and was permitted to leave her monastery, upon the invitation of lady Mary Percy, who, jointly with several other young ladies, were to found a monastery in Brussels. Their

reigns of England and Spain agreed to assign to it the produce of a duty, to be levied on all English importations: a certain number of English chaplains was appointed to officiate in the church; and, for more than seventy years, the members continued to enjoy the advantages of a useful and flourishing establishment. But the war with England, and the consequent decay of commerce, at length affected the prosperity of the institution. In 1591, the members assembled to deliberate on its future fate. After some consultation, it was agreed to dissolve the fraternity; and, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1591, a deed was drawn up, by which the merchants conveyed the church, house, lands, and other property, belonging to the establishment, to the English secular clergy for ever. They directed it to be used as a residence for such number of chaplains as the funds would support; ordered all vacancies to be filled up by "the catholic bishops of London, Winchester, or Exeter"; appointed cardinal Allen, and, after his death, the provincial of the society of Jesus for the time being, in the province of Andalusia, to act as visitor; but specially provided that neither "the said provincial, nor any other religious order, should, by virtue of this jurisdiction, or otherwise, pretend any right to the church and house of St. George, or to any thing in it, but only to do them a good work, out of charity, for the better justification of the life and good manners of the *Preposito* and chaplains, which, in length of time, might reside in the said house" (MS. copy in the possession of the late Right Rev. Dr. Poynter). At the request of Persons, this grant was immediately confirmed by the duke of Medina Sidonia, and the cardinal-archbishop of Seville; and a body of rules was drawn up, binding the chaplains to receive, and forward on their journey, any clergymen passing from the seminaries in Spain to the English mission. MS. ut supra.

In closing the account of these institutions, I cannot forbear adding the following passage, written by their first projector, in explanation and defence of their objects. "This", says Allen, "is a clear case, that the persons, which first put themselves together in the university of Doway, the year 1568, yielding to collegial form of study and discipline under one president, had these intentions; first, to draw divers youths, who then for their conscience lived in the Low Countries, from sole, several, and voluntary study to a more exact method and course of common conference and public exercise, to be pursued by their superiors' appointment, rather than their own choice; that they might be more apt to serve their country, when it should please God mercifully to reduce them home again. Secondly, doubting the time of our chastisement might be so long, as to wear out, either by age, imprisonment, or other miseries, the elder sort of the learned catholics, both at home and abroad, it was thought a necessary duty for the posterity to provide for a perpetual seed and supply of catholics, namely, of the clergy: nothing mistrusting but that times and opportunities would come (were they near, were they far off), when they might take advantage for

undertaking was completed in a very little time, and Mrs. Berkley was consecrated the first abbess, Nov. 4, 1599, by Matthias Hoven, archbishop of Mechlin, and, immediately after, several young ladies were clothed with the habit of the order, viz., lady Mary Percy, the first proposer of the establishment; Dorothy and Gertrude Arundell, daughters of sir John Arundell, of Lanhern, in Cornwall; Anne Cansfield, daughter of Thomas Cansfield, Esq., of Roberts-Hall, in Lancashire; Frances Gavin,

restitution. Thirdly, their purpose was, for their better furnishing of meet men to the end aforesaid, and for disadvantaging the adversary part therein, to draw into this college the best wits out of England, that were either catholicly bent, or desirous of more exact education than is, these days, in either of the universities, or that had scruple of conscience to take the oath of the queen's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical (which gave us divers, not only catholics but others, out of both the universities, where it is specially exacted, and tormenteth the consciences of many that seem pure protestants), or that mislike to be forced to the ministry, as the use is in divers colleges, or that were doubtful whether of the two religions were true. Grammar-schools also from all parts of the realm have yielded us many youths, which, having their whole and full training in catholic colleges here, prove no less serviceable for their country than the others.

"These youths (gentlemen's sons specially) are much propense in our country (God be thanked for it, as also for that it giveth exceeding hope of better times) to the catholic faith, and many adventure over to us without the parents' consent, and sometimes much against their wills; who, though they could be content to have their children better brought up than they can be at home, yet, for fear of disfavour of the world, wherein they be more entangled than their sons, they refuse often to give them any relief at all (fear sometimes overpoising their natural affection), and God taketh the care of their dear pledges, and keepeth them here for their country. And because one college could not be sufficient for so great store of all sorts, as is said, therefore God moved the heart of the pope's holiness to erect that other also in Rome, that so these two colleges might be more plentiful nurseries for the church of our country, and jointly work together for the benefit of the same.

"The first intended and most certain fruit thereof, being to save so many souls, as not only were, any one time, in both the colleges, or in other schools in these parts, expecting rooms in the same, but all others that, in divers times and seasons, have been, or shall be, brought up in them, during the schism. The second and further fruit of the said colleges is, to instruct men in all cases of conscience and controversies, and to breed in them zeal and desire to be priests, even in these days specially, when they can look for no worldly honour, lucre, preferment, or promotion thereby; but manifold dangers, disgraces, persecution, vexations: only by prayers and sacrifice to make intercession for our desolate friends at home; and to adventure into England, there to serve them, whose hearts God shall touch to admit spiritual comforts, and to prefer salvation before worldly commodities; and to minister unto them all sacraments necessary for the life and grace of their souls. And this they have done only by the power of priesthood, in spiritual, silent, and peaceable manner, and not with riots, tumults, or warlike concourse: they have done it, as the apostles and other holy men did, in the primitive church, by travels, watchings, fastings, perils at the ports, perils in the sea, perils on the land, perils of open enemies, perils of false brethren, fears of the laws, fears of hurting their friends, fears for scandalising the weak, by contumelies, disgraces, poverty, prisonments, fetters, dungeons, racks, deaths." Apology for the English Seminaries, 21—26.—T.]

daughter of Thomas Gavin, Esq., of Norrington in Wiltshire; Elizabeth Southcote, daughter of John Southcote, of Essex, Esq.; Winifred Thompson, daughter of John Thompson, of Broadwell, in Oxfordshire, Esq.; Margaret Smith, Elizabeth Tichbourne, &c., who were all professed, on the same day, in the year 1600, with great ceremony, in the presence of duke Albertus, and the princess Isabella, governors of the Low Countries. Their rules were drawn up, according to the model of the Benedictine order, by an assembly of bishops, abbots, and divines, and approved of, at Rome, in the year 1612.¹

¹ [The following list of the religious in this house is taken from a MS. note of Dodd's, belonging to the Dean and Chapter.—T.]

<i>Abbesses.</i>			
Jane Berkley,	ob. 1616.	Anne Ingleby,	ob. 1626.
Mary Percy,	ob. 1642.	Benedicta Hanbery,	ob. 1661.
Agnes Lenthal,	ob. 1651.	Margaret Curzon,	ob. 1659.
Alexia Blanchart,	ob. 1652.	Catherine Paston,	ob. 1640.
Mary Vavasour,	—	Elizabeth Rokewood,	ob. 1621.
<i>Nuns.</i>		Winefred Tresham,	ob. 1608.
Dorothy Arundell,	ob. 1613.	Christian Lovel,	ob. 1629.
Gertrude Arundell,	ob. 1636.	Mary Cuvelin,	—
Anne Cansfield,	ob. 1611.	Hilda Russell,	—
Elizabeth Southcote,	ob. 1631.	Martha Dalison,	—
Winifred Thompson,	ob. 1613.	Teresa Hyde,	—
Margaret Smith,	ob. 1613.	Mary Philips,	ob. 1654.
Frances Gavin,	—	Columba Gage,	ob. 1641.
Elizabeth Tichbourne,	—	Clara James,	ob. 1669.
Mary Watson,	ob. 1630.	Teresa Gage,	ob. 1654.
Ursula Henneage,	ob. 1638.	Etheldred Smith,	ob. 1666.
Apollonia Waldgrave,	ob. 1636.	Dorothy Mannock,	ob. 1655.
Constance Penruddock,	—	Mary Kempe,	ob. 1657.
Lucy Pershal,	ob. 1638.	Placida Brooke,	ob. 1626.
Maria Draycot,	—	Catherine Raud,	ob. 1653.
Agatha Wiseman,	ob. 1647.	Mary Winter,	ob. 1630.
Clara Curzon,	ob. 1626.	Philippa Gavan,	ob. 1659.
Barbara Lake,	ob. 1647.	Frances Goodier,	—
Anastasia Morgan,	ob. 1646.	Elizabeth Neal,	—
Helena Doleman,	ob. 1658.	Mary Hunlock,	—
Mary Gage,	ob. 1614.	Mary Spain,	—
Mary Pearson,	ob. 1652.	Flavea Langdale,	—
Potentia Deacon,	ob. 1646.	Viviana Yarley,	ob. 1654.
Scholastica Smith,	ob. 1660.	Bridget Draycot,	ob. 1634.
Melchina Campbell,	—	Matilda Ireton,	ob. 1670.
Gertrude Blount,	—	Christian Paris,	ob. 1646.
Anne Foster,	—	Mary Evers,	ob. 1635.
Dorothy Blundell,	—	Frances Paston,	ob. 1652.
Magdalen Smith,	ob. 1659.	Theodosia Waldgrave,	—
Martha Calford,	ob. 1634.	Magdalen Street,	—
Cecilia Ashton,	ob. 1640.	Scholastica Byron,	—

Note on page 66.

[On looking at this part of the history again, I find that I have, by mistake, called the number of benefices in the diocese of Canterbury only three hundred, whereas Harmer, to whom I have referred, expressly calculates them at three hundred and eighty. This will further reduce the number of the deprived clergy under Mary, from one fourth, to something less than one fifth, of the whole.—*T.*]

APPENDIX.

No. I.—(*Referred to at page 4.*)

*Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, to the Protector.*¹ Feb. 28, 1547.

[Foxye, ii. l. ix. 56.]

May it please your grace to understand, that I have noted some points in my lord of St. David's sermon, which I send unto you herewith, whereby to declare unto you some part what I think; for the whole I cannot express. Somewhat I shall encumber you with my babling, but he hath encumbered some friends more with his tatling. And, alas! my lord, this is a piteous case, that, having so much business as ye have, these inward disorders should be added unto them, to the courage of such as would this realm any ways evil. For this is the thing they would desire, with hope thereby to disorder this realm, being now a time rather to repair that, which needeth reparation, than to make any new buildings, which they pretend. Quiet, tranquillity, unity, and concord shall maintain estimation. The contrary may animate the enemy to attempt that, which was never thought on, which God forbid. There was never attempt of alteration made in England, but upon colour of discord at home; and woe be to them that mind it. If my lord of St. David's, or such others, have their head cumbered with any new platform, I would wish they were commanded, between

¹ The lord protector Somerset was uncle to king Edward VI., and the grand promoter of the reformation in that reign. Besides the divine justice which pursued him for his sacrilege, he was reviled, first, by his brother Thomas, lord admiral, who had married Catharine Parr, the last wife of king Henry VIII., and again by Dudley, earl of Warwick. His brother was beheaded, March 14, 1549, upon very slender proofs; but Dudley overcame him, and brought him to the block. The two Somersets are thus characterized. The admiral had a noble personage, was genteel, awful, and fierce. The protector was mild, affable, easy to be worked upon. The admiral courted the nobility, the protector the people; and both commonly with success. Both had been great men, had their good qualities been united. Catholics look upon it as inconsistent with divine providence, and protestants think it no advantage to their cause, to have been reformed by such a ministry.

this and the king's majesty's full age, to draw the plat diligently, to hew the stones, dig the sand, and chop the chalk, in the unseasonable time of building; and, when the king's majesty cometh to full age, to present their labours to him; and, in the mean time, not to disturb the state of the realm, whereof your grace is protector; but that you may, in every part of religion, laws, lands, and decrees (which four contain the state), deliver the same unto our sovereign lord, according unto the trust you be put in, which shall be much to your honour, and as all honest men wish and desire. To which desired effect, there can be nothing so noisome and contrarious, as trouble and disquiet, wherein your grace shall be specially troubled, as on whose shoulders all the weight lieth; and whatsoever shall happen amiss, by the faults of others, shall be imputed to your grace, as doer thereof, or wanting foresight in time to withstand the same. And albeit that you mind not to be faulty in either, yet, if the effect be not to the realm as it were to be wished, the prince, though he were of age, should be excused, and the governors bear the blame. And this is the infelicity of preeminence and authority, and specially in this realm, as stories make mention; which should not discourage you, for you need fear nothing without, if quiet be reserved at home; and at home, if the beginning be resisted, the intended folly may easily be interrupted. But, if my brother of St. David's may, like a champion, with his sword in his hand, make entry for the rest, the door of licence opened, there shall more by folly thrust in with him, than your grace would wish. Thus, as I think, I write homely to your grace, because you were content I should write, wherein I consider only to have all things well; and because your grace is the protector, and chief director of the realm, to present unto your wisdom what my folly is. I have been oftentimes blamed for fearing overmuch, and yet I have had an inkling, that they, that so blamed me, feared even as much as I. Being in the state that you be in, it shall be ever commendable to foresee the worst. In quiet ye be strong; in trouble ye be greatly weak, and bring yourself in danger of one part, when parties be, therewith one to scourge the other: whereas in concord they be both yours, in an honest, reverent, lovely fear to do their duty, which I doubt not your wisdom can consider. And consider also how noisome any other outward encumber might be, in the time of the minority of our sovereign lord. I told the emperor's council, that our late sovereign lord did much for the emperor, to enter war with him, and to put his realm, in his old days, in the adventure of fortune, whether he should enjoy it or no; for that is the nature of war, and some time the contemned and abject have had the upper hand. And when ye administer the realm for another, it were a marvellous question of him, that shall enjoy the

realm, to say, What meant you, in the time of administration, to adventure my realm? Why took ye not rather, for the time of my minority, any peace, whatsoever it were, which is better than the best war, as some men have written? I know you have authority sufficient, and wisdom plenty; and yet, being entered to write, I forget, for the time, what ye be, and commune with you, as I were talking at Brussels with you, devising of the world at large. And, if I were sworn to say what I think of the state of the world, I would, for a time, let Scots be Scots, with despair to have them, unless it were by conquest; which shall be goodly enterprise for our young master, when he cometh to age. And, in the mean time, prepare him money for it, and set the realm in an order, which it hath need of. And, for a stay, if the emperor would offer the king of the Romans' daughter, as he did, do with him, in our master's minority, as he did with us in his, whereby all this hath chanced unto him. And, by this alliance, your estimation shall increase, and our sovereign lord's surety not a little increase and be augmented. For of France it must be taken for a rule, they be so wanton, they cannot do well, longer than they see how they may be scourged, if they do not. Here is all the wit that I have, which I offer unto you, upon this occasion of writing, and shall pray God to put into your mind, that which shall be for the best, as I trust he will; and, in the mean time, to extinguish this barbarous contention at home, which can serve only to do hurt, and no good. I had fashioned a letter to master Ridley, which I send unto your grace, and encumber you with these melancholy writings, engendered of this fondness, which be not worth the reading; and so it may like you to use them. For, having heard that which ye have said unto me, and otherwise heard and seen what you do, I shall go occupy my wit in other matters; and now such as have fond enterprizes shall see, that I letted not their follies, which they called God's word. But, for his time, the king our sovereign lord, that dead is, and, after his time, you have done much to your honour and reputation; howsoever any shall be here not contented: which discontentation hath been so fond in some, as they have burst out, and wished that they might, without breach of his laws, kill me; which is to me a token of a marvellous fury, which hath been cause why I am glad, both to depart hence and to depart the sooner, and pray to God to order all things for the best, with preservation of our sovereign lord, and increase of your grace's honour. At my house in Southwark, the last of February.

Your grace's humble beadsman,

S. W.

Gardiner to Dr. Ridley, enclosed in the preceding.

[Foxe, ii. l. ix. 71.]

Master Ridley,

After right hearty commendations, it chanced me, upon Wednesday last past, to be present at your sermon in the court, wherein I heard you confirm the doctrine in religion, set forth by our late sovereign lord and master, whose soul God pardon, admonishing your audience, that you would specially travail in the confutation of the Bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government and usurped power, and in pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in heaven and earth: which two matters I note to be plain, and here without controversy. In the other two ye spake of, touching images and ceremonies, and as ye touched it, specially for holy water to drive away devils, for that ye declared yourself always desirous to set forth the mere truth, with great desire of unity, as ye professed, not extending any your asseverations beyond your knowledge, but always adding such like words (*as far as you had read*) and (*if any man could shew you further, you would hear him*), wherein ye were much to be commended,—upon these considerations, and for the desire I have to unity, I have thought myself bound to communicate to you that which I have read in the matter of images and holy water; to the intent you may by yourself consider it, and so weigh, before that ye will speak in those two points, as ye may (retaining your own principles) affirm still, that you would affirm, and may, indeed, be affirmed and maintained; wherein I have seen other forget themselves. First, I send unto you herewith, which I am sure you have read, that Eusebius writeth of images: whereby appeareth, that images have been of great antiquity in Christ's church; and to say we may not have images and call them *idols*, when they represent Christ and his saints, be overgross opinions to enter into your learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle. For you know, the text of the old law, *Non facies tibi sculptile*, forbiddeth no more images now, than another text forbiddeth to us puddings; and, if *omnia be munda mundis* to the belly, there can be no cause why they should, of themselves, be impure to the eye; wherein ye can say much more. And then, when we have images, to call them *idols*, is a like fault in fond folly, as if a man would call *regem* a tyrant, and then bring in old writers to prove, that *tyrannus* signified once a king, like as *idolum* signified once an image. But, like as *tyrannus* was, by consent of men, appropriate to signify an usurper of that dignity, and an untrue king, so hath *idolum* been likewise appropriate to signify a false representation and a false image: insomuch,

as there was a solemn anathematization of all those that would call an image an idol; as he were worthy to be hanged, that would call the king our master (God save him), our true just king, a tyrant: and yet, in talk, he might shew that a tyrant signified sometimes a king. But speech is regarded in his present signification, which, I doubt not, ye can consider right well.

I verily think, that for the having of images ye will say enough; and that also, when we have them, we should not despise them in speech, to call them idols, ne despise them with deeds, to mangle them, or cut them; but, at the least, suffer them to stand untorn: wherein Luther, that pulled away all other regard to them, strove stoutly, and obtained (as I have seen in divers of the churches in Germany of his reformation) that they should, as they do, stand still.

All the matter to be feared is, excess in worshipping, wherein the church of Rome hath been very precise, and specially Gregory, writing *Episcopo Massil.* which is contained *De Consecrat.* dist. 3. c. 27. as followeth:

“Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quòd, inconsiderato zelo succensus, sanctorum imagines, sub hac quasi excusatione, ne adorari debuissent, confregeres; et quidem quia eas adorari vetuisses omnino laudamus, fregisse vero reprehendimus. Dic, frater, à quo factum sacerdote aliquando auditum est, quod fecisti? Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud, per picturæ historiam, quid sit adorandum addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis præstat pictura cernentibus: quia in ipsâ etiam ignorantes vident quid sequi debeant; in ipsâ legunt qui litteras nesciunt: unde et præcipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est.” Herein is forbidden adoration; and then, in *sextâ synodo*, was declared what manner of adoration is forbidden, that is to say, godly adoration to it, being a creature, as is contained in the chapter 28, *Venerabiles Imagines*, in the same distinction, in this wise: “Venerabiles imagines Christiani non deos appellant, neque serviunt eis, ut diis, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum iudicium; sed ad memoriam et recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas, et adorant, sed non serviunt eis cultu divino, nec alicui creaturæ.”

By which doctrine, all idolatry is plainly excluded in evident words; so as we cannot say, that the worshipping of images had its beginning by popery, for Gregory forbid it; unless we shall call that synod popery, because there were so many bishops. And yet, there is forbidden *cultus divinus*, and agreeth with our aforesaid doctrine, by which, we may creep before the cross on Good Friday, wherein we have the image of the crucifix in honour, and use it in a worshipful place, and so earnestly look on it, and conceive that it signifieth, as we kneel and

creep before it, whilst it lieth there, and whilst that remembrance is in exercise ; with which cross, nevertheless, the sexton, when he goeth for a corpse, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his gown whilst he drinketh a pot of ale ; a point of homeliness that might be left, but yet it declareth that he esteemed no divinity in the image. But ever since I was born, a poor parishioner, a layman, durst be so bold, at a shift (if he were also churchwarden), to sell to the use of the church at length, and his own in the meantime, the silver cross on Easter Monday, that was creeped unto on Good Friday. In specialities there have been special abuses ; but generally, images have been taken for images, with an office to signify a holy remembrance of Christ and his saints. And as the sound of speech, uttered by a lively image, and representing to the understanding, by the sense of hearing, godly matter, doth stir up the mind, and therewith the body, to consent in outward gesture of worshipful regard to that sound ; so doth the object of the image, by the sight, work like effect in man, within and without, wherein is verily worshipped that we understand, and yet reverence and worship also shewed to that, whereby we attain that understanding, and is to us in the place of an instrument : so as it hath no worship of itself, but remaineth in his nature of stone or timber, silver, copper, or gold ; but when it is in office, and worketh a godly remembrance in us by representation of the thing signified unto us, then we use it worshipfully and honourably, as many do the priest at mass, whom they little regard all the day after. And, methinketh ever, that, like as it is an over gross error to take an image for God, or to worship it with godly honour, so to grant that we may not have images of Christ, and that we may do no worship before them, or not use them worshipfully, it is inexplicable. For it is one kind of worship to place them worshipfully ; so as, if a man place an image in the church, or hang it about his neck, as all used to do the image of the cross, and the knights of the order of St. George, this is some piece of worship. And if we may not contemn the images of Christ and his saints, when we have them (for that were villainy), nor neglect them (for that were to have them without use), which were inconvenient (*quia nec naturâ, nec arte quicquam fit frustra*), we must have them in estimation and reputation, which is not without some honour and worship ; and, at the least, in the place where we conveniently use them, as in the church, as where they serve us, rather than we them. And, because their service is worshipful, they be so regarded accordingly, for that time of service, and therefore they be called *venerebiles imagines*, and be worshipfully ordered, before whom we kneel, and bow, and cense ; not at that the images be, but at that the images signify, which, in our kneeling, bowing, and censing, we knowledge to

understand and read in that fashion of contract-writing, wherein is wrapped up a great many of sentences, suddenly opened, with one sudden sight, to him that hath been exercised in reading of them. And, me seemeth, after the faith of Christ received and known, and thoroughly purged from heresies, if, by chance, there were offered a choice, either to retain painting or graving, and forbear writing; or, choosing writing, to forbear both the other gifts; it would be a problem, seeing, if graving were taken away, we could have no printing. And, therefore, they that press so much the words of *Non facies tibi sculptile*, ever, methinketh, they condemn printed books, the original whereof is of graving to make *matrices literarum*. *Sed hoc est furiosum, et sunt tamen qui putant palmarium*; and therefore, now it is Englished, *Thou shalt make no graven images, lest thou worship them*; which, I hear, is newly written in the new church, I know not the name, but not far from the Old Jewry. But to the matter of images, wherein I have discoursed at large, I think, if ye consider (as I doubt not but that ye will) the doctrine set forth by our late sovereign lord, ye shall, in that matter, see the truth set forth, by such as had that committed unto them under his highness; amongst whom I was not, nor was I privy unto it, until it was done. And yet, the clause in the book for discussion of *the Lord*, and *our Lord*, hath made many think otherwise. But I take our Lord to witness I was not; and that declaration of *our Lord* was his highness's own device, *ex se*; for he saw the fond englishing of *the Lord* dissevered in speech [those] whom *our Lord* had congregate. And this I add, lest, giving authority to that book, I should seem to vaunt myself.

Now will I speak somewhat of holy water, wherein I send unto you the 34th chapter in the 9th book of the History Tripartite, where Marcellus, the bishop, bade Equitius, his deacon, to cast abroad water, by him first hallowed, wherewith to drive away the devil; and it is noted, how the devil could not abide the virtue of the water, but vanished away. And, for my part, it seemeth the history may be true: for we be assured by Scripture, that, in the name of God, the church is able and strong to cast out devils, according to the gospel, *In nomine meo demonia ejicient*, etc.: so as, if the water were away, by only calling on the name of God that mastery may be wrought: and the virtue of the effect being only attributed to the name of God, the question should be only, Whether the creature of water may have the office to convey the effect of the holiness of the invocation of God's name? And first, in Christ, the skirt of his garment had such an office to minister health to the woman, and spittle and clay to the blind, and St. Peter's shadow, and St. Paul's handkerchers. And, leaving old stories, here at home

the special gift of curation, ministered by the kings of this realm, not of their own strength, but by invocation of the name of God, hath been used to be distributed in rings of gold and silver. And I think effectually therein, the metal hath only an office, and the strength is in the name of God, wherein all is wrought. And Elizeus put his staff in like office. And why the whole church might not put water in like office, to convey abroad the invocation of God's name, there is no Scripture to the contrary; but there is Scripture how other inferior creatures have been promoted to like dignity, and much Scripture how water hath been used in like and greater service. And the story I send unto you sheweth, how water hath been used in the same service, to drive away devils. In which matter, if any shall say, he believeth not the story, and he is not bound to believe it, being no Scripture, that man is not to be reasoned with, for the effect of the king's cramp rings. And yet, for such effect as they have wrought, when I was in France, I have been myself much honoured, and of all sorts intreated to have them, with offer of as much for them, as they were double worth. Some will say, what are rings to holy water? Marry thus I say: If the metal of gold and silver may do service, to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God effectually for one purpose, water may also serve to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God, wherewith to drive away devils. Hereto will be said, *Non valet argumentum à posse ad esse*. But the story saith, the water did that service; and other strangers say, and affirm by experience, the king's majesty's rings have done the service. And our late master continued, all his life, the exercise of that gift of God, and used silver and gold to do that service, to carry abroad the strength of the invocation of the name of God by him; and he used it among us that served him in it, when he had thoroughly heard and seen what might be said in the matter; and yet he had no scripture especially for it, that spake of rings of silver or gold, no more than is for the ashes, ministered a little before ye last preached. And, as our young sovereign lord hath received them reverently, so, I trust, he shall be advertised, *ne negligat gratiam Dei in dono curationum*, but follow his father therein; also, not doubting but God will hear him, as he hath heard his father, and other, his progenitors, kings of this realm, to whose dignity God addeth this prerogative, as he doth also to inferior ministers of his church, in the effect of their prayer, when it pleaseth him. A man might find some youngling, percase, that would say, 'how worldly, wily, witty bishops have inveigled simple kings heretofore, and, to confirm their blessings, have also devised how kings should bless also, and so authority to maintain where truth failed!' And I have had it objected to me, that I used to prove one piece of my argument ever

by a king ; as when I reasoned thus : If ye allow nothing but Scripture, what say ye to the king's rings ? But they be allowed : *ergo* somewhat is to be allowed besides Scripture. And another : If images be forbidden, why doth the king wear St. George on his breast ? But he weareth St. George on his breast : *ergo* images be not forbidden. If saints be not to be worshipped, why keep we St. George's feast ? But we keep St. George's feast : *ergo* &c. And in this matter of holy water : If the strength of the invocation of the name of God to drive away devils cannot be distributed by water, why can it be distributed in silver, to drive away diseases, and the dangerous disease of the falling evil ? But the rings hallowed by the holy church may do so : *ergo* the water hallowed by the church may do like service. These were sore arguments in his time, and, I trust, be also yet ; and may be conveniently used to such as would never make an end of talk, but rake up every thing that their dull sight cannot penetrate ; wherein, methought, ye spake effectually, when ye said : Men must receive the determination of the particular church, and obey, where God's law repugneth not expressly. And in this effect, to drive away devils, that prayer and invocation of the church may do it, Scripture maintaineth evidently ; and the same Scripture doth authorise us so to pray, and encourageth us to it. So as, if, in discussion of holy water, we attribute all the effect to the holiness which proceedeth from God by invocation of the church, and take water only for a servant, to carry abroad holiness, there can be no superstition, where men regard only prayer, which Scripture authoriseth. And if we shall say that the water cannot do such service, we shall be convinced,¹ in that it doth a greater service in our baptism, by God's special ordinance : so as we cannot say, that water cannot, or is not apt to do this service. Only, the stay is, to have a precise place in the New Testament to say, Use water thus in this service, as we do in holy water ;—which, methinketh, needeth not, where all is ordered to be well used by us : and when the whole church agreed upon such an use, or any particular church, or the common minister of it, and, by the exorcism ordered for it, the thing to be used, purged, there can be but slender matter to improve that custom, wherein God is only honoured, and the power of his name set forth, whereunto all things bow and give place, all natural operation set apart and secluded. And when any man hath denied that water may do service, because Scripture appointeth it not, that '*because*' driveth away much of the rest which the church useth, and especially our cramp rings. For, if water may not serve to carry abroad the effects of God's grace, obtained by invocation from God, by the common

¹ *i. e. refuted.*

prayer of the church, how can the metal of silver or gold carry abroad the effect of the king's invocation in the cramp rings? Which manner of reasoning *ad hominem* Christ used with the Jews, when he said, *Si ego in Beelzebub ejicio dæmonia, filij vestri in quo ejiciunt?* And, [if], by our own principles, we should be forced to say that our cramp rings be superstition (where truth enforceth us not so to do), it were a marvellous punishment. *Si cæci essemus* (as Christ saith), *peccatum non habemus: sed videmus*; and this realm hath learning in it, and you a good portion thereof, according whereunto I doubt not but you will weigh this matter, *non ad popularem trutinam, sed artificis stateram*. I mean that artificer, which teacheth the church our mother (as ye full well declared it), and ordered our mother to give nourishment unto us. In which point, speaking of the church, although ye touched an unknown church to us, and known to God only, yet ye declared the union of that church in the permixed church, which God ordereth men to complain unto, and to hear again; wherein the absurdity is taken away of them that would have no church known, but every man believe as he were inwardly taught himself, whereupon followeth the old proverb, *Σοὶ μὲν ταῦτα δοκοῦντ' ἐστὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰδε*; which is far from the unity, ye so earnestly wished for, whereof (as methought) ye said pride is the lett, as it is undoubtedly; which fault God amend, and give you grace so to fashion your words, as ye may agree with them in speech, with whom ye be inclined to agree in opinion: for that is the way to relieve the world. And albeit there hath been between you and me no familiarity, but, contrariwise, a little disagreement (which I did not hide from you), yet, considering the fervent zeal ye professed, to teach Peter's true doctrine, that is to say, Christ's true doctrine, whereunto ye thought the doctrine of images and holy water to put away devils agreed not, I have willingly spent this time, to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) plainly as it is; whereupon ye may have occasion the more substantially, fully, and plainly, to open these matters, for the relief of such as be fallen from the truth, and confirmation of those that receive and follow it; wherein it hath been ever much commended, to have such regard to histories of credit, and the continual use of the church, rather to shew how a thing continued from the beginning, as holy water and images have done, [and] may be well used, than to follow the light, rash eloquence, which is ever *ad manum*, to mock and improve that is established. And yet again, I come to Marcellus, that made a cross in the water, and bade his deacon cast it abroad *cum fide et zelo*; after which sort if our holy water were used, I doubt not but there be many Marcellus's and many Equitius's, and many at whose prayer God forgiveth sin, if such as will enjoy that prayer have faith and zeal, as

Equitius, and were as desirous to drive the devil out of the temple of their body and soul, as Equitius out of the temple of Jupiter. So as, if holy use were coupled with holy water, there should be more plenty of holiness than there is : but, as men be profane in their living, so they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, not so much as bread and water, fearing lest they should take away sin from us, which we love so dearly well. *Solus Christus peccata diluit*, who sprinkleth his blood by his ministers, as he hath taught his spouse, the church, in which those ministers be ordered; wherein ‘many ways maketh not many Saviours,’ as ignorants do jest; whereof I need not speak farther unto you, no more I needed not in the rest, in respect of you; but, methought, ye conjured all men, in your sermon, to say what they thought to you. *Id quod hanc mihi expressit epistolam, quam boni consules, et vale.*

Your loving friend,

STEPHEN WINCHESTER.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, to captain Vaughan. May 3, 1547.

[Foxe, ii. l. ix. 54.]

Master Vaughan, after my right hearty commendations: in my last letters to my lord protector, signifying, according to the general commandment by letters given to all justices of peace, the state of this shire, I declared, as I supposed true, the shire to be in good order, quiet, and conformity; for I had not then heard of any alteration in this shire, which the said letters of commandment did forbid. Now, of late, within these two days, I have heard of a great and detestable (if it be true that is told me) innovation, in the town of Portsmouth, where the images of Christ and his saints have been most contemptuously pulled down, and spitefully handled. Herein, I thought good both to write to you, and the mayor, the king’s majesty’s chief ministers, as well to know the truth, as to consult with you for the reformation of it; to the intent I may be seen to discharge my duty, and discharge it, indeed, both to God and the king’s majesty, under whom I am here appointed to have cure, and care to relieve such as be by any ways fallen, and preserve the rest, that stand, from like danger.

Ye are a gentleman, with whom I have had acquaintance, and whom I know to be wise, and esteem to have more knowledge, wisdom, and discretion, than to allow any such enormities; and, therefore, I do more willingly consult with you herein, with request, friendly to know of you the very truth in the matter, who be the doers, and the circumstances of it; and whether ye think the matter so far gone with the multitude, and whether the reproof and disproving of the deed might,

without a farther danger, be enterprised in the pulpit or not, minding, if it may so be, to send one thither for that purpose, upon Sunday next coming. I would use preaching, as it should not be occasion of any further folly, where a folly is begun; and to a multitude, persuaded in the opinion of destruction of images, I would never preach. For (as Scripture willeth us) we should cast no precious stones before hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be hogs, and worse than hogs (if there be any grosser beasts than hogs be), and have been ever so taken, and, in England, they are called Lollards, who, denying images, thought therewithal the crafts of painting and graving to be generally superfluous and naught, and against God's laws.

In Germany, such as maintained that opinion of destroying images, were accounted the dregs cast out by Luther, after he had tunned all his brewings in Christ's religion, and so taken as hogs' meat; for the reproof of whom Luther wrote a book specially, and I have, with mine eyes, seen the images standing in all churches, where Luther was had in estimation. For the destruction of images containeth an enterprise to subvert religion, and the state of the world with it, and especially the nobility, who, by images, set forth and spread abroad, to be read of all people, their lineage, parentage, with remembrance of their state and acts; and the pursuivant carrieth not on his breast the king's name, written in such letters as a few can spell, but such as all can read, be they never so rude; being great known letters, in images of three lions and three flowers de luce, and other beasts holding those arms. And he that cannot read the scripture, written about the king's great seal, yet he can read St. George on horseback on the one side, and the king sitting in his majesty on the other side, and readeth so much written in those images, as, if he be an honest man, he will put off his cap. And, although, if the seal were broken by chance, he would and might make a candle of it, yet he would not be noted to have broken the seal for that purpose, or to call it a piece of wax only, whilst it continueth whole. And if, by reviling of stocks and stones, in which matter images be graven, the setting of the truth to be read of all men shall be contemned, how shall such writing continue in honour, as is comprised in clouts and pitch, whereof and whereupon our books be made, such as few can skill of, and not the hundredth part of the realm? And if we, a few that can read, because we read in one sort of letters, so privileged as they have many reliefs, shall pull away the books of the rest, and would have our letters only in estimation, and blind all them, shall not they have just cause to mistrust what is meant? And, if the cross be a truth, and if it be true that Christ suffered, why may we not have a writing thereof such as all can read, that is to say, an image? If this opinion should

proceed, when the king's majesty hereafter should shew his person, his lively image, the honour due by God's law among such might continue; but, as for the king's standards, his banners, his arms, [they] should hardly continue in their due reverence, for fear of Lollards' idolatry, which they gather upon Scripture beastly, not only untruly. The Scripture reproveth false images, made of stocks and stones, and so it doth false men, made of flesh and bones.

When the emperor's money was shewed to Christ, wherein was the image of the emperor, Christ contemned not that image, calling it an idol, nor noted that money to be against God's law, because it had an image on it, as though it were against the precept of God, *Thou shalt have no graven image*; but taught them good civility, in calling it the emperor's image, and bad them use the money, as it was ordered to be used, in his right use.

There is no scripture that reproveth truth, and all scripture reproveth falsehood. False writings, false books, false images, and false men, all be naught, to be contemned and despised. As for paper, ink, parchment, stones, wood, bones, A. B. of the chancery hand, and A. B. of the secretary hand, a letter of Germany fashion, or of any other form, they be all of one estimation, and may be, of man inclining to the devil, used for falsehood, or applying to God's gracious calling, used to set forth truth. It is a terrible matter to think, that this false opinion conceived against images should trouble any man's head: and such as I have known vexed with that devil (as I have known some) be nevertheless wondrously obstinate in it; and if they can find one that can spell Latin, to help forth their madness, they be more obdurate than ever were the Jews, and slander whatsoever is said to them for their relief. Of this sort I know them to be; and, therefore, if I wist there were many of that sort with you, I would not irritate them by preaching without fruit, but labour for reformation to my lord protector. But, if you thought there might be other ways used first to good effect, I would follow your advice, and proceed with you and the mayor, with both your helps, to do that may lie in me, to the redress of the matter; which I take to be such an enterprise against Christ's religion, as there cannot be a greater by man excogitate, with the devil's instigation, and, at this time, much hurtful to the common estate, as ye can of your wisdom consider: whom I heartily desire and pray to send me answer, by this bearer, to these my letters; to the intent, I may use myself, in sending of a preacher thither, or writing to the lord protector, as the case shall require accordingly. And thus fare you heartily well. From my house at Wolvesay, the third day of May, 1547.

Steph. Wint.

Somerset to Gardiner. May 6, 1547.

[Foxe, ii. l. ix. 55.]

After my hearty commendations, I received, of late, two letters from your lordship, the one enclosed in a letter of Master Vaughan's to us, and directed to him, the other directed straight unto us, very wittily and learnedly written, whereby we do perceive how earnest you are that no innovations should be had. The which mind of yours as we do highly esteem and allow, proceeding from one that would quietness, so we would likewise wish, that you should take good heed that too much fear of innovation or disturbance doth not cause both of them to be. Many times, in an host, he that crieth "*Enemies, enemies,*" when there be none, causeth not only disturbance, but sometimes a meeting or rebellion to be made; and he that, for fear of sickness to come, taketh unadvisedly a purgation, sometimes maketh himself sick indeed. We perceive by the said your letters, that heinouser facts and words have been brought to your ears, than there was cause why; and those facts, which were punishable, be already by him redrest.

For the matter of images, an order was taken, in the late king of famous memory, our sovereign lord's days. When the abused images (yet lurking in some places, by negligence of them, who should, ere this time, have looked unto the same) be now abolished, let not that be a matter of the abolishing of all images. Though felons and adulterers be punished, all men be not slain. Though the images, which did adulterate God's glory, be taken away, we may not think, by and by, all manner of images to be destroyed. Yet, after our advice, better it were, for a time, to abolish them all, than, for that the dead images, the king's loving subjects, being faithful and true to the king's majesty, should be put to variance and disturbance. With quietness the magistrates and rulers shall keep them well in order, whom contentious preachers might irritate and provoke to disorder and strife. So it must be provided that the king's majesty's images, arms, and ensigns, should be honoured and worshipped, after the decent order and invention of human laws and ceremonies; and, nevertheless, that other images, contrary to God's ordinances and laws, should not be made partakers of that reverence, adoration, and invocation, which (forbidden by God) should derogate his honour, and be occasion to accumulate God's wrath upon us. Where they be taken for a remembrance, it maketh no great matter though they stand still in the church or market-stead, following the late king of famous memory his counsel and order; yet more gentleness was showed to those books of images, than to the true and

unfeigned books of God's word, both being abused, the one with idolatry, the other with contention. The scripture was removed, for a time, from certain persons, and almost from all: the images were left still to them, who did most abuse them, the thing being yet closed from them, which should teach the use. Wherefore, it may appear unto us meet, more diligent heed to be taken that the abused *before* be not abused *again*,—the advantage of some priests, simplicity of laymen, and great inclination of man's nature to idolatry, giving cause thereto.

They that contemn images, because the matter that they are made of is but vile, as stocks and stones, may likewise despise printing in paper, because the ink hath pitch in it, and the paper is made of old rags. And if they be both alike, it might be reasoned why a man should be more aggrieved that an image of wood, though it were of St. Anne, or St. Margaret, should be burned, than he will that the bible, wherein the undoubted word of God is comprised, should be torn in pieces, burned, or made paste of. Nor do we now speak of false bibles, nor false gospels, but of the very true gospel, either in Latin, Greek, or English, which we see every day done, and sometime commanded, because the translator displeaseth us; and yet herein no man exclaimeth of a terrible and detestable fact done. But, let one image, either for age and because it is worm-eaten, or because it hath been foolishly abused, be burnt or abolished, by and by some men are in exceeding rage, as though not a stock or a stone, but a true saint of flesh and bone, should be cast into the fire, which were a detestable and a terrible sight. We cannot see but that images may be counted marvellous books, to whom we have kneeled, whom we have kissed, upon whom we have rubbed our beads and handkerchiefs, unto whom we have lighted candles, of whom we have asked pardon and help,—which thing hath seldom been seen done to the gospel of God, or the very true bible. For who kisseth that but the priest at the mass, at a painted picture, or in such a ceremony? Or who kneeleth unto it, or setteth a candle before it? And yet, it seeth or heareth, as well as the images or pictures either of St. John, or our Lady, or Christ.

Indeed, images be great letters; yet as big as they be, we have seen many which have read them amiss. And belike they be so likely to be read amiss, that God himself, fearing the Jews to become evil readers of them, generally did forbid them. Nor is any great marvel though, in reading of them, the lay people are many times deceived, when your lordship, as appeareth, hath not truly read a most true, and a most common image. Your lordship hath found out, in the king's highness' great seal, St. George on horseback, which the graver never made in it, nor the sealer ever sealed with it; and this inscription is not very little,

and, if it were, it could not escape your lordship's eyes. As the inscription testifieth, the king's image is on both the sides; on the one side, as in war, the chief captain; on the other side, as in peace, the liege sovereign: in harness, with his sword drawn, to defend his subjects; in his robes, in the seat of justice, with his sceptre, rightfully to rule and govern them, as he, whom, both in peace and war, we acknowledge our most natural and chiefest head, ruler, and governor. If it were St. George, my lord, where is his spear and dragon? And why should the inscription round about tell an untruth, and not agree to the image? Yet it is called sometimes so, of the rude and ignorant people; but not, by and by, that, that is commonly called so, is always truest. And some have thought that, by like deceiving as your lordship herein appeareth to have been deceived, the image of Bellerophon, or Perseus, was turned first and appointed to be St. George, and of Polyphemus, of Hercules, or of some other Colossus, to be St. Christopher, because authentical histories have not fully proved their two lives. But those be indifferent to be true, or not true, either thus invented upon some device, or rising of a true fact or history; and whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

It were hardly done, indeed, my lord, if that you, and a few which can read, should take away from the unlearned multitude their books of their images: but it were more hardly done, if that you, or a few which can read, in one or two languages (as Greek or Latin), the word of God, and have had thereby many reliefs and privileges, should pull away the English books from the rest, which only understand English, and would have only your letters of Greek and Latin in estimation, and bind all them, which understand not these languages, from the knowledge of God's word. And, indeed, my lord, by your saying, they have just occasion to suspect what is meant.

What you mean by true images, and false images, it is not so easy to perceive. If they be only false images, which have nothing that they represent (as St. Paul writeth, '*An idol is nothing*', because there is no such God), and, therefore, the cross can be no false image, because it is true that Christ suffered upon it, then the image of the sun and the moon were no idols; for such things there be as the sun and the moon, and they were in the image then so represented, as painting and carving doth represent them. And the image of Ninus and Cæsar, and (as some write) the images of all the twelve chosen Gods (as they called them) were the images of once living men. And it might be said that the image of God the Father hath no such eyes, nose, lips, and a long grey beard, with a furred robe, nor ever had, as they carve and paint him to have. But, if that be a false image and an idol, which is other-

wise worshipped and accepted than it ought to be, as the brazen serpent, being a true image and representation of Christ, by abuse was made an idol, it may be thought, in times past, and peradventure now at this time, in some places, the images not only of St. John or St. Anne, but of our Lady and Christ, be false images and idols, representing to foolish, blind, and ignorant men's hearts and thoughts that, which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for. The which were, by you, my lord, to have been removed sooner, and before that the captain there should have need to have done it. But, if your lordship be slack in such matters, he that removeth false images, and idols abused, doth not a thing worthy of blame.

Christ called not the money, having Cæsar's image in it, an idol, when it was used to lawful uses, and to pay the due tribute withal. But when a man doth not use those images, graven in money, to do his neighbour good, and the commonwealth service, St. Paul, Christ's disciple, called that covetousness, and the serving and bondage to idols. So that, even in money may be idolatry, if we make too much of those images, which Christ here doth not reprehend. There be some so ticklish, and so fearful one ways, and so tender stomached, that they can abide no old abuses to be reformed, but think every reformation to be a capital enterprise against all religion and good order; as there be, on the contrary side, some too rash, who, having no consideration what is to be done, headlong will set upon every thing. The magistrate's duty is betwixt these, so, in a mean, to see and provide that old doting should not take farther or deeper root in the commonwealth, neither ancient error overcome the seen and tried truth, nor long abuse, for the age and space of time only, still be suffered; and yet all these with quietness and gentleness, and without all contention, if it were possible, to be reformed. To the which your lordship, as a man to whom God hath given great qualities of wit, learning, and persuasion, could bring great help and furtherance, if it were your pleasure, with great thanks of men, and reward of God: the which thing is our full desire and purpose, and our hearty and daily prayer to God, that, in the king's majesty's time, whose majesty's reign God preserve, all abuses with wisdom reformed, Christ's religion, with good and politic order of the commonwealth, without any contention and strife among the king's subjects, might flourish and daily increase. And this to your lordship's letter, sent to master Vaughan of Portsmouth.

Gardiner to Somerset, May 21, 1547.

[Foxe, ii. l. ix. 57.]

After my humble commendations to your grace, it may like the same

to understand, I have seen, of late, two books set forth in English, by Bale, very pernicious, seditious, and slanderous. And albeit that your grace needeth not mine advertisement in that matter, yet I am so bold to trouble your grace with my letters, for mine own commodity, wherewith to satisfy mine own conscience, to write, and say, as becometh me in such matters, which I desire your grace to take in good part. For it grieveth me not a little, to see, so soon after my late sovereign lord and master's death, a book spread abroad, more to his dishonour (if a prince's honour may be by vile inferior subjects impeached), than professed enemies have imagined, to note a woman to have suffered under him as a martyr, and the woman therewith to be, by Bale's own elucidation (as he calleth it), so set forth and painted, as she appeareth to be, and is boasted to be, a Sacramentary, and, by the laws, worthy (as she suffered) the pains of death. Such like things have, by stealth, in our late sovereign lord's days, gone abroad, as they do now: and, as I am wont, in such cases, to speak, I keep my wont to write to your grace now, in whose hands I know the state of the realm to be, for the time, in government, and to whom, for respects of old acquaintance, I wish all felicity. In these matters of religion I have been long exercised, and have (thanks be to God) lived so long, as I have seen them thoroughly tried; and besides that I have learned in written books of authority, I have perceived by books written without authority, as by master Bale, Joy, and other, and especially as Bale useth now, that Scripture doth, by abuse, service to the right hand and the left at once; insomuch, as, at one time, Bale praiseth Luther, and setteth his death forth in English, with commendation as of a saint; which Luther (whatsoever he was otherwise) stoutly affirmed the presence really of Christ's natural body in the sacrament of the altar. And yet Bale, the noble clerk, would have Ann Askew, blasphemously denying the presence of Christ's natural body, to be taken for a saint also. So as Bale's saints may vary in heaven, if they chance not by the way; which might suffice to disprove the man's credit, if thwarting talk were not more desired of many, than the truth indeed; which truth was supposed to have been, both in writing and exercise, well established, long before our late lord's death; and Bale and his adherents, in their madness, plainly reprov'd and condemn'd. I cannot forget, your grace told me, you would suffer no innovation; and, indeed, if you deliver this realm to the king, at eighteen years of age, as the king his father, whose soul God assoil, left it, as I trust you shall, the act is so honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any innovation; which were a charge to your grace more than needed, being already burthened heavily. And albeit in the commonwealth every man hath his part, yet, as God hath

placed you, the matter is, under the king's majesty, chiefly yours, and, as it were, yours alone. Every man hath his eye directed unto you, both here and abroad: you shall shadow men's doings, if they be done; which is one incommodity of high rule. And, for my part, besides my duty to the king's majesty, and the realm, I would that your grace, in whom, since your government, I have found much gentleness and humanity, had as much honour, with good success, as ever any had; and pray to God, that men would let your grace alone, and suffer the realm, in the time of your government, in quiet among ourselves; whereby we may be the more able to resist foreign trouble, which your grace doth prudently foresee. Certain printers, players, and preachers, make a wonderment, as though we knew not yet how to be justified, nor what sacraments we should have. And if the agreement in religion, made in the time of our late sovereign lord, be of no force in their judgment, what establishment could any new agreement have? And every uncertainty is noisome to any realm; and, where every man will be master, there must needs be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous, that, at the same time it is taught that all men be liars, at the self same time, almost every man would be believed; and, amongst them, Bale, when his untruth appeareth evidently, in setting forth the examination of Ann Askew, which is utterly misreported. I beseech your grace to pardon my babbling with you. But I see my late sovereign lord and master slandered by such simple persons, religion assaulted, the realm troubled, and peaceable men disquieted, with occasion given to enemies to point and say, that, after Wycliffe's strange teaching in the sacraments of Christ's church hath vexed other, it is finally turned unto us, to molest and scourge us. For other fruit cannot Bale's teaching have, ne the teaching of such other, as go about to trouble the agreement established here. In which matter, I dare not desire your grace specially to look earnestly unto it, lest I should seem to note in you, that which becometh me not. And I know that, your grace being otherwise occupied, these things may creep in, as it hath been heretofore. Sometime it may be hard for your grace to find out, or pull out, the root of this naughtiness; but yet I am so bold to write of these, of mine own stomach, who have ever used, for discharge of myself, to say and write, in time and place, as I thought might do good for relief of the matter, remitting the rest to the disposition of God, who hath wrought wonders in these matters, since they were first moved, and given me such knowledge and experience in them, as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and untruth; I mean knowledge and experience of them that be chief stirrers, to infect with untruth, as they cannot speak, and report truly, in common matters. The pretence is of the spirit, and all is for the flesh,

women, and meat, with liberty of hand and tongue, a dissolution and dissipation of all estates, clean contrarious to the place God hath called your grace unto; for it tendeth all to confusion and disorder, which is the effect of untruth.

Bale hath set forth a prayer for the duke John of Saxony, wherein the duke remitteth to God's judgment, to be shewed here in this world, the justness of his cause concerning religion; and desireth God, if his cause be not good, to order him to be taken, and to be spoiled of his honour and possessions, with many such gay words, whereby to tempt God. Since which prayer, the duke is indeed taken, as all the world saith; and at the time of his taking, as the account is made, such strangeness in the sun, as we saw it here, as hath not been seen. They happened both together. This we know, and be both marvellous: but whether the one were a token, ordered to concur with the other, God knoweth, and man cannot define. Many commonwealths have continued without the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction; but without true religion, and with such opinions as Germany maintained, no estate hath continued, in the circuit of the world, to us known, since Christ came. For the Turks and Tartars government is, as it were, a continual war; and they uphold their rule, with subduing of nobility by fire and sword. Germany, with their new religion, could never have stood, though the emperor had let them alone. For, if it be persuaded, the understanding of God's law to be at large in women and children, whereby they may have the rule of that and then God's law must be the rule of all, is not hereby the rule of all brought into their hands? These of some will be called witty reasons: but they be indeed truth's children; and so is all the eloquence which some (to dispraise me) say I have, whatsoever they say of me: for truth is, of itself, in a right meaning man's mouth, more eloquent, than forged matters can with study bring forth.

What rhymes be set forth to deprave the Lent! And how fond (saving your grace's honour) and foolish! And yet the people pay money for them; and they can serve for nothing, but to learn the people to rail, and to cause such, as used to make provision for fish against Lent (fearing now in Lent to be so sick, as the rhyme purporteth, and like to die indeed), to forbear to make their accustomed provision for the next year. And thereto shall it come, if the common diet be not certain. For the fishmonger will never hope to have good sale, when the butcher may, with flesh, outface him. And fish is that great treasure of this realm, and food inestimable. And these good words I give, although I love it not myself; for such as love not fish should nevertheless commend it to other, to the intent, the flesh, by them forborn might be, to such as love it only, the more plenty. The public defamation, and trifling with Lent, is a marvellous matter to them that would

say evil of this realm; for there is nothing more commended unto us Christian men, in both the churches of the Greeks and Latins, than Lent is, if all men be not liars. In the king our late sovereign lord's days, this matter was not thus spoken of. And I think our enemies would wish we had no Lent. Every country hath his peculiar inclination to naughtiness: England and Germany unto the belly; the one in liquor, the other in meat: Italy to vanity and pleasures devised: and let an English belly have a farther advancement, and nothing can stay it. When I was purveyor for the seas, what an exclamation was there (as your grace shewed me) of the bishops fasting-day, as they called Wednesday, and "Winchester, Winchester, grand mercy for your wine! I beshrew your heart for your water." Was not that song, although it was in sport, a signification how loath men be to have their license restrained, or their accustomed fare abated, unless it were in extreme necessity. I hear say, that Lent is thus spoken of by Joseph and Tong, with other new [teachers] (whom I know not), as one of Christ's miracles, which God ordained not man to imitate and follow; at which teaching, all the world will laugh. For Christian men have Christ for an example in all things; both to use the world as he did, only for necessity; and to condemn the world as he did, and, in case to refuse it, and choose the vile death, as he did the death of the cross; which things he did, like a master most perfect: for he was very God, and we must endeavour ourselves, in the use of his gifts, to follow that he did: not to fast forty days, as Christ did, without meat; for we be but prentices, and carry about a ruinous carcase, that must have some daily reparation with food. But yet, was there never any that said, how, therefore, we should do nothing, because we cannot do all, and take Christ's fast for a miracle only? And yet all that follow Christ truly, they work daily miracles, in subduing and conforming, by God's grace, their sensual appetites, and humbly obeying to the will of God, which no man can of himself do; and Christ promised, that his true servants should work the works that he did, and greater works also. Wherefore, it is a slender matter to say, Lent was one of Christ's miracles; for so it was to love his enemies, and specially those that scourged and bobbed him; which may not be (if that allegation hath place) taught Christian men to follow, because it was a miracle, as they might say: it were more tolerable to forget Lent, as Pogg telleth of a priest in the mountains, that knew not how the year went about; and, when the weather opened, and he went abroad, and perceived his neighbours were towards Palm Sunday, he devised an excuse to his parish, and bade them prepare therefore; for, indeed, the year had somewhat slipped him, but he would fashion the matter so, as they should be as soon at Easter as the rest; and thus did he pass over Lent, with much less slander, than to teach it for a doc-

trine, that Lent was one of Christ's miracles, and therefore not to be imitated of us: for although it was, indeed, a great miracle (as all Christ's doings were), yet was it not a greater miracle, nor more against man's nature, than to love them that laboured and were busy to take away the natural life of his manhood: for, as the nature of man desireth relief, so doth it abhor destruction, or hurt. In will and desire, men follow Christ in all things; in execution, they cannot: for we have brittle vessels, and God giveth his gifts to men, as he seeth expedient for his church; so as men cannot heal the lame when they will, as Christ did when he would, but as God shall think profitable for the edification of the flock assembled. Gregory Nazianzen speaketh of some, that enterprised to imitate Christ's fast above their power, whose immoderate zeal he doth not allow: not requiring of all men so to do; for that is an extremity: ne yet assoiling the matter, as our new schoolmen do, that Christian men should let Christ's fast alone, as a miracle. Which manner of solution I heard a good fellow make, when it was told him, he might not revenge himself, and when he was stricken on the one ear, he should put forth the other; I am, quoth he, a man, I am not God; if Christ, being God, did so, he might, quoth he, if it had pleased him, have done otherwise. And so, when it hath been alleged, that Christ fasted forty days, he might (quoth he) have eaten, if he had list. These triflings in sport might be drawn to grave speech, if Christian men should refuse to follow Christ in miracles. For all his life was miracles, and his love, that is our badge, most miraculous of all, to die for his enemies.

I beseech your grace to pardon me, for I am like one of the common house, that, when I am in my tale, think I should have liberty to make an end; and specially writing to your grace, with whom, I account I may be bold;—assuring you, that it proceedeth of a zeal towards you, to whom I wish well, whose intent, although it be such as it ought to be, and as it pleased you to shew me it was, yet are such things spread abroad, whereof the evil willers of the realm will take courage, and make account (although it be wrong) that all goeth on wheels. If any man had either fondly or indiscreetly spoken of Lent, to engrave it to be an importable burden, I would wish his reformation: for I have not learned that all men are bound to keep the Lent in the form received. But this I reckon, that no Christian man may condemn the form received, being such a devout and profitable imitation of Christ, to celebrate his fast; and, in that time, such as have been in the rest of the year worldly, to prepare themselves to come, as they should come, to the feast of Easter, whereof St. Chrysostome speaketh expressly. And, for avoiding contempt, a license, truly obtained of the superior, serveth; and so I heard the king's majesty our sovereign lord declare, when your grace was present. And, therefore, he himself was very scrupulous in granting of

licences; and to declare that himself contemned not the fast, he was at charge to have (as your grace knoweth) the Lent diet daily prepared, as if it had been for himself: and the like hereof, I hear say, your grace hath ordered for the king's majesty that now is; which agreeth not with certain preaching in this matter, ne the rhymes set abroad. Lent is, among Christian men, a godly fast, to exercise men to forbear; and, in England, both godly and politic, such as without confusion we cannot forbear, as the experience shall shew, if it be ever attempted, which God forbid. And yet Lent is buried in rhyme, and Stephen Stockfish, bequeathed, not to me, though my name be noted; wherewith, for mine own part, I cannot be angry, for that it is mitigated by their fondness.

But I would desire of God to have the strength of this realm increased with report of a concord, which doth quench many vain devices and imaginations. And, if all men be liars, as it is now to my understanding strangely published, methink Bale, and such new men as be new liars, should be most abhorred and detested, and so much the more dangerous as they be new. That, which in Italy and France is a matter of combat, is now found to be improprieate to all men. God grant the truth to be desired of all men truly. But, as one asked, when he saw an old philosopher dispute with another, what they talked on? and it was answered, how the old man was discussing what was virtue? it was replied, if the old man yet dispute of virtue, when will he use it? So it may be said in our religion: if we be yet searching for it, when shall we begin to put it in execution? I would make an end of my letters, and cannot; wherein I account myself faulty: and, though I may err, as every man may, yet I lie not; for I say as I think, forsomuch as I have said, and further think, your grace hath no trouble troublesome but this matter of religion, unseasonably brought in, to the defamation of our late sovereign Lord's acts, doings, and laws.¹ I beseech your grace take my meaning and words in good part, and pardon my boldness, which groweth of the familiarity I have heretofore had with your grace, which I cannot forget. And thus, enforcing myself to an end, shall pray to Almighty God to preserve your grace in much felicity, with increase of honour, and achieving of your heart's desire. At Winchester, the 21st of May.

Your grace's humble beadman,

S. W.

¹ The great point pressed by Gardiner against the protector, Cranmer, and the rest of Edward VI.'s ministry was, that they had changed the religion which they had solemnly agreed to in the former reign, and particularly the system of doctrine contained in the book called, *A necessary erudition of a Christian Man*, which Gardiner takes notice of in a letter to archbishop Cranmer, in these words: "And therefore, after your grace hath four years continually lived in agreement of that doctrine, under our late sovereign lord, now, so suddenly after his death, to write to me that his highness was '*seduced*,' it is, I assure you, a very strange speech."—*Strype's Cranmer*, Append. 74.

Somerset to Gardiner. May 27, 1547.

[Fuxe, ii. l. ix. 59.]

Your letters dated the one-and-twentieth day of May, as concerning two books new set forth by one Bale, and certain sermons preached here, were, with convenient speed, delivered unto us. And, like as in your letters to Edward Vaughan, of Portsmouth, so in those to us, we perceive that you have a vigilant and diligent eye, and very fearful of innovation; which, as it cannot be blamed, proceeding of one which is desirous of quiet, good order, and continuance of the godly state of this realm, so we do marvel that so soon, so far off, and so plainly, you can hear tell and say of so many things done here, which, indeed, we being here and attendant upon the same, cannot yet be advertised of. The world never was so quiet, or so united, but that, privily or openly, those three which you write of, printers, players, and preachers, would set forth somewhat of their own heads, which the magistrates were unawares of: and they which already be banished, and have forsaken the realm, as suffering the last punishment, be boldest to set forth their mind, and dare use their extreme licence or liberty of speaking, as out of the hands or rule of correction, either because they be gone, or because they be hid. There have foolish and naughty rhymes and books been made and set forth, of the which, as it appeareth, you have seen more than we; and yet to our knowledge too many be bought: but yet, after our mind, it is too sore and too cruelly done, to lay all those to our charge, and to ask, as it were, account of us of them all. In the most exact cruelty and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, yet Pasquill, as we hear say, writeth his mind, and many times against the bishop's tyranny, and sometime toucheth other great princes, which thing, for the most part, he doth safely; not that the bishop alloweth Pasquill's rhymes and verses, specially against himself, but because he cannot punish the author, whom either he knoweth not, or hath not. In the late king's days of famous memory, who was both a learned, wise, and politic prince, and a diligent executer of his laws, and when your lordship was most diligent in the same, yet, as your lordship itself writeth (and it is too manifest, to be unknown), there were that wrote such lewd rhymes and plays as you speak of, and some against the king's proceedings, who were yet unpunished, because they were unknown or ungotten. And, when we do weigh the matter, we do very much marvel why that, about Jack-of-Lent's lewd ballad, and certain (as it was reported unto us) godly sermons, which be evil in your letters

joined together, you be so earnest, when against Dr. Smith's book,¹ being a man learned in the doctors and scripture, which made so plain against the king's highness' authority, and for the furtherance of the bishop of Rome's usurped power, your lordship neither wrote nor said any thing. And, as it appeared, you be so angry with his retractation (which frankly, without fear, dread, compulsion, or imprisonment, only with learning and truth overcome, he came unto), that you cannot abide his beginning, although having the very words of scripture;—except, peradventure, you think that the saying of David, *omnis homo mendax*, cannot be interpreted, *every man is a liar*, which howsoever your lordship taketh it at pleasure, it appeareth unto us then of him taken but godly, to declare the infirmity of a man, and the truth of God and his word. And we are not able to reason so clerkly with you, and yet we have heard of the subtil difference of lying, and telling of a lie, or, as it is in Latin called, *mentiri*, and *mendacium dicere*: but if your lordship be loath to be counted *mendax*, which, belike, he hath interpreted a liar, or a lying man, and think it a matter of combat, he was deceived in the interpretation, and it is matter for clerks to dispute of: [still] we would have wished your lordship to have written against his book before, or now with it, if you think that to be defended, which the author himself refuseth to aver.

Your lordship writeth earnestly for Lent, which we go not about to put away, no more than, when Dr. Smith wrote so earnestly that every man should be obedient to the bishops, the magistrates, by and by, went about to bring kings, and princes, and other under their subjection. Writers write their fantasy, my lord, and preachers preach what either liketh them, or what God putteth in their heads. It is not by and by done that is spoken. The people buyeth those foolish ballads of Jack-o'-Lent: so bought they, in times past, pardons, and carols, and Robin Hood's tales. All be not wise men, and the foolisher a thing is, to some (although not to the more part) it is the more pleasant and meet: and peradventure of the sermons there is, and indeed there is (if it be true that we have heard), otherwise spoken and reported to you, than it was of the preachers there and then spoken or meant. Lent remaineth still, my lord, and shall, God willing, till the king's highness, with our advice and the residue of his grace's council, take another order, although some light and lewd men do bury it in writing; even as the king's majesty remaineth head of the church, although, through sinister ways, and by subtil means, some traitors have gone about, and

¹ [De Primatu Romani Pontificis. The author was Dr. Richard Smith, of whom an account will be found in the biographical part of this work.—T.]

daily do, to abuse the king's majesty's supremacy, and bring in the bishop of Rome's tyranny, with other superstition and idolatry. On both sides, great heed is to be taken, and, as your lordship writeth, we are set in a painful room, to reform all lightness and lewdness, to the which we do endeavour ourself, to the best of our power;—although not so cruelly and fiercely as some, peradventure, would wish, yet not so loosely, that there needeth such exclamations or great fear to be. We do study to do all things attemperately, and with quiet and good order: and we would wish nothing more than your lordship to be as ready to the reformation of the one as of the other, that neither superstition, idolatry, or papacy should be brought in, nor lightness, nor contempt of good order to be maintained. They both take beginning at small things, and increase by little and little, at unawares. And quiet may as well be broken with jealousy as negligence, with too much fear as too much patience. No ways worse, than when one is over light-hearted the one way, and deaf on the other side. Rumours, by space and times, increase naturally, and, by that time they come at you, as it appeareth, they be doubled and trebled. We do perceive your diligent eye towards us, and we will wish (and trust you have) your heart faithful to us. Our most hearty and continual prayer to God is, to leave this realm to the king's highness, at his grace's age by you written, rather more flourishing in men, possessions, wealth, learning, wisdom, and God's religion and doctrine, if it were possible, and God's will, than we found it. And that is our whole intent and esperance, to the which we refuse no man's help, as knoweth God, in whom we bid you heartily farewell.

Gardiner to Somerset. June 6, 1547.

[Foxe, *ibid.* 60.]

After my most humble commendations to your good grace; upon the return of my servant Massie with your grace's letters, answering to such my letters, wherein I signified the robbing of my secretary, I read the same gladly, as, by the contents of the matter, I had cause so to do; which was such a comfortative, as I digested easily the rest of the great packet, having been accustomed thereunto in the king's, my late sovereign lord's days, which fashion of writing his highness (God pardon his soul) called *whetting*, which was not all the most pleasant unto me, at all times; yet, when I saw in my doings was no hurt, and sometime, by the occasion thereof, the matter amended, I was not so coy as always to reverse my argument, nor, so that his affairs went well, did I ever trouble myself whether he made me a wanton or not. And when such, as were privy to his letters directed unto me, were afraid I

had been in high displeasure (for the terms of the letters sounded so), yet I myself feared it nothing at all. I esteemed him, as he was, a wise prince; and, whatsoever he wrote or said for the present, he would, after, consider the matter as wisely as any man, and neither hurt, nor inwardly disfavour him, that had been bold with him; whereof I serve for a proof; for no man could do me hurt, during his life. And when he gave me the bishopric of Winchester, he said he had often squared with me, but he loved me never the worse, and, for a token thereof, gave me the bishopric. And once, when he had been vehement with me, in the presence of the earl of Wiltshire, and saw me dismayed with it, he took me apart into his bed-chamber, and comforted me, and said, that his displeasure was not so much to me as I did take it, but he misliked the matter, and he durst more boldly direct his speech to me, than to the earl of Wiltshire; and, from that day forward, he could not put me out of courage, but, if any unpleasant words passed from him, as they did sometime, I folded them up in the matter; which hindered me a little: for I was reported unto him, that I stooped not, and was stubborn; and he had commended unto me certain men's gentle nature (as he called it), that wept at every of his words; and methought that my nature was as gentle as theirs, for I was sorry when he was moved:—but else, I know, when the displeasure was not justly grounded in me, I had no cause to take thought, nor was I, at any time in all my life, discontent or grudging, at any thing done by him, I thank God for it.

And, therefore, being thus brought up, and having first read your grace's most gentle letters, signifying the device of a proclamation to stay these rumours,¹ and reading the same proclamation, which my servant brought with him, I read, with the more quiet, your grace's great letters, and would have laid them up without further answer, were it not that, perchance, my so doing might be mistaken: for glum silence may have another construction than frank speech, where a man may speak, as I reckon I may with your grace; upon confidence whereof, I am bold to write thus much, for my declaration touching your grace's letters of the 27th of May, that, how earnest soever my letters be taken in fearing any innovation, I neither inwardly fear it, neither shew any demonstration, in mine outward deeds, to the world here, or, in communication, that I fear it to be done by authority, but in myself resist the rumours and vain enterprises, with confidence in

¹ [Perhaps either the proclamation for the observance of Lent, or that for the prevention of farther innovations. The former was published in January, the latter in February, 1548. Wilk. iv. 20, 21.—T.]

the truth and your grace's wisdom. For, if I feared it indeed, with persuasion it should come to pass, I should have small lust to write in it; but I fear more, indeed, the trouble, that might arise by light boldness of other, and the cumber of such matters whiles other outward affairs occupy your grace's mind, than the effect, by your direction, that hath been talked of abroad: and yet, in the writing, I do speak as the matter leads, continuing mine old manner to be earnest, which, as some men have dispraised, so some have commended it; and, therefore, in a good honest matter, I follow rather mine own inclination, than to take the pains to speak, as butter would not melt in my mouth: wherewith I perceive your grace is not discontent, for the which I most humbly thank you.

And, first, as concerning Portsmouth, I wrote to the captain and mayor, in the thing, as I had information, and by men of credence: and yet I suspended my credit till I had heard from thence, as by my letters appeareth: and, as I was loath to have it so, so was I loath to believe it. And, to shew that I feared no innovation by authority, ne regarded any such danger, I went thither myself, and, in conclusion, was in such familiarity with the captain, that, after he had showed me all the gentle entertainment that he could, he desired me to make an exhortation to his men, as they stood handsomely with their weapons, wherewith they had showed warlike feats: which I did, and departed in amity with the captain and soldiers, and all the town; the captain telling me plainly, he was nothing offended with any thing I had said in my sermon, ne was there cause why he should. But the very act, indeed, in defacing the images, had no such ground as master captain pretended: for I asked specially for such as had abused those images, and no such could be shewed; for that I enquired for openly. And the image of St. John the evangelist, standing in the chancel, by the high altar, was pulled down, and a table of alabaster broken, and, in it, an image of Christ crucified so contemptuously handled, as was in my heart terrible,—to have the one eye bored out, and the side pierced; wherewith men were wondrously offended, for it is a very persecution beyond the sea, used in that form where the person cannot be apprehended. And I take such an act to be very slanderous, and, esteeming the opinion of breaking images as unlawful to be had, very dangerous, void of all learning and truth, wrote, after my fashion, to the captain, which letters I perceive to have come to your grace's hands. I was not very curious in the writing of them; for to me truth goeth out plainly and roundly: and, speaking of the king's seal, I uttered the common language I was brought up in, after the old sort. When as, I coniect of a good will, the people taking St. George for a patron of the realm under

God, and having some confidence of succour, by God's strength derived by him, to encrease the estimation of their prince and sovereign lord, I called their king on horseback, in the seat of arms, *St. George on horseback*, my knowledge was not corrupt. I know it representeth the king; and yet my speech came forth, after the common language, wherein I trust is none offence. For, besides learning, I, by experience, have known the pre-eminence of a king, both in war and peace; and yet, if I had wist my letter should have comen to your grace's hands, to be answered, then I would have been more precise in my speech, than to give occasion of so long an argument therein. As for *St. George* himself, I have such opinion of him, as becometh me: and have read also of Bellerophon, in Homer, as they call him, the father of tales;—but I will leave that matter. And, as for books, let Latin and Greek continue, as long as it shall please God; I am almost past the use of them. What service those letters have done experience hath shewed, and religion hath continued in them fifteen hundred years: but as for the English tongue, itself hath not continued in one form of understanding two hundred years; and, without God's work, and special miracles, it shall hardly continue religion long, when it cannot last itself: and, whatsoever your grace's mind is now in the matter, I know well that, having the government of the realm, your grace will use the gift of policy, which is the gift of God.

And even as now, at this time, bishops be restrained, by a special policy, to preach only in their cathedral churches (the like whereof hath not been known in my time), so, upon another occasion, your grace may, percase, think expedient to restrain (further than the parliament hath already done) the common reading of the scripture, as is now restrained the bishops' liberty of preaching. As for the brazen serpent, it did not, in all men's language, represent Christ; and, if I had written to another than your grace, I might have had the like matter of argument, that was taken against me, of *St. George on horseback*; for Gregory Nazianzen, chief divine in the Greek church, calleth the serpent's death the figure of the death of Christ, but not the serpent to be the figure of Christ: and yet, when I had done all my argument, I would resolve, as is resolved with me, in the speech of *St. George on horseback*, that the common speech is otherwise, and so it is, in saying the serpent to be a true figure of Christ. * * * * *

And, as your grace said, when I was last at your house with the French ambassador, ye wished, him and me together disputing, to see when we would make an end, even so it is in these matters, when they come in an argument; for a by-thing (as *St. George on horseback*) when it escaped me, or speaking of the brazen serpent following a speech not

thoroughly discussed, shall be occasion of a digression all out of purpose. And, therefore, was it a great gift of God, that our late sovereign lord (God rest his soul) set these matters in quiet: who had heard all these reasons touching images, which be now rehearsed in your grace's letters, and, having once my lord of Canterbury and me present with him alone in his palace, that they call otherwise New Hall, handled that matter at length, and discussed with my lord of Canterbury the understanding of God's commandment to the Jews, so as all the clerks in Christendom could not amend it. And whereas one had denied the image of the Trinity to be had, by reasons as be touched in your grace's letters, I heard his highness answer to them, at another time. And when he had himself specially commanded divers images to be abolished, yet (as God knoweth) he both ordered, and himself put in execution, the kneeling and creeping before the image of the cross, and established agreement in that truth through all this realm, whereby all arguments to the contrary be assoiled at once. I would wish images used, as the book, of his highness set forth, doth prescribe, and no otherwise. I know your grace only tempteth me with such reasons as other make unto you, and I am not fully at liberty, although I am bold enough (and some will think too bold), to answer some things, as I would to another man, mine equal, being so much inferior to your grace as I am: but methinketh St. Paul's solution, during the king's majesty's minority, should serve instead of all,—*nos talem consuetudinem non habemus*,—we have no such custom in the church.

When our sovereign lord cometh to his perfect age (which God grant), I doubt not but God will reveal that, which shall be necessary for the governing of his people in religion: and, if any thing shall be done, in the mean time (as I think there shall not), by your grace's direction, he may, when he cometh to age, say, in the rest, as I hear say he said now, of late, concerning procession, that, in his father's time, men were wont to follow procession: upon which his majesty's saying, the procession (as I heard) was well furnished afterwards, by your grace's commandment; which speech hath put me in remembrance, that, if the bishops and other of the clergy should agree to any alteration in religion, to the condemnation of any thing set forth by his father, whereby his father might be noted to have wanted knowledge, or favour to the truth, what he would say I cannot tell, but he might use a marvellous speech, and, for the excellency of his spirit, it were like he would, and, having so just a cause against bishops as he might have, it were to be feared he would. And when he had spoken, then he might, by his laws, do more than any of our sort would gladly suffer, at these days. For, as the allegation of his authority, represented by your grace,

shall be then answered (as your grace now writeth unto me), that your grace only desireth truth, according to God's scripture, and it may be then said, we bishops, when we have our sovereign lord and head in minority, we fashion the matter as we lust: and then some young man, that would have a piece of the bishops' lands, shall say, "the beastly bishops have always done so, and when they can no longer maintain one of their pleasures of rule and superiority, then they take another way, and let that go, and, for the time they be here, spend up that they have, * * * with *edamus et bibamus, cras moriemur.*" And if we shall allege, for our defence, the strength of God's truth, and the plainness of scripture, with the word of the Lord and many gay terms, and say, we were convinced by scriptures, such an excellent judgment, as the king's majesty is like to have, will never credit us in it, nor be abused by such a vain answer. And this is a worldly, politic consideration, and at home: for the noise abroad in the world will be more slanderous, than this is dangerous. And, touching the bishop of Rome, the doings in this realm hitherto hath never done him so much displeasure, as the alteration in religion, during the king's majesty's minority, should serve for his purpose: for he wanteth not wits to beat into other princes' ears, that, where his authority is abolished, there, at every change of governors, shall be change in religion, and that, which hath been amongst us by a whole consent established, shall, by the pretence of another understanding in Scripture, straight be brought in question: for they will give it no other name but a pretence, how stiffly soever we will affirm otherwise, and call it God's word. And here it should be much noted, that my lord of Canterbury, being the high bishop of the realm, highly in favour with his late sovereign lord, and my lord of Durham, a man of renowned fame in learning and gravity, both put by him in trust for their counsel in the order of the realm, should so soon forget their old knowledge in Scripture, set forth by the king's majesty's book, and advise to inveigh such matter of alteration: all which things be (I know well) by your grace and them considered; and, therefore, it is to me incredible that ever any such thing should be indeed, with effect, whatsoever the lightness of talk shall spread abroad, which your grace hath, by proclamation, well stayed. But, if you had not, and the world talked so fast as ever they did, I assure your grace I would never fear it, as men fear things they like not, unless I saw it in execution; for of this sort I am, that, in all things I think should not be done in reason, I fear them not, wherewith to trouble me otherwise, than to take heed, if I can, and to the head governors (as now to your grace) shew my mind;—and such experience hath every man of me, that hath communed with me, in such matters. And, therefore, albeit your grace writeth wisely, that over-

much fear doth hurt, and accelerateth sometime that which was not intended, yet it needs not to me; for I have learned that lesson already, and would a great many more had, which, indeed, should be great stay. And thus I talk with your grace homely, with multiplication of speech impertinent and not necessary, as though I meant to send you as great a packet, as I received from you.

One thing, necessary to answer your grace in, is, touching your marvel, how I know sooner things from thence, than your grace doth there; which ariseth not upon any desire of knowledge on my behalf (for evil things be over soon known), nor upon any slackness of your grace's behalf there, who is, and is noted, very vigilant, as your grace's charge requireth. But thus it is, even as it was, when I was in some little authority, they, that were the evil doers in such matters, would hide them from me; so now they have handled it otherwise,—for, as for Jack-o-Lent's English Testament, it was openly sold in Winchester market, before I wrote unto your grace of it: and as for Bale's book, called *Elucidation of Anne Askew's martyrdom*, they were in these parts common, some with leaves unglued, where master Paget was spoken of, and some with leaves glued. And I call them common, because I saw, at the least, four of them. As for Bale's book, touching the death of Luther, wherein was the duke of Saxony's prayer (whereof I wrote), it was brought down into this country by an honest gentleman, to whom it was (as I remember he told me) given at London for news, and he had it a great while, ere I wrote to your grace. I had not then received the inhibition for preaching, whereof men spake otherwise than they knew: and, in the mean time, Dr. Smith recanted, which a priest of this town (who to mine own mouth boasted himself to be your grace's chaplain, but I believed it not) brought down with speed, and made by-means to have it brought to my knowledge, which I knew besides,—for they had, by and by, filled all the country hereabouts of tales of me. And when I saw Dr. Smith's recantation begin with *omnis homo mendax*, so englished, and such a new humility, as he would make all the doctors of the church liars with himself, knowing what opinions were abroad, it enforced me to write unto your grace for the ease of my conscience; giving this judgment of Smith, that I neither liked his *Tractation of unwritten verities*, nor yet his retractation, and was glad of my former judgment that I never had familiarity with him. I saw him not, that I wot, these three years, nor talked with him these seven years, as curious as I am noted in the commonwealth. And whereas, in his *Unwritten verities*, he was so mad to say, 'bishops in this realm may make laws', I have witness that I said, at that word, we should be then daws; and was, by and by, sorry that ever he had written of the sacrament of

the altar, which was not, as it was noised, untouched with that word, *all men are liars*, which is a marvellous word, as it soundeth in our tongue, when we say a man were better to have a thief in his house, than a liar. And the depraving of man's nature, in that sort, is not the setting out of the authority of the Scripture: for, albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not upon man, yet the ministration of the letter, which is writing and speaking, is exercised, and hath been, from the beginning, delivered, through man's hand, and taught by man's mouth, which men the Scripture calleth holy men, and that is contrary to liars. And, therefore, St. Augustin, in his book *De mendacio*, saith, *Omnis homo mendax signifieth Omnis homo peccans*. If Smith had only written of bishop's laws, and then said he had (saving your honour) lied loudly, or, to mitigate the matter, said he had erred by ignorance, that had been done truly and humbly; for he that seeketh for much company in lying, as he did, hath small humility, for he would hide himself by the number. And thus much, as touching Smith, of whom, or his book, till he was in trouble, I never heard talking.

But to the matter I wrote of: I have told your grace how I came to knowledge of them, very scarcely in time, but in the thing over quickly; and never had any such thought in my life, as I denied to your grace, to be worthily charged with them, by them, I mean, that may hereafter charge; for I know no such yet in this world, and I never was in mine opinion so mad, as to write to your grace in that sort. When all things be well, I have many causes to rejoice; but where things were otherwise (as I trust they shall not), I have nothing to do, to ask any account; I trust I shall never forget myself so much. I thank God, I am even as well learned to live in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of direction, in our late sovereign lord's life: and, for my quietness in this estate, I account myself to have a great treasure of your grace's rule and authority, and, therefore, will worship and honour it otherwise, than to use such manner of presumption to ask any account. And I know your grace cannot stay these matters so suddenly; and I esteem it a great matter that things be stayed hitherto thus: but if things had encreased as the rumours purported, your grace might have been encumbered more in the execution of your good determination. Now, thanks be to God, your grace goeth well about to stay it. As for myself, I know mine inward determination, to do, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and have no cause to complain of the universal disposition of them in my diocese. I know but one way of quiet, to keep and follow such laws and orders in religion, as our late sovereign lord hath left with us; which, by his life, as the bishops and clergy said was the very truth, so I never read yet, or heard any thing why to swerve,

from it, nor think it expedient to call any one thing in doubt, during the king's majesty's minority, whereby to impair the strength of the accord established. Which I write, not mistrusting your grace (in the contrary), but declaring myself, and wishing the same mind to other about you, as I trust they have, for which I shall pray to God, who prospered our late sovereign lord in that rebellion, as we have seen experience, and, by your grace's foresight, and politic government, shall send the like prosperity to our sovereign lord that now is; wherein I shall do my part, as a subject most bounden many ways thereunto. I send unto your grace herewith my discussion of my lord of St. David's Purgation, wherein I walk somewhat more at liberty, than writing to your grace; and yet I take myself liberty enough, with a reverent mind, nevertheless, to keep me within my bounds; which if I, at any time, exceed, I trust your grace will bear with me, after your accustomed goodness; for whose prosperity I shall continually pray, with encrease of honour.

At Winchester, the sixth of June.

No. II.—(*Referred to at page 5*).

Proclamation for the Inhibition of all Preachers.

[Fuller, l. vii. 388.]

Whereas, of late, by reason of certain controversious and seditious preachers, the king's majesty, moved of tender zeal and love, which he hath for the quiet of his subjects, by the advice of the lord protector, and other his highness's council, hath, by proclamation, inhibited and commanded, that no manner of person, except such as was licensed by his highness, the lord protector, or by the archbishop of Canterbury, should take upon him to preach in any open audience, upon pain in the said proclamation contained; and that, upon hope and assurance, that those, being chosen and elect men, should preach and set forth only to the people such things, as should be to God's honour, and the benefit of the king's majesty's subjects; yet, nevertheless, his highness is advertised, that certain of the said preachers so licensed, not regarding such good admonitions as hath been, by the said lord protector, and the rest of the council on his majesty's behalf, by letters, or otherwise, given unto them, hath abused the said authority of preaching, and behaved themselves irreverently and without good order in the said preachings, contrary to such good instructions and advertisements as were given unto them, whereby much contention and disorder might rise and ensue in this his majesty's realm: Wherefore, his highness, minding to see very shortly one uniform order throughout this his realm, and to

put an end to all controversies in religion, so far as God shall give grace (for which cause, at this time, certain bishops and notable learned men, by his highness's commandment, are congregated), hath, by the advice aforesaid, thought good, although certain and many of the said preachers, so before licensed, have behaved themselves very discreetly and wisely, and to the honour of God, and his highness's contentation, yet, at this present, and until such time that the said order shall be set forth generally throughout his majesty's realm, to inhibit, and by these presents doth inhibit, generally as well the said preachers, so before licensed, as all manner of persons, whosoever they be, to preach in open audience, in the pulpit, or otherwise, by any sought colour or fraud, to the disobeying of this commandment; to the intent, that the whole clergy, in this mean space, might apply themselves to prayer to Almighty God, for the better achieving of the said most godly intent and purpose; not doubting, but that also his loving subjects, in the mean time, will occupy themselves to God's honour, with due prayer in the church, and patient hearing of the godly homilies, heretofore set forth by his highness's injunctions unto them, and so endeavour themselves, that they may be the more ready, with thankful obedience, to receive a most quiet, godly, and uniform order, to be had throughout all his said realms and dominions. And therefore hath willed all his loving officers and ministers, as well justices of peace, as mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, or any other his officers, of what estate, degree, or condition soever they be, to be attendant upon this proclamation and commandment, and to see the infringers or breakers thereof to be imprisoned, and his highness, or the lord protector's grace, or his majesty's council, to be certified thereof immediately, as they tender his majesty's pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their peril.

No. III.—(*Referred to at page 5.*)

Injunctions issued by Edward VI. in 1547, to all his subjects, as well of the clergy as of the laity.

[Wilkins, iv. 3.]

The king's most royal majesty, by the advice of his most dear uncle, the duke of Somerset, lord protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and governor of his most royal person, and residue of his most honorable council, intending the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of idolatry and superstition throughout all his realms and dominions, and to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all hypocrisy, enormities, and abuses, as to his duty appertaineth, doth minister to his loving subjects these godly injunctions

hereafter following; whereof part were given unto them heretofore, by the authority of his most dear beloved father, king Henry the eighth, of most famous memory, and part are now ministered and given by his majesty: all which injunctions his highness willeth and commandeth his loving subjects, by his supreme authority, obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep, every man in their offices, degrees, and states, as they will avoid his displeasure, and the pains in the same injunctions hereafter expressed.

The first is, that all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and other ecclesiastical persons, shall faithfully keep and observe, and, as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be kept and observed of other, all and singular laws and statutes, made, as well for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome his pretended and usurped power and jurisdiction, as for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority, jurisdiction, and supremacy of the church of England and Ireland. And furthermore, all ecclesiastical persons, having cure of souls, shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, four times every year at the least, in their sermons and other collations, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the laws of God, was, of most just causes, taken away and abolished; and that, therefore, no manner of obedience or subjection, within his [these?] realms and dominions, is due unto him: and that the king's power, within his realms and dominions, is the highest power under God, to whom all men, within the same realms and dominions, by God's laws, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in earth.

Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy, crept into divers men's hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people, by any enticements, to the pilgrimage of any saint or image; but, reproving the same, they shall teach that all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very author and giver of the same, and of none other.

Item, that they, the persons above rehearsed, shall make, or cause to be made, in their churches, and every other cure they have, one sermon, every quarter of the year at the least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the word of God; and, in the same, exhort their hearers to the works of faith, mercy, and charity, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture; and that works, devised by men's fantasies, besides Scripture, as wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers, or relics, or images, or kissing and licking of the

same, praying upon beads, or such like superstition, have not only no promise of reward, in Scripture, for doing of them, but, contrariwise, great threats, and maledictions of God, for that they be things tending to idolatry and superstition, which, of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminish most his honour and glory.

Item, that such images as they know, in any of their cures, to be, or to have been, abused with pilgrimage, or offering of any thing made thereunto, or shall be hereafter censured unto, they (and none other private persons) shall, for the avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down, or cause to be taken down, and destroy the same; and shall suffer, from henceforth, no torches nor candles, tapers or images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still: admonishing their parishioners, that images serve for no other purpose but to be a remembrance, whereby men may be admonished of the holy lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent; which images if they do abuse for any other intent, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls.

Item, that every holiday, throughout the year, when they have no sermon, they shall, immediately after the Gospel, openly and plainly recite to their parishioners, in the pulpit, the *Pater Noster*, the *Credo*, and the Ten Commandments, in English, to the intent the people may learn the same by heart: exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound by the law of God, and in conscience, to do.

Item, that they shall charge fathers and mothers, masters and governors, to bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either to learning or some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry; exhorting and counselling, and, by all the ways and means they may, as well in their sermons and collations, as otherwise, persuading their said fathers and mothers, masters and other governors, diligently to provide and foresee that the youth be, in no manner or wise, brought up in idleness, lest, at any time afterward, for lack of some craft, occupation, or other honest means to live by, they be driven to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness: forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant men fall, some to begging, and some to theft and murder; which, after brought to calamity and misery, do blame their parents, friends, and governors, which suffer them to be brought up so idly in their youth, where, if they had been well brought up in learning, some good occupation, or craft, they

would (being rulers of their own household) have profited as well themselves, as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the commonwealth.

Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently provide that the sacraments be duly and reverently ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happen them, in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special license given by the king's majesty, to be absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure, not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well-learned, and expert curate, that can, by his ability, teach the rude and unlearned of their pure wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; which will also execute these injunctions, and do their duty otherwise, as they are bound to do in every behalf, and, accordingly, may and will profit their cure no less with good example of living, than with the declaration of the word of God,—or else their lack and default shall be imputed unto them, who shall straitly answer for the same, if they do otherwise. And always let them see, that neither they nor their curates do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls they have under their care, or the glory of God.

Also, that they shall provide, within three months next after this visitation, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume, in English; and, within one twelve months next after the said visitation, the Paraphrasis of Erasmus, also in English, upon the Gospels; and the same set up in some convenient place, within the said church that they have cure of, whereas their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto the same, and read the same: the charges of which books shall be ratably borne between the parson and proprietary, and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by the parson or proprietary, and the other half by the parishioners. And they shall discourage no man (authorized and licensed thereto) from the reading any part of the bible, either in Latin or in English; but shall rather comfort and exhort every person to read the same, as the very lively word of God, and the special food of man's soul, that all christian persons are bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if they look to be saved; whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their sovereign lord the king, and their neighbour;—ever gently and charitably exhorting them, and, in his majesty's name, straitly charging and commanding them, that, in the reading thereof, no man to reason or contend, but quietly to hear the reader.

Also, the said ecclesiastical persons shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses. And, after their dinner or supper,

they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly, by day or by night, at dice, cards, or tables, playing, or any other unlawful game; but, at all times (as they shall have leisure), they shall hear and read somewhat of holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest exercise: and that they always do the things which appertain to honesty, with endeavour to profit the common weal; having always in mind, that they ought to excel all other in purity of life, and should be an example to the people to live well and christianly.

Item, that they shall, in confessions, every Lent, examine every person that cometh to confession to them, whether they can recite the articles of their faith, the *Pater Noster*, and the Ten Commandments, in English, and hear them say the same particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, they shall declare then that every christian person ought to know the said things before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, and admonish them to learn the said things more perfectly, or else they ought not to presume to come to God's board, without a perfect knowledge and will to observe the same: and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls, and also to the worldly rebuke, that they might incur hereafter by the same.

Also, that they shall admit no man to preach within any their cures, but such as shall appear unto them to be sufficiently licensed thereunto, by the king's majesty, the lord protector's grace, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York in his province, or the bishop of the diocese; and such as shall be licensed they shall gladly receive, to declare the word of God, without any resistance or contradiction.

Also, if they have heretofore declared to their parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, relics, or images, or lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of the same images, or any such superstition, they shall now openly, before the same, recant, and reprove the same; shewing them (as the truth is) that they did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but were led and seduced by a common error and abuse, crept into the church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

Also, if they do, or shall, know any man within their parish or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these the king's majesty's injunctions, or a fautor of the bishop of Rome's pretended power, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected, extirpated, and taken away utterly, they shall detect and present the same to the king or his council, or to the justice of peace next adjoining.

Also, that the parson, vicar, or curate, and parishioners of every parish within this realm, shall, in their churches and chapels, keep one

book or register, wherein they shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burial, made within their parish, for their time, and so every man succeeding them likewise; and therein shall write every person's name that shall be so wedded, christened, or buried. And, for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one sure coffer, with two locks and keys, whereof one to remain with the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other with the wardens of every parish church or chapel, wherein the said book shall be laid up; which book they shall, every Sunday, take forth, and, in the presence of the said wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings, christenings, and burials, made the whole week before; and that done, to lay up the book in the said coffer, as afore. And for every time that the same shall be omitted, the party, that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said church three shillings and four pence, to be employed to the poor men's box of that parish.

Furthermore, because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and, at these days, nothing is less seen than the poor to be sustained with the same, all parsons, vicars, pensionaries, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanery, or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter among their poor parishioners, or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens, or some other honest men of the parish, the xl. part of the fruits and revenues of their said benefices, lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, which, reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the xl. portion thereof among the poor people of that parish, that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

And, to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more, for the execution of the premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man, within this deanery, having yearly to dispend, in benefices and other promotions of the church, an *clⁱ*. shall give competent exhibition to one scholar: and, for so many *clⁱ*. more as he may dispend, to so many scholars more shall he give like exhibition, in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar-school; which, after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patron's cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise, in the execution of their offices, or may (when need shall be) otherwise profit the common weal with their counsel and wisdom.

Also, that the proprietaries, parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions, within this deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same mansions or chancels of their churches, being in decay, the fifth part of that their benefices, till they be fully repaired;

and the same, so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good estate.

Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and clerks, shall, once every quarter of the year, read these injunctions given unto them, openly and deliberately, before all their parishioners, to the intent that both they may be the better admonished of their duty, and their said parishioners the more moved to follow the same for their part.

Also, forasmuch as, by a law established, every man is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by their curates, detain their tithes, and so redub and requite one wrong with another, or be his own judge, but shall truly pay the same, as he hath been accustomed, to their parsons, vicars, and curates, without any restraint or diminution: and such lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, to call for reformation thereof at their ordinaries' and other superiors' hands, who, upon complaint and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

Also, that no person shall, from henceforth, alter or change the order and manner of any fasting-day that is commanded, or of common-prayer, or divine service, otherwise than is specified in these injunctions, until such time as the same shall be otherwise ordered and transposed by the king's authority.

Also, that every parson, vicar, curate, chantry-priest, and stipendiary, being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, shall provide and have of his own, within three months after this visitation, the new Testament both in Latin and in English, with the paraphrase upon the same of Erasmus, and diligently study the same, conferring the one with the other. And the bishops and other ordinaries, by themselves or their officers, in their synods and visitations, shall examine the said ecclesiastical persons, how they have profited in the study of holy Scripture.

Also, in the time of high mass, within every church, he that saith or singeth the same shall read, or cause to be read, the epistle and gospel of that mass in English, and not in Latin, in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same. And, every Sunday and Holiday, they shall plainly and distinctly read, or cause to be read, one chapter of the new Testament in English, in the said place, at matins, immediately after the lessons; and, at even song, after *Magnificat*, one chapter of the old Testament. And, to the intent the premises may be more conveniently done, the king's majesty's pleasure is, that, when nine lessons should be read in the church, three of them shall be omitted and left out, with the responds: and, at even song-time, the responds, with all the memories (*commemorations*) shall be left off for that purpose.

Also, because those persons, which be sick and in peril of death, be

oftentimes put in despair, by the craft and subtilty of the devil, who is then most busy, and especially with them that lack the knowledge, sure persuasion, and steadfast belief, that they may be made partakers of the great and infinite mercy, which Almighty God, of his most bountiful goodness and mere liberality, without our deserving, hath offered freely to all persons that put their full trust and confidence in him, therefore that this damnable vice of despair may be clearly taken away, and firm belief and steadfast hope surely conceived of all their parishioners, being in any danger, they shall learn, and have always in a readiness, such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture, as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons, that they may, at all times (when necessity shall require), promptly comfort their flock with the lively word of God, which is the only stay of man's conscience.

Also, to avoid all contention and strife, which heretofore hath risen among the king's majesty's subjects, in sundry places of his realms and dominions, by reason of fond courtesy and challenging of places in procession, and also that they may the more quietly hear that which is said or sung to their edifying, they shall not, from henceforth, in any parish church, at any time, use any procession about the church, or church-yard, or other place, but, immediately before high mass, the priests, with other of the choir, shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say, plainly and distinctly, the litany which is set forth in English, with all the suffrages following, and none other procession or litany to be had or used, but the said litany in English, adding nothing thereto, but as the king's grace shall hereafter appoint: and, in cathedral or collegiate churches, the same shall be done in such places as our commissaries, in our visitation, shall appoint. And, in the time of the litany, of the mass, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall depart out of the church; and all ringing and knolling of bells shall be utterly forborne, at that time, except one bell, in convenient time, to be rung or knolled before the sermon.

Also, like as the people be commonly occupied, the work-day, with bodily labour for their bodily sustenance, so was the holiday, at the first beginning, godly instituted and ordained, that the people should, that day, give themselves wholly to God. And whereas, in our time, God is more offended than pleased, more dishonoured than honoured, upon the holiday, because of idleness, pride, drunkenness, quarrelling and brawling, which are most used in such days, people nevertheless persuading themselves sufficiently to honour God on that day, if they hear mass and service, though they understand nothing to their edify-

ing, therefore all the king's faithful and loving subjects shall, from henceforth, celebrate and keep their holiday according to God's holy will and pleasure, that is, in hearing the Word of God read and taught, in public and private prayers, in knowledging their offences to God, and amendment of the same, in reconciling their selves charitably to their neighbours, where displeasure hath been, in often times receiving the communion of the very body and blood of Christ, in visiting of the poor and sick, in using all soberness and godly conversation. Yet, notwithstanding, all parsons, vicars, and curates, shall teach and declare unto their parishioners, that they may, with a safe and quiet conscience, in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save that thing, which God hath sent: And if, for any scrupulosity or grudge of conscience, men should superstitiously abstain from working upon those days, that then they should grievously offend and displease God.

Also, forasmuch as variance and contention is a thing which most displeaseth God, and is most contrary to the blessed communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, curates shall in no wise admit to the receiving thereof any of their cure and flock, who hath maliciously and openly contended with his neighbour, unless the same do first charitably and openly reconcile himself again, remitting all rancour and malice, whatsoever controversy hath been between them: and nevertheless, their just titles and rights they may charitably prosecute, before such as have authority to hear the same.

Also, that every dean, archdeacon, master of collegiate church, master of hospital, and prebendary being priest, shall preach by himself personally twice every year, at the least, either in the place where he is intituled, or in some church where he hath jurisdiction, or else which is to the said place appropriate or united.

Also, that they shall instruct and teach in their cures, that no man ought obstinately and maliciously to break and violate the laudable ceremonies of the church, by the king commanded to be observed, and as yet not abrogated: and, on the other side, that whosoever doth superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great peril and danger of his soul's health:—as, in casting holy water upon his bed, upon images, and upon dead things; or bearing about him holy bread, or St. John's Gospel; or making of crosses of wood upon Palm Sunday, in time of reading of the passion; or keeping of private holidays, as bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such other do; or ringing of holy bells; or blessing with the holy candle, to the intent thereby to be discharged of the burden of sin, or to drive away devils, or to put away dreams and fantasies; or in putting trust and confidence of health and salvation in the same ceremonies, when they be only ordained, instituted, and made, to put us in remembrance of the benefits which we

have received by Christ :—and, if he use them for any other purpose, he grievously offendeth God.

Also, that they shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy, all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles-pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition ; so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass-windows, or elsewhere, within their churches or houses : And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like, within their several houses : And that the churchwardens, at the common charge of the parishioners in every church, shall provide a comely and honest pulpit, to be set in a convenient place within the same, for the preaching of God's word.

Also, they shall provide and have, within three months after this visitation, a strong chest with a hole in the upper part thereof, to be provided at the cost and charge of the parish, having three keys, whereof one shall remain in the custody of the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other two in the custody of the churchwardens, or any other two honest men, to be appointed by the parish from year to year : which chest you shall set and fasten near unto the high altar, to the intent the parishioners should put into it their oblation and alms for their poor neighbours. And the parson, vicar, or curate, shall diligently, from time to time, and specially when men make their testaments, call upon, exhort, and move their neighbours to confer and give, as they may well spare, to the said chest ; declaring unto them, whereas heretofore they have been diligent to bestow much substance, otherwise than God commanded, upon pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, decking of images, offering of candles, giving to friars, and upon other like blind devotions, they ought, at this time, to be much more ready to help the poor and needy, knowing that to relieve the poor is a true worshipping of God, required earnestly upon pain of everlasting damnation, and that, also, whatsoever is given for their comfort is given to Christ himself, and so is accepted of him, that he will mercifully reward the same with everlasting life : the which alms and devotion of the people the keepers of the keys shall, at times convenient, take out of the chest, and distribute the same in the presence of their whole parish, or six of them, to be truly and faithfully delivered to their most needy neighbours ; and, if they be provided for, then to the reparation of the highways next adjoining. And also the money, which riseth of fraternities, guilds, and other stocks of the church (except by the king's majesty's authority it be otherwise appointed), shall be put into the said chest, and converted to the said use, and also the rents and lands, the profit of cattle, and money given or bequeathed to the finding of torches, lights, tapers, and lamps, shall be converted to the said use, saving that it shall be lawful for them to

bestow part of the said profits upon the reparation of the church, if great need require, and whereas the parish is very poor, and not able otherwise to repair the same.

And, for as much as priests be public ministers of the church, and, upon the holidays, ought to apply themselves to the common administration of the whole parish, they shall not be bound to go to women lying in child-bed, except in time of dangerous sickness, and not to fetch any corse before it be brought to the churchyard: and if the woman be sick, or the corse brought to the church, the priest shall do his duty accordingly, in visiting the woman, and burying the dead person.

Also, to avoid the detestable sin of simony, because buying and selling of benefices is execrable before God, therefore all such persons as buy any benefices, or come to them by fraud or deceit, shall be deprived of such benefices, and be made unable, at any time after, to receive any other spiritual promotion: and such as do sell them, or, by any colour, do bestow them for their own gain and profit, shall lose the right and title of patronage and presentment, for that time, and the gift thereof, for that vacation, shall appertain to the king's majesty.

Also, because, through lack of preachers in many places of the king's realms and dominions, the people continue in ignorance and blindness, all parsons, vicars, and curates shall read in the churches, every Sunday, one of the homilies, which are, and shall be, set forth for the same purpose, by the king's authority, in such sort as they shall be appointed to do, in the preface of the same.

Also, whereas many indiscreet persons do, at this day, uncharitably contemn and abuse priests and ministers of the church, because some of them (having small learning) have, of long time, favoured fancies rather than God's truth, yet, forasmuch as their office and function is appointed of God, the king's majesty willeth and chargeth all his loving subjects, that, from henceforth, they shall use them charitably and reverently, for their office and administration sake, and especially such as labour in the setting forth of God's holy word.

Also, that all manner of persons, which understand not the Latin tongue, shall pray upon none other primer, but upon that which was lately set forth in English, by the authority of king Henry the eighth, of famous memory: And that no teachers of youth shall teach any other than the said primer. And all those, which have knowledge of the Latin tongue, shall pray upon none other Latin primer, but upon that which is likewise set forth by the said authority: And that all graces, to be said at dinner and supper, shall be always said in the English tongue: And that none other grammar shall be taught, in any school or other place within the king's realms and dominions, but only that which is set forth by the said authority.

Item, that all chantry priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youth to read and write, and bring them up in good manners, and other virtuous exercises.

Item, when any sermon or homily shall be had, the prime and hours shall be omitted.

The form of bidding the common-prayers.

You shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's church, and especially for this Church of England and Ireland ; wherein, first, I commend to your devout prayers the king's most excellent majesty, supreme head, immediately under God, of the spirituality and temporality of the same church ; and for queen Catherine, dowager, and also for my lady Mary, and my lady Elizabeth, the king's sisters.

Secondly, you shall pray for the lord protector's grace, with all the rest of the king's majesty's council ; for all the lords of this realm, and for the clergy and commons of the same : beseeching Almighty God to give every of them, in his degree, grace to use themselves in such wise, as may be to God's glory, the king's honour, and the weal of this realm.

Thirdly, ye shall pray for all them, that be departed out of this world in the faith of Christ, that they with us, and we with them, at the day of judgment, may rest, both body and soul, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven.

All which singular injunctions the king's majesty ministereth unto his clergy and their successors, and to all his loving subjects, straitly charging and commanding them to observe and keep the same, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of fruits or benefices, suspension, excommunication, and such other coercion, as to ordinaries, or other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whom his majesty hath appointed for the due execution of the same, shall be seen convenient ;—charging and commanding them to see these injunctions observed and kept of all persons, being under their jurisdiction, as they will answer to his majesty for the contrary : And his majesty's pleasure is, that every justice of peace (being required) shall assist the ordinaries, and every of them, for the due execution of the said injunctions.

No. IV.—(*Referred to at page 6.*)

Gardiner to Somerset on the Homilies, and Erasmus's Paraphrase.
Oct. 14, 1547.

[Strype's Cranmer, Append. 77. Foxe, ii. l. ix. 63.]

After my most humble commendations unto your good lordship, with hearty thanks that it hath pleased you to be content to hear from me ; wherein now I have liberty to write at large to you. I cannot find the

like gentleness in my body, to spend so much time as I would, and, therefore, I shall now desire your grace to take in good part, though I gather my matter in brief sentences.

The injunctions in this last visitation contain a commandment to see taught, and learned, two books;—one of homilies, that must be taught; another of Erasmus's Paraphrasis, that the priests must learn.

These books strive one against another directly. The book of the Homilies teacheth faith to exclude charity, in the office of justification: Erasmus's Paraphrasis teacheth faith to have charity joined with him in justification.

The book of Homilies teacheth how men may swear: the Paraphrasis teacheth the contrary very extremely. The book of Homilies teacheth how subjects owe tribute to their prince, and obedience very well: the book of the Paraphrase, in a place upon St. Paul, violently, and against all truth, after it hath spoken of duties to heathen princes, knitteth the matter up untruly; that between the christian men at Rome, to whom he writeth, which is a lesson to all, there should be no debt, or right, but mutual charity, which is a marvellous matter. The book of Homilies in another place openeth the Gospel one way: the Paraphrase openeth it clean contrary. The matter is not great, but because there is contrariety.

Now, to consider each of the aforesaid books. The book of Homilies, in the sermon of salvation, teacheth the clean contrary to the doctrine established by the act of parliament; even as contrary as ["includeth"] is contrary to ["excludeth"]: for these be the words of the doctrine established by parliament; where, in a certain place, faith doth not exclude. The doctrine of the parliament speaketh how they be joined in justification: the Homilies speak the virtues to be present in the man justified, and how faith excludes them in the office of justification; which can never be proved, and is, in the mean time, contrary to the act.

The book of Homilies hath, in the homily of salvation, how remission of sins is taken, accepted, and allowed of God for our perfect justification: the doctrine of the parliament teacheth justification, for the fullness and perfection thereof, to have more parts than remission of sins, as in the same appeareth. And, though remission of sins be a justification, yet it is not a full and perfect.

The book of Homilies numbereth the hallowing of bread, palms, and candles among papistical superstitions and abuses: the doctrine of the parliament willeth them to be reverently used; and so do the injunctions now set forth; which made me think the printer might thrust in an homily of his own device.

The book of Homilies hath words of St. Chrysostom alleged untruly, and not after such a sort, as might escape by over-sight, but of purpose; as calling that faith, which Chrysostom calleth hope; and, in place of one sentence, putteth another, which should better serve the purpose of the maker of the Homilies. Now, if one would reason with me, that Chrysostom meant this, I would deny it him, as I may. But I may affirm, that Chrysostom saith not. It is but a defamation of the truth: and, under such a prince's name, as our sovereign lord is, whose tongue, in this so pure innocency, hath not been defiled with any untruth, I assure you, I thought there was not so great haste in Homilies, but they might have tarried the printing, even for that only cause. Truth is able to maintain itself, and needeth no help of untrue allegations. It serves only for enemies to take advantage; all which [*i. e.* enemies] use to be curious to know what they may reprove. And now all the eyes and ears of the world be turned towards us: and as they shall have cause to talk honourably of your valiantness in the wars, so they talk otherwise of that, that is done in your absence, if any thing be amiss.

Now, I shall shew your grace what author Erasmus is, to be, by name and special commandment, had in credit in this realm. If he be to be believed, the doctrine of *only faith justifieth*, is a very poison. And he writeth by express terms, and calleth this another poison, to deny punishment in purgatory after this life: and another poison, to deny the invocation of saints, and worshiping of them: and this he calleth a poison, to say, "we need no satisfactory works, for that were to mistrust Christ." Erasmus, in another place, conferring the state of the church in the beginning, and now, he concludeth, that, if St. Paul were alive at this day, he would not improve [*i. e.* disallow] the present state of the church, but cry out of men's faults. This is Erasmus's judgment in his latter days.

His work, the Paraphrasis, which should be authorized in the realm, which he wrote above six and twenty years ago, when his pen was wanton (the matter is so hauled, as being abroad in this realm), were able to minister occasion to evil men, to subvert, with religion, the policy and order of the realm.

These be the general words, the uttering whereof to your grace, in the place you occupy, were a great fault, unless I would shew you good ground and truth, why to say so: and, therefore, I am glad I do rather write to you, than to have come and spake with you, because my words in number might fly away; whereas written words remain to be read again.

First, as concerning the policy and state of the realm, wheresoever

Erasmus might take an occasion to speak his pleasure of princes, he payeth home, as roundly, as bishops have been of late touched in pleas. And such places of Scripture as we have used to allege for the state of princes, he wresteth and windeth them so, as, if the people read them, and believed him, they would afterwards small regard that allegation of them: and, if Erasmus did truly, and that the Scripture bound him so to say, it were more tolerable (for truth must have place): but, when it is done in some place untruly, and in some place wantonly, to check that estimate, it can be no good doctrine among people, that should obey. And this book of Paraphrasis is not like the other expositions of Scripture, where the author speaketh in his own person; for Erasmus taketh upon him the evangelists' persons and Christ's person, and enterpriseth to fit up Christ's tale and his words: as, for example, where the Gospel rehearseth Christ's speech, when he said, "Give to the emperor, that is the emperor's" (by which speech we gather, and truly gather, that Christ confessed the emperor to have a duty), Erasmus writes it with an IF, after this sort, "*IF there be any thing due to them:*" which condition Christ put not to it, but spake plainly, "*Give to Cesar the things which are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.*" And I write the very words of the Paraphrasis, as they be in English; for I have the book with me; and so shall no man say, that I misreport the book. The words be these:—"Render, therefore, unto Cesar, if any things appertain unto Cesar: but, first of all, render unto God the things that appertain unto God: meaning that it is no hurt unto godliness, if a man, being dedicate unto God, do give tribute unto a profane prince, although he ought it not." These be the words in the book ordered to be set forth: wherein what needeth Erasmus to bring in doubt the duty, when God putteth no doubt at all? It were too long to write to your grace every fault; this one I put for example, where Erasmus doth corrupt Christ's words, with a condition, which Christ spake not.

The other places of railings would encumber your grace overmuch; but, as I write, your grace shall find true, that whatsoever might be spoke to defame princes' government, is not left unspoken. Bishops be more gently handled. Erasmus maketh them very kings of the Gospel, and calleth the true kings of the world profane kings. Bishops have the sword, he saith, of God given, that is to say, the Gospel. Profane princes, as he calleth them, have a sword committed unto them, and by Homer, he saith, be called "pastors of the people." This matter is within the compass of the Paraphrasis, if it be not left out; with a commendation also of Thomas Becket of Canterbury, in excommunicating the king of the realm, that then was, by implication, for the manor of Oxford, which the king, as he rehearseth, then withheld. It



may be, the translator would have left this out; but Erasmus's pen, in those days, was very light.

Moreover, then, Erasmus teacheth, that between christian men is no debt, or right, but charity: it is a marvellous matter towards the dissolution of laws and duties: and therein Erasmus doth violate God's Scripture, and saith not true. Thus far is the doctrine pernicious for common policy: nevertheless, if he had said true, let the truth prevail; but the truth is not so.

As touching religion in this work of Paraphrasis, it is so wantonly (I beseech your grace note my words), and therewith untruly handled, as, if we should use to read it, there should ensue a marvellous confusion. Some specialities I will note, but not all. The sacrament of the altar is wantonly talked of by him, that, as the world is now, the reading of him were the whole subversion. Erasmus, in his latter days, hath for the sacrament of the altar spoken as reverently, and said as much for confirmation of it, as may be, and crieth out of them, that would take him otherwise: but this in the end, when age had tempered him.

In this Paraphrasis, which he wrote in his wanton age, the words and terms were able to subvert, if it were possible, as Christ saith, the elect. If this Paraphrasis go abroad, people shall be learned to call the sacrament of the altar "holy bread," and "a symbol," at which new name many will marvel; and they be wanton words, spoken of Erasmus without necessity.

By the doctrine of the Paraphrasis, whosoever had done away his wife, for advowtry, might marry again. By the Paraphrasis, all men may marry, bishops and priests; wherein Erasmus took his pleasure to understand St. Paul, as though he should describe, of what quality priests' wives should be; wherein he forgot himself: for St. Paul knew, that, if a bishop or priest were once married, his wife must pass with all her faults, and it would be too late to tell what she should be; for otherwise than she is, she will not be, neither for St. Paul, nor St. Peter: and, if bishops had that privilege, that they might change till they found such one, as Erasmus saith St. Paul would have them, their estate would be wonderfully envied. But St. Paul did not speak there of bishops' wives; and so therein he doth violence to the Scriptures undoubtedly. Wherefore, I write somewhat merrily, to shew the absurdity of the thing.

By the Paraphrasis, the keeping of a concubine is called but a light fault; and that were good for Lancashire. And Erasmus bringeth it so prettily, that a ruler of a country, if he be himself the servant of avarice or ambition, should not browke with his brother, because, being overcome by weakness of flesh, he useth a concubine. Even thus it is

englished in the book that should go forth. And when to have a concubine, it is called a light fault, methinks, if the maid can read, it may serve well, lightly to persuade her: and yet, if the man doth it, overcome by the weakness of his flesh, as the book termeth it, is made matter: wherein Erasmus speaketh over lightly, to call it a light fault. And the translator in English wanted speech when he turned it thus; that a man, overcome with the weakness of his flesh, should desire a concubine. I am bold with his grace, to join here Erasmus's lightness with the discretion of the translator. If to keep a concubine shall by authority be called a light fault, the multitude of them may make the fault heavy.

By the doctrine of the Paraphrasis, every man must come to the high prick of virtue, or to be extremely naught; which differeth far from the teaching of the Homilies, and from the truth also. The Paraphrasis teacheth thus truly;—"More glorious it is to die for the Gospel's sake; which death, though it shall be violent and sore, yet it shall not come before the day. Whensoever it cometh, it shall not come without the providence of God." And by this it cometh to pass, that, if ye endeavour to avoid it, ye cannot. This is the doctrine which if it were taken for truth, might engender like obstinacy in many, as it hath of late in some. Erasmus teacheth here further than he hath warrant by Scripture.

The Paraphrasis, in another place, doth clearly violate the text, and untruly handle it, in a matter of tithes, which your grace desireth, as appeareth by the injunctions, to have truly paid: wherein, if Erasmus had said truth, let truth prevail; but when he handleth it untruly, it is pity it should be suffered.

Thus have I here reckoned your grace some special faults, that be Erasmus's own faults, with a great number, that I have not spoken of.

And further your grace shall understand, that he, which hath taken the labours to translate Erasmus into English, hath offended sometimes, as appeareth plainly, by ignorance, and sometimes of purpose, to put in, leave out, and change, as he thought best: wherewith I will not encumber your grace, but assure you it is so: and therein I will grant to your grace, that, for every lie that I make unto your grace, set on an hundred pound fine on my head; and let me lie here like a beggar, until my revenues pay. My words remain in writing, and be against me matter of record: and so I yield to have me charged, as the Bishop of London was with offering the farm of his bishopric: which matter I do remember, when I wrote this.

And now I have written to your grace upon what foundation my conscience is grounded, I shall truly declare unto you the manner of my

proceeding, from the beginning. I never heard of the execution of the visitation, till your grace was departed from London northward; and, as the books flowed abroad, by liberty of the printers they came to my hands. I never slept while I had perused them. As soon as I had found certain faults, I wrote to the council, trusting, upon such earnest advertisement as I made, they would incontinently have sent for me, and, upon knowledge of so evident matter as methought I had to show, have staid till your grace's return. I saw a determination to do all things suddenly, at one time; whereunto although your grace agreed, yet, of your wisdom, I conjectured ye had rather have had it tarry whiles your return, if you had not been pressed (and that word "pressed" I noted in your grace's letters to me, wherein you wrote you were "pressed on both sides.")—Methought if, by bringing myself to most extreme danger in your absence, I could have staid this matter, besides my duty to God, and to my sovereign lord, I had done also your grace's pleasure; of whom I have this firm opinion, that willingly and wittingly your grace will neither break the act of parliament, nor command books to be bought with authority, that contain such doctrine as these books do. Thus I adventured, in your grace's absence; wherein, although I had remembrance of your grace, yet I made not your Grace my foundation, but God chiefly (as God knoweth), with the preservation of our late sovereign lord's honour that dead is, and the security of our sovereign lord that now is.

Let no man be offended with the vehemency of my writing; for I wrote with a whole heart, and, if I could have written it with the blood of my heart, I would have done it, to have done good, in staying the thing till it had been more maturely digested, and till your grace's safe return. I touched the act of parliament lively, but as truly as ever was any thing spoken of; and I never wept more bitterly than I did, for a conceit that troubled my head, which never passed my lips, nor shall never come out of my pen.—I will *tell* it your grace, and you require it. Now, whether the king may command against an act of parliament, and what danger they may fall in, that break a law with the king's consent, I dare say no man, alive at this day, hath had more experience, what the judges and lawyers have said, than I. First, I had experience in mine old master, the lord cardinal, who obtained his legacy by our late sovereign lord's request, at Rome; and, in his sight and knowledge, occupied the same with his two crosses, and maces borne before him, many years; yet, because it was against the laws of the realm, the judges concluded the offence of the præmunire; which conclusion I bear away, and take it for a law of the realm, because the lawyers so said, but my reason digested it not. The lawyers, for confirmation of

their doings, brought in a case of the Lord Tiptost, as I remember, a jolly civilian. He was chancellor to the king; who, because, in execution of the king's commission, he had offended the laws of the realm, he suffered on Tower-hill. They brought in examples of many judges, that had fines set on their heads in like case, for doing against the law of the realm by the king's commandment: and then was brought in the judges' oath, not to stay any process or judgment, for any commandment from the king's majesty: and one article against my lord cardinal was, that he had granted injunctions to stay the common laws, and, upon that occasion, Magna Charta was spoken of, and it was made a great matter, the stay of the common law. And this I learned in that case. Sithence that time, being of the council, when many proclamations were devised against the carriers out of corn, at such time as the transgressors should be punished, the judges would answer, it might not be, by the laws: whereupon ensued the act of proclamations, in the passing of which act many liberal words were spoken, and a plain promise, that, by authority of the act for proclamations, nothing should be made contrary to an act of parliament, or common law. When the bishop of Exeter, and his chancellor were, by one body, brought in a præmunire (which matter my lord privy seal cannot forget), I reasoned with the lord Audley, then chancellor, so far as he bade me hold my peace, for fear of entering into a præmunire myself; whereupon I staid, but concluded, it seemed to me strange that a man, authorised by the king (as, since the king's majesty hath taken upon him the supremacy, every bishop is such a one) could fall in a præmunire. After I had reasoned the matter once, in the parliament house, where was free speech without danger, and there the lord Audley, then chancellor, to satisfy me familiarly, because I was in some secret estimation, as he then knew, "thou art a good fellow, bishop," quoth he, which was the manner of his familiar speech, "look the act of supremacy, and there the king's doings be restrained to spiritual jurisdiction; and, in another act, it is provided, that no spiritual law shall have place, contrary to a common law or act of parliament. And this were not (quoth he), you, bishops, would enter in with the king, and, by means of his supremacy, order the laity as ye listed; but we will provide, quoth he, that the præmunire shall ever hang over your heads, and so we laymen shall be sure to enjoy our inheritance by the common laws, and acts of parliament." It is not yet full two years ago, since, in a case of jewels, I was fain, with the emperor's ambassador, and after, in the emperor's court, to defend and maintain, by commandment, that the kings of this realm were not above the order of their laws: and, therefore, the jeweller, although he had the king's bill signed, yet it would not be allowed in the king's

court, because it was not obtained according to the laws; in which matter I was very much troubled. Even this time twelve-month, when I was in commission with my lord great master, and the earl of Southampton, for altering the court of augmentations, there was my lord Montague, and other of the king's learned council, of whom, by occasion of that matter, I learned what the king might do, contrary to an act of parliament, and what danger it was to them that meddled against the act. It is fresh in memory, and they can tell whether I said true or no: and, therefore, being learned in so notable cases, I wrote, in your grace's absence, to the council therein, as I had learned by hearing the commons speak, whose judgments rule those matters, howsoever my reason can digest them: and so wrote to the council; which my writings I fashioned so, as I trusted my lord would have staid till your grace's return. And thus I have declared to your grace the purpose of my writing to the council so vehement; which nevertheless, I continued with all humility to abide the order of authority, and learn all other obedience: for thereunto I have ever had as great regard as any man in this realm: and as my word is "*vana salus hominis*," so I assure your grace I practise it thoroughly in my deeds.

When my lords sent last for me, I came to them with as much speed as I might, with my sleeves and bosom thrust full of books, to furnish my former allegations. I was heard very well and gently, and me thought I shewed matter that should have moved; for I shewed the two books to be contrary, as I have written before; wherewith they said they were not moved, adding how their conscience agreed not with mine, using many good words, to bring me to such conformity, as they would have had me at. Whereupon, knowing that I know, I could not relent, but, after I had been a little beside from them, and was returned, they entered a precise order with me, either to receive precisely the injunctions, or to refuse; in which case they had further to say to me, adding that your grace was privy to that was done there that day. My answer was, that I would receive the injunctions, as far as God's law and the king's would bind me; and because I saw they grew to such preciseness, and remembering how, after a good sort, they had caused me to be accompanied before with master Wingfield, making innovations, what would be the end if I would not yield? I would not, therefore, leave unspoken, that I thought might avoid what followed. I told them there were three weeks of delay to the coming of the visitors to me. In the meantime, I offered to go to Oxford, to abide the discussion there; which offer was not allowed. I desired them to go to my house at London, and to have learned men speak with me there; which was not accepted. I entered then the allegation of the Gospel of the servant, that said he would not do a thing, and yet did it; and so

I said it might be that, although I then said nay, as my conscience served me, yet I might percase change, and was a man that, might be tempted : but, as my conscience was then, methought God's law and the king's letted me ; and, upon knowledge of their pleasures, that I must to the Fleet, I told my lords, I thought it hard, unless there were a greater matter, to send me to prison, for declaring beforehand what I minded to do, before any thing had been by me actually done, to resist the visitation, who had all the mean time to think on the matter, and repent me. Whereunto the answer was such, as displeased me not inwardly so much, but I have well digested it, and (so all may be well) care not what becometh of my body. I departed as quietly from them, as ever man did, and have endured with as little grudge here, and have learned this lesson in the world, never to look backward, as St. Paul saith, nor remember that is past. I will never grudge or complain of nothing for myself.

As for the matter, to have such books recommended to the realm in the king's name, by your grace's direction, me seemeth very weighty, and your grace not to have been well handled in it. All the world knoweth the king's highness himself knew not these books, and, therefore, nothing can be ascribed unto him. Your grace hath been, to your increase of honour, so occupied, as all men know, your grace had no leisure yourself to peruse these books ; and yet be the books as I have written. I leave the rest to your grace. If I that tell the council my mind of them that have done so far amiss, [am imprisoned,] because when I know so much, I will not yet allow them, I shall from henceforth the more regard the lesson of an old ambassador, that bade me, let evil tidings go home to my master a-foot, and send only good tidings by post ;—a shift with the world which agreeth not with my nature, as Master Wallop saith. Upon Friday last past, my lord of Canterbury sent for me to the dean of Paul's house, whither I went with some gazing of the world. There I found my lord of Canterbury, accompanied with the bishop of Rochester, Master Doctor Cox, and Master Aire ; and I was brought thither by the bishop of Lincoln. What report my lord of Canterbury hath made thereof I cannot tell. My lord of Canterbury was in hand with his Homily of Salvation ; but nothing heard, or saw I, to save my conscience in agreeing to him, but heard what should justly confirm me in mine own conscience. I made offer to yield to them in that Homily, if they could show me any old writer, that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of justification. It is against Scripture's plain words, and to swerve from Scripture, without any one doctor to lean to it, were sore. Where Scriptures and doctors want, my lord of Canterbury would fall to arguing, and overcome me that am called the sophister, by sophistry. When I heard my lord's

argument, I denied it, and would enter none other declaration; for I keep that answer till some other than were there be present; my solution whereunto, when I declare it, shall make all the rest of the matter very weak, and my lord not to like his argument at all. One argument I could not assoil,—to come again to the Fleet. My lord of Canterbury charged me, that I like nothing, unless I do it myself; whereof I am not guilty. I was never author of any one thing, either spiritual or temporal, I thank God for it. I am also charged, that all the realm hath received these Homilies without contradiction, save I: whereunto I answer, I think they have not read that I have read, in these books. What hath been done I cannot tell, now I am kept as I cannot know, though I would, when I was abroad. I never sought to know more than was brought by common fame: for this shall be found true, I never advised any man to object any thing against these books,—no one man, not my chaplains. A kinsman of mine, beneficed in my diocese, and not unlearned, came to me, and told me how he heard a lewd fellow say that I would not receive the injunctions: “and, sir” (quoth he) “I rebuked him, and reviled him, and said you would as readily receive [them] as any man.” I told him that, in so saying, he did very well. Upon my coming up, a chaplain of mine, a doctor of divinity, told me, he would receive the injunctions quietly, and say nothing. I told him it should be well done. If I had tarried in my diocese, if any man had spoken but myself I would have lost my life for it; nor I think there hath not now. This matter was to try a bishop, whether he careth more for the truth, or his own rest. What examples have I seen in this realm, how freely men have said their conscience against our late sovereign lord’s determination, and against the act of parliament! Dr. Crow, a mean man, preached against our late sovereign lord’s determinations, and how daintily he was handled, to relieve his conscience! If your grace would have this for a precedent, that whatsoever the king’s council, for the time of a prince’s minority, shall send to be preached, must needs be received without allegation, of what strength is the act of parliament against the bishop of Rome? The king’s majesty, when he cometh to his age, will look to be bold to do as much with his subjects, as his council did in his minority; whereof the councillors may be then weary. Precedents be dangerous; for I have seen it almost for a rule, that whatsoever hath been once done, may then, without question, be done again. In our late sovereign lord’s time, I have seen the council much astonished, when the king would have done somewhat against an act of parliament. It was made then a great matter. The lord Cromwell had once put in the king’s, our late sovereign lord’s, head, to take upon him to have his will and pleasure regarded for a law; for that, he said, was to be a very king; and thereupon I was called for, at Hampton

Court; and, as the lord Cromwell was very stout, “come on, my lord of Winchester,” quoth he (for that conceit he had [that] whatsoever he talked with me, he knew ever as much as I, Greek or Latin, and all), “answer the king here (quoth he); but speak plainly and directly, and shrink not, man: is not that (quoth he), that pleaseth the king, a law? Have ye not there, in the civil laws (quoth he) *quod principi placuit*, and so forth (quoth he)? I have somewhat forgotten it now.” I stood still, and wondered in my mind to what conclusion this should tend. The king saw me musing, and, with earnest gentleness, said, “answer him whether it be so or no.” I would not answer my lord Cromwell, but delivered my speech to the king, and told him, I had read, indeed, of kings, that had their will always received for a law, but, I told him, the form of his reign, to make the laws his will, was more sure and quiet, “and by this form of government ye be established (quoth I), and it is agreeable with the nature of your people. If ye begin a new manner of policy, how it will frame no man can tell; and how this frameth ye can tell; and [I] would never advise your grace to leave a certain for an uncertain.” The king turned his back, and left the matter after, till the lord Cromwell turned the cat in the pan afore company, when he was angry with me, and charged me, as though I had played his part. This tale is true, and not without purpose to be remembered, how I have been tossed to and fro in this kind of matter. Thus I have shewed your grace the whole matter, with many more words than I intended in the entry of my letter; and make now an end, enforced by weariness of my body, fed with close air, rather than meat, which my stomach desireth not: yet I must say somewhat in the matter of *only faith*, wherein my lord of Canterbury so much travaileth.

First, it is sure, he shall never prove that he would say in that matter. But, to make an end of it, either I am a very fool in mine own conceit, which may easily be, or I see an occasion given to your grace, to make such a true determination in it, as may be honourable to your grace, the contentation of all the world, the preservation of the king’s honour that dead is, without prejudice of the act of parliament, without derogation to my lord of Canterbury’s honour, without diminution of the reputation of the council, and without any glory to the bishop of Winchester; which is, [in] some men’s conceit, the greatest matter of all that yet be rehearsed. And, in good faith, I would I were not, so all were well. Your grace’s doing in Scotland is not, to my judgment, more to your grace’s honour, than this would be, which God grant, and your grace much honour and felicity.

At the Fleet, the xiv of October.

Your Grace’s humble beadman,

S. W.

No. V.—(*Referred to at page 8.*)

A Proclamation against the use of irreverent language towards the Sacrament. Dec. 27, 1547.

[Wilkins, iv. 18.]

Whereas the king's highness hath, of late, with the assent and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the parliament held the fourth day of November, in the first year of his most gracious reign, made a good and godly act and estatute against those, who do contemn, despise, or, with unseemly and ungodly words, deprave, and revile the holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, commonly called "the Sacrament of the Altar;" and the said estatute hath most prudently declared, by all the words and terms in which Scripture speaketh of it, what is undoubtedly to be accepted, believed, taken, and spoken by and of the said sacrament, yet, this notwithstanding, his Majesty is advertised, that some of his subjects, not contented with such words and terms as Scripture doth declare thereof, nor with that doctrine which the Holy Ghost, by the evangelists and St. Paul, hath taught us, do not cease to move contentious and superfluous questions of the said holy Sacrament, and Supper of the Lord; entering rashly into the discussing of the high mystery thereof; and go about, in their sermons or talks, arrogantly to define the manner, nature, fashion, ways, possibility, or impossibility of those matters, which neither make to edification, nor God hath by his holy word opened:

Which persons, not contented reverently and with obedient faith to accept that the said sacrament, according to the saying of St. Paul, "the bread is the communion," or partaking, "of the body of the Lord; the wine," likewise, "the partaking of the blood of Christ," by the words instituted and taught of Christ; and that the body and blood of Jesu Christ is there; which is our comfort, thanksgiving, love-token of Christ's love towards us, and of ours, as his members, within ourself, search and strive unreverently whether the body and blood aforesaid is there really or figuratively, locally or circumscriptly, and having quantity and greatness, or but substantially and by substance only, or else but in a figure and manner of speaking; whether his blessed body be there, head, legs, arms, toes, and nails, or any other ways, shape, and manner, naked or clothed; whether he is broken or chewed, or he is always whole; whether the bread there remaineth as we see, or how it departeth; whether the flesh be there alone, and the blood, or part, or each in other, or in the one both, in the other but only blood; and what blood; that only which did flow out of the side, or that which remained;

with other such irreverent, superfluous, and curious questions, which, how, and what, and by what means, and in what form, may bring into them, which of human and corrupt curiosity hath desire to search out such mysteries, as lieth hid in the infinite and bottomless depth of the wisdom and glory of God, and to the which our human imbecility cannot attain : and, therefore, oft-times turneth the same to their own and others destruction, by contention and arrogant rashness, which simple and christian affection, reverently receiving and obediently believing, without further search, taketh and useth to most great comfort and profit.

For reformation whereof, and to the intent that further contention, tumult, and question, might not rise among the king's subjects, the king's highness, by the advice of the lord protector, and other his Majesty's council, straitly willeth and commandeth, that no manner person from henceforth do, in any wise, contentiously and openly argue, dispute, reason, preach, or teach, affirming any more terms of the said blessed sacrament, than be expressly taught in the holy Scripture, and mentioned in the foresaid act; nor deny none which be therein contained and mentioned, until such time as the king's majesty, by the advice of his Highness's council and the clergy of this realm, shall define, declare, and set forth an open doctrine thereof, and what terms and words may justly be spoken thereby, other than be expressly in the Scripture contained in the act before rehearsed.

In the meanwhile, the king's highness's pleasure is, by the advice aforesaid, that every his loving subjects shall devoutly and reverently affirm and take that holy bread to be Christ's body, and that cup to be the cup of his holy blood, according to the purport and effect of the holy Scripture, contained in the act before expressed, and accommodate themselves rather to take the same sacrament worthily, than rashly to enter into the discussing of the high mystery thereof.

Yet the king's highness mindeth not hereby to let or stop the ignorant and willing to learn, reverently or privately to demand of those whom he thinketh knoweth more the further instruction and teaching in the said blessed sacrament; so that the same be not done with contention, nor in open audience, with a company gathered together about them, nor with tumult: nor doth prohibit any man hereby likewise so quietly, devoutly, and reverently to teach or instruct the weak and unlearned, according to the more talent and learning given to him of God: but only, that all contention, strife, and tumult, and irreverentness might be avoided, and in open audience and preaching nothing taught, but which may have the holy Scripture for warrant:

Upon pain that whosoever shall openly, with contention or tumult,

and in a company gathered together, either in churches, alehouses, markets, or elsewhere, contrary to the form and effect of this proclamation, defend and maintain, or irreverently and contentiously demand of any man, any of the questions before rehearsed, either on the one part, or of the other, or any such like, or do otherwise revile, contemn, or despise the said sacrament, by calling it an idol, or other such vile name, shall incur the king's high indignation, and suffer imprisonment, or to be otherwise grievously punished at his majesty's will and pleasure.

Giving further in authority to all justices of peace, within the shires where they dwell, to apprehend and take all such as contentiously and tumultuously, with companies or routs assembled about them, do dispute, argue, or reason, or stiffly maintain, or openly preach and define the questions before rehearsed, or any of them, or such like, either on the one part or the other, and to commit the same to prison, until such time as the king's majesty's pleasure herein be known; and that they immediately do certify the name or names of the party so offending, and of them who were there at the same time present, making the rout or assembly, to the king's highness's council: willing and commanding the said justices, with all diligence to execute the premises, according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of the same, and their most bound duties, as they tender his highness's will and pleasure, and will answer to the contrary upon their peril.

Reginaldus Cardinalis Polus ad Confessarium Imperatoris.

April, 6, 1547.

[Quirini, iv. 44.]

Reverende pater in Christo, salutem. Cum non sine magnâ voluptate audirem superioribus diebus Cæsaream majestatem severissimis verbis oratorem Angliæ accepisse, idque propter novatas res religionis, et impia quædam decreta, autoritate supremi concilii in Angliâ introducta et confirmata; etsi sciebam Cæsarem, pro suâ pietate, quam dignam summo principe catholico semper ostendit, minimè eguisse tali in causâ adhortatione, ad quam suâ sponte esset incitatus, tamen, cum non ignorarem zelum optimum reverendæ paternitatis tuæ in rebus religionis, quem libentissimo animo, dum Tridenti unâ essemus, sum expertus, simul et intelligerem eam nunc munere confessarii apud Cæsarem fungi, facilè mihi persuadebam non defuisse hortationes reverendæ paternitatis tuæ, sed ipsam quoque hâc in re consilium suum interposuisse; quæ res fecit, ut hoc tempore ad reverendam paternitatem tuam scriberem, primum, ut illi gratularer quòd tantâ pietate officium suum exercet, deinde etiam pro meâ virili parte gratias agerem: nec enim ad me non magnoperè pertinere judico quicquid pro religione conservandâ,

præsertim in patriâ meâ, piè et salutariter est factum. Hunc verò fructum videtur hæc Cæsaris pia reprehensio religioni attulisse, quòd, qui authores extitere illius impii decreti contra sacramentum altaris, non illud promulgarunt; quod datum magis Cæsaris authoritati illud damnantis mihi persuadeo, quàm ipsorum voluntati, qui eo, tanquam lege supremi concilii, devinciri quamprimùm populi animos statuerant. Hac autem ratione, ut illorum impetum repressum videmus qui sacramentorum aversionem meditantur, sic piis animum additum esse non dubito, ut alacriùs sese illorum conatibus opponant, id quod facere jam cœperunt. Ego verò, ut de me dicam, etsi jampridem aliquam occasionem mihi dari cupiebam, ut cum illis de eorum statu et conditione, quæ ipsis felicissima, mihi miserrima, videtur, vel scripto vel verbis conferem, pro meâ erga patriam et ecclesiam pietate, amore etiam erga omnium salutem, cumque id sæpè tentassem, sed frustra, quòd nec me coràm audire, nec meas literas accipere voluissent, tamen superioribus diebus datus mihi esset nonnullus aditus cum illis agendi, saltem per literas et nuntios, id quidem primâ specie valdè probabam; sed quo magis mecum considerabam illorum tot annorum pertinaciam, et præsentem in omnibus rebus audaciam, hoc minùs animo inclinabam, ut oblatâ occasione, quamvis antea à me multùm exoptatâ, uterer, quòd ex eâ quid sperarem fructûs non haberem præter eum, quem ex pace oblatâ et recusatâ ad offerentem redditurum Christus, Deus pacis, promisit. Postquam verò de Cæsaris maximè piâ illâ et severâ reprehensione mihi est nunciatum, statim animum et spem aliquam cepi, ac tempus tunc demùm maturum judicavi cum illis agendi de eorum redditu ad sanitatem, quæ in obedientiâ ecclesiæ consistit. Itaque duos ex meis domesticis familiaribus confestim ad illos, cum mandatis et literis de hâc ipsâ re et causâ, misi, quibus præcepi ut, cum istac transirent, reverendam paternitatem vestram meo nomine inviserent, atque ejus ope, ut faciliùs mandata exequi possent, uterentur. Interim ut pium Cæsaris animum piis et frequentibus hortationibus in causâ religionis fovere, et tanquam generosam aliquam plantam rigare, velit, reverendam paternitatem tuam valdè rogo¹, et ut divina bonitas det incrementum assiduis precibus flagitare nunquam desinam. Valeat in Christo reverenda paternitas tua. Romæ, viii. Id. Aprilis, MDXLVII.

¹ [Mr. Sharon Turner (iii. 252) refers to this passage, and thus describes it: "He urges the confessor to excite the mind of Cæsar in the cause of religion, by frequent exhortations; that is, to direct his arms against England." The reader will see that the letter contains not the slightest hint of such a proceeding.—T.]

No. VI.—(*Referred to at page 8.*)*An Act to take away all positive Laws made against the Marriage of Priests.*

[Stat. 2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 21.]

Although it were not only better for the estimation of priests, and other ministers in the church of God, to live chaste, sole, and separate from the company of women, and the bond of marriage, but also thereby they might the better intend to the administration of the gospel, and be less intricated and troubled with the charge of household, being free, and unburdened from the care and cost of finding wife and children; and that it were most to be wished, that they would willingly, and of themselves, endeavour themselves to a perpetual chastity, and abstinence from the use of women; yet, forasmuch as the contrary hath rather been seen, and such uncleanness of living, and other great inconveniences, not meet to be rehearsed, have followed of compelled chastity, and of such laws as have prohibited those (such persons) the godly use of marriage, it were better, and rather to be suffered in the commonwealth, that those, which could not contain, should, after the counsel of Scripture, live in holy marriage, than feignedly abuse, with worse enormity, outward chastity, or single life.

Be it therefore enacted, by our sovereign lord, the king, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and every law and laws positive, canons, constitutions, and ordinances, heretofore made by authority of man only, which do prohibit or forbid marriage to any ecclesiastical or spiritual person, or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree they be, or by what name or names soever they be called, which by God's law may lawfully marry, in all and every article, branch, and sentence, concerning only the prohibition for the marriage of the persons aforesaid, shall be utterly void, and of none effect; and that all manner of forfeitures, pains, and penalties, crimes, or actions, which were in the said laws contained, and of the same did follow, concerning the prohibition for the marriage of the persons aforesaid, be clearly and utterly void, frustrate, and of none effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as well concerning marriage heretofore made, by any of the ecclesiastical or spiritual persons aforesaid, as also such which hereafter shall be duly and lawfully had, celebrated, and made, betwixt the persons, which by the laws of God, may lawfully marry.

Provided always, and be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that

this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to give any liberty to any person to marry, without asking in the church, or without any ceremony being appointed by the order prescribed, and set forth in the book intituled, *The Book of the Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, &c.*, anything above mentioned, to the contrary, in anywise notwithstanding.

Provided also, and be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that this act, or anything therein contained, shall not extend to alter, change, revoke, repeal, or otherwise to disannul any decree, judgment, sentence, or divorce, heretofore had or made: but that all and every such decree, judgment, sentence, and divorce, shall remain, and be of such like force, effect, strength, and degree, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as they were in, before the making of this act, and as though this act had never been had, ne made; this act, or anything therein contained to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

No. VII.—(*Referred to at page 9.*)

An Act for the Election of Bishops.

[Stat. 1 Ed. VI. c. 2.]

Forasmuch as the elections of archbishops and bishops, by the deans and chapters, within the king's majesty's realms of England and Ireland, at this present time, be as well the long delay, as to the great cost and charges of such persons as the king's majesty giveth any archbishopric, or bishopric unto; and, whereas the said elections be, in very deed, no elections, but only, by a writ of *congé d'eslire*, have colours, shadows, or pretences of elections; serving, nevertheless, to no purpose, and seeming also derogatory, and prejudicial to the king's prerogative royal, to whom only appertaineth the collation and gift of all archbishoprics, and bishoprics, and suffragan bishops, within his highness' said realms of England and Ireland, Wales, and other his dominions and marches; for a due reformation hereof, be it, therefore, enacted by the king's highness, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that, from henceforth, no *congé d'eslire* be granted, nor election of any archbishop, or bishop, by the dean and chapter made; but that the king may, by his letters patents, at all times, when any archbishopric, or bishopric, is void, confer the same to any person whom the king shall think meet. The which collation, so by the king's letters patents made, and delivered to the person to whom the king shall confer the same archbishopric, or bishopric, or to his sufficient proctor and attorney, shall stand, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, to

as much and the same effect, as though *congé d'eslire* had been given, the election duly made, and the same confirmed. And thereupon the said person, to whom the said archbishopric, bishopric, or suffraganship is so conferred, collated, or given, may be consecrated, and sue his livery, or *ouster le main*, and do other things, as well as if the said ceremonies and elections had been done and made.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every such person to whom any collation and gift of any archbishopric, bishopric, or suffraganship, shall be given, or collated by the king, his heirs, or successors, shall pay, do, and yield to all, and every person, all such fees, interests, and duties, as of old time have been accustomed to be done, any thing, in this act, or in any other, to the contrary hereof, in any wise, notwithstanding.

And whereas the archbishops, and bishops, and other spiritual persons in this realm, do use to make and send out their summons, citations, and other process, in their own names, and in such form and manner as was used in the time of the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, contrary to the form and order of the summons, and process of the common law used in this realm (seeing that all authority of jurisdiction, spiritual and temporal, is derived and deducted from the king's majesty, as supreme head of these churches and realms of England and Ireland, and so justly acknowledged by the clergy of the said realms), that all courts ecclesiastical, within the said two realms, be kept by no other power or authority, either foreign, or within the realm, but by the authority of his most excellent majesty,—be it therefore further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all summons and citations, or other process ecclesiastical, in all suits and causes of instance betwixt party and party, and all causes of correction, and all causes of bastardy, or bigamy, or inquiry *de jure patronatús*, probates of testaments, and commissions of administrations of persons deceased, and all acquittances of and upon accounts made by the executors, administrators, or collectors of goods of any dead person, be, from the first day of July next following, made in the name, and with the style of the king, as it is in writs, original or judicial, at the common law; and that the *teste* thereof be in the name of the archbishop, or bishop, or other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, who hath the commission, and grant of the authority ecclesiastical, immediately from the king's highness; and that his commissary, official, or substitute exercising jurisdiction under him, shall put his name in the citation, or process, after the *teste*.

Furthermore, be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all manner of person or persons, who have the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall have, from the first day of July before expressed, in

their seals of office, the king's highness' arms, decently set, with certain characters under the arms, for the knowledge of the diocese; and shall use no other seal of jurisdiction, but wherein his majesty's arms be engraven; upon pain, that, if any person shall use ecclesiastical jurisdiction (after the day before expressed) in this realm of England, Wales, or other his dominions, or territories, and not send or make out the citation, or process, in the king's name, or use any seal of jurisdiction, other than before limited, every such offender shall incur and run in the king's majesty's displeasure and indignation, and suffer imprisonment, at his highness' will and pleasure.

Provided, that no more, nor other fees be taken, or paid, for the seal, and writing of any citations, or other process, than was heretofore accustomed.

Provided also, and be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the archbishop of Canterbury, for the time being, shall use his own seal, and in his own name, in all faculties and dispensations, according to the tenor of an act thereof made; and that the said archbishops and bishops shall make, admit, order, and reform their chancellors, officials, commissaries, advocates, proctors, and other their officers, ministers, and substitutes, and commissions of suffragan bishops, in their own names, under their own seals, in such manner and form as they have heretofore used; and shall certify to the court of tithes their certificates under their own names and seals, as heretofore they have used, and according to the statute, in that case made and provided; and likewise shall make collations, presentations, gifts, institutions, and inductions of benefices, letters of order, or dimissories, under their own names and seals, as they have heretofore accustomed; any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all process hereafter to be made, or awarded by any ecclesiastical person, or persons, for the trial of any plea, or pleas, or matter depending, or that hereafter shall depend, in any of the king's courts of record at the common law, and limited, by the laws and customs of this realm, to the spiritual courts, to try the same, that the certificate of the same, after the trial thereof, shall be made in the king's name, for the time being, and with the style of the same king, and under the seal of the bishop, graved with the king's arms, with the name of the bishop, or spiritual officer, being to the *teste* of the same process and certificate, and to every of them.

No. VIII.—(*Referred to at page 12.*)*Proclamation, and Order of Communion, March 8, 1548.*

[Wilkins, iv. 11.]

Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England and Ireland in earth the supreme head, to all and singular our loving subjects, greeting. For so much as, in our high court of parliament, lately holden at Westminster, it was by us, with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons there assembled, most godly and agreeably to Christ's holy institution, enacted, that the most blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ should, from thenceforth, be commonly delivered, and ministered unto all persons within our realm of England and Ireland, and other our dominions, under both kinds, that is to say, of bread and wine (except necessity otherwise require), lest any man, fancying and devising a sundry way by himself, in the use of this most blessed sacrament of unity, there might thereby arise any unseemly and ungodly diversity; our pleasure is, by the advice of our most dear uncle, the Duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and other of our privy council, that the said blessed sacrament be ministered unto our people only after such form and manner, as hereafter, by our authority, with the advice before mentioned, is set forth and declared: willing every man, with due reverence and christian behaviour, to come to this holy sacrament, and most blessed communion, lest, by the unworthy receiving of so high mysteries, they become guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and so eat and drink their own damnation: but rather diligently trying themselves, that they may so come to this holy table of Christ, and so be partakers of this holy communion, that they may dwell in Christ, and have Christ dwelling in them: and also with such obedience and conformity to receive this our ordinance, and most godly direction, that we may be encouraged, from time to time, further to travel for the reformation, and setting forth of such godly orders, as may be most to God's glory, the edifying of our subjects, and for the advancement of true religion.

Which thing we (by the help of God) most earnestly intend to bring to effect: willing all our loving subjects, in the mean time, to stay and quiet themselves with this our direction, as men content to follow our authority (according to the bounden duty of subjects), and not enterprising to run afore, and so, by their rashness, become the greatest hinderers of such things, as they more arrogantly than godly would seem

(by their own private authority) most hotly to set forward. We would not have our subjects so much to mislike our judgment, so much to mistrust our zeal, as though we either could not discern what were to be done, or would not do all things in due time. God be praised, we know both what by his word is meet to be redressed, and have an earnest mind, by the advice of our most dear uncle, and other of our privy council, with all diligence and convenient speed so to set forth the same, as it may most stand with God's glory, and edifying and quietness of our people; which we doubt not, but all our obedient and loving subjects will quietly and reverently tarry for.

God save the King.

The Order of the Communion.

First, the parson, vicar, or curate, the next Sunday or holy day, or, at the least, one day before he shall minister the communion, shall give warning to his parishioners, or those which be present, that they prepare themselves thereto, saying to them open and plainly as hereafter followeth, or such like.

“Dear friends, and you especially, upon whose souls I have cure and charge, upon — day next, I do intend, by God's grace, to offer to all such, as shall be there godly disposed, the most comfortable sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, to be taken of them in the remembrance of his most fruitful and glorious passion; by the which passion, we have obtained remission of our sins, and be made partakers of the kingdom of heaven; whereof we be assured and ascertained, if we come to the said sacrament with hearty repentance for our offences, stedfast faith in God's mercy, and earnest minds to obey God's will, and to offend no more. Wherefore our duty is, to come to these holy mysteries with most hearty thanks, to be given to Almighty God for his infinite mercy and benefits, given and bestowed upon us, his unworthy servants, for whom he hath not only given his body to death, and shed his blood, but also doth vouchsafe, in a sacrament and mystery, to give us his said body and blood spiritually to feed and drink upon. The which sacrament, being so divine and holy a thing, and so comfortable to them which receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to take the same unworthily, my duty is, to exhort you, in the mean season, to consider the greatness of the thing, and to search and examine your own consciences, and that not lightly, nor after the manner of dissemblers with God; but as they which should come to a most godly and heavenly banquet: not to come but in the marriage garment required of God in scripture, that you may, so much as lieth in you,

be found worthy to come to such a table. The ways and means thereto is,

“ First, That you be truly repentant of your former evil life, and that you confess, with an unfeigned heart, to Almighty God, your sins and unkindness towards his Majesty, committed either by will, word, or deed, infirmity or ignorance, and that, with inward sorrow and tears, you bewail your offences, and require of Almighty God mercy and pardon, promising to him, from the bottom of your hearts, the amendment of your former life. And, amongst all others, I am commanded of God, especially to move and exhort you to reconcile yourselves to your neighbours, whom you have offended, or who have offended you, putting out of your hearts all hatred and malice against them, and to be in love and charity with all the world, and to forgive other, as you would that God should forgive you. And, if there be any of you, whose conscience is troubled and grieved at any thing, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned priest, taught in the law of God, and confess and open his sin and grief secretly, that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, that his conscience may be relieved, and that of us, as a minister of God and of the church, he may receive comfort and absolution, to the satisfaction of his mind, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness: requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general confession, not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confession to the priest, nor those also, which think needful or convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins to the priest, to be offended with them which are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession to the church; but, in all these things, to follow and keep the rule of charity, and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men’s minds or acts, whereas he hath no warrant of God’s word for the same.”

The time of the communion shall be immediately after that the priest himself hath received the sacrament, without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the mass (until other orders shall be provided): but, as heretofore usually the priest hath done with the sacrament of the body, to prepare, bless, and consecrate so much as will serve the people, so it shall yet continue still, after the same manner and form, save that he shall bless and consecrate the biggest chalice, or some fair and convenient cup or cups full of wine, with some water put unto it; and, that day, not drink it up all himself, but take one only sup, or draught, leave the rest upon the altar covered, and turn to them that are disposed to be partakers of the communion, and shall thus exhort them, as followeth.

“Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye coming to his holy communion must consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, or ever they presume to eat of this bread, and drink of this cup: for, as the benefit is great, if, with a truly penitent heart and lively faith, we receive this holy Sacrament (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we be made one with Christ, and Christ with us), so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily; for then we become guilty of the body and blood of Christ, our Saviour; we eat and drink our own damnation, because we make no difference of the Lord’s body; we kindle God’s wrath over us; we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death. Judge, therefore, yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord. Let your mind be without desire to sin: repent you truly for your sins past; have an earnest and lively faith in Christ, our Saviour; be in perfect charity with all men, so shall ye be meet partakers of these holy mysteries. But, above all things, you must give most humble and hearty thanks to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour, Christ, both God and man, who did humble himself even to the death upon the cross, for us miserable sinners, lying in darkness and the shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And, to the end that we should always remember the exceeding love of our master, and only Saviour, Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits, which, by his precious blood shedding, he hath obtained to us, he hath left in these holy mysteries, as a pledge of his love, and a continual remembrance of the same, his own blessed body and precious blood, for us spiritually to feed upon, to our endless comfort and consolation. To him, therefore, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, let us give, as we are most bounden, continual thanks, submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him, in true holiness and righteousness, all the days of our life. Amen.”

Then the priest shall say to them which be ready to take the sacrament,

“If any man here be an open blasphemer, adulterer, in malice, or envy, or any other notable crime, and be not truly sorry therefore, and earnestly minded to leave the same vices, or that doth not trust himself to be reconciled to Almighty God, and in charity with all the world, let him yet awhile bewail his sins, and not come to this holy table, lest, after the taking of this most blessed bread, the devil enter into him, as he did into Judas, to fulfil in him all iniquity, and to bring him to destruction, both of body and soul.”

Here the priest shall pause awhile, to see if any man will withdraw himself: and if he perceive any so to do, then let him commune with him privily, at convenient leisure, and see whether he can, with good exhortation, bring him to grace: and, after a little pause, the priest shall say;

“You, that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and offences, committed to Almighty God, and be in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, and heartily to follow the commandments of God, and to walk from henceforth in his holy ways, draw near, and take this holy sacrament to your comfort; make your humble confession to Almighty God, and to his holy church, here gathered together in his name, meekly kneeling upon your knees.”

Then shall a general confession be made, in the name of all those, that are minded to receive the holy communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees—

“Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men, we acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we, from time to time, most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine majesty; provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, and be heartily sorry for these our misdoings. The remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burthen of them is intolerable: have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful father; for thy son, our Lord Jesus Christ’s sake, forgive us all that is past, and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee, in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

Then shall the priest stand up, and turning him to the people, say thus,—

“Our blessed Lord, who hath left power to his church to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the heavenly Father such as truly believe in Christ, have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life.”

Then shall the priest stand up, and, turning him toward the people, say thus:

“Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith to all that truly turn to him:—

“‘Come unto me all that travel, and be heavy laden, and I shall refresh you. So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end, that all that believe in him should not perish, but have life everlasting.’

“Hear also what St. Paul saith:—

“ ‘ This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced and received, that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners.’

“ Hear also what St. John saith :

“ ‘ If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous : he it is that obtained grace for our sins.’ ”

Then shall the priest kneel down, and say, in the name of all them that shall receive the communion, this prayer following :

“ We do not presume to come to this, thy table (O merciful Lord), trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We be not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table : but thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, in these holy mysteries, that we may continually dwell in him, and he in us ; that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood. Amen.”

Then shall the priest rise, the people still reverently kneeling, and the priest shall deliver the communion, first to the ministers, if any be there present, that they may be ready to help the priest, and after, to the other. And when he doth deliver the sacrament of the body of Christ, he shall say to every one these words following :

“ The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life.”

And the priest, delivering the sacrament of the blood, and giving every one to drink, once and no more, shall say :

“ The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life.”

If there be a deacon, or other priest, then shall he follow with the chalice, and, as the priest ministereth the bread, so shall he, for more expedition, minister the wine, in form before written. Then shall the priest, turning him to the people, let the people depart with this blessing :

“ The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord.”

To which the people shall answer,

“ Amen.”

Note, That the bread, that shall be consecrated, shall be such as heretofore hath been accustomed. And every of the said consecrated breads shall be broken in two pieces, at the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister, and so distributed. And men must not think less to be received in part, than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.



Note, that if it doth so chance, that the wine hallowed and consecrated doth not suffice, or be enough for them that do take the communion, the priest, after the first cup or chalice be emptied, may go again to the altar, and reverently and devoutly prepare and consecrate another, and so the third, or more likewise, beginning at these words, "*simili modo, postquam cœnatum est,*" and ending at these words, "*qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum:*" and without any elevation or lifting up.

No. IX.—(*Referred to at page 32.*)

An Act of Uniformity of Service, and Administration of the Sacraments, throughout the Realm.

[Stat. 2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 1.]

Where, of long time, there hath been had, in this realm of England, and in Wales, divers forms of common prayer, commonly called the service of the church, that is to say, the use of Sarum, of York, of Bangor, and of Lincoln; and, besides the same, now of late, much more divers and sundry forms and fashions have been used in the cathedral and parish churches of England and Wales, as well concerning the matins or morning prayer, and the even-song, as also concerning the holy communion, commonly called the mass, with divers and sundry rites and ceremonies concerning the same, and in the administration of other sacraments of the church: And, as the doers and executors of the said rites and ceremonies, in other form than of late years they have been used, were pleased therewith, so other, not using the same rites and ceremonies, were thereby greatly offended: And, albeit the king's majesty, with the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, the lord protector, and other of his highness' council, hath heretofore divers times assayed to stay innovations, or new rites, concerning the premises, yet the same hath not had such good success as his highness required in that behalf; whereupon his highness, by the most prudent advice aforesaid, being pleased to bear with the frailty and weakness of his subjects, in that behalf, of his great clemency hath not been only content to abstain from punishment of those that have offended in that behalf (for that his highness taketh, that they did it of a good zeal), but also, to the intent a uniform, quiet, and godly order should be had concerning the premises, hath appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops, and other learned men of this realm, to consider and ponder the premises; and thereupon, having as well eye and respect to the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Scripture, as to the usages in the primitive church,

should draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion, of common and open prayer, and administration of the sacraments, to be had and used in his majesty's realm of England, and in Wales; the which, at this time, *by the aid of the Holy Ghost*, with one uniform agreement, is of them concluded, set forth, and delivered to his highness, to his great comfort and quietness of mind, in a book intituled, "*The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the Use of the Church of England:*" Wherefore, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in this present parliament assembled, considering as well the most godly travel of the king's highness, of the lord protector, and of other his highness's council, in gathering and collecting the said archbishop, bishops, and learned men together, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book mentioned, and the considerations of altering those things which be altered, and retaining those things which be retained, in the said book, and also the honour of God, and great quietness which, by the grace of God, shall ensue upon the one and uniform rite and order, in such common prayer, and rites, and extern ceremonies, to be used throughout England, and in Wales, at Calais, and the marches of the same, do give to his highness most hearty and lowly thanks for the same, and humbly pray, that it may be ordained and enacted by his majesty, with the assent of the lords and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular person and persons, that have offended concerning the premises, other than such person and persons as now be, and remain in ward, in the Tower of London, or in the Fleet, may be pardoned thereof; and that all and singular ministers, in any cathedral or parish church, or other place within this realm of England, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, or other the king's dominions, shall, from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bounden to say and use the matins, even-song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, commonly called the mass, and administration of each the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the same book, and none other, or otherwise. And albeit that the same be so godly and good, that they give occasion to every honest and conformable man most willingly to embrace them, yet, lest any obstinate person, who willingly would disturb so godly order and quiet in this realm, should go unpunished, that it may also be ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that, if any manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister, that ought or should sing, or say common prayer, mentioned in the said book, or minister the sacraments, shall, after the said feast of Pentecost next coming, refuse to

use the said common prayer, or to minister the sacraments, in such cathedral, or parish church, or other place as he should use, or minister the same, in such order and form as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book, or shall use, wilfully and obstinately standing in the same, any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of mass, openly or privily, or matins, even-song, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayer, than is mentioned and set forth in the said book, or shall preach, declare, or speak any thing in the derogation or depraving of the said book, or of any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of this realm, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall lose and forfeit to the king's highness, his heirs and successors, for his first offence, the profit of such one of his spiritual benefices or promotions, as it shall please the king's highness to assign or appoint, coming and arising in one whole year next after his conviction; and also, that the same person so convicted shall, for the same offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprise: and, if any such person, once convict of any such offence concerning the premises, shall, after his first conviction, eftsoons offend, and be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convict, that then the same person shall, for his second offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year, and also shall therefore be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions; and that it shall be lawful to all patrons, donors, grantees of all and singular the same spiritual promotions, to present to the same any other able clerk, in like manner and form as though the party so offending were dead; and that, if any such person or persons, after he shall be twice convicted in form aforesaid, shall offend against any of the premises the third time, and shall be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convict, then the person, so offending and convicted the third time, shall suffer imprisonment during his life. And if the person, that shall offend and be convict in form aforesaid concerning any of the premises, shall not be beneficed, nor have any spiritual promotion, then the same person, so offending and convict, shall, for the first offence, suffer imprisonment during six months, without bail or mainprise; and if any such person, not having any spiritual promotion, after his first conviction, shall eftsoons offend in any thing concerning the premises, and shall in form aforesaid be thereof lawfully convicted, that then the same person shall, for his second offence, suffer imprisonment during his life.

And it is ordained and enacted by the authority abovesaid, that, if any person or persons whatsoever, after the said feast of Pentecost next coming, shall, in any interludes, plays, songs, rhymes, or by

any other open words, declare or speak any thing in the derogation, depraving, or despising of the same book, or of any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, or shall, by open fact, deed, or by open threatenings, compel, or cause, or otherwise procure or maintain any parson, vicar, or other minister, in any cathedral, or parish church, or chapel, or in any other place, to sing or say any common and open prayer, or to minister any sacrament, otherwise, or in any other manner or form, than is mentioned in the said book, or shall, by any of the said means, unlawfully interrupt or let any parson, vicar, or other minister, in any cathedral, or parish church, chapel, or any other place, to sing or say common and open prayer, or to minister the sacraments, or any of them, in such manner and form, as is mentioned in the said book,—then every person, being thereof lawfully convicted in form abovesaid, shall forfeit to the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, for the first offence ten pounds: and if any person or persons, being once convicted of any such offence, afterwards offend against any of the premises, and shall in form aforesaid be thereof lawfully convict, that then the same person, so offending and convict, shall, for the second offence, forfeit to the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, twenty pounds: and if any person, after he in form aforesaid shall have been twice convict of any offence concerning any of the premises, shall offend a third time, and be thereof in form abovesaid lawfully convict, that then every person, so offending and convict, shall, for his third offence, forfeit to our sovereign lord, the king, all his goods and chattels, and shall suffer imprisonment during his life: and if any person or persons, that, for his first offence concerning the premises, shall be convict in form aforesaid, do not pay the sum to be paid by virtue of his conviction, in such manner and form as the same ought to be paid, within six weeks next after his conviction, that then every person so convict, and not so paying the same, shall, for the same offence, instead of the said ten pounds, suffer imprisonment by the space of three months, without bail or mainprise: and if any person or persons, that, for his second offence concerning the premises, shall be convict in form aforesaid, do not pay the sum to be paid by virtue of his conviction, in such manner and form as the same ought to be paid, within six weeks next after his said conviction, that then every person so convicted, and not so paying the same, shall, for the same second offence, instead of the said twenty pounds, suffer imprisonment during six months, without bail or mainprise.

And it is ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every justices of oyer and determiner, or justices of assize, shall have full power and authority, in every of their open and general ses-

sions, to enquire, hear, and determine all and all manner of offences that shall be committed or done, contrary to any article contained in this present act, within the limits of the commission to them directed, and to make process for the execution of the same, as they may do against any person, being indicted before them of trespass, or lawfully convicted thereof.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every archbishop and bishop shall or may, at all time and times, at his liberty and pleasure, join and associate himself, by virtue of this act, to the said justices of oyer and determiner, or to the said justices of assize, at every of the said open and general sessions to be holden in any place within his diocese, for, and to the enquiry, hearing, and determining of the offences aforesaid.

Provided always, that it shall be lawful to any man, that understandeth the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongue, or other strange tongue, to say, and have the said prayers, heretofore specified, of matins and even-song, in Latin, or any such other tongue (saying the same privately), as they do understand: and, for the further encouraging of learning in the tongues, in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, to use and exercise in their common and open prayer, in their chapels (being no parish churches), or other places of prayer, the matins, even-song, litany, and all other prayers (the holy communion, commonly called the mass, excepted), prescribed in the said book, in Greek, Latin, or Hebrew, any thing in this present act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that it shall be lawful for all men, as well in churches, chapels, oratories, or other places, to use openly any psalms or prayer taken out of the bible, at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service, or any part thereof, mentioned in the said book.

Provided also, and be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the books, concerning the said services, shall, at the cost and charges of the parishioners of every parish and cathedral church, be attained and gotten before the feast of Pentecost next following; and that all such parishes and cathedral churches, or other places, where the said books shall be attained and gotten before the said feast of Pentecost, shall, within three weeks next after the said books so attained and gotten, use the said service, and put the same in ure, according to this act.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons shall be at any time hereafter impeached, or otherwise molested, of or for any of the offences above mentioned, hereafter to be committed or done, contrary to this act, unless he or they, so offending, be thereof indicted, at the great general sessions, to be holden before

any of the justices of oyer and determiner, or justices of assize, next after any offence, committed or done contrary to the tenor of this act.

Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular lords of the parliament, for the said offences above mentioned, shall be tried by their peers.

Provided also, and be it ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the mayor of London, and all the mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers of all and singular cities, boroughs, and towns corporate within this realm, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, to the which justices of assize do not commonly repair, shall have full power and authority, by virtue of this act, to enquire, hear, and determine the offences above said, and every of them yearly, within fifteen days after the feast of Easter, and St. Michael the archangel, in like manner and form as justices of assize and oyer and determiner may do.

Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular archbishops and bishops, and every of their chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, and other ordinaries, having any peculiar ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall have full power and authority, by virtue of this act, as well to enquire in their visitations, synods, and elsewhere within their jurisdiction, as, at any other time and place, to take occasions and informations of all and every the things above mentioned, done, committed, or perpetrated, within the limits of their jurisdiction and authority; and to punish the same by admonition, excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, and other censures and process, in like form as heretofore hath been used in like cases, by the king's ecclesiastical laws.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that whatsoever person, offending in the premises, shall, for the first offence, receive punishment of the ordinary, having a testimonial thereof under the said ordinary's seal, shall not, for the same offence, afterwards be convicted before the justices; and likewise, receiving, for the said first offence, punishment by the justices, he shall not, for the same offence, afterwards receive punishment of the ordinary; any thing contained in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Council to Bonner, about Masses at St. Paul's. June 24, 1549.

[Wilkins, iv. 34.]

After hearty commendations, having very credible notice that within that, your cathedral church, there be as yet the apostles' mass, and our lady's mass, and other masses of such peculiar names, under the defence and nomination of "our lady's communion," and "the apostles' com-

munion," used in private chapels, and other remote places of the same, and not in the chancel, contrary to the king's majesty's proceedings, the same being, for the misuse, displeasing to God; for the place, Paul's, in example not tolerable; for the fondness of the name, a scorn to the reverence of the communion of the Lord's body and blood; we, for the augmentation of God's honour and glory, and the consonance of his majesty's laws, and the avoiding of murmur, have thought good to will and command you, that, from henceforth, no such masses in this manner be in your church any longer used, but that the holy blessed communion, according to the act of parliament, be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other places of the same, and only at such time, as your high masses were wont to be used; except some number of people desire (for their necessary business) to have a communion in the morning; and yet the same to be executed at the chancel, at the high altar, as it is appointed in the book of the public service, without cautele, or digression from the common order; and herein you shall not only satisfy our expectation of your conformity in all lawful things, but also avoid the murmur of sundry, that be therewith justly offended; and so we bid your lordship heartily farewell.

From Richmond, the 24th of June, 1549.

Your loving friends,

E. SOMERSET,	R. RICH. CHANC.
W. SAINT JOHN,	FR. SHREWSBURY,
E. MONTAGUE,	W. CECIL.

No. X.—(*Referred to at page 32*).

An Act touching Abstinence from Flesh in Lent, and other usual times.

[Stat. 2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 19.]

Albeit the king's subjects, now having a more perfect and clear light of the gospel, and true word of God, through the infinite mercy and clemency of Almighty God, by the hands of the king's majesty, and his most noble father, of famous memory, promulgate, shewed, declared, and opened, and thereby perceiving, that one day, or one kind of meat, of itself, is not more holy, more pure, or more clean than another; for that all days and all meats be, of their nature, of one equal purity, cleanness, and holiness, and that all men should by them live to the glory of God, and, at all times, and for all meats, give thanks unto him; of which meats none can defile christian men, or make them unclean, at any time, to whom all meats be lawful and pure, so that they be not used in disobedience or vice; yet, forasmuch as divers of the king's subjects, turning their knowledge therein to satisfy their sensuality,

whereas they should thereby increase in virtue, have, of late time, more than in times past, broken and contemned such abstinence, which hath been used in this realm, upon the Fridays, and Saturdays, the embering-days, and other days, commonly called vigils, and in the time commonly called Lent, and other accustomed times,—the king's majesty, considering that due and godly abstinence is a mean to virtue, and to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit; and considering also that fishers, and men using the trade of living by fishing in the sea, may thereby the rather be set on work, and that, by eating of fish, much flesh shall be saved and increased, and also for divers other considerations and commodities of this realm, doth ordain and enact, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all manner of statutes, laws, constitutions, and usages, concerning any manner of fasting, or abstinence from any kinds of meats, heretofore in this realm made or used, shall, from the first day of May next ensuing, lose their force and strength, and be void and of none effect.

And also, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, shall, at any time after the first day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and forty-nine, willingly and wittingly eat any manner of flesh, after what manner of kind or sort it shall be ordered, dressed, or used, upon any Friday, or Saturday, or the embering-days, or on any day in the time commonly called Lent, nor on any such other day as is, or shall be, at any time hereafter, commonly accepted and reputed as a fish-day, within this realm of England, wherein it hath been commonly used for to eat fish, and not flesh, upon pain that every person, eating any manner of flesh, upon any of the said days or times prohibited by this act, shall forfeit, for the said first offence, ten shillings, of lawful money of England, and also suffer imprisonment by the space of ten days, and, during the time of his or her said imprisonment, abstain from eating any manner of flesh.

And if any person, after he shall be lawfully convict of any offence contrary to this act, doth eftsoons offend contrary to this act, and be thereof lawfully convict, that then, every person, so offending the second time, shall, for his second offence, forfeit twenty shillings, of lawful money of England, and also suffer imprisonment by the space of twenty days, and, during the time of his or her said imprisonment, abstain from eating any manner of flesh; and so like pain and imprisonment, as often as he or she afterwards shall offend.

And furthermore, it is ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that justices of gaol-delivery, and justices of peace in all and singular counties, cities, towns-corporate, and other places within this

realm of England, and other the king's dominions, shall have full power and authority to enquire, hear, and determine all and all manner offences, that shall be committed or done contrary to this act, in like manner and form as they may enquire, hear, and determine any trespass or other offence against the king's peace, committed or done within the limits or place where they then shall be justices of gaol-delivery, or justices of peace; and the moiety of every such forfeiture shall be estreated into the court of exchequer, in like manner and form, as fines for any trespass, or other offence, committed against the king's peace, ought or should be estreated; and the other moiety of the said forfeiture shall be to him that will sue for the same, by bill, plaint, information, or otherwise, in any of the king's courts of record, in which, no essoin, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed.

Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not in any wise extend to any person or persons that heretofore hath, or hereafter shall have obtained, any license of our sovereign lord, the king, his heirs or successors; nor to any person being in great age, and in debility and weakness thereby; nor to any person being sick, or notably hurt, without fraud or covin, during the time of his or her said sickness; nor to any woman, being with child, or lying in child-bed, for eating of such one kind of flesh as she shall have great lust unto; nor to any person, being in prison for any other offence, than for any offence contrary to this act; neither to any that is, or hereafter shall be, the king's highness's lieutenant, deputy, or captain of any his majesty's army, hold, or fortress; but the same themselves may eat flesh, and license and permit their soldiers to do the same, in times prohibited, upon the want and lack of other kind of victual: neither shall it extend to St. Laurence's even, St. Mark's day, or any other day, or even, being abrogate; neither to any such as heretofore have obtained any license, in due form, of the archbishop of Canterbury.

And further, be it enacted, by authority aforesaid, that all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and their officers, or the officers of any of them, shall have power to enquire of the offenders in the premises, and present the same to such, from time to time, as, by virtue of this act, have authority to hear and determine the same.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that no manner of person, or persons, be impeached, molested, or troubled, or shall incur any pain, penalty, or forfeiture, for any offence, contrary to the act before rehearsed, committed, or done, except he or they be accused, convented, or indicted of and for the said offence, according to the tenor of this statute, within three months next after the committing of the said offence.

No. XI.—(*Referred to at page 33.*)*An Act for the keeping of Holydays and Fasting-days.*

[Stat. 5 and 6 Ed. VI. c. 3.]

Forasmuch as, at all times, men be not so mindful to laud and praise God, so ready to resort and hear God's holy word, and to come to the holy communion, and other laudable rites, which are to be observed in every Christian congregation, as their bounden duty doth require, therefore, to call men to remembrance of their duty, and to help their infirmity, it hath been wholesomely provided, that there should be some certain times and days appointed, wherein the Christians should cease from all other kind of labours, and should apply themselves only and wholly unto the aforesaid holy works, properly pertaining unto the true religion; that is, to hear, to learn, and to remember, Almighty God's great benefits, his manifold mercies, his inestimable gracious goodness, so plenteously poured upon all his creatures, and *that* of his infinite and unspeakable goodness, without any man's desert, and, in remembrance hereof, to render unto him most high and hearty thanks, with prayers and supplications, for the relief of all our daily necessities: and because these be the chief and principal works wherein man is commanded to worship God, and do properly pertain unto the first table, therefore, as these works are both most commonly, and also may well be, called God's service, so the times, appointed specially for the same, are called holy days; not for the matter and nature, either of the time or day, nor for any of the saints' sake, whose memories are had on those days (for so all days and times considered are God's creatures, and all of like holiness), but for the nature and condition of those godly and holy works, wherewith only God is to be honoured, and the congregation to be edified, whereunto such times and days are sanctified and hallowed; that is to say, separated from all profane uses, and dedicated and appointed, not unto any saint, or creature, but only unto God, and his true worship. Neither is it to be thought, that there is any certain time or definite number of days prescribed in holy Scripture; but that the appointment, both of the time, and also of the number of the days, is left, by the authority of God's word, to the liberty of Christ's church, to be determined and assigned orderly in every country, by the discretion of the rulers and ministers thereof, as they shall judge most expedient to the true setting forth of God's glory, and the edification of their people. Be it therefore enacted, by the king, our sovereign lord, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all the

days, hereafter mentioned, shall be kept, and commanded to be kept, holydays, and none other; that is to say, all Sundays in the year, the days of the feast of the circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the epiphany, of the purification of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Matthias the apostle, of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Mark the evangelist, of St. Philip and Jacob the apostles, of the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the nativity of St. John Baptist, of St. Peter the apostle, of St. James the apostle, of St. Bartholomew the apostle, of St. Matthew the apostle, of St. Michael the archangel, of St. Luke the evangelist, of St. Simon and Jude the apostles, of All-saints, of St. Andrew the apostle, of St. Thomas the apostle, of the nativity of our Lord, of St. Stephen the martyr, of St. John the evangelist, of the Holy Innocents, Monday and Tuesday in Easter-week, and Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun-week; and that none other day shall be kept, and commanded to be kept, holyday, or to abstain from lawful bodily labour.

And it is also enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that every even, or day next going before any of the aforesaid days of the feasts of the nativity of our Lord, of Easter, of the ascension of our Lord, Pentecost, and the purification and the annunciation of the aforesaid Blessed Virgin, of All-Saints, and of all the said feasts of the apostles (other than of St. John the evangelist, and Philip and Jacob), shall be fasted, and commanded to be kept and observed, and that none other even, or day, shall be commanded to be fasted.

And it is enacted, by the authority abovesaid, that it shall be lawful to all archbishops and bishops, in their dioceses, and to all other having ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction, to enquire of every person that shall offend in the premises, and to punish every such offender, by the censures of the church, and to enjoin him, or them, such penance as shall be to the spiritual judge, by his discretion, thought meet and convenient.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to abrogate or take away the abstinence from flesh, in Lent, or on Fridays, and Saturdays, or any other day, which is already appointed so to be kept, by virtue of an act made and provided, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign lord the king's majesty, that now is; saving only those evens, or days, whereof the holyday next following is abrogated by this statute; any thing above mentioned to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided also, and it is enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that when, and so often as, it shall chance, any of the said feasts (the evens whereof be, by this statute, commanded to be observed, and kept fasting-day) to fall upon the Monday, that then, as it hath always been heretofore

accustomably used, so hereafter, the Saturday then next going before any such feast, or holyday, and not the Sunday, shall be commanded to be fasted, for the even of any such feast, or holyday; any thing in this statute before mentioned, or declared to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding.

Provided always, and it is enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be lawful to every husbandman, labourer, fisherman, and to all and every other person and persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, upon the holydays aforesaid, in harvest, or at any other times in the year, when necessity shall require, to labour, ride, fish, or work any kind of work, at their free-will and pleasure; any thing in this act to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be lawful to the knights of the right honourable order of the garter, and to every of them, to keep and celebrate solemnly the feast of their order, commonly called "St. George's Feast," yearly, from henceforth, the twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth days of April, and at such other time and times, as yearly shall be thought convenient by the king's highness, his heirs, and successors, and the said knights of the said honourable order, or any of them now being, or hereafter to be; any thing in this act, heretofore mentioned to the contrary, notwithstanding.

No. XII.—(*Referred to at page 33.*)

An Act for abolishing and putting away divers Books and Images.

[Stat. 3 and 4 Ed. VI. c. 10.]

Whereas the king's most excellent majesty hath, of late, set forth and established, by authority of parliament, an uniform, quiet, and godly order of common and open prayer, in a book intituled, *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, after the Church of England*, to be used and observed in the said church of England, agreeable to the order of the primitive church, much more comfortable unto his loving subjects, than other diversity of service, as heretofore of long time hath been used; being in the said book ordained nothing to be read, but the very pure word of God, or which is evidently grounded upon the same; and, in the other, things corrupt, untrue, vain, and superstitious, and, as it were, a preparation to superstition; which, for that they be not called in, but permitted to remain undefaced, do not only give occasion to such perverse persons, as do impugn the order, and godly meaning of the king's said book of common prayer, to continue in their old accustomed super-

stitious service, but also minister great occasion to diversity of opinions, rites, ceremonies, and services: be it therefore enacted by the king our sovereign lord, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in this present parliament assembled, that all books called antiphoners, missals, grailes, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuasses, primers, in Latin and English, couchers, journals, ordinals, or other books, or writings whatsoever, heretofore used for service of the church, written or printed, in the English or Latin tongue, other than such as shall be set forth by the king's majesty, shall be, by authority of this present act, clearly and utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden for ever to be used, or kept in this realm, or elsewhere, within any the king's dominions.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that, if any person, or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he, she, or they be, bodies politic, or corporate, that now have, or hereafter shall have, in his, her, or their custody, any the books, or writings, of the sorts aforesaid, or any images of stone, timber, alabaster, or earth, graven, carved, or painted, which heretofore have been taken out of any church, or chapel, or yet stand in any church or chapel, and do not, before the last day of June next ensuing, deface and destroy, or cause to be defaced, and destroyed, the same images, and every of them, and deliver, or cause to be delivered, all and every the same books to the mayor, bailiff, constable, or church-wardens of the town where such books then shall be, to be by them delivered over openly, within three months next following, after the said delivery, to the archbishop, bishop, chancellor, or commissary of the same diocese (to the intent, the said archbishop, bishop, chancellor, or commissary, and every of them, cause them, immediately after, either to be openly burnt, or otherwise defaced and destroyed), shall, for every such book, or books, willingly retained in his, her, or their hands, or custody, within this realm, or elsewhere within any the king's dominions, and not delivered, as is aforesaid, after the said last day of June, and be thereof lawfully convict, forfeit and lose to the king, our sovereign lord, for the first offence, ten shillings, and, for the second offence, shall forfeit and lose (being thereof lawfully convict) four pounds, and, for the third offence, shall suffer imprisonment at the king's will.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that, if any mayors, bailiffs, constables, or church-wardens, do not, within three months after receipt of the same books, deliver, or cause to be delivered, such books, so by them received, to the archbishop, bishop, chancellor, or commissary of their diocese; and if the said archbishop, bishop, chancellor, or commissary, do not, within forty days after the receipt

of such books, burn, deface, and destroy, or cause to be burned, defaced, or destroyed, the same books, and every of them, that then they, and every of them so offending, shall lose and forfeit to our sovereign lord, the king, being thereof lawfully convict, forty pounds; the one half of all which forfeitures shall be to any of the king's subjects that will sue for the same, in any of the king's courts of record, by bill, plaint, action of debt, or information; in which action, no essoin, protection, wager of law, or other delay shall be allowed.

And, for better execution of the said act, be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that as well justices of assize in their circuits, as justices of peace within the limits of their commission in the general sessions, shall have full power and authority to enquire of the offences aforesaid, and to hear and determine the same in such form, as they may do in other such like cases.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to any image, or picture, set or graven upon any tomb, in any church, chapel, or church-yard, only for a monument of any king, prince, nobleman, or other dead person, which hath not been commonly reputed and taken for a saint; but that all such pictures and images may stand, and continue in like manner and form, as if this act had never been had nor made, any thing in this act to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided also, and be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that any person, or persons, may use, keep, have, and retain any primers, in the English or Latin tongue, set forth by the late king, of famous memory, king Henry VIII., so that the sentences of invocation, or prayer to saints, in the same primers, be blotted, or clearly put out of the same, any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

No. XIII.—(*Referred to at page 38 and 45.*)

An Act for the Uniformity of Service, and Administration of Sacraments throughout the Realm.

[Stat. 5 and 6 Ed. VI. c. 1.]

Where there hath been a very godly order, set forth by the authority of parliament, for common prayer and administration of sacraments, to be used in the mother tongue within this church of England, agreeable to the word of God and the primitive church, very comfortable to all good people desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm, upon the which the mercy, favour, and blessing of Almighty God is in nowise so readily and plenteously poured, as by common prayers, due using of the sacraments, and often

preaching of the gospel, with the devotion of the hearers ; and yet, this notwithstanding, a great number of people in divers parts of this realm, following their own sensuality, and living either without knowledge or due fear of God, do, wilfully and damnably before Almighty God, abstain and refuse to come to their parochial churches, and other places, where common prayer, administration of the sacraments, and preaching of the word of God is used upon Sundays, and other days ordained to be holidays :

For reformation hereof, be it enacted by the king, our sovereign lord, with the assent of the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that, from and after the feast of All-saints, next coming, all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm, or any other the king's majesty's dominions, shall diligently and faithfully (having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent) endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed, or, upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place where common prayer, and such service of God shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday, and other days ordained and used to be kept as holidays ; and then and there to abide orderly and soberly, during the time of the common prayer, preachings, or other service of God there to be used and ministered, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the church.

And, for the due execution hereof, the king's most excellent majesty, the lords temporal, and all the commons in this present parliament assembled, doth, in God's name, earnestly require and charge all the archbishops, bishops and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves, to the uttermost of their knowledges, that the due and true execution thereof may be had throughout their dioceses and charges, as they will answer before God for such evils and plagues, wherewith Almighty God may justly punish his people for neglecting this good and wholesome law.

And, for their authority in this behalf, be it further likewise enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular the same archbishops, bishops, and all other their officers exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well in place exempt, as not exempt, within their dioceses, shall have full power and authority by this act, to reform, correct, and punish, by censures of the church, all and singular persons, which shall offend in any their jurisdictions or dioceses, after the said feast of All-saints next coming, against this act and statute ; any other law, statute, privilege, liberty, or provision heretofore made, had, or suffered to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And because there hath risen, in the use and exercise of the afore-

said common service, in the church heretofore set forth, divers doubts for the fashion and manner of the ministration of the same, rather by the curiosity of the minister, and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause, therefore, as well for the more plain and manifest explanation thereof, as for the more perfection of the said order of common service, in some places where it is necessary to make the same prayer and fashion of service more earnest, and fit to stir christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God, the king's most excellent majesty, with the assent of the lords and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, hath caused the aforesaid order of common service, intituled, "*The Book of Common Prayer,*" to be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect; and, by the aforesaid authority, hath annexed, and joined it, so explained and perfected, to this present statute; adding, also, a form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, to be of the like force, authority, and value, as the same like foresaid book, intituled, "*The Book of Common Prayer,*" was before, and to be accepted, received, used, and esteemed, in like sort and manner, and with the same clauses of provisions and exceptions, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as by the act of parliament, made in the second year of the king's majesty's reign, was ordained, limited, expressed, and appointed for the uniformity of service, and administration of the sacraments throughout the realm; upon such several pains, as in the said act of parliament is expressed: And the said former act to stand in full force and strength, to all intents and constructions, and to be applied, practised, and put in ure, to and for the establishing of the book of common prayer, now explained, and hereunto annexed, and also the said form of making of archbishops, bishops, or priests and deacons, hereunto annexed, as it was for the former book.

And, by the authority aforesaid, it is now further enacted, that, if any manner person, or persons, inhabiting and being within this realm, or any other the king's majesty's dominions, shall, after the said feast of All-saints, willingly and wittingly hear and be present at any other manner or form of common prayer, or administration of the sacraments, of making of ministers in the churches, or of any other rights contained in the book annexed to this act, than is mentioned and set forth in the said book, or that is contrary to the form of sundry provisions and exceptions contained in the aforesaid former statute, and shall be thereof convicted, according to the laws of this realm, before the justices of assize, justices of oyer and determiner, justices of peace, in their sessions, or any of them, by the verdict of twelve men, or by his or their own confession, or otherwise, he or they shall, for the first offence, suffer

imprisonment for six months, without bail, or mainprise; and, for the second offence, being likewise convicted as is above said, imprisonment for one whole year; and for the third offence, in like manner, imprisonment during his or their lives. And, for the more knowledge to be given hereof, and better observation of this law, be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular curates shall, upon one Sunday every quarter of the year, during one whole year, next following the foresaid feast of All-saints next coming, read this present act in the church, at the time of the most assembly; and likewise once in every year following; at the same time, declaring unto the people, by the authority of the Scripture, how the mercy and goodness of God hath, in all ages, been shown to his people, in their necessities, and extremities, by means of hearty and faithful prayers made to Almighty God; especially where people be gathered together, with one faith and mind, to offer up their hearts by prayer, as the best sacrifices that christian men can yield.

No. XIV.—(*Referred to at page 51.*)

Queen Mary's Letter to the Lords of the Council, on the decease of her Brother, Edward VI. July 9, 1553.

[Fuxe, iii. 11.]

My Lords,

We greet you well, and have received sure advertisement, that our dearest brother, the king, our late sovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy; which news, how woeful they be unto our heart, he only knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must, and do, humbly submit us and our wills. But, in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit, now after his majesty's departure and death, concerning the crown and governance of this realm of England, with the title of France, and all things thereunto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the testament and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know; the realm, and the whole world knoweth; the rolls and records appear, by the authority of the king, our said father, and the king our said brother, and the subjects of this realm: so that we verily trust, that there is no good true subject, that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof. And, of our part, we have of ourselves caused, and as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall cause, our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that, our said brother dying upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we con-

sider your wisdoms and prudence to be such, that, having eftsoons amongst you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case, with our estate; your own estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loyalty, and service; and, therefore, for the time, interpret and take things not to the worst, and that ye will (like noble-men) work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations, to undo the provisions made for our preferment; nor of the great bands and provisions forcible, wherewith ye be assembled and prepared; by whom, and to what end, God and you know; and nature cannot but fear some evil. But be it, that some consideration politic, or whatsoever thing else, hath moved you thereto, yet doubt you not, my lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part; being also right ready to remit, and fully pardon the same, and that freely to eschew bloodshed and vengeance against all those, that can, or will, intend the same; trusting also assuredly, you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part, as appertaineth, and that we shall not be enforced to use the service of other our true subjects and friends; which, in this our just and right cause, God (in whom our whole affiance is) shall send us. Wherefore, my lords, we require you, and charge you, and every of you, that of your allegiance, which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour, and the surety of our person only, you employ yourselves; and forthwith upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London, and other places, as to your wisdoms shall seem good, and as to this case appertaineth; not failing hereof, as our very trust is in you. And this our letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Kenning-hall, July 9, 1553.

Answer of the Council to the Queen's Letter, July 9, 1553.

[Foxe, iii. 12.]

Madam,

We have received your letters, the 9th of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you judge yourself to have to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that, forasmuch as our sovereign lady, Queen Jane, is, after the death of our sovereign lord, Edward VI. (a prince of most noble memory), invested, and possessed with the just and right title in the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of old ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign

lord's letters patents, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, judges, with divers others grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing the same, we must, therefore, as of most bound duty and allegiance, assent unto her said grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities. Wherefore, we can no less do, but for the quiet both of the realm, and you also, to advertise you, that, forasmuch as the divorce, made between the king, of famous memory, king Henry VIII., and the lady Catharine, your mother, was necessary to be had, both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of parliaments remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate, and unhereditary to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rule, and dominions, and possessions of the same, you will, upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes, lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line, and godly order taken by the late king, our sovereign lord, king Edward VI., and agreed upon by the nobles and great personages aforesaid, surcease, by any pretence, to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady, queen Jane, her subjects from their true faith and allegiance due unto her grace; assuring you, that, if you will, for respect, shew yourself quiet and obedient (as you ought), you shall find us all, and several, ready to do you any service, that we with duty may, and glad, with your quietness, to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous to us, to yourself, and to them: and thus we bid you most heartily well to fare. From the Tower of London, in this ninth of July, 1553.

Your ladyship's friends, showing yourself an obedient subject,

THOMAS CANTERBURY.	HUNTINGDON.
MARQUESS OF WINCESTER.	DARCY.
JOHN BEDFORD.	THOS. CHENEY.
WILL. NORTHAMPTON.	R. COTTON.
THO. ELY, CHANCELLOR.	JOHN GATES.
NORTHUMBERLAND.	WILLIAM PETRE.
HENRY SUFFOLK.	WILLIAM CECIL.
HENRY ARUNDEL.	JOHN CHEEK.
SHREWSBURY.	JOHN MASON.
PEMBROKE.	EDWARD NORTH.
R. RICH.	ROBERT BOWES.

No. XV.—(Referred to at page 57.)

Mary's first Proclamation about Religion. August 18, 1553.

[Wilkins, iv. 86.]

The queen's highness, well remembering what great inconvenience and dangers have grown to this her realm, in times past, through the diversity of opinions in question of religion, and hearing also that, now of late, sithence the beginning of her most gracious reign, the same contentions be again much revived, through certain false and untrue reports and rumours, spread by some evil-disposed persons, hath thought good to give to understand to all her highness' most loving subjects her most gracious pleasure, in manner following.

First, her majesty being presently, by the only goodness of God, settled in her just possession of the imperial crown of this realm, and other dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that religion, which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed, from her infancy hitherto; which as her majesty is minded to observe and maintain for herself, by God's grace, during her time, so doth her highness much desire, and would be glad, the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably entertained.

And yet she doth signify to all her majesty's loving subjects, that, of her most gracious disposition and clemency, her highness mindeth not to compel any her said subjects thereunto, until such time as further order, by common assent, may be taken therein; forbidding, nevertheless, all her subjects, of all degrees, at their perils, to move seditions, or stir unquietness in her people, by interrupting the laws of this realm, after their brains and fantasies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is said) further order may be taken: and therefore willeth and straitly chargeth and commandeth all her good loving subjects to live together in quiet sort, and christian charity, leaving those new-found devilish terms of *papist* and *heretic*, and such like, and applying their whole care, study, and travail, to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and godly doing, as their lives may indeed express the great hunger and thirst of God's glory, which, by rash talk and words, many have pretended: and, in so doing, they shall best please God, and live without danger of the laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the realm; whereof as her highness shall be most glad, so, if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblies of people, or, at any public assemblies, or otherwise, shall go about to stir the people to disorder or disquiet, she mindeth, according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished; according to her highness's laws.

And, furthermore, forasmuch as it is well known that sedition and false rumours have been nourished and maintained in this realm, by the subtlety and malice of some evil-disposed persons, which take upon them, without sufficient authority, to preach and to interpret the word of God, after their own brains, in churches and other places, both public and private, and also by playing of interludes, and printing of false fond books and ballads, rhymes, and other lewd treatises, in the English tongue, containing doctrine in matters now in question, and controversies touching the high points and mysteries in christian religion; which books, ballads, rhymes, and treatises, are chiefly by the printers and stationers set out to sale to her grace's subjects, of an evil zeal for lucre, and covetousness of vile gain: her highness therefore straitly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her said subjects, of whatsoever state, condition, or degree they be, that none of them presume, from henceforth, to preach, or, by way of reading in churches, and other public or private places, except in schools of the university, to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of doctrine, concerning religion; neither also to print any book, matter, ballad, rhyme, interlude, process, or treatise, nor to play any interlude, except they have her grace's special licence in writing for the same, upon pain to incur her highness' indignation and displeasure.

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Given at our manor of Richmond, the eighteenth day of August, in the first year of our most prosperous reign.

No. XVI.—(Referred to at page 60.)

In nome del Pontefice Giulio III. al Card. Reg. Polo. Aug. 6, 1553.

[Quirini, iv. 109.]

Come a questi giorni s'intese la morte di quel giovane, che era chiamato Re d'Inghilterra, N. Sig. pensò di non mancare d'ogni possibile diligenza, che quel regno avesse da tornare alla vera fede cattolica, dalla quale fù cavato per l'impietà, e protervia di Henrico, e di governarsi in questo col consiglio e ricordo di V. S. Reverendissima, secondo che ancora fù il parere di tutta la congregazione delli reverendissimi et illustrissimi signori cardinali; et così mi ordinò, che io glie ne scrivessi diffusamente, e comise a monsig. di Carpentras che espedisce il breve, che sarà alligato con la presente, il quale si manda come superabondante ancor che non bisogni, acciochè V. S. Rma, ed illustrissima sia informata di quello, che si era deliberato qui prima. Mentre che

hieri attendevamo all' espeditione, comparse un corriero di Francia, con l'avviso della mutatione del stato di quel regno d'Inghilterra, dove la signora D. Maria era stata acclamata, e ricevuta regina, e n'era in possesso con consenso universale di tutti, la qual nova portò, à sua Beatitudine tanto allegrezza, che si profuse in lacrime, e fece subito in quel medesimo instante chiamare la congregazione de reverendissimi ed illustrissimi signori cardinali, e propose che non li occorreva espediente più presentaneo, nè con maggiore speranza di frutto, che di creare V. S. illustrissima e reverendissima legato a quella regina, all' augustissimo imperatore, ed al re christianissimo, e finalmente a tutte le parti ad quas eam declinare contingeret. La proposta di sua Santità fù approvata e ricevuta da tutti, con plauso ed infinita consolatione. Si attende all' espeditione delle bolle delle facultà, le quali saranno tanto ampie, quanto noi di quà sapremo fare, e si potranno accrescere secondo che V. S. illustrissima e reverendissima vorrà; e similmente si attende all' espeditione de brevi per ciascheduno de' principi sopradetti, e si mandaranno per un corriere espresso alla via di Germania, tenendo che V. S. illustrissima e reverendissima vorrà fare il primo congresso e colloquio con la maestà Cesarea. Intanto, per avvanzar tempo, è parso a sua Beatitudine, e a questi signori illustrissimi e reverendissimi, che, senz' alcuna dilatione, se le spedisca il suo gentilhuomo con mille scudi contanti, e mille in una poliza, acciò che ella possa tanto più presto mettersi in cammino, per compimento e perfettione di un opera tanto divina e miraculosa, come di qua si reputa. Le piacerà adunque di pigliare questa fatica allegramente, per servizio di Dio, beneficio della patria sua, e contentezza universale di sua Santità, e del S. collegio, e di tutta questa corte. Non aspetti da noi ricordo, o consiglio, perchè ella saperà meglio d'ogni altro quello converrà di fare; ed il tutto si rimette alla prudenza, dottrina, e charità, e zelo suo della restitutione ed encremento della religione nostra. Fù ancora detta in congregazione, che non sarebbe stato fuori di proposito il deputar nuntio monsignore di Vigornia, acciò che se paresse a V. S. reverendissima et illustrissima di premetterlo come prenuntio e precursore, o altramente servirsene, possa farlo con più autorità e dignità. Il breve della deputatione di esso monsignore di Vigornia sarà similmente con la presente, e l'usarà, o no, come parerà a lei. Non mi estendero in altro, che in pregare Dio che la conduca a salvamento, e doni quel prospero successo alle sue sante attioni ed operationi, che tutti desideramo e speramo, le quali saranno accompagnate di qua da noi, con orationi, e supplicationi, sacrifici, e ogni sorte d'oblazione. S'è ritardato di fare fochi, e feste, e soliti segni di letitia publica, per usare un poco di cantezza in aspettare la confirmatione, et più piena e più certa verificatione di questa felice nova; il che sarà fine della presente, con

raccommandarmi humilmente in bona gratia di V. S. illustrissima e reverendissima, basciandoli riverentemente le mani. Di Roma vi. Agosto, MDLIII.

No. XVII.—(*Referred to at page 60.*)

Cardinal Pole to Queen Mary. Aug. 13, 1553.

[Quirini iv. 428, and 116.]

Benedicta manus omnipotentis Dei, quæ non solùm majestatem tuam in alto throno, et in possessione regni collocavit, quod per multos annos ad eam spectabat, et ab omnibus bonis optabatur, atque inter sacras preces petebatur à divinâ clementiâ, sed etiam eo res deduxit, ut non modò res ipsa, verum etiam ratio ipsius rei conficiendæ omnes animos incredibili lætitiâ perfundat, et præcipuè piùm animum tuum, quia sine sanguine res peracta est propè, cum magna clades esset timenda, propter fraudes adversariorum, quæ non parvis viribus erant suffultæ ad eam justissimâ successione privandam: atque cum, propter longum spatium sibi divinitus concessum ad suas insidias subtexas, putarant se ad finem optatum cum scelere suscepti consilii pervenisse, sine novis auxiliis, sed solis viribus, quas spiritus Dei excitavit in animis mortalium, effectum est, divinâ providentiâ, ut brevi momento temporis irriti, ac delusi sint omnes mortalium apparatus;—ita conversi sunt qui humanæ militiæ militabant, ad protegendum honorem Dei, majestatis tuæ incolumitatem, ac totius regni salutem. Si quis itaque miratur cur tua majestas, nullis externis viribus, paucis etiam subditis audentibus ejus partes amplecti, potuerit regnum ita usurpatum, adversus tantam hominum malitiam et potentiam, recuperare, aut si quis rogaret quomodò factum est istud, res ipsa respondere poterit, “ Spiritus Sanctus supervenit in corda hominum, qui eâ ratione tibi regnum restituere voluit;” atque hoc uno exemplo non solùm vestris populis, sed etiam universis christianis, et barbaris nationibus, manifestum fit, quia nullum sit consilium, nec prudentia, nec fortitudo, contra Dominum Deum, et quòd excelsus dominatur in regno hominum, et cui voluerit, et quando voluerit, dabit illud. Ejus divinæ providentiæ in rebus humanis credulitas (præcipuum nostræ religionis fundamentum) si unquam in istud regnum introduci et confirmari debuit, per ullam manifestam experientiam, hoc maximè tempore introduci necesse est, quo propter impiorum tam diuturnam auctoritatem, ita erat in animis hominum debilitata, et in eorum animis præsertim qui prudentiores sapientioresque putabantur, ut penitùs videretur extincta. Cum divinæ itaque bonitati placuit ita evidentibus signis suam potentiam, in tuâ majestate extollendâ, tunc, cum à suis inimicis, et a multis aliis penitùs oppressa putabatur,

declare, hoc est cur maximè omnes boni et pii gloriantur, et quod tibi magis gratum esse certò scio quàm regiam dignitatem. Atque si ulla foemina debuit Deum laudare his verbis suæ sanctissimæ matris, cujus nomen refers, quibus ea usa est ad exprimendam lætitiã, propter divinam providentiã ad sui humanique generis salutem, cum, Spiritu Sancto repleta, inquit, “Magnificat anima mea Dominum,” cum iis quæ sequuntur, tua majestas justissimâ de causâ eum psalmum canere potest; cum in seipsâ sentiat, quod omnes vident, ut divina bonitas “respexit humilitatem ancillæ suæ, et fecit potentiam in brachio suo,” statim “deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles. Hoc dictum de divinâ providentiâ erga majestatem tuam semper manifestiùs in administratione cognoscetur tuâ, cum incremento illo lætitiæ, quod desideratur ad honorem et laudem divinæ majestatis. Enimverò mea erga Deum, et suam ecclesiam, ac erga majestatem tuam pietas me cogit, unum, in hoc regni tui initio, tibi in memoriam revocare; quod est, ut, cum ita singulare beneficium à Deo acceperis, diligenter consideres è quibus radicibus perturbationes rerum, ad justitiã, et ad veræ religionis cultum pertinentium, pullularint; quippe cum illæ indies in isto regno cum tantâ ruinâ succreverint, tam publicâ quàm privatâ, quanta non ignoretur. Atque, si hoc ita feceris, percipies profectò, principium, et causam omnium malorum tunc pullulasse, cum perpetuus humani generis adversarius patri tuo persuasit impurum consilium, ut divortium fieret matris tuæ, optimæ reginæ. Atque illi magnæ in Deum, in ipsam, in te, in seipsum injuriæ majus additum est scelus, quòd à matre divortium fecit omnium christianorum; à sanctâ catholicâ obedientiâ, et ab apostolicâ reverentiâ. Ex hoc iniquo et impio semine tot pestiferi fructus nati sunt, ut ita regnum ubique corruperint, ut nullum neque justitiæ, neque veræ religionis vestigium apparuerit. Relegatæ enim sunt ambæ, quando reverentia, et obedientia ecclesiæ ejecta fuit; neque priùs sunt redituræ, quàm divina obedientia in animum recepta sit eorum, qui rebus præfuerint. Hoc facile tua majestas illi servo suo potest credere, qui plurima et istâ, et majestatis vestræ causâ, passus est: neque ullam defendendæ causæ tuæ rationem prætermisi, ubi aliquod extaret remedium, quò te tuis molestiis sublevarem. Quòd si mei labores eum finem consecuti non sunt, quem semper desideravi, sæpiùs vel vitam ipsam periculis exponens, certe nunc eâ de re multò magis lætor, quàm si ipse adjutor fuisset; cum apertissimè cognoverim divinæ providentiæ in majestatem tuam propensam voluntatem. Nam profectò noluit Deus ullâ humanâ te manu adjuvari, neque pontificis, neque Cæsaris, neque ullius principis; quamvis nunquam cessavit pontifex Cæsarem ad opem ferendam cohortari, neque mea defuit diligentia utrisque ad hoc pium opus sollicitandis. Sed divinitùs res protracta est, donec statutum tempus à Deo adventarit, quo divinâ manu sub-

levareris. Interim, usus est Deus eâdem ratione, quâ erga charissimos, et dilectissimos uti consuevit, quos nutrit, et educat, in omni calamitatum, ærumnarumque genere; ut gratiæ suæ semen altiores radices in corde tuo posset extendere, meliùsque floreat, ac nobiliores fructus producat, cum visum fuerit in pristinam fœlicitatem revocare. Istud nunc omnes boni expectant; atque ego imprimis, cui major occasio concessa est dotes animi, quæ divinitùs tibi concessæ sunt, à teneris cognoscendi. Ea res me multò etiam magis impellit ut majestati tuæ id significem, de re tantâ, quanta est ecclesiæ obedientia, me magis etiam sollicitum esse, quàm antea, quâ mente sis erga religionem, et quo pacto affecta. Nam, cum circiter trecenta millia passuum distem ab urbe Româ, nuper ad me de rebus Britannicis est delatum, et per literas summi pontificis certior factus sum, te ad summum imperium esse provectam, et electus legatus à sede apostolicâ ad majestatem tuam, et ad Cæsarem, et ad Galliarum regem, ut tibi gratularer pro victoriâ Dei in hac causâ ipsius Dei. Sed quia quanti res sit intelligo, censui non inutile fore, si majestatis tuæ mentem quo pacto Deus moverit, prius percontatus fuero; cujus causâ præsentem nuntium cum meis literis mitto: neque istud quidem, quia de optimâ voluntate tuâ subdubitem, quoniam te semper gratam erga Deum fuisse cognovi, et acceptorum non immemorem, legumque divinarum observantissimam; inter quas obedientia apostolicæ sedis continetur, cui maxime omnium favere debes. Nam certè quidem majestatis tuæ pater nullâ aliâ de causâ apostolicam obedientiam reliquit, nisi quia nollet pontifex Romanus, causæ tuæ favens, turpi et iniquo ejus desiderio assentiri. Sed quoniam tot annos tanta facta est mutatio, tantaque malitia conata est evellere ex animis hominum, penitusque extinguere hanc ipsam obedientiam, et observantiam, mihi visum est non absurdum fore, si ex teipsâ percunctarer, quod tempus, aut quæ ratio aptior commodiorque videretur ad ipsius vicarii Christi legatione perfungendum; idque ad istius regni beneficium, et consolationem, cujus fœlicitas et quies semper magis oppressa fuit, ex quo sancta obedientia expugnari cœpta est, coactaque solum vertere. Decrevi igitur priùs responsum expectare; quod ut expectationi meæ optimè respondeat, ab omnipotente Deo suppliciter peto, omniumque piorum spei, quam habent de majestate tuâ conceptam, idque ad confirmationem, et incrementum fœlicitatis tuæ, et istius regni. Quòd si mihi benignam audientiam concesseris, spero futurum, Dei optimi maximi beneficio, ut intelligas, in hac ipsâ obedientiâ ecclesiæ consistere, et collocatum esse fundamentum et stabilimentum omnium bonorum ipsius regni. Sic igitur rogans omnipotentem Deum, ut, pro suâ infinitâ misericordiâ, majestatem tuam fortunet in ipso imperio, in quo collocavit, finem scribendi faciam. E cœnobio Magazeni Benaci. Idibus Sextilis, 1553.

No. XVIII.—(*Referred to at page 60.*)

Il Pontefice Giulio III. al Cardinale Polo. September 20, 1553.

[Quirini, iv. 111.]

Dilecte Fili Noster salutem. Gionse qua lunedì alli xi. Gio. Francesco Commendone, cameriero nostro, con lettere vostre, e del card. d'Imola, le quali lette, ed udito lui, pensando noi, che, per essere stata l'andata vostra determinata in concistorio, fosse bene di comunicare alli cardinali, fratelli nostri, quella parte che si poteva, Venerdì, perchè prima, per un poco d'indispositione nostra, non si potea, fu fatto concistorio, e chiamato dentro esso Commendone, dove egli referì tutto quello, che haveva veduto, ed udito in Inghilterra, eccetto che di haver parlato alla Regina, ma le parole che haveva inteso da lei disse di haver inteso da persone cattolice, e degne di fede in quel paese; e similmente espose l'opinione vostra, con le ragioni che vi movano; e perchè la relatione sua fu alquanto longa, benchè assai accorta e sustantievole, e la deliberatione riusciva difficile, essendosi taciuta la volontà assoluta della Regina, e conjetturandosi dalli avvertimenti, che il Commendone diceva di haver havuti da esse persone cattolice e degne di fede, e dall' altro canto parendo che la causa ricercasse celerità, fu differita la deliberatione, ut sæpe evenire solet in dubiis consultationibus, al concistorio del Lunedì seguente, nel quale in somma i voti di tutti li cardinali, ed il nostro furono conformi in questo, che fosse non solo espediente, ma ancor necessario, che non si ritardasse il vostro viaggio; e conoscendo, come voi dite, questa esser opera della mano di Dio, e della providentia sua, nella quale principalmente si ha da sperar, non confidandosi del tutto in la prudenza humana, con la quale molte volte si resiste alla volontà divina, tanto maggiormente, referendo il Commendone per nome vostro, che sarebbe di gran pregiuditio, che il prossimo parlamento passasse senza mentione della religione antiqua, e cattolica, essendo l'usanza di quel regno che, nel prossimo parlamento sotto il novo Re, ciascuno che si sente gravato esponga la causa sua, e ne domandi giustizia, e che l'andata vostra, se non nel regno d'Inghilterra, almeno in paese vicino, potrebbe fare molto giovamento per tener vivo questo negotio, e per poter saper tutte le cose del regno, e per poter dar principio a qualche trattatione, almeno fuori dell' isola, quando non vi si potesse entrare di primo lancio. Nondimeno non ostante tutte queste ragioni, fù considerato, ed approvato, che dovendosi convenientemente adoprare la prudenza che Dio ha concessa a gl' huomini, per ministra, e cooperatrice della providentia sua, ed essendo nata questa speranza della reductione di quel regno, per la sola assontione di questa Regina, ed in

lei consistendo, e da lei dependendo tutto l'effetto di questa bona opera, si dovesse cercare prima, per ogni via, ingegno, ed arte, di saper la volontà sua, ed aspettare la risposta, per due ragioni, una acciò che non fosse maggior indegnità l'esser repulso per protervia, ed ostinatione, ed audatia di quei scismatici ed heretici, li quali hanno ardire di scagliar i pugnali alli predicatori cattolici in sul pergolo, che restarci per elette propria temporeggiando un poco, finchè si scorga meglio il vado; l'altra, che importa molto più, acciochè quando questa regina habbia quel buon animo che si crede, e spera, verso di noi, e di questa santa sede, non insorga pericolo, e riceva danno, per nostra troppa frettolosa e precipitosa charità, o per troppo zelo, essendo donna, e senza forze sufficienti nel principio del suo regno, acquistato per benevolenza di que' popoli, che, per la maggior parte, odiano a morte questa santa sede oltre gl' interessi de' beni ecclesiastici, occupati da molti signori, che sono del suo consiglio, e la sorella sostituta a lei dal padre heretica e schismatica, ch' ora è nel cuore, e nella bocca d'ognuno, secondo che il Commendone ha veduto, ed inteso. Onde se, per questa molta diligenza nostra, le avvenisse qualche caso sinistro, si rovinarebbe forse, il che Dio non voglia, ogni speranza della reduttione di quella patria, levandosi le forze a questa bona e cattolica regina, overo alienandola da noi per offesa ricevuta. Per tanto tutti i cardinali, senza che sappessero la volontà d'essa regina palesata da lei, commessa, e confidata al cameriero nostro, con pregarlo espressamente, che si vada con ogni destrezza, e cautezza per hora, e che non si mostri alcuna confidenza estrinseca, o negociatione di questa S. Sede con lei, acciò che non le si levi, nel principio del suo regno, il poter eseguire quello, che conosce doversi fare per la salute dell' anime di quei regni, giudicarono esser necessario, che voi habbiate lume della sua volontà innanzi al mettervi in cammino, la quale volontà o dovete già sapere, havendo havuto risposta delle vostre lettere, o potete sapere in pochi giorni. Noi, che havemo dal detto cameriero nostro inteso chiaramente l'animo d'essa regina, credemo al fermo, esser necessario, che non si faccia cosa contro la volontà sua, o, almeno, avanti che, per lettere vostre (allegando noi a lei le molte ragioni, che ci inducono a credere che non sia bene differire), ella resti persuasa, e se ne contenti. Ma giudicando voi che l'opera sua non sia buona, sarà bisogno d'essortarla, e farla capace, e persuasa dell' opera vostra; il che potrete far benissimo, ed in breve tempo, talmente che, senza indegnità, e sicuramente cooperaremo alla providentia di Dio. Per abondare, dal canto nostro, in provisioni, ed ajutar questa impresa quanto potemo, essendo stato da noi, per corrieri espressi, scritto l'altro giorno a ciascuno dei legati mandati per la pace, che, se ne rivenghino, aggiungemmo, nel medesimo consistorio di hieri,

all' altra legatione vostra, la legatione della pace, come vedrete nel breve a voi diretto, ed in la copia di quelli che si scrivono all' imperatore, ed al re di Francia, li quali usarete, e ve ne servirete, o nò. Potrebbe Dio (se i peccati della christianità fossero in parte purgati, e quelli due principi vi volessero porgere l'orecchie) mollificare li loro cori, e farli conoscere di quanta colpa, in ommittendo, e committendo, haveranno da render conto il dì del gran giuditio, e farvi haver l'honore dell' una e l'altra legatione : ma noi (per dire liberamente l'opinione nostra) havemo poca speranza, che ci habbino da ascoltare, perche, se bene fan professione di esser cattolici, ed aver Dio avanti gli occhi, nondimeno conoscono, che il proprio interesse gli oscura la vista, che non vedono la calamità, e rovina della povera christianità, e della fede, e religione nostra ; e li ottura l'orecchie, che non sentano le preci nostre, e le miserabili voci dell' anime, e de' corpi, che, ogni hora, si perdono a centinaia, e migliara. Summa summarum sit, che, con qualsivoglia colore, che voi poteste mettervi in viaggio, e continuarlo, a noi piacerebbe infinitamente, se non per altro, perchè il star fermo toglie reputatione a noi, ed alla causa nostra, e l'accresce a gli heretici, e schismatici, non solo a quelli d'Inghilterra, ma d'Italia, e di tutte le parti della christianità ; essendo cosa certa, che si danno mano l'uno l'altro, quanto si siano lontani, e si avisano e consigliano con molto piu fervore, diligenza, intelligenza, ed unione, che non fanno i cattolici. Ma bisogna haver l'avvertenza detta di sopra, di non ruinare, a un medesimo tempo, la regina, e la causa della religione, per troppa fretta. Et questo basti per dirvi qual sia l'opinione nostra, e del sagro collegio, lassando il resto alla pietà, prudenza, dottrina, ed esperienza vostra, ed alli avvisi, ed avvertimenti che potrete haver, hora per hora, da quel regno, meglio di noi, e prima di noi, secondo li quali haverete da pigliari il consiglio, e deliberatione. Noi preghiamo Dio che accresca la sua gratia alla regina, ed a voi, et illuminet oculos, et mentes illorum populorum diabolicà fraude deceptorum.

Quanto all' assolutione, e remissione dell' interdetti, e censure del regno d'Inghilterra, ed Hibernia, pigliaremo qualche espediente (se a Dio piacerà) che si consolerà la regina, e non si fara cosa illecita. Subito che il Commendone ce ne parlò, rispondemmo, che haverebbe da esser offitio del legato ; quando però voi ne foste richiesto, che altramente non se ne ha da parlare, nè havete da mostrare di saperlo, essendo stato detto al Commendone, non solo in segreto, ma in confessione. Dat. Romæ xx. Septemb. M.D.LIII.

Il Medesimo al Medesimo. October 12, 1553.

[Ibid. 115.]

Dilecte fili noster, salutem. Ricevemmo le vostre lettere dell' ultimo del passato, date in Trento, insieme con la copia della lettera di monsignor Henrico, per le quali sentimmo quella contentezza d'animo, che si possa immaginar maggiore; vedendo che Dio benedetto inspira, e corrobora, e conferma, ogni giorno, più quella santa e cattolica regina. Noi, dal canto nostro, non mancaremo di pregar Dio, che le conceda gratia di poter mettere in esecuzione la pia mente sua, e, per questo effetto, col consenso di tutto il collegio nostro, ordinaremo le supplicazioni pubbliche, con il giubileo, secondo il ricordo vostro. Intanto potrete seguitare il viaggio allegramente, con la benedizione di Dio e nostra. Datum Romæ XII. Octob. MDLIII.

No. XIX.—(*Referred to at page 60.*)

Regina Maria Reginaldo Cardinali Polo. Octob. 10, 1553.

[Quirini, iv. 429.]

Optime Sobrine Pole, in Christo observandissime. Accepi literas tuas, quas tuus familiaris mihi reddidit, ex quibus intellexi perpetuam optimam voluntatem erga hoc regnum, patriam tuam nimirum, et erga legitimos heredes, cum summâ lætitiæ significatione ob ea quæ placuerunt divinæ clementiæ Omnipotentis Dei in ostendendâ suâ erga me verâ, justissimâ, infinitâque misericordiâ, propter quam me tibi etiam non parum debere sentio, cum monita amantissima præterea in literis addideris. Quòd si nullum naturæ vinculum inter nos intercederet, quod certè maximum intercedit, tamen, vel unâ hac de causâ, maximas tibi deberem gratias, quòd me tam amantèr monueris; atque ego dabo operam, pro viribus, ut monitis tuis satisfaciam, quippe cum neque unquam fuerim, nec sim, neque (ut divinæ misericordiæ confido) unquam futura sim, catholicæ adhortationis in tuis literis contentæ adversaria. Quod attinet ad meam obedientiam, et debitam observantiam erga sponsam Christi, et matrem divinam suam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, harum literarum lator poterit te commode docere; is enim poterit explanare quanta sit animi mei molestia, propterea quòd non possim animi mei sententiam in hac re prorsus patefacere: sed cum primum datum erit facultas sinceritatis animi mei erga divinum cultum explicandæ, obedientiæ, quid sentiam, exequendæ faciam te primum per literas certiozem. Quod spectat ad coronationem, idem nuncius omnia plane explicare poterit, multaque alia, quibus illum adesse volui, cum mirificè, Omnipotentis Dei misericordiâ, con-

fidam futurum, ut hæc comitia omnia statuta abrogent, unde omnium calamitatum hujusce regni semina pullularunt. Spero autem futurum, ut delictorum veniam à summi pontificis clementiâ obtineant (cui te rogo, ut, meo nomine, humillimè gratias agas pro suâ multiplici in me bonitate), ut in eâdem persistat clementiâ, omnemque præterritorum commissorum oblivionem concedat. Hunc igitur remitto, spe postulationis non irritæ futuræ operâ tuâ, quando tantum benevolentiæ, et fraternæ charitatis mihi pignus obtulisti. Me itaque plurimum sancto patri ac tibi commendans, finem facio scribendi. Westmonasterio, vi. Id. Oct. MDLIII.

No. XX.—(*Referred to at page 61.*)

Maria Regina Angliæ Reginaldo Cardinali Polo. Oct. 28, 1553.

[Quirini, iv. 119.]

Reverendissime,

Posterioribus nostris literis intellexisti quo in statu res nostræ fuerint, tempore quo literæ nostræ emissæ sunt, et quibus occasionibus mota, transitum in Leodium suspenderimus: adeo enim delegatio tua publica est suspecta, et nostris subditis odiosa, ut maturior accessus, licet desideratissimus, plus præjudicii quàm auxilii fuerit allaturus. Fidele testimonium nobis præstat comitiorum indictorum et incæptorum series et progressus, in quibus plus difficultatis fit circâ auctoritatem sedis apostolicæ, quàm circâ veræ religionis cultum; adeo falsis suggestionibus sunt alienati subditorum animi a pontifice. Siquidem primus ordo comitiorum, qui consiliariis et episcopis constat, existimaverat consultum ut omnia statuta per parlamentum edita à tempore, et paulò ante quàm parlamentum pronunciaret super matrimonio serenissimæ reginæ, matris nostræ, piæ memoriæ, defunctæ, annullarentur, abrogarentur, et revocarentur; putantes hac viâ ea, quæ tam impiis votis contrâ religionem, et dicti matrimonii legitimationem constituta sunt, posse retractari. Cum verò hæc deliberatio secundo ordini comitiorum, qui plebeis constat, innotuisset, statim suspicatus est hæc proponi in gratiam pontificis, ut supremi capitis ecclesiæ titulus, coronæ regiæ annexus, distraheretur, potestatem pontificis in regno nostro redintegraremus, delegationisque executioni viam præparemus et aperiremus; alioquin nihil difficultatis fieri circâ annulationem statutorum, et matrimonii prædicti approbationem, audiveramus. Itaque veremur ne, pertinaciùs quàm desideraremus, insistant et urgeant, ut titulum supremi capitis ecclesiæ continuemus et assumamus: quod si fiat, habeo quod respondeam et excusem, nempe, me semper professam veterem religionem, in eâ fuisse edoctam et enutritam, in eâ velle perseverare usque ad ultimum



vitæ spiritum ; nos nihil contra conscientiam posse consentire ; titulum illum non convenire regi ; distinctas potestates, dignitates, et officia ; regem à sacerdote accipere ; corpus politicum nihil commune habere cum ecclesiastico ; sexum nostrum considerandum, cui nihil minùs convenit quàm talis titulus, aut tituli usus ; exposcere nos ab illis, ut, si aliud impetrari non possit, suspendant ad aliquod tempus ea, quæ hanc assumptionem, nostræ conscientiæ adversantem, concernunt, donec aliud convenientius remedium inveniri possit. Quòd si nostram hanc tam justam petitionem neglexerint, hæsito quid agam, aut quid consilii capiam nescio : à te uno prudentius consilium requiro, quo et meam conscientiam ab omni injuriâ et scrupulo vindicem et eximam, et quid sequendum in his procellis audiam.

Aliud est quod magis nos angit : cum enim cardinalis Dandinus ad nos quendam ex suis, quem fidum et intimum prædicabat, deputasset, existimans ea, quæ ad absolutionem generalem censurarum ecclesiasticarum, quam petebamus à pontifice, pertinent, tutò sibi concedi posse, statim ut Romam advenit, in publico consistorio, et extra, publicavit ; atque tam fideliter secretum continuit, ut orator noster, qui agit Venetiis, nobis plenissimè negotium, multorum relatu, descripserit et expresserit : quod si comitiis innotuerit, obstinatioribus video fore super dictâ abrogatione statutorum, et tituli assumptione. Rem gratissimam nobis feceris, si hoc factum tam perfidum detexeris, et nos eorum, quæ Romæ et in consistorio retulit, certiores feceris, quid inde sit sequuturum admonueris, et quid faciendum mox consulueris ; tibi enim confidentissime loquimur, ut juves, et nostri regni stabilimentum promoveas ; nos enim his piis officiis tibi addictiores reddes. Bene vale, reverendissime, quem Deus conservet. Londini, xxviii. Octob. MDLIII.¹

Eadem Eidem. Nov. 15, 1553.

[Ibid. iv. 121.]

Reverendissime,

Intelleximus ea quæ scripto et nuntio per te concredita sunt, et quo studio, quâ pietate, quâque affectione erga religionem, erga regnum, erga patriam, et nos sis ; quàm sanctus, et utilis, et optandus finis tuæ legationis in has partes, si modo tempus, rerum nostrarum tum publicarum tum privatarum status, subditorumque nostrorum animi inconstantes, falsis doctrinis et interpretationibus persuasi, et à rectâ veritatis

¹ [It is as well to remark that, in a letter dated on the 13th of the following December, and addressed to Mary, pope Julius solemnly assured her that no such treachery, as she here complains of, had been perpetrated. Apud Quirini, iv. 432, 433.—*T.*]

viâ deflexi, paterentur. Verùm, cum nec tutum nec opportunum adventum tuum in hoc regnum prævideam, quin potiùs metùs et periculi plenum, verearque ne potiùs tuæ vitæ insidientur, quàm munere legati fungi sinant et ferant, tantùm abest ut vel auctoritatem aut obedientiam debitam ecclesiæ et sedi apostolicæ sint approbaturi et recognituri, ut non possim alterius esse sententiæ;—quum meliùs sit tuum transitum remorari, et commissionis executionem ad aliquot dies suspendi, quàm, hac occasione, regnum nostrasque res turbare potiùs, quàm promovere: non quòd non foret gratissimus tuus conspectus (nosti enim meam erga te voluntatem et sinceritatem, quæ indies magis, tuis piis officiis, et nostrarum rerum recordatione et solitudine, augetur), aut quòd aliud desiderem, aut precer, aut magis commendatum habeam, quàm ut videam hoc regnum nostrum tranquillum, hæresibus vacuum, sedi apostolicæ obediens, et omni schismatis suspitione repurgatum; sed quòd non tantum difficile, verùm impossibile videam fore, ut hoc parlamento plenè et integrùm restitui pietas, religio, et ecclesiastica auctoritas simul possint, sed quòd alio parlamento opus sit, quod indici possit hinc ad tres aut quatuor menses, ut meum consilium sentit. Audies ex nuntio, omnia statuta facta tempore Edwardi regis, bonæ memoriæ, fratris nostri charissimi, religionis statum concernentia, annullata et revocata, religionisque cultum restitutum in eo statu, in quo fuit tempore mortis Henrici regis, piissimæ recordationis, patris nostri, quod non sine contentione, disputatione acri, et summo labore fidelium factum est; existimantque omnes, qui mihi benè volunt, et sunt à consiliis, esse auspitiū et initium laudabile, et quasi viaticum ad obedientiam ecclesiæ recognoscendam. Audies etiam, parlamentum, sine scrupulo aut difficultate, matrimonium serenissimæ reginæ Catharinæ, matris nostræ defunctæ, cum rege Henrico, patre nostro, approbasse tanquam legitimum et verum, quod fieri non potuit, nisi et tacitè auctoritatem ecclesiæ et pontificis approbarent, cujus dispensatione contractum est, et sententiâ confirmatoriâ declaratum; atque ita notam illam illegitimationis, falsò ascriptam, deletam esse, cujus meministi literis ad imperatorem, quarum exemplar transmisisti. Præterea audies, parlamentum brevè recessum promulgaturum, finemque comitiis impositurum, quæ latiùs prorogari non possunt; et multa alia specialia, quæ huic nuntio, tanquam fidei, commisi,—Scotorum factiones, practiquas, et insidias, quibus regni limites impetunt, Irlandiæque rebellionem et inobedientiam fovent et sustinent, quarum Galli sunt participes, potiùs quàm ignari, qui et hæreticis aures præbent (si nos non fallit exploratorum fides et relatio), ut statum præsentem, consilii nostri rationem, subditorum ingenia obstinatissima, difficultatesque expendas, consideres,

et quid statuendum consulas, quid in nobis desideres, quid fieri possit, indices; omni enim studio, diligentia, et opera exequemur quod commodum et tutum nobis regnoque nostro tu et consilium nostrum existimaveris: et cum hæc duo sint absoluta, nempe religionis cultus, et matrimonii approbatio, speramus te brevi Bruxellas concessurum, alio legationis prætextu, ex quo loco nobis viciniore, commoditas erit frequentius scribendi et respondendi: nihil enim magis opto, quam ut tuis scriptis, tam doctis et piis, sæpius invisas, admoneas, et consoleris. Interim videbo quid tuo nomine possum, et promptissimo animo exequar. Benè vale, quem Deus conservet. Londini xv. Novembris MDLIII.

Reginal. Card. Polus Mariæ Reginae Angliæ, Dec. 1, 1553.

[Ibid. iv. 123.]

Serenissima,

Cum literas majestatis vestræ, Latino sermone ad me scriptas, primùm accepissem, quòd hæc in fasciculum cum aliis literis conjectæ essent, nec verò ab eo, qui illas ad me ex aulâ Cæsaris miserat, ulla mentio fieret majestatis vestræ, nihil sane minùs cogitabam, quam ab eâ me aliquid omninò accepisse: sed lectis jam cæteris literis, cum eas aperuissem, et in extremâ pagellâ, in quâ nomen majestatis vestræ erat adscriptum, manum ejus agnoscere viderer, tamen, quòd essent Latino sermone scriptæ, et non patrio, quo solent principes cum suis agere, sive scribant sive loquantur, quo etiam ipsa, paucis ante diebus, ad me scripserat, equidem non potui non mirari. Quod si ob eam fortasse causam majestas vestra fecit, quòd existimaret exilium mihi tot annorum, quibus à patriâ absum, ut usum, sic notitiam, patriæ linguæ abstulisse, habuit justam illa quidem causam cur ad me Latine scriberet: hoc enim ipse et nonnullis nostrorum hominum accidisse vidi, et idem mihi persæpe accidit, cum aliquid perpetuâ oratione dicendum sit, ut, quorundam vocabulorum penuriâ, quæ mihi memoriâ exciderunt, hæream. Sed quæcumque fuerit ejus rei causa, certè nihil mihi gratius, nihil mihi optatius esse potuit, quam quovis sermone à majestate vestrâ scriptas literas legere, quibus tamen ut tum Latine responderem, et alio sermone, atque patrio, uterem, à me quidem ipse impetrare non potui. Hoc scilicet effecit periculi magnitudo, in quo majestatem vestram versari ex illis ipsis literis intellexi; e quo ipsa evadendi rationem cum à me sibi perscribi postularet, eâ linguâ sum usus, quâ sperabam meum sensum à me sic exprimi posse, ut certius multò et distinctius intelligeretur, id est, patriâ; et has literas per certum tabellarium misi, eum

qui itidem eodem sermone persequeretur, si quæ essent, quæ à me minùs dilucide exposita fuissent.¹

Nunc verò, posteaquam officio tam necessario illis literis, ut spero, et illo tabellario satisfeci, ne hoc quidem prætermittere volui, quin ad Latinas literas majestatis vestræ Latinè etiam rescriberem, et, si quid superioribus forte literis à me præteritum est, his nunc supplerem: nec verò hîc quicquam magis exopto quàm eam mihi eloquentiam dari, quâ periculum majestatis vestræ, ut ipse idem videre videor, ita ei ante oculos ponere possim; etsi in eo, quòd à me consilium requirit, id ipsa minimè ignorare multis videri possit, ut quæ, ob hanc scilicet causam, quòd periculum et videt et timet, de eo vitando meum consilium exquirat. At verò ne hoc quidem satis indicat periculi magnitudinem ab illâ perspici; immo, quòd de periculo fugiendo consilium quærit, hoc ipsum ostendit minùs ei cognitam esse periculi magnitudinem. Quid enim? Naufragio facto, si quis aut tabulam casu oblatam arripere cunctetur, aut parvam scapham subito conscendere, et de hoc aliorum consilium exquirat, an hunc dicemus quanto in periculo versetur satis intelligere? Nonne qui id cernit, si vel minimam tabulam videat, eam sibi divinitùs oblatam simul arripiat, et Deo gratias agat, idque multò magis si scapham nactus sit, quâ tutiùs ad litus se pervehi posse arbitretur? Profectò hic neminem consulat, etiamsi sciat id se cum

¹ The messenger here alluded to was Dr. Thomas Goldwell, afterwards bishop of St. Asaph's: the instructions given to him by the cardinal are preserved in the Cotton library (Titus, B. II. 170—176), and have been printed by Burnet (ii. 227). They contain, however, nothing more than an injunction to press on the attention of the queen what Pole urges in the present letter, namely, the necessity of putting her trust in God, of despising every human consideration, and of instantly re-establishing the authority of the Roman see. This was to be done by at once proposing the matter to parliament. "And if," he says, "in this deliberation, it should seem strange to put forth these matters in the parliament, without communicating the same with any of her council, I would think it well her grace might confer it with two of the chiefest, that be counted of the people most near her favour, one spiritual, and another temporal; with declaring to them, first, how, touching her conscience afore God, and her right afore the world, she can never be quiet, until this matter be established, touching the authority of the church; requiring their utmost help in that, as if she should fight for the crown. Her majesty may be sure, she putting the same forth with that earnest manner, they will not lack to serve her; and they may serve quietly in the parliament, after her grace hath spoken, to prosecute and justify the same with efficacy of words, to give all others example to follow her grace; leaving this part unto them, that, if the name of obedience to the pope should seem to bring, as it were, a yoke to the realm, or any other kind of servitude, beside that should be profitable to the realm, both afore God and man, her grace, that bringeth it in again, will never suffer it, nor the pope himself requireth no such thing. And herein also, that they say, that my person, being the mean to bring it in, would never agree to be an instrument thereof, if I thought any thralldom should come thereby."

periculo facturum : majoris enim et certioris periculi magnitudo minoris nec ita certi timorem aufert, et simul omnem deliberandi facultatem eripit.

Idem verò nunc accidit majestati vestræ. Illa jam naufragium fecit; aut, si non ipsa fecit, certè regnum Angliæ fecit, cum se spontè ex nave Petri in mare hujus sæculi projecit. Quòd si id naufragium dici proprie non potest, quia navis hæc nullo unquam casu frangi demergive potest, tamen, quando qui ex hac se projecerunt, idem periculum ac naufragi incurrunt, perinde habendum est ac si naufragium fecissent. In hoc igitur tanto majestatis vestræ discrimine et periculo, ecce tabula, quam illi ego indico, quam eidem per me Deus, quam sedes apostolica porrigit, ut sese ex pelagi fluctibus possit eripere. An, si periculi magnitudinem hîc videret, cujusquam consilium peteret num tabula sit arripienda? At verò non tabulam tantùm, sed navem Petri Deus illi offert, et illam quidem maximam ac tutissimam, quæ, omnibus sæculis toties jactata, nunquam fluctibus est oppressa. Quid ergo majestas vestra nunc dubitat eam conscendere? An, si hoc facit, non prorsùs ostendit se periculi sui magnitudinem non videre? At verò ita plane existimet, ac pro certissimo habeat, haud majore unquam in periculo versatos esse illos, qui, coopertâ undis universâ terrâ, extra arcam relictî sunt, quàm qui nunc, crescentibus cupiditatibus et pravis opinionibus, quibus, tanquam fluctibus, animus obruitur, cùm antea, corpori ecclesiæ adjuncti, in nave Petri tanquam in arcâ essent, ex eâ se abjecerunt. Neque verò se existimet majestas vestra minore in periculo versari, quòd animo ipsa nunquam ab ecclesiæ obedientiâ, nunquam ab arcâ recesserit, etsi corpore cum iis versaretur, qui sese e nave projecerunt: hoc enim, antequam regni gubernacula accepisset, aliquam fortasse habuit excusationem; at idem illam nunc eo majore accusatione dignam esse ostendit, quòd, cum servata sit ipsa ut cæteros servaret omnes, cumque rector navis manum ei porrigat ut suos omnes secum trahat, tamen id facere cunctetur, dubitet, consultet; interim autem illi pereant.

Hactenùs majestati tuæ, quomodò quidem potui, periculum demonstravi, et tanquam in tabulâ depictum proposui: nunc majestas vestra judicet, tempusne sit deliberandi, an potiùs exequandi id, quod sibi et divino et humano consilio constitutum est atque præscriptum. Etenim video divinam bonitatem duas illi consultrices in hac causâ dedisse, alteram legem divinam, alteram naturæ; utramque enim literæ ejus ostendunt sibi in consilium adhibitas esse. Nam, cum scribit, se, in veteri religione enutritam, usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum constituisse in eâ perseverare, ab illâ se didicisse titulum illum supremi capitis ecclesiæ regi non convenire, scire se distinctas esse potestates, dignitates, et officia regis et sacerdotis, aliud esse corpus politicum cujus rex est caput,

aliud ecclesiasticum quod caput habet sacerdotem,—hæc sanè omnia à lege divinâ didicit. Cum verò addit, suo sexui non convenire titulum supremi capitis ecclesiæ in regno suo, hoc simul et divina lex et naturæ docet, ut ex divi Pauli monumentis accepimus, qui, cum vetat mulierem in ecclesiâ docere, satis significat quam absurdum sit et iniquum eidem in ecclesiâ supremi capitis personam tribuere, cujus illud proprium maximè est, ut populum doctrinâ imbuat. Quòd si idem apostolus ne unius quidem viri, cui matrimonio est conjuncta, mulierem caput dici posse affirmat, quia lex naturæ aliter præcipit, ut ejus multitudinis, quæ et ecclesiæ conficit corpus, caput dicatur, id verò simul et divina et naturæ lex prohibet.

Quid ergo? Majestas vestra, cum hæc audierit, cognoverit, et à Deo etiam in animo impressa et infixata habeat, consilium adhuc hominum quæret? Nullum quidem hîc præterea consilium relinquitur, nisi ut majestas vestra, quæ jam Spiritum consilii à divinâ majestate accepit, eique ex animo assensit, pro tanto beneficio ac munere gratiis actis, ab eâdem Spiritum fortitudinis, quo citiùs id exequatur, sibi dari postulet: hoc unum enim modò sibi deesse videtur, quod statim ut majestas vestra supplex flagitaverit, ab eo faciliè impetrabit, qui dixit, “*adhuc te loquente, ecce adsum.*” Hoc autem Deus idcirco dare distulit, ut majestas vestra ab eâdem manu se accipere cognoscat ea quæ ad tuendum regnum pertinent, à quâ etiam regnum ipsum accepit, ut tandem universa bona ejus bonitate accepta planè ex animo referat: quod quidem si fecerit, atque ad ejusdem præscriptum et voluntatem regnum administraverit, et quæ nunc timentur, omnia in majorem ei securitatem et lætitiâ convertentur. Nos, ut debemus, pro tranquillitate regni, proque secundis rebus majestatis vestræ assiduè vota facimus, semperque faciemus: id verò ipsa planè assequetur, si in eo omnem spem positam habuerit, à quo et regnum accepit,—qui dixit, “*confidite, ego vici mundum*”, qui est Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, cui ego summis precibus majestatem vestram nullum commendandi finem facio. Dat. Dillingæ 1 Decembris, MDLIII.

No. XXI.—(*Referred to at page 61.*)

In nome del Pontefice Giulio III. al Cardinale Polo. Octob. 28, 1553.

[Quirini, iv. 115.]

Nel procedere innanzi di V. S. reverendissima ed illustrissima, pare a sua santità, come è sempre parso, che si debbano havere tre considerationi, una dell' honore e servitio di Dio benedetto, l'altra di adjutare, quanto per noi si può, la mente di quella piissima regina, la terza che, con volerla noi adjutare, non la disajutissimo, e ponessimo maggior

difficoltà nelle cose della religione e sue medesime. Questa terza considerazione la lasciò tutta nella deliberatione di V. S. reverendissima ed illustrissima, come a quella che non li manca prudenza, pietà, e charità. Si spera, e tien per certo, che, fermando la regina il piede nel temporale, accomoderà indubitatamente il spirituale; sicome ancora, dall' altro canto, si può dubitare, che, se ella volesse accomodare il spirituale, non fermato il temporale, potrebbe correre naufragio in l'uno e l'altro. L'invitissimo imperatore ha fatto dire a sua santità d'haver mandato a V. S. illustrissima e reverendissima, a farla fermare dove ella si trovava, per vedere sua maestà. Quanto il precipitare, a occhi chiusi, potrebbe portare pregiudizio a questa impresa, come il temporeggiare ed il camminare, a occhi aperti, potrebbe portare sicurissimo favore. Non pare ancora a sua maestà, che il nome della legatione della pace basti, sapendo che ciascuno l'interpreta che sia fatta per coperta della prima. Non vorebbe sua maestà che V. S. reverendissima ed illustrissima se l'accostasse, fin che si vedesse maggior lume, perchè abborrisse di essere ridotta a uno de doi ponti, o di lassarla andare dipoi innanzi, con pericolo di perdersi tutto l'acquistato in quel regno, o di ritenerla, e non dare audienza, con dare occasione alli maligni di calunniare sua maestà, che non volesse pace, e si curasse poco della reductione di quel regno alla santa fede, ed antiqua religione; nelli quali doi articoli, come li pare esser giustificatissimo nel conspetto di Dio, così non ne vorebbe esser incolpato appresso il mondo. Sua beatitudine è tanto persuasa della buona mente di sua maestà, che crede che non si possa errare in abbracciare il suo consiglio, come crederebbe che si potesse commettere grand errore, quando si facesse il contrario: che è quanto mi occorre di dire per la presente a vostra signoria reverendissima ed illustrissima. Datum Romæ, xxviii. Octob. MDLIII.

No. XXII.—(*Referred to at page 62.*)

Bulla Institutoria Cardinalis Poli Legati. August 5, 1553.

[MS. in my possession.]

Julius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Reginaldo, Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin diacono cardinali, Polo nuncupato, ad charissimam in Christo filiam, Mariam, Angliæ reginam illustrem, et universum Angliæ regnum, nostro, et apostolicæ sedis legato de latere, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Si ullo unquam tempore licuit, nunc certè appositissimè dicere licet, dextera Domini fecit virtutem; hanc, inquam, lætissimam lucem licet omnium piorum gaudiis, atque acclamatione celebrare. Quid enim aliud dicemus, quam dexteram Domini hanc tam inopinatam rerum conversionem fecisse, ut florentissimum Angliæ

regnum, ab Henrico VIII. in dissidium ab ecclesiâ catholicâ, secessionemque seductum, ac deinde Edwardi, ejus nati, successione, in paterno et hæreditario errore corroboratum atque firmatum, in eum nunc statum repenti devenerit, ut ad sanctum ovile, atque ad ecclesiæ catholicæ septa revocari faciliùs posse videatur. Profectò hoc nihil aliud est quàm mutatio dexteræ excelsi. Defuncto enim vitâ supradicto Edwardo, adnixis illius sectatoribus, qui rerum habenas, qui arcem, qui exercitum, qui classem obtinebant, regnum alicui ex suâ sectâ deferre (exclusâ legitimâ hærede, charissimâ in Christo filiâ nostrâ Mariâ Angliæ reginâ illustri tunc principe, præfati Henrici regis natâ, quæ semper in catholicæ fidei unitate permansit), atque, ut eis videbatur, voto jam potitis, ecce ille dominator Dominus et terribilis, qui aufert spiritum principum, cuncta iniquorum commenta disjecit, et repentinâ animorum totius regni inclinatione atque motu, eâ, quam ipsi constituerunt, regiâ potestate disjectâ, ut ipsa Maria unâ omnium voce regina salutaretur, effecit. Gratias Domino Deo nostro, qui non obliviscitur suos, qui et huic illustri fœminæ præmium fidei suæ, invictæque constantiæ, paternum regnum, quod jam humanitùs amiserat, divinitùs detulit, et hanc non parvam gregis sui partem à rectâ semitâ jam pridem abactam, et per deserta dispersam, respicere dignatus est. Quam et non dubitamus, eodem divino favore perseverante, postquàm catholicam principem nacta est, et ipsam in catholicæ fidei viam facilè conversum iri, et communioni ecclesiæ restitutum. Cui quidem spei, sanctæque fiduciæ, quam habemus in Domino, nos pro pastoralis, quæ nobis ab illo commissa est, universalis ecclesiæ curâ, et pro eâ [charitate], quâ erga Anglicam gentem propriè debemus affici, tanquam hujus sanctæ sedis, cui sine meritis ullis nostris, sed summâ Dei providentiâ præsidemus, peculiarem filiam, olim procuratâ ab ipsâ sede divini illic verbi disseminatione generatam, deesse nec volumus, nec debemus. Cum igitur super hujusmodi tractandâ re, negotioque divinâ ope conficiendo, et potissimum, cui hanc provinciam demandare possemus, assiduos nostræ mentis cogitatus effunderemus, tu semper nobis, non sane primus, sed solus omnium occurristi, quem omninò, præ cæteris, huic curæ præficere deberemus. Unde habitâ super his, cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalibus, deliberatione maturâ, de illorum unanimi consilio et assensu, te ad eandem reginam Mariam, et universum Angliæ regnum, nostrum et apostolicæ sedis legatum delegimus. Sive enim nos natalis terræ tuæ, et civium charitatem, quæ in te summa esse debet, et certe est; sive linguæ ejus gentis, et morum, sensuumque notitiam; sive, ob deductum à sanguine regio genus, auctoritatem, et gratiam; seu singularem in omni genere prudentiam, atque eloquentiam; seu, quod caput est, flagrantissimum tuum erga

Deum, ac Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ejusque sanctam ecclesiam catholicam amorem atque observantiam, multis jam in rebus cognitam atque perspectam spectaremus, personam tuam, quam his, quas modo commemoravimus, et plurimis aliis virtutibus omnium munerum largitor Altissimus exornavit, ad hanc legationem aptissimam judicavimus. Quam ob rem circumspectioni tuæ per præsentem literas mandamus, ut munus istud pro eadem tuâ erga Deum pietate, erga nos et sanctam hanc sedem reverentiâ, erga Christianam rempublicam studio atque amore, suscipiens, id pro tuâ fide, diligentia, dexteritate exequare; nihilque prætermittas, quominus, Deo bene juvante, optatum legationis fructum assequare; in errorem lapsos consolando, atque in Dei gratiam, et suæ sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ communionem restituendo. Cujus rei maximè scilicet in ipsius Dei clementiâ, secundum Deum autem, cum in studio, prudentiâ, et virtute tuâ, tum in ipsius Mariæ reginæ in Deum pietate, sapientiâ, et devotione, spem ponimus.

Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo tertio, nonis Augusti; pontificatûs nostri anno quarto.

Bulla Facultatum Extraordinariarum Cardinalis Poli. Aug. 5, 1553.

[MS. in my possession.]

Julius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Reginaldo, sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin diacono cardinali, Polo nuncupato, ad charissimum in Christo filiam nostram Mariam, Angliæ reginam illustrem, et universum Angliæ regnum, nostro et apostolicæ sedis legato de latere, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Post nuntium nobis allatum de obitu Edwardi, Henrici VIII. Angliæ regis nati, cum cogitare cæpissimus, num Deus calamitatum illius provinciæ, per plures annos sævâ regum tyrannide ab unione sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ separatæ, misertus, illius salutem aliquando operari dignaretur, ecce charissima in Christo filia nostra, Maria, Angliæ nunc princeps, ejusdem Henrici regis nata, quæ semper in rectâ fide religioneque, contra domesticas suorum injurias, firmam sese atque constantem præstitit, unâ omnium voce regina declaratur. Unde ex Dei misericordiâ, et ejusdem Mariæ reginæ pietate, et sapientiâ spem sumentes, provinciam illam ad ovile gregis Dominici, et ejusdem sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ unionem, illâ potissimum regnante, redire posse, hoc tam evidenti jam appropinquantis divinæ benignitatis indicio, ingenti lætitiâ exultavimus. Non enim potuimus, patris personam gerentes, reditum filii, quem perditum timebamus, licet de longinquo prospicientes, non magno gaudio prosequi. Itaque tantæ rerum opportunitati non deesse volentes, perditamque ovem illam quæ-

situri, quæ tamdiu à reliquo grege aberraverat, quid tandem efficere possemus experiri, te, præstanti virtute, singulari pietate, doctrinâ, sapientiâ, et nobilitate insignem, ad eandem Mariam reginam, et universum Angliæ regnum, de fratrum nostrorum consilio et unanimi assensu, nostrum et apostolicæ sedis legatum delegimus;—primum quidem, ut illis, qui, deficientibus reliquis, constantes in fide et obedientiâ ecclesiæ permanserunt, congratuleris de illorum constantiâ hujusmodi, et tam propinquâ spe reditûs suorum fratrum; deinde verò, ut reliquos, in errorem lapsos, consolari, atque in Dei gratiam, et suæ sanctæ Catholicæ ecclesiæ communionem revocare studeas. Quod quidem ut facilius, et prout enixè cupimus, subsequi possit, illique nos, quantum ad nos attinet, nullâ in re restrictos, aut difficiles ad indulgendum fore, faciliè cognoscant, te etiam infra-scriptis facultatibus munire volumus. Quare, de similibus consilio et assensu, ac de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, circumspectioni tuæ, omnes et singulas utriusque sexûs, tam laicas, quàm ecclesiasticas, seculares, ac quorumvis ordinum regulares, personas, in quibusvis etiam sacris ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque statûs, gradûs, conditionis, et qualitatis existant, et quacunque ecclesiasticâ, etiam episcopali, archiepiscopali, et patriarchali, aut mundanâ, etiam marchionali, ducali, aut regiâ dignitate præfulgeant; etiamsi capitulum, collegium, universitas, seu communitas fuerint; quarumcunque heresium, aut novarum sectarum professores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores, et fautores eorum, etiamsi relapsæ fuerint, eorum errores cognoscentes, et de illis dolentes, et ad orthodoxam fidem recipi humiliter postulantes, cognitâ in eis verâ et non fictâ aut simulatâ pænitiâ, ab omnibus et singulis per eos perpetratis, hæreses et ab eâdem fide apostasias et blasphemias et alios quoscunque errores etiam sub generali sermone non venientes sapientibus, peccatis, criminibus, excessibus, et delictis; necnon excommunicationis, suspensionis, interdictorum, et aliis ecclesiasticis, et temporalibus, etiam corporis afflictivis, et capitalibus sententiis, censuris, et pœnis in eos, præmissorum occasione, à jure, vel ab homine latis, vel promulgatis; etiamsi in eis viginti et pluribus annis insorduerint, et eorum absolutio nobis et dictæ sedi, etiam per literas in die cœnæ Domini legi consuetas, reservata existat (quorum omnium qualitates et circumstantias præsentibus haberi volumus pro expressis in utroque, conscientiæ videlicet, et contentioso, foro plenarie, ita ut super hujusmodi criminibus, excessibus, et delictis, per eos, usque ad diem absolutionis et deliberationis desuper faciendarum, commissis, nullatenus inquiri, accusari, denunciari, aut molestari possint), absolvendi, et liberandi, ac aliorum Christi fidelium consortio aggregandi, nec non cum eis super irregularitate, per eos, præmissorum occasione, etiam quia, sic ligati, missas, et alia divina officia,

etiam contra ritus et ceremonias hactenus probatos et usitatos, celebra-
verint, aut illis alias se immiscuerint, contractâ; nec non [super] biga-
miâ per eosdem clericos, seculares, vel regulares, verè aut fictè, seu aliàs
qualitercunque incursâ, etiamsi ex eo, quòd eisdem clerici, in sacris con-
stituti, cum viduis, vel aliàs corruptis, matrimonium de facto contraxe-
rint, prætendatur, rejectis et expulsis tamen priùs uxoribus, sic de facto
copulatis; quòdque bigamiâ, et irregularitate, ac aliis præmissis non
obstantibus, in eorum ordinibus, dummodo, ante eorum lapsum in hæresim
hujusmodi, ritè, et legitimè promoti, vel ordinati fuerint, etiam in altaris
ministerio ministrare; ac quæcunque et qualiæcunque, etiam curata, bene-
ficia, secularia vel regularia, ut priùs (dummodo super eis alteri jus quæsi-
tum non existat), retinere; et non promoti, ad omnes, etiam sacros, et
presbyteratûs ordines ab eorum ordinariis, si digni et idonei reperti fuerint,
promoveri; ac beneficia ecclesiastica, si eis aliàs canonicè conferantur,
recipere, et retinere valeant, dispensandi, et indulgendi; ac omnem
inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam, sive notam, ex præmissis quomodolibet
insurgentem, penitùs et omnino abolendi; necnon ad pristinos honores,
dignitates, famam, et patriam, ac bona etiam confiscata, in pristinumque
et eum, in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, statum (ita ut om-
nibus et singulis gratiis, privilegiis, favoribus, et indultis, quibus cæteri
Christi fideles gaudent, et gaudere quomodolibet possunt, uti, et gaudere
valeant in omnibus et per omnia, perinde ac si a fide Catholicâ in aliquo
nunquam defecissent), restituendi, reponendi, et reintegrandi; ac eis,
dummodo, corde contriti, eorum errata et excessus alicui, per eos
eligendo, Catholico confessori sacramentaliter confiteantur, ac pœnitentiam
salutarem, eis per ipsum confessorem propterea injungendam, omninò
adimpleant, omnem publicam confessionem, abjurationem, renun-
tiationem, et pœnitentiam, jure debitam, arbitrio suo moderandi,
vel in totum remittendi; necnon communitates et universitates, et sin-
gulares personas quascunque à quibusvis illicitis pactionibus et conven-
tionibus, per eas cum dictis aberrantibus, seu in eorum favorem quo-
modolibet initis, et eis præstitis juramentis et homagiis, illorumque
omnium, observatione, etsi quem hactenus eorum occasione incurrerint
perjurii reatum, etiam absolvendi, et juramenta ipsa relaxandi: ac
quoscunque regulares et religiosos, etiam in hæresim hujusmodi, ut
præfertur, lapsos, extra eorum regularia loca, absque dictæ sedis licentiâ,
vagantes, ab apostasiæ reatu, et excommunicationis sententiâ, aliisque
censuris et pœnis ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea, etiam juxta suorum
ordinum instituta, incursis, pariter absolvendi: ac cum eis, ut alicui
beneficio ecclesiastico curato, de illud obtinentis consensu, etiam in
habitu clerici secularis (habitum suum regularem sub honestâ togâ
presbyteri secularis deferentibus), deservire, et extra eadem regularia

loca remanere liberè, et licitè possint, dispensandi : necnon quibusvis personis, etiam ecclesiasticis, ut quadragesimalibus, et aliis anni temporibus, et diebus, quibus esus ovorum et carniùm est de jure prohibitus, butyro, caseo, et aliis lactioñiis, ac dictis ovis, et carnibus, de utriusque, seu alterius spiritualis, qui Catholicus existat, medici consilio, aut, si locorum aut personarum qualitate inspectâ, ex defectu piscium, aut olei, vel indispositione personarum earundem, seu aliâ causâ legitimâ, id tibi faciendum esse videbitur, tuo arbitrio, uti et vesci possint, indulgendi, et concedendi : necnon per te in præteritis duntaxat casibus aliquos clericos seculares tantum, presbyteros, diaconos, et subdiaconos, qui matrimonium cum aliquibus virginibus, vel corruptis secularibus etiam mulieribus, de facto hactenùs contraxerunt, consideratâ aliquâ ipsorum singulari qualitate, et cognitâ eorum verâ ad Christi fidem conversione, ac aliis circumstantiis et modificationibus, tuo tantum arbitrio adhibendis, ex quibus aliis, presertim clericis in sacris ordinibus hujusmodi constitutis, quibus, prout apostoli docuerunt exemplo, et ipsa servavit antiquitas, ac sacra concilia et canones statuerunt, *non licet uxores habere*, scandalum omninò non generetur (citra tamen altaris et alia sacerdotum ministeria, et titulos beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, ac omni ipsorum ordinum exercitio sublato), ab excommunicationis sententiâ, et aliis reatibus propterea incursis, injunctâ inde eis etiam arbitrio tuo, pœnitentiâ salutari, absolvendi, ac cum eis (dummodo alter eorum, superstes, remaneat de cœtero sine spe conjugii) quòd inter se matrimonium legitimè contrahere, et in eo, postquam contractum fuerit, licitè remanere possint, prolem exinde legitimam decernendo, misericorditer dispensandi : insuper, quæcunque beneficia ecclesiastica, tam secularia, quàm regularia, et quæ per rectores Catholicos possidentur, de ipsorum tamen Catholicorum rectorum consensu, seu absque eorum præjudicio, cuicumque alteri beneficio ecclesiastico, ob ejus fructuum tenuitatem, aut hospitali jam erecto, vel erigendo, seu studio universali, vel scholis literariis uniendi, annectendi, et incorporandi, aut fructus, redditus, et proventus, seu bona eorundem beneficiorum dividendi, separandi, et dismembrandi ; ac eorum sic divisorum, separatorum, et dismembratorum partem aliis beneficiis, seu hospitalibus, vel studiis, aut scholis, seu piis usibus similiter arbitrio tuo perpetuò applicandi et appropriandi : ac cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum (restitutis in primis, si tibi expedire videbitur, immobilibus per eos indebitè detentis) super fructibus male perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordandi, et transigendi, ac eos desuper liberandi, et quietandi ; ac quicquid ex concordiiis, et transactionibus hujusmodi, pervenerit, in ecclesiæ, cujus erunt bona, vel in studiorum universalium, aut scholarum literariorum prædictarum, seu alios pios usus conver-

tendi: omniaque et singula alia quæ in præmissis, et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria et opportuna esse cognoveris, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, et exercendi: necnon contradictores quoslibet, et rebelles, ac tibi in præmissis non parentes, per sententias, censuras, et pœnas ecclesiasticas, et quæcunque alia juris et facti remedia, appellatione postpositâ, compescendi; et legitimis, super his habendis, servatis processibus, sententias, censuras, et pœnas hujusmodi, etiam iteratis vicibus aggravandi, et auxilium brachii secularis, si opus fuerit, invocandi: necnon Catholicos locorum ordinarios, aut alias personas Deum timentes, fide insignes, literarum scientiâ præditas, ac gravitate morum conspicuas, et ætate venerandas, de quarum probitate, et circumspectione, ac charitatis zelo plena fiducia concipi possit, ad præmissa omnia consimili, vel limitatâ potestate (absolutione et dispensatione clericorum circa connubia, ac unione beneficiorum, seu eorum fructuum et bonorum separatione et applicatione, ac concordîâ cum possessoribus beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, et eorum liberatione duntaxat exceptis) substituendi, et subdelegandi, plenam et liberam apostolicam auctoritatem tenore presentium, et ex certâ scientiâ concedimus facultatem, et potestatem: decernentes, omnia et singula per te, seu à te pro tempore substitutos et subdelegatos, vigore præsentium, et illarum formâ servatâ, aliàs ritè, et rectè pro tempore facta et gesta, valida et efficacia fore, suosque effectus sortiri, ac ab omnibus inviolabiliter observari debere: nec ea, aut presentes literas de subreptionis aut obreptionis vitio, seu intentionis defectu, notari, vel impugnari posse; sicque, in præmissis omnibus et singulis, per quoscunque judices, et commissarios, quavis auctoritate fungentes, etiam causarum palatii apostolici auditores, in quavis causâ et instantiâ, sublatâ eis, et eorum cuilibet, quavis aliter judicandi, et interpretandi auctoritate, et facultate, judicari, ac definiri debere: ac si secus super his à quocunque, quavis auctoritate, scienter, vel ignoranter contigerit attentari, irritum, et inane, non obstantibus quibuscunque apostolicis, ac in provincialibus, et generalibus consiliis editis, specialibus, vel generalibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus, etiam pluries emanatis, ac in corpore juris clausis, et quibusvis literis per nos et prædecessores nostros ac dictam sedem, cum quibusvis derogatoriis derogatoriis, aliisque efficacioribus clausulis et decretis concessis, et emanatis, ac innovatis, necnon quarumvis etiam cathedralium, et metropolitanarum, ac collegiatarum ecclesiarum; necnon monasteriorum, et aliorum regularium locorum quorumlibet, ac quorumcunque ordinum juramento, confirmatione apostolicâ, vel quavis firmitate aliâ roboratis, statutis, et constitutionibus. Quibus omnibus, etiamsi pro illorum sufficienti derogatione, expressa, specifica, et individua mentio habenda esset, illorum tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum inserti forent, pro

sufficienter expressis habentes, illis aliàs in suo robore permansuris, hac vice duntaxat, specialiter et expressè derogamus, contrariis quibuscunque non obstantibus, aut si aliquibus, communiter, vel divisim, ab eâdem sit sede indultum, quòd interdicti, suspendi, vel excommunicari non possunt per literas apostolicas non facientes plenam, et expressam, ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem. Volumus autem, quòd hi, qui per te, aut substitutos, vel delegatos tuos vigore præsentium quovis modo absoluti fuerint, si eis per te aut substitutos, et subdelegatos prædictos specialis pœnitentia injuncta non fuerit, pœnitentiam per Catholicum confessorem, quem duxerint eligendum, pro præmissis eis injungendam, adimplere omninò teneantur; alioquin absolutiones, illis pro tempore concessæ, eis minimè suffragentur. Nulli ergo omninò hominum liceat hanc paginam nostram concessionis, decreti, derogationis, et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumperit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Marcum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ 1553, nonis Augusti, pontificatûs nostri anno quarto.

Ex Bullâ Facultatum Communium Cardinalis Poli. August 5, 1553.

[Extract from MS. in my possession.]

Having recited various faculties, it proceeds to add the power, Quibuscunque personis dictæ legationis, ac etiam familiaribus prædictis, ut bona immobilia eorundem monasteriorum, dignitatum, prioratuum, administrationum, et officiorum, aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, quæ obtinent, seu durante legatione hujusmodi obtinebunt, permutare, vendere, et ad tempus longum locare in feudam, emphiteusim, seu censum, et afflictum concedere, et aliàs alienare valeant, cum evidenti ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, et beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, ad quæ pertinent, utilitate; proviso quòd pretia exinde provenientia, in hujusmodi utilitatem convertenda, penes aliquam ædem sacram, aut fide et facultatibus idoneam personam, cum recognitionibus, clausulis, et cautelis, in similibus apponi solitis, fideliter reponantur: necnon regularibus personis utriusque sexûs, etiam ordinum mendicantium, in quibus benevolos inveniant receptores, ut de eorum monasteriis, domibus, et locis ad alia monasteria, domos, et loca, etiam aliorum ordinum, etiam non mendicantium, dummodo inibi arctior, aut, si consensus eorum superiorum intervenerit, par vigeat observantia, se transferre, et nova loca recipere: ac personis quibuslibet, ecclesias, monasteria, et domos ordinum mendicantium, et beneficia ecclesiastica quæcunque de novo

fundare, et dotare, ac collapsa reparare volentibus, ut illa in locis ad hoc honestis et commodis fundare, dotare, et reparare, et, in foundationibus hujusmodi, licita et honesta onera illa pro tempore obtinentibus imponere valeant; reservato eis, quoad ecclesias per eos jam ubilibet constructas, seu inceptas, et ulterius de novo construendas et restaurandas, ac etiam posteris eorum, jure patronatûs, et presentandi personam idoneam ad illa, dum vacabunt, licentiam concedendi: ac locationes, et alienationes de bonis immobilibus ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, prioratuum, administrationum, vel officiorum, aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum factas, si in evidentem utilitatem illorum cesserint, confirmandi, et approbandi; ac singulos defectus, si qui intervenerint, supplendi, etc.

*Bulla Confirmatoria Facultatum Cardinalis Poli. Nonis
Augusti, 1553.*

[MS. in my possession.]

Julius episcopus servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Reginaldo sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin diacono cardinali, Polo nuncupato, ad charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Mariam Angliæ reginam illustrem, et universum Angliæ regnum nostro et apostolicæ sedis legato de latere, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Cùm nos hodie te, ingenio, doctrinâ, probitate, et summâ erga Deum pietate insignem, aliisque multiplicum virtutum donis, quæ in te divina propagavit elementia, ornatum, pro nonnullis arduis et gravibus causis non solum sedem apostolicam, sed orthodoxæ fidei cultum et religionem, atque universam christianitatem concernentibus, ad charissimam in Christo filiam nostram, Mariam, Angliæ reginam illustrem, et universum Angliæ regnum, nostrum et apostolicæ sedis legatum de latere, tanquam pacis angelum, de fratrum nostrorum consilio, ad Dei laudem duxerimus destinandum, Nos, ut commissum tibi officium legationis hujusmodi eò efficacius exequi possis, quò majori a nobis fueris facultate suffultus, de singulari tuæ circumspectionis prudentiâ, doctrinâ, diligentia, et pietate plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinentes, te in universis locis, ad quæ te declinare contigerit, nostrum et apostolicæ sedis verum, legitimum, et indubitatum procuratorem, actorem, et nuncium generalem, ac specialem, ita tamen quòd specialitas generalitati non deroget, nec è contra, tenore præsentium facimus, constituimus, et deputamus; dantes, et concedentes tibi plenam et liberam potestatem, auctoritatem, et facultatem, ac mandatum generale et speciale, pro nobis et hac sanctâ sede, in quâ ex permissione divinâ sedemus, nostro et ejusdem sedis nomine, omnia, et singula, quæ pro executione tibi per nos commissorum necessaria fuerint, seu quo-

modolibet opportuna, et quæ nos ipsi faceremus, si præmissis personalliter interessemus, etiamsi talia sint quæ sub generali concessione de jure non veniant, seu specialem notam, seu speciale mandatum desuper requirant, faciendi, gerendi, et exercendi : promittentes bonâ fide, et in verbo pontificis, nos ratum, gratum, atque firmum habituros totum id, et quicquid per te in præmissis, et circa ea, quomodolibet actum, gestum, aut factum fuerit ; non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Datum Romæ, apud S. Marcum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 1553, nonis Augusti, Pontificatûs nostri anno quarto.

PAULUS SADOLETUS CARPENT.

Ex Bullâ potestatem concedente Cardinali Polo munus legati exercendi, etiam dum in partibus Flandriæ subsistat. March 8, 1554.

[Wilkins, iv. 91.]

*Having recited the second of the preceding instruments, the pontiff thus proceeds,—*Verum cum tu ad partes Flandriæ, ex quibus brevissima ad regnum transfretatio existit, te contuleris, ac ex certis rationibus nobis notis inibi aliquamdiù subsistere habeas, ac à nonnullis nimiùm forsân scrupulosis hæsitetur, an tu, in partibus hujusmodi subsistens, prædictis et aliis tibi concessis facultatibus uti, ac in eodem regno locorum ordinarios aut alias personas, ut præmittitur, qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te juxta dictarum literarum continentiam pro tempore concessis utantur, alias juxta earundem literarum tenorem substituere et delegare possis, Nos, causam tuæ subsistentiæ in iisdem partibus approbantes, et singularum literarum prædictarum tenores, præsentibus pro sufficienter expressis, ac de verbo ad verbum insertis, habentes, circumspectioni tuæ quòd, quamdiù in eisdem partibus de licentiâ nostrâ moram traxeris, legatione tuâ prædictâ durante, etiam extra ipsum regnum existens, omnibus et singulis prædictis et quibusvis aliis tibi concessis, et quæ per præsentis tibi conceduntur, facultatibus, etiam ergà quoscunque archiepiscopos, episcopos, ac abbates, aliosque ecclesiarum tam sæcularium, quam quorumvis ordinum regularium, necnon monasteriorum, et aliorum regularium locorum prælatos, non secùs ac ergà alios inferiores clericos, uti possis ; necnon erga alias personas in singulis literis prædictis quovismodo nominatas, ad te pro tempore recurrentes vel mittentes ; etiam circa ordines, quos nunquam aut malè susceperunt, et munus consecrationis quod iis ab aliis episcopis vel archiepiscopis etiam hæreticis et schismaticis, aut aliàs minùs ritè, et non servatâ formâ ecclesiæ consuetâ, impensum fuit, etiamsi ordines et

munus hujusmodi etiam circà altaris ministerium temerè executi sint, per teipsum, vel alios ad id a te pro tempore deputatos, libere uti; ac in eodem regno tot, quot tibi videbuntur, locorum ordinarios vel alias personas, ut præmittur, qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te eis pro tempore concessis (citrà tamen eas quæ solùm tibi, ut præfertur, concessæ existunt), etiam te in partibus Flandriæ hujusmodi subsistente, liberè utantur, et eas exerceant et exequantur, alias juxta ipsarum literarum continentiam ac tenorem substituere et subdelegare: necnon de personis quorumcumque episcoporum vel archiepiscoporum, qui metropolitanam aut alias cathedrales ecclesias de manu laicorum, etiam schismaticorum, et præsertim qui de Henrici regis, et Edwardi ejus nati, receperunt, et eorum regimini et administrationi se ingesserunt, et eorum fructus, redditus, et proventus, etiam longissimo tempore, tanquam veri archiepiscopi aut episcopi, temerè et de facto usurpando, etiamsi in hæresim, ut præfertur, inciderint, seu antea hæretici fuerint, postquàm per te unitati sanctæ matris ecclesiæ restituti extiterint, tuque eos rehabilitandos esse censueris, si tibi aliàs digni et idonei videbuntur, eisdem metropolitanis et aliis cathedralibus ecclesiis denuò, necnon quibusvis aliis cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanis, ecclesiis, per obitum vel privationem illarum præsulum, seu aliàs quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de personis idoneis, pro quibus ipsa Maria regina, juxta consuetudines ipsius regni, tibi supplicaverit, auctoritate nostrâ providere, ipsasque personas eisdem ecclesiis in episcopos aut archiepiscopos præficere: ac, cum iis, qui ecclesias cathedrales et metropolitanas de manu laicorum, etiam schismaticorum, ut præfertur, receperunt, quòd eisdem seu aliis, ad quas eas aliàs ritè transferri contigerit, cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis, in episcopos vel archiepiscopos præesse, ipsasque ecclesias in spiritualibus et temporalibus regere et gubernare, ac munere consecrationis, eis hactenùs impenso, uti; vel si illud eis nondum impensum extiterit, ab episcopis vel archiepiscopis catholicis, per te nominandis, suscipere liberè et licitè possint; necnon cum quibusvis, per te, ut præmittitur, pro tempore absolutis et rehabilitatis, ut, eorum erroribus et excessibus præteritis nonobstantibus, quibusvis cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis, in episcopos et archiepiscopos præfici et præesse, illasque in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus regere et gubernare; ac ad quoscumque etiam sacros et præbyteratùs ordines promovere, et in illis aut per eos jam licet minùs ritè susceptis ordinibus etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, necnon munus consecrationis suscipere, et illo uti, liberè et licitè valeant, dispensare etiam liberè et licitè possis, plenam et liberam apostolicam auctoritatem per præsentem concedimus facultatem et potestatem; nonobstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac omnibus illis, quæ in sin-

gulis literis præteritis voluimus non obstare, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Datum Romæ, apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die 8 Martii, 1554, pontificatûs nostri anno quinto.

Breve Julii III. concedens Reginal. Cardinali Polo potestatem dispensandi cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum. June 28, 1554.

[Wilkins, iv. 102.]

Julius Episcopus, &c., Reginaldo Cardinali Polo.

Dilecte fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Superioribus mensibus, oblatâ nobis spe, per Dei misericordiam, et charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Mariæ, Angliæ reginæ, summam religionem et pietatem, nobilissimi illius Angliæ regni, quod jamdiù quorundam impietate à reliquo catholicæ ecclesiæ corpore avulsum fuit, ad ejusdem catholicæ atque universalis ecclesiæ unionem, extra quam nemini salus esse potest, reducendi, te ad præfatam Mariam reginam, atque universum illud regnum, nostrum et sedis apostolicæ legatum de latere, tanquam pacis et concordie angelum, de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalium, consilio atque unanimi assensu destinavimus, illisque facultatibus omnibus munivimus, quas ad tanti negotii confectionem necessarias putavimus esse, seu quomodolibet opportunas: atque, inter alia, circumspeditioni tuæ ut cum bonorum ecclesiasticorum possessoribus, super fructibus malè perceptis, et bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordare et transigere, ac eos desuper liberare et quietare, ubi expedire posset, auctoritatem concessimus et facultatem, prout in nostris desuper confectis literis plenius continetur. Cum autem ex iis principiis, quæ ejusdem Mariæ reginæ sedulitate et diligentia, rectâque et constante in Deum mente, tuo etiam in eâ re cooperante studio atque consilio, prædictum reductionis opus in prædicto regno usque ad hanc diem habet, ejusdem præclari operis perfectio indies magis speretur, eoque faciliores progressus habitura res esse dignoscatur, quò nos majorem in ecclesiasticorum bonorum possessionibus, in illâ superiorem temporum confusione per illius provinciæ homines occupatis, apostolicæ benignitatis et indulgentiæ spem ostenderimus, Nos, nolentes tantam dilectissimæ nobis in Christo nationis recuperationem, et tot animarum pretioso Jesu Christi Domini nostri sanguine redemptarum salutem, ullis terrenarum rerum respectibus impediri, more pii patris, in nostrorum et sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ filiorum, post longum periculosæ peregrinationis tempus ad nos respectantium et redeuntium, peroptatum complexum occurrentes, tibi, de cujus præstanti virtute, singulari pietate, doctrinâ, sapientiâ, ac in rebus gerendis prudentiâ et dexteritate plenam in Domino fiduciam habemus, cum quibuscumque

bonorum ecclesiasticorum, tam mobilium quam immobilium, in præfato regno possessoribus seu detentoribus, pro quibus ipsa serenissima regina Maria intercesserit, de bonis per eos indebitè detentis, arbitrio tuo, auctoritate nostrâ, tractandi, concordandi, transigendi, componendi, et cum eis, ut præfata bona sine ullo scrupulo in posterum retinere possint, dispensandi, omniaque et singula alia, quæ in his et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria et opportuna fuerint, concludendi et faciendi (salvo tamen in his, in quibus, propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem, hæc sancta sedes meritò tibi videretur consulenda, nostro, et præfata sedis beneplacito et confirmatione), plenam et liberam apostolicam auctoritatem, tenore præsentium, et ex certâ scientiâ, concedimus facultatem: nonobstantibus literis felicis recordationis Pauli papæ II., prædecessoris nostri, de non alienandis bonis ecclesiasticis, nisi certâ formâ servatâ, et aliis quibusvis apostolicis, ac in provincialibus et synodalibus conciliis editis, generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus, necnon quarumvis ecclesiarum, et monasteriorum, ac aliorum regularium et piorum locorum, juramento, confirmatione apostolicâ, vel quâvis aliâ firmitate roboratis, foundationibus, statutis, et consuetudinibus, illorum tenores pro sufficienter expressis habentes, contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Romæ, apud S. Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die xxviii Junii, MDLIV.

No. XXIII.—(*Referred to at page 63.*)

Paulus Papa IV. Philippo et Mariæ Angliæ Regibus. June 30, 1555.

[Quirini, v. 136.]

Charissimi in Christo filii nostri, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quos tanto nos desiderio, et Romana ecclesia universa, cunctusque almæ hujus urbis populus expectabamus, dilectus filius nobilis vir, Antonius de Montacuto, venerabilis frater Thomas, Eliensium episcopus, et dilectus filius eques, Edwardus Carne, serenitatum vestrarum oratores, duce vestræ apud Deum celestis gratiæ lumine, nonis Junii incolumes ad nos pervenerunt: quinto autem post die, in palatio apostolico et aulâ regum, publicum eis consistorium dedimus, in quo venerabilibus fratribus nostris, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalibus, principum christianorum oratoribus, magno episcoporum [et] prælatorum numero, omnibusque nobilium Romanorum et aulicorum ordinibus præsentibus, simul atque à nobis ad paternum pacis et amplexum et osculum admissi fuerunt, primò regum vestrum amplissimumque mandatum, ad gratias de datâ præteriti schismatis veniâ per eos agendas, debitam nobis et sedi apostolicæ submissionem et obedientiam, vestro ac vestri regni nomine, præstandam, ecclesiarum cathedra-

lium tunc isthic erectarum confirmationem petendam, audientibus omnibus, ab uno ex nostris secretariis perlectum est. Postea, ab ipso Eliensium episcopo habitâ oratione, eâque nondum finitâ, redditæ ab eis literæ patentes, quæ omnem regni istius cum Romano pontifice et sanctâ sede apostolicâ reconciliationis seriem, legumque contra eam latarum abrogationem, continebant, eis eodem modo, quo mandatum recitatum fuerat, perlectis, ipse idem episcopus unâ cum collegis suis, gratis de datâ schismatis veniâ peractis, ipsâque obedientiâ vestro utriusque et ejusdem regni nomine præstitâ, peroravit. Nos verò unâ cum eisdem venerabilibus fratribus nostris cardinalibus, obedientiam ipsam admittentes, eos, et eorum personas, utrumque vestrum, totumque ipsum regnum referentes, omni charitatis affectu iterum amplexi sumus et osculati, atque in clementissimæ matris catholicæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ gratiam et gremium recepimus, quod nemini ad eam redeunti unquam clausum est: cumque dilecti filii Reginaldi, Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin diaconi cardinalis, Poli, nostri et sedis apostolicæ de latere legati, literas, quæ veniæ et absolutionis ipsius fidem faciebant, nobis demùm porrigerent, non solum veniam et absolutionem ipsam approbavimus, sed, quatenus opus esset, denuò dedimus. Verùm postquam ita hæc omnia peracta sunt, sic oravit episcopus verâ eloquentiâ et sanâ præditus doctrinâ, adeo vestrorum præteritos errores commemoravit, eoque animi affectu pœnitentiam præsentem ante omnium, qui aderant, oculos posuit, ut, præ gaudio tanti a Deo accepti beneficii, vix nonnulli sibi a lacrymis temperare potuerint: nam, etsi, primis ejus rei nuntiis felicis recordationis Julio III., prædecessori nostro, allatis, ea lætitiæ signa ubique apud nos data sint, de quibus ad vos prescriptum diligenter fuisse arbitramur, nihilque a nobis optari nec præclarior, nec sanctius posse videbatur, non planè tamen omnes in eo conquievisserent, nisi hac veluti extremâ præstitæ obedientiæ manu serenitates vestræ opus ipsum perfecissent. Quare, consistorio dimisso, ejusque actis per urbem pervulgatis, ipsimet oratores testes erunt cum privatæ, tum publicæ, totius ecclesiæ atque urbis hilaritatis. Nos, cum ex nostrâ lætitiâ alienam metiremur, nullam aliam majorem excogitari posse multis de causis putabamus; cum, tamen, non ita multò post, XII Cal. Julii, ab eodem episcopo et Edwardo, nam paulò ante hinc decesserat Antonius, mandatum item vestrum et patentes literæ nobis fuerint redditæ, eodem exemplo quo eæ, quas in consistorio lectas dicebamus (nomine tantum Julii III., quo illæ fuerant inscriptæ, in nostrum Pauli IV. immutato), usque adeo aucta, ut nullum ejus testimonium adhiberi à nobis certius possit, quàm illius qui cordium scrutator est. Quantum tamen potuimus, eam, ad illius laudem, omnibus ostendimus: postridiè enim, in consistorio secreto apud Sanctum Marcum, aliquot ibidem

prælati virisque insignibus præter morem convocatis, literas priùs quibus seorsum vestræ serenitates de pontificatu nostro nobis respondebant, postea mandatum et literas patentes perlegi fecimus, et quamvis res ipsa per se adeo sit memorabilis, ut his monumentis egere non videatur, ea tamen in archivio, et in secretioribus nostris hujusmodi scripturarum thesauris diligenter reponi et asservari mandavimus; obedientiam vestram incredibili ipsorum fratrum nostrorum plausu iterum accepimus; veniam et obedientiam datam comprobavimus; et cætera ferè omnia egimus quæ in consistorio publico egeramus: quò enim et pluribus actibus ac testimoniis confirmata fuisse in præsentem et in posterum compertum fuerit, id eò majorem vestris serenitatibus pietatis gloriam, regno ipsi vestro fidei constantiam, sanctæ huic verò sedi auctoritatem videtur paritum esse. Quæ omnia etsi ab ipsis oratoribus serenitates vestræ melius cognituræ sunt, quàm tamen ipsi egregiè, ac piè, quantaque cum vestrà utriusque dignitate hoc legationis munere benevolentiam vobis apud omnes comparaverint, quantaque sedes apostolica et nos serenitatibus vestris, post Deum ipsum, debeamus, voluimus his etiam literis apud vos testatum esse. Nam de Cantuariensi, aliisque ecclesiis, et cæteris ejusdem generis negotiis, ipsimet oratores, idemque dilectus filius noster, cardinalis Polus legatus, copiosè vobiscum locuturi sunt; nos enim omnem operam navabimus et his, et omnibus aliis vestris desideriis, quæ non nisi honestissima fore confidimus, ut, quantum cum Deo poterimus, satisfaciamus. Quodque ad legatum ipsum, cardinalem Polum, attinet, nihil in ejus honorem, vel commodum, vel amplitudinem, neque isthè à vobis, neque à nobis hìc, excogitari conferrique poterit, quod tantæ illius virtuti ac probitati, tantisque erga nos et sanctam hanc sedem, ergaque vos et regnum vestrum, officiis et meritis satis esse videatur. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Marcum, sub annulo piscatoris, die xxx Junii, MDLV., pontificatùs nostri anno primo.

No. XXIV.—(*Referred to at page 64.*)

Il Cardinali Morone al Cardinali Reginaldo Polo. Nov. 7, 1554.

[Quirini, iv. 170.]

Per quello che V. S. reverendissima scrive a me con le sue de' 28 del passato, le quali giunsero hiesera, e per quello che di più ho veduto nelle lettere scritte a messer Giovanni Francesco Stella, ho potuto assai ben comprendere a che termine si trovasse all' hora il progresso della legatione di V. S. reverendissima, la quale mi fà gratia e favore a scrivermi confidentemente quanto le occorre, ed io, di quel poco che posso, non manco di servirla, come sono obligato di fare per servitio di Dio e del

pubblico, e per la particolar congiunzione e servitù che tengo con lei, alla quale scriverò liberamente quanto m'occorre per risposta di detta sua lettera de' 28.

Vedo la speranza, che haveva V. S. reverendissima della riduzione del regno d'Inghilterra, e vedo insieme il timore in che si trovava, e le cause onde nasceva l'una e l'altro di questi affetti; e credo che, a quest' hora, sarà cresciuta la speranza, e mancato il timore, perchè il timore nasceva tutto dalla difficoltà de' beni ecclesiastici; ed, in questa parte, poichè V. S. reverendissima havrà veduto la bolla, che è piacciuto a nostro signore di concedere, ed havrà inteso come sia passata la cosa, credo che in lei sarà cessato tutto lo scrupolo che aveva, e per questo credo che non sarà bisogno che io facessi longa risposta alla lettera di V. S. reverendissima: nondimeno per più soddisfazione non lascerò di dire quanto mi occorre.

Quello che ha detto a V. S. reverendissima l'ambasciatore Cesareo venuto d'Inghilterra, cioè, che sia necessario quietar gl' interessati in detti beni ecclesiastici, acciò non si opponghino alla obbedienza della chiesa, non è dubbio che è conforme all' opinione dell' imperatore, e delli serenissimi re e regina d'Inghilterra, poichè, per solo questo effetto di commissione di tutti tre le lor maestà, il Sig. D. Giovanni Manriquez, che era a Firenze, venne in diligenza a Roma per trattar con sua santità, che ampliasse la facultà di V. S. reverendissima, e con la venuta di detto signore fu spedita la bolla, che si mandò poi per corriero a posta; ed havendo quella maestà voluto chiarir questo punto, prima che si sia permesso che V. S. reverendissima entri nel regno, anzi havendo anco voluto (com' ella scrisse per altre sue) saper da lei come essa intendeva di usar le facultà, cioè, s' intendeva di comunicarle con le lor maestà, overo fare da se stessa &c., si vede che sono fermi in questo parere, che non si possa far di manco di non donare i beni ecclesiastici a chi li possiede, il che par lor necessario, essendovi tanto numero d' interessati, i quali forse hanno havuto quei beni ex causâ onerosâ, o per servizii fatti al re, o altre cause, e chi volesse hora riconoscerle, sarrebbe quasi un metter in confusione tutta quell' isola, la quale, in questo principio d' un nuovo re venuto di Spagna, ed essendo continuamente sollicitata a tumultuare, ha bisogno d' esser tenuta quieta: e però quelle maestà parono costrette a rimover ogni causa di romore, che potesse nascere; e purchè eseguisca lo essenziale di tornare alla obbedienza della chiesa, e si ricuperi la salute di tante anime, nel resto poi pare che si possa donare quello, che non si può vendere.

E perchè si contiene ancora, in diverse parti della lettera di V. S. reverendissima, che, per non difficultar l' entrata sua in Inghilterra, si potria per hora passar con silentio la materia de' beni ecclesiastici,

dando in generale ogni buona intentione a tutti, e facendoli certi dell' ampia facultà che essa tiene, ed assicurando gl' interessati di non molestarli ; e dice ancora, che quei principi mostrano voler che li beni ecclesiastici si concedano a chi li possiede, dal che essa dice esser molto aliena. Io da tutti questi punti vedo quanto V. S. reverendissima sia andata riservata in questa materia, il che molto mi piace, e non è stato, se non bene e prudentemente fatto, per chiuder la bocca ad ogn' uno, che di qua havesse voluto malignare : ed anco, a questo particolar, conosco che Dio governa V. S. reverendissima in tutte le sue attoni, come lo prego che faccia sempre. Ma, per risponder a detti punti, mi pare cosa chiara, che tutta la difficultà de' beni ecclesiastici nasce da quelli che li possiedono con animo di non restituirli (perchè il render quel che si tien d' altri è sempre in poter d' ogn' uno); e questi così fatti possessori o temono di non esser col tempo forzati a restitutione, o forse ve n' è qualcuno che ha qualche rimordimento di conscientia. Ma come si sia, per continuare di goder in pace e sicuramente, tutti sono d' accordo in domandarne la donatione dal papa, della quale vorriano esser certificati, prima che tornassero all' obedientia : e dubitando quelle serenissime maestà, che questo impedisca la obedientia, hanno supplicato a nostro signore, che dia autorità amplissima a V. S. reverendissima da poter donare &c. Et non è dubbio che li interessati e le maestà loro medesime sono d' opinione, che *agatur cum ipsis bonâ fide* ; onde tornando essi all' unione della chiesa con quest' intentione, se vedessero poi che li fosse innovata alcuna cosa, o domandato conto di detti beni, potria facilmente suscitarsi qualche nuovo romore, il quale daria sempre grand' imputatione a V. S. reverendissima appresso a quelle maestà, oltre che si porteria anco pericolo di non poter mai più ricuperar quel regno, e di perder tutto il frutto, che si spera della reductione e salute di tante anime, e dell' esempio de vicini. Et però io credo che, in questo, V. S. reverendissima possa sicuramente andar quant' oltre le piacerà, vedendo che di qua la cosa è intesa benissimo ; e si è concessa la facultà con opinione, che possa esser ispediente non cercar altro conto di detti beni, e donar &c. Anzi nella congregatione nostra li voti de' theologi, et dei legisti, et degl' altri, furono d' accordo, che *si licet alienare bona ecclesie pro redemptione captivorum*, sia molto più licito il farlo per la ricuperatione d' un regno intero, e per la salute di tante anime : oltre che questo non è alienare, ma solamente è un ricuperar l' alienato. Et però, come ho detto, a me pare che V. S. reverendissima in questo potria essere men scrupolosa, perchè la benignità e potentia di Dio, che vuol hora salvar quel regno, troverà anco modo di ristorar, a suo tempo, le chiese de' beni temporali che hanno perduto. vii Novembre, MDLIV.

No. XXV.—(*Referred to at page 65.*)

An Act repealing all Articles and Provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome, since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII., and for the establishment of all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Possessions and Hereditaments conveyed to the Laity.

[Stat. 1 and 2 Phil. et Mar. c. 8.]

Whereas, since the twentieth year of king Henry VIII., of famous memory, father unto your majesty, our most natural sovereign, and gracious lady and queen, much false and erroneous doctrine hath been taught, preached, and written, partly by divers the natural born subjects of this realm, and partly, being brought in hither from sundry other foreign countries, hath been sown and spread abroad within the same; by reason whereof, as well the spirituality as the temporality of your highness' realms and dominions have swerved from the obedience of the see apostolic, and declined from the unity of Christ's church, and so have continued, until such time as your majesty being first raised up by God, and set in the seat royal over us, and then by his divine and gracious providence knit in marriage with the most noble and virtuous prince, the king, our sovereign lord, your husband, the pope's holiness and the see apostolic sent hither unto your majesties (as unto persons undefiled, and by God's goodness preserved from the common infection aforesaid), and unto the whole realm, the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Pole, legate de latere, to call us home again into the right way, from whence we have all this long while wandered and strayed abroad; and we, after sundry long and grievous plagues and calamities, seeing by the goodness of God our own errors, have knowledged the same unto the said most reverend father, and by him have been, and are, the rather at the contemplation of your majesties, received and embraced into the unity and bosom of Christ's church, and, upon our humble submission and promise, made for a declaration of our repentance, to repeal and abrogate such acts and statutes as had been made in parliament, since the said twentieth year of the said king Henry VIII., against the supremacy of the see apostolic, as in our submission exhibited to the said most reverend father in God, by your majesties, appeareth; the tenor whereof ensueth:—

We the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons assembled in this present parliament, representing the whole body of the realm of England, and the dominions of the same, in the name of ourselves particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this our supplication directed to your majesties, with most humble suit, that it may, by your

graces' intercession and mean, be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Pole, legate, sent specially hither from our most holy father, the pope Julius the third, and the see apostolic of Rome, do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant of the schism and disobedience, committed in this realm and dominions aforesaid, against the said see apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn the same; offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication, that, for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and shall be always, ready, under and with the authorities of your majesties, to the uttermost of our powers, to do that shall lie in us, for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament, as well for ourselves, as for the whole body whom we represent. Whereupon, we most humbly desire your majesties, as personages undefiled in offence of his body towards the said see, which nevertheless God by his providence hath made subject to you, so to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the see apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly as generally, absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censure and sentences, as by the laws of the church we be fallen into; and that we may, as children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may in this unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic, and popes for the time being, serve God and your majesties to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. We are, at the intercession of your majesties, by the authority of our holy father, pope Julius the third, and of the see apostolic, assoiled, discharged, and delivered from excommunications, interdictions, and other censures ecclesiastical, which have hanged over our heads for our said defaults, since the time of the said schism mentioned in our supplication; the which time the said lord legate and we do all declare, recognize, and mean by this act, to be only since the twentieth year of the reign of your most noble father, king Henry VIII. It may now like your majesties, that for the accomplishment of our promise, made in the said supplication, that is, to repeal all laws and statutes made contrary to the said supremacy and see apostolic, during the said schism, the which is to be understood, since the twentieth year of the reign of the said king Henry VIII., and so the said lord legate doth accept and recognize the same.

Where, in the parliament begun and holden at Westminster in the twenty-first year of the reign of the late king, of most famous memory, king Henry VIII., one act was then and there made against pluralities of benefices, for taking of farms by spiritual men, and for non-residence, in

the which act, among other things, it was ordained and enacted, that, if any person or persons, at any time after the first day of April, in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and thirty, contrary to the same act, should procure and obtain, at the court of Rome or elsewhere, any licence or licences, union, toleration, or dispensation, to receive and take any more benefices with cure, than was limited and appointed by the same act; or else, at any time after the said day, should put in execution any such licence, toleration, or dispensation before that time obtained, contrary to the said act, that then every such person or persons, so, after the said day, suing for himself, or receiving and taking such benefice by force of such licence or licences, union, toleration, or dispensation, that is to say, the same person or persons only, and no other, should, for every such default, incur the danger, pain, and penalty of twenty pounds sterling, and should also lose the whole profits of every such benefice or benefices, as he receiveth or taketh by force of any such licence or licences, union, toleration, or dispensation: And where also, in the said act, it was ordained and enacted, that, if any person or persons did procure or obtain, at the court of Rome, or elsewhere, any manner of licence or dispensation to be non-resident at their dignities, prebend, or benefices, contrary to the said act, that then every such person or persons, putting in execution any such dispensation or licence for himself, from the said first day of April, in the said year of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred and thirty, should run and incur the penalty, damage, and pain of twenty pounds sterling for every time so doing, to be forfeited and recovered as by the said act is declared; and yet such licence or dispensation so procured, or to be put in execution, to be void and of none effect, as by the same act more plainly it doth and may appear.

Be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that as much only of the said act, as concerneth the articles and clauses aforesaid, and all and every the words and sentences contained in the said act, concerning the said articles and clauses, and every of them, shall from henceforth be repealed, annulled, revoked, annihilated, and utterly made void for ever; any thing in the said act to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And where also, at the session of the same parliament, holden upon prorogation in the twenty-third year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., one act was made, intituled, *The Act that no person shall be cited out of the Diocese where he or she dwelleth, except in certain Cases*:

And where also, at the said parliament, in the session holden at Westminster upon prorogation, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the

said late king Henry VIII., one act was made, that appeals in such cases, as hath been used to be pursued to the see of Rome, should not from henceforth be had or used, but within this realm :

And where also, at the said parliament, holden at Westminster in the twenty-first year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., and there continued by divers prorogations until the fourteenth day of April in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, one act was made concerning restraints of payments of annates and first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics to the see of Rome :

And where, at a session of the said parliament, holden in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the said late king, there was also one act made, intituled, *The Submission of the Clergy to the King's Majesty* :

And one other act, intituled, *An Act restraining the said Payments of Annates or First-fruits to the Bishop of Rome ; and of the electing and consecrating of the Archbishops and Bishops within this realm* :

And one other act was then and there made, intituled, *An Act concerning the Exoneration of the King's subjects from Exactions and Impositions, before that Time paid to the See of Rome, and for having Licences and Dispensations within this Realm, without suing further for the same* :

Be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the several acts made for the restraint of payments of the said annates and first-fruits, and all other the said acts, made in the said twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth years of the reign of the said late king, and every of them, and all and every branch, article, matter, and sentence in them, and every of them, contained, shall, by authority of this present parliament, from henceforth be utterly void, made frustrate, and repealed, to all intents, constructions, and purposes.

And be it further enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that all and every these acts following, that is to say, one act made at the session of the said parliament, holden upon prorogation at Westminster, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., intituled, *An Act concerning the King's Highness to be supreme Head of the Church of England, and to have Authority to reform and redress all errors, Heresies, and Abuses in the same* :

And one other act, made in the same session of the same parliament, intituled, *An Act for Nomination and Consecration of Suffragans within this Realm* :

And one other act, made in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., intituled, *An Act whereby the King should have Power to nominate thirty-two Persons of his Clergy and Laity, for the making of Ecclesiastical Laws* :

And also one other act, made at the parliament holden at Westminster, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., intituled, *An Act extinguishing the Authority of the Bishop of Rome* :

And one other act made in the same parliament, intituled, *An Act for the Release of such, as then had obtained pretended Licences and Dispensations from the See of Rome* :

And also all that part of the act, made in the said twenty-eighth year of the said king, intituled, *An Act for the Establishment of the Succession of the Imperial Crown of the Realm*, that concerneth a prohibition to marry within the degrees expressed in the said act :

And also one other act, made at the parliament holden at Westminster, in the thirty-first year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., intituled, *An Act authorising the King's Highness to make Bishops by his Letters Patents* :

And one other act, made in the session of the same parliament, begun in the said thirty-first year, holden upon prorogation the thirty-second year of the reign of the said king Henry VIII., intituled, *An Act concerning Pre-contracts of Marriages, and touching Degrees of Consanguinity* :

And one other act, made in the parliament holden at Westminster in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., intituled, *An Act for the Ratification of the King's Majesty's Style*,—shall henceforth be repealed, made frustrate, void, and of none effect.

And where also, at the said parliament holden at Westminster, in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., one other act was made, intituled, *An Act concerning the Establishment of the Succession of the said King in the Imperial Crown of this Realm*, in the which act, there is a form of a corporal oath devised and set forth, that every subject of this realm should be bound to take, against the power, authority, and jurisdiction of the see of Rome, Be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that so much of the said act as toucheth the said oath against the supremacy, and all oaths thereupon had, made, and given, shall be from henceforth utterly void, repealed, and of none effect.

And where, also, one other act was made in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., intituled, *An Act that Doctors of the Civil Law, being married, might exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, Be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the said act last before mentioned, and all and every branch, article, sentence, and matter contained in the same, shall from henceforth be repealed, and utterly made void, and of none effect.

And where one other act was made at the parliament at Westminster,

in the first year of the reign of king Edward VI., intituled, *An Act for the Repeal of certain Statutes concerning Treasons, Felonies, &c.*, in the which act, amongst other things, there are contained certain provisions, pains, penalties, and forfeitures, for and against such as should, by open preaching, express words, sayings, writing, printing, overt-deed, or act, affirm or set forth that the king of this realm, for the time being, is not, or ought not to be, supreme head in earth of the churches of England and Ireland, ne of any of them, or that the bishop of Rome, or any other person or persons, other than the king of England for the time being, is or ought to be supreme head of the same churches, or any of them, as in the same act last before rehearsed at large is contained, and may appear, Be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that these clauses before rehearsed, and other of the said act concerning the supremacy, and all and every branch, article, words, and sentence in the same, sounding or tending to the derogation of the supremacy of the pope's holiness, or the see of Rome, and all pains, penalties, and forfeitures made against them, that should by any means set forth and extol the said supremacy, shall be from henceforth utterly void and of none effect.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all clauses, sentences, and articles of every other statute or act of parliament, made sithence the said twentieth year of the reign of king Henry VIII., against the supreme authority of the pope's holiness, or see apostolic of Rome, or containing any other matter of the same effect only, that is repealed in any of the statutes aforesaid, shall be also, by authority hereof, from henceforth utterly void and of none effect.

And where we, your most humble subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, have exhibited to your majesties one other supplication, in form following :

“ We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, representing the whole body of this realm, reduced and received, by your majesties' intercession, to the unity of Christ's church, and the obedience of the see apostolic of Rome and the pope's holiness governing the same, make most humble suit unto your majesties, to be likewise means and intercessors, that all occasions of contention, hatred, grudge, suspicion, and trouble, both outwardly and inwardly in men's consciences, which might arise amongst us by reason of disobedience, may, by authority of the pope's holiness, and by ministration of the same unto us by the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Pole, by dispensation, toleration, or permission, respectively, as the case shall require, be abolished and taken away; and by authority sufficient, these articles following, and generally all others, when any occasion shall require, may be provided for and confirmed.

“ First, That all bishoprics, cathedral churches, hospitals, colleges, schools, and other such foundations, now continuing, made by authority of parliament, or otherwise established, according to the order of the laws of this realm, sithence the schism, may be confirmed, and continued for ever.

“ Item, That marriages made *intra gradus prohibitos consanguinitatis, affinitatis, cognationis spiritualis*, or which might be made void *propter impedimentum publicæ honestatis justitiæ*, or for any other cause prohibited by the canons only, may be confirmed, and children born of those marriages declared legitimate; so as those marriages were made according to the laws of the realm, for the time being, and be not directly against the laws of God, nor in such case as the see apostolic hath not used to dispense withal.

“ That institutions of benefices, and other promotions ecclesiastical, and dispensations made according to the form of the act of parliament, may be likewise confirmed.

“ That all judicial process, made before any ordinaries of this realm, or before any delegates upon any appeals, according to the order of the laws of the realm, may be likewise ratified and confirmed.

“ And finally, where certain acts and statutes have been made, in the time of the late schism, concerning the lands and hereditaments of archbishoprics and bishoprics, the suppression and dissolution of monasteries, abbeys, priories, chantries, colleges, and all other the goods and chattels of religious houses; since the which time, the right and dominion of certain lands and hereditaments, goods and chattels, belonging to the same, be dispersed abroad, and come to the hands and possessions of divers and sundry persons, who, by gift, purchase, exchange, and other means, according to the order of the laws and statutes of this realm for the time being, have the same: for the avoiding of all scruples, that might grow by any the occasions aforesaid, or by any other ways or means whatsoever, it may please your majesties to be intercessors and mediators to the said most reverend father, cardinal Pole, that all such causes and quarrels, as by pretence of the said schism, or by any other occasion or mean whatsoever, might be moved by the pope's holiness, or see apostolic, or by any other jurisdiction ecclesiastical may be utterly removed and taken away, so as all persons having sufficient conveyance of the said lands and hereditaments, goods and chattels, as is aforesaid, by the common laws, acts, and statutes of this realm, *may, without scruple of conscience, enjoy them* without impeachment or trouble, by pretence of any general council, canons, or ecclesiastical laws, and clear from all dangers of the censures of the church.”

And conformably hereunto, the bishops and clergy of the province

of Canterbury have presented to your majesties a supplication, in this tenour that followeth :

“ Nos episcopi et clerus Cantuariensis provinciæ in hac synodo, more nostro solito, dum regni parliamentum celebratur, congregati, cum omni debitâ humilitate et reverentiâ exponimus majestatibus vestris, quòd, licèt ecclesiarum, quibus in episcopos, decanos, archidiaconos, rectores, vicarios, præfecti sumus, et animarum, quæ nobis et curæ nostræ subjectæ sunt, et earundem bonorum, jurisdictionum, et jurium, ex sacrorum canonum dispositione defensores et curatores constituti sumus, et propterea, ipsarum bona, jurisdictiones, et jura, in pernicioso hujus regni præterito schismate deperdita et amissa, omni studio, et totis nostris viribus recuperare, et ad pristinum ecclesiarum jus revocare, juris remediis niti deberemus ; nihilominùs tamen, habito priùs per nos super hac re maturo consilio et deliberatione, ingenuè fatemur, nos optimè cognoscere quàm hæc bonorum ecclesiasticorum difficilis, et quasi impossibilis, esset recuperatio, propter multiplices ac penè inextricabiles super his habitos contractus, et dispositiones ; et quòd, si ea tentaretur, quies et tranquillitas regni facilè perturbaretur, et unitas ecclesiæ Catholicæ, quæ jam, pietate, et auctoritate majestatum vestrarum, hoc in regno introducta est, cum maximâ difficultate suum debitum progressum et finem sortiri posset : ideo nos bonum, et quietem publicam privatis commoditatibus, et salutem tot animarum pretioso Christi sanguine redemptarum terrenis bonis anteponentes, et non quæ nostra, sed quæ Jesu Christi sunt quærentes, majestates vestras enixè rogamus, easque humiliter supplicamus, ut reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Reginaldo cardinali Polo, ad ipsas et universum hoc Angliæ regnum sanctissimi Domini nostri, domini Julii papæ III., et apostolicæ sedis de latere legato, hæc nomine nostro insinuare, et apud eum intercedere dignentur, ut, in his bonis ecclesiasticis, in parte, vel in toto, *arbitrio suo, juxta facultates sibi ab eodem sanctissimo domino nostro papâ concessas*, eorundem bonorum detentoribus elargiendis, et relaxandis, publicum bonum privato, pacem et tranquillitatem dissidiis et perturbationibus, atque animarum salutem bonis terrenis præferre, et anteponeere velit. Nos enim in omnibus, quæ ab ipso legato statuta et ordinata circa hæc bona fuerint, ex nunc, prout ex tunc, et è contra, consensum nostrum præstamus : imo etiam, ut in præmissis se difficilem, aut restrictum reddere non velit, majestates vestræ nostro nomine eum hortari et rogare dignabuntur. Insuper majestatibus vestris supplicamus, ut, pro suâ pietate, efficere dignentur ut ea, quæ ad jurisdictionem nostram, et libertatem ecclesiasticam pertinent, sine quibus debitum nostri pastoralis officii, et curæ animarum nobis commissæ, exercere non possumus, nobis, superiorum temporum injuriâ ablata, restituantur ; et ea nobis et ecclesiæ perpetuò illæsa, et

salva permaneant; et ut omnes leges, quæ hanc nostram jurisdictionem, et libertatem ecclesiasticam tollunt, seu quovis modo impediunt, abrogentur ad honorem Dei, et majestatum vestrarum, et universi hujus regni spirituale et temporale commodum, et salutem; certam spem etiam habentes, majestates vestras, pro suâ singulari in ipsum Deum pietate, proque multis et insignibus ab ipsius Dei bonitate acceptis beneficiis, necessitatibus et incommodis hujus sui regni ecclesiarum, maximè curam animarum habentium, nunquam defuturas esse; sed, prout opus fuerit, consulturas, atque provisuras."

Forasmuch as the said most reverend father, the lord legate, at the intercession of your majesties, hath, *by the authority of the see apostolic, sufficiently dispensed in the matters specified in the said several supplications*, as in his said letters of dispensation is contained more at large, the tenour whereof ensueth:

"Reginaldus, miseratione divinâ Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconus cardinalis, Polus nuncupatus, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Angliæ reges, fidei defensores, et universum Angliæ regnum, sanctissimi domini nostri papæ et sedis apostolicæ de latere legatus, eisdem serenissimis Philippo et Mariæ regibus salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cùm supremum consilium istius regni, parlamentum nuncupatum, majestatibus vestris per suos supplices libellos exposuisset, quòd perniciosissimo schismate, in hoc regno aliàs vigente, quod nunc Dei misericordiâ, et majestatum vestrarum pietate extinctum est, autoritate ipsius parliamenti, nonnulli episcopatus divisi, et ex his aliquæ inferiores ecclesiæ in cathedrales erectæ, et scholæ, atque hospitalia fundata, necnon plurimæ dispensationes, et beneficiorum provisiones factæ fuerunt, ac multæ personæ, quibus persuasum fuerat, juris canonici dispositiones hoc in regno ampliùs locum non habere, inter se, in gradibus consanguinitatis vel affinitatis de jure prohibitis, et aliis impedimentis canonicis sibi obstantibus, matrimonia per verba de præsentì contraxerunt, et multi actus judicarij, et processus tam in primis quàm in ulterioribus instantiis, super rebus spiritualibus et ecclesiasticis, coram iudicibus tam ordinariis quàm delegatis, qui autoritate laicali procedebant, habiti, et servati, ac super eis etiam sententiæ latæ et promulgatæ fuerunt, et bona ecclesiastica per diversas ejusdem regni personas occupata, et apprehensa fuerunt; quæ quidem, licèt ex sacrorum canonum institutis irrita declarari possent, tamen, si ad alium statum, quàm in quo nunc sunt, revocarentur, publica pax, et quies universi regni turbaretur, et maxima confusio oriretur, præsertim si dictorum bonorum possessores molestarentur, et propterea majestatibus vestris humiliter supplicaverint, ut apud nos intercedere dignentur, ut præmissarum rerum firmitati et stabilitati, et simul hujus regni quieti et tranquillitati,

de benignitate apostolicâ providere velimus; cumque episcopi quoque deinde, ac reliquus provinciæ Cantuariensis clerus, totum fere corpus ecclesiasticorum regni repræsentans, ad quos hæc bonorum ecclesiasticorum causa maxime pertinet, exposuerint, quòd hæc bona ad jus ecclesiarum revocari non possunt, quin pax universalis, et quies hujus regni turbetur, et causa fidei, atque unitatis ecclesiæ, jam tot hominum consensu hoc in regno introductæ, in maximum periculum adducatur; et propterea ipsi quoque supplicaverint, ut apud nos intercedere velint, ut in his bonis ecclesiasticis possessoribus relaxandis, restricti et difficiles esse nollemus, majestates autem vestræ, ad quas maxime spectat providere, ut regnum, ipsarum potestati regimini et curæ commissum, in pace, et tranquillitate conservetur, his supplicationibus et postulatis cognitis, et maturè consideratis, judicaverint, ea omnia, et maximè illa quæ in bonorum ecclesiasticorum causâ petuntur pro causâ fidei, et pro pace publicâ, per nos debere sine ullâ dilatione concedi, et, quemadmodum rogatæ fuerunt, apud nos intercedere dignatæ fuerint, prout in supplicationibus per idem supremum concilium, et episcopos, ac clerum præfatum, majestatibus vestris porrectis, atque in libello intercessionis, per easdem majestates vestras nobis simul cum aliis supplicationibus exhibito, latiùs apparet: idcirco nos, qui ad majestates vestras, et hoc nobilissimum vestrum regnum à sanctissimo domino nostro Julio papâ III., ipsius et sedis apostolicæ de latere legati missi sumus, ut regnum istud, quod jam diù ab ecclesiæ Catholicæ unitate separatum fuerat, Deo, et ecclesiæ Christi, ejusque in terris vicario reconciliarem, et ut ea omnia, quæ ad pacem, et tranquillitatem hujus regni pertinerent, omni studio procurarem, postquam Dei benignitate, et majestatum vestrarum pietate, per auctoritatem ejusdem sanctissimi domini nostri papæ, cujus vices hîc sustinemus, reconciliatio jam facta est, ut paci, et tranquillitati regni præfati consulamus, atque ut unitas ecclesiæ, ex quâ salus animarum pretioso Christi sanguine redemptarum dependet, hoc in regno jam introducta, corroboretur, et salva permaneat (cùm utriusque rei stabilitatem in eo maxime consistere, si horum ecclesiasticorum bonorum possessoribus molestia nulla inferatur, quominùs ea teneant, tot et tam gravia testimonia nobis fidem faciant, et majestatum vestrarum intercessio, quæ pro unitate ecclesiæ, et sedis apostolicæ auctoritate hoc in regno instaurandâ, tam studiosè, et tam piè elaborarunt, eam, quam par est, auctoritatem apud nos habeat), et ut universum hoc regnum sedis apostolicæ maternam verè indulgentiam, et charitatem erga se agnoscat, et re ipsâ experiatur,—quoscunque, ad quos infra scripta pertinent, à quibusvis excommunicationibus, suspensionibus, et interdictis, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris, et pœnis, à jure, vel ab homine quâvis occasione vel causâ latis, si quibus quomodolibet

innodati existant, ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes, et absolutos fore censentes, autoritate apostolicâ per literas sanctissimi domini nostri, domini Julii papæ III., nobis concessâ, et quâ fungimur in hac parte, tenore præsentium dispensamus, quòd omnes et singulæ cathedralium ecclesiarum erectiones, hospitalium et scholarum fundationes, tempore præteriti schismatis, licet de facto et nulliter attentatæ, in eo statu, in quo nunc sunt, perpetuò firmæ et stabiles permaneant, illisque apostolicæ firmitatis robur adjicimus; ita, ut, non eâ autoritate, quâ priùs, sed eâ, quam nunc eis tribuimus, factæ ab omnibus censeantur. Et cum omnibus et singulis personis regni prædicti, quæ, in aliquo consanguinitatis, vel affinitatis gradu, etiam multiplici, vel cognationis spiritualis, seu publicæ honestatis justitiæ impedimento de jure positivo introductis, et in quibus sanctissimus dominus noster papa dispensare consuevit, matrimonia scientèr vel ignorantèr de facto contraxerunt, ut, aliquo impedimentorum præmissorum non obstante, in eorum matrimoniis, sic contractis, liberè et licitè remanere, seu illa de novo contrahere, possint, misericorditer in Domino dispensamus; prolem susceptam, et suscipiendam, legitimam decernentes: ita tamen, ut, qui scienter et malitiosè contraxerint, à sententiâ excommunicationis, et ab incestûs seu sacrilegii reatu, absolutionem à suo ordinario, vel curato, quibus id faciendi facultatem concedimus, obtineant. Ac omnes ecclesiasticas, seculares, seu quorumvis ordinum regulares personas, quæ aliquas impetrarunt dispensationes, concessionem, gratias, et indulta, tam ordines, quàm beneficia ecclesiastica, seu alias spirituales materias, prætensâ autoritate supremæ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, licet nulliter et de facto obtinuerint, et, ad cor reversæ, ecclesiæ unitati restitutæ fuerint, in suis ordinibus et beneficiis per nos ipsos, seu a nobis ad id deputatos, misericorditer recipientes, prout jam multæ receptæ fuerunt, secum super his opportunè in Domino dispensamus. Ac omnes processus in quibusvis instantiis coram quibusvis iudicibus, tam ordinariis, quàm delegatis, etiam laicis, super materiis spiritualibus habitos et formatos, et sententias super eis latas, licet nulliter et de facto, quoad nullitatem ex defectu jurisdictionis præfatæ tantùm insurgentem, sanamus, illosque et illas autoritate apostolicâ confirmamus: *Ac quibusvis hujus regni personis, ad quarum manus bona ecclesiastica, ex quocunque contractu, seu titulo oneroso, vel lucrativo, jam devenerint, illaque tenuerint, seu etiam teneant, omnes et quoscunque fructus ex eisdem bonis, licet indebitè perceptos, in totum remittimus, et relaxamus; volentes, ac decernentes, quòd istorum bonorum ecclesiasticorum, tam mobilium quàm immobilium, possessores præfati non possint, in præsentem, nec in posterum, seu per conciliorum generalium, vel provincialium dispositiones, seu per decretales Romanorum*

pontificum epistolas, seu per aliam quamcunque censuram ecclesiasticam, in dictis bonis, seu eorundem possessione, molestari, inquietari, vel perturbari; nec eis aliquæ censuræ, vel pænæ ecclesiasticæ, propter hujusmodi detentionem, seu non restitutionem, irrogari, vel infligi; et sic per quoscunque judices et auditores (sublatâ eis, quâ suis, aliter judicandi et interpretandi facultate et auctoritate) judicari, et definiri debere; et quicquid secûs attentari contigerit, irritum et inane fore decernimus, non obstantibus præmissis defectibus, et quibusvis apostolicis ac in provincialibus et synodalibus conciliis editis, specialibus, vel generalibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Admonemus tamen, cum divisio episcopatum, et erectio cathedralium ecclesiarum sint de majoribus causis, quæ summo pontifici sunt reservatæ, recurrendum esse ad suam sanctitatem, et ab eâ suppliciter postulandum, ut hæc confirmare, seu de novo facere, dignetur. Et licet omnes res mobiles ecclesiarum indistinctè eis, qui eas tenent, relaxaverimus, eos tamen admonitos esse volumus, ut, ante oculos habentes divini judicii severitatem contra Balthasarem, regem Babylonis, qui vasa sacra, non à se, sed à patre, e templo ablata, in profanos usus convertit, ea propriis ecclesiis, si extant, vel aliis, restituant. Hortantes etiam, et per viscera misericordiæ Jesu Christi obtestantes eos omnes, quos hæc res tangit, ut, salutis suæ non omninò immemores, hoc saltem efficiant, ut ex bonis ecclesiasticis, maximè iis, quæ, ratione personatum, et vicariatum, populi ministrorum sustentationi fuerint specialiter destinata, seu aliis cathedralibus, et aliis, quæ nunc extant, inferioribus ecclesiis, curam animarum exercentibus, ita provideatur, ut earum pastores, personæ, et vicarii, commodè et honestè, juxta eorum qualitatem et statum, sustentari possint, et curam animarum laudabiliter exercere, et onera incumbentia congruè supportare. Datum Lambeth, prope Londinum, Winton. Dioces., anno nativ. Dom. 1554, nono calend. Januar. pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris, et Domini nostri domini Julii divinâ providentiâ pap. III. anno quinto.

“REGINALDUS CARDINALIS POLUS LEGATUS.”

We, the said lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, rendering most humble thanks to your majesties, by whose intercession and means we have obtained the said dispensations of the pope's holiness, by the said most reverend father in God, his legate, most humbly beseech the same, that it may be ordained as followeth :

And therefore be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that all and singular articles and clauses contained in the said dispensation, as well touching the establishment of bishoprics and cathedral churches, as also the confirmation of marriages in degrees prohi-

bited by the canons of the church, the legitimation of children, and the ratification of process, and of sentences in matters ecclesiastical, touching the invalidity of them, for want of jurisdiction, and the institutions and restitutions of and in benefices and promotions ecclesiastical, dispensations and graces given by such order, as the public laws of the realm then approved, and all other things before contained in the said letters of dispensation, shall remain, and be reputed and taken, to all intents and constructions in the laws of this realm, lawful, good, and effectual, to be alleged and pleaded in all courts ecclesiastical and temporal, for good and sufficient matter, either for the plaintiff or defendant, without any allegation or objection to be made against the validity of them, by pretence of any general council, canon, or decree to the contrary made, or to be made in that behalf.

And whereas divers and sundry late monasteries, priories, commanderies, nunneries, deaneries, prebends, colleges, hospitals, houses of friars, chantries, and other religious and ecclesiastical houses and places, and the manors, granges, messuages, lands, tenements, rectories, tithes, pensions, portions, vicarages, churches, chapels, advowsons, nominations, patronages, annuities, rents, reversions, services, and other possessions and hereditaments to the said late monasteries, priories, nunneries, commanderies, deaneries, chantries, prebends, houses of friars, colleges, hospitals, and other religious and ecclesiastical houses and places, and sundry archbishoprics and bishoprics, within this realm, late appertaining and belonging, came as well to the hands and possession of the said king of famous memory, Henry VIII., father unto your majesty, our said sovereign lady, by dissolution, gift, grant, surrender, attainder, or otherwise, as also to the hands and possession of divers and sundry other persons, and bodies politic and corporate, by sundry means, conveyances, and assurances, according to the order of the laws and statutes of this realm :

And where also divers manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, parcel of the possessions of archbishoprics and bishoprics, and many and sundry late deaneries, colleges, chantries, rectories, prebends, free chapels, guilds, and fraternities, manors, houses, granges, lands, tenements, rents, services, and other ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments, goods and chattels to the said archbishoprics, bishoprics, deaneries, colleges, chantries, free chapels, rectories, guilds, and fraternities, late appertaining and belonging, or appointed to and for the finding of priests, obits, lights, or other like purpose, came as well to the hands and possession of the said late noble king, Edward VI., brother unto your majesty, our sovereign lady, by the virtue of an act of parliament thereof made, or otherwise, as also to the hands and possession of divers and sundry other persons, and bodies politic and corporate, by sundry

means, conveyances, and assurances, according to the order of the laws of this realm; a great number of which said late monasteries, priories, nunneries, commanderies, deaneries, colleges, hospitals, prebends, chantries, free chapels, guilds, and fraternities, and the manors, granges, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, tithes, pensions, portions, vicarages, churches, chapels, advowsons, nominations, patronages, annuities, and hereditaments, goods and chattels to the said monasteries, priories, nunneries, commanderies, deaneries, colleges, hospitals, chantries, free chapels, guilds, fraternities, and other ecclesiastical houses, archbishoprics, and bishoprics belonging, as well for great sums of money, as for other good and reasonable causes and considerations, have been conveyed and assured to divers the subjects and bodies politic of this realm, as well by the said king, Henry VIII., the said king Edward VI., and by your highness, our sovereign lady, and jointly by both your majesties, as also by divers the owners of the said ecclesiastical possessions, which said conveyances and assurances by their sundry letters patents, and other writings, more plainly do and may appear: Forasmuch as the said most reverend father hath also, by the said dispensations, *removed and taken away all matter of impeachment, trouble, and danger*, which by occasion of any general council, canon, or decree ecclesiastical, might touch and disquiet the possessors of such goods moveable, lands, tenements, possessions, and hereditaments, as were of late belonging to any of the said archbishoprics, bishoprics, monasteries, priories, nunneries, commanderies, deaneries, colleges, chantries, prebends, rectories, hospitals, houses of friars, or other religious and ecclesiastical houses and places, of what nature, name, kind, or quality soever they be; yet, *for that the title of all lands, possessions, and hereditaments* in this your majesties' realm and dominions, is grounded in the laws, statutes, and customs of the same, and by your high jurisdiction, authority royal, and crown imperial, and in *your courts only to be impleaded, ordered, tried, and judged, and none otherwise*; and understanding, that the whole, full, and most gracious intents, mind, and determination of your most excellent majesties be, that all and every person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, their heirs, successors, and assigns, and every of them, shall *have, keep, retain, and enjoy, all and every their estates, rights, possessions, and interests*, that they, and every of them now have, or hereafter shall have, of and in all and every the manors, granges, messuages, lands, tenements, tithes, pensions, portions, advowsons, nominations, patronages, annuities, rents, reversions, services, hundreds, wapentakes, liberties, franchises, and other the possessions and hereditaments of the said monasteries, abbeyes, priories, nunneries, commanderies, deaneries, col-

leges, prebends, hospitals, houses of friars, chantries, rectories, vicarages, churches, chapels, archbishoprics and bishoprics, and other religious and ecclesiastical houses or places, or of any of them within this realm, or the dominions of the same, by such laws and statutes as were in force before the first day of this present parliament, and by other lawful conveyance to them thereof made :

That it may be enacted, by the authority of this present parliament, that as well your majesty, our sovereign lady, your heirs and successors, and also all and every other person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, their heirs, successors, and assigns, now having, or that hereafter shall have, hold, or enjoy any of the sites of the said late monasteries, and other the religious or ecclesiastical houses or places, and all the said manors, granges, messuages, lands, tenements, tithes, pensions, portions, glebe lands, advowsons, nominations, patronages, annuities, rents, reversions, services, hundreds, wapentakes, liberties, franchises, profits, commodities, and other the possessions and hereditaments of the said late monasteries, abbeys, priories, nunneries, commanderies, deaneries, colleges, prebends, hospitals, houses of friars, rectories, vicarages, chantries, churches, chapels, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other religious and ecclesiastical houses and places, or any of them, of what name, nature, or kind soever they be, shall have, hold, possess, retain, keep, and enjoy, all and every the said sites, manors, granges, messuages, lands, tenements, possessions, profits, commodities, and other hereditaments, according to such interests and estates as they and every of them now have or hold, or hereafter shall have or hold, of and in the same, by the due order and course of the laws and statutes of this realm, which now be, or were standing in force before the first day of this present parliament, in manner and form as they should have done, if this act had never been had, ne made ; this act, or any thing therein contained to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding :

Saving to you, our sovereign lady, your heirs and successors, and every of them, and to all and every other person and persons, subjects of this realm, and bodies politic and corporate, and to their heirs and successors, and to the heirs and successors of all and every of them (other than such, whose right, title, or interest is bounded or taken away, undone or extinct, by any act of parliament heretofore made, or otherwise) all such right, title, claim, possession, interests, rents, annuities, commodities, commons, offices, fees, leases, liveries, livings, pensions, portions, debts, duties, and other profits, which they, or any of them, lawfully have, or of right ought to have, or might have had, in, of, or to any of the premises, or in, of, or to any part or parcel thereof, in such like manner, and form, and condition to all intents, re-

And where your highness, sovereign lady, since your coming to the crown of this realm, of good and Christian conscience omitted to write the said style of supremacy, specified in one act made in the parliament holden at Westminster, by prorogation, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of your late father, king Henry VIII., as well in gifts, grants, letters patents, as in commissions, and other writings, and also other have in their writings done the same, as well in your time, as before; and forasmuch as, notwithstanding any law made concerning the said style of supremacy, it was in the free choice, liberty, and pleasure of the king of this realm, and of your highness, whether you would express the same in the said style or not:

Be it therefore declared and enacted, by the authority of this present parliament, that all grants, letters patents, commissions, indictments, records, and writings, made in your, our sovereign lady's name, or in the name of your's, sovereign lord and lady, or any other, wherein the said style of supremacy is omitted, is, and shall be, to all intents and purposes, as good and effectual, as if the same had been therein expressed, and may be retained, kept, pleaded, and alleged without any danger, pain, penalty, or forfeiture, to ensue to any person, or persons, or body politic, for or concerning the omission of the same style, or any part thereof, in any such writing; and that no persons shall be impeached, molested, or damnified for, or by reason of, any such omission.

And where, in an act of parliament, made since the said twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII., it was enacted, That all bulls, dispensations, and writings, which were, before that time, obtained from the see of Rome, should be void, abolished, and extinguished, with a clause, nevertheless, that the matter of them, by virtue of letters patents from the king then being, should and might be alleged, pleaded, and allowed, as if the same had not been so abolished and extinguished, forasmuch as the said act is here before, amongst other, repealed, and made void:

Be it therefore enacted, by the authority of this present parliament, that all bulls, dispensations, and privileges, obtained before the said twenty-fifth year, or at any time sithence, or which shall hereafter be obtained of the see of Rome, not containing matter contrary, or prejudicial, to the authority, dignity, or preeminence royal, or imperial, of the realm, or to the laws of this realm now being in force, and not in this parliament repealed, may be put in execution, used, and alleged in any court within this realm, or elsewhere, whether the same remain yet whole, or can appear to have been cancelled, in as available and effectual manner, to all intents and purposes, as if the said act had never been had or made; any objection or pretence of extinguishment, or

cancelling of the said bulls, dispensations, or privileges, or any other matter or cause, by the pretence of the laws of this realm whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding.

And whereas by dissolution of monasteries, and other religious houses, certain parish churches and chapels, which were before exempt from the jurisdiction of the archbishop, and bishop of the diocese, and, by special exemption and privilege from Rome, were under the government and order of the abbots and priors of those religious houses; which said churches, by colour of the said exemptions, be now, of special grant from king Henry, and king Edward, under the rule, and government, and jurisdiction of temporal, and laymen, who can no more enjoy that supremacy over those particular churches, than the king might over the whole realm:

Be it therefore enacted, that all archbishops and bishops in their diocese, and all other spiritual person and persons having jurisdiction, and their ministers and officers, and no lay person or persons, in every church, and place within the precinct of the same, being exempt, or not exempt, may freely, and without impediment, execute their spiritual jurisdiction, in all points and articles, as though no such exemption or grant had ever been made.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that this act extend not to take away, or diminish, the privileges of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, ne the privileges or prerogatives granted heretofore to the churches of Westminster and Windsor, ne the tower of London, ne prejudicial to such temporal lords and possessors, in this realm, as by ancient custom have enjoyed probate of testaments of their tenants, or other.

And forasmuch as, after this reconciliation and unity of this noble realm to the body of Christ's church, it is to be trusted, that, by the abundance of God's mercy and grace, devotion shall increase and grow in the hearts of many the subjects of this realm, with desire to give and bestow their worldly possessions for the resuscitating of alms, prayer, and examples of good life in this realm, to the intent, such godly motions and purposes should be advanced:

Be it therefore enacted, by authority of this present parliament, that it shall be lawful to such, as shall be seized of any manors, lands, tenements, parsonages, tithes, pensions, portions, or other hereditaments whatsoever, in fee simple, in possession, reversion, or remainder, in their own rights, not being copy-hold, may thereof make feoffments, grants, or any other assurances, or by his last will and testament, in writing, may bequeath, and give in fee simple, all and every the said manors, lands, tenements, parsonages, tithes, pensions, portions, or other here-

ditaments, to any spiritual body politic, or corporate in this realm, or dominions of the same, now erected, or founded, or hereafter to be erected, or founded, without any licence of mortmain therein to be obtained, or any writ of *ad quod damnum*, to be sued out for the same; the acts *de terris ad manum mortuam non pouendis*, or any other act, or statute heretofore had, or made, in any wise notwithstanding.

Saving to the lords of the fee all rent-services, due, or going out of any of the said lands, tenements, or hereditaments, so to be amortized, as is aforesaid.

Provided always, that this clause of this act, for giving the liberty of, or for the amortizing of lands, or tenements, shall continue for, and during, the space of twenty years next, and immediately following, and no longer.

And forasmuch as we, your majesty's humble and obedient subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, neither by the making, or delivering of either the supplications aforesaid, nor by any clause, article, or sentence thereof, or of any other clause, article, or sentence of this or any other statute, or any of the preambles of the same, made or agreed upon in this session of this present parliament, by any manner of interpretation, construction, implication, or otherwise, intend to derogate, impair, or diminish any of the prerogatives, liberties, franchises, pre-eminences, or jurisdictions of your crown imperial of this realm, and other the dominions to the same belonging; we do most humbly beseech your majesties, that it may be declared and ordained, and be it enacted and declared, by authority of this present parliament, that neither the making, exhibiting, or inserting in this present statute, or in the preamble of the same, of the supplication, or promise aforesaid, or either of them, nor any other thing, or things, words, sentences, clauses, or articles, in the preambles, or body of the acts aforesaid, shall be construed, understood, or expounded to derogate, diminish, or take away any the liberties, privileges, prerogatives, pre-eminences, authorities, or jurisdictions, or any part or parcel thereof, which were in your imperial crown of this realm, or did belong to your said imperial crown, the twentieth year of the reign of your, the queen's majesty's, most noble father, or any of your most noble progenitors, before the said twentieth year; and the pope's holiness and see apostolic to be restored, and to have and enjoy such authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction, as his holiness used and exercised, or might lawfully have used and exercised, by authority of his supremacy, the said twentieth year of the reign of the king, your father, within this your realm of England, and other your dominions, without diminution or enlargement of the same, and none other; and

the ecclesiastical jurisdictions of the archbishops, bishops, and ordinaries, to be in the same state, for process of suits, punishment of crimes, and execution of censures of the church, with knowledge of causes belonging to the same, and as large in these points, as the said jurisdiction was, the said twentieth year.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that, in and upon every such gift and devise, to be made to such spiritual corporations and persons as is aforesaid, the donor, feoffor, or devisor thereof, may reserve to him and his heirs, for ever, a tenure in *francke almoigne*, or a tenure by divine service, and to have all remedies and actions for and upon the said gifts, and devises, and tenures, in like manner and form, as was used before the statute of Westminster third, commonly called *Quia emptores terrarum*; the said statute, or any law or custom now being, to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that all and every person and persons, and bodies politic and corporate, which now have, or hereafter shall have, any estate of inheritance, freehold, term, or interest of, in, or to any portion, pension, tithes, glebe-lands, or other ecclesiastical or spiritual profit, which, by this act, and letters of dispensation rehearsed in the same, be permitted, and suffered to remain and continue in laymen's possessions, shall and may have like remedy for the recovery of the same, and every part thereof, as they, and every of them, might have had, before the first day of this present parliament; any thing in this act contained, to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

A Dissertation concerning the Alienation of Church-lands, and Cardinal Pole's Dispensation in Favour of the present Possessors. The Question discussed both as to Fact and Right.

As there is no need of arguments to convince the reader, that the lands and goods of the church were a main inducement to the pretended reformation, so several writers of that party, rightly observing that temporal considerations are apt to prevail very much upon mankind, have always been industrious in alarming the nation with the fears of restitution, whenever there was any appearance of making up the breach between the two churches. It must be owned, great difficulties were started on both sides, when the matter came to be debated, in queen Mary's reign. All Europe had been scandalized, by so notorious a depredation upon the goods and property of the church; and the see of Rome insisted very much upon satisfaction. On the other hand, the houses were demolished, and the lands had already passed to so many different proprietors, by gift, purchase, exchange, and other conveyances,

that justice could not be done to the church, without oppressing and ruining many thousands, that were not immediately concerned in the sacrilege. There was also another consideration, which pleaded very much in favour of the present possessors. A great part of the nation was still adverse to an accommodation; and those, that were better disposed, were not so resigned, as to be willing to starve by the reconciliation. So, it was necessary to condescend to their weakness, and make some abatement in the discipline and rights of the church. The emperor pleaded hard for a dispensation, and obtained a general promise from his holiness, that the present possessors should be made easy in their circumstances. In pursuance of this, cardinal Pole had full power and instructions, by several bulls, to confirm the present possessors in their right, and a discretionary power of dispensing both as to moveable and immoveable goods. One bull bears date March 8, 1554, from pope Julius III., wherein, from a previous instrument, of August 5, in the preceding year, the pontiff recites the following words: “*Ac cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum (restitutis prius, si tibi expedire videatur, immobilibus per eos indebitè detentis) super fructibus malè perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordandi, et transigendi; ac eos desuper liberandi, ac quietandi,*” &c.¹ Two other bulls contain clauses of the same import; the one, June 26, 1554, the other June 28, 1554. In the latter are these words: “*At thy own arbitrament, by our authority, we give thee full power of treating, agreeing, transacting, and compounding with whatever possessors or detainers of ecclesiastical goods, as well moveable as immoveable, in the said kingdom, for whom the said most serene queen shall intercede; and we give thee full and free apostolic authority, by the tenour of these presents, and of certain knowledge, to dispense with them, that they may retain the said goods without any scruple for the future.*”² Afterwards, when cardinal Pole came over into England to execute his commissions, their majesties, king Philip and queen Mary, were addressed both by the parliament, and clergy in convocation, that they would intercede with the cardinal, to dispense with the present possessors of church lands, according to the power and instructions he had received from the see of Rome; and the cardinal published the dispensation, dated at Lambeth, December 24, 1555, being the fifth year of pope Julius III., wherein is the following clause: “*Willing and decreeing, that the aforesaid possessors of the said ecclesiastical goods moveable and immoveable, may not, at present, or for the future, by the disposition of general or provincial councils, or by the decretal epistles of Roman bishops, or by any other*

¹ See p. cxiii. ante.

² See p. cxx. ante.

ecclesiastical censure, be molested, disquieted, or disturbed in the said goods, or the possession of them," &c.¹

This was as authentic an assurance of the abbey-lands, &c., to the present possessors, as the case was capable of; especially, when it was ratified by the supreme civil power, as it happened immediately upon the cardinal's commission. For, the title to those lands imported a mixed property, wherein the civil power claimed some rights and acknowledgments, upon account of foundations, benefactions, &c. (as was mentioned and insisted upon by the parliament then sitting), it was requisite to strengthen and make good the conveyance by their concurrence, that there might be no colour hereafter to disturb the present possessors, either in foro ecclesiastico, or seculari. Accordingly, in January, 1555, it was enacted in parliament, that abbey-lands should be confirmed to the present possessors, that the bishops should not molest them, and that neither the bishop of Rome, nor any other spiritual person, should disturb them in their possessions. Now, though, after this, there was no occasion of an express bull from his holiness, to confirm what was done, yet, upon the decease of pope Julius III., and of his successor, Marcellus (who sat but a few weeks), pope Paul IV. was pleased to grant a bull to that purpose. For, October 23, 1555, these words are recorded in the journal of the house of commons: "After which, was read a bull of the pope's holiness, confirming the doings of my lord cardinal Pole, touching the assurance of abbey-lands."² The like confirmation we meet with in Dugdale's Monasticon, where pope Paul IV., by a special bull, confirms the abbey-lands in possession of Sir William Petre. A clause in the bull runs thus: "And afterwards our beloved son Reginald, deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin, called cardinal Pole, our and the aforesaid see's legate de latere in England, being authorised for that purpose, with sufficient power by the letters of the said see, as appears in his commission; and afterwards, we generally, under a certain mode and form therein expressed, have approved and confirmed the sales, gifts, exchanges, and grants, made to and by thee; and added to them strength of assurance, as in our letters, made thereupon, is said more fully to be contained," &c. This bull still further allows of cardinal Pole's power, and of the alienations effected by him, in the following words: "And we do, by apostolical authority, perpetually approve and confirm all things contained in, and following from, the aforesaid letters of the aforesaid

¹ See p. cxxxv. ante. [The truth is, that, besides the bulls just mentioned, Pole, as the reader will remember, had subsequently obtained another and more extensive power.—*T.*]

² Journals, i. 42.

Reginald, cardinal; and to them do add the strength of a perpetual and inviolable firmness, supplying all and singular defects of law or fact, necessary to be expressed, if by chance any happen to intervene in them; and decreeing them to be inviolably established, without any scruple of conscience," &c.¹

Besides these undeniable records, in confirmation of the abbey-lands to the present possessors, historians, both of those times, and since, give the same account. Ludovicus Beccatelli, who published cardinal Pole's life, and was his secretary in England, when the matter was in debate, after he had extolled the cardinal's zeal, in persuading queen Mary to give up the church-lands, seized by her father, and still in the possession of the crown, adds: "Ac, ne qua turba excitaretur, placuit, consentiente pontifice, nihil de reliquis bonis quæri, quæ passim multi possidebant; sed liberum omnibus relinqui, id agere quod quisque vellet."² A further proof of this matter appears in the year 1556, when cardinal Pole and the clergy met in an assembly, and drew up certain decrees for the reformation of the church. The tenth article forbids the alienating of church-lands for the future, but expressly allows of such alienations, as were formerly made; adding, that they were made by the authority of the see of Rome: "Excipiantur ab his tamen ea, quæ de bonis, ante ab ecclesiis ablatis, jam apostolicâ auctoritate sancita sunt."³ We have the same account from protestant historians of our own country: "The revenues," says Mr. Camden, "taken by king Henry VIII., and Edward VI., from abbeys, colleges, bishoprics, &c., were confirmed to the queen and the present possessors."⁴ Dr. Heylin says the same: "Pope Julius issueth a decree, accompanied with some reasons, which might seem to induce him to it, for confirming all such lands on the present occupants."⁵

Here we have all that can be desired, or, indeed, that the cause is capable of, for the security of the present possessors. The public good and peace of church and state, as an inducement; the authority of the see of Rome; the petition of a whole national church; the cardinal legate's full power and actual dispensation; and the concurrence of the legislative power: so that church lands are held by a stronger title, than any man's private property or inheritance. And yet, some of our protestant writers have been so industrious, as not only to insinuate, but positively to assert, that the whole was only a juggle and contrivance

¹ Dugd. Monast. iii. Eccles. Colleg. 207—209. ² In Vit. Poli. Lond. 8vo. 1690.

³ Wilkins, iv. 125.

⁴ Introduct. to Annals of Eliz. [Camden, however, is speaking of the confirmation granted by the act of parliament.—*T.*]

⁵ Pref. to Hist. of Reform. vi.

between the cardinal and the see of Rome, to quiet men's minds, for the present; and that room was still left for a resumption, upon a proper occasion: particularly, upon king James II.'s accession to the crown, care was taken to propagate this belief. For, Sir William Coventry, in a letter to Dr. Burnet, pretends to inform him, that cardinal Pole had secret instructions to manage the affair so, as if there was no real design of confirming the abbey-lands to the present possessors. This letter was published in 4to. London, 1685; together with two bulls directed to cardinal Pole, and several letters; the whole making five sheets.¹ It was answered by Nathaniel Johnston, M.D., by order of king James II., in a book intitled, *Assurance of Abbey Lands, &c.* Lond. 8vo. 1687. Dr. Johnston's book was replied to by a book intitled, *Abbey and other Church Lands, not yet assured to such Possessors as are Catholics*; dedicated to the Nobility and Gentry of that Religion, in one sheet, 4to. Lond. 1688, 1689, by John Willis. I am now to take notice of what is usually alleged against the assurance of abbey-lands to the present possessors.

Objection I. Nothing is more frequently met with, among Catholic divines, than that the lands and goods of the church are God's property, and, by consequence, incapable of being alienated by any human power. For, though transferring church-lands from one pious use to another may be allowable, when it is done by a proper authority, yet an alienation to secular uses is directly contrary to the donor's intention, and detrimental to the common cause of religion, which is supported by such establishments: besides incurring the guilt of sacrilege, which consists in putting things to a profane and secular use, which were set apart for the immediate service of God. Upon this consideration, the letters and decrees of all the ancient popes and councils threaten all those with excommunication, and other church censures, that invade the rights of the church, by alienating their lands, &c.

Answer. All created beings are God's property, by the title of creation, preservation, &c. He has the supreme dominion over both man's fortune and life: yet things are under such a management, that both the one and the other may be disposed of, alienated, or destroyed, when those, that are appointed to take care of God's property, find it necessary to proceed in that manner. Indeed, the lands and goods of the church may, in a more peculiar manner, be called God's property, because of the use they are put to. But still they are under their management, who are deputed by God to preside in spiritual matters. It belongs to these, in the first place, to pronounce upon articles of faith,

¹ [It is printed in the Harleian Miscellany, vii. 258—270.—T.]

and the terms of church communion, and, at the same time, upon the lands and goods of the church, according to the nature of the contract and agreement between the church and the civil power, who very often, upon an alienation, ought to be consulted, and to concur, upon account of certain rights and claims, they reserve to themselves, in the grants they make to the church. Now, when there appears to be an urgent necessity of alienating the lands and goods of the church, and all persons concerned do concur, this is not seizing God's property, but executing the trust reposed in them, for the public good of church and state. This has been the practice in all ages, when, upon several pressing occasions, pious donations have not only been transferred from one order to another, but even secularized and confirmed to lay-proprietors. Nay, sacred vessels have been sometimes melted down, for the relief of the poor; which still bears harder upon the divine property, than the seizure of abbey-lands. History affords us many instances of this kind of alienations. Several Christian princes have been rewarded with church-lands, for services performed in defence of religion, against the Goths, and other barbarous nations. The Knights Templars may be mentioned upon this occasion. The chief of their lands, indeed, were transferred to another religious order, viz. the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; yet some part, as several of their dwelling houses, the Inner and Middle Temple, &c., in London, were bestowed upon laymen. The like happened to the order, called Fratres Cruciferi, and to the canons of St. Gregory of Alga, in the Venetian territories; the lands of the latter being bestowed upon the republic, to carry on the war against the Turk. The bull granted by Clement VII. to cardinal Wolsey, for the demolishing of forty monasteries, in order to found two colleges, has a relation to the same matter. For, though it was not properly secularizing the revenues of the church, yet, from the words and circumstances of the bull, it may be gathered, that such a right might be claimed. Again, what are the taxes and many lay-services imposed upon church-lands, which have been customary in all ages and nations, when the civil power stood in need of such assistance? These, and such like instances, are a plain comment upon the decrees of popes and ancient councils, prohibiting the alienation of the lands and goods of the church; viz., when it was done without the concurrence of those, that were guardians of the rights and liberties of the church. It is not requisite, at present, to enter into the various disputes, that have been and may be raised upon this matter. Several alienations have been made by the see of Rome; others by national and provincial councils, and even by the secular power, with the concurrence of the prelates of the church. And it is sufficient, in the case

before us, to wipe off the aspersion of sacrilege, that all the powers concerned were consenting.

Object. II. The whole affair, of cardinal Pole's confirming abbey-lands to the present possessors, was art and management; the bishop of Rome all the while exclaiming against it. And Pole's bulls were rendered ineffectual and insignificant, by salvos and clauses of reserve.

Answer. It is owned, some difficulties were started, in the beginning, concerning the restitution of abbey-lands; but, at last, the see of Rome was prevailed upon, to give cardinal Pole full power of dispensing with the present possessors; as it appears by the bulls directed to him, for that purpose. As to the pretended salvo, hinted at in the bull dated June 28, 1554, wherein it is said, *Hæc sedes meritò tibi videretur consulenda*, it is no more than a form of words, commonly made use of in all instructions given by the see of Rome; and was literally complied with, in the present case. For, as John Fox observes, messengers were continually sent between England and Rome, to facilitate this matter: nor does it appear, that pope Julius III. ever demurred upon it, but, on the contrary, ratified what the cardinal had done; and the present possessors enjoyed, all queen Mary's reign, the church-lands, accordingly as it was agreed on by the supreme powers, civil and ecclesiastical. So that there is not the least appearance of any juggling, on the cardinal's part, or of any other concerned in the affair; authentic deeds, and matter of fact plainly evidencing the contrary.¹

Object. III. Cardinal Pole, in the close of his dispensation, exhorts the present possessors of abbey-lands, &c., to beware of Belshazzer's fate, who was punished for detaining the sacred vessels, which his father had taken from the people of God, when he plundered the temple of Jerusalem. By a just application of this example, it appears, that the cardinal's dispensation did only exempt the present possessors from the penalties of the laws, and that they still lay under an obligation of restitution, as to conscience.

Answer. Cardinal Pole's exhortation, upon this occasion, was very seasonable. Belshazzer's fate was a proper example, to be set before the present possessors of the lands and goods of the church. For, though they might not themselves have been authors of the sacrilege, and be excusable, as to conscience, by means of a dispensation, yet such has often been the method of divine providence, that children have been unfortunate for their parents' iniquities; and God, in detes-

¹ [In reality, not to mention the enlarged powers, conferred on the legate by the instrument alluded to, in cardinal Morone's letter (cxxiv. ante), with which Dodd appears to have been unacquainted, Julius had bound himself, "in verbo pontificis", to ratify whatever measures Pole might find it necessary or advisable to adopt. Pallavicino, ii. 422.—T.]

tation of notorious crimes, has made innocent posterity feel the weight of his resentment. Now, to prevent such misfortunes, the cardinal put the present possessors in mind of restoring, out of charity, what they were not obliged to, in strictness of justice.

Object. IV. Queen Mary was far from thinking the cardinal's dispensation valid. She declared, she could not, with a safe conscience, detain the lands and goods of the church, and, accordingly, restored what were in possession of the crown.

Answer. It does not appear, that the queen had conceived any scruple, concerning the validity of the dispensation, as it regarded others. On the contrary, she agreed with the see of Rome, and the parliament, in allowing it. As to her own particular, she might be persuaded, that the same difficulties did not occur, which obstructed a general restitution. However, she did not restore all church-lands in possession of the crown; but only such, as she might divest herself of, without detriment to private men's property.

Object. V. The statute of mortmain was suspended for twenty years, with a design, that the church might recover her rights; which indirectly imports, that there was a design, one time or other, of passing an act of resumption.

Answer. It is very unlikely, that the parliament, that passed this statute for the suspension of the act of mortmain, could have any such view: their interest was too much concerned. Many of their estates were entirely abbey-lands. However, it was looked upon, as a piece of justice, that people should be left at their liberty, to bestow what they thought fit to pious uses (at least for a term), in order to repair the breach, that had been made in the rights of the church.

Object. VI. Pietro Soave, in his *History of the Council of Trent*, gives an account, that when the English ambassadors were sent to Rome, anno 1555, to make a tender of the nation's submission to pope Paul IV., his holiness was much displeased, that the church-lands were not restored; that it was not in his power to ratify such a dispensation; that Heaven would chastise the sacrilege; with a strict charge to inform the queen of his sentiments upon the matter.¹

Answer. To say nothing of this author's fidelity (who, upon other occasions, has been sufficiently convicted of misrepresentation), if he pretends, that Paul IV. was so bent upon the restoration of abbey-lands, as to annul the dispensation, he contradicts plain matter of fact; express bulls, and letters of the said pope being extant, whereby he confirms what cardinal Pole had done in that affair. However, thus much

¹ Soave, lib. iv. p. 401. ed. 1660.

may be owned; that, as pope Paul IV. was always disposed, by former grudges, to quarrel with the cardinal, and had of late carried his resentment so far, as to deprive him, for a while, of his legatine power, so it is probable, he might express himself somewhat warmly, and charge him with being too easy in granting the aforesaid dispensation. But these two being afterwards reconciled, and cardinal Pole restored to his legatine power, he met with no further opposition. Neither could pope Paul IV. so far forget himself, as to say, it was not in his power to confirm such dispensations as he himself had actually granted, by a bull, confirming the abbey-lands, as we have seen, to sir William Petre.¹

Object. VII. Dr. Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, (iii. Rec. 3), produces a bull of pope Paul IV., whereby he resumes all church-lands in the possession of laymen.

Answer. This bull has no relation to England, but only to the kingdom of Naples, and some other places, belonging to the king of Spain; where the see of Rome pretended to high claims, both as to spirituals, and temporals; and where the restitution of church-lands was not attended with the same difficulties, as in England. So that England was not affected by any bulls of that nature.²

Object. VIII. Pope Urban VIII., by a bull, beginning *Plantata*, &c. and dated 4 Idus Julii, 1633, an. Pontificatûs 10, actually invests the English Benedictin monks with the rights, and claims of nine cathedral churches, besides several other dignities. This bull not only signifies, that the see of Rome still pretended to a power of divesting the present posses-

¹ [One or two remarks are necessary in this place. 1. At the period of this interview, Paul had been crowned but five days, and could not, therefore, "of late", have deprived the cardinal of his legatine authority. That deprivation took place in 1558. 2. For this reason, the reconciliation, and subsequent restoration of the legatine power, to which Dodd refers, can have no connexion with the present question. 3. The real answer to Soave's story is to be found in Paul's own account of the transaction. In a letter, written to Philip and Mary, which is preserved by Quirini, he describes not only the particulars of the interview, but also his own feelings; and so far from hinting at any disapprobation of the legate's concessions, he expressly ratifies what has been done, and speaks of the proceedings of the legate in terms of the highest admiration. "Quodque ad legatum ipsum cardinalem Polum attinet, nihil in ejus honorem, vel commodum, vel amplitudinem, neque istic à vobis, neque à nobis hic excogitari conferrique poterit, quod tantæ illius virtuti ac probitati, tantisque erga nos et sanctam hanc sedem, ergaque vos et regnum vestrum officiis et meritis satis esse videatur." This is a sufficient answer to the remarks of Sir James Mackintosh (ii. 322, note), who has condescended, not only to repeat the story, but also to assert the veracity, of the Venetian historian. See No. XXIII. of this Appendix.—T.]

² [To remove all uneasiness, however, on the subject, Pole obtained another bull, expressly excepting the ecclesiastical property in England from the operation of the bull in question (Quirini, v. 42). It was this bull, which, the reader will recollect, was read in parliament, in October, 1555.—T.]

sors, but also appears to be an express revocation of cardinal Pole's dispensation.

Answer. If the usual caution of the see of Rome, in things of this kind, did not plead in favour of the bull made mention of, some persons might be apt to think, it was surreptitiously obtained, if not a forged piece. But, be that as you will, I meet with several, who boldly affirm that it is not authentic, but essentially defective, as to the requisites of such an instrument; and can be of no value, in *foro ecclesiastico*, as to what regards ecclesiastical jurisdiction and church-lands, in the kingdom of England. The reasons for this assertion are laid down, in a paper, written by a learned divine, at the request of the pope's nuncio in Paris, who, being informed of the bull, and surprised at the contents of it, desired this gentleman to make some remarks upon it. The substance of what concerns our present purpose was, that the nine cathedral churches, and other dignities, mentioned in the bull *Plantata*, did originally belong to the clergy; of which they were divested by some of our kings, with the concurrence of the see of Rome, upon the pretence of mal-administration: that, upon the breach with the church of Rome, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., the Benedictin monks being expelled, the lands and jurisdiction of the aforesaid cathedrals, &c., were bestowed upon the crown, by virtue of the laws then enacted for that purpose: that, during the said reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., the clergy were restored to their ancient jurisdiction, though part of the lands was distributed among the nobility, and other lay-proprietors, who obtained them by gift, sale, and other conveyances: that, upon a re-union of the English nation to the church of Rome, in queen Mary's reign, the alienation of church-lands, during the two late reigns, was allowed of; the lay-possessors confirmed in their titles; and the clergy's right to the cathedrals and other dignities expressly mentioned, and agreed to, by the concurrence of all the parties concerned (viz. the bulls and authentic letters of pope Julius III. and pope Paul IV.; cardinal Pole's instructions, and actual dispensation, by virtue of his legatine power; the consent and approbation of both houses of convocation, and of the supreme legislative power, which confirmed all those proceedings by a statute for that purpose): that an establishment, thus guarded, cannot be subverted by any particular decree or bull of the bishop of Rome, which takes no notice of the claims of the parties concerned, which still remain in *statu quo*, till their privileges are recalled by a power, equal to that by which they were granted: in fine, that, according to the style of the canon law (and the nature of the thing itself seems to require it), every instrument of revocation ought to express and specify the rights, powers, and privileges that are revoked.

Now, the Bull *Plantata* being silent upon the present subject, and taking no notice of the bulls, dispensations, acts of parliament, &c., whereby the clergy and present possessors held their jurisdiction and lands, it can have no force in that regard. Several other remarks are made by this learned person, tending towards the same purpose, and to show that it cannot be admitted as an authentic instrument in the present case of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, claimed by the Benedictin monks since queen Mary's reign. Now, if the controversy concerning abbey-lands is to be determined by the Bull *Plantata*, the Benedictins have no better a claim to them, than they have to jurisdiction; nay much less, if themselves may be admitted judges in the case, seeing that, in king James II.'s reign, they made a public disclaim of them. I have by me a sermon, preached before the king and queen in that reign, by Philip Ellis, one of that order, soon after consecrated bishop and vicarius apostolicus, who, in the name of the whole congregation of English Benedictin monks, makes a public disclaim of all the lands belonging to it. This is further confirmed by the testimony of Dr. Nathaniel Johnston, in his book concerning the assurance of abbey-lands to the present possessors; wherein (page 202) are the following particulars: "I have seen it under the hand of the reverend superior of all the English Benedictins, that the superiors of the Benedictins offer to give it under their hands and seals, and serious protestation, that they have no right, nor ever intend to lay any claim, to the possessions formerly belonging to their order here," &c.

Object. IX. In the year 1648, October 26, the pope ordered his nuncio Fabius (who was afterwards Alexander VII.) to enter a protest against the treaty of Munster and Osnaburgh, upon account of the non-restitution of church-lands in Germany, which, during the wars in those parts, had been seized by the laity, and still possessed, by the Lutherans especially.

Answer. As the see of Rome never goes willingly into any project for alienating or secularising the lands belonging to the church, so the least his holiness could do, upon the occasion mentioned, was to enter a protest against it. What difficulties might occur in making restitution, is not particularly specified; but it is probable, they might not be so invincible, as those in England; which might occasion the see of Rome to be more pressing for some kind of restitution. However, the Lutherans remaining in quiet possession afterwards, and those, that were converted, never being obliged to refund, is a fact sufficient to allay the scruples of the present possessors.

Object. X. Several catholics in England do still scruple at purchasing and occupying church-lands; the missionaries frequently advise the possessors to give large alms on that account; and it is remarked

by Sir Henry Spelman, in his book *De non Temerandis Ecclesiis*, that the possessors of abbey-lands have been unfortunate, ever since the first seizure.

Answer. I do not find that catholics lie under any scruples on that account; nor does the advice given by missionaries afford ground for any such conjecture. They only propose alms, as a means to avoid those hereditary misfortunes, whereby Providence is observed to punish children, for the sins of their forefathers. And it is upon this account, that Sir Henry Spelman, and several other protestant writers, have taken pains to publish to the world the evil effects of so notorious a depredation of church-lands: and several protestants still own, that money can never be worse laid out, than in such kind of purchases.

Object. XI. Notwithstanding the abbey-lands have been confirmed to the present possessors, by the several dispensations, acts, and agreements above-mentioned, the see of Rome still lays claim to a power of revocation; and the present possessors are not secure, if the pope is disposed at any time to make use of his power.

Answer. The see of Rome lays no other claim to the lands and goods of the church, than as it is stipulated by the donors and founders of such pious establishments, who commonly reserve certain rights and privileges to themselves, which cannot be disposed of without their concurrence: so that no alienation can stand good, either in law or conscience, without the consent of all the parties concerned. As to the present case, the apprehension of an act of resumption, by the sole authority of the see of Rome, is a groundless surmise, purposely invented to obstruct the return of those nations, that have deserted the church. Abbey-lands, by a general agreement of the supreme powers, civil and ecclesiastical, are become the private property of the present possessors; and there is infinitely less danger of their being disturbed, than of a person's being stripped of his paternal inheritance, by embracing the communion of the church of Rome.

No. XXVI.—(Referred to at page 66.)

A copy of a Letter, with Articles sent from the Queen's Majesty unto the Bishop of London, and by him and his officers, at her gracious commandment, to be put in speedy execution with effect in the whole diocese, as well in places exempt, as not exempt whatsoever, according to the tenour and form of the same.

Sent by the Queen's Majesty's commandment, in the month of March, Anno Dom. 1553.

[Burnet, ii. Records, 229.]

By the Queen,

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore, in the time of the late reign of ou

most dearest brother, king Edward the Sixth (whose soul God pardon), divers notable crimes, excesses, and faults, with divers kinds of heresies, simony, advoury, and other enormities, have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions; the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder, since the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the people, both of the laity and clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolence, and ungodly rule, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to the no little slander of other Christian realms, and, in a manner, to the subversion and clear defacing of this our realm: And remembering our duty to Almighty God to be, to foresee, as much as in us may be, that all virtue and godly living should be embraced, flourish, and increase, and therewith also, that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be utterly banished and put away, or, at the least wise, so nigh as might be, so bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the over hand: Understanding by very credible report and public fame, to our no small heaviness and discomfort, that, within your diocese and jurisdictions, as well not exempted, as in exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used; like also to continue and increase, unless due provision be had and made to reform the same (which earnestly, in very deed, we do mind and intend), to the uttermost all the ways we can possible, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf: For these causes, and other most just considerations, us moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matter, as, among other things, be most special and necessary to be now put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the reformation aforesaid; wherein ye shall be charged with our special commandments, by these our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption, to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our laws, as, by your doings of that is in the said articles contained, might any wise grieve you, whatsoever be threatened in any such case; and, therefore, we straitly charge and command you, and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary. Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 4th day of March, the first year of our reign.

Articles.

1. That every bishop and his officers, with all other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all speed and diligence, and all manner and ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and eccle-

siastical laws, heretofore, in the time of King Henry VIII., used within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, not being direct and expressly contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

2. Item, that no bishop, or any his officers, or other person aforesaid, hereafter, in any of their ecclesiastical writings, in process, or other extra-judicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence, *regiâ auctoritate fulcitus*.

3. Item, that no bishop, or any his officers, or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand, in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, orders, or office, any oath touching the primacy, or succession, as of late, in few years passed, hath been accustomed and used.

4. Item, that every bishop, and his officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any ecclesiastical function, benefice, or office, being a sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of heresy, or other great crime; and that the said bishop do stay, and cause to be stayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices, and ecclesiastical promotions, do not notably decay, or take hindrance, by passing or confirming of unreasonable leases.

5. Item, that every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travel for the repressing of heresies and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

6. Item, that every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do likewise travel for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred among the people, and discord amongst the same; and that schoolmasters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties, without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil corrupt doctrine; and that, doing the contrary, they may be, by the bishop and his said officers, punished and removed.

7. Item, that every bishop and all the other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and amove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who, contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves, sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices, and ecclesiastical promotions.

8. Item, that the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be

dead, than with other, whose women do yet remain in life. And likewise such priests as, with consent of their wives, or women, openly, in the presence of the bishop, do profess to abstain, to be used the more favourably; in which case, after penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may, upon just consideration, receive, and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place; appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice, whereof they be deprived, by discretion of the said bishop, or his officers, as they shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

9, Item, that every bishop, and all persons aforesaid, do foresee, that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman, or wife; but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice, or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced, every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

10. Item, that every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction, with the parishioners of every benefice, where priests do want, to repair to the next parish for divine service; or to appoint, for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curate to serve, *alternis vicibus*, in divers parishes; and to allot to the said curate, for his labour, some portion of the benefice that he so serveth.

11. Item, that all and all manner of processions of the church be used, frequented, and continued, after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.

12. Item, that all such holidays and fasting days be observed and kept, as was observed and kept, in the late time of king Henry the Eighth.

13. Item, that laudable and honest ceremonies, which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed, in the church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

14. Item, that children be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishops, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

15. Item, touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders, considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese, finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister.

16. Item, that, by the bishop of the diocese, an uniform doctrine be set forth by homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people; and that the said bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do

compel the parishioners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.

17. Item, that they examine all school-masters and teachers of children, and, finding them suspect in any ways, to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, and so help the priest to mass as hath been accustomed.

18. Item, that the said bishop, and all persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting forth of the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with repressing also and keeping under of vice and unchristianness, as they, and every of them may be seen to favour the restitution of true religion; and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and care, to the honour of God, our good contentation, and the profit of this realm, and dominions of the same.

No. XXVII.—(*Referred to at page 66.*)

Commission for the deprivation and punishment of certain bishops.

March 3, 1554.

[*Rymer, xv. 370.*]

Regina, Dei gratia, &c., prædilectis et fidelibus consiliariis suis, Stephano Wintoniensi episcopo, summo suo Angliæ cancellario, et Cuthberto Dunelmensi episcopo, necnon reverendis et dilectis sibi in Christo, Edmundo Londoniensi episcopo, Roberto Assavensi episcopo, Georgio Cicestrensi episcopo, et Antonio Landavensi episcopo, salutem.

Quia “*omne animi vitium tantò conspectius in se crimen habet, quanto qui peccat major habetur,*” et quoniam certis et indubitatis testimoniis, unâ cum facti notorietate et famâ publicâ referente, luculenter intelleximus et manifestè comperimus, Robertum archiepiscopum Eborum, Robertum Menevensen, Joannem Cestrensem, et Paulum Bristoliensem, episcopos, aut certè pro talibus se gerentes, Dei et animarum suarum salutis immemores, valdè gravia et enormia dudùm commisisse et perpetrasse scelera atque peccata, et, inter cætera, quod dolentè certè et magnâ cum amaritudine animæ nostræ proferimus, post expressam professionem castitatis expressè, ritè, et legitimè emissam, cum quibusdam mulieribus nuptias de facto, cum de jure non deberent, in Dei contemptum, et animarum suarum peccatum manifestum, necnon in grave omnium ordinum, tam clericorum quàm laicorum, scandalum, denique cæterorum omnium Christi fidelium perniciosissimum exemplum, contraxisse, et cum illis tanquam cum uxoribus cohabitasse;

Ne igitur tantum scelus remaneat impunitum, ac multos alios pertrahat in ruinam, vobis tenore præsentium committimus et mandamus, qua-

tenùs vos omnes, aut tres saltem veſtrùm, qui præſentes literas commiſſionales duxerint exequendas, dictos archiepiſcopum Eborum, Episcopum Menevenſem, episcopum Ceſtrenſem, et episcopum Briſtoliſem, diebus horis et locis veſtro, aut trium veſtrùm, arbitrio eligendis et assignandis, ad comparandum coram vobis, ſeu tribus veſtrùm, vocetis aut vocari faciatis, vocent aut vocari faciant tres veſtrùm, ſeu ſaltem, ſi ita vobis aut tribus veſtrùm videatur, eoſdem archiepiſcopum et episcopos prædictos adeatis, aut tres veſtrùm adeant, et negotio illis ſummaryè et de plano, ſine ullo ſtrepitu et figurâ iudicii, expoſito et declarato, ſi per ſummaryam examinationem et diſcuſſionem negotii per vos aut tres veſtrùm fiendam, eundem archiepiſcopum et episcopos prædictos ſic contraxiſſe aut feciſſe conſtiterit, eoſdem à dignitatibus ſuis prædictis, cum ſuis iuribus et pertinentiis uniſverſis, omnimodò amoveatis, deprivetis, et perpetuò excludetis, vel tres veſtrùm ſic amoveant, deprivent, et perpetuò excludant, pænitentiam ſalutarem et congruam pro modo culpæ, veſtro aut trium veſtrùm, arbitrio imponendam, eiſdem injungentes, cæteraque in prædictis, cum eorum incidentibus, emergentibus, annexis, et connexis quibuſcumque facientes, quæ neceſſaria fuerint vel quomodolibet opportuna :

Ad quæ omnia et ſingula facienda, expedienda, et finienda, Nos, tam auctoritate noſtrâ ordinariâ quàm abſolutâ, ex mero motu certâque ſcientiâ noſtris, vobis et tribus veſtrùm poteſtatem et auctoritatem ac licentiam concedimus et impertimus per præſentes, cum cujuſlibet coercionis et caſtigationis ſeveritate et poteſtate ; in contrarium facientibus non obſtantibus quibuſcumque. In cujus rei, &c. Teſte Reginâ, apud Weſtmonaſterium, decimo tertio die Martii.

Commission for declaring certain Bishops void. March 15, 1554.

[Ibid. xv. 370.]

Mary, by the grace of God, &c. to the righte reverende fathers in God, our right truſtie and righte welbelovid counſellors, Stephine buſſoppe of Wincheſter, our chauncellor of England, Cuthbert buſſoppe of Duresme, Edmond buſſoppe of London, Robert buſſoppe of St. Aſaphe, George buſſoppe of Chicheſter oure almoner, and Anthonye buſſoppe of Landaffe, gretinge.

Where John Taylor, doctor of devenitie, namynge hymſelf buſſoppe of Lincoln, John Hoper, namynge hymſelfe buſſoppe of Worceſter and Gloceſter, John Harley buſſoppe of Hereforde, havinge there ſaid ſeveral pretended buſhoprickes geven to them by the letters patentes of our late deriſt brother, kyng Edwarde the Sixte, To have and to hold the ſame duringe their good behaviors, with this expreſſe claufe, *Quamdiù ſe bene gesserint*, have ſythens, as hath hyn credible broughte to oure knowledge, bothe by prechinge, teachinge, and ſettinge forthe of erroneous doctrine,

and also by inordinate lief and conversation, contrarie bothe to the lawes of Almighty God and use of the universall christen church, declared themselves verie unworthie of that vocation and dignitie in the church,

We, mindinge to have there several cases dulia hard and considerid, and there uppon suche ordre taken withe theme as maye stande withe justice and the lawes, have, for the speciall trust we have conceivid of youre wisdomes, lerninge, and integritie of lief, appointid you fouere, thre, or twoo of you to be oure commissioners in this behalfe: Gevinge unto you fouere, thre, or twoo of you, full powere and authoritie to call before you, if you shall thinke so good, the said John Taylor, John Hoper, and John Harley, and every of them, and therupon, eithere by ordre of ecclesiastical laws, or of the laws of oure realme, or of bothe, procede to the declaringe of the saide bushopricks to be voide, as theye be alredie in dede voide, to the intent sume suche othere mere personages may be elected thereunto, as, for there godlie lief lerninge and sobriety, may be thought worthie the places. In witnes whereof, &c. Teste Reginâ, apud Westmonasterium, decimo quinto die Martii.

No. XXVIII.—(*Referred to at page 103.*)

A Commission for proceeding against Heretics. Feb. 8, 1557.

[Rot. Pat. 3 and 4 Phil. et Mar. p. 2, in dorso.]

Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, Spain, France, both Sicilies, Jerusalem and Ireland, and defenders of the faith, arch-dukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundy, Milan and Brabant; counts of Haspurge, Flanders, and Tyrol, to the right reverend father in God, Edmund, bishop of London; and to the reverend father in God, our right trusty, and right well-beloved counsellor, Thomas, bishop of Ely; and to our trusty and right well-beloved, William Windsor, knight, Lord Windsor; Edward North, knight, Lord North; and to our trusty and right well-beloved counsellors, John Bourne, knight, one of our chief secretaries; John Mordaunt, knight; Francis Englefield, knight, master of our wards and liveries; Edward Waldgrave, knight, master of our great wardrobe; Nicholas Hare, knight, master of the rolls in our court of chancery; and to our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Pope, knight; Roger Cholmondely, knight; Richard Read, knight; Thomas Stradling, knight; and Rowland Hill, knight; William Rastall, sergeant at law; Henry Cole, clerk, dean of Pauls; William Roper, and Randulph Cholmondely, Esquires; William Cooke, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of law, greeting.

For as much as divers devilish and clamorous persons have not only invented, bruided, and set forth divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies, and heretical opinions, and set forth divers seditious books, within this our realm of

England, meaning thereby to move, procure, and stir up divisions, strife, contentions, and seditions, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects; with divers other outrageous misdemeanours, enormities, contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people; we, minding and intending the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours, from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, have authorised, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners, and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses, and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and sundry heresies, heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and of all false rumours, tales, seditious and clamorous words and sayings, raised, published, bruited, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, letters, tales, or otherwise, in any county, city, borough, or other place or places, within this our realm of England, and elsewhere, in any place or places beyond the seas; and of the bringers in, users, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyors of any such letters, books, rumour, or tale; and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, consorters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers; giving to you, and three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to search out, and take into your hands and possession, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, writings, wheresoever they, or any of them, shall be found, as well in printers' houses and shops, as elsewhere; willing you, and every of you, to search for the same in all places, according to your discretions: And also to enquire, hear, and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, misdemeanours, and negligences, done, suffered, or committed, in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place, within this realm: And also for and concerning the taking away, or the withholding of any lands, tenements, goods, and ornaments, stocks of money, or other things, belonging to any of the same churches and chapels, and all accompts and reckonings concerning the same: And also to enquire and search out all such persons, as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or come to their parish, or other convenient places, appointed for divine service, and all such as refuse to go in processions, to take holy water, or holy bread, or otherwise to misuse themselves in any church, or other hallowed place, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be, committed within this our said realm. Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is,

that, when, and as often as, any person or persons, hereafter to be called or convented before you, do obstinately persist or stand in any manner of heresy, or heretical opinions, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the same person, or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws. And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority to enquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, barrators, quarrellers, and suspect persons, vagrant, or abiding within the city of London, or ten miles compass of the same; and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city, and compass: And further, to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages, in whatsoever diocese the same be, within this realm: Giving to you, or any three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdoms, and consciences, and discretions; willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient or necessary: And upon enquiry, and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses, before you, or three of you, concerning the premises, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet and convenient: Further willing and commanding you, and any three of you, in case you shall find any person or persons obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment; or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things touching the premises, or any part thereof, to commit the same person, or persons, so offending, to ward, there to remain, till they be by you, or three of you, enlarged and delivered. And we give to you, and any three of you, full power and authority, by these presents, to take and receive, by your discretions, of every offender or suspect person, to be convented or brought before you, a recognisance or recognisances, obligation or obligations, to our use, of such sum or sums of money, as to you, or three of you, shall seem convenient, as well for the personal appearance before you of any such suspect person, or for the performance and accomplishment of your orders and decrees, in case you shall think so convenient, as for the sure and true payment of all and every such fine and fines, as shall hereafter be

by you, or three of you, taxed or assessed upon any offender that shall be, before you, or three of you, duly convinced, as is aforesaid, to our use; to be paid at such days and times, as by you, or three of you, shall be stated, limited, or appointed: And you to certify any such recognisance, or obligation, as being taken for any fine or fines, not fully and wholly paid before you, under your hands and seals, or the hands and seals of three of you, into our court of chancery, to the intent, we may be thereof duly answered, as appertaineth.

And furthermore, we give to you, or three of you, full power and authority, by these presents, not only to call afore you all and every offender and offenders, and all and every suspect person and persons in any of the premises, but also all such, and so many, witnesses as ye shall think meet to be called; and them, and every of them, to examine and compel to answer, and swear, upon the holy evangelist, to declare the truth, in all such things, whereof they, or any of them, shall be examined, for the better trial, opening, and declaration of the premises, or of any part thereof.

And furthermore, our will and pleasure is, that you, or three of you, shall name and appoint one sufficient person, to gather up and receive all such sums of money as shall be assessed or taxed by you, or three of you, for any fine or fines, upon any person or persons, for their offence; and you, or three of you, by bill, or bills, signed with your hands, shall and may assign and appoint, as well to the said person, for his pains in receiving the said sums, as also to your clerk, messengers and attendants upon you, for their travail, pains, and charge to be sustained for us about the premises, or any part thereof, such sum and sums of money for their rewards, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought expedient: Willing and commanding you, or three of you, after the time of this our commission is expired, to certify into our exchequer, as well the name of the said receiver, as also a note of such fines as shall be set or taxed before you; to the intent, that, upon the determination of the account of the same receiver, we may be answered that, that to us shall justly appertain: willing and commanding also all our auditors, and other officers, upon the sight of the said bills, signed with the hands of you, or three of you, to make to the said receiver due allowance, according to the said bills, upon his account. Wherefore, we will and command you, our said commissioners, with diligence to execute the premises, with effect; any of our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other grants, privileges, or ordinances, which be, or may seem to be, contrary to the premises, notwithstanding.

And moreover, we will and command all and singular justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our officers, ministers, and faithful subjects, to be aiding, helping, and assisting to

you, at your commandment, in the due execution hereof, as they tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their utmost perils.

And we will and grant, that these our letters patents shall be a sufficient warrant and discharge for you, and any of you, against us, our heirs, and successors, and all, and every other person or persons, whatsoever they be, of, for, or concerning the premises, or any parcel thereof, or for the execution of this our commission, or any part thereof.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents, and to continue and endure, for one whole year next coming after the date hereof. Witness ourself, at Westminster, the 8th day of February, the third and fourth years of our reign.

No. XXIX.—(*Referred to at page 112.*)

*The Lady Mary's Declaration to the Lords, sent to her by her Father.
Before 1536.*

[Heylin, 180.]

My Lords, as touching my removal to Hatfield, I will obey his grace, as my duty is, or to any other place that his grace will appoint me: but I protest before you, and all other that be here present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take any other than myself for princess, or for the king's daughter, born in lawful matrimony; and that I will never wittingly or willingly say or do, whereby any person might take occasion to think that I agree to the contrary. Nor say I this out of any ambition, or proud mind, as God is my judge; but that if I should do otherwise, I should in my conscience slander the deed of our mother, the holy church, and the pope, who is the judge in this matter, and none other; and also should dishonour the king, my father, the queen, my mother, and falsely confess myself a bastard, which God defend that I should do, since the pope hath not so declared it by his sentence definitive, to whose final judgment I submit myself.

The Lady Mary to the King. Before 1536.

[Heylin, 180.]

In most humble wise I beseech your grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth it the same to be advertised that, this morning, my chamberlain came and showed me, that he had received a letter from Sir William Paulet, comptroller of your house, the effect whereof was, that I should, with all diligence, remove to the castle of Hertford. Whereupon I desired him to see the same letter, which he showed me; wherein was written, that "the lady Mary, the king's daughter," should remove to the place aforesaid, leaving out, in the same, the name of princess.

Which when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily that your grace was not privy to the same letter, as concerning the leaving out of the name of princess; forasmuch as I doubt not, in your goodness, but that your grace doth take me for your lawful daughter, born in true matrimony. Wherefore, if I should agree to the contrary, I should, in my conscience, run into the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly that your grace would not that I so should. And, in all other things, your grace shall have me always as humble and obedient daughter and handmaid, as ever was child to the father, which my duty bindeth me to, as knoweth our Lord, who have your grace in his most holy tuition, with much honour and long life, to his pleasure. From your manor of Beaulieu, October 2.

By your most humble daughter,
Mary, Princess.

[The following letters have been confusedly printed by Hearne, in his *Sylloge Epistolarum*, appended to the *Life of Henry V.*, by Titus Livius Foro-Juliensis. From their connexion with the subject, as well as from the interesting nature of their contents, I offer no apology for transferring them to this more appropriate place.—*T.*]

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. May 26, 1536.

Master Secretary,

I would have been a suiter to you before this time, to have been a mean for me to the king's grace, my father, to have obtained his grace's blessing and favour; but I perceived that nobody durst speak for me, as long as that woman lived, which now is gone, whom I pray our Lord, of his great mercy, to forgive. Wherefore, now she is gone, I am the bolder to write to you, as she which taketh you for one of my chief friends. And, therefore, I desire you, for the love of God, to be a suiter for me to the king's grace, to have his blessing and license to write unto his grace; which shall be a great comfort for me, as God knoweth, who have you evermore in his holy keeping. Moreover, I must desire you to accept mine evil writing; for I have not done so much this two year and more, nor could not have found the means to do it, at this time, but by my Lady Kingston's being here. At Hunsdon, the 26th of May,

By your loving friend,
Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. May 27, 1536.

My Lord,

After my most hearty commendations to you, these shall be to give you thanks for the gentle and friendly letter, which I received from you

upon Sunday last, whereby I may well perceive, not only your continual diligence to further me in the king's highness' favour (which, I take God to my judge, is mine only comfort and treasure in this world), but also your wise and friendly counsel, in advertising me to eschew such things, whereby I might seem to give any other occasion, than should be expedient for me; for the which your goodness, my lord, I think myself more bound to you, than ever I did. For rather than I would willingly commit any jot, contrary to the encreasing of the king's majesty's favour, my most gracious and benign father, towards me, I would not only utterly eschew all occasions to the contrary, according to my bounden duty, but also suffer certain pain of my body: for I take that for the chief part of my life, in this world. Wherefore, concerning the lodging of strangers, that you write to me of, although I fear it hath been reported to the worst, nevertheless, I will promise you, with God's help, from henceforth to refrain it so utterly, that of right none shall have cause to speak of it; desiring you, my lord, for God's sake, to continue your goodness, both in exhorting me to follow such things, as you think most convenient for me, and how I may eschew the contrary. For I confess the frailty of my youth to be such, that, by negligence, I may forget myself, without the stay of good counsel, which whensoever I shall hear, I trust to follow to the uttermost of my power, with God's grace; to whose keeping I commit you, desiring him to reward you for your friendly part, in this matter, towards me, with all others, in times past. From Richmond, the 27th of May.

Your assured bounden friend, during my life,
Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. 1536.

Good Master Secretary,

How much am I bound unto you, which hath not only travailed, when I was almost drowned in folly, to recover me before I sunk, and was utterly past recovery, and so to present me to the fire of grace and mercy, but also desisteth not sithence, with your good and wholesome counsels, so to arm me from any relapse, that I cannot (unless I were too wilful and obstinate, whereof there is now no spark in me) fall again into any danger. But leaving the recital of your goodness apart, which I cannot recount, for answer to the particularities of your credence, sent by my friend, Master Wrothesly; first, concerning the princess (so I think I must call her yet, for I would be loath to offend), I offered, at her entry, to that name and honour, to call her "sister;" but it was refused, unless I would also add the other title unto it, which I denied not then more obstinately, than I am now sorry for it; for that

I did therein offend my most gracious father, and his just laws : and now that you think it meet, I shall never call her by other name than "sister." Touching the nomination of such women, as I would have about me, surely, Mr. Secretary, what men or women soever the king's highness shall appoint to wait on me, without exception, shall be unto me right heartily and without respect welcome ; albeit, to express my mind to you, whom I think worthy to be accepted for their faithful service, done to the king's majesty and to me, sithence they came into my company, I promise you on my faith, Margery Baynton and Susan Clarcencyeus have, in every condition, used themselves as faithfully, painfully, and diligently, as ever did women in such a case ; as sorry when I was not so conformable as became me, as glad when I inclined any thing to my duty, as could be devised. One other there is, that was sometime my maid, whom for her virtue I love, and could be glad to have in my company, that is, Mary Brown ; and here be all that I will recommend ; and yet my estimation of these shall be measured at the king's highness', my most merciful father's pleasure and appointment, as reason is. For mine opinion touching pilgrimages, purgatory, relics, and such like, I assure you I have none at all, but such as I shall receive from him, that hath mine whole heart in keeping, that is, the king's most gracious highness, my most benign father, who shall imprint in the same, touching these matters and all other, what his estimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning shall think convenient, and limit unto me ; to whose presence, I pray God, I may once come or I die ; for every day is a year, till I may have the fruition of it ; beseeching you, good Mr. Secretary, to continue mine humble suit for the same, and for all other things whatsoever they be, to repute mine heart so firmly knit to his pleasure, that I can by no mean vary from the direction and appointment of the same. And thus most heartily fare you well. From Hunsdon, this Friday, at ten of the clock, at night.

Your assured loving friend, during my life,

Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. 1536.

After my most hearty commendations to you, my lord, I have received your letters by this bearer, wherein I perceive you do detain my servant, Randall Dod, until such time as the king's highness be at Richmond, because he might bring me some certain answer of his grace's pleasure concerning my suits, if you may obtain the same. Nevertheless, because you would not have me unquiet, you have showed your accustomed goodness towards me, in sending this messenger unto me, in the

meantime ; for the which I do thank you, with all my heart ; assuring you, that how long soever it shall be, or the king's pleasure be fully known in those things, I shall think the time but short ; for his grace hath already showed more goodness unto me, than I have deserved, and I, continuing in his grace's favour (as I trust, with the help of God, never to live so long, that I shall deserve the contrary), can desire no other worldly thing, but his presence, whereunto I trust to come the sooner, by your good help, when your wisdom shall see the time convenient. And thus I commit you to Almighty God, unto whom I both am, and shall be, a daily beadwoman for you. From Hunsdon, this Friday, at eleven of the clock, at night.

Your assured loving friend, during my life,

Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. May 30, 1536.

Master Secretary,

In as hearty manner as I can devise, I recommend me unto you, as she which thinketh herself much bound unto you, for the great pain and labour that you have taken for me, and specially for obtaining of the King my father's blessing, and license to write unto his grace, which are two of the highest comforts that ever came to me : desiring you of your gentle and friendly continuance in your suit for me, wherein (next unto God) I trust you shall find me as obedient to the King's grace, as you can reasonably require of me. Wherefore, I have a great hope in your goodness, that, by your wisdom, help, and means, his grace shall not only withdraw his displeasure, but also that it may like his grace (if it may stand with his gracious pleasure) to license me to come into his presence, for the which I pray you, in the honour of God, to be a continual suiter for me, when your discretion shall think the time most convenient : for it is the thing, which I ever have and do desire above all worldly things : And, in all these things, good Mr. Secretary, for the love of him that all comfort sendeth, I beseech you to be my most humble petitioner, and that in like case (as I take God to my judge) I would be for you, if the same did lie in my power. And thus I must desire you to accept this short and evil written letter ; for the rheum in my head will suffer me to write no more, at this time. Wherefore, I pray you, in all other things, to give credence to this bearer ; and with this end I commit you to Almighty God, whom I shall pray to be with you in everything, that you go about. From Hunsdon the 30 day of May,

By your bounden loving friend,

Marye.

The Lady Mary to the King. June 1, 1536.

In as humble and lowly a manner, as is possible for a child to use to her father and sovereign lord, I beseech your grace of your daily blessing, which is my chief desire in this world. And, in the same humble wise, knowledging all the offences that I have done to your grace, since I had first discretion to offend unto this hour, I pray your grace in the honour of God, and for your fatherly pity, to forgive me them; for the which I am as sorry, as any creature living; and, next unto God, I do and will submit me in all things to your goodness and pleasure, to do with me whatsoever shall please your grace; humbly beseeching your highness to consider, that I am but a woman, and your child, who hath committed her soul only to God, and her body to be ordered in this world, as it shall stand with your pleasure; whose order and direction, whatsoever it shall please your highness to limit and direct to me, I shall most humbly and willingly stand content to follow, obey, and accomplish, in all points. And so, in the lowliest manner that I can, I beseech your grace to accept me, your humble daughter, which doth not a little rejoyce to hear the comfortable tidings, not only to me but to all your grace's realm, concerning the marriage, which is between your grace and the queen now being, your grace's wife, and my mother-in-law. The hearing whereof caused nature to constrain me to be an humble suiter to your grace, to be so good and gracious lord and father to me, as to give me leave to wait upon the queen, and to do her grace such service, as shall please her to command me; which my heart shall be as ready and obedient to fulfil (next unto your grace), as the most humble servant that she hath: trusting in your grace's mercy to come into your presence, which ever hath and shall be the greatest comfort, that I can have within this world: having also a full hope in your grace's natural pity, which you have always used, as much or more than any prince christened, that your grace will show the same upon me, your most humble and obedient daughter, which daily prayeth God to have your grace in his holy keeping, with a long life, and as much honour, as ever had king; and to send your grace shortly a prince; whereof no creature living shall more rejoyce or heartilier pray for continually than I, as my duty bindeth me. From Hunsdon the first day of June,

By your grace's most humble and obedient
daughter and handmaid,

Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. June 7, 1536.

Good Mr. Secretary,

I think so long to hear some comfort from the king's grace, my father,

whereby I may perceive his grace, of his princely goodness and fatherly pity, to have accepted my letter and withdrawn his displeasure towards me, that nature moveth me to be so bold, to send his grace a token, which my servant, this bearer, hath to deliver to you, or to any other at your appointment; desiring you (for the love of God) to find some means, by your wisdom and goodness, that the king may be so good and gracious lord to me, as to send me a token; which, I assure you, shall be one of my greatest worldly comforts, till it shall please his grace to license me to come into his most desired presence; the suit whereof my full trust is in you that you will not forget, when you shall see the time convenient. And thus I commit you to God, whom I both do and shall daily pray to reward you for your great pains and labours, taken at all times for me. From Hunsdon the 7th of June,

By your assured loving friend, during my life,
Marye.

The Lady Mary to the King. June 8, 1536.

In as humble and lowly manner, as is possible for me, I beseech your grace of your daily blessing, by the obtaining whereof, with license also to write unto your grace, albeit I understand, to mine inestimable comfort, that your princely goodness and fatherly pity hath forgiven all mine offences, and withdrawn your dreadful displeasure, long time conceived against me, yet shall my joy never be full, nor my hope satisfied, unto such time, as your grace vouchsafe more sensibly to express your reconciled heart, love, and favour towards me, either by your gracious letters, or else some token, till I may, by your merciful calling and sufferance, attain the fruition of your most desired presence; for the which I humbly desire your grace to pardon me, though I trouble you with my continual suit, and rude writing; for nature will suffer me to do none otherwise: and, that obtained, I shall have my chief worldly joy and desire, as I take Almighty God to my record, whom I do and shall daily pray (as I am bound by my duty) to preserve your grace and the queen with long life and much honour, and shortly to send a prince between you both: which shall be gladder tidings to me, than I can express with writing. From Hunsdon, the viii. day of June.

By your grace's most humble and obedient
daughter and handmaid,
Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. June 10, 1536.

Good master Secretary,

I do send you by this bearer, my servant, both the king's highness' letter sealed, and the copy of the same again to you; whereby I trust you shall

perceive, that I have followed your advice and counsel, and will do, in all things concerning my duty to the king's grace (God and my conscience not offended): for I take you for one of my chief friends, next unto his grace and the queen. Wherefore, I desire you, for the passion, which Christ suff' red for you and me, and as my very trust is in you, that you will find such means, through your great wisdom, that I be not moved to agree to any further entry in this matter, than I have done. For I assure you, by the faith that I owe to God, I have done the uttermost, that my conscience will suffer me; and I do neither desire nor intend to do less than I have done. But, if I be put to any more (I am plain with you as with my great friend), my said conscience will in no ways suffer me to consent thereunto. And this point except, you nor any other shall be so much desirous to have me obey the king in all things, as I shall be ready to fulfil the same. For I promise you (as I desire God to help me at my most need), I had rather leese the life of my body, than displease the king's grace willingly. Sir, I beseech you, for the love of God, to take in good worth this rude letter: for I would not have troubled you so much, at this time, but that the end of your letter caused me a little to fear, that I shall have more business hereafter. And thus I commit you to God, whom I do and shall daily pray to be with you in every thing, that you go about. From Hunsdon the x. of June.

Your assured bounden loving friend, during my life,
Marye.

The Lady Mary to the King. June 10, 1536.

In as humble and lowly manner, as is possible for me, I beseech your most gracious highness of your daily blessing. And, albeit I have already, as I trust in God, upon mine humble and hearty suit and submission, requiring mercy and forgiveness for mine offences to your majesty, obtained the same, with license to write unto you, whereby I have also conceived great hope and confidence, that your grace, of your inestimable goodness, will likewise forgive me my said offences, and withdraw your displeasure conceived upon the same; yet shall my joy never return perfectly to me, ne my hope be satisfied, until such time, as it may please your grace sensibly to express your gracious forgiveness unto me, or such a towardness thereof, and of the reconciliation of your favour, by your most gracious letters, some token, or message, as I may conceive a perfect trust, that I shall not only receive my most hearty and fervent desire therein, but, for a confirmation thereof, impetrate an access to your majesty, which shall, of all worldly things, be to me most joyous and comfortable; for that, in the same, I shall have the fruition of your most noble presence, most heartily (as my duty requireth) desired. I do most

humbly beseech your grace to pardon me, though I presume thus to molest your gracious ears with my suits and rude writing; for nature hath had his operation in the same. Eftsoons, therefore, most humbly prostrate before your noble feet, your most obedient subject and humble child, that hath not only repented her offences hitherto, but also decried simply from henceforth and wholly, next to Almighty God, to put my state, continuance, and living in your gracious mercy; and likewise to accept the condition thereof at your disposition and appointment, whatsoever it shall be; desiring your majesty to have pity on me, in the granting of mine humble suits and desires, who shall continually pray to Almighty God (as I am most bounden) to preserve your grace, with the queen, and shortly to send you a prince, which shall be gladder tidings to me, than I can express in writing. From Hunsdon the 10th of June.

Your grace's most humble and obedient
daughter and handmaid,
Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. June 13, 1536.

Good Mr. Secretary,

I do thank you, with all my heart, for the great pain and sweat you have had for me; for the which I think myself very much bound to you. And whereas I do perceive by your letters, that you do mislike mine exception in my letter to the king's grace, I assure you, I did not mean, as you do take it: for I do not mistrust, that the king's goodness will move me to any thing, which should offend God and my conscience. But that which I did write was only by the reason of continual custom; for I have always used, both in writing and speaking, to except God in all things. Nevertheless, because you have exhorted me to write to his grace again, and I cannot devise what I should write more, but your own last copy, without adding or minishing, therefore, I do send you by this bearer, my servant, the same, word for word, and it is unsealed, because I cannot endure to write another copy. For the pain in my head and teeth hath troubled me so sore, these two or three days, and doth yet so continue, that I have very small rest, day or night. Wherefore, I trust in your goodness, that you will accept this, and find such means, by your wisdom, that the king's grace may do the same: which thing I desire you, in the honour of God, to procure, as my very trust is in you: for I know none to make suit unto, nor to ask counsel of, but only you, whom I commit to God, desiring him to help you in all your business. From Hunsdon the 13th day of June,

Your assured bounden loving friend, during my life,
Marye.

The Lady Mary to the King. June 14, 1536.

In my most humble and lowly manner, beseeching your grace's daily blessing. Forasmuch as sithence it pleased your most gracious mercy, upon mine hearty repentance for mine offences and trespasses to your majesty, and mine humble and simple submission to the same of my life, state, and condition, to be gladly received at your highness' hand and appointment, whatsoever the same shall think convenient for me, without the remainder of any will in myself, but such, as shall be instilled from the most noble mouth of your excellent majesty, to grant me license to write unto you; albeit, I have written twice unto your highness, trusting to have, by some gracious letters, token, or message, perceived sensibly the mercy, clemency, and pity of your grace, and, upon the operation of the same, at the last also to have attained the fruition of your most noble presence, which above all worldly things I desire; yet I have not obtained my said fervent and hearty desire, ne any piece of the same, to my great and intolerable discomfort. I am enforced, by the compulsion of nature, eftsoons to cry unto your merciful ears, and, most humbly prostrate before your feet, to beseech your grace to have pity and compassion of me, and in such wise to put apart your displeasure, justly conceived against me, as I may feel some piece of your most abundant grace, that hath never wanted to them, that have inwardly repented their offences, not committed by malice, but by young frailty and ignorance. For yet I remain almost void of all hope, saving, the confidence I have in your blessed nature recomforteth me. And therefore, eftsoons prostrate at your noble feet, I beseech your majesty to countervail my transgressions with my repentance for the same, and thereupon to grant some little spark of my most humble suit and desire, which (God is my judge) I desire for no worldly respect; trusting in Almighty God to use myself so from henceforth, as your grace shall have cause to think your mercy and pity well extended unto me: to whom I shall daily pray (as I am most bounden) to preserve your highness with the queen, and shortly to send you issue, which shall be gladder tidings to me, than I can express in writing. From Hunsdon the 14th day of June,

Your most humble and obedient daughter and handmaid,
Marye.

Articles and Injunctions, given by the king's highness to his trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, the Duke of Norfolk, whom, with certain others in his company, his majesty sendeth to the lady Mary, his daughter, for the purposes ensuing. June, 1536.

[Heylin, 181.]

First, Whereas the said lady Mary hath sundry ways, with long continuance, showed herself so obstinate towards the king's majesty, her sovereign lord and father, and so disobedient to his laws, conceived and made upon most just, virtuous, and godly grounds, that, as the wilful disobedience thereof seemeth a monster in nature, so, unless the mercy of his highness had been most abundantly extended unto her, by the course of his grace's laws, and the force of his justice she endangered herself so far, that it was greatly to his highness' regret and hearty sorrow, to see and perceive how little she esteemeth the same, extending to the loss of his favour, the loss of her honour, the loss of her life, and, undoubtedly, to the indignation of Almighty God; for that she neither obeyeth her father, and sovereign, nor his just and virtuous laws afore-said: and that, of late, nevertheless, calling to remembrance her transgressions and offences in this part, towards God, her father, and sovereign lord, the king's highness, she hath written to the same three sundry letters, containing a declaration of her repentance conceived for the premises, with such an humble and simple submission, as she appeareth not only to submit herself wholly and without exception (especially by the last letter) to the laws, but also, for her state and condition, to put herself only to his grace's mercy, nothing desiring, but mercy and forgiveness for her offences, with a reconciliation to his grace's favour: albeit, his majesty hath been so ingratly handled and used by her, as is afore declared, that the like would enforce any private person to abandon, for ever, such an unkind and inobedient child from their grace and favour, yet, such is his majesty's gracious and divine nature, such is his clemency and pity, such his merciful inclination and princely heart, that, as he hath been ever ready to take pity and compassion of all offenders repentantly calling and crying for the same, so, in case he may throughly perceive the same to be in the said lady Mary's heart, which she hath put in pen and writing, his highness, considering the imbecility of her sex, being the same is frail, inconstant, and easy to be persuaded by simple counsel, can be right well contented to remit unto her part of his said displeasure. And, therefore, hath at this time, for the certain knowledge of her heart and stomach, sent unto her his said cousin, with others, to demand and enquire of her certain questions; her answers whereunto, his pleasure is, they shall require, and note in

writing, which shall thoroughly decipher, whether she be indeed the person she pretendeth, or, for any respect, hath, with general words, laboured to cloak the special matter, which is repugnant and contrary to that which his majesty hath gathered and conceived of the same.

And first, after their access and declaration of the premises, they shall, for their first question, demand of her, whether she doth recognize and knowledge the king's highness for her sovereign lord and king in the imperial crown of this realm of England, and will, and doth submit herself unto his highness, and to all and singular the laws and statutes of this realm, as becometh every true and faithful subject to do?

Also, whether she will, with all her powers and qualities that God hath endowed her withal, not only obey, keep, and observe all and singular laws and statutes of this realm, but also set forth, advance, and maintain the same, to the utmost of her power, according to her bounden duty?

Also, whether she will recognize, accept, take, and repute the king's highness to be supreme head in earth, under Christ, of the church of England, and utterly refuse the bishop of Rome's pretended power and jurisdiction, heretofore usurped in this realm, according to the laws and statutes of the same, made and ordained in the behalf of all the king's true subjects, humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and observed; and also will, and do renounce, and utterly forsake, all manner of remedy, interest, and advantage, by the said bishop of Rome's laws, process, or jurisdiction, to her in any wise appertaining, or that hereafter may, by any title, colour, or mean, belong, grow, succeed, or appertain, or in any case may follow or ensue?

And, whether she will and doth, of her duty and obedience towards God, her allegiance towards the king's highness, and the laws of this realm, and also of the sincere love and zeal that she beareth towards the truth, freely and frankly recognize and knowledge, without any other respect, both by God's law and man's law, the marriage, heretofore had between his majesty and her mother, to be unlawful?

Also, be she enquired or examined, for what cause, and by whose motion and means she hath continued and remained in her obstinacy so long, and who did embolden and animate her thereto; with other circumstances thereof appertaining?

Also, what is the cause, that she, at this present time, rather than at any other heretofore, doth submit herself.

Cromwell to the Lady Mary. June 1536.

Madam,

I have received your letters, whereby it appeareth you be in great dis-

comfort, and do desire, that I should find the means to speak with you. For answer whereunto, ye shall understand, that how great soever your discomfort is, it can be no greater than mine, who hath, upon your letters, spoken so much of your repentance for your wilful obstinacy against the king's highness, and of your humble submission in all things, without exception or qualification, to obey to his pleasure and laws, that, knowing how diversely and contrarily you proceeded at the late being of his majesty's council with you, I am both much ashamed of that I have said, and likewise afraid of that I have done; insomuch, that what the sequel thereof shall be, God knoweth. Thus with your folly you undo yourself, and all that hath wished your good; and yet, I will say unto you, as I have said elsewhere heretofore, that it were great pity ye should not be an example in a punishment, if ye will make yourself an example in the contempt of God, your natural father, and his laws, by your own only fantasy, contrary to the judgments and determinations of all men, that ye must confess do know and love God, as well as you, except you will shew yourself altogether presumptuous. Wherefore, madam, to be plain with you, as God is my witness, like as I think you the most obstinate and obdurate woman, all things considered, that ever was, and one that, so persevering, well deserveth the reward of malice, in extremity of mischief; so I dare not open my lips to name you, unless I may have such a ground thereunto, that it may appear you were mistaken, or, at the least, that you be both repentant for your ingratitude and miserable unkindness, and ready to do all things, that ye be bound unto by your duty of allegiance, if nature were secluded from you, and in a like degree planted in the same, as it is in every other common subject. And, therefore, I have sent unto you a certain book of articles, whereunto if you will set your hand, and subscribe your name, you shall undoubtedly please God, being the same conformable to his truth, so as you will, in semblable manner, conceive it in your heart without dissimulation. Upon the receipt whereof again from you with a letter, declaring, that you think in heart that you have subscribed with hand, I shall eftsoons adventure to speak for your reconciliation. And if you will not with speed leave all your sinister counsels, which have brought you to the point of utter undoing, without remedy, and herein follow mine advice, I take my leave of you for ever, and desire you never to write or make means unto me hereafter: for I will never think you other than the most ingrate, unnatural, and most obstinate person living, both to God and your most dear and benign father. And I advise you to nothing, but I beseech God never to help me, if I know it not so certainly to be your bounden duty, by God's laws and man's laws, that I must needs judge that person, that shall refuse it, not meet to live in a Christian congregation:

to the witness whereof I take Christ, whose mercy I refuse, if I write any thing unto you that I have not professed in my heart, and know to be true.

The Lady Mary to the King. June, 1536.

Most humbly prostrate before the feet of your most excellent majesty, your most humble, faithful, and obedient subject, which hath so extremely offended your most gracious highness, that mine heavy and fearful heart dare not presume to call you father, ne your majesty hath any cause, by my deserts, saving the benignity of your most blessed nature doth surmount all evils, offences, and trespasses, and is ever merciful, and ready to accept the penitent, calling for grace in any convenient time. Having received, this Thursday at night, certain letters from Mr. Secretary, as well advising me to make mine humble submission immediately to yourself, which, because I durst not, without your gracious license, presume to do before, I lately sent unto him, as signifying, that your most merciful heart and fatherly pity had granted me your blessing, with condition, that I should persevere in that I had commenced and begun; and that I should not eftsoons offend your majesty by the denial or refusal of any such articles and commandments, as it may please your highness to address unto me, for the perfect trial of mine heart and inward affection. For the perfect declaration of the bottom of my heart and stomach, first, I knowledge myself to have most unkindly and unnaturally offended your most excellent highness, in that I have not submitted myself to your most just and virtuous laws, and for mine offence therein; which I must confess were in me a thousand fold more grievous, than they could be in any other living creature. I put myself wholly and entirely to your gracious mercy, at whose hand I cannot receive that punishment for the same, that I have deserved. Secondly, to open mine heart to your grace in these things, which I have heretofore refused to condescend unto, and have now written with mine own hand, sending the same to your highness herewith, I shall never beseech your grace to have pity and compassion of me, if ever you shall perceive, that I shall privily or apertly vary or alter from one piece of that I have written and subscribed, or refuse to confirm, ratify, or declare the same, where your majesty shall appoint me. Thirdly, as I have and shall, knowing your excellent learning, virtue, wisdom, and knowledge, put my soul into your direction, and, by the same, hath and will in all things from henceforth direct my conscience, so my body I do wholly commit to your mercy and fatherly pity; desiring no state, no condition, nor no manner degree of living, but such as your grace shall appoint unto me; knowledging and confessing, that my state

cannot be so vile, as either the extremity of justice would appoint unto me, or as mine offences have required and deserved; and whatsoever your grace shall command me to do, touching any of these points, either for things past, present, or to come, I shall as gladly do the same, as your majesty can command me. Most humbly, therefore, beseeching your mercy, most gracious sovereign lord and benign father, to have pity and compassion of your miserable and sorrowful child, and with the abundance of your inestimable goodness to overcome mine iniquity towards God, your grace, and your whole realm, as I may feel some sensible token of reconciliation, which, God is my judge, I only desire, without any respect: to whom I shall daily pray for the preservation of your highness, with the queen's grace, and that it may please him to send you issue. From Hunsdon this Thursday at 11 of the clock at night.

Your grace's most humble and obedient
daughter and handmaid,
Marye.

The Lady Mary's Submission. June, 1536.

The confession of me, the lady Mary, made, upon certain points and articles under written, in the which as I do now plainly, and with all mine heart, confess and declare mine inward sentence, belief, and judgment, with a due conformity of obedience to the laws of the realm, so, minding for ever to persist and continue in this determination, without change, alteration, or variance, I do most humbly beseech the king's highness, my father, whom I have obstinately and inobediently offended in the denial of the same heretofore, to forgive mine offences therein, and to take me to his most gracious mercy.

First, I confess and knowledge the king's majesty to be my sovereign lord and king in the imperial crown of this realm of England, and do submit myself to his highness, and to all and singular laws and statutes of this realm, as becometh a true and a faithful subject to do; which I shall also obey, keep, observe, advance, and maintain, according to my bounden duty, with all the power, force, and qualities, that God hath indued me, during my life.

Item, I do recognise, accept, take, repute and knowledge the king's highness to be supreme head in earth, under Christ, of the church of England; and do utterly refuse the bishop of Rome's pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction, within this realm heretofore usurped, according to the laws and statutes made in that behalf, and of all the king's true subjects humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and observed: and also do utterly renounce and forsake all manner of

remedy, interest, and advantage, which I may, by any means, claim by the bishop of Rome's laws, process, jurisdiction, or sentence, at this present time, or in any wise hereafter, by any manner, title, colour, mean, or case, that is, shall, or can be devised for that purpose.

Marye.

Item, I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty towards God, the king's highness, and his laws, without other respect, recognise and acknowledge, that the marriage heretofore had between his majesty and my mother, the late princess dowager, was, by God's law and man's law, incestuous and unlawful.

Marye.

The Lady Mary to the King. June 26, 1536.

Most humbly, obediently, and gladly lying at the feet of your most excellent majesty, my most dear and benign father, and sovereign lord: I have this day perceived your gracious clemency, and merciful pity, to have overcome my most unkind and unnatural proceedings towards you, and your most just and virtuous laws; the great and inestimable joy whereof I cannot express, ne have any thing worthy to be again presented to your majesty, for the same your fatherly pity extended towards me, most ingrately on my part abandoned, as much as in me lay, but my poor heart, which I send unto your highness, to remain in your hand, to be for ever used, directed, and framed, whiles God shall suffer life to remain in it, at your only pleasure; most humbly beseeching your grace to accept and receive the same, being all that I have to offer, which shall never alter, vary, or change, from that confession and submission, which I have made unto your highness, in the presence of your council, and other attending upon the same; for whose preservation, with my most gracious mother the queen, I shall daily pray to God; whom eftsoons I beseech to send you issue, to his honour, and the comfort of your whole realm. From Hunsdon the 26th day of June.

Your grace's most humble and obedient

daughter and handmaid,

Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. July 1, 1536.

My Lord,

In my heartiest manner I commend me unto you, as she which cannot express in writing the great joy and comfort, that I have received, as well by your letters, as by the report of my servant, this bearer, concerning the king my sovereign father's goodness towards me; which

I doubt not but I have obtained much the better, by your continual suit and means. Wherefore, I think myself bound to pray for you, during my life; and that I both do and will continue, with the grace of God. Sir, as touching mine apparel, I have made no bill: for the king's highness favour is so good clothing unto me, that I can desire no more; and so I have written to his grace, resting wholly in him, and willing to wear whatsoever his grace shall appoint me. My lord, I do thank you, with all my heart, for the horse, that you sent me with this bearer: wherein you have done me a great pleasure; for I had never a one to ride upon sometimes, for my health; and besides that my servant sheweth me, that he is such a one, that I may of good right accept, not only the mind of the giver, but also the gift. And thus I commit you to God, whom I do and shall daily pray to be with you, in all your business, and to reward you for so exceeding great pains and labours, that you take in my suits. From Hunsdon, the first day of July.

Your assured loving friend during my life,

Marye.

The Lady Mary to the King. July 8, 1536.

My bounden duty most humbly remembered to your most excellent majesty. Whereas I am inhabile and insufficient to render and express to your highness those most hearty and humble thanks for your gracious mercy and fatherly pity, surmounting mine offences, at this time extended towards me, I shall, prostrate at your most noble feet, humbly, and with the very bottom of my stomach, beseech your grace to repute that in me, which, in my poor heart, remaining in your most noble hand, I have conceived and profest towards your grace, whiles the breath shall remain in my body, that is, that, as I am now in such merciful sort recovered, being more than almost lost with mine own folly, that your majesty may as well accept me justly your bounden slave by redemption, as your most humble, faithful, and obedient child and subject, by the course of nature planted in this your most noble realm: so shall I for ever persevere and continue towards your highness, in such conformity and due obedience, as I doubt not, but, with the help of God, your grace shall see and perceive a will and intent in me to redouble again that hath been amiss on my behalf, conformably to such words and writings, as I have spoken and sent unto your highness; from the which I will never vary during my life; trusting that your grace hath conceived that opinion of me, which to remember is mine only comfort. And thus I beseech our Lord to preserve your grace in health, with my very natural mother, the queen, and to send you shortly

issue, which I shall as gladly and willingly serve, with my hands under their feet, as ever did poor subject their most gracious sovereign. From Hunsdon, the 8th of July.

Your grace's most humble and obedient
daughter and handmaiden,
Marye.

The Lady Mary to the King. July 21, 1536.

My bounden duty most humbly remembered, with like desire of your daily blessing, and semblable thanks upon my knees to your majesty, both for your great mercy lately extended unto me, and for the certain arguments of a perfect reconciliation, which, of your most abundant goodness, I have sithence perceived. Whereas, upon mine inward and hearty suit and desire, that it would please your highness to grant me license some time to send my servant to know of your grace's health and prosperity, which I beseech our Lord long to preserve, being the thing that in this world is my only comfort, to my great quiet and satisfaction I obtained the same. I have now, to use the benefit of that especial grace, sent this bearer, mine old servant, Randal Dod, in the lieu of a token, to present unto your majesty these my rude letters, written with the hand of her, whom your highness shall ever find true, faithful, and obedient to you and yours, as your majesty and your laws have and shall limit unto me, without alteration, till the hour of my death; and so to bring me again relation of your prosperous estate. Most humbly beseeching your highness, in case I be over hasty in sending so soon, to pardon me, and to think that I would a thousand fold more gladly to be there, in the room of a poor chamberer, to have the fruition of your presence, than to live in the degree of an empress, with the want of the same. My sister, Elizabeth, is in good health, thanks be to our Lord, and such a child toward, as I doubt not but your highness shall have cause to rejoice of, in time coming, as knoweth Almighty God, who send your grace, with the queen, my good mother, health, with the accomplishment of your desires. From Hunsdon, the 21st day of July.

Your highness' most humble daughter,
handmaid, and faithful subject,
Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. August 20, 1536.

My Lord,

After my most hearty commendations, I think the time so long since I heard from the king's highness, my most benign father, that nature

moveth me to be so bold, as to send my servant, this bearer, with letters to his grace, and also to the queen, because I would very fain know how their graces do, desiring you, my lord, if, for lack of wit, I have sent sooner than I should have done, molesting his grace with my rude letters, you will make such an excuse for me, as your wisdom shall think best: for, till it may please his highness to license me to come into his presence, which, of all worldly things, is my chiefest desire, my next comfort is, to hear often of his grace's health and prosperous estate, which I beseech our Lord long to preserve. My lord, your servant hath brought me the well-favoured horse, that you have given me, with a very goodly saddle, for the which I do thank you with all my heart: for he seemeth to be indeed as good as I have heard reported of him, which was, that he had all qualities belonging to a good horse. Wherefore I trust, in time to come, the riding upon him shall do me very much good, concerning my health; for I am wont to find great ease in riding. And thus, my lord, your benefits increase daily so much towards me, that I can do nothing for the same again, but pray for you to him, which is able to recompense all good deeds, unto whom I commit you. From Hunsdon, the 20th August.

Your assured loving friend, during my life,

Marye.

The Lady Mary to the King. Oct. 2, 1536.

Most humbly prostrate at your highness' most noble feet, with like desire of your majesty's daily blessing; I do, in semblable manner thank your grace for the great and inestimable goodness, which your most noble princely heart and fatherly pity does daily extend and show unto me; the least piece whereof albeit I shall never be able towards your highness to recompense, yet I trust, with God's help, with such faithful obedience, redubbe that I have offended, that your grace nor your's shall never have cause to repent any part of your most abundant goodness declared towards me; trusting in God, that your grace doth so accept me, who shall never, during my life, do or attempt that thing, that may sound to the contrary, to win by the same the whole world; as our Lord knoweth, to whom I do and shall daily pray for the preservation of your most excellent highness in health and felicity, with the granting of your noble and virtuous desires. From Hertford, the second day of October.

Your grace's most humble daughter and subject,

Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. December 8, 1536.

My Lord,—After my most hearty commendations to you, forasmuch as I have always found your gentleness such, as never refused to further my continual suits to you, it maketh me the bolder to use mine accustomed manner in writing to you, to be mean for me to the king's highness for such things as I have need of; which, at this time, is this. It hath pleased the king's majesty, my most gracious father, of his great goodness, to send me, every quarter of this year, forty pounds, as you best know; for you were always a mean for it, as (I thank you) you be for all my other suits. And seeing this quarter of Christmas must needs be more chargeable than the rest, specially considering the house I am in, I would desire you, if your wisdom thought it most convenient, to be a suiter to the king's said highness (if it may so stand with his gracious pleasure) somewhat to encrease that sum. And thus, my lord, I am ashamed always to be a beggar to you; but that the occasion at this time is such, that I cannot choose. Wherefore, I trust, in your goodness, you will accept it thereafter. And thus I commit you to God, desiring him to reward you for all your pains taken for me. From Hunsdon, the 8th of December.

Your assured loving friend, during my life,

Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. August 24.

My lord,—After my most hearty commendations to you, I have received your letters by this bearer, whereby I do perceive the king's highness, my most gracious father's pleasure, touching my communication to the emperor's ambassadors, when they shall come to visit the prince's grace, my brother; which thing, although (his grace's pleasure except) I would have been very loath to have spoken of, considering myself a young maid, and very willing to continue that life, if his said majesty will permit the same, nevertheless, according to my duty, I shall fulfil all things contained in your letters, as well as my simple wit will serve me; and also write their whole answer unto you, as soon as they shall depart. In the mean while, not forgetting the inestimable goodness of the king's majesty towards me, in extemyng my bestowing more than I have or shall deserve, which can do nothing, but, as I am most bounden, in all things obey his grace's commandments to the end of my life; as knoweth God, whose help I shall continually ask, to perform my said duty. And thus [I] commit you to his keeping. From Portgore, this Saint Bartholomew's day, at after dinner.

Your assured loving friend, during my life,

Marye.

The Lady Mary to Cromwell. December 17.

My Lord,

After my most hearty commendations, I do, in semblable manner, thank you for your gentle and friendly letters. How I have proceeded, touching the counsel of the same, for the matter declared by Mr. Wriothesley, because, both by his relation and by my letters to the king's majesty, you shall perceive, I shall not trouble you with my vain words in writing. Only this I will add, that, howsoever I am in this kind of thing affected, his highness in this and all other things, during my life, shall find me his most humble and obedient daughter, subject, and servant; and so I beseech you ever to say and answer for me. I shall not, God willing, disapprove your saying in the same, while the breath shall be in my body; as knows our Lord, who send you health. From Hertford Castle, the 17th of December, late at night. I beseech your lordship to pardon me, that I write not this letter of mine own hand. I was something weary with the writing of the other letter, and, upon trust of your goodness, I caused one of my men in this to supply the place of a Secretary.

Your assured loving friend, during my life,

Marye.

Wriothesley to ———. Dec. 17.

Pleaseth your lordship to understand, that, arriving here at Hertford Castle this afternoon, about two of the clock, upon knowledge given of my coming, and desire to speak with my lady Mary's grace, I had immediately access to the same, to whom, after the delivery of the king's majesty's token, with his grace's most hearty commendations, I opened the cause and purpose of my coming, in as good sort as my poor wit had conceived the same. Whereunto she made me answer, that, albeit the matter were towards her of great importance, and besides, of such sort and nature, as, the king's majesty not offended, she would wish and desire never to enter that kind of religion, but to continue still a maid, during her life; yet, remembering how, by the laws of God and nature, she was bound to be in this and all other things obedient to the king's highness, and how, by her own bond and obligation, she had heretofore, of her free will, according to her said bond and duty, obliged herself to the same, though she might, by frailty, be induced, in this so weighty a thing, to cast many doubts, and to take great stay with herself; yet wholly and entirely, without qualification, she committed herself to his majesty, as to her most benign and merciful father, and most gracious sovereign lord; trusting, and assuredly

knowing, that his goodness and wisdom would so provide in all things for her, as should much exceed her simple capacity, and redound to his grace's honour and her quiet; which thing she will this night write with her grace's own hand, to be sent by me to-morrow at my return. I assure your lordship, here can be no more desired, than with all humility and obedience is offered. And because I must tarry all night for these letters, I thought meet to signify, how far I had proceeded, to the intent the king's majesty, knowing the same, may further in all things determine, as to his grace's high wisdom shall be thought meet and expedient. When I had done with her grace, I went then to my lady Elizabeth's grace, and to the same made the king's majesty's most hearty commendations, declaring, that his highness desired to hear of her health, and sent her his blessing. She gave humble thanks, enquiring again of his majesty's welfare, and that with as great a gravity, as she had been forty years old. If she be no worse educated than she now appeareth to me, she will prove of no less honour and womanhood, than shall beseem her father's daughter; whom our Lord long preserve unto us, and send your lordship also long life, many years to serve the same. From Hertford Castle, this Wednesday, the 17th of December.

Your lordship's bounden beadsman,

Thomas Wriothesley.

No. XXX.—(*Referred to at page 113.*)

The Princess Mary to the Lord Protector. June 22, 1549.

[Foxye, ii. l. ix. 44.]

My Lord,

I perceive, by the letters which I late received from you, and other of the king's majesty's council, that ye be all sorry to find so little conformity in me, touching the observation of his majesty's laws; who am well assured that I have offended no law, unless it be a late law of your own making, for the altering of matters in religion, which, in my conscience, is not worthy to have the name of a law, both for the king's honour's sake, the wealth of the realm, and giving an occasion of an evil bruit through all Christendom; besides the partiality used in the same, and (as my said conscience is very well persuaded) the offending of God, which passeth all the rest. But I am well assured, that the king his father's laws were all allowed and consented to, without compulsion, by the whole realm, both spiritual and temporal, and all the executors sworn upon a book to fulfil the same; so that it was an authorized law; and that I have obeyed, and will do, with the grace of God, till the king's majesty, my brother, shall have sufficient

years to be a judge in these matters himself. Wherein, my lord, I was plain with you, at my last being in the court, declaring unto you, at that time, whereunto I would stand; and now do assure you all, that the only occasion of my stay from altering mine opinion is for two causes; one principally for my conscience sake; the other, that the king, my brother, shall not hereafter charge me to be one of those that were agreeable to such alterations in his tender years. And what fruits daily grow by such changes, since the death of the king, my father, to every indifferent person it well appeareth, both to the displeasure of God and unquietness of the realm. Notwithstanding, I assure you all, I would be as loath to see his highness take hurt, or that any evil should come to this his realm, as the best of you all: and none of you have the like cause, considering how I am compelled by nature, being his majesty's poor and humble sister, most tenderly to love, and pray for him, and unto this, his realm, (being born within the same) wish all wealth and prosperity, to God's honour. And if any judge of me the contrary, for mine opinion's sake, as I trust none doth, I doubt not, in the end, with God's help, to prove myself as true a natural and humble sister, as they of the contrary opinion, with all their devices, and altering of laws, shall prove themselves true subjects; praying you, my lord, and the rest of the council, no more to trouble and unquiet me with matters touching my conscience, wherein I am at a full point, with God's help, whatsoever shall happen to me; intending, with his grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suits, but to bestow the short time I think to live, in quietness, and pray for the king's majesty, and all you; heartily wishing, that your proceedings may be to God's honour, the safeguard of the king's person, and quietness to the whole realm. Moreover, where your desire is that I should send my comptroller and Dr. Hopton unto you, by whom you would signify your minds more amply, to my contentation and honour, it is not unknown to you all, that the chief charge of my house resteth only upon the travails of my said comptroller, who hath not been absent from my house three whole days, since the setting up of the same, unless it were for my letters patents: so that, if it were not for his continual diligence, I think my little portion would not have stretched so far. And my chaplain, by occasion of sickness, hath been long absent, and is not yet able to ride. Therefore like as I cannot forbear my comptroller, and my priest is not able to journey, so shall I desire you, my lord, and all the rest of the council, that, having any thing to be declared to me, except matters of religion, ye will either write your minds, or send some trusty person, with whom I shall be contented to talk, and make answer as the case shall require: assuring you that, if any servant of mine, either man, or

woman, or chaplain, should move me to the contrary of my conscience, I would not give ear to them, nor suffer the like to be used within my house. And thus, my lord, with my hearty commendations, I wish unto you and the rest as well to do as myself. From my house at Kenning Hall, the 22nd of June, 1549.

Your assured friend, to my power,

Mary.

A remembrance of certain matters, appointed by the Council to be declared by Dr. Hopton to the Lady Mary's grace, for answer to her former letter.

[Foxe, ii. l. ix. 45.]

Her grace writeth, that the law made by parliament, is not worthy the name of law, meaning the statute for the communion, &c.

You shall say thereto,

The fault is great in any subject, to disallow a law of the king, a law of a realm, by long study, free disputation, and uniform determination of the whole clergy, consulted, debated, and concluded; but the greater fault is in her grace, being next of any subject in blood and estate to the king's majesty, her brother and good lord, to give example of disobedience, being a subject, or of unnaturalness, being his majesty's sister, or of neglecting the power of the crown, she being, by limitation of law, next to the same. The example of disobedience is most perilous in this time, as she can well understand. Her unkindness resteth in the king's own acceptance; the neglecting of the power before God is answerable, and in the world toucheth her honour.

The executors (she saith) were sworn to king Henry the eighth his laws.

You shall say,

It is true, they were sworn to him, his laws, his heirs, and successors; which oath they duly observe, and should offend, if they should break any one jot of the king's laws, now being, without a dispensation by a law; and herein her grace shall understand, that it is no law, which is dissolved by a law: neither may her grace do that injury to the king's majesty, her brother, to diminish his authority so far, that he may not, by the free consent of a parliament, amend and alter unprofitable laws, for the number of inconveniences which hercof might follow, as her grace, with consideration, may well perceive.

Offence taken by the sending for her officers.

You shall say,

If her grace consider the first letters of that purpose, they will declare our good meaning to her, and her gentle usage, requiring the pre-

sence of her trusty servant, because she might give more trust to our message.

Her house is her flock.

You shall say,

It is well liked her grace should have her house, or flock, but not exempt from the king's orders; neither may there be a flock of the king's subjects, but such as will hear and follow the voice of the king, their shepherd. God disalloweth it, law and reason forbiddeth it, policy abhorreth it, and her honour may not require it.

Her grace deferreth her obedience to the king's laws, until his Majesty be of sufficient years.

You shall say,

She could, in no one saying, more disallow the authority of the king, the majesty of his crown, and the state of the realm: for herein she suspendeth his kingdom, and esteemeth his authority by his age, not by his right and title. Her grace must understand he is a king, by the ordinance of God, by descent of royal blood, not by the numbering of his years: as a creature, subject to mortality, he hath youth, and, by God's grace, shall have age; but, as a king, he hath no difference by days and years. The Scripture plainly declareth it, not only young children to have been kings by God's special ordinance, but also (which is to be noted) to have had best success in their reign, and the favour of God in their proceedings. Yea, in their first years, have they most purely reformed the church and state of religion: therefore, her grace hath no cause thus to diminish his majesty's power, and to make him, as it were, no king, until she think him of sufficient years: wherein how much his majesty may be justly offended, they be sorry to think.

She saith she is subject to none of the council.

You shall say,

If her grace understandeth it of us in that acceptation, as we be private men, and not counsellors sworn to the king's majesty, we know ledge us not to be superiors: but, if she understand her writing of us, as counsellors and magistrates ordained by his majesty, her grace must be contented to think us of authority sufficient, by the reason of our office, to challenge a superiority: not to rule by private affection, but by God's providence; not to our estimation, but to the king's honour, and finally to increase the king's estate with our counsel, our dignity and vocation; and we think her grace will not forget the saying of Solomon, in the sixth chapter of the book of Wisdom, to move a king to rule by counsel and wisdom, and to build his estate upon them:

wherefore her grace must be remembered; the king's majesty's politic body is not made only of his own royal material body, but of a council by whom his majesty ruleth, directeth, and governeth his realm. In the place of which council, her grace is not ignorant, that we be set and placed: wherefore, the reputation she shall give us, she shall give it to the king's honour; and that which she shall take from us, she shall take from his majesty, whose majesty we think, if it might take increase or honour, as God giveth a daily abundance, it should receive rather increase from her, being his majesty's sister, than thus any abatement.

She received Master Arundel, and Master Englefield.

You shall say,

All the council remembereth well her refusal to have her house charged with any more number, alleging the small proportion for her charge; and, therefore, it was thought to come more for their earnest suit, meaning to be privileged subjects from the law, than of her desire, which refused very often to increase her number. Their cautele the king might not suffer to have his law disobeyed, their countries, where they should serve, by them to be destitute, and having been servants to his majesty, the circumstances of their departure might in no wise be liked.

She refused to hear any man to the contrary of her opinion.

You shall say,

It is an answer more of will than of reason, and, therefore, her grace must be admonished neither to trust her own opinion without ground, neither to mislike all others having ground. If her's be good, it is no hurt if she hear the worse. If it be ill, she shall do well to hear the better: she shall not alter by hearing, but by hearing the better: and, because she shall not mislike the offer, let her grace name of learned men whom she will, and further than they by learning shall prove, she shall not be moved: and so far it is thought reason will compel her grace.

In the end ye shall say,

The good wills and minds of the lord protector and the council is so much toward her grace, that howsoever she would herself in honour be esteemed, howsoever in conscience quieted, yea howsoever benefited, saving their duties to God and the king, they would as much, and in their doings (if it please her to prove it) will be nothing inferiors, assuring her grace, that they be most sorry that she is thus disquieted: and if necessity of the cause, the honour and surety of the king, and the judgment of their own conscience moved them not, thus far they would not have attempted: but their trust is, her grace will allow them the

more, when she shall perceive the cause, and think no less could be done by them, where she provoked them so far.

These, and other of like credit, more amply committed to you in speech, you shall declare to her grace, and further declare your conscience for the allowing of the manner of the communion, as ye have plainly professed it before us.

At Richmond, the 24th of June, 1549.

The Lady Mary to the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council.

June 27th, 1549.

[Foxe, ii. l. ix. 46.]

My lord, I perceive by letters directed from you, and other of the king's majesty's council, to my comptroller, my chaplain, and Master Englefield, my servant, that ye will them, upon their allegiance, to repair immediately to you; wherein you gave me evident cause to change mine accustomed opinion of you all; that is to say, to think you careful of my quietness and well doing, considering how earnestly I writ to you for the stay of two of them, and that not without very just cause. And, as for Master Englefield, as soon as he could have prepared himself, having his horses so far off, although ye had not sent at this present, he would have performed your request: but, indeed, I am much deceived; for I supposed ye would have weighed and taken my letters in better part, if ye had received them; if not, to have tarried my answer, and I not to have found so little friendship, nor to have been used so ungenerally at your hands, in sending for him, upon whose travel doth rest the whole charge of my whole house, as I writ unto you lately; whose absence, therefore, shall be to me and my said house no little displeasure, especially being so far off. And beside all this, I do greatly marvel to see your writing for him, and the other two, with such extreme words of peril to ensue towards them, in case they did not come; and specially for my comptroller, whose charge is so great, that he cannot suddenly be meet to take a journey: which words, in mine opinion, needed not (unless it were in some very just and necessary cause) to any of mine, who taketh myself subject to none of you all, not doubting but if the king's majesty, my brother, were of sufficient years to perceive this matter, and knew what lack and incommodity the absence of my said officer should be to my house, his grace would have been so good a lord to me, as to have suffered him to remain where his charge is. Notwithstanding, I have willed him, at this time, to repair to you, commanding him to return forthwith, for my very necessity's sake; and I have given the like leave to my poor sick priest also, whose life I think undoubtedly shall be put to hazard, by the wet and cold painful

travel of this journey. But, for my part, I assure you all, that, since the king, my father, your late master, and very good lord, died, I never took you for other than my friends; but in this it appeareth contrary: and saving I thought verily that my former letters should have discharged this matter, I would not have troubled myself with writing the same; not doubting but you do consider, that none of you all would have been contented to have been thus used at your inferior's hands; I mean, to have had your officer or any of your servants sent for by force (as ye make it), knowing no just cause why. Wherefore, I do not a little marvel, that ye had not this remembrance towards me, who always have willed and wished you as well to do as myself, and both have and will pray for you all, as heartily, as for mine own soul, to almighty God, whom I humbly beseech to illuminate you all with his holy spirit, to whose mercy also I am at a full point to commit myself, whatsoever shall become of my body. And thus with my commendations, I bid you all farewell. From my house at Kenninghall the 27th of June.

Your friend, to my power, though you give me contrary cause,
Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary. December 2, 1550.

[Strype, Mem. ii. 250.]

After our due commendations unto your grace; where two of your chaplains, the one named Dr. Mallet, the other Barkley, be indicted for certain things, committed by them, contrary to the king's majesty's laws; for whom process is also awarded forth, and delivered to our loving friend, Sir George Norton, kt. sheriff of Essex; forasmuch as we understand, that the one of your said chaplains doth continually attend about you, albeit we nothing doubt but your conformity and obedience to the king's majesty is such, that, of yourself, you will most readily cause any your servants, whatsoever they be, to obey humbly his majesty's officers and ministers for the execution of justice; yet being desirous, in respect of your grace's honour, to have this process executed in as quiet sort as may be, we have thought good to pray your grace to give order, that your said chaplain, remaining in your house, may be delivered to the sheriff, at such time, as he, or any his deputy, shall come for him, to answer to the laws for such matters as he is charged withal: and thus wishing your grace long continuance of health, we pray Almighty God to have you in his blessed keeping.—From Westminster, this 2d December, 1550.

Your grace's assured,

E. SOMERSET.	J. BEDFORD.	T. ELY.	T. DARCY.
T. CANT.	T. WENTWORTH.	A. WYNGFIELD.	R. SADLEYR.
J. WARWICK.	T. CHEYNE.	W. WILTS.	
E. CLYNTON.	W. NORTHHT.	H. DORSET.	

The Princess Mary to the Lords of the Council. Dec. 4, 1550.

[Foxe, ii. l. ix. 47.]

My lords, your letters, dated the second of this present, were delivered unto me, the third of the same. And where you write, that two of my chaplains, Dr. Mallet and Barkley, be indicted for certain things, committed by them contrary to the king's majesty's laws, and process for them also awarded forth, and delivered to the sheriff of Essex, I cannot but marvel they should be so used, considering it is done (as I take it) for saying mass within my house: and, although I have been of myself minded always, and yet am, to have mass within my house, yet I have been advertised, that the emperor's majesty hath been promised, that I should never be unquieted, nor troubled, for my so doing, as some of you, my lords, can witness. Furthermore, besides the declaration of the said promise, made to me, by the emperor's ambassador that dead is, from his majesty, to put my chaplains more out of fear, when I was, the last year, with the king's majesty, my brother, that question was there moved, and could not be denied, but affirmed by some of you, before his majesty, to be true; being not so much unquieted for the trouble of my said chaplains, as I am, to think how this matter may be taken; the promise to such a person being no better regarded. And, for mine own part, I thought full little to have received such ungentleness at your hands, having always (God is my judge) wished unto the whole number of you, as to myself, and having refused to trouble you, or to crave any thing at your hand, but your good-will and friendship, which very slenderly appeareth in this matter. Notwithstanding (to be plain with you), howsoever ye shall use me, or mine, with God's help, I will never vary from mine opinion, touching my faith: and if ye, or any of you, bear me the less good-will for that matter, or faint in your friendship towards me, only for the same, I must and will be contented; trusting, that God will, in the end, shew his mercy upon me: assuring you, I would rather refuse the friendship of all the world (whereunto I trust I shall never be driven) than forsake any point of my faith. I am not without some hope, that ye will stay this matter, not inforcing the rigour of the law against my chaplains. The one of them was not in my house these four months; and Dr. Mallet, having my license, is either at Windsor, or at his benefice, who (as I have heard) was indicted for saying mass out of my house, which was not true; but, indeed, the day before my removing from Woodham-water (my whole household, in effect, being gone to Newhall), he said mass there, by mine appointment. I see and hear of divers that do not obey your statutes

and proclamations, and nevertheless escape without punishment: Be ye judges, if I be well used, to have mine punished by rigour of a law, besides all the false bruits that ye have suffered to be spoken of me. Moreover, my chaplain, Dr. Mallet, besides mine own commandment, was not ignorant of the promise made to the emperor; which did put him out of fear. I doubt not, therefore, but ye will consider it as, by that occasion, no piece of friendship be taken away, nor I to have cause but to bear you my good-will, as I have done heretofore: for, albeit I could do you little pleasure, yet of my friendship ye were sure, as, if it had lain in my power, ye should have well known. Thus, with my hearty commendations to you all, I pray Almighty God to send you as much of his grace, as I would wish to my own soul. From Beaulieu, the 4th of December.

Your assured friend, to my power,

Mary.¹

The Council to the Lady Mary. December 25, 1550.

[Foxye, ii. l. ix. 48.]

After our due commendations to your grace: by your letters to us, as an answer to ours, touching certain process against two of your chaplains, for saying mass, against the law and statute of the realm, we perceive both the offence of your chaplains is otherwise excused than the matter may bear, and also our good wills otherwise misconstrued than we looked for. And, for the first part, where your greatest reason, to excuse the offence of a law, is a promise made to the emperor's majesty, whereof you write, that, first, some of us be witnesses, next, that the ambassador for the emperor declared the same unto you, and, lastly, that the same promise was affirmed to you, before the king's majesty, at your last being with him; we have thought convenient to repeat the matter, from the beginning, as it hath hitherto proceeded; whereupon it shall appear how evidently your chaplains have offended the law, and you also mistaken the promise. The promise is but one in itself; but, by times, thrice, as you say, repeated; of which times, the first is chiefly to be considered, for upon that do the other two depend. It is very true, the em-

¹ [Edward, in his Journal (19), referring to this letter, says, "There was letters sent for the taking of certain chaplains of the lady Mary, for saying mass, *which she denied*." It is clear, that by the word "*denied*", the king could mean no more than, either that she denied, that is, *refused*, to surrender her chaplains, or that she denied the fact of Mallet's having said mass "out" of her house. Yet Mr. Sharon Turner, trusting wholly to the loose expression of the royal journalist, is pleased to indulge in the following assertion. "She attempted to save them (her chaplains) from the scourge of an oppressive law by *discreditably denying the fact, instead of asserting her private right, both as a princess and as an individual, to worship at home as she pleased*" (iii. 325). Almost every word of the letter contradicts this extraordinary charge.—T.]



peror made request to the king's majesty, that you might have liberty to use the mass in your house, and to be, as it were, exempted from the danger of the statute: to which request divers good reasons were made, containing the discommodities that should follow the grant thereof, and means devised, rather to persuade you to obey and receive the general and godly reformation of the whole realm, than, by a private fancy, to prejudice a common order: but yet, upon earnest desire and entreaty made in the emperor's name, thus much was granted, that, for his sake, and your own also, it should be suffered and winked at, if you had the private mass used in your own closet, for a season, until you might be better informed; whereof there was some hope, having only with you a few of your own chamber, so that, for all the rest of your household, the service of the realm should be used, and none other. Further than this the promise exceeded not. And, truly, such a matter it then seemed to some of us, as, indeed, it was, that well might the emperor have required of the king's majesty a matter of more profit; but of more weight, or difficulty to be granted, his majesty could not. After this grant in words, there was, by the ambassador now dead, oftentimes desired some writing, as a testimony of the same: but that was ever denied, not because we meant to break the promise, as it was made, but because there was daily hope of your reformation.

Now, to the second time: you say the emperor's ambassador's declaration made mention of a promise to you. It might well so be: but, we think, no otherwise than as it appeareth before written. If it were, his fault it was to declare more than he heard; ours it may not be, that deny not what we have said. As for the last time, when ye were with the king's majesty, the same some of us (whom by these words your letter noteth) do well remember, that no other thing was granted to you in this matter, but as the first promise was made to the emperor; at which time you had too many arguments made, to approve the proceedings of the king's majesty, and to condemn the abuse of the mass, to think that, where the private mass was judged ungodly, there you should have authority and ground to use it. About the same time, the ambassador made means to have some testimony of the promise, under the great seal; and that not being heard, to have it but by a letter; and that also was not only denied, but divers good reasons alleged, that he should think it denied with reasons, and so to be contented with an answer. It was told him, in reducing that, which was commonly called the mass, to the order of the primitive church, and the institution of Christ, the king's majesty and his whole realm had their consciences well quieted; against the which if any thing should be willingly committed, the same should be taken as an offence to God, and a very sin against a truth known: wherefore, to

license, by open act, such a deed, in the conscience of the king's majesty and his realm, were even a sin against God. The most, that might herein be borne, was, that the king's majesty might, upon hope of your grace's reconciliation, suspend the execution of his law, so that you would use the license as it was first granted. Whatsoever the ambassador hath said to others, he had no other manner of grant from us; nor, having it thus granted, could allege any reason against it. And where, in your letter, your grace noteth us as breakers of the promise made to the emperor, it shall appear who hath broken the promise; whether we, that have suffered more than we licensed, or you, that have transgressed that which was granted. Now, therefore, we pray your grace confer the doings of your chaplains with every point of the premises, and if the same cannot be excused, then, think also how long the law hath been spared. If it prick our consciences somewhat, that so much should be used, as, by the promise, you may claim, how much more should it grieve us, to license more than you can claim? And yet, could we be content to bear a great burthen, to satisfy your grace, if the burthen pressed not our consciences so much as it doth; whereof we must say, as the Apostle said, "*Gloriatio nostra est hæc, testimonium conscientie nostræ.*"

For the other part of your grace's letter, by the which we see you misconstrue our good wills in writing to you, howsoever the law had proceeded against your chaplains, our order, in sending to you, was to be liked, and therein, truly, had we special regard of your grace's degree and estate. And because the law itself respecteth not persons, we thought to give respect to you, first signifying to you what the law required, before it should be executed; that, being warned, your grace might either think no strangeness in the execution, or, for an example of obedience, cause it to be executed yourself. Others we see perplexed with suddenness of matters; your grace we would not have unwarned, to think any thing done on a sudden. Truly, we thought it more commendable for your grace, to help the execution of a law, than to help the offence of one condemned by law: and, in giving you knowledge what the king's laws required, we looked for help in the execution, by you, the king's majesty's sister. The greater personage your grace is, the nigher to the king, so much more ought your example to further his laws: for which cause it hath been called a good commonwealth, where the people obeyed the higher estates, and they obeyed the laws. As nature hath joined your grace to the king's majesty, to love him most entirely, so hath reason and law subdued you to obey him willingly. The one and the other we doubt not but your grace remembereth: and, as they both be joined together in you, his majesty's sister, so we trust

you will not sever them ; for, indeed, your grace cannot love him, as your brother, but you must obey his majesty, as his subject.

Example of your obedience, and reverence of his majesty's laws, is instead of a good preacher to a great number of his majesty's subjects, who, if they may see in your negligence of his majesty or his laws, will not fail, but follow on hardly ; and, then, their fault is not their own, but yours, by example ; and so may the king's majesty, when he shall come to further judgment, impute the fault of divers evil people (which thing God forbid) to the sufferance of your grace's doings : and, therefore, we most earnestly, from the depths of our hearts, desire it, that as nature hath set your grace nigh his majesty by blood, so your love and zeal to his majesty will further his estate by obedience.

In the end of your letter, two things be touched, which we cannot pretermit ; the one is, you seem to charge us with permission of men to break laws and statutes. We think, indeed, it is too true, that laws and proclamations be broken daily (the more pity it is) ; but that we permit them, we would be sorry to have it proved. The other is, that we have suffered bruits to be spoken of you ; and that also must be answered as the other. It is pity to see men so evil, as whom they may touch with tales and infamies they care not, so they miss not the best. Such is the boldness of people, that neither we can fully bridle them to raise tales of you, nor of ourselves : and yet, whensoever any certain person may be gotten, to be charged with any such, we never leave them unpunished. Indeed, the best way is, both for your grace, and us also, that, when we cannot find and punish the offender, let us say, as he said that was evil spoken of, " Yet will I so live, as no credit shall be given to my backbiters." Certainly, if we had credited any evil tale of your grace, we would friendly have admonished you thereof, and so also proceeded, as either the tale-tellers should have been punished, or else to have proved their tales : and, therefore, we pray your grace, to think no unkindness in us, that any evil bruits have been spread by evil men ; but think rather well of us, that, howsoever they were spread, we believed them not.

Hitherto your grace seeth we have written somewhat at length, of the promise made to you, and our meanings in our former writings : and now, for the latter part of our letter, we will, as briefly as we can, remember to you two special matters, whereof the one might suffice to reform your proceedings, and both together, well considered, we trust, shall do your grace much good. The one is, the truth of that you be desired to follow ; the other is, the commodity that thereby shall ensue. They both make a just commandment, and, because of the first the latter followeth, that first shall be entreated of. We hear say, your

grace refuseth to hear any thing reasoned, contrary to your old determination ; wherein you may make your opinion suspicious, as that you are afraid to be dissuaded. If your faith in things be of God, it may abide any storm or weather ; if it be but of sand, you do best to eschew the weather. That, which we profess, hath the foundation in Scriptures, upon plain texts and no glosses ; the confirmation thereof, by the use in the primitive church, not in this latter corrupted. And, indeed, our greatest change is not in the substance of our faith ; no, not in any one article of our creed ;—only the difference is, that we use the ceremonies, observations, and sacraments of our religion, as the apostles and first fathers in the primitive church did. You use the same, that corruption of time brought in, and very barbarousness and ignorance nourished ; and seem to hold for custom against the truth, and we for truth against custom. Your grace, in one or two places of your letter, seemeth to speak earnestly in the maintenance of your faith ; and therein (so that your faith be according to the Scriptures) we must have the like opinion. The saying is very good, if the faith be sound : but, if every opinion your grace hath (we cannot tell how conceived) shall be your faith, you may be much better instructed. St. Paul teacheth you, that faith is by the word of God : and it was a true saying of him, that said, “ *Non qui cuivis credit fidelis est, sed qui Deo :*” for where hath your grace ground for such a faith, to think common prayer in the English church should not be in English, that images of God should be set up in the church, or that the sacrament of Christ’s body and blood should be offered by the priests for the dead ; yea, or that it should be otherwise used than by the Scripture it was instituted ? Though you have no Scripture to maintain them, we have evident Scriptures to forbid them : and, although fault may be found, that, of late, baptism hath been used in your grace’s house, contrary to law, and utterly without license, yet is it the worse, that, contrary to the primitive church, it hath been in an unknown tongue ; by the which the best part of the sacrament is unused, and, as it were, a blind bargain, made by the godfathers in a matter of illumination. And thus, in the rest of the things, in which your grace differeth from the common order of the realm, where have you ground or reason, but from custom, which oftentimes is mother of many errors ? And although, in civil things, she may be followed, where she causeth quiet, yet, not in religious, where she excuseth no error ; as in Leviticus it is said, “ Ye shall not do after the custom of Egypt, wherein ye dwelled ; nor after the custom of Canaan : no, you shall not walk in their laws, for I am your Lord God ; keep you my laws and commandments.” The points, wherein your grace differeth in your faith, as you call it, may

be showed where, when, how, and by whom they began, since the Gospel was preached, the church was planted, and the apostles martyred: at which time, your faith depended upon the Scripture, and otherwise there was no necessity to believe. For, as Hierome saith, "*Quod de Scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eâdem facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur.*" And because your grace, as we hear say, readeth sometimes the doctors, we may allege unto you two or three places of other principal doctors. Augustine saith, "*Cum Dominus tacuerit, quis nostrum dicat, illa vel illa sunt: aut si dicere audeat, unde probat?*" And Chrysostome's saying is not unlike, "*Multi, inquit, jactant Spiritum Sanctum, sed qui propria loquuntur, falsò illum prætendunt.*" And if you will take their meaning plain, read the fifth chapter of the first book of *Ecclesiastica Historia*; and where Constantine had these words in the council: "*In disputationibus, inquit, rerum divinarum, habetur præscripta Spiritûs Sancti doctrina; Evangelici et Apostolici libri, cum prophetarum oraculis, plenè nobis ostendunt sensum numinis. Proinde, discordiâ positâ, sumamus ex verbis spiritûs questionum explicationes.*" What plainer sayings may be than these, to answer your fault? Again, too infinite it were, to remember your grace of the great number of particular errors (crept into the church), whereupon you make your foundation. The fables of false miracles, and lewd pilgrimages, may somewhat teach you: only this we pray your grace to remember with yourself, the two words that the Father said of his Son, Jesus Christ, "*Ipsum audite.*" To the second point, of the commodity that may follow your obedience, we, having, by the king's authority in this behalf, the governance of this realm, must herein be plain with your grace: and, if our speech offend the same, then must your grace think it is our charge and office to find fault where it is, and our part to amend it as we may. Most sorry, truly, we be, that your grace, whom we should otherwise honour for the king's majesty's sake, by your own deeds should provoke us to offend you. We do perceive great discommodity to the realm, by your grace's singularity (if it may be so named) in opinion; and, in one respect, as you are sister to our sovereign lord and master, we most humbly beseech your grace to show your affection continually towards him, as becometh a sister: and, as your grace is a subject, and we counsellors to his majesty's estate, we let you know, the example of your grace's opinion hindereth the good weal of this realm; which thing, we think, is not unknown to you; and, if it be, we let your grace know it is too true. For God's sake, we beseech your grace, let nature set before your eyes the young age of the king, your brother; let reason tell you the looseness of the people. How then can you, without a wailing heart, think that you should be the cause of

disturbance? If your grace see the king (being the ordinary ruler under God, not only of all others in the realm, but of you also) call his people by ordinary laws one way, with what heart can your grace stay yourself, without following; much worse to stay other that would follow their sovereign lord? Can it be a love in you to forsake him, his rule, and law, and take a private way by yourself? If it be not love, it is much less obedience. If your grace think the king's majesty to be over his people, as the head, in a man's body, is over the rest, not only in place, but in dignity and science, how can you, being a principal member in the same body, keep the nourishment from the head? We pray your grace most earnestly, think this thing so much grieveth us, as, for our private affection and good wills to you, though we should dissemble, yet, for our public office, we cannot but plainly inform your grace, not doubting but that your wisdom can judge what our office is: and, if it were not your own cause, we know your grace, by wisdom, could charge us, if we suffered the like in any other. Truly, every one of us apart honoureth your grace for our master's sake; but when we join together in public service, as in this writing we do, we judge it not tolerable, to know disorder, to see the cause, and leave it unamended: for, though we would be negligent, the world would judge us; and, therefore, we do altogether eftsoons require your grace, in the king's majesty's name, that, if any of your two chaplains, Mallet or Barkley, be returned, or, as soon as any of them shall return to your grace's house, the same may be, by your grace's commandment or order, sent and delivered to the sheriff of Essex, who hath commandment from the king's majesty, by order of the law and of his crown, to attach them; or, if that condition shall not like your grace, yet that then he may be warned from your grace's house, and not kept there, to be as it were defended from the power of the law: which thing we think surely neither your grace will mean, nor any of your council assent thereto. And so, to make an end of our letter, being long for the matter, and hitherto deferred for our great business, we trust your grace, first, seeth how the usage of your chaplains differeth from the manner of our license, and what good intent moved us to write to you, in our former letters; lastly, that the things, whereunto the king and the whole realm hath consented, be not only lawful and just, by the policy of the realm, but also just and godly by the laws of God: so that, if we, which have charge under the king, should willingly consent to the open breach of them, we could neither discharge ourselves to the king for our duties, neither to God for our conscience: the consideration of which things we pray almighty God, by his holy Spirit, to lay in the bottom of your heart, and thereupon to build such a profession in you, as both God

may have his true honour, the king his due obedience, the realm concord, and we most comfort: for all the which we do heartily pray, and therewith for the continuance of your grace's health to your heart's desire.

From Winchester, the 25th of December.

The King to the Lady Mary. January 24, 1551.

[Foxye, ii. l. ix. 46.]

Right dear, &c.—We have seen, by letters of our council, sent to you of late, and by your answer thereunto, touching the cause of certain your chaplains having offended our laws in saying of mass, their good and convenient advices, and your fruitless and indirect mistaking of the same: which thing moveth us to write at this time, that, where good counsel from our council hath not prevailed, yet the like from ourself may have due regard. The whole matter, we perceive, rests in this, that you, being our next sister, in whom, above all other our subjects, nature should place the most estimation of us, would wittingly and purposely, not only break our laws yourself, but also have others maintained to do the same. Truly, howsoever the matter may have other terms, other sense it hath not: and, although, by your letter, it seemeth you challenge a promise made, that so you may do, yet, surely, we know the promise had no such meaning, neither to maintain, ne to continue, your fault. You must know this, sister; you were at the first time, when the law was made, borne withal, not because you should disobey the law, but that, by our lenity and love shewed, you might learn to obey it. We made a difference of you from our other subjects, not for that all other should follow our laws, and you only gainstand them, but that you might be brought as far forward by love, as others were by duty. The error, wherein you would rest, is double, and every part so great, that neither for the love of God we can well suffer it unredressed, neither for the love of you can we but wish it amended. First, you retain a fashion in honouring of God, who, indeed, thereby is dishonoured, and therein err you in zeal for lack of science; and, having science offered you, you refuse it, not because it is science, we trust (for then should we despair of you), but because you think it is none: and surely in this we can best reprehend you, learning daily in our school, that therefore we learn things, because we know them not, and are not allowed to say, we know not those things, or we think they be not good, and, therefore, we will not learn them. Sister, you must think nothing can commend you more than reason, according to the which you have been hitherto used; and now, for very love, we will offer you reason ourself. If you are persuaded in conscience, to the

contrary of our laws, you or your persuaders shall freely be suffered to say what you or they can, so that you will hear what shall be said again. In this point, you see I pretermitt my estate, and talk with you as your brother, rather than your supreme lord and king. Thus should you, being as well content to hear of your opinions, as you are content to hold them, in the end thank us as much for bringing you to light, as now, before you learn, you are loath to see it: and if thus much reason, with our natural love, shall not move you, whereof we would be sorry, then must we consider the other part of your fault, which is the offence of our laws: for, though, hitherto, it hath been suffered in hope of amendment, yet now, if hope be none, how shall there be sufferance? Our charge is, to have the same care over every man's estate, that every man ought to have over his own: and, in your own house, as you would be loath openly to suffer one of your servants, being next you, most manifestly to break your orders, so must you think, in our state, it shall miscontent us to permit you, so great a subject, not to keep our laws. Your nearness to us in blood, your greatness in estate, the condition of this time, maketh your fault the greater. The example is unnatural, that our sister should do less for us, than our other subjects: the cause is slanderous for so great a personage to forsake our majesty. Finally, it is too dangerous, in a troublesome commonwealth, to make the people to mistrust a faction. We be young, you think, in years, to consider this. Truly, sister, it troubleth us somewhat the more, for it may be this evil suffered in you is greater than we can discern; and so we be as much troubled because we doubt whether we see the whole peril, as we be for that we see. Indeed, we will presume no further than our years giveth us, that is, in doubtful things, not to trust our own wits, but, in evident things, we think there is no difference. If you should not do as other subjects do, were it not evident that therein you should not be a good subject? Were it not plain, in that case, that you should use us not as your sovereign lord? Again, if you should be suffered to break our laws manifestly, were it not a comfort for others so to do? And, if our law be broken, and contemned, where is our estate? These things be so plain, as we could almost have judged them, six years past: and, indeed, it grieveth us not a little, that you, which should be our most comfort, in our young years, should alone give us occasion of discomfort. Think you not, but it must needs trouble us? and if you can so think, you ought, sister, to amend it. Our natural love towards you, without doubt, is great; and, therefore, diminish it not yourself. If you will be loved by us, shew some token of love towards us, that we say not with the psalm, "*Mala pro bonis mihi reddiderunt.*" If you will be believed, when by writing you confess us to

be your sovereign lord, hear that which, in other things, is often alleged, "*Ostende mihi fidem tuam ex factis tuis.*"

In the answer of your letter to our council, we remember you stick only upon one reason, divided into two parts: the first is, that, in matters of religion, your faith is none other, but as all Christendom doth confess: the next is, you will assent to no alteration, but wish things to stand as they did, at our father's death. If you mean, in the first, to rule your faith by that you call Christendom, and not by this church of England, wherein you are a member, you shall err in many points, such as our father and yours would not have suffered, whatsoever you say of the standing still of things, as they were left by him. The matter is too plain, to write what may be gathered, and too perilous to be concluded against you. For the other part, if you like no alteration, by our authority, of things not altered by our father, you should do us too great an injury. We take ourself, for the administration of this our commonwealth, to have the same authority which our father had, diminished in no part, neither by example of Scripture, nor by universal laws. The stories of Scripture be so plenteous, as almost the best ordered church of the Israelites was by kings younger than we be. Well, sister, we will not, in these things, interpret your writings to the worst. Love and charity shall expound them: but yet, you must not thereby be bold to offend in that, whereunto you see your writings might be wrested. To conclude, we exhort you to do your duty, and, if any impediment be thereof, not of purpose, you shall find a brotherly affection in us, to remedy the same. To teach and instruct you, we will give order, and so procure you to do your duty willingly, that you shall perceive you are not used merely as a subject, and only commanded, but as a daughter, a scholar, and a sister, taught, instructed, and persuaded; for the which cause, when you have considered this our letter, we pray you that we may shortly hear from you.

The Lady Mary to the King. Feb. 3, 1551.

[Foxe, ii. l. ix. 47.]

My duty most humbly remembered to your majesty, please it the same to understand, that I have received your letters by Master Throckmorton, this bearer; the contents whereof do more trouble me, than any bodily sickness, though it were even to the death; and the rather, for that your highness doth charge me to be both a breaker of your laws, and also an encourager of others to do the like. I most humbly beseech your majesty to think, that I never intended towards you otherwise, than my duty compelled me unto; that is, to wish your highness all honour and prosperity, for the which I do and daily shall pray. And

where it pleaseth your majesty to write, that I make a challenge of a promise made otherwise than it was meant, the truth is, the promise could not be denied, before your majesty's presence, at my last waiting upon the same: and, although I confess, the ground of faith (whereunto I take reason to be but an handmaid), and my conscience also, hath and do agree with the same, yet, touching that promise, for so much as it hath pleased your majesty (God knoweth by whose persuasion) to write that it was not so meant, I shall most humbly desire your highness to examine the truth thereof indifferently, and either will your majesty's ambassador, now being with the emperor, to inquire of the same, if it be your pleasure to have him move it, or else to cause it to be demanded of the emperor's ambassador here, although he were not within this realm, at that time: and thereby it shall appear, that, in this point, I have not offended your majesty, if it may please you so to accept it. And albeit your majesty (God be praised) hath, at these years, as much understanding and more, than is commonly seen in that age, yet, considering you do hear but one part (your highness not offended), I would be a suitor to the same, that, till you were grown to more perfect years, it might stand with your pleasure to stay, in matters touching the soul: so, undoubtedly, should your majesty know more, and hear others, and nevertheless be at your liberty, and do your will and pleasure. And whatsoever your majesty hath conceived of me, either by letters to your council, or by their report, I trust, in the end, to prove myself as true to you, as any subject within your realm, and will by no means stand in argument with your majesty, but in most humble wise beseech you, even for God's sake, to suffer me, as your highness hath done hitherto. It is for no worldly respect I desire it, God is my judge; but, rather than to offend my conscience, I would desire of God to lose all that I have, and also my life; and nevertheless live and die your humble sister, and true subject. Thus, after pardon craved of your majesty for my rude and bold writing, I beseech Almighty God to preserve the same in honour, with as long continuance of health and life, as ever had noble king. From Beaulieu, the 3rd of February.

Your majesty's most humble and unworthy sister,

Mary.¹

¹ [On the eighteenth of March, Edward makes the following entry in his journal: "The lady Mary, my sister, came to me at Westminster, where, after salutations, she was called, with my council, into a chamber, where was declared how long I had suffered her mass, in hope of her reconciliation, and how now, being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendment, I could not bear it. She answered that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion, with contrary doings. It was said, I constrained not her faith; but willed her, not as a king to rule, but as

The Princess Mary to the Lords of the Council. May 2, 1551.

[Foxe, ii. l. ix. 50.]

My lords,

After my hearty commendations to you, although both I have been, and also am, loath to trouble you with my letters, yet, nevertheless, the news which I have lately heard, touching my chaplain, Dr. Mallet, forceth me thereunto, at this present. For, I hear by credible report, that you have committed him to the Tower; which news seems to me very strange. Notwithstanding, I thought it good, by these to desire you to advertise me, what is the cause of his imprisonment: assuring you, I would be sorry that any of mine should deserve the like punishment; and there is no creature, within the king's majesty's realm, would more lament, that any belonging to them should give just cause so to be used, than I would do: who would have thought much friendship in you, if you had given me knowledge, wherein my said chaplain had offended, before you had ministered such punishment unto him: eftsoons requiring of you to let me know by this bearer the truth of the matter. And thus, thanking you for the short dispatch of the poor merchant of Portugal, I wish to you all no worse than to myself, and so bid you farewell. From Beaulieu, the 2d of May.

Your friend, to my power,
Mary.

The Council to the Princess Mary. May 6, 1551.

[Foxe, ii. l. ix. 50.]

After our humble commendations to your grace, we have received your letters of the 2d of this month, by the which, your grace seemeth to take it strangely, that Dr. Mallet is committed to prison: whereof we have the more marvel, seeing it hath been heretofore signified unto you, that he hath offended the king's majesty's laws, and was therefore condemned, and your grace hath been by our letters earnestly desired, that he might be delivered to the sheriff of Essex, according to the just process of the law, to which all manner of persons of this realm be subject. Wherefore, howsoever it seem strange, at this time, to your

a subject to obey; and that her example might breed too much inconvenience." On the nineteenth and twentieth, he adds, "The emperor's ambassador came with a short message from his master, of war if I would not suffer his cousin, the princess, to use her mass. To this was no answer given at this time.—The bishops of Canterbury, London, Rochester, did consider [that] to give license to sin was sin; to suffer and wink at it, for a time, might be borne, so all haste possible might be used." Journal, 21.—T.]

grace, that he is imprisoned, it may seem more strange to other, that he hath escaped it thus long. And if the place, being the Tower, move your grace not to impute his imprisonment to his former offence, then we pray your grace to understand, that indeed it is for the very same; and the place of the imprisonment to be at the king's majesty's pleasure; from whom, besides the charge of his laws, we have express commandment to do that we do. And so we beseech your grace to think of us, that, neither in this case, nor in any other, we mean to do any other, than minister and see, as much as in our power lieth, justice ministered indifferently to all persons; which doing, then, we think, your grace should not think it any lack of friendship, that we did not certify you of the offence of your chaplain, although, indeed, the cause hath already been certified. And we trust, your grace, both of your natural nearness to the king's majesty, and your own good wisdom, will not mislike our ministry, in the execution of the laws of the realm, and the pleasure of the king's majesty: so we wish to your grace, from the bottom of our heart, the grace of Almighty God, with the riches of his holy gifts.

The Princess Mary to the Council. May 11, 1551.

[Foxe, *ibid.*]

My lords,

It appeareth, by your letters of the 6th of this present, which I have received, that the imprisonment of my chaplain, Dr. Mallet, is for saying of mass, and that he was condemned for the same. Indeed, I have heard that he was indicted, but never condemned. Nevertheless, I must needs confess and say, that he did it but by my commandment; and I said unto him, that none of my chaplains should be in danger of the law, for saying mass in my house. And thereof to put him out of doubt, the emperor's ambassador, that dead is, declared unto him, before that time, how, after what sort the promise was made to his majesty; whereby it appeareth, that the man hath not in that willingly offended. Wherefore, I pray you to discharge him of imprisonment, and set him at liberty. If not, ye minister cause, not only to him, but to others, to think that I have declared more than was true; which I would not wittingly do, to gain the whole world. And herein, as I have often said, the emperor's majesty can be best judge: and, to be plain with you, according to my old custom, there is not one amongst the whole number of you all, that would be more loath to be found untrue of their word, than I: and well I am assured, that none of you have found it in me. My lords, I pray you seek not so much my dishonour, as to disprove my word; whereby it shall appear too plain, that you handle me not

well. And, if you have cause to charge my chaplain for this matter, lay that to me, and I will discharge it again, by your promise to the emperor's majesty, which you cannot rightfully deny; wishing rather, that you had refused it in the beginning, than, after such promise made, and to such a person, to seem to go from it: which, my lords, as your very friend, I heartily desire you to consider, and to give me no cause to think you otherwise than my friends: considering, I have always, and yet do (God is my judge) wish to you all no worse, neither in souls nor bodies, than to myself. And so, with my hearty commendations, I commit you all to God. From Beaulieu, May 11.

Your assured friend, to my power,

Mary.

The Council to the Princess Mary. May 27, 1551.

[Foxe, *ibid.* 51.]

After our due commendations to your grace, although the same receiveth not answer so soon, as perchance was looked for, upon the return of your grace's servant, yet, we doubt not, but your grace, understanding that, where we have matters of estate pertaining to the king's majesty in hand, as indeed we have had of late, the deferring of the answer, in a matter being no greater, requireth to be borne withal. And, touching the answer of your grace's letter for Dr. Mallet, we pray your grace to understand, that, although you write he was indicted, but not condemned, and so seem to take exception at the manner of his imprisonment, yet, if they, which informed your grace of that manner of reason in the law, were as well disposed to please your grace with truth, as the reason indeed is not true, then should they have told your grace, that, by the act of parliament, if either Mallet hath been convicted by the oaths of twelve men, or that the fact hath been notorious, then the punishment doth follow justly. The truth of the one and the other way of conviction, in this case, is notorious enough, besides his flying from the process of the law. And, where your grace, to relieve him, would take the fault upon yourself, we are sorry to perceive your grace so ready to be a defence to one, that the king's law doth condemn. Nevertheless, he is not punished, because your grace bade him, and willed him, to do that which was an offence; but he is punished for doing it: and, if we should not so see the king's laws executed without respect, it might appear, that we have too much neglected our duty. And, for that your grace taketh it as a discredit to yourself, that he should be punished for that you bade him do, alleging to him, that you had authority so to do, and that so promise was made to the emperor; it hath been both written and said to your grace, what is truth in that

behalf. And, howsoever that your grace pretendeth your license to have mass said before yourself, for a time of your reconciliation, it had been far out of reason to have desired, that whosoever was your chaplain might say mass in any house that was yours, when your grace's self was not there. For so is Dr. Mallet's offence, for saying mass at one of your houses, where your grace was not; which thing, as it was never granted, so do we not remember that ever it was demanded. The suit, that hath been at any time made, either by the emperor's ambassador that dead is, or by him that now is, was never, but in respect of your grace; and not to be taken, that the emperor, or his ambassador, meant to privilege master Dr. Mallet, or any other, to say mass out of your presence. Wherefore, as we do plainly write to your grace, so we do pray you to take it in good part; and think, we be as ready to do our due reverence towards your grace, in any thing we may do with our duty to our master, as any your grace may command. And of such wisdom we know your grace to be, that ye should judge the better of us, for that we be diligent to see the laws of the realm executed, wherein resteth the strength and safe-guard of the king's majesty, our sovereign lord and master.

The Princess Mary to the Lords of the Council. June 21, 1551.

[Foxe, *ibid.*]

My lords, although I received, by my servant, this bearer (who lately delivered unto you my letters, wherein I desired to have my chaplain, Dr. Mallet, discharged of his imprisonment) your gentle message in general words, for which I give you my hearty thanks, yet have I no knowledge, whether you will set him at liberty, or no. But I think that your weighty affairs, at that time, was the let and cause ye did not write; for else I doubt not but ye would have answered me. Wherefore, not being satisfied, and understanding ye would gladly pleasure me, I thought good eftsoons to desire you, that my said chaplain may have his liberty; wherein, I assure you, ye shall much gratify me, being not a little troubled, that he is so long in prison without just cause; seeing the matter of his imprisonment is discharged by the promise made to the emperor's majesty, as in my late letter I declared unto you. Wherefore, my lords, I pray you let me have knowledge by this bearer, how ye will use me in this matter; wherein, if ye do pleasure me accordingly, then shall it well appear, that ye regard the foresaid promise, and I will not forget your gentleness therein (God willing), but requite it to my power. And thus, with my hearty commendations to you all, I bid you farewell. From Beaulieu, the 21st of June.

Your assured friend, to my power,

Mary.

The Council to the Princess Mary. June 24, 1551.

[Foxe, *ibid.*]

After our humble commendations to your grace, we have received your grace's letter of the 21st hereof, wherein is received the same request, that, in your former letters, hath been made for the release of Dr. Mallet: and therein also your grace seemeth to have looked for the same answer of your former letter; the which, indeed, partly was omitted (as your grace conjectureth) by the reason of the king's majesty's affairs, wherewith we be thoroughly occupied; partly, for that we had no other thing to answer, than you had heretofore heard in the same matter. And, therefore, where your grace desireth a resolute answer, we assure the same, we be right sorry for the matter, and that it should be your grace's chance to move it; sith we cannot, with our duties to the king's majesty, accomplish your desire: so necessary a thing it is to see the laws of the realm executed indifferently in all manner of persons; and in these cases of contempt of the ecclesiastical orders of this church of England, that the same may not, without great displeasure of God, and the slander of the state, be neglected. And, therefore, your grace may please to understand that we have not only punished your chaplain, but all such others whom we find, in like case, to have disobeyed the laws of the king's majesty. And, touching the excuse your grace oftentimes useth, of a promise made, we assure your grace, none of us all, nor any other of the council, as your grace hath been certified, hath ever been privy to any such promise, otherwise than hath been written. And, in that matter, your grace had plain answer, both by us of the king's majesty's council, at your being last in his majesty's presence; and therein also your grace might perceive his majesty's determination: whereunto we beseech your grace not only to incline yourself, but also to judge well of us, that do addict ourselves to do our duties; and so also shall we be ready to do, with all our hearts, our due reverence toward your grace, whose preservation we commend to Almighty God, with our prayer.

The Lady Mary to the King. July 16, 1551.

[Strype, *Memorials*, ii. 253.]

Most excellent and noble prince, and my most benign and good brother, I do most humbly thank you for your great goodness, favour, and liberality, which, as well by your majesty's own letters, as by the report and declaration of your counsellors, the lord great master, the lord privy seal, and your grace's secretary, I perceive it hath pleased

you to determine towards me : whereunto I have no more to answer, but that I shall ever remain your majesty's most humble sister and servant, according to such letters as I have written to your highness, and to such advertisement as I have given to your grace, by your said counsellors ; which is correspondent and agreeable to my first mind and answer, made at the first opening of the matter to me : from the which, as I neither have varied from the beginning, ne will vary hereafter, so, if any man have said the contrary, I assure your grace that he hath done it without my consent or commission. Thus I beseech our Lord to send your majesty long life, with good health, and perpetual felicity. From Richmond, the 16th of July.

Your majesty's humble sister and servant.

Extracts from the proceedings of the Privy Council.

[Archæologia, xviii. 154.]

At Richmond the ix. day of August, anno 1551.

The lords did call to consideration how many and sundry ways the king's majesty hath travailed with his highness's sister, the lady Mary, to have reduced her to conformity in religion and divine service, established by his majesty's laws and acts of parliament : and considering also that the long suffering of her and her family to do as they have done, since the making of the said statute, hath been, and yet is, a great occasion of diversity of opinions, strife, and controversy in this realm ; and remembering withal how much the king's majesty's honour might be touched, if this matter were not provided for, have, with one accord, resolved that the head officers of the said lady Mary's house should be sent for, and charged, that, from henceforth, they shall not permit nor suffer any other divine service to be done or used within the said lady Mary's house, than is set forth by the laws of this realm : And they shall also further, on his majesty's behalf, straitly charge and command all the said lady Mary's chaplains not to presume, from henceforth, to say any mass, or other divine service, than is appointed by the laws of this realm ; and likewise to command the rest of her grace's servants not to presume to be present to hear any such mass, upon pain of his majesty's indignation, and for that to be punished according to the laws. It was also thought good to the lords, that, at the return of those officers, letters shall be sent to the said lady Mary from the king's majesty, by which his majesty's pleasure shall be signified also to her, for the observation of this order.

And because it appeared, by letters from his majesty's ambassador with the emperor, that the said emperor hath required to have his ambassador permitted to use, in his house, the mass and other divine ser-

vices here, after the popish manner, and refuseth expressly to suffer the king's majesty's ambassador to use, in their houses within his dominions, the communion and other divine service, according to the laws of this realm, their lordships, thinking that this inequality, if it be suffered, should much touch his majesty in honour, have, therefore, agreed efts-oons to write to the king's majesty's ambassador herein, declaring the unreasonableness of this answer: and that the king's majesty cannot permit the said emperor's ambassador to use their manner of service, unless the king's majesty's ambassador may have the like permission to use our service there.

At Hampton Court the xiv. day of August, anno 1551.

This day appeared, before the lords, Robert Rochester, comptroller of my lady Mary's house; Edward Walgrave, one of the council; and sir Francis Englefield, her grace's servant; unto whom the decree, taken by the whole council at Richmond, the ixth of this present, was read: whereupon they were commanded to call her grace's chaplains before them, and not only to inhibit them from further saying of mass, or other ministration of any manner of ceremonies, before her, or within her house, or in any other place, contrary to the order of the king's majesty's laws, but also to see that neither they themselves, nor any other of her family, presume to hear any mass or other such forbidden rites or ceremonies, in any manner of wise, contrary to the king's majesty's laws, nor to suffer any such to be used, or ministered, not only upon the pains limited by the same, but also of the king's high indignation and displeasure. And forasmuch as the said Rochester made many excuses, to avoid the report of this matter unto her grace, and execution thereof in the house, he was finally commanded, upon his allegiance, to see it performed; and, in case her grace should dismiss him and the rest out of her service, upon the receipt of this message by their mouths (as he pretended she would), then was he and the rest commanded, on the king's majesty's behalf, neither to avoid her service, nor to depart from her house, but to see this order prescribed unto them fulfilled, until they should have further commandment from hence.

The said sir Francis Englefield is licensed, upon the declaration of this matter made by them all three unto the lady Mary's grace, to the effect of the premises, according to the minute remaining with the secretary.

At Windsor the xxii. day of August, anno 1551.

This day, Mr. Rochester, sir Francis Englefield, and Mr. Walgrave,

officers to the lady Mary's grace, were before the lords, and declared unto their lordships, that, upon Saturday last, the xvth of this present, they arrived at Copped Hall, somewhat before night, by reason whereof they did not, the same night, execute their charge committed to them at Hampton Court, the xivth of this present. The Sunday following, being the xvith of this present, because they understood that her grace received the sacrament, for so they termed it, they did abstain to deliver their letters before noon; considering that the same would trouble and disquiet her: so as, after dinner, taking commodity to deliver their letters, after that her grace had read them, they made offer to her to declare what charge they had received of the lords to execute; praying her grace to be contented to hear the same: whereunto her grace made answer, that she knew right well that their commission agreed with such matter as was contained in her letters, and that, therefore, they need not rehearse the same. Howbeit, they pressing her grace, she was finally content to hear them: and, when they had said, she seemed to be marvellously offended with them, and charged them that they should not declare that same they had in charge to say, neither to her chaplains nor family; which if they did, besides that they should not take her hereafter for their mistress, she would immediately depart out of the house. Upon this, the said Rochester, Englefield, and Walgrave said to the lords, that, forasmuch as she often times altered her colour, and seemed to be passioned and unquiet, they forbare to trouble her any further, fearing that the troubling of her might bring her to her old disease; and besought her to consider the matter with herself, and pause thereupon, against Wednesday next, when they would wait on her grace, and know her further pleasure (which they said they did), hoping to have found her then, upon more ripe deliberation and debating of the matter with herself, more conformable; and, in the mean time, they forbare also to declare to her chaplains and household the charge they had received. But repairing to her grace, the Wednesday being the xxth of this present, they did not only not find her conformable, but in further choler than she was before; utterly forbidding them to make declaration of their said charge and commission to her chaplains and household, adding that, where she and her household were in quiet, if they would by any means disturb her and them, if any inconvenience did ensue thereof to her or them, she would arect it to the said Rochester, Englefield, and Walgrave; which thing considered, they thought it better to return without doing their commission, and declare thus much to their lordships, without meddling any further, than to proceed in the execution of the charge, before they had advertised their lordships of the premises. The lords, having heard thus much, commanded them

to attend until they should know further of their pleasures. The said Rochester, Englefield, and Walgrave brought with them letters from the lady Mary's grace to the king's majesty, the tenour whereof was such as followeth :

“ My duty most humbly remembered unto your majesty, it may please the same to be advertised, that I have, by my servants, received your most honourable letter, the contents whereof do not a little trouble me, and so much the more, for that any of my servants should move or attempt me, in matters touching my soul, which I think the meanest subject within your realm could evil bear at their servant's hand; having, for my part, utterly refused heretofore to talk with them in such matters, and, of all other persons, least regarded them therein; to whom I have declared what I think, as she which trusted that your majesty would have suffered me, your poor humble sister and beadswoman, to have used the accustomed mass, which the king, your father and mine, with all his predecessors, evermore used; wherein also I have been brought up from my youth, and thereunto my conscience doth not only bind me, which by no means will suffer me to think one thing and do another, but also the promise made to the emperor, by your majesty's council, was an assurance to me, that, in so doing, I should not offend the laws, although they seem now to qualify and deny the thing.

“ And, at my last waiting upon your majesty, I was so bold to declare my mind and conscience to the same, and desired your highness, rather than you should constrain me to leave the mass, to take my life; whereunto your majesty made me a very gentle answer.

“ And now, I beseech your highness to give me leave to write what I think, touching your majesty's letters. Indeed, they be signed with your own hand, and, nevertheless, in my opinion, not your majesty's in effect; because it is well known (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your highness) that, although, our Lord be praised, your majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than others of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can, at these years, be a judge in matters of religion: and, therefore, I take it that the matter in your letter proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place, which be most agreeable to themselves; by whose doings (your majesty not offended) I intend not to rule my conscience.

“ And thus, without molesting your highness any further, I humbly beseech the same ever, for God's sake, to bear with me, as you have done, and not to think that, by my doings or ensample, any inconvenience might grow to your majesty or your realm; for I use it not after any such sort; putting no doubt but, in time to come, whether I live or die, your majesty shall perceive that mine intent is grounded upon

a true love towards you, whose royal estate I beseech Almighty God long to continue, which is and shall be my daily prayer, according to my duty.

“ And after pardon craved of your majesty for these rude and bold letters, if, neither at my humble suit, nor for regard of the promise made to the emperor, your highness will suffer and bear with me, as you have done, till your majesty may be a judge herein yourself, and right understand their proceedings (of which your goodness yet I despair not): otherwise, rather than to offend God and my conscience, I offer my body at your will, and death shall be more welcome than life with a troubled conscience. Most humbly beseeching your majesty to pardon my slowness in answering your letters, for my old disease would not suffer me to write any sooner. And thus I pray Almighty God to keep your majesty in all virtue and honour, with good health and long life to his pleasure. From my poor house at Copped Hall the xixth of August. Your majesty’s most humble sister,

“Mary.”

At Windsor, the xxiiid day of August, anno 1551.

This day Mr. Rochester, sir Francis Englefield, and Mr. Walgrave, the lady Mary’s grace’s officers, were called for, to come, each of them, all one and by themselves, before the lords, where it was severally laid to their charges, that, they having been commanded by their lordships, in the king’s majesty’s name, to declare to the chaplains and household of her grace such matter as they were enjoined at Hampton Court, the xivth of this present, to say unto them, as appeareth before in this register, they did not execute the said commandment; but, without saying any thing to the said chaplains and household, did trouble her grace with the opening of their message to her, contrary to the order and charge prescribed to them, and so returned, without doing any thing in the charge and commission given unto them. Wherefore, each of them, by his self, and apart, was commanded to return to her grace’s house, and to execute the said charge apart, in sort as the order was given to them all jointly, at Hampton Court. The which thing they all refused to do; albeit they were enjoined to do the same, in virtue of their allegiance, and as commanded from the king’s majesty; the said Rochester and Walgrave saying that they had rather endure whatsoever punishment or imprisonment the lords should think meet for them, and sir Francis Englefield alleging that he could neither find in his heart, nor in his conscience, to do it: whereupon, being all three, after they had been severally enjoined, as is before said, commanded to depart, for the time, into several places, they were soon after called all

in before their lordships together, by whom they were commanded to attend continually upon them, until such time as they should know their further pleasure. That done, it was decreed that the lord chancellor and Mr. Secretary Petre, being then in Essex, and sir Anthony Wingfield, comptroller of his majesty's household, being here, at Windsor, should repair to the lady Mary's grace, with such letters as follow :

“Right dear, and right entirely beloved sister, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieveth us much, to perceive no amendment in you of that, which we, for God's cause, your soul's health, our conscience, and the common tranquillity of our realm, have so long desired; assuring you that our sufferance hath much more demonstration of natural love, than contentation of our conscience, and foresight of our safety. Wherefore, although you give us occasion, as much almost as in you is, to diminish our natural love, yet we be loath to feel it decay, and mean not to be so careless of you as we be provoked: and therefore, meaning your weal and therewith joining a care, not to be found in our conscience to God having cause to require forgiveness, that we have so long, for respect of love towards you, omitted our bounden duty, we do send, at this present, our right trusty and right well beloved counsellor, the lord Riche, our chancellor of England; our trusty and right well beloved counsellor, sir Anthony Wingfield, knight, comptroller of our household; and sir William Petre, knight, one of our two principal secretaries, in message to you, touching the order of your household, willing you to give them firm credit in those things they shall say to you from us, and do there in our name. Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the 24th of August, in the fifth year of our reign.”

Instructions concerning Princess Mary, given to the said Lord Riche, Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Sir William Petre, &c. Aug. 24, 1551.

[Foxe, ii. l. ix. 52.]

First, You the said lord chancellor, and your colleagues, shall make your immediate repair to the said lady Mary, giving to her his majesty's hearty commendations, and shew the cause of your coming to be as followeth :

Although his majesty hath, long time, as well by his majesty's own mouth and writing, as by his council, travailed that the said lady, being his sister, and a principal subject and member of his realm, should both be indeed, and also shew herself, conformable to the laws and ordinances of the realm, in the profession and rites of religion, using all the gentle means of exhortation and advice that could be devised, to the intent that the reformation of the fault might willingly come of herself,

as the expectation and desire of his majesty and all good wise men was, yet, notwithstanding, his majesty seeth, that hitherto no manner of amendment hath followed; but, by the continuance of the error, and manifest breach of his laws, no small peril consequently may hap to the state of his realm; especially, the sufferance of such a fault being directly to the dishonour of God, and the great offence of his majesty's conscience, and all other good men. And therefore, of late, even with the consent and advice of the whole state of his privy council, and divers others of the nobility of his realm, whose names ye may repeat, if ye think convenient, his majesty did resolutely determine it just, necessary and expedient, that her grace should not, in any wise, use or maintain the private mass, or any other manner of service, than such as by the law of the realm is authorised and allowed. And, to participate this his majesty's determination to her grace, it was thought, in respect of a favourable proceeding with herself, to have the same not only to be manifested by her own officers and servants, being most esteemed with her, but also to be executed by them in her house, as well for the more quiet proceeding in the very matter, as for the less molesting of her grace with any message by strangers, in that time of her solitari-ness, wherein her grace was then, by reason of the late sickness. For which purpose, her three servants, Rochester, Englefield, and Waldgrave, were sent in message, in this manner: First, to deliver his majesty's letter to her; next, to discharge the chaplains of saying mass, and prohibiting all the household from hearing any: wherein the king's majesty perceiveth, upon their own report, being returned to the court, how negligently, and indeed how falsely, they have executed their commandment and charge, contrary to the duty of good subjects, and to the manifest contempt of his majesty: insomuch as manifestly they have, before his majesty's council, refused to do that which pertaineth to every true faithful subject, to the offence so far of his majesty, and derogation of his authority, that in no wise the punishment of them could be forborn. And yet, in the manner of the punishment of them, his majesty and his council hath such consideration and respect of her person, being his sister, that, without doubt, his majesty could not, with honour, have had the like consideration, or favour, in the punishment of the dearest counsellor he hath, if any of them had so offended. And, therefore, his majesty hath sent you three, not only to declare to her grace the causes of his sending thither, of late, her officers in message, but also the causes of their absence, now presently: and further, in the default of the said officers, to take order, as well with her chaplains, as with the whole household, that his majesty's laws may be there observed. And in the communication with her, you shall take occasion to answer, in his ma-

jesty's name, certain points of her letter, sent now lately to his majesty : the copy of which letter is now also sent to you, to peruse, for your better instruction how to proceed therein. First, her allegation of the promise made to the emperor must be so answered, as the truth of the matter serveth ; whereof every of you have heard sufficient testimony, divers times, in the council. For her offering her body at the king's will, rather than to change her conscience, it grieveth his majesty much, that her conscience is so settled in error ; and yet no such thing is meant of his majesty, nor of any one of his council, once to hurt, or will evil to her body ; but even, from the bottom of their heart, they wish to her *mentem sanam in corpore sano*. And, therefore, ye shall do very well to persuade her grace, that this proceeding cometh only of the conscience the king hath, to avoid the offence of God, and of necessary counsel and wisdom, to see his laws in so weighty causes executed.

Item, Because it is thought that Rochester had the care and consideration of her grace's provision of household, and, by his absence, the same might be disordered, or disfurnished, his majesty hath sent a trusty skilful man, of his own household, to serve her grace for the time ; who also is sufficiently instructed of Rochester, of the state of things of her household. And if there shall be any thing lacking in the same, his majesty's pleasure is, that his servant shall advertise his own chief officers of household, to the intent, if the same may be supplied of any store here, or other where helped conveniently, her grace shall not lack.

Item, Having thus proceeded with her grace, as for the declaration of the causes of your coming, ye shall then cause to be called before you the chaplains, and all the rest of the household there present ; and, in the king's majesty's name, most straitly forbid the chaplains, either to say, or use any mass, or kind of service, other than by the law is authorised : and likewise ye shall forbid all the rest of the company to be present at any such prohibited service, upon pain to be most straitly punished, as worthily falling into the danger of the king's indignation ; and a like charge to them all, that, if any such offence shall be openly, or secretly committed, they shall advertise some of his majesty's council ; in the which clause you shall use the reasons of their natural duty and allegiance, that they owe, as subjects, to their sovereign lord ; which derogateth all other earthly duties.

Item, If you shall find either any of the priests, or any other person disobedient to this order, ye shall commit them forthwith to prison, as ye shall think convenient.

Item, Forasmuch as ye were privy to the determination at Richmond, and there understood how necessary it was to have reformation herein,

his majesty, upon the great confidence he hath in your wisdom and uprightness, remitteth to your discretion the manner of the proceeding herein, if any thing shall chance to arise there, that, in your opinions, might, otherwise than according to these instructions, conduce you to the execution of your charge: which, in one sum, is, to avoid the use of the private mass, and other unlawful service, in the house of the said lady Mary.

Item, Ye shall devise, by some means, as you may, to have understanding, after your departure, how the order, you give, is observed; and as you shall judge fit, to certify hither.

E. S. W. W. J. W. J. B. W. N.
W. H. F. H. J. G. T. D. W. C.

At Windsor the xxixth day of August anno 1551.

The Lord Chancellor, Mr. Comptroller, and Mr. Secretary Petre, being returned from the lady Mary's grace, made such report of the execution of their charge, and of her grace's answer, as followeth:

A note of the report of the message done to the lady Mary's grace by us, the lord Riche, lord chancellor of England; sir Anthony Wingfield knight of the order, and comptroller of the king's majesty's most honourable household; and William Petre, knight, one of his majesty's two principal secretaries; and of her grace's answer to the same, reported by us all three to the king's majesty, and the lords of his majesty's privy council, at Windsor, the xxixth day of August, anno 1551.

"First, having received commandment and instructions from the king's majesty, we repaired to the said lady Mary's house, at Copped hall, in Essex, on Friday last, being the 28th of this instant, in the morning; where, shortly after our coming, I, the lord chancellor, delivered his majesty's letters to her, which she received upon her knees, saving that, for the honour of the king's majesty's hand, wherewith the said letters were signed, she would kiss the letters, and not for the matter contained in them: 'for the matter' (said she) 'I take to proceed not from his majesty, but from you of the council.'

"In the reading of the letter, which she did read secretly to herself, she said these words in our hearing, 'Ah! good Mr. Cecil took much pains here.'

"When she had read the letter, we began to open the matter of our instructions unto her, and as I, the lord chancellor, began, she prayed me to be short, 'for (said she) I am not well at ease, and I will make you a short answer, notwithstanding that I have already declared and written my mind to his majesty, plainly with mine own hand.'

“ After this, we told her, at good length, how the king’s majesty, having used all the gentle means and exhortations that he might, to have reduced her to the rights of religion, and order of divine service, set forth by the laws of the realm, and finding her nothing conformable, but still remaining in her former error, had resolved, by the whole estate of his majesty’s privy council, and with the consent of divers others of the nobility, that she should no longer use the private mass, nor any other divine service, than is set forth by the laws of the realm; and here we offered to show her the names of all those, which were present at this consultation and resolution; but she said, she cared not for any rehearsal of their names, ‘ for (said she) I know you be all of one sort therein.’

“ We told her further, that the king’s majesty’s pleasure was, we should also give strait charge to her chaplains, that none of them should presume to say any mass, or other divine service, than is set forth by the laws of the realm, and like charge to all her servants, that none of them should presume to hear any mass, or other divine service than is aforesaid. Thereunto her answer was thus. First, she protested that to the king’s majesty she was, is, and ever will be, his majesty’s most humble and most obedient subject, and poor sister; and would most willingly obey all his commandments in anything (her conscience saved): yea and would willingly and gladly suffer death, to do his majesty good: but rather than she will agree to use any other service than was used at the death of the late king, her father, she would lay her head on a block, and suffer death, ‘ But (said she) I am unworthy to suffer death, in so good a quarrel. When the king’s majesty (said she) shall come to such years, that he may be able to judge these things himself, his majesty shall find me ready to obey his orders in religion; but now, in these years, although he, good sweet king, have more knowledge than any other of his years, yet is it not possible that he can be a judge of these things; for, if ships were to be sent to the seas, or any other thing to be done, touching the policy and government of the realm, I am sure you would not think his highness yet able to consider what were to be done; and much less, said she, can he, in these years, discern what is fit in matters of divinity. And if my chaplains do say no mass, I can hear none; no more can my poor servants: but, as for my servants, I know it shall be against their wills, as it shall be against mine; for, if they could come where it were said, they would hear it with good will; and, as for my priests, they know what they have to do,—the pain of your laws is but imprisonment for a short time; and, if they will refuse to say mass, for fear of that imprisonment, they may do therein as they will; but none

of your new service (said she) shall be used in my house, and, if any be said in it, I will not tarry in the house.'

"And after this, we declared unto her grace, according to our instructions, for what causes the lords of the king's majesty's council had appointed Rochester, Englefield, and Walgrave, being her servants, to open the premises unto her, and how ill and untruly they had used themselves, in the charge committed unto them; and, besides that, how they had manifestly disobeyed the king's majesty's council, &c. To this she said, it was not the wisest council, to appoint her servants to control her in her own house, and that her servants knew her mind therein well enough; for, of all men, she might worst endure any of them to move her in any such matters; and, for their punishment, my lords may use them as they think good; and if they refused to do the message unto her and her chaplains and servants, as aforesaid, they be (said she) the honestest men, for they should have spoke against their own consciences.

"After this, when we had, at good length, declared unto her the effect of our instructions, touching the promise which she claimed to have been made to the emperor, and, besides, had opened unto her at good length all such things as we knew, and had heard therein, her answer was, that she was well assured the promise was made to the emperor, and that the same was once granted before the king's majesty in her presence, then being there seven of the council, notwithstanding the denial thereof, at my last being with his majesty; 'and I have (quoth she) the emperor's hand, testifying that this promise was made; which I believe better than you all of the council. And though you esteem little the emperor, yet should you shew more favour to me, for my father's sake, who made the more part of you, almost of nothing: but as for the emperor (said she) if he were dead, I would say as I do: and if he would give me now other advice, I would not follow it. Notwithstanding (quoth she), to be plain with you, his ambassador shall know how I am used at your hands.'

"After this, we opened the king's majesty's pleasure, for one to attend upon her grace, for the supply of Rochester's place, during his absence, &c., as in the instructions. To this her answer was, that she would appoint her own officers, and that she had years sufficient for that purpose; and if we left any such man there, she would go out of her gates, for they two would not dwell in one house. 'And (quoth she) I am sickly, and yet I will not die willingly, but will do the best I can to preserve my life: but if I shall chance to die, I will protest openly, that you of the council be the causes of my death. You give me fair words, but your deeds be always ill towards me.' And having said thus, she departed from us into her bed-chamber, and delivered to me, the lord chancellor, a ring, upon

her knees, most humbly, with very humble recommendations, saying, that she would die his true subject and sister, and obey his commandments in all things, except in these matters of religion, touching the mass and the new service: 'but yet (said she) this shall never be told to the king's majesty,' &c.

"After her departure, we called the chaplains, and the rest of her household, before us, giving them strait commandment, upon pain of their allegiance, that neither the priests should, from henceforth, say any mass, or other divine service than that which is set forth by the laws of the realm, nor that they, the residue of the servants, should presume to hear any.

"The chaplains, after some talk, promised all to obey the king's majesty's commandment, signified by us.

"We gave like commandment to them, and every of them, upon their allegiance, to give notice to some one of the council, at the least, if any mass or other divine service, than that which is set forth by the laws of this realm, should be hereafter said in that house.

"Finally, when we had said and done as is aforesaid, and were gone out of the house, tarrying there for one of her chaplains, who was not with the rest when we gave the charge aforesaid unto them, the lady Mary's grace sent to us, to speak with her one word, at a window. When we were come into the court, notwithstanding that we offered to come up to her chamber, she would needs speak out of the window, and prayed us to speak to the lords of the council, that her comptroller might shortly return: 'for (said she) since his departing, I take the accounts myself of my expences, and learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat: and I wis my father and my mother never brought me up with baking and brewing: and, to be plain with you, I am weary of mine office, and, therefore, if my lords will send mine officer home, they shall do me pleasure: otherwise, if they will send him to prison, I beshrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good will; and I pray God to send you to do well in your souls and bodies too, for some of you have but weak bodies.'

[A letter] to the warden of the Fleet, to convey, through the bridge to the Tower, the said Rochester, Englefield, and Walgrave, to be had thither severally.

To the lieutenant of the Tower, to receive the said Rochester, Englefield, and Walgrave, so as they have conference with no man; and that every of them have a man to attend upon him, and not to confer with any person, but to remain with their master, for seeing that none of them have pen, ink, and paper.

No. XXXI.—(*Referred to at page 116.*)

Aloysio Priuli a Lodovico Beccatello, Arcivescovo di Ragusa.

Dec. 15, 1556.

[Quirini, v. 345.]

Reverendissimo signore mio osservantissimo. Così mi pare che meritino essere chiamati tutti li vescovi, non che gli arcivescovi, che fanno residenza nelle loro chiese, e tanto più V. S., essendo persuaso che ella la faccia con animo di vero pastore, per grazia di Dio, il quale si degni conservarla in questa buona volontà, e favorirla a suo servizio, e beneficio di que' popoli.

Io mi trovo già molti mesi ormai debitore di rispondere ad una amovolisima lettera di V. S., e sono ora invitato a pagare questo debito dall' occasione di mandarle gl' inclusi due sonetti, versi del nostro M. Giovanni Francesco Stella, in ricompensa delli due che ella mi mandò con la sua lettera, le qual fu letta da monsignore reverendissimo Legato nostro con molta sua soddisfazione, avendo S.S. reverendissima volentieri inteso del buon stato di V. S. corporale e spirituale, siccome ella intenderà ora di quel di lei, e di tutta la sua compagnia. E per darle qualche particolar conto delle cose di qua, oltra quello che lo scrittore di questa gliene ha dato prima, le dirò d'alcune cose sono successe dappoi in servizio di Dio, e della religione in questo regno, cioè la restituzione del principal monastero de' monaci negri di S. Benedetto, che è qui in Londra, nel qual monastero sono ultimamente rictrati 28 monaci, tutte persone benissimo qualificate di dottrina, e di gran pietà, della quale hanno dato testimonio, con muoversi volontariamente a lasciar gradi onorevoli ed entrate comode, alcuno d'essi più di millecinquecento scudi, e nessuno manco di cinquecento. Quello, che, contra sua voglia, è stato eletto abbate triennale, al modo d'Italia, e non perpetuo, come si soleva far qui, era decano della chiesa di S. Paolo, cattedrale in Londra, prima dignità dopo il vescovo, con entrata di mille ducaton, e 800 più d'altri benefizi, uomo d'una natura benignissima, e complessione sanguigna, e mente malinconica, dotto assai in theologia, ed ottimo predicatore, il quale, al tempo d'Odoardo, per non consentire all' empie dottrine che allora regnavano contra i sacramenti, patì lunga prigionia, e molti altri grandi incomodi. Nè resterà perciò d'esercitar questo suo dono del predicare al utilità del prossimo; ed oltra questo, esso e gli altri suoi monaci averanno cura di visitar e consolare li prigionieri, ed, in particolare, quelli che sono incarcerati per conto d'eresie, uno de' quali principalissimo in questo regno, detto il Cicco,¹ che fu maestro d'Odoardo, e per tal causa in que'

¹ Sir John Cheek.

tempi favoritissimo, e maestro anco di tutti i giovani nobili di questo regno, per opera di questo buon abate si è ravveduto, pentito, e rivotato da' suoi errori sottomettendosi in tutto, e per tutto, all'ubbidienza e dottrina della chiesa; che è stata una cosa delle più buone che, in particolare, si sien fatte in questo regno in favore della religione, e potrà giovare a molti, per il gran credito che costui aveva, siccome ha già cominciato a fare, avendosi pentiti e rivotati dalli medesimi errori a persuasione sua 28 in un tratto, li quali prima si eran mostrati ostinatissimi e deliberati di volersi lasciar abbruciar vivi:—nè però si mossero al primo colpo, anzi più volte gli fecero gagliarde repliche con dirgli, che esso era stato più che loro nelle medesime opinioni, e che le aveva anche insegnate ad altri. E nol negando costui, ma confessando d'essere stato illuminato a confessare la verità, e replicandogli alcun di costoro, che egli si era mosso a ricantare per paura del fuoco, rispose che era vero, non già di questo temporale, ma dell' eterno; e così al fine, col mezzo dell' esempio e persuasioni sue, furono dalla grazia di Dio ajutati ed indotti a far il medesimo. E questo basti aver detto a V. S. in proposito dell' abate, e de' suoi monaci, le quali nuove so che piaceranno grandemente al molto reverendo P. D. Crisostomo, ed a tutta la sua santa compagnia, la quale insieme con lui io sarei tentato a desiderare che fosse qui, se non mi retenesse, oltre gli altri rispetti, il non veder privata V. S. di tanta e sì necessaria consolazione. Il P. Giambatista da Foligno, e D. Eutizio da Piacenza, mandati già molti mesi da sua santità in Spagna, per visitare que' monasterii, sono stati invitati da monsignore Reverendissimo, finita che averanno quella buona opera, a transferirsi fin qui per comunicare a questi buoni monaci tutti i buoni istituti della loro congregazione d'Italia, i quali essi si mostrano pronti a voler imitare; benchè sappiano che sieno molto più stretti che non erano i loro qui, i quali però da se hanno cominciato già in parte a restringere. E questo sia detto per colmo della consolazione del nostro reverendo P. D. Crisostomo, alle orazioni del quale, e di tutta la sua santa compagnia, con tutto il cuore mi raccomando. Si è anco restituito un monastero di Certosini, ed un altro di Frati, e monache di S. Brigida, e presto se ne restituirà una de' canonici regolari, oltre li due mendicanti de S. Francesco e di S. Domenico, che fin da principio furono restituiti: e tutti questi frati e monache può V. S. ben pensare che sono probati *septuplum*.

Questa serenissima regina, come in ogni altra cosa, così nel provvedere alli vescovati, mostra la sua sincera e gran pietà, non avendo alcun altro rispetto, che del servizio di Dio, e salute de' popoli. Ed in vero si sono trovati tanti buoni soggetti a questo grado, che è stato maraviglia dopo sì lunghe rovine. Vostra signoria credo averà già inteso come il nostro

D. Tommaso Golduello si trova essere uno d'essi, cioè vescovo Assa-fense, ove fa gagliardamente, e con molta laude, il debito suo, siccome fa anco il nostro monsignore di Vigornia. Il nostro buon vecchio, già eletto Salzburense, non volle entrar sotto sì grave peso: ma se quello, che tiene ora quella chiesa, il quale è ancor esso molto vecchio, e più infermo, s'imbatterà a morire prima di lui, non potrà ricusar d'entrare a lavorare questa vigna del Signore. Ma V. S., son certo, desidera soprattutto d'intendere di monsignore reverendissimo nostro, il quale, la Quaresima passata, essendo per andare a Cantorberì, fu costretto a mutar proposito, et restar apresso la maestà della regina, per alcune importantissime cause, che occorsero all' improvviso; onde sua Sig. reverendissima, non potendo andar a torre il pallio nella principal sua chiesa, si risolve a pigliarlo nella principale delle 13 parrocchie, che ha qui in Londra della sua giurisdizione, siccome fece *non sine sermone et lachrymis*; e dipoi è sempre stato appresso sua maestà ora qui in Londra, e questa estate, per un pezzo, in un suo palazzo, sette miglia lontano da qui, che è pure della sua diocesi, sicchè si può dir che abbia fatta residenza: e, quando la maestà del rè verrà qui, disegna, con la grazia di Dio, d'andar a Cantorberì, avendo però fatto più volte visitar anche quella città, e tutte le altre terre della sua diocesi, con molta diligenza.

Vostra signoria ha già inteso del sinodo, che si fece a' mesi passati, il quale, dopo Pasqua, si tornerà di nuovo a fare per provvedere agli altri bisogni ed abusi, che li vescovi averanno meglio conosciuti nella visita di loro diocesi, che hanno fatta quest' estate; siccome anco riformata l'università d'Oxonia, et, dappoi Natale, si farà il medesimo di Cantabrigia, per il nostro monsignore Niccolò Ormanetto, il quale così in questo, come in tutte le altre cose pertinenti alla legazione, sempre *navavit*, e tuttavia *navat egregiam operam*. Noi altri sene stiamo godendo questo bel paese, ed ogni comodità, per grazia del padrone, il quale patisce per tutti, ma allegramente, faticando ed in servizio di Dio, ed in ajuto di questa santa regina, appresso la quale ha ogni merita autorità. Ed io mi trovo tanto più contento, essendo fuori del pericolo d'aver a sostenere, un dì, peso molto più grave, che non comporteria la debolezza delle mie forze, per la rivocazione degli accessi che V. S. averà già inteso, il quale ho accettato per un gratissimo dono da Dio, e prego sua divina Maestà che favorisca, ogni dì, più V. S. in suo servizio, con raccomandarmi di cuore alla memoria delle sue divote orazioni, e, di nuovo, a quelle del molto reverendo P. D. Crisostomo. Il signore Rullo nostro, quì presente, sano, per grazia di Dio, più che fosse mai, siccome è stato in tutti questi viaggi, si raccomanda a V. S. ed al reverendo P. D. Crisostomo; ed io, scrittore, le bacio similmente

la mano, scusandomi della mala lettera, non avendo voluto il dettatore che io la copii altramente, fidandosi della buona intelligenza di V. S. che è stata più volte segretario in capite, come era ultimamente monsignore della Casa, al quale Dio perdoni. Da Londra, alli 15 di Dicembre, 1556. * * * *

Di V. S. reverendissimo

Affezion. Serv.

Alvise Priuli.

No. XXXII.—(*Referred to at page 121.*)

The following passages from the sermon, delivered by White, bishop of Winchester, at the funeral of queen Mary (Dec. 13, 1558), contain all that relates to the subject for which the preacher was imprisoned. Independently of their historical value, as specimens of the pulpit eloquence of the time, they will not, perhaps, be thought uninteresting. The whole discourse is preserved by Strype in his Memorials (iii. Append. 277—287).

The text is taken from Ecclesiastes (iv. 2, 3), "*I praised the dead, rather than the living: and I judged him happier than them both, that is not yet born.*" Expounding the latter portion of the sentence first, the bishop thus proceeds:

"To make this plain, I will put this example for a thousand. Christ, speaking of Judas, said, '*Melius erat illi, si natus non fuisset homo ille;*' which seems to maintain the former words of Solomon, '*Felicio-rem utroque,*' &c. But consider that Christ had signified before to his disciples, that one of them should betray him, and, being demanded whom, said plainly, '*He that dippeth his hand in my dish shall betray me:*' and straight thereupon inferred, '*better had it been for that man never to have had a being;*'—not absolutely noting his being, but being such a one as should betray his master. Whereof I infer, to have a being is not evil, but to be, as indeed Judas was, a traitor to his maker, that is evil. To be born in Christ's church, and not to abide therein; to promise, and not to perform; to promise penance here, and not to practise; to hear the truth, and not to believe; to be daily taught, and never to learn; ever to be warned, and never to beware; that is horrible, execrable, cursed, and damnable. I am born into this world to this end,—to serve God, and to be saved. I shall be damned, not because I was born, but because I served not God. I come into this world to witness with the truth, as Christ, my master, came before me: but I impugn the truth, and advance falsehood. I was regenerate, and by a solemn vow became a member of Christ's catholic church, and have since divided myself from the unity thereof, and am become a

member of the new church of Geneva, or did, after, lapse to actual and deadly sin:—reformed by penance, I am now relapsed again to sin, and dwell stubbornly therein. Mark my end, right honourable, and what shall become of me. I shall, in the end, be damned everlastingly. Not because I was born, or because I was regenerate in Christ's church, or because I did penance there; but because I have wilfully departed out of the catholic church, wherein I made my first profession, and because I, being relapsed into sin, do impenitently persist therein, until my dying day.

“Forasmuch as I have hitherto put the example of sin in mine own person, as I might well do, knowing best in mine own conscience that I am a sinner indeed, I will put further examples in myself, but ever to your erudition and warning. If I stand here this day in the midst of them that pray, and I pray not; in the midst of them that mourn, and I mourn not, at least ways so far forth as it becometh a christian man to mourn at the death of them, of whose estate nevertheless he hath no doubt, because they departed in the faith of Christ and of God (for so the apostles mourned for the death of Stephen, and the patriarchs at the death of Jacob and Joseph, not doubting of their condition, but serving their own nature and duty of charity); if, I say, I stand here in the midst of them, that, following that example of Judas Maccabæus, who sent 12,000 coin to Jerusalem, to be offered for the sins of the dead, do make their oblations here this day, at the obsequies of this virtuous and gracious lady, and I, in the mean season, do mislike their doings, murmuring thereat with Judas Iscariot, ‘*Ut quid perditio hæc?*’ if I, being full of infidelity and malice, stand among you, being so many nobles, or (which is the title and honour that ye can bear in this world) christian men, and, while you, in time of divine service, do faithfully and humbly, both in heart and utter gesture, agnize, reverence, and adore the same flesh in substance, although unvisibly in the sacrament, which we all shall see, in the latter day, visibly coming in the firmament, in the mean season condemn in my heart the church and you thus doing, blaspheme so great mystery, repute the flesh whereby I was redeemed, and the blood of Christ whereby I was to be sanctified, as a thing common and pollute,—who doubteth but, in this case, it were better for me to be out of the church than in it.”

Pursuing the same subject, under another form, and comparing, or contrasting, the state of the living with that of the dead, the bishop thus proceeds:

“Only this we must remember withal, that two kind of men dieth; the faithful, the infidel; the obedient, the rebellious. There are that dieth under the unity of the church; there are that dieth in the sedi-

tion of Core. There are that dieth under the gospel; there are that dieth under the alcoran. As touching the worser sort of these, that is to say, infidels, rebels, and heretics, whom God no more remembereth to relieve with his merits (*quorum non est memor amplius*), because their woful and doleful estate can no otherways be expressed, it shall suffice me to say, and you to know, that they be in pain, in dolour, in ire, in fire, in darkness, and horror. The indignation, the scourge, the vengeance of God, with confusion and damnation everlasting, is poured on them. Neither have they qualification of pain, nor intermission of time, nor hope of end. Oh! merciful Lord, if this be the condition of men, the end of worldly glory, riches, and vanity, in what case stand we, or whither shall we repair to take a true view of our condition, but to the words of Solomon, *feliciorum utroque judicavi, qui necdum natus est?—I judged him happier than both, that is not yet born.*"

The preacher then turns to the other part of his subject, and after some powerful remarks on the duties of persons in authority, thus speaks of her, whose death had now assembled them together :

"So as it is still left for a most certain ground, that happier is he that in the faith of Christ is departed out of this world, than he that yet liveth in the world. And we, being hereof fully persuaded, have no cause to lament, but rather to thank God, and rejoice at the death of them that are so departed, as is now this virtuous and gracious lady, this innocent and unspotted queen, whose body lieth there in your lap, whose livery is on your back, whose memory is, or ought to be, printed in your hearts, whose fame is spread throughout the world, whose praise the stones will speak, if we do not, and whose soul, I verily believe, without prejudice of God's judgment be it spoken, is now in heaven, *ibique sacrificium offert, et pro nobis orat*; and from thence, by means of the glass she looketh in, beholdeth and seeth us,—she of herself being too good to tarry any longer among us, *utpote quâ dignus non fuit mundus*. Wherefore I say once again, happier is she now, than when she lived; although then, in the sight of the world, she was not at all unhappy; in the sight of God, less.

"She was a king's daughter, she was a king's sister, she was a king's wife: she was a queen, and, by the same title, a king also. She was a sister to her, that, by the like title and right, is both king and queen, at this present, of this realm. These be great gifts and benefactions of God, who in his gifts is ever to be glorified. What she suffered in each of these degrees, before and since she came to the crown, I will not chronicle: only this I say, howsoever it pleased God to will her patience to be exercised in the world, she had, in all estates, the fear of God in her heart. I verily believe the poorest creature in all this city feared

not God more than she did. She had the love, commendation, and admiration of all the world. In this church, she married herself unto this realm, and, in token of faith and fidelity, did put a ring with a diamond upon her finger, which, I understand, she never put off after, during her life, whatsoever success things had;—for that is in the hand of God only. She was never unmindful or uncareful of her promise to her realm. She used singular mercy toward offenders. She used much pity and compassion towards the poor and oppressed. She used clemency among her nobles. She restored more noble houses decayed, than ever did prince of this realm, or, I pray God, ever shall have the like occasion to do hereafter. She restored to the church such ornaments as, in the time of schism, were taken away and spoiled. She found the realm poisoned with heresy, and purged it; and, remembering herself to be a *member* of Christ's church, refused to write herself *head* thereof; which title never no prince, a thousand and five hundred years after Christ, usurped: and she was herself, by learning, able to render a cause why. * * * * * She could say, how can I, a woman, be head of the church, who, by Scripture, am forbidden to speak in the church, except the church shall have a dumb head? The head of the church must, of consequence and duty, preach in the church, and he must offer sacrifices *pro peccatis mortuorum*. But it is not read, neither in the old, neither in the new testament, that ever women did sacrifice. These and the like authorities of Scripture she was able to allege, why she could not be *caput ecclesie*, and by learning defended the same. Such was her knowledge as well as virtue: neither ever was there prince on earth that had more of both.

“ But, although she were such a one, yet could she not be immortal. It pleased God, in whose hand the heart and breath, the life and death, the beginning and end of princes is, to call her from this mortal life, of the pleasures whereof (the pleasure she took in the service of God only excepted) no person, I suppose, took less; so, of the troubles and bitterness of the same, none here, for his estate, taketh more. How she took her sickness, and disposed herself against death; how she committed herself to God, and the realm to his providence; what she did, what she said, how meekly she demanded, and with what reverence she received, the sacraments of Christ's church, and especially the sacrament, which Christ hath ordained to be a passport and safe conduct for a christian man into the heaven of everlasting quiet and rest; * * * how, in the mass-time, at the elevation of the sacrament, the strength of her body and use of her tongue being taken away, yet nevertheless she, at that instant, lifted up her eyes, *ministros, nuncios devoti cordis*, and, in the benediction of the church, as Jacob blessed his children,

she bowed down her head, and withal yielded a mild and gracious spirit into the hands of her Maker; all this, I say, if it were as pithily expressed, as she godly and devoutly did it, should be to you, as it was to them that saw it, more than ten such sermons. If angels were mortal, I would rather liken this her departure to the death of an angel, than of a mortal creature.

“After this sort, died this gracious queen, of whom we may justly say, *laudavi mortuam magis quàm viventem.* * * * * *
And as we, for our parts, have received worthily detriment and discomfort upon her departing, so let us comfort ourselves in the other sister, whom God hath left, wishing her a prosperous reign, in peace and tranquillity, with the blessing which the prophet speaketh of, if it be God’s will, *ut videat filios filiorum, et pacem super Israel:* ever confessing that, though God hath mercifully provided for them both, yet *Maria optimam partem elegit;* because it is still a conclusion, *laudavi mortuos magis quàm viventes.*”

No. XXXIII.—(Referred to at page 124.)

The Device for alteration of religion. December 1558.

[Cotton Library, Julius, F. vi. 161.]

I. *When shall the alteration be first attempted?*

At the next parliament; so that the dangers be foreseen, and remedies therefore provided: for the sooner that religion is restored, God is the more glorified, and, as we trust, will be more merciful unto us, and better save and defend her highness from all dangers.

II. *What dangers may ensue upon the alteration?*

The bishop of Rome, all that he may, will be incensed. He will excommunicate the queen’s highness, interdict the realm, and give it to prey to all princes, that will enter upon it; and incite them thereto by all manner of means.

The French king will be encouraged more to the war, and make his people more ready to fight against us, not only as enemies, but as heretics. He will be in great hope of aid from hence, of them that are discontented with this alteration, looking for tumult and discord. He will also stay concluding peace upon hope of some alteration.

Scotland will have some causes of boldness; and by that way the French king will seem soonest to attempt to invade us.

Ireland also will be very difficultly staid in their obedience, by reason of the clergy that is so addicted to Rome.

Many people of our own will be very much discontented; especially these sorts: I. All such as governed in the late queen Mary’s time, and were chosen thereto for no other cause, or were then most es-

teemed, for being hot and earnest in the other religion, and now remain unplaced and uncalled to credit, will think themselves discredited, and all their doings defaced, and study all they can to maintain their former doings, and despise all this alteration.

2. Bishops and all the clergy will see their own ruin. In confession and preaching, and all other ways they can, they will persuade the people from it. They will conspire with whomsoever that will attempt, and pretend to do God a sacrifice in letting the alteration, though it be with murder of christian men, or treason.

3. Men which be of the papist sect, which late were, in manner, all the judges of the law, the justices of the peace chosen out by the late queen in all the shires, such as were believed to be of that sect,—and the more earnest therein, the more in estimation. These are like to join and conspire with the bishops and clergy.

4. Some, when the subsidy shall be granted, and money levied (as it appeareth that necessarily it must be done), will be therewith offended, and like enough to conspire and arise, if they have any head to stir them to it, or hope of gain and spoil.

5. Many such as would gladly have the alteration from the church of Rome, when they shall see, peradventure, that some old ceremonies shall be left still, or that their doctrine, which they embrace, is not allowed and commanded only, but all other abolished and disproved, shall be discontented, and call the alteration “a cloaked papistry,” or “a mingle mangle.”

III. *What remedy for these matters?*

First, for France, to practise a peace, or, if it be offered, not to refuse it. If controversy of religion be there among them, to help to kindle it.

Rome is less to be doubted, from whom nothing is to be feared, but evil will, cursing, and practising.

Scotland will follow France for peace. But there may be practised, to help forward their divisions, and especially to augment the hope of them, who incline them to good religion. For certainty, to fortify Berwick, and to employ demi-lances and horsemen for the safety of the frontiers; and some expense of money in Ireland.

The fifth divided into five parts:—The first is of them which were of queen Mary's council, elected and advanced then to authority, only or chiefly for being of the pope's religion, and earnest in the same. Every augmentation, or conservation of such men, in authority or reputation, is an encouragement of those of their sect, and giveth hope to them that it shall revive and continue, although it have a contrary blast. Seeing their pillars to stand still untouched [will be] a confirmation blast to them that are wavering papists, and a discouragement of such, that are but half inclined

that alteration. *Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento hic illic impellitur.* These must be searched by all law, as far as justice may extend; and the queen's majesty's clemency to be extended not, before they do fully acknowledge themselves to have fallen in the lapse of the law.

They must be based of authority, discredited in their countries, so long as they seem to repugn to the true religion, or to maintain their own proceedings. And if they should seem to allow, or to bear with, the new alteration, yet [they are] not likely to be in credit, *quia neophyti.* And no man but he loveth that time wherein he did flourish: and when he can, and as he can, those ancient laws and orders he will maintain and defend, with whom and in whom he was in estimation, authority, and a doer; for every man naturally loveth that, which is his own work and creature.

And contrary, as those men must be based, so must her highness's old and sure servants, who have tarried with her, and not shrunk in the last storms, be advanced with authority and credit; that the world may see that her highness is not unkind nor unmindful. And, throughout all England, such persons as are known to be sure in religion, every one, according to his ability to serve in the commonwealth, to be set in place: whom, if in the cause of religion, God's cause, they shall be slack, yet their own safety and state shall cause to be vigilant, careful, and earnest, for the conservation of her state, and maintenance of this alteration. And, in all this, she shall do but the same that the late queen Mary did, to maintain and establish her religion.

The second of these five is the bishops and clergy, being, in manner, all made and chosen, such as were thought the stoutest and mightiest champions of the pope's church, who, in the late times, [by] taking from the crown, impoverishing it, extorting from private men, and all other means possible, *per fas et nefas*, have thought to enrich and advance themselves. These her majesty, being inclined to so much clemency, yet must seek, as well by parliament, as by the just laws of England, in the premunire, and other such penal laws, to bring again into order; and, being found in default, not to pardon, till they confess their fault, put themselves wholly to her highness's mercy, abjure the pope of Rome, and conform themselves to the new alteration. And by this means well handled, her majesty's necessity of money may be somewhat relieved.

The third is to be amended, even as all the rest above, by such means as queen Mary taught, that none such, as near as may be, be in commission of peace in the shires, but rather men meaner in substance, and younger in years; so that they have discretion to be put in place: a short law made and executed against assemblies of people without authority: lieutenants made in every shire: one or two men known to be sure at the

queen's devotion: in the mean time, musters and captains appointed, viz., young gentlemen which earnestly do favour her highness: no office of jurisdiction or authority to be in any discontented man's hand, as far as justice or law may extend.

The fourth is not to be remedied otherwise than by gentle and dulce handling by the commissioners, and by the readiness and good will of the lieutenants and captains to repress them, if any should begin a tumult, murmur, or provide any assembly or stoutness to the contrary.

The fifth, for the discontentation of such as could be content to have religion altered, but would have it go too far, the strait laws upon the promulgation of the book, and severe execution of the same at the first, will so repress them, that it is great hope it shall touch but a few. And better it were that they did suffer, than her highness or the commonwealth should shake, or be in danger. And to this they must well take heed that draw the book.

And herein the universities must not be neglected; and the hurt, that the late visitation, in queen Mary's time, did, must be amended. Likewise such colleges where children be instructed, to come to the university, as Eton and Winchester; that as well the encrease hereafter, as at this present time, be provided for.

IV. *What shall be the manner of the doing of it?*

This consultation is to be referred to such learned men as be meet to shew their minds herein, and to bring a plat, or book hereof ready drawn to her highness: which, being approved of her majesty, may be so put into the parliament house;—to the which, for the time, it is thought that these are apt men:—Dr. Bill, Dr. Parker, Dr. May, Dr. Cox, Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Grindal, Mr. Pilkington. And Sir Thomas Smith to call them together, and to be amongst them: and, after the consultation with these, to draw in other men of learning and gravity, and apt men for that purpose and credit, to have their assents.

As for that is necessary to be done before, it is thought most necessary that a strait prohibition be made of all innovation, until such time as the book come forth, as well that there should be no often changes in religion, which would take away authority in the common people's estimation, as also to exercise the queen's majesty's subjects to obedience.

V. *To the fifth, What may be done of her highness, for her own conscience, openly, before the whole alteration: or, if the alteration must tarry longer, what order be fit to be in the whole realm, as an interim?*

To alter no further than her majesty hath, except it be to receive the communion as her highness pleaseth, on high feasts: and that, where there be more chaplains at mass, that they do always communicate in both kinds. And, for her highness's conscience till then, if there be

some other devout sort of prayers, or memory, said ; and the seldomer mass.

VI. To the sixth, *What noblemen be most fit to be made privy to these proceedings, before it be opened to the whole council ?*

The lord marquess Northampton, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, and the lord John Grey.

VII. To the seventh, *What allowance those learned men shall have, for the time they are about to review the book of Common Prayer and order of Ceremonies, and service in the church, and where they shall meet ?*

Being so many persons, which must attend still upon it, two mess of meat is thought yet indifferent, to suffice for them and their servants.

The place is thought most meet [to be] in some set place, or rather at sir Thomas Smith's lodgings in Canon Row. At one of these places, must provision be laid in of wood, and coals, and drink.

No. XXXIV.—(*Referred to at page 130.*)

An Act to restore to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the Estate Ecclesiastical and Spiritual ; and abolishing all Foreign Powers repugnant to the same.

[Stat. 1 Eliz. c. 1.]

Most humbly beseech your most excellent majesty your faithful and obedient subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in this your present parliament assembled, that, where, in time of the reign of your most dear father, of worthy memory, king Henry VIII., divers good laws and statutes were made and established, as well for the utter extinguishment, and putting away of all usurped and foreign powers and authorities out of this your realm, and other your highness' dominions and countries, as also for the restoring, and uniting to the imperial crown of this realm, the ancient jurisdictions, authorities, superiorities, and preeminences, to the same of right belonging and appertaining ; by reason whereof, we, your most humble and obedient subjects, from the 25th year of the reign of your said dear father, were continually kept in good order, and were disburdened of divers great and intolerable charges and exactions, before that time unlawfully taken and exacted by such foreign power and authority, as, before that, was usurped, until such time, as all the said good laws and statutes, by one act of parliament made in the first and second years of the reigns of the late king Philip and queen Mary, your highness' sister, intituled, " An act repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions, made against the see apostolic of Rome, since the 20th year of king Henry VIII. ; and also for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions

and hereditaments conveyed to the laity", were all clearly repealed and made void, as by the same act of repeal more at large doth and may appear: By reason of which act of repeal, your said humble subjects were eftsoons brought under an usurped foreign power and authority, and yet do remain in that bondage, to the intolerable charges of your loving subjects, if some redress (by authority of this your high court of parliament, with the assent of your highness) be not had and provided:

May it, therefore, please your highness, for the repressing of the said usurped foreign power, and the restoring of the rights, jurisdictions, and preeminences appertaining to the imperial crown of this your realm, that it may be enacted, by authority of this present parliament, That the said act, made in the first and second years of the reign of the said late king Philip and queen Mary, and all and every branches, clauses, and articles therein contained (other than such branches, clauses, and sentences, as hereafter shall be excepted) may, from the last day of this session of parliament, by authority of this present parliament, be repealed, and shall from thenceforth be utterly void and of none effect.

And that also, for the reviving of divers of the said good laws and statutes, made in the time of your said dear father, it may also please your highness, that one act and statute made in the 23d year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., intituled "An act, that no person shall be cited out of the diocese where he or she dwelleth, except in certain cases:"

And one other act, made in the 24th year of the reign of the said late king, intituled "An act, that appeals in such cases, as have been used to be pursued to the see of Rome, shall not be from henceforth had, ne used, but within this realm:"

And one other act, made, the 25th year of the said late king, concerning restraint of payment of annates, and first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics to the see of Rome:

And one other act, in the said 25th year, intituled "An act, concerning the submission of the clergy to the king's majesty:"

And also one act, made the 25th year, intituled, "An act restraining the payment of annates or first-fruits to the bishop of Rome, and of the electing and consecrating of archbishops and bishops within this realm:"

And one other act, made in the said 25th year, intituled, "An act concerning the exoneration of the king's subjects from exactions and impositions, heretofore paid to the see of Rome; and for having licenses and dispensations within this realm, without suing further for the same:"

And one other act made in the 26th year of the said late king, intituled, "An act for nomination and consecration of suffragans within this realm:"

And also one other act made in the 28th year of the reign of the said late king, intituled, “ An act for the release of such, as have obtained pretended licenses and dispensations from the see of Rome”: and all and every branches, words, and sentences, in the said several acts and statutes contained, by authority of this present parliament, from, and at all times after the last day of this session of parliament, shall be revived, and shall stand and be in full force and strength, to all intents, constructions, and purposes; and that the branches, sentences, and words of the said several acts, and every of them, from thenceforth shall, and may be, judged, deemed, and taken to extend to your highness, your heirs, and successors, as fully and largely as ever the same acts, or any of them, did extend to the late king Henry VIII., your highness’s father.

And that it may also please your highness, that it may be enacted, by the authority of this present parliament, that so much of one act or statute, made in the thirty-second year of the reign of your said dear father, king Henry VIII., intituled, “ An act concerning precontracts of marriages, and touching degrees of consanguinity,” as in the time of the late king Edward VI., your highness’s most dear brother, by one other act or statute was not repealed:

And also one act made in the 37th year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., intituled, “ An act, that doctors of the civil law, being married, may exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction”: and all and every branches and articles in the said two acts last mentioned, and not repealed in the time of the said late king Edward VI., may from henceforth likewise stand and be revived, and remain in their full force and strength to all intents and purposes; any thing contained in the said act of repeal before mentioned, or any other matter or cause to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And that it may also please your highness, that it may further be enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all other laws and statutes, and the branches and clauses of any act or statute, repealed, and made void by the said act of repeal, made in the time of the said late king Philip and queen Mary, and not in this present act specially mentioned and revived, shall stand, remain, and be repealed and void, in such like manner and form as they were, before the making of this act; any thing, herein contained to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And that it may also please your highness, that it may be enacted by the authority aforesaid, that one act and statute, made in the first year of the reign of the late king Edward VI., your majesty’s most dear brother, intituled, “ An act against such persons, as shall unreverently speak against the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar; and for the receiving thereof under

both kinds": and all and every branches, clauses, and sentences therein contained, shall and may likewise, from the last day of this session of parliament, be revived; and from thenceforth shall and may stand, remain, and be in full force, strength, and effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, in such like manner and form as the same was, at any time, in the first year of the reign of the said late king Edward VI.; any law, statute, or other matter to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding.

And that also it may please your highness, that it may be further established, and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that one act and statute, made in the first and second years of the late king Philip and queen Mary, intituled, "An act for the reviving of three statutes made for the punishment of heresies"; and also the said three statutes mentioned in the said act, and by the same act revived; and all and every branches, articles, clauses, and sentences contained in the said several acts and statutes, and every of them, shall be, from the last day of this session of parliament, deemed and remain utterly repealed, void, and of none effect, to all intents and purposes; any thing in the said several acts, or any of them, contained, or any other matter or clause, to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And, to the intent, that all the usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguished, and never be used and obeyed within this realm, or any other your majesty's dominions or countries, may it please your highness, that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall, at any time, after the last day of this session of parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, preeminence, or privilege, spiritual, or ecclesiastical, within this realm, or within any other your majesty's dominions, or countries, that now be, or hereafter shall be: but, from thenceforth, the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm, and all other your highness' dominions for ever; any statute, ordinance, custom, constitutions, or any other matter or clause whatsoever, to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding.

And that also it may likewise please your highness, that it may be established, and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and preeminencies, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be, exercised or used, for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, shall for ever, by

authority of this present parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.

And that your highness, your heirs and successors, kings or queens of this realm, shall have full power and authority, by virtue of this act, by letters patents, under the great seal of England, to assign, name, and authorize, when, and as often as your highness, your heirs or successors, shall think meet and convenient, and for such, and so long time, as shall please your highness, your heirs, or successors, such person or persons (being natural born subjects to your highness, your heirs, or successors), as your majesty, your heirs, or successors, shall think meet, to exercise, use, occupy, and execute, under your highness, your heirs, and successors, all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and preeminences, in any wise touching or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdictions, within these your realms of England and Ireland, or any other your highness' dominions and countries: and to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which, by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue, and the conservation of the peace and unity of this realm: and that such person or persons, so to be named, assigned, authorized, and appointed, by your highness, your heirs, or successors, after the said letters patents to him or them made and delivered, as is aforesaid, shall have full power and authority, by virtue of this act, and of the said letters patents, under your highness, your heirs, and successors, to exercise, use, and execute all the premises, according to the tenour and effect of the said letters patents; any matter or clause, to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding.

And, for the better observation and maintenance of this act, may it please your highness, that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every archbishop, bishop, and all and every other ecclesiastical person, and other ecclesiastical officer and minister, of what estate, dignity, preeminence, or degree soever he or they be, or shall be, and all and every temporal judge, justice, mayor, and other lay, or temporal officer and minister, and every other person, having your highness' fee or wages within this realm, or any your highness' dominions, shall make, take, and receive a corporal oath upon the evangelist, before such person or persons, as shall please your highness, your heirs, or successors, under the great seal of England, to assign and name, to accept and to take the same, according to the tenour and effect hereafter following: that is to say,

“ I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the queen’s highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness’ dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things, or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and, therefore, I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise, that, from henceforth, I shall bear faith, and true allegiance to the queen’s highness, her heirs, and lawful successors; and, to my power, shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, preeminences, and authorities granted, or belonging to the queen’s highness, her heirs, and successors, or united, and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and by the contents of this book.”

And that it may also be enacted, that, if any such archbishop, bishop, or other ecclesiastical officer, or minister, or any of the said temporal judges, justiciaries, or other lay officer or minister, shall peremptorily, or obstinately refuse to take, or receive, the said oath, that then he, so refusing, shall forfeit and lose, only during his life, all and every ecclesiastical and spiritual promotion, benefice, and office, and every temporal and lay promotion and office, which he hath solely, at the time of such refusal made; and that the whole title, interest, and incumbency, in every such promotion, benefice, and other office, as against such person only, so refusing, during his life, shall clearly cease, and be void, as though the party so refusing were dead.

And that also all, and every such person, and persons, so refusing to take the said oath, shall, immediately after such refusal, be from thenceforth, during his life, disabled to retain or exercise any office, or other promotion, which he, at the time of such refusal, hath, jointly or in common with any other person, or persons.

And that all, and every person and persons, that, at any time hereafter, shall be preferred, promoted, or collated to any archbishopric, or bishopric, or to any other spiritual or ecclesiastical benefice, promotion, dignity, or office, or ministry, or that shall be, by your highness, your heirs, or successors, preferred or promoted to any temporal or lay office, ministry, or service, within this realm, or in any your highness’ dominions, before he or they shall take upon him or them to receive, use, exercise, supply, or occupy any such archbishopric, bishopric, promotion, dignity, office, ministry, or service, shall likewise make, take, and receive the same corporal oath before mentioned, upon the evangelist, before such persons, as have or shall have authority to admit any such

person to any such office, ministry, or service, or else before such person or persons, as by your highness, your heirs, or successors, by commission, under the great seal of England, shall be named, assigned, or appointed to minister the said oath.

And that it may likewise be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that, if any such person or persons, as, at any time hereafter, shall be promoted, preferred, or collated to any such promotion, spiritual or ecclesiastical, benefice, office, or ministry, or that by your highness, your heirs, or successors, shall be promoted, or preferred to any temporal, or lay office, ministry, or service, shall and do peremptorily and obstinately refuse to take the same oath, so to him to be offered, that then he or they, so refusing, shall presently be judged disabled in the law to receive, take, or have the same promotion, spiritual or ecclesiastical, or the same temporal office, ministry, or service within this realm, or any other your highness' dominions, to all intents, constructions, and purposes.

And that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person and persons temporal, suing livery, or *Oustre le maine*, out of the hands of your highness, your heirs, or successors, before his, or their livery, or *Oustre le maine*, sued forth, and allowed; and every temporal person or persons, doing any homage to your highness, your heirs, or successors, or that shall be received into service with your highness, your heirs, or successors, shall make, take, and receive the said corporal oath before mentioned, before the lord chancellor of England, or the lord keeper of the great seal, for the time being, or before such person or persons, as, by your highness, your heirs, or successors, shall be named and appointed to accept or receive the same.

And that also all and every person and persons taking orders, and all and every other person and persons, which shall be promoted or preferred to any degree of learning in any university, within this your realm or dominions, before he shall receive or take any such orders, or be preferred to any such degree of learning, shall make, take, and receive the said oath, by this act set forth and declared, as is aforesaid, before his, or their ordinary, commissary, chancellor, or vice-chancellor, or their sufficient deputies in the said university.

Provided always, and that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that, if any person, having any estate of inheritance, in any temporal office, or offices, shall hereafter obstinately and peremptorily refuse to accept and take the said oath, as is aforesaid, and after, at any time, during his life, shall willingly require to take and receive the said oath, and so do take and accept the same oath, before any per-

son or persons, that shall have lawful authority to minister the same, that then, every such person, immediately after he hath so received the same oath, shall be vested, judged, and deemed in like estate and possession of the said office, as he was before the said refusal; and shall and may use, and exercise the said office, in such manner and form, as he should or might have done, before such refusal; any thing in this act contained to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding.

And, for the more sure observation of this act, and the utter extinguishment of all foreign and usurped power and authority, may it please your highness, that it may be enacted by the authority aforesaid, that, if any person, or persons, dwelling, or inhabiting within this your realm, or in any other your highness' realms, or dominions, of what estate, dignity, or degree soever he or they be, after the end of thirty days, next after the determination of this session of this present parliament, shall, by writing, printing, teaching, preaching, express words, deed, or act, advisedly, maliciously, and directly affirm, hold, stand with, set forth, maintain, or defend the authority, pre-eminence, power, or jurisdiction, spiritual or ecclesiastical, of any foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate whatsoever, heretofore claimed, used, or usurped, within this realm, or any dominion, or country, being within or under the power, dominion, or obeisance of your highness; or shall advisedly, maliciously, and directly put in ure, or execute any thing for the extolling, advancement, setting forth, maintenance, or defence of any such pretended, or usurped jurisdiction, power, pre-eminence, and authority, or any part thereof, that then, every such person and persons, so doing and offending, their abettors, aiders, procurers, and counsellors, being thereof lawfully convicted and attainted, according to the true order and course of the common laws of this realm, for his, or their first offence, shall forfeit and lose unto your highness, your heirs, and successors, all his and their goods and chattels, as well real, as personal.

And, if any person, so convicted or attainted, shall not have, or be worth, of his proper goods and chattels, to the value of twenty pounds, at the time of his conviction or attainder, that then every such person, so convicted and attainted, over and besides the forfeiture of all his said goods and chattels, shall have and suffer imprisonment, by the space of one whole year, without bail or mainprise.

And that also all and every the benefices, prebends, and other ecclesiastical promotions, and dignities whatsoever, of every spiritual person, so offending and being attainted, shall, immediately after such attainder, be utterly void to all intents and purposes, as though the incumbent thereof were dead; and that the patron and donor of every such benefice, prebend, spiritual promotion, and dignity, shall and may lawfully

present unto the same, or give the same, in such manner and form, as if the said incumbent were dead; and, if any such offender, or offenders, after such conviction, or attainder, do eftsoons commit, or do the said offences, or any of them, in manner and form aforesaid, and be thereof duly convicted, and attainted, as is aforesaid, that then every such offender and offenders shall, for the same second offence, incur into the dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, ordained and provided by the statute of provision and premunire, made in the sixteenth year of the reign of king Richard II.

And, if any such offender or offenders, at any time, after the said second conviction and attainder, do, the third time, commit and do the said offences, or any of them, in manner and form aforesaid, and be thereof duly convicted and attainted, as is aforesaid, that then, every such offence, or offences, shall be deemed and adjudged high-treason; and that the offender or offenders therein, being thereof lawfully convicted and attainted, according to the laws of this realm, shall suffer pains of death, and other penalties, forfeitures, and losses, as in case of high-treason, by the laws of this realm.

* * * *

Provided always, and be it enacted as is aforesaid, that no manner of order, act, or determination, for any matter of religion, or cause ecclesiastical, had or made by the authority of this present parliament, shall be accepted, deemed, interpreted, or adjudged, at any time hereafter, to be any error, heresy, schism, or schismatical opinion; any order, decree, sentence, constitution, or law, whatsoever the same be, to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such person or persons, to whom your highness, your heirs, or successors, shall hereafter, by letters patents under the great seal of England, give authority to have or execute any jurisdiction, power, or authority spiritual, or to visit, reform, order, or correct any errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, or enormities, by virtue of this act, shall not, in any wise, have authority, or power, to order, determine, or adjudge any matter or cause to be heresy, but only such as heretofore have been determined, ordered, or adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or any of them, or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy, by the express and plain words of the said canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be ordered, judged, or determined to be heresy, by the high court of parliament of this realm, with the assent of the clergy in their convocation; any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

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No. XXXV.—(*Referred to at page 130.*)

A Speech of Nicolas Heath, Archbishop of York, in the House of Lords, against the Spiritual Supremacy in the Crown. 1559.

[Touchet, 225.]

My Lords,

With all humble submission of my whole discourse to your wisdoms, I purpose to speak to the body of this act, touching the supremacy, that so, what this honourable assembly is now a-doing, concerning the passing of this act, may thereby be better weighed, and considered by your wisdoms.

First, when, by the virtue of this act of the supremacy, we must forsake, and fly from the see of Rome, it would be considered, what matter lieth therein, and what matter of danger, or inconvenience; or else, whether there be none at all?

Secondly, if the intent of this act be, to grant, or settle upon the queen's majesty a supremacy, it would be considered of your wisdoms, what this supremacy is, and whether it doth consist in spiritual government, or temporal? If in temporal, what further authority can this house give her, more than what she already hath, by right of inheritance?—and not by our gift, but by the appointment of God; being our sovereign lord and lady, our king and queen, our empress and emperor. And if, further than this, we acknowledge her to be head of the church of England, we ought also to grant, that the emperor, or any other prince, being catholic, and their subjects protestants, are to be heads of their church: whereby we shall do an act as disagreeable to protestants, as this seems to catholics. If you say, the supremacy consists in spiritual concerns, then it would be considered what the spiritual government is, and in what points it doth chiefly consist: which being first agreed upon, it would be further considered of your wisdoms, whether this house may grant it to her highness, or not; and whether her highness be an apt person to receive the same. So, by thorough examination of these parts, your honours shall proceed in this matter groundedly, upon such sure knowledge, as not to be deceived by ignorance.

Now to the first point, wherein I promised to examine what matter of weight, danger, or inconvenience, might be incurred by this our forsaking and flying from the church of Rome. If there were no further matter therein, than the withdrawing our obedience from the pope's person (supposing that he had declared himself to be a very austere and severe father to us), then the business were not of so great importance, as indeed it is;¹

¹ [In Strype's copy of this speech, printed from Foxe's MSS., Heath is here made to say, "If by this our relinquishing of the see of Rome, there were none other matter therein, than a withdrawing of our obedience from the pope's per-

as will immediately here appear. For, by relinquishing and forsaking the church or see of Rome, we must forsake and fly, first, from all general councils; secondly, from all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of the church of Christ; thirdly, from the judgment of all other christian princes; fourthly and lastly, we must forsake and fly from the holy unity of Christ's church, and so, by leaping out of Peter's ship, we hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed in the waves of schism, of sects, and divisions.

First, touching the general councils, I shall name unto you these four: the Nicene council, the Constantinopolitan council, the Ephesine, and the Chalcedon: all which are approved by all men. Of these same councils St. Gregory writeth in this wise: *Sicut enim sancti evangelii quatuor libros, sic hæc quatuor concilia, Nicenum, Constantinopolitanum, Ephesinum, et Chalcedonense suscipere, ac venerari me fateor*: that is to say, in English, I confess, I do receive and reverence those four general councils of Nice, Constantinople, &c., even as I do the four holy evangelists. At the Nicene council, the first of the four, the bishops, which were there assembled, did write their epistles to Silvester, then bishop of Rome, that their decrees, then made, might be confirmed by his authority. At the council kept at Constantinople, all the bishops there, were obedient to Damasus, then bishop of Rome. He, as chief in the council, gave sentence against the heretics, Macedonius, Sabellius, and Eunomius; which Eunomius was both an Arian, and the first author of that heresy, *that only faith doth justify*. And here (by the way) it is much to be lamented, that we, the inhabitants of this realm, are much more inclined to raise up the errors and sects of ancient condemned heretics, than to follow the true approved doctrine of the most catholic and learned fathers of Christ his church. At the Ephesine council, Nestorius, the heretic, was condemned by Cælestine, the bishop of Rome, he being chief judge there. At the Chalcedon council, all the bishops, there assembled, did write their humble submission unto Læo, then bishop of Rome; wherein they did acknowledge him there, to be their chief head, six hundred and thirty bishops of them. Therefore, to deny the see apostolic, and its authority, were to contemn and set at naught the authority, and decrees of those noble councils.

Secondly, we must forsake and fly from all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of Christ his church, whereunto we have already professed our obedience at the font, saying, *Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*, that is, I believe the holy catholic church: which article containeth, that we must receive

son, *Paul the fourth of that name, which hath declared himself to be a very austere stern father unto us, ever since his first entrance into Peter's chair, then the cause were not of such great importance*", &c. Strype, Annal. i. Append. 8.—T.]

the doctrine and sacraments of the same church, obey her laws, and live according to the same; which laws do depend wholly upon the authority of the see apostolic. And, like as it is here openly professed by the judges of the realm, that the laws, agreed upon in the higher and lower houses of this honourable parliament, be of small, or none effect, before the royal assent of the king, or prince, be given thereunto, even so ecclesiastical laws, made, cannot bind the universal church of Christ, without the royal assent and confirmation of the see apostolic.

Thirdly, we must forsake and fly from the judgment of all other christian princes, whether they be protestant, or catholic christians, when none of them do agree with these our doings; king Henry VIII. being the first, that ever took upon him the title of supremacy. And whereas it was of late, here in this house, said by a nobleman, that "the title of supremacy is of right due to a king, for that he is a king," then it would follow, that Herod, being a king, should be supreme head of the church at Jerusalem, and Nero, the emperor, supreme head of the church of Christ at Rome; they being both infidels, and therefore no members of Christ his church. And if our Saviour Christ, at his departure from this world, should have left the spiritual government of his church in the hands of emperors, and kings, and not have committed the same to his apostles, how negligently then should he have left his church, it shall appear right well, by calling to mind, that the emperor Constantinus Magnus was the first christian emperor, and was baptised by Silvester, bishop of Rome, about three hundred years after the ascension of Christ Jesus. If, by your proposition, Constantine, the first christian emperor, was the first head, and spiritual governor of Christ his church throughout his empire, then it followeth, that our saviour Christ, for the space of three hundred years, unto the coming of this Constantine, left his church (which he had so dearly bought by effusion of his most precious blood) without any head at all. But how untrue the saying of this nobleman was, it shall farther appear by example of Ozia, and also of king David. For, king Ozia did take the censer, to do incense to the altar of God: the priest Azarias did resist him, and expelled him out of the temple, and said unto him, *Non est officii tui, Ozia, ut adoleas incensum Domino, sed sacerdotum, hoc est, filiorum Aaron, qui consecrati sunt ad hujusmodi ministerium*: that is to say, It is not thy office, Ozia, to offer incense to the Lord; but it is the priests' office, that is of the sons of Aaron, who are consecrated for this office.¹ Now, I shall most humbly demand this question;—when the priest Azarias said to the king, *Non est officii tui*, whether he said truth, or not? If you answer that he spake

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi. 18.

the truth, then the king was not supreme head of the church of the Jews. If you shall say No, why did God plague the king with leprosy, and not the priest? When the priest Azarias resisted the king, and thrust him out of the temple, did he, in so doing, act the part of a faithful subject, or no? If you answer, No, why did God then spare the priest, and not the king? If you answer, Yea, then it is most manifest that Ozia, in that he was a king, could not be supreme head of the church. And as touching the example of king David, in bringing home the ark of God from the country of the Philistines, to the city of David, what supremacy or government of God's ark did king David there take upon him? Did he place himself amongst the priests? Or take upon him any spiritual function unto them appertaining? Did he approach near unto the ark? Or yet presume to touch the same? No, doubtless: for he had seen, before, Ozia stricken with death by the hand of God, for the like arrogance and presumption.¹ And, therefore, king David did go before the ark of God with his harp, making melody, and placed himself amongst the minstrels, and humbly did so abase himself (being a king), as to dance and leap before the ark of God, like as his other subjects did: insomuch as his queen, Michol, king Saul's daughter, beholding and seeing this great humility of king David, did disdain thereat: whereunto king David, making answer, said, *Ludam, et vilior fiam quàm factus sum*, &c., that is, I will dance, and abase myself more, than yet I have done; and, abjecting myself in my own eyes, I shall appear more glorious, with those hand-maids, that you talk of: I will play here before my Lord, which hath chosen me, rather than thy father's house. And whereas queen Michol was therefore plagued at God's hand, with perpetual sterility and barrenness, king David received great praise for his humility. Now, it may please your honours to consider, which of both these kings' examples shall be most convenient for your wisdoms, to make the queen's majesty to follow: whether the example of proud Ozia, moving her, by your persuasions and counsels, to take upon her spiritual government, and thereby exposing her soul to be plagued at the hand of God, as king Ozia was, or else to follow the example of the good king David, which, in refusal of all spiritual government about the ark of God, did humble himself, as I have declared unto you: whereunto our sovereign lady, the queen's highness, of her own nature, being well inclined, we may assure ourselves, to have of her as humble, as virtuous, and as godly a mistress to reign over us, as ever had English people here in this realm, if that her highness be not, by your flattery and dissimulation, seduced and beguiled.

¹ [The reader will remark the archbishop's mistake. Ozia, who is here supposed to have preceded David, was, in fact, the tenth in descent from that monarch.—T.]

Fourthly and lastly, We must forsake and fly from the holy unity of Christ's church, seeing that St. Cyprian, that holy martyr and great clerk, doth say, that the unity of the church of Christ doth depend upon Peter's authority, and his successors'. Therefore, by leaping out of Peter's ship, we must be overwhelmed with the waves of schisms, of sects, and divisions; because the same holy martyr, in his third epistle to Cornelius, testifieth, that all heresies, sects, and schisms, do spring only from hence, that men will not be obedient to the head bishop of God. And how true this saying of St. Cyprian is, we may see it most apparent to all men, that list to see, both by the example of the Germans, and by us, the inhabitants of this realm of England. And by this our forsaking and flying from the unity of the church of Rome, this inconvenience, amongst many, must consequently follow; that either we must grant the church of Rome to be the true church of God, or else a malignant church. If you answer, that it is a true church of God, where Jesus Christ is truly taught, and his sacraments rightly administered, how can we disburthen ourselves of our forsaking and flying from that church, which we do confess and acknowledge to be of God, when, with that church, which is of God, we ought to be one, and not to admit of any separation? If you answer, the church of Rome is not of God, but a malignant church, then it will follow, that we, the inhabitants of this realm, have not as yet received any benefit of Christ; seeing we have received no gospel, or other doctrine, nor no other sacraments, but what was sent unto us from the church of Rome;—first, in king Lucius his days, at whose humble epistle the holy martyr Eleutherius, then bishop of Rome, did send into this realm two holy monks, Fugatius and Damianus, by whose doctrine and preaching we were first brought to the knowledge of the faith of Jesus Christ, of his holy gospel, and his most holy sacraments: then, secondly, holy St. Gregory, being bishop of Rome, did send into this realm two other holy monks, St. Augustin, called the apostle of England, and Melitus, to preach the very self same faith, that had been before planted here in this realm, in the days of king Lucius: thirdly, and last of all, Paul III., being bishop of Rome, did send hither the lord cardinal Pole his grace (by birth a nobleman of this land) his legate, to restore us unto the same faith, which the martyr St. Eleutherius and St. Gregory had planted here, many years before. If, therefore, the church of Rome be not of God, but a false and malignant church, then have we been deceived all this while: seeing the gospel, the doctrine, faith, and sacraments must be of the same nature, as that church is, from whence it and they came. And, therefore, in relinquishing and forsaking that church, the inhabitants of this realm shall be forced to seek further, for another gospel of Christ, other doctrine, other faith, and

sacraments, than we have hitherto received ; which will breed such a schism, and error in faith, as was never in any christian realm : and, therefore, of your wisdoms worthy of consideration, and maturely to be pondered, and be provided for, before you pass this act of supremacy. Thus much touching the first chief point.

Now, to the second deliberation, wherein I promised to move your honours to consider, what this supremacy is, which we go about, by virtue of this act, to give unto the queen, and wherein it doth consist ;—whether in spiritual government or temporal ? But if spiritual (as these words in the act import, *supreme head of the church of England, immediately and next unto God*), then it would be considered, in what points this spiritual government doth consist. And these points being well known, it would be considered, whether this house hath authority to grant them, and her highness ability to receive them. And, as concerning the points, wherein spiritual government doth consist, I have, in reading the gospel, and the whole course of divinity thereupon (as to my vocation belongeth), observed these four, as chief among many others ; whereof the first is, the power to loose and bind sins, when our Saviour, in ordaining Peter to be chief, and head governor of his church, said unto him, *Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, &c.* that is, To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c. Now it would be considered by your wisdoms, whether you have sufficient authority to grant unto her majesty this first point of spiritual government, and to say unto her, *Tibi dabimus, &c.* ; to thee will we give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. If you say, Yea, then do we require the sight of your warrant and commission, by the virtue of God's word. And if you say, No, then you may be well assured, and persuade yourselves, that you have not sufficient authority to make her highness supreme head of the church of Christ, here in this realm.

The second point of spiritual government is gathered out of these words of our Saviour Christ, spoken to St. Peter, in the twentieth chapter of St. John's gospel, *Pasce*, and *Pasce*, and *Pasce* ; that is, Feed my lambs, feed my lambs, feed my sheep. Now whether your honours have authority, by this court of parliament, to say unto our sovereign lady, *Pasce*, and *Pasce*, and *Pasce, &c.* ; that is to say, Feed you the flock of Christ, you must shew your warrant, and commission for it. And further, it is evident that her majesty, being a woman by birth and nature, is not qualified by God's word, to feed the flock of Christ ; as appears most plainly by St. Paul in this wise : *Taceant mulieres in ecclesiis, sicut et lex dixit*. Let women be silent in the church ; for it is not permitted to them to speak, but to be in subjection, as the law saith. And it followeth in the same place : *Turpe est enim mulieri loqui in ecclesiâ* ; that is,

For that it is not seemly for a woman to speak in the church.¹ And, in his first epistle to Timothy : *Docere autem mulieri non permitto, neque dominari in virum, sed esse in silentio* ; that is, I do not allow a woman to be a teacher, or to have authority over her husband, but to abide in silence.² Therefore, it appears likewise, as your honours have not authority to give her highness this second point of spiritual government, to feed the flock of Christ, so, by St. Paul's doctrine, her highness may not intermeddle herself with the same. And, therefore, she cannot be supreme head of the church here in England.

The third chief point of spiritual government is gathered out of those words of our Saviour, Christ, spoken to St. Peter, in the twenty-second chapter of St. Luke's gospel : *Ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua ; et tu, aliquando conversus, confirma fratres tuos* ; that is, I prayed for thee, that thy faith may not fail ; and do thou, when converted, confirm thy brethren,³ and ratify them in wholesome doctrine, and administration of the sacraments ; which are the holy instruments of God, so instituted, and ordained for our sanctification, that, without them, his grace is not to be received. But to preach, or to administer the sacraments, a woman may not be admitted to do ; neither may she be supreme head of Christ's church.

The fourth and last chief point of spiritual government, which I promised to note unto you, doth consist in the excommunication, and spiritual punishment of all such as shall approve themselves not to be the obedient children of Christ's church. Of which authority our Saviour Christ speaks in St. Matthew's gospel, in the eighteenth chapter, saying, " If thy brother offend thee, and will not hear thy charitable admonition, whether secretly, at first, or yet before one or two witnesses, then complain of him to the church ; and if he will not hear the church, let him be taken as a heathen, or publican."⁴ So the apostle did excommunicate the notorious fornicator, that was among the Corinthians ; and that, by the authority of his apostleship, unto which apostles Christ, ascending into heaven, did leave the whole spiritual government of his church ; as it appeareth by those plain words of St. Paul, in his epistle to the Ephesians (chap. iv.), saying, *Ipse dedit ecclesiæ suæ, &c.* He hath given to his church some to be apostles, some evangelists, some pastors, and doctors, for consummation of the saints, to the work of the ministry, for edifying of the body of Christ. But a woman, in the degrees of the church, is not called to be an apostle, nor evangelist ; nor to be a pastor, (as much as to say, a shepherd), nor a doctor, or a preacher. Therefore, she cannot be supreme head of Christ's militant church, nor yet of any

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 34. ² 1 Tim. ii. 12. ³ Luke xxii. 32. ⁴ Matt. xviii. 15.

part thereof. For this high government God hath appointed only to the bishops, and pastors of his people, as St. Paul plainly witnesseth in these words, in the twentieth chapter of the Acts of the apostles, saying, *Attendite vobis, et universo gregi, &c.* And thus much I have here said, right honourable and my very good lords, against this act of supremacy, for the discharge of my poor conscience, and for the love, and fear, and dread, that I chiefly owe unto God, to my sovereign lord and lady, the queen's majesty's highness, and to your honours all: where otherwise, without mature consideration of all these premises, your honours shall never be able to shew your faces before your enemies, in this matter; being so strange a spectacle and example in Christ's church, as in this realm is only to be found, and in no other Christian realm. Thus humbly beseeching your honours to take in good part this my rude and plain speech, which here I have used of much zeal, and fervent goodwill, I will now not trouble your honours any longer.

No. XXXVI.—(*Referred to at page 130.*)

Elizabeth's Admonition, in explanation of her supremacy. 1559.

[Sparrow's Collection, 83.]

The queen's majesty, being informed that, in certain places of the realm, sundry of her native subjects, being called to ecclesiastical ministry of the church, be, by sinister persuasion and perverse construction, induced to find some scruple in the form of an oath, which, by an act of the last parliament, is prescribed to be required of divers persons, for their recognition of their allegiance to her majesty, which certainly never was ever meant, nor, by any equity of words, or good sense, can be thereof gathered, would that all her loving subjects should understand that nothing was, is, or shall be meant or intended by the same oath to have any other duty, allegiance, or bond required by the same oath, than was acknowledged to be due to the most noble kings of famous memory, king Henry the eighth, her majesty's father, or king Edward the sixth, her majesty's brother.

And further, her majesty forbiddeth all manner her subjects to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notify to her loving subjects, how, by words of the said oath, it may be collected that the kings or queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, may challenge authority, and power of ministry of divine service, in the church; wherein her said subjects be much abused by such evil disposed persons. For, certainly, her majesty neither doth, nor ever will, challenge any [other] authority, than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble kings, of famous memory, king Henry the eighth, and king Edward the sixth, which is

and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm, that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be; so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. And if any person, that hath conceived any other sense of the form of the said oath, shall accept the same oath with this interpretation, sense, or meaning, her majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf, as her good and obedient subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties, contained in the said act, against such as shall peremptorily or obstinately [refuse to] take the same oath.

NO. XXXVII.—(*Referred to at page 131.*)

The Speech of Lord Montague against the Oath of Supremacy. 1563.

[*Strype, Annal. i. 295.*]

The prince or commonwealth, that will make a new law, ought to consider three things; the first, that the same law be necessary; the second, that it be just and reasonable; the third, that it be possible and commodious, apt and fit to be put in execution. Unto these three qualities may be reduced all other that are requisite, to the end the law should be good. Now it is to be seen if these three qualities be in the law, that certain do pretend, and would have to be made in this parliament against the papists, as they call them: for the which, presuppose that my intent is not to persuade that the religion, which now is observed in England, is either false or schismatical; but to entreat only if it be good that a law be made, whereby it shall be commanded, under pain of death, that the papists, with oath, confess the doctrine of the protestants to be true and evangelical.

As for the first, I say that this law, that is pretended, is not necessary; forasmuch as the catholics of this realm disturb not, nor hinder the public affairs of the realm, neither spiritual nor temporal. They dispute not, they preach not, they disobey not the queen, they cause no troubles nor tumult among the people: so that, no man can say that thereby the realm doth receive any hurt or damage by them. They have brought into the realm no novelties in doctrine or religion. This being true and evident, as it is indeed, there is no necessity why any new law should be made against them. And where there is no sore nor grief, medicines are superfluous, and also hurtful and dangerous.

As concerning the second, I say that this law, that is pretended, is neither just nor reasonable, nor cannot be, nor deserveth to be called or have the name of law, when it is made: for it shall be contrary and repugnant unto all laws of men, natural and civil. I meddle not with

God's laws; for I have above said that, in this discourse, I do not pretend to entreat of the verity and truth of religion. But, leaving that till time fit and convenient, I do entreat, whether it be just to make this penal statute, to force the subjects of this realm to receive and believe the religion of the protestants, upon pain of death. This, I say, is a thing more unjust, for that it is repugnant to the law of nature, and all civil laws. The reason is, for that, naturally, no man can or ought to be constrained to take for certain that, that he holdeth to be uncertain: for this repugneth to the natural liberty of man's understanding: for understanding may be persuaded, but not forced.

The doctrine of the protestants doth repugn unto all the ecclesiastical state of England, that were present at the last parliament, and holdeth contradiction with all provinces of christendom. It repugneth to all the doctrine of all the parliaments past, and all general councils. With these contradictions, there is no protestant, if he be a man of any understanding or judgment, but will confess that it is doubtful and uncertain, seeing that of those things, that appear to our senses, there ariseth no doubt nor uncertainty, but of the opinions of men. And if he will say, "it is the catholic doctrine," therefore the question is, how this word ought to be understood: which is the work of understanding, and is reduced and brought to opinions. And when there be many opinions, of the one side and the other, it is reason that the thing be doubtful, till all opinions come to one, and that there be one faith, one God, and one Trinity.

Now, to turn to my purpose, I say that, since the doctrine of protestants is so uncertain (leaving to call it *false*), there is no reason nor justice that doth permit or suffer, that men should be forced to take it for certain true and sure, and affirm the same. It is sufficient and enough for protestants, to keep the possession of the churches, and the authority to preach and excommunicate, not to seek to force and strain men to do, or believe, by compulsion, that they believe not; and not to swear, and make God witness of their lie. It is enough for them, and they might hold themselves content, that there is no impediment or let, made by the catholics, but that they may persuade the people so much as they list, and teach and preach their doctrine.

As touching the third, that is, whether this statute should be possible, meet, and convenient, to be put in execution, I say that, on that is said in the second chapter, of *justice*, dependeth, and is contained the understanding of, this third, touching the commodity and possibility. For, it is an easy thing to understand, that a thing so unjust, and so contrary to all reason and liberty of man, cannot be put in execution, but with great incommodity and difficulty. For what man is there so without courage and stomach, or void of all honour, that can consent or agree to receive an

opinion and new religion, by force and compulsion, or will swear that he thinketh the contrary to that he thinketh? To be still and dissemble, may be borne and suffered, for a time, to keep his reckoning to God alone: but to be compelled to lie and to swear, or else to die therefore, are things that no man ought to suffer and endure. And it is to be feared, rather than die, they will seek how to defend themselves: whereby should ensue the contrary of that, every good prince and well advised commonwealth ought to seek and pretend, that is, to keep the kingdom and government in peace.

So that this law and statute that is pretended, since it is not necessary for men, without they leave quietness and peace; nor just and reasonable, seeing it forceth men to hold for certain and true, that they should hold for doubtful and false; and being incommodious and impossible to be put in execution, for the alterations that may ensue of great injustice, I conclude that by no means any such law ought to be made and enacted.

And because some said this need not be feared, nor ought any thing to be a stop, because the greater part of the assembly of the lords, and the higher house, was of the mind and opinion that the law ought to be made, including in the same assembly the bishops, that are twenty-five, I answer that they neither can, nor ought to have to do in this matter, because they are as a party, and therefore cannot be judges. And that they have party, and have interest in this matter, it cannot be denied, since, *ipso facto*, they have dispossessed the catholic bishops of their churches, under this occasion and colour, to bring into the realm better doctrine. Besides all this, neither the law, nor the gospel, nor other civil law doth suffer ecclesiastical persons to have more than the judgment and examination of the doctrine and excommunications: and, according to this, it belongeth to the bishops but only to declare and pronounce the doctrine of the papists to be false, as they have done, and to excommunicate such as follow the same. To appoint, afterward, the temporal penalties of confiscation, banishment, or death, this appertaineth not to them, but to the secular judge, who, according to the necessity of the commonwealth, for peace and quietness of the same, may execute and proceed against such excommunicate persons, with more or less rigour afterwards, as he shall think good.

It shall be also very just, reasonable, and convenient for the service of the queen, that the lords of the realm alone, without the bishops, do consider if it be meet and convenient for the wealth and quietness of the realm, to make this statute and law so rigorous, or whether that, that is made already, be sufficient, or whether it be meet and convenient (to take away all inconveniences and damages that may arise of those diversities and novelties in religion) to command the bishops all, as well papistical as protestants, to find the means to try the matter (afore dis-

puted here) within the realm, or in the general council,—the which seemeth should be much more easy, more sure, and more convenient.

And furthermore, since it belongeth to the said lords not to endanger their lives and goods, if any war should happen within the realm, or with their neighbours, let them, therefore, take good heed, and not suffer themselves to be led by such men that are full of affection and passions, and that look to wax mighty, and of power, by the confiscation, spoil, and ruin of the houses of noble and ancient men.

Extract from the speech of Atkinson, in the House of Commons, against the Oath of Supremacy. March 10, 1563.

[Strype, Annal, i. 299.]

After shewing, first, that the maintenance of the papal jurisdiction had never been regarded as treason, by the ancient laws of the realm, and secondly, that the penalty, now sought to be attached to it, was greatly disproportionate to the supposed offence, he thus proceeds :

But to go on: suppose it were passed for a law, what great good could we reckon should grow to the commonwealth by it? You will say, a sort of stubborn papists should be rid out of the way, who, if they lived, would be causers of sedition, and sedition must needs be the cause of desolation. Surely, if the whole number, that think against the oath, in their conscience, should refuse the oath, and for the offence be executed, the realm could not choose but be much weakened, and a great deal the less able to defend itself. We may partly see it by the universities, that, what with the one side and the other, hath been so shaken for religion, that learning is almost quite decayed in them; and, if provision be not made, all like to come to a barbarous ignorance.

But suppose you that the greatest part will refuse the oath? Think you that all, that take it, will, upon the taking of it, change their consciences? Nay, many a false shrew there is, that will lay his hand to the book, when his heart shall be far off. Of this hath this house full experience: for, in the bill of conveying over of horses there was a clause, that whosoever would swear that it was for his necessary travel, it was lawful: and because men sticked not, at such a trifle, to forswear themselves, that clause was repealed. And, upon like consideration, upon the grave advice of this house, was the oath left out of the subsidy book. If men, for such trifles, will forswear themselves, it cannot choose but be perilous, when their goods, lands, liberties, and lives shall depend upon it: and, namely, upon a matter, whereof, for the most part, they have no knowledge; but all one to them whether it be so or otherwise: and so protesting that to be in their consciences, whereof they stand in doubt, they should willingly forswear themselves.

And if men were seditious before, now they will become ten times more seditious. Neither shall the queen's majesty be ever a whit the "surer," which is the title, and, as it should seem, the only meaning of this bill. For, if any were rebellious before, now will his heart become more rebellious, for that he is enforced to perjury; and that mischief will secretly keep in his mind, and shew it then, when he thinketh it will do most harm: or else, if he be not thus wickedly disposed, then will he linger on in despair, and with violence at the last seek to destroy himself; which were too lamentable to hear of,—and we the cause of all this mischief!

Let us therefore, for the honour of God, leave all malice, and, notwithstanding religion, let us love one another; for it is no point of religion one to hate another. Let us make an end of division, for fear lest our enemies, who are mighty and now in the field, might, peradventure, finding us at dissension among ourselves, the easilier vanquish us: whereas, if we can agree and love together, there shall be no doubt but we shall put them now to the worst, whom we have often vanquished before. * * * * *

And when we have all done, to this we must come at last. We see in Germany, where, after so long contention, and so great destruction and waste of their country, at last they are come to this point, that the papist and protestant can now quietly talk together, and never fall out about the matter. I beseech you, therefore, right honourable, that you will well remember the trust that your country putteth in you, and, since you have the sword in your hand to strike, be well ware whom you strike. For some shall you strike that are your near friends, some your kinsmen, but all your countrymen, and even christian. And though you may like these doings, yet it may be that your heirs, after you, shall mislike them; and then farewell your name and worship. Remember, that men, that offend this way, offend not as murderers and thieves do, that is, of malice and wicked intent, but through conscience and zeal, at leastways, through opinion of religion. And if it shall happen them to die in the wrong opinion, then shall we not only destroy the bodies, of which there is no small force, but their souls, which is a loss that will never be recovered. And if they should do it against their consciences, to save their lives, and seem, peradventure, in doubt of the matter, then should they fall unto perjury, and we become causers of it. And sith they keep their consciences to themselves, and live under a law, why are they to be punished by so sharp a law? And though some, peradventure, have offended you; yet, do not, for their sakes, punish the rest, who never offended you; but rather, for the others' sakes, who are the greater number, forgive all.

No. XXXVIII.—(*Referred to at page 133.*)

The Speech of Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, against the Bill for the Liturgy. 1559.

[Cott. Lib. Vesp. D. xviii. 87.]

Honourable and my very good lords, having, at this present, two sundry kinds of religion here propounded and set forth before your honours, being already in possession of the one of them, and your fathers before you, for the space of fourteen hundred years past, here in this realm, like as I shall hereafter prove unto you; the other religion here set in a book, to be received and established by the authority of this high court of parliament, and to take his effect here in this realm, at midsummer next coming; and you being, as I know, right well desirous to have some proof or sure knowledge, which of both these religions is the better, and most worthy to be established here in this realm, and to be preferred before the other,—I will, for my part, and for the discharge of my duty, first unto God, secondly unto our sovereign lady, the queen's highness, thirdly unto your honours and to the whole commons of this realm, here set forth and express unto you three brief rules and lessons, whereby your honours shall be able to put difference betwixt the true religion of God and the counterfeit, and therein never be deceived. The first of these three rules or lessons is, that, in your search and trial-making, your honours must observe which of them both hath been of most antiquity, and most observed in the church of Christ, of all men, at all times and seasons, and in all places: the second, which of them both is, of itself, more steadfast, and, always forth, one and agreeable with itself: the third and last rule to be considered of your wisdoms is, which of these religions doth breed the more humble and obedient subjects, first, unto God, and next, unto our sovereign lady, the queen's highness, and all superior powers.

Concerning the first rule and lesson, it cannot be truly affirmed, or yet thought of any man, that this new religion, here now to be set forth in this book, hath been observed in Christ's church of all christian men, at all times, and in all places, when the same hath been observed only here in this realm, and that for a short time, as not much passing the space of two years, and that in king Edward the sixth's days: whereas the religion, and the very same manner of serving and honouring of God, of the which you are at this present in possession, did begin here in this realm 1400 years past, in king Lucius's days, the first Christian king of this realm; by whose humble letters sent to the pope, Eleutherius, he sent to this realm two holy monks, the one called Damianus, the other Faganus: and they, as ambassadors sent from the see apos-

tolie of Rome, did bring into this realm, so many years past, the very same religion, whereof we are now in possession, and that in the Latin tongue, as the ancient historiographer, Gildas, witnesseth, in the prologue and beginning of his book of the Britain History. And the same religion, so long ago begun, hath had this long continuance ever sithence here in this realm, not only of the inhabitants thereof, but also generally of all christian men, and in all places of Christendom, until the late days of king Edward VI., as is aforesaid: whereby it appeareth unto all men, that list to see and know, how that, by this rule and lesson, the ancient religion and manner of serving of God (whereof we are already in possession) is the very true and perfect religion, and of God.

Touching the second rule and lesson of trial-making and probation, whether of both these religions is the better, and most worthy of observation here in this realm, is this, that your honours must observe which of both these is the most staid religion, and, always forth, one and agreeable with itself. And that the new religion, here now to be set forth in this book, is no staid religion, nor always forth one, nor agreeable with itself, who seeth it not, when in the late practice thereof, in king Edward the sixth's days, how changeable and variable was it, in and to itself? Every other year, having a new book devised thereof, and every book being set forth, as they professed, according to the sincere word of God, never a one of them agreeing in all points with the other: the first book affirming the seven sacraments, and the real presence of Christ's body in the holy eucharist; the other denying the same: the one book admitting the real presence of Christ's body in the said sacrament, to be received in one kind, with kneeling down, and great reverence done unto it, and that in unleavened bread; and the other book would have the communion received in both the kinds, and in loaf bread, without any reverence, but only unto the body of Christ in heaven. But the thing most worthy to be observed of your honours is, how that every book made a shew to be set forth according to the sincere word of God, and not one of them did agree with the other. And what marvel, I pray you, when the authors and devisers of the said books could not agree amongst themselves, nor yet any one of them might be found, that did long agree with himself? And, for the proof thereof, I shall first begin with the Gernian writers, the chief schoolmasters and instructors of our countrymen, in all these novelties.

And I read in an epistle, which Philip Melancthon did write unto one Frederico Miconino, how that one Carlostadius was the first mover and beginner of the late sedition in Germany, touching the sacrament of the altar, and the denial of Christ's real presence in the same. And when he should come to interpret those words of our saviour Christ,

“Accipit panem, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens, accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur,” digito, inquit ille, monstravit visibile corpus suum. By which interpretation of Carlostadius, Christ should, with the one hand, give unto his disciples bread to eat, and, with the other, point unto his visible body that was there present, and say, “This is my body which shall be betrayed for you.” Martin Luther, much offended with this foolish exposition, made by Carlostadius, of the words of Christ, *hoc est corpus meum*, he giveth another sense, and saith that *“Germanus sensus verborum Christi, was this, per hunc panem, vel cum isto pane, En! do vobis corpus meum.”* Zuinglius, finding much fault with this interpretation of Martin Luther, writeth, that Luther therein was much deceived, and how that, in these words of Christ, *hoc est corpus meum*, the verb substantive “*est*” must be taken for “*significat*,” and this word “*corpus*” (*quod pro vobis tradetur*) must be taken “*pro figurâ corporis.*” So that the true sense of these words of Christ, *hoc est corpus meum*, by Zuinglius’s supposal, is, *hoc significat corpus meum, vel, est figura corporis mei.* Peter Martyr, being of late here in this realm, in his book, by him set forth, of the disputation which he had in Oxenford, with the learned students there, of this matter, giveth another sense of these words of Christ, contrary unto all the rest, and there saith thus, “*quòd Christus accipiens panem, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens, Hoc est corpus meum, quasi diceret, corpus meum per fidem perceptum erit vobis pro pane, vel instar panis:*” of whose sense the English is this, that Christ’s body, received by faith, shall be unto you as bread, or instead of bread.

But here to cease to speak any further of these German writers, I shall draw nearer home, as unto doctor Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury in this realm. How contrary was he unto himself in this matter!—when, in one year, he did set forth a catechism in the English tongue, and did dedicate the same unto king Edward VI., wherein he did most constantly affirm and defend the real presence of Christ’s body in the holy eucharist, and, very shortly after, he did set forth another book, wherein he did most shamefully deny the same, falsifying both the Scriptures and doctors, to the no small admiration of all the learned readers. Dr. Ridley, the notablest learned of that religion in this realm, did set forth, at Paul’s cross, the real presence of Christ’s body in the sacrament, with these words, which I heard, being there present. “How that the devil did believe the son of God was able to make of stones bread, and we English people, which do confess that Jesus Christ was the very son of God, yet will not believe that he did make of bread his very body, flesh and blood. Therefore, we are worse than the devil; seeing that our Saviour Christ, by express words, did most plainly affirm

the same, when, at the last supper, he took bread, and said unto his disciples, 'Take ye eat, this is my body, which shall be given for you.'" And shortly after, the said Dr. Ridley, notwithstanding this most plain and open speech at Paul's cross, did deny the same. And, in the last book that Dr. Cranmer and his complices did set forth of the communion, in king Edward the sixth's days, these plain words of Christ, "*Hoc est corpus meum,*" did so encumber them, and trouble their wits, that they did leave out, in the same last book, this verb substantive "*est,*" and made the sense of Christ's words to be there Englished, "Take eat this my body," and left out there, "this *is* my body;" which thing being espied by others, and great fault found withal, when they were fain to patch up the matter, with a little piece of paper clapped over the foresaid words, wherein was written this verb substantive "*est.*" The dealing herewith being so uncertain, both of the German writers and English, and one of them so much against another, your honours may be well assured that this religion, which by them is set forth, can be no constant nor staid religion, and, therefore, of your honours not to be received:—but great wisdom it were for your honours to refuse the same, until you shall perceive better agreement amongst the authors and setters forth of the same.

Touching the third and last rule of trial-making and putting of difference between these religions, it is to be considered of your honours which of them both doth breed more obedient, humble, and better subjects, first and chiefly, unto our Saviour and Redeemer, secondly, unto our sovereign lady, the queen's highness, and to all other superiors. And, for some trial and probation thereof, I shall desire your honours to consider the sudden mutation of the subjects of this realm, sithence the death of good queen Mary, only caused in them by the preachers of this new religion; when, in queen Mary's days, your honours do know right well how the people of this realm did live in an order, and would not run before laws, nor openly disobey the queen's highness proceedings and proclamations. There was no spoiling of churches, pulling down of altars, and most blasphemous treading of sacraments under their feet, and hanging up the knave of clubs in the place thereof. There was no scotching nor cutting of the faces and legs of the crucifix and image of Christ: there was no open flesh-eatings, nor shambles-keeping, in the Lent and days prohibited. The subjects of this realm, and especially the nobility, and such as were of the honourable council, did, in queen Mary's days, know the way unto churches and chapels, there to begin their day's work, with calling for help and grace, by humble prayers and serving of God. And now, sithence the coming and reign of our most sovereign and dear lady, queen Elizabeth, by the

only preachers and scaffold-players of this new religion, all things are turned upside down, and, notwithstanding the queen's majesty's proclamations, most godly made to the contrary, and her virtuous example of living, sufficient to move the hearts of all obedient subjects to the due service and honour of God. But obedience is gone, humility and meekness clear abolished, virtuous chastity and strait living denied, as though they had never been heard of in this realm; all degrees and kinds being desirous of fleshly and carnal liberty, whereby the young springals and children are degenerate from their natural fathers, the servants contemptors of their masters' commandments, the subjects disobedient unto God and all superior powers.

And, therefore, honourable and my very good lords, of my part, to minister some occasion unto your honours to expel, avoid, and put out of this realm this new religion, whose fruits are already so manifestly known to be as I have repeated, and to persuade your honours to avoid it, as much as in me lieth, and to persevere and continue stedfastly in the same religion, whereof you are in possession, and have already made profession of the same unto God, I shall rehearse unto your honours four things, whereby the holy doctor, St. Augustine, was continued in the catholic church and religion of Christ, which he had received, and would by no means change nor alter from the same. The first of these four things was, "*ipsa autoritas ecclesie, Christi miraculis inchoata, spe nutrita, charitate aucta, vetustate firmata*": the second thing was, "*populi christiani consensus et unitas*": the third was, "*perpetua sacerdotum successio in sede Petri*": the fourth and last thing was, "*ipsum Catholici nomen.*" If these four things did cause so notable and learned a clerk, as St. Augustine was, to continue in his profest religion of Christ, without all change and alteration, how much then ought these four points to work the like effect in your hearts, and not to forsake your profest religion? First, because it hath the authority of Christ's church; secondly, because it hath the consent and agreement of christian people; thirdly, because it hath the confirmation of all Peter's successors in the see apostolic; fourthly, it hath *ipsum Catholicæ nomen*, and, in all times and seasons, called the Catholic religion of Christ. Thus bold have I been to trouble your honours with so tedious and long an oration, for the discharging, as I said before, of my duty, first unto God, secondly unto our sovereign lady, the queen's highness, thirdly and last unto your honours and all other subjects of this realm;—most humbly beseeching your honours to take it in good part, and to be spoken of me for the only causes abovesaid, and for none other.

[For Scot's Speech on the same subject, I must remit the reader to Strype's Annals, i. Appendix, 27—34.—T.]

No. XXXIX.—(Referred to at page 133.)

Professio Fidei Catholicæ in Convocatione Cleri Anglicani. 1559.

[Wilkins, iv. 179.]

Reverendi in Christo patres, ac domini colendissimi. Quoniam, famâ publicâ referente, ad nostram nuper notitiam pervenit, multa religionis Christianæ dogmata, publico et unanimi gentium Christianarum consensu hactenùs recepta, et probata, ac ab apostolis ad nos usque concorditèr per manus deducta, præsertim articulos infrâ scriptos, in dubium vocari,—hinc est, quòd nos, Cantuariensis provinciæ inferior secundarius clerus, in unum (Deo sic disponente, ac serenissimæ Domine nostræ reginæ, decani, ac capituli Cantuariensis mandato, brevi parliamenti, ac monitione ecclesiasticâ solitâ declaratâ, id exigente) convenientes, partium nostrarum esse existimavimus, tum nostræ, tum eorum, quorum cura nobis committitur, æternæ saluti, omnibus quibus poterimus modis, prospicere. Quocircâ majorum nostrorum exemplis commoti, qui in similia sæpe tempora inciderunt, fidem, quam in articulis infrâ scriptis veram esse credimus, et ex animo profitemur, ad Dei laudem et honorem, officiique nostri, et animarum nostræ curæ commissarum exonerationem, præsentibus duximus publicè asserendam, affirmantes, et, sicut Deus nos in die iudicii adjuvet, asserentes,

Primò, quòd in sacramento altaris, virtute verbi Christi à sacerdote debitè prolati existentis, præsens est realitèr, sub speciebus panis et vini, naturale Corpus Christi, conceptum de Virgine Mariâ; item naturalis ejus sanguis.

Item, quòd, post consecrationem, non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque ulla alia substantia, nisi substantia Dei et hominis.

Item, quòd in missâ offertur verum Christi corpus, et verus ejusdem sanguis, sacrificium propitiatorium pro vivis et defunctis.

Item, quòd Petro apostolo, et ejus legitimis successoribus in sede apostolicâ, tanquam Christi vicariis, data est suprema potestas pascendi et regendi ecclesiam Christi militantem, et fratres suos confirmandi.

Item, quòd authoritas tractandi, et definiendi de iis, quæ spectant ad fidem, sacramenta, et disciplinam ecclesiasticam, hactenùs semper spectavit, et spectare debet, tantùm ad pastores ecclesiæ, quos Spiritus Sanctus ad hoc in ecclesiâ Dei posuit, et non ad laicos.

Quam nostram assertionem, affirmationem, et fidem, nos, inferior clerus prædictus, ob considerationes prædictas vestris paternitatibus tenore præsentium exhibemus; humiliter supplicantes, ut, quia nobis non est copia hanc nostram sententiam et intentionem aliter illis, quorum

in hac parte interest, notificandi, vos, qui patres estis, ista superioribus ordinibus significare velitis. Quâ in re officium charitatis ac pietatis (ut arbitramur) præstabitis, et saluti gregis vestri (ut par est) prospicietis, et vestras ipsi animas liberabitis.

No. XL.—(*Referred to at page 134.*)

An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments.

[Stat. 1 Eliz. c. 2.]

Where, at the death of our late sovereign lord, king Edward VI., there remained one uniform order of common service and prayer, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies of the church of England, which was set forth in one book, intituled “the book of common prayer, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies in the church of England,” authorised by act of parliament, holden in the fifth and sixth years of our said late sovereign lord, king Edward VI., intituled, “An act for the uniformity of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments,” the which was repealed, and taken away by act of parliament, in the first year of the reign of our late sovereign lady, queen Mary, to the great decay of the due honour of God, and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ’s religion :

Be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the said statute of repeal, and every thing therein contained, only concerning the said book, and the service, administration of the sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, contained or appointed in or by the said book, shall be void and of none effect, from and after the feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist next coming ; and that the said book, with the order of service, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, with the alterations and additions, therein added and appointed by this statute, shall stand and be, from and after the said feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist, in full force and effect, according to the tenour and effect of this statute ; any thing in the aforesaid statute of repeal, to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And further be it enacted by the queen’s highness, with the assent of the lords and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in any cathedral, or parish church, or other place within this realm of England, Wales, and the marches of the same, or other the queen’s dominions, shall, from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next

coming, be bounden to say and use the matins, even-song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all the common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book, so authorised by parliament in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of king Edward VI., with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the lityany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise.

And that, if any manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister, that ought or should sing or say common prayer mentioned in the said book, or minister the sacraments, from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, refuse to use the said common prayers, or to minister the sacraments in such cathedral, or parish church, or other places, as he should use to minister the same, in such order and form as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book, or shall wilfully or obstinately, standing in the same, use any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner celebrating the Lord's Supper, openly or privily, or matins, even-song, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayers, than is mentioned and set forth in the said book, or shall preach, declare, or speak anything in the derogation or depraving of the said book, or anything therein contained, or of any part thereof, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, according to the laws of this realm, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall lose and forfeit to the queen's highness, her heirs, and successors, for his first offence, the profit of all his spiritual benefices or promotions, coming or arising, in one whole year next after his conviction. And also that the person, so convicted, shall, for the same offence, suffer imprisonment for the space of six months, without bail or mainprise.

And if any such person, once convict of any offence concerning the premises, shall, after his first conviction, eftsoons offend, and be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convict, that then the same person shall, for his second offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year, and also shall therefore be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions; and that it shall be lawful to all patrons or donors of all and singular the same spiritual promotions, or of any of them, to present or collate to the same, as though the person or persons so offending were dead.

And that, if any such person or persons, after he shall be twice convicted in form aforesaid, shall offend against any of the premises the third time, and shall be thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted,

that then the person, so offending and convicted the third time, shall be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions, and also shall suffer imprisonment during his life.

And, if the person, that shall offend, and be convicted in form aforesaid, concerning any of the premises, shall not be beneficed, nor have any spiritual promotion, that then the same person, so offending and convict, shall, for the first offence, suffer imprisonment during one whole year next after his said conviction, without bail or mainprise.

And if any such person, not having any spiritual promotion, after his first conviction, shall eftsoons offend in any thing concerning the premises, and shall, in form aforesaid, be thereof lawfully convicted, that then the same person shall, for his second offence, suffer imprisonment during his life.

And it is ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that, if any person or persons whatsoever, after the said feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next coming, shall, in any interludes, plays, songs, rhymes, or by other open words, declare or speak any thing in the derogation, depraving, or despising of the same book, or of any thing therein contained, or any part thereof, or shall, by open fact, deed, or by open threatenings, compel, or cause, or otherwise procure, or maintain any parson, vicar, or other minister in any cathedral or parish church, or in any chapel, or in any other place, to sing or say any common or open prayer, or to minister any sacrament, otherwise or in any other manner and form than is mentioned in the said book, or that, by any of the said means, shall unlawfully interrupt, or let any parson, vicar, or other minister, in any cathedral or parish church, chapel, or any other place, to sing or say common and open prayer, or to minister the sacraments, or any of them, in such manner and form, as is mentioned in the said book, that then every such person, being thereof lawfully convicted, in form abovesaid, shall forfeit to the queen, our sovereign lady, her heirs, and successors, for the first offence an hundred marks.

And if any person or persons, being once convict of any such offence, eftsoons offend against any of the last recited offences, and shall, in form aforesaid, be thereof lawfully convict, that then the same person, so offending and convict, shall, for the second offence, forfeit to the queen, our sovereign lady, her heirs, and successors, four hundred marks.

And if any person, after he, in form aforesaid, shall have been twice convict of any offence, concerning any of the last recited offences, shall offend the third time, and be thereof, in form above said, lawfully convict, that then every person, so offending and convict, shall, for his

third offence, forfeit to our sovereign lady, the queen, all his goods and chattels, and shall suffer imprisonment during his life.

And if any person or persons, that, for his first offence concerning the premises, shall be convict in form aforesaid, do not pay the sum to be paid by virtue of his conviction, in such manner and form as the same ought to be paid, within six weeks next after his conviction, that then every person, so convict, and so not paying the same, shall, for the same first offence, instead of the said sum, suffer imprisonment, by the space of six months, without bail or mainprise.

And if any person or persons that, for his second offence concerning the premises, shall be convict in form aforesaid, do not pay the sum to be paid by virtue of his conviction, and this statute, in such manner and form as the same ought to be paid, within six weeks next after his said second conviction, that then every person, so convicted, and not so paying the same, shall, for the same second offence, instead of the said sum, suffer imprisonment during twelve months, without bail or mainprise.

And that, from and after the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, all and every person or persons, inhabiting within this realm, or any other the queen's majesty's dominions, shall diligently, and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church, or chapel accustomed, or, upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place, where common prayer, and such service of God shall be used, in such time of let, upon every Sunday and other days, ordained, and used to be kept, as holidays, and then and there to abide, orderly and soberly, during the time of the common prayer, preaching, or other service of God, there to be used and ministered, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the church, and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit, for every such offence, twelve pence, to be levied by the churchwardens of the parish, where such offence shall be done, to the use of the poor of the same parish, of the goods, lands, and tenements of such offender, by way of distress.

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No. XLI.—(*Referred to at page 134.*)

Extract from the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth (1559), containing such articles as were not comprised in those published by Edward VI.

[Sparrow, 67.]

That they, the parsons above rehearsed, shall preach in their own persons, once in every quarter of the year at least, one sermon, being

licensed especially thereunto, as is specified hereafter; or else shall read some homily, prescribed to be used by the queen's authority, every Sunday at the least, unless some other preacher, sufficiently licensed, as hereafter, chance to come to the parish for the same purpose of preaching.

Item, For retaining of the perambulation of the circuits of parishes, they shall, once in the year, at the time accustomed, with the curate and substantial men of the parish, walk about the parishes, as they were accustomed, and, at their return to the church, make their common prayers.

Provided, that the curate, in their said common perambulations, used heretofore in the days of rogations, at certain convenient places, shall admonish the people to give thanks to God, in the beholding of God's benefits, for the increase and abundance of his fruits upon the face of the earth, with the saying of the hundred and third psalm, *benedic anima mea*, &c.: at which time, also, the same minister shall inculcate these or such sentences, "*Cursed be he, which translateth the bounds and doles of his neighbour;*" or such other order of prayers as shall be hereafter appointed.

Item, Although there be no prohibition by the word of God, nor any example of the primitive church, but that the priests and ministers of the church may lawfully, for the avoiding of fornication, have an honest and sober wife, and that, for the same purpose, the same was, by act of parliament, in the time of our dear brother, king Edward the sixth, made lawful; whereupon a great number of the clergy of this realm were then married, and so continue, yet, because there hath grown offence, and some slander to the church, by lack of discreet and sober behaviour in many ministers of the church, both in choosing of their wives, and indiscreet living with them, the remedy whereof is necessary to be sought; it is thought therefore very necessary, that no manner of priest or deacon shall hereafter take to his wife any manner of woman, without the advice and allowance first had, upon good examination, by the bishop of the same diocese, and two justices of the peace of the same shire, dwelling next to the place where the same woman hath made her most abode before her marriage, nor without the good will of the parents of the said woman, if she have any living, or two of the next of her kinsfolks, or, for lack of knowledge of such, of her master or mistress where she serveth: and, before she shall be contracted in any place, he shall make a good and certain proof thereof to the minister, or to the congregation assembled for that purpose, which shall be upon some holiday, where divers may be present. And, if any shall do otherwise, that then they shall not be permitted to minister either the word or the

sacraments of the church, nor shall be capable of any ecclesiastical benefice. And, for the manner of marriages of any bishops, the same shall be allowed and approved by the metropolitan of the province, and also by such commissioners as the queen's majesty thereunto shall appoint. And if any master, or dean, or any head of any college, shall purpose to marry, the same shall not be allowed, but by such to whom the visitation of the same doth properly belong, who shall in any wise provide, that the same tend not to the hinderance of their house.

Item, Her majesty being desirous to have the prelacy and clergy of this realm to be had, as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministries, and thinking it necessary to have them known to the people in all places and assemblies, both in the church and without, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special messengers and ministers of Almighty God, willeth and commandeth, that all archbishops and bishops, and all other that be called or admitted to preaching or ministry of the sacraments, or that be admitted into vocation ecclesiastical, or into any society of learning in either of the universities, or elsewhere, shall use and wear such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps, as were most commonly and orderly received, in the latter year of the reign of king Edward the sixth, not thereby meaning to attribute any holiness or special worthiness to the said garments, but, as St. Paul writeth, *omnia decenter et secundum ordinem fiant*. 1 Cor. 14 cap.

Item, That no man shall wilfully and obstinately defend or maintain any heresies, errors, or false doctrine, contrary to the faith of Christ and his Holy Spirit.

Item, That no persons shall use charms, sorceries, enchantments, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any such like devilish device, nor shall resort at any time to the same for counsel or help.

Item, That no person shall, neglecting their own parish church, resort to any other church, in time of common prayer or preaching, except it be by occasion of some extraordinary sermon, in some parish of the same town.

Item, That no inn-holders or ale-house keepers shall use to sell meat or drink in the time of common prayer, preaching, reading of the homilies or scriptures.

Item, That no persons keep in their houses any abused images, tables, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition.

Item, That no man shall willingly let or disturb the preacher in the time of his sermon, or let or discourage any curate or minister to sing

or say the divine service now set forth; nor mock or jest at the ministers of such service.

Item, That no man shall talk or reason of the holy Scriptures rashly, or contentiously, nor maintain any false doctrine or error, but shall commune of the same, when occasion is given, reverently, humbly, and in the fear of God, for his comfort and better understanding.

Item, That no man, woman, or child, shall be otherwise busied in the time of the service, than in quiet attendance to hear, mark, and understand that is read, preached, and ministered.

Item, That no man shall take upon him to teach, but such as shall be allowed by the ordinary, and found meet, as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching, as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true religion.

Item, That all teachers of children shall stir and move them to love and do reverence to God's true religion, now truly set forth by public authority.

Item, That they shall accustom their scholars reverently to learn such sentences of Scriptures, as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness.

Item, Forasmuch as, in these latter days, many have been made priests, being children, and otherwise utterly unlearned, so that they could read to say matins or mass, the ordinaries shall not admit any such to any cure or spiritual function.

Item, Every parson, vicar, and curate, shall, upon every holiday, and every second Sunday in the year, hear and instruct the youth of the parish, for half an hour at the least, before evening prayer, in the ten commandments, the articles of the belief, and the Lord's prayer, and diligently examine them, and teach the catechism set forth in the book of public prayer.

Item, That the ordinary do exhibit unto our visitors their books, or a true copy of the same, containing the causes why any person was imprisoned, famished, or put to death for religion.

Item, That in every parish three or four discreet men, which tender God's glory, and his true religion, shall be appointed by the ordinaries diligently to see that all parishioners duly resort to their church, upon all Sundays and holidays, and there to continue the whole time of the godly service; and all such as shall be found slack and negligent in resorting to the church, having no great or urgent cause of absence, they shall straitly call upon them, and after due admonition if they amend not, they shall denounce them to the ordinary.

Item, That the churchwardens of every parish shall deliver unto our

visitors the inventories of vestments, copes, and other ornaments, plate, books, and specially of grayles, couchers, legends, processions, manuals, hymnals, portuesses, and such like, appertaining to the church.

Item, That weekly, upon Wednesdays and Fridays, not being holidays, the curate, at the accustomed hours of service, shall resort to church, and cause warning to be given to the people, by knolling of a bell, and say the lity and prayers.

Item, Because, in divers collegiate, and also some parish churches heretofore, there have been livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children, to use singing in the church, by means whereof the laudable service of music hath been had in estimation, and preserved in knowledge, the queen's majesty, neither meaning in any wise the decay of any thing that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have the same in any part so abused in the church, that thereby the common prayer should be the worse understood of the hearers, willeth and commandeth, that, first, no alterations be made of such assignments of living, as heretofore hath been appointed to the use of singing or music in the church, but that the same so remain: And that there be a modest and distinct song so used, in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing; and yet, nevertheless, for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted, that, in the beginning, or in the end of the common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of hymn may be understood and perceived.

Item, Because in all alterations, and specially in rites and ceremonies, there happen discord amongst the people, and thereupon slanderous words and railings, whereby charity, the knot of all christian society, is loosed, the queen's majesty, being most desirous of all other earthly things, that her people should live in charity both towards God and man, and therein abound in good works, willeth and straitly commandeth all manner of her subjects to forbear all vain and contentious disputations in matters of religion, and not to use, in despite or rebuke of any person, these convitious words, "*papist*", or "*papistical heretic*", "*schismatic*", or "*sacramentary*", or any such like words of reproach: but, if any manner of person shall deserve the accusation of any such, that first he be charitably admonished thereof, and, if that shall not amend him, then to denounce the offender to the ordinary, or to some higher power, having authority to correct the same.

Item, Because there is a great abuse in the printers of books, which, for covetousness chiefly, regard not what they print, so they may have gain, whereby ariseth the great disorder by publication of unfruitful, vain, and infamous books and papers, the queen's majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of book or paper, of what sort, nature, or in what language soever it be, except the same be first licensed by her majesty, by express words in writing, or by six of her privy council, or be perused and licensed by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishop of London, the chancellors of both universities, the bishop being ordinary, and the archdeacon also of the place where any such shall be printed, or by two of them, whereof the ordinary of the place to be always one: and that the names of such as shall allow the same, to be added in the end of every such work, for testimony of the allowance thereof. And because many pamphlets, plays, and ballads, be oftentimes printed, wherein regard would be had, that nothing therein should be either heretical, seditious, or unseemly for christian ears, her majesty likewise commandeth that no manner of person shall enterprise to print any such, except the same be to him licensed, by such her majesty's commissioners, or three of them, as be appointed in the city of London, to hear and determine divers causes ecclesiastical, tending to the execution of certain statutes, made the last parliament, for uniformity of order in religion. And if any shall sell or utter any manner of books and papers, being not licensed as is above said, that the same party shall be punished by order of the said commissioners, as to the quality of the fault shall be thought meet. And touching all other books of matters of religion, or policy, or governance, that have been printed, either on this side the seas, or on the other side, because the diversity of them is great, and that there needeth good consideration to be had of the particularities thereof, her majesty referreth the prohibition or remission thereof to the order which her said commissioners, within the city of London, shall take and notify; according to the which, her majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth all manner of her subjects, and especially the wardens and company of stationers, to be obedient.

Provided that these orders do not extend to any profane authors and works, in any language, that have been heretofore commonly received or allowed, in any of the universities and schools, but the same may be printed and used, as by good order they were accustomed.

Item, Although Almighty God is all times to be honoured with all manner of reverence that may be devised, yet, of all other times, in time of common prayer, the same is most to be regarded; therefore it

is to be necessarily received, that, in time of the litany, and all other collects and common supplications to Almighty God, all manner of people shall devoutly and humbly kneel upon their knees, and give ear thereunto, and that, whensoever the name of Jesus shall be in any lesson, sermon, or otherwise in the church pronounced, that due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowness of courtesy, and uncovering of heads of the menkind, as thereunto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed.

Item, That all ministers and readers of public prayers, chapters, and homilies, shall be charged to read leisurely, plainly, and distinctly, and also such as are but mean readers, shall peruse over before, once or twice, the chapters and homilies, to the intent they may read to the better understanding of the people, the more encouragement to godliness.

[Here follows the Explanation of the Supremacy, which has been given in a preceding number of this Appendix.]

For tables in the church.

Whereas her majesty understandeth that, in many and sundry parts of the realm, the altars of the churches be removed, and tables placed, for the administration of the holy sacrament, according to the form of the law therefore provided; and, in some other places, the altars be not yet removed, upon opinion conceived of some other order therein to be taken by her majesty's visitors; in the other whereof, saving for an uniformity, there seemeth no matter of great moment, so that the sacrament be duly and reverently ministered; yet, for observation of one uniformity through the whole realm, and for the better imitation of the law in that behalf, it is ordered, that no altar be taken down, but by oversight of the curate of the church, and the church wardens, or one of them at the least, wherein no riotous or disordered manner be used; and that the holy table in every church be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood, and there commonly covered, as thereto belongeth, and as shall be appointed by the visitors, and so to stand, saving when the communion of the sacrament is to be distributed; at which time, the same shall be so placed in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants, in his prayer and administration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, communicate with the said minister: and, after the communion done, from time to time, the same holy table to be placed where it stood before.

Item, Where also it was, in the time of king Edward the sixth, used to have the sacramental bread of common fine bread, it is ordered, for

the more reverence to be given to these holy mysteries, being the sacraments of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that the said sacramental bread be made and formed plain, without any figure thereupon, of the same fineness and fashion round, though somewhat bigger in compass and thickness, as the usual bread and water, heretofore named singing cakes, which served for the use of the private mass.

No. XLII.—(*Referred to at page 139.*)

Dissertations Concerning the Validity of Protestant Ordinations.

The General State of the Question.

It has been a constant belief among the catholics, that, ever since there was a new ordinal established and made use of, for the consecrating of bishops and presbyters, in the beginning of king Edward VI.'s reign, all their consecrations have been null and void, upon account of some essential defect; and, upon this persuasion, they never have admitted any of their clergy, that happened to be reconciled to the catholic church, to exercise their sacerdotal function, without a re-ordination. The writers of the church of Rome have offered several arguments for this way of proceeding. Some allege, that the first reformed bishops had only a royal deputation, with an irregular ceremony performed at the Nag's-head tavern, in Cheapside, London: others pretend, that the record, which gives an account of archbishop Parker's consecration, is a forged piece, and that, though it were genuine, the pretended consecrators, therein mentioned, were disqualified for want of a character: a third sort tell us, that, setting aside these facts, there was an essential defect in the matter and form, sufficient to render their ordination invalid.

1.—*The Controversy Concerning the Nag's-head Ordination.*

1. Dr. Heylin, speaking of this fact, says, "If it could be proved, or, at least, believed, there was an end of the episcopal succession in the church of England, and consequently also of the church itself."¹ Now Dr. Champney gives us the following account of it. "I will here set down, how the whole action of the consecration of all the first bishops, made in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign (whereof Mr. Parker was one) passed, by the relation of such, as were present thereat. At the Nag's-head, in Cheapside, by accorded appointment, met all those, that were nominated to bishoprics, vacant either by death, as was that

¹ Heylin, 294.

of Canterbury only,¹ or by unjust deposition, as were all the rest. * * * * Thither came also the old bishop of Landaff, to make them bishops; which thing being known to doctor Bonner, bishop of London, then prisoner, he sent unto the bishop of Landaff, forbidding him, under pain of excommunication, to exercise any such power, within his diocese, as to order those men: wherewith the old bishop being terrified, and otherwise also moved in his own conscience, refused to proceed in that action; alleging chiefly, for reason of his forbearance, his want of sight, as is before said: which excuse they interpreted to be but an evasion, were much moved against the poor old man. And whereas hitherto they had used him with all courtesy and respect, they then turned their copy, reviling, and calling him doating fool, and the like; some of them saying, 'this old fool thinketh we cannot be bishops, unless we be greased;' to the disgrace, as well of him, as of the catholic manner of episcopal consecration. Being, notwithstanding, thus deceived of their expectation, and having no other mean to come to their desire, they resolved to use Mr. Scory's help, who, having borne the name of bishop, in king Edward's time, was thought to have sufficient power to perform that office; especially in such a strait necessity. He, having cast off, together with his religious habit (for he had been a religious man), all scruple of conscience, willingly went about the matter, which he performed in this sort. Having the Bible in his hand, and they all kneeling before him, he laid it upon every one of their heads, or shoulders, saying, 'Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely:' and so they rose up bishops.

"This whole narration, without adding or detracting any word pertaining to the substance of the matter, I have heard, oftener than once, of Mr. Thomas Bluet, a grave, learned, and judicious priest: he having received it of Mr. Neal, a man of good sort and reputation, sometime reader of the Hebrew or Greek lecture (I remember not whether) in Oxford; but, when this matter passed, was belonging to bishop Bonner, and sent by him to deliver the message before-mentioned to the bishop of Landaff, and withal to attend there, to see the end of the business. Again, Mr. Bluet had other good means to be informed of this matter, being a long time prisoner, together with Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, and divers other men of mark of the ancient clergy; in whose time, and in whose sight, as a man may say, this matter was done. Of

¹ [If the value of Champney's authority is to be decided by this assertion, I suspect that the story, which he relates, will obtain but a small degree of credit. Instead of Canterbury being the "only" see vacant by death, it is known that Chichester, Hereford, Bangor, Salisbury, Rochester, Norwich, Gloucester, and Bristol, were all in the same situation. See the dates, p. 138, ante.—*T.*]

this narration there are, I think, as many witnesses yet living, as there are priests remaining alive, that have been prisoners, together with Mr. Bluet, in Wisbeach castle; where I also heard it of him."¹

2. This Nag's-head consecration was afterwards handed down to posterity, and published, not only by Dr. Champney, but by Christopher Holywood, or à Sacrobosco, an. 1603:² by Dr. Kellison, an. 1608:³ by Fitzsimons,⁴ Thomas Fitzherbert,⁵ Dr. Worthington, &c.: by Henry Constable, in a manuscript, quoted by Champney, of far greater antiquity: by the author of the books intituled, *A Treatise of the Nature of Catholic Faith and Heresy*, an. 1657, and *The Nullity of the Prelatic Clergy*, &c., an. 1659; wherein the learned author (Talbot) produces several proofs, in confirmation of the account given by Champney. The said author also gives us at large the testimony of lord Audley, who declares, that in the parliament, that met at Westminster, November 3, 1640, he himself being then one of the house of peers, a certain book was offered to some of the members, endeavouring to prove, that bishops had no right to sit in the house. And one of the arguments was, that they could not make out their consecration from the beginning. Upon which, Morton, bishop of Durham, rose up in defence of those of his character; and, by way of proof, alleged the consecration, that was performed at the Nag's-head tavern.⁶ The same author tells us, that Mr. Fairecloth assured Dr. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, that his father, who was a protestant, and kept a shop in Cheapside, was heard to say, that he was a spectator at the ceremony. Moreover, there is a tradition among catholics, that both Holinshed and Stowe had owned the fact, but did not think it proper to give it a place in their chronicles. Yet some tell us, that it was to be found in some edition of Holinshed; but his works were since castrated. In fine, the reflection, some make upon these testimonies, is this: they imagine it bears too hard upon the sincerity of persons of judgment, that they should be either the contrivers, or the abettors, of so circumstantial a story.

In answer to these particulars, the writers of the church of England have constantly treated this account of the Nag's-head ordination, as a

¹ Champney's "Treatise of the Vocation of Bishops." Doway, 4to. 1616. p. 194, 195.

² [In his work "De investigandâ Ecclesiâ."—*T.*]

³ [In his Reply to Sutcliffe. Rheims, 8vo. 1608: and again in his "Examen Novæ Reformationis." Doway, 8vo. 1616.—*T.*]

⁴ [In his book entitled "Britannomachia." Doway, 4to. 1614.—*T.*]

⁵ [In his "Supplement to the Discussion of Barlowe's Answer." 4to. 1613. p. 208; and in his "Adjoinder", 4to. 1613. p. 456. It is also mentioned in the Preface to the "Discussion", No. 136.—*T.*]

⁶ Nature of Catholic Faith, p. 9.

notorious fiction, encouraged by several catholics, on purpose to unchurch and ridicule the reformation. And, in particular, Dr. Heylin pretends to have found out the secret, and mentions the occasion of this report, viz., “that some sticklers for the church of Rome, having been told of the dinner that was made at the Nag’s-head tavern, at such time as the election of the new archbishop was confirmed in the arches, raised a report, that the Nag’s-head tavern was the place of consecration. And this report,” he adds, “was countenanced by another slander; causing it to be noised abroad, and published in some seditious pamphlets, that the persons, designed by the queen for the several bishoprics, being met at a tavern, did then and there lay hands upon one another, without form or order.” The same Heylin adds, that Charles Howard, son of William lord Effingham, and afterwards earl of Nottingham, happening to be one at the aforesaid dinner, testified to the falsehood of this report; being alive in king James I.’s reign, when the story of the Nag’s-head ordination began to be revived by certain writers of the church of Rome.¹

Conformably to this account given by Dr. Heylin, protestant writers have offered their conjectures, and, as they think, manifest proofs, that the other party have imposed upon the world. They tell us, that it is usual, with men of all parties, to be too credulous, and take up stories upon trust; especially when their interest and reputation are concerned: that Mr. Neal might be led astray by the common report, and mistake the ceremony of a feast for that of consecration; it being very improbable, that a person of his character should be found personally present upon such an occasion. As for Bluet, and the rest of the prisoners in Wisbeach castle, they could say no more, than what they heard from Mr. Neal. Besides, say they, the story itself, as it is delivered by Dr. Champney, is altogether inconsistent. What occasion was there to meet in a tavern, when all the churches were open to them, to perform the ceremony? Why should the bishop of Landaff scruple to lay hands upon them, who so willingly complied in all other matters, and actually died a member of the reformed church? Why should they be obliged to consecrate one another, without any form or order, who had the

¹ Heylin, 293. [The same explanation of the origin of the story is given by Strype, in his *Life of Parker* (57), and by Collier (ii. 461), and is fully adopted by Le Courayer, in his *Defence of the English Ordinations* (Williams’s Translation, p. 35). Yet Mr. Hallam can sully his pages with such a note as the following: “Even Dr. Lingard admits that Parker was consecrated at Lambeth, on Dec. 17, 1559; but *conjectures* that there *may* have been some previous meeting at the Nag’s-head, which gave rise to the story. *This means, that any absurdity may be presumed, rather than acknowledge good catholics to have propagated a lie.*” Const. Hist. i. 159. Paris, 1827.—T.]

ordinal of king Edward VI. to direct them in the ceremony? Again, the act of the eighth of queen Elizabeth expressly declares, they were consecrated according to the rules of the said ordinal; and it appears from the registers, that the fourteen bishops, said to have been consecrated at the Nag's-head by Scory, were consecrated at other times, and by other persons. In the next place, they observe that some of the reporters of this story rather relate it as a kind of hearsay, than by way of assertion; and that even Dr. Kellison takes no notice of it, in his *Survey of the New Religion*, an. 1605, but insists upon another topic: that he had a good opportunity to have mentioned it, and when he does mention it, in reply to Sutcliffe, an. 1608, he toucheth it very tenderly. They look upon the tradition, concerning Holinshed and Stowe, to be a groundless surmise, not fit to be alleged, where facts call for proofs. To these they add: It is very surprising, that the writers of the church of Rome, for near fifty years, such as Harpsfield, Hoskins, Saunders, Harding, Bristowe, Allen, Stapleton, Rainolds, &c., who make mention of protestant ordination, and wanted neither information, nor inclination to have pressed the matter home, should never so much as once take notice of the Nag's-head ordination. And, what is still more surprising, how could Bonner be ignorant of this matter, who set Mr. Neal on to observe it? and why did he not insist upon it, in his plea against Horn? On the contrary, he seems not to deny a consecration according to the ordinal of Edward VI., and only insists, that Horn's episcopal character was not legal; the said ordinal of Edward VI. not being re-established, since it was repealed in Queen Mary's reign. They give little credit to the hearsays of Faircloth and Constable, whose partiality renders them suspected. As to lord Audley's testimony, if true, it affects the point no further, than that bishop Morton made the observation, to show, his brethren were consecrated one way or other. On the other hand, Dr. Bramhall, bishop of Derry, in opposition to this passage of lord Audley, took the pains to collect the subscriptions of nine peers, who sat in the house at that time, but declared, they did not remember any such book, that was brought into the house, or any speech made by bishop Morton on that occasion; as also that of the clerk of the parliament, who protested, he never recorded any such passage in the parliament: neither could bishop Morton call to mind, that he had ever mentioned in parliament any thing of that kind. It would exceed my designed brevity to make a distinct reply to these exceptions, protestant writers have made against the Nag's-head story. But Dr. Talbot, the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, having considered them very fully and learnedly, in his treatise of the *Nullity of the Prelatic Clergy, &c.*, I remit the reader to that work; where he may be more fully informed

of all the particulars, belonging to this controversy.¹ Meantime, it will not be unseasonable, if I insert, in this place, what lord Audley has been pleased to publish in relation to this subject : it shall be preceded, however, by the attestations, to which lord Audley replies.

Declaration of Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham.

“Whereas I am most injuriously and slanderously traduced, by a nameless author, calling himself N. N., in a book said to be printed at Rouen, 1657, entitled “*A Treatise of the Nature of Catholic Faith and Heresy,*” as if, upon the presenting of a certain book in the upper house, in the beginning of the late parliament, proving, as he saith, the protestant bishops had no succession nor consecration, and therefore no bishops, and, by consequence, ought not to sit in parliament, I should make a speech against the said book, in my own and all the bishops’ behalf, endeavouring to prove succession from the late catholic bishops (as he there styles them), who, by imposition of hands, ordained the first protestant bishops, at the Nag’s-head, in Cheapside, as was notorious to all the world, &c.,

“I do hereby, in the presence of Almighty God, solemnly protest and declare to all the world, that what this author there affirms, concerning me, is a most notorious untruth, and a gross slander ; for, to the best of my knowledge and remembrance, no such book as he there mentions was ever presented to the upper house, in that or any other parliament that ever I sat in : and, if there had, I could never have made such a speech, as is there pretended, seeing I have ever spoken according to my thoughts, and always believed that fable of the Nag’s-head consecration to have proceeded from the father of lies, as the authentic records of the church, still extant, which were so faithfully transcribed and published by Mr. Mason, do evidently testify.

“And whereas the same impudent libeller doth moreover say, that what he there affirms was told to many, by one of the ancientest peers of England, present in parliament when I made this pretended speech, and that he is ready to depose the same upon his oath, and that he cannot believe any will be so impudent to deny a thing so notorious, whereof there are as many witnesses living, as there are lords and bishops that were, that day, in the upper house of parliament, &c., I answer, that I am very unwilling to believe any peer of England should have so little sense of his conscience and honour, as either to swear, or so much as to

¹ [From this it is evident that Dodd was inclined to favour the story of the Nag’s-head consecration. I must own, however, that, after a careful perusal of all that has been written on the subject, I am compelled to adopt the opposite opinion.—*T.*]

affirm, such a notorious untruth. And therefore, for the justification of myself, and manifestation of the truth in this particular, I do freely and willingly appeal, as he directs me, to those many honourable persons, the lords spiritual and temporal yet alive, who sat in the house of peers in that parliament, or to as many of them as this my protestation shall come to, for a true certificate of what they know or believe, concerning this matter; humbly desiring them, and charging it upon their souls, as they will answer it to God at the day of judgment, that they will be pleased to testify the truth, and nothing but the truth, herein, to the best of their knowledge and remembrance, without any favour or affection to me at all. I cannot reasonably be suspected, by any indifferent man, of denying any thing that I know, or believe to be true, seeing I am so shortly, in all probability, to render an account to the searcher of hearts of all my words and actions, being now, at the least, upon the ninety-fifth year of my age. And I acknowledge it a great mercy and favour of God, that he hath reserved me thus long, thus to clear the church of England and myself of this most notorious slander, before he takes me to himself. For I cannot imagine any reason why this shameless writer might not have cast the same upon any of my reverend brethren, as well as me, but only that I being the eldest, it was probable I might be in my grave, before this untruth could be taken notice of in the world. And now I thank God I can cheerfully sing my "*Nunc dimittis*," unless it please him to reserve me for the like service hereafter: for I desire not to live any longer upon earth, than he shall be pleased to make me his instrument to defend the truth, and promote his glory. And, for the more solemn and full confirmation of this my free and voluntary protestation and declaration, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this seventeenth day of July, An. Dom. 1658.

"Thomas Duresme."

"Signed, sealed, published, and declared, in the presence of Thomas Sanders, sen.; Thomas Sanders, jun.; John Barwick, clerk; R. Gray; and Evan Davies."—Attested also by a certificate from Tobias Holder, public notary, who was likewise present.¹

Attestation of Six Bishops.

"Whereas we, the surviving bishops of the church of England, who sat in the parliament begun at Westminster, the third of November, 1640, were required by our reverend brother, the lord bishop of Durham, to declare and attest the truth, concerning an imputation cast upon him in the pamphlet of that nameless author, mentioned in his pro-

¹ Williams's *Le Courayer*, 356, 357.

testation and declaration here prefixed: And whereas we are obliged to perform what he requesteth, both for the justification of the truth, and for the clearing of ourselves of another slanderous aspersion, which the same author casteth upon us, as if we had heard our said reverend brother make such a speech, as is there pretended, and, by our silence, had approved what that libeller falsely affirmeth was delivered in it,— We do hereby solemnly protest and declare, before God and all the world, that we never knew of any such book presented to the house of peers, as he there pretendeth, nor believe any such was ever presented; and, therefore, could never hear any such speech made against it, as he mentioneth, by our said reverend brother, or any other, much less approve of it by our silence. And if any such book had been presented, or any such speech had been made, there is none among us so ignorant or negligent of his duty in defending the truth, but would have been both able and ready to have confuted so groundless a fable, as the pretended consecration of bishops at the Nag's-head, out of the authentic and known registers of the church still extant, mentioned and faithfully transcribed and published by Mr. Mason, so long before. For the confirmation of which truth, and attestation of what our said reverend brother hath herewith protested and declared, we have hereunto set our hands. Dated the nineteenth day of July, Anno. Dom. 1658.

Signed "London." " M. Ely." " Jo. Roffens."
 " B. Sarum." " Oxford."¹
 " Bath and Wells."

Attestation of Nine Peers.

" We of the lords temporal, whose names are here underwritten, who sat in the parliament begun at Westminster, the third day of November, 1640, being desired by the bishop of Durham to testify our knowledge, concerning an imputation cast upon him, about a speech pretended to be made by him in that parliament, more particularly mentioned and disavowed in his prefixed protestation, do hereby testify and declare that, to the best of our present knowledge and remembrance, no such book against bishops, as is there mentioned, was presented to the house of peers in that parliament; and consequently that no such speech, as is there pretended, was or could be made by him or any other against it. In testimony whereof, we have signed this our attestation with our own hands. Dated the nineteenth day of July, An. Dom. 1658.

" Dorchester." " Cleveland." " Southampton."
 " Rutland." " Dover." " Devonshire."
 " Lincoln." " Lindsay." " Monmouth."²

¹ Williams's *Le Courayer*, 359.

² *Ibid.* 360.

Certificate of the Clerk of the Parliament.

“Upon search made in the book of the lords’ house, I do not find any such book presented, nor any entry of any such speech made by bishop Morton.

“Henry Scobel, clerk of the parliament.”¹

Lord Audley’s Protestation.

“Having seen a book entitled, *The Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops, &c.*, and particularly perused that chapter, called *The Vindication of the Bishop of Durham*, I find myself, reflecting on some passages therein, obliged to say something, as concerned; and so have desired place here for a few lines. Whom the author of the *Treatise of Catholic Faith, &c.* fixeth on, to prove his allegations touching the bishop of Durham’s speech, I know not; for he told me of it, before ever I spoke to him: but sure I am, if it be looked after, he may have sufficient testimony, to satisfy half-a-dozen juries. But that, which stirs me to speak in this matter, is a note, I have, at the request of the bishop of Derry, given him under my hand, wherein I say, in substance, the same with the author, touching the bishop of Durham’s speech. As for the book against Episcopacy, which was the ground of the discourse, my note only avers, it was brought into the house; but said not by whom, nor who was the author. In truth, I wondered much to find, that the bishop of Durham doth deny this speech; for I cannot remember, that ever I heard of, or read the story of the Nag’s-head, till that day, in parliament, of my lord of Durham. Then I heard it from him: and this I say, as I shall answer it before the judgment seat of God Almighty. And I do not remember, that ever I heard the bishop of Lincoln, or any other bishop, before or since, mention the Nag’s-head, or touch that story. If I had, and not named him, my lord of Durham might have just reason to complain. But my lord of Derry will not believe, that I (for I cannot but take it to myself) do, or ever did, know the bishop of Durham so well, as to swear, *This was the man*. If his lordship had been an English bishop, and frequented parliaments, he would have omitted this. Not to multiply words, I can assure his lordship, I could as well and surely have sworn, *this is the man*, the bishop of Durham; as his lordship could of Sir George Ratcliffe, when he lived. Besides, his person, and place of the bishop’s bench, is too eminent to be mistaken. Another expression of my lord of Derry is, ‘I do not take him to be so exact an analyst of a discourse, as to be able to take his oath, what was the true scope of it.’ - Here, likewise, I

¹ Williams’s *Le Courayer*, 360.

must beg his lordship's pardon. I know no such defect in myself; for there is not any thing more easy, than to comprehend the true scope of a short plain historical discourse, as this was. To conclude, as to the bishop of Durham's denial, I hope that, confessing himself now of the age of ninety-five years, it will be held no crime to say, or improbable to believe, that one of that great age may at least forget, what he spoke so many years since. For the two certificates of the other lords, that of the temporal saith little to my lord of Derry's purpose; neither, with an indifferent judgment, can that of the spiritual work much. For my part, I do not say, that any or all their lordships, whose names are put to the certificates in the book, were in the house at that time; or, if any of them were, that they took notice of what my lord of Durham spoke: for many discourses are made in parliaments, and little notice taken of them; neither had I of this, but that it was to me a new thing. The clerk of the parliament is also brought in, to certify; though, as to my note, his pains might have been spared: for I do not mention a book presented, and consequently none to be recorded. And as for speeches, I do assure his lordship, in the authority of an old parliament-man, that it is not the office of the clerk to record them (his work would be too great), till it be a result, or conclusion: and then he writes them down, as orders, ordinances, &c., of parliament. I will end this short and faithful defence, which I have been necessitated to make for myself, with many thanks to my lord of Derry, for his charity and opinion of my ingenuity: and seeing his lordship's inclination, in this matter, is to absolve me from a malicious lie, I will absolve myself, as to the mistakes, either in the person or matter; assuring his lordship, and all the world, there is none."¹

II. *The Controversy concerning Archbishop Parker's Register of Consecration.*

Rituum atque ceremoniarum ordo in consecrando reverendissimo in Christo patre Matthæo Parker, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo in sacello suo apud manerium suum de Lambeth die Dominico, 17 viz. die mensis Decembris anno Domini 1559 habit.'

Principio sacellum tapetibus, ad orientem, adornabatur; solum verò panno rubro insternebatur; mensa quoque sacris peragendis necessaria, tapeto pulvinarique ornata, ad orientem sita erat.

Quatuor præterea cathedræ quatuor episcopis, quibus munus consecrandi archiepiscopi delegabatur, ad austrum orientalis. sacelli partis erant positæ.

¹ Nullity of the Prelatic Clergy, 89.

Scamnum præterea tapeto pulvinaribusque instratum, cui episcopi genibus flexis inniterentur, ante cathedras ponebatur.

Pari quoque modo cathedra scamnumque, tapeto pulvinarique ornatum, archiepiscopo, ad borealem orientalis ejusdem sacelli partis plagam, posita erant.

His rebus ita ordine suo instructis, manè circiter quintam aut sextam, per occidentalem portam ingreditur sacellum archiepiscopus, togâ talari coccineâ caputioque indutus, quatuor præcedentibus funalibus, et quatuor comitatus episcopis, qui ejus consecrationi inservirent; (verbi gratiâ) Gulielmo Barlow, olim Bathon. et Wellen. episcopo, nunc vero ad Cichestren. episcopatum electo; Johanne Scory, olim Cichestren. episcopo, et nunc ad Herefordiensem vocato; Milone Coverdallo, olim Exoniensi episcopo, et Johanne Hodgskinne, Bedfordiæ suffraganeo. Qui omnes, postquam sedes sibi paratas, ordine singuli suo, occupassent, preces continuò matutinæ per Andream Peirson, archiepiscopi capellanum, clarâ voce recitabantur; quibus peractis, Johannes Scory (de quo supra diximus) suggestum conscendit, atque inde, assumpto sibi in thema, *Seniores ergò, qui in vobis sunt, obsecro, consenior, &c.* (i. Pet. c. v.), non ineleganter concionabatur.

Finitâ concione, egrediuntur simul archiepiscopus, reliquique quatuor episcopi, sacellum, se ad sacram communionem paraturi: neque mora; confestim per borealem portam¹ * * * ad hunc modum vestiti redeunt; archiepiscopus nimirum linteo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur; Cicestrensis electus capâ sericâ ad sacra peragenda paratus utebatur (cui ministrabant, operamque suam præbebant duo archiepiscopi capellani, Nicholaus viz. Bullingham, Lincolnæ archidiaconus, et Edmundus Gest, Cantuariensis quoque archidiaconus, capis sericis similiter vestiti); Hereford. electus et Bedford. suffraganeus linteis superpelliceis induebantur; Milo vero Coverdallus non nisi togâ laneâ talari utebatur. Atque hunc in modum vestiti et instructi, ad communionem celebrandam perrexerunt, archiepiscopo genibus flexis ad infimum sacelli gradum sedente.

Finito tandem evangelio, Hereford. electus, Bedford. suffraganeus, et Milo Coverdallus (de quibus supra) archiepiscopum coram Cicestrensi electo, apud mensam in cathedrâ sedente, his verbis adduxerunt: "Reverende in Deo pater, hunc virum pium pariter atque doctum tibi offerimus, atque præsentamus, ut archiepiscopus consecretur." Postquam hæc dixissent, proferebatur illicò reginæ diploma, sive mandatum,

¹ Hic recentiore manu adscribuntur hæc duo vocabula, viz., "*in vestiarum*" (puta pro "*vestiarium*"); quæ tamen ad lineam superiorem videntur potius rejicienda; et post "*sacellum*" commodius intersererentur.

pro consecratione archiepiscopi, quo per D. Thomam Yale, legum doctorem, perlecto, sacramentum de regio primatu, sive supremâ ejus autoritate tuendâ, juxta statuta 1^o anno regni sereniss. reginæ nostræ Elisabethæ promulgata, ab eodem archiepiscopo exigebatur: quod cum ille solemniter, tactis corporaliter sacris evangeliis, conceptis verbis præstitisset, Ciestrensis electus quædam præfatus, atque populum ad orationem hortatus, ad litanias decantandas, choro respondente, se accinxit. Quibus finitis, post quæstiones aliquot archiepiscopo per Ciestren. electum propositas, et post orationes et suffragia quædam, juxta formam libri auctoritate parlamenti editi, ad Deum habita, Ciestriensis, Herefordiæ, suffraganeus Bedfordiæ, et Milo Coverdallus, manibus archiepiscopo impositis, “Accipe (inquiunt) Spiritum Sanctum; et gratiam Dei, quæ jam per impositionem manuum in te est, excitare memento. Non enim timoris, sed virtutis, dilectionis, et sobrietatis spiritum dedit nobis Deus.” His ita dictis, biblia sacra illi in manus tradiderunt, hujusmodi apud eum verba habentes: “In legendo, hortando, et docendo, vide diligens sis; atque ea meditare assiduè, quæ in hisce libris scripta sunt. Noli in his segnis esse, quo incrementum inde proveniens omnibus innotescat, et palam fiat. Cura quæ ad te, et ad docendi munus spectant, diligenter: hoc enim modo non teipsum solum, sed et reliquos auditores tuos, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum salvabis.” Postquam hæc dixissent, ad reliqua communionis solemnia pergit Ciestrensis, nullum archiepiscopo tradens pastorale baculum; cum quo communicabant unâ archiepiscopus, et quatuor illi episcopi supra nominati, cum aliis etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peractisque sacris, egreditur per borealem orientalis sacelli partis portam archiepiscopus, quatuor illis comitatus episcopis, qui eum consecraverant; et confestim, iisdem ipsis stipatus episcopis, per eandem revertitur portam, albo episcopali superpelliceo, crimerâque (ut vocant) ex nigro serico indutus; circa collum verò collare quoddam ex pretiosis pellibus sabellinis (vulgò *Sables* vocant) consutum gestabat. Pari quoque modo Ciestrensis et Herefordiæ suis episcopalibus amictibus, superpelliceo, scilicet, et crimerâ uterque induebantur; D. Coverdallus verò et Bedfordiæ suffraganeus togis solummodo talaribus utebantur. Pergens deinde occidentalem portam versus,¹ — episcopus Thomæ Doyle economo, Johanni Baker thesaurario, et Johanni Marche computo-rotulario, singulis singulos albos dedit baculos; hoc scilicet modo eos muneribus et officiis suis ornans.

¹ Hic itidem caractere alieno adjicitur “*ar*” (ut integrum vocabulum sit *archiepiscopus*) id quod etiam res ipsa, et series hujus narrationis ex se necessario suaderent.

His itaque hunc ad modum, ordine suo, ut jam ante dictum est, peractis, per occidentalem portam sacellum egreditur archiepiscopus, generosioribus quibusque sanguine ex ejus familiâ eum præcedentibus, reliquis verò eum à tergo sequentibus.

Acta gesta que hæc erant omnia in præsentia reverendorum in Christo patrum Edmundi Gryndall Londinensis episcopi electi, Ricardi Cocks Eliensis electi, Edwini Sandes Wigorniensis electi, Antonii Huse armigeri, principalis et primarii registrarii dicti archiepiscopi, Thomæ Argall amigeri, registrarii curiæ prærogativæ Cantuariensis, Thomæ Willet et Johannis Incent notariorum publicorum, et aliorum quoque nonnullorum.¹

Notwithstanding the plausible aspect of this register, the writers of the Roman communion have endeavoured to prove it to be a piece of forgery. The exceptions they make against it, are :

1. It has always been customary with the enemies of the true church, to stick neither at calumnies, nor forgeries, in order to justify and establish their defection. Of this they produce instances almost in every age; even in the primitive times, when false acts and false gospels were invented, to serve the respective purposes of those, that forsook the communion of the catholic church. And, in the present juncture, the prelatie party in England appear to have been put to their shifts. The dissenters pressed them daily to make good their pretended *jus divinum* of episcopacy; which they could not do, without proving a succession by episcopal consecration: and this was not to be effected, unless it was derived from those, who, being in episcopal orders, laid hands upon the first reforming bishops. Now, being under these straight, it might put them upon unaccountable methods, to support themselves against the dissenters, who were very formidable, when Mr. Mason first published the register.

2. It appears very inconceivable, why this register should lie dormant above fifty years, from 1559 till 1613; during which time the protestants were pressed to show their succession and consecration, by Sanders, Allen, Stapleton, Bristow, Rainolds, &c. but more particularly by Harding;² who, in express terms, calls upon Jewel, and challenges him to produce a register, and shew his succession and consecration.

3. Particularly, they desired to be satisfied, what could induce John Stowe to pass over in silence that remarkable occurrence of Parker's

¹ [Of this document the original is said to be preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. There is a copy in the State Paper Office (Bundle marked "*Ecclesiastical Papers, 1559—1565*"); and another in the Register at Lambeth.—*T.*]

² In his "*Confutation of Jewel's Apologic*", published in 1565.

consecration, without taking the least notice of it. He, who was so very circumstantial and exact in recording the most trivial matters, and failed not to remember the consecration of cardinal Pole, and others, would not, without some extraordinary motive, omit the remarkable ceremony of consecrating the first protestant archbishop, with whom he was not only very intimate, but had frequent access to him; little less than a domestic.

4. They observe a very blundering circumstance concerning bishop Tonstall, which seems to shake the credit of the register. It is related by Anthony Wood, the Oxford historian, in the words following: "At length, being deprived of his bishopric of Durham, about Midsummer, 1559, he was then, as it is said, committed to free custody at Lambeth, with Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury: but how that can be, seeing that the said Matthew was not consecrated archbishop till December 17, 1559, I cannot yet perceive. With him also, it is further said, that he continued four months, and that, dying on the 18th of November, in 1559 (which was full a month before Dr. Matthew Parker was consecrated), [he] was buried at the charges of the said Matthew, in the chancel of the parochial church of Lambeth, in Surrey."¹ It will not suffice to say, that Parker was at that time only archbishop elect, seeing that temporalities are not granted, till after consecration: and, therefore, Parker could not then be in possession of Lambeth. So that the register is inconsistent with the story of those times.

5. Mr. Mason tells us, Parker was elected by a Congé d'Eslire, and *juxta morem antiquum*; whereas it is manifest, the method of electing bishops by Congé d'Eslire was laid aside, many years before, by act of parliament: and the election was so far from being *juxta morem antiquum* (which gave the chapter the liberty to make choice of one of the two or three, that were nominated), that now they were obliged to elect the person named by the crown.

6. Holinshed and Stowe make Parker present at the funeral obsequies of Henry II., king of France, performed in St. Paul's church, the 8th and 9th of September, 1559. Yet, according to the register, he was not consecrated till December 17.

7. Bishop Bramhall, in a treatise concerning this controversy, makes mention of two different commissions for consecrating Parker; one dated September 9, 1559, directed to six bishops, viz., Cuthbert bishop of Durham, Gilbert bishop of Bath, David bishop of Peterborough, Anthony bishop of Landaff, William Barlowe, and John Seory. The second commission is dated December 6, directed to Anthony Landaff,

¹ Athen. Oxon. i. 128, 129.

William Barlowe, John Scory, Miles Coverdale, John suffragan of Bedford, John suffragan of Thetford, and John Bale bishop of Ossory. And even, at the last, neither of those commissions seems to have been executed. For, if we give credit to the register, neither Landaff, Thetford, nor Bale, had any hand in the consecration. This blunder about the commission renders the whole suspected.

8. Our best historians, who give an account of the bishops said to be employed in that consecration, express several things inconsistent with the register, viz., John Stowe (640) calls Grindal *bishop* absolutely, without the title of *elect*, at the obsequies of Henry II., king of France, performed at St. Paul's, in September. Yet the register, where his advancement is recorded, makes him not consecrated till December 21. Coverdale and Scory, at the same time, are only styled bishops elect; who, notwithstanding, according to the records, were consecrated under Edward VI. To which they add, that Godwin, in his catalogue of the first bishops, varies from the rest of our writers, both as to days, months, and years, in regard of several of their consecrations.

9. It is further urged, by way of supplement, to disprove the validity of the first protestant bishops' ordination, that, allowing they were consecrated after the manner, and by the persons, as it is reported in Parker's register, and that the record was not forged, still the pretended consecrators were disqualified to confer the episcopal character, being themselves no bishops, viz., Scory and Coverdale were only bishops of Edward VI., consecrated according to the new devised ordinal, and declared to be invalid by the parliament, the convocation, and all the learned divines, in queen Mary's reign. As for John, suffragan of Bedford, he was an obscure person, of whom no register gives any account. He might be one of Edward VI.'s bishops, or, perhaps, never consecrated even in that way. Barlowe, indeed, was a bishop elect, in Henry VIII.'s reign: but they don't find by any register, that he was ever consecrated during that king's time. And, if he was afterwards consecrated, according to the new ordinal under Edward VI., he laboured under the same incapacity, as Scory, Coverdale, and the rest of the pretended bishops of those days.

10. Again, allowing Parker's register to be genuine, and that his consecrators were true bishops, there is still another consideration, which renders the consecration invalid, viz., a defect in that matter and form which are essentially required by divine appointment. For, where a divine power and grace is conferred, the ceremonies, whereby they are bestowed, are not to be changed; at least not altered so much, as not to express what is designed by the divine institution. And they mention the matter and form of baptism, and of the holy eucharist, as an instance.

These are the chief proofs, catholics make use of in this controversy, concerning the ordination of the first protestant bishops; which, though it is only a matter of fact, wherein the tenets of their religion are not immediately concerned, yet the love of truth, and the unhappiness that would befall the faithful, as well as others, by admitting a valid consecration of a ministry out of the pale of the church, has obliged several learned persons to exert themselves in disproving the validity of their ordination. The misfortune, indeed, has frequently happened in the church of God, that those who had forsaken her communion, both bishops and priests, were truly and validly ordained. But this was never looked upon to be any prejudice to the cause of truth in the main; but, on the contrary, entirely in its favour. For, besides the innumerable inconsistencies in deriving a succession from the catholic church, all those, that forsake it, are obliged to come upon their knees, and receive their orders and spiritual power from it; not by way of re-ordination, but, as they themselves own, upon account of the necessary demands of *jus divinum*, without which they would have no authority to exercise their function, but be entirely unchurched. Are they not under the same obligation to receive the sense of the scriptures, and the terms of communion from the church, they have deserted? What advantage was it to the schismatics and heretics of former ages, to have received their orders within the pale of the church, or from those that were validly consecrated? Did not this circumstance aggravate their guilt, and render their disobedience more conspicuous and scandalous? If Providence has preserved catholic bishops to be the vehicles of divine power and jurisdiction, it is very unlikely that those, that received it, should be authorised to contend with, and disobey, those that gave them the power. Many more reflections of this kind might be made, upon the present occasion. But I proceed to take notice of the replies, that protestants make in defence of Parker's register.

To the first they reply, that, though the contest, they had with the dissenting party, might make them industrious in producing all the proofs they could, towards maintaining the succession of the episcopal character, yet, to imagine that such a body of men would conspire in so notorious a piece of forgery, will never gain belief with any one, that has a regard for the common character of a christian. Private persons may be sometimes chargeable with such matters: but it is too severe a censure to bring in a whole national church guilty. Besides, say they, the register speaks itself to be an original and genuine document, to any one that does but cast his eye upon it; which is farther confirmed by another original kept in Corpus Christi, otherwise Bennet's, college, in Cambridge, where, as it is said, it was lodged by the order of arch-

bishop Parker himself, who had sometime been a fellow of that house.¹ Again, they produce a very particular passage, concerning several priests of the Roman communion, who were permitted to view the register, and seemed to have nothing to allege against it. For, in the year 1614, Mr. Mason bestowed his book upon Merton college, with this memorandum at the end of it, in his own hand: "Whereas Mr. [Tho.] Fitzherbert hath lately sent a book from Rome,² against the reverend bishop of Ely (Dr. Lancelot Andrews), to which he hath annexed an appendix concerning the records and registers by me produced, desiring that some of their discreet catholics might view, and consider whether they be true or counterfeit; know, therefore, that, upon the twelfth of this present May, an. 1614, his grace of Canterbury sent for Mr. [John] Colleton, the archpriest,³ [Tho.] Leak a secular priest, as also one Jesuit, called [Tho.] Laithwaite, &c. and shewed unto them the register, and other records of his predecessor, Matthew Parker, which they perused over and over, and found that the said Parker was consecrated in Lambeth chapel, and not at the Nag's-head in Cheapside, by certain bishops that had been ejected in queen Mary's reign."⁴

To the second they reply that the register had been referred to, several times, in queen Elizabeth's reign, long before it was produced by Mr. Mason; namely, by the act of parliament, 8 Eliz., confirming the consecration, &c., of the first bishops of her reign; again, in Parker's book, entitled, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, first published an. 1572; and again, at the conference held between Reynolds and Hart, about the year 1582, upon which occasion, as Mason relates (p. 414 of *Vindiciæ Eccl. Angl.*), Hart was surprised to hear Reynolds assert, and prove from records, the consecration of the Protestant bishops: desiring that part of the debate might be left out, if the conference was to be published. This account Mason pretends he received from Reynolds himself: and the writers of his party look upon these particulars, abundantly to answer the exception, concerning the fifty

¹ [Perhaps I ought to explain what is here meant by *two originals*. The transactions, recorded in the register, were, in the first instance, inscribed on loose sheets, and afterwards, when the papers became sufficiently numerous, were transcribed into a volume. The sheet, containing the original memorandum of Parker's consecration, is that which is preserved at Cambridge. The entry on the register at Lambeth is copied from this, and, among other marks of authenticity, is evidently written in the same hand, and with the same ink, as those which precede and follow it.—*T.*]

² An Adjoinder to the Supplement of Father Persons's Discussion. 4to. 1613.

³ [Colleton was not archpriest, but, as the principal assistant, supplied the place of archpriest, during the vacancy, in 1614, between the death of Birket, and the appointment of his successor, Dr. Harrison.—*T.*]

⁴ Mason's Memorand. to his *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.

years pretended silence. They add, concerning Dr. Harding, that he never questioned the validity of Jewel's consecration; he only charging him with an uncanonical consecration, and an usurped authority: and, when he pressed Jewel to produce a register, and name the bishops that laid hands upon him, he only meant, that he could not produce such as proceeded according to the ancient canons of the catholic church.

To the third they say, John Stowe's omitting the account of Parker's consecration amounts to no more than a negative argument, which has little or no force. History abounds with such kind of omissions. Stowe was a very exact writer, and seldom transcribed any occurrences, but from the records that lay before him; and Parker's register not being at hand might occasion the omission.

To the fourth the only reply they make is, by distinguishing between a bishop elect, and a bishop consecrated; and that, when Parker was charged with the keeping of Tonstall, in September, he was only bishop elect. In this manner, they endeavour to reconcile Holinshed with the register: but still they give no satisfactory account, how Parker became invested with the temporalities, and in possession of Lambeth, some months before his consecration.¹

To the fifth, they own that Mason calls the writ for election, or the queen's missive letter to the chapter, a *congé d'eslire*, as it is still called, though the freedom of election, and *congé d'eslire* be abolished; and, for the same reason, Mason might say that Parker's election was *juxta morem antiquum*, that is, the form was still expressed, as if there had been a *congé d'eslire*, and freedom of choice. Moreover, they say that Mason himself takes notice of this less exact expression, in the Latin edition of his work, an. 1625.

To the sixth they reply by again endeavouring to reconcile Stowe and Holinshed with the register; distinguishing between Parker elect, and Parker consecrated, and telling us, that Parker was only bishop elect, when he was present at Henry II.'s obsequies, in September.

To the seventh it is answered, that different commissions, not exe-

¹ [There is no reason to suppose that Parker was in possession of the temporalities at this time. The argument, in fact, proceeds upon a false assumption. Wood questions, not the date in the register, but the date of Tonstall's deprivation and imprisonment. To disprove the latter, he appeals to the former; and it is impossible, therefore, to argue, from this fact, that the register, thus appealed to, is wrong. Nor is this all. If the date, assigned in Wood to the imprisonment of Tonstall, be correct, there is an end, at once, to the story of the Nag's-head consecration. That event is fixed by its advocates in the month of *September*. Now the passage in Wood speaks of Parker as archbishop, so early as "*Midsummer*"; and, consequently, he must have been already consecrated, when Neale and his followers connect him with the supposed mummery in Cheapside.—*T.*]

cuted, imply no contradiction. The court might supersede the first commission, because three bishops were named therein, who, they found, would not go their lengths in the reformation; which at first the queen might be ignorant of. However, the second commission was duly executed; being granted to seven, or any four of the commissioners.

To the eighth they reply, that it is not uncommon among historians, to style a person absolutely a bishop, who is only elect; and that Coverdale and Scory might be called only bishops elect, because they were designed for new bishoprics, though true bishops before. And as for the difference of dates between registers and historians, they say, such mistakes are frequent among historians, without any detriment to the truth of facts, and very often owing to the negligence of transcribers and printers.

To the ninth they reply by undertaking to prove, that the consecrators were true bishops; and they particularly labour to make good Barlowe's episcopal character, upon whom the stress of the matter chiefly lies, viz., that, though there is no register testifying his consecration, yet it manifestly appears from the concurring testimony of all historians, that he was bishop elect of St. Asaph's, in Henry VIII.'s time, and, during the said reign, translated to St. David's. And, particularly, some fix his consecration at the 22d of February, 27 Henry VIII., 1535. Moreover, for a further confirmation of his episcopal character, they say that some registers take notice of his assisting at several consecrations, during the said reign.

To the tenth they answer by pretending to show, that, the matter and form of ordination not being specified in particular by Christ or his apostles (as many divines of the Roman communion do acknowledge), they were at liberty to make use of such, as expressed the nature of the character; which was done by imposition of hands and prayer, the only matter and form prescribed in the Scriptures: which will be the subject of the following enquiry.

Mean time, as the facts, relating to the authenticity of Parker's register, are very numerous and intricate, and I have neither leisure nor place for them in this abridgment of the controversy, I remit the reader to those learned books, which have been published on both sides; and only, as they occur at present to my memory, give the authors' names, who have either incidentally or professedly treated that subject. Those of the catholic party are, Dr. Sanders, Dr. Stapleton, cardinal Allen, Dr. Harding, Dr. Bristowe, Dr. Rainolds, Dr. Kellison, F. Persons, Dr. Worthington, Sacrobosco, Fitz-Simons, Mr. Broughton, Dr. Champney, Thomas Fitzherbert, archbishop Talbot, Mr. Ward, Mr. Lewgar, &c., with several others, who have lately published

answers to Le Courayer, viz., Le Quien, Constable, Hardouin, &c.¹ The chief, concerned on the other side, are, Mason, Jewel, Bennet, Earbury, Burnet, Fern, Bramhall, Williams, Le Courayer, &c.

III. *The Controversy concerning the Matter and Form of Ordination, with respect to the First Protestant Bishops and Priests.*

The Question stated.

Whatsoever mistakes several catholic writers may have lain under, in regard of the Nag's-head story, and Parker's register, or of any particular facts relating to those matters, it can neither affect their reputation, nor their cause, in the main. They have offered so many plausible arguments, for the asserting of the one, and the rejecting of the other, that the pains, taken by the adverse party to disprove them, does sufficiently excuse them from the personal reflections of insincerity or calumny. Then, as to the cause itself, there is no occasion to have recourse to the aforesaid topics. *Valeant, quantum valere possunt.* The nullity of the protestant ordinations, both as to the episcopal and sacerdotal character, may have another origin. I will premise the following considerations, whereby the reader may be directed, how to form a judgment upon the matter.

Though the consecration of bishops and priests, in Henry VIII.'s reign (after the schism happened, and a general interdict and excommunication was pronounced against the whole ecclesiastical body), was esteemed uncanonical, and annulled as to jurisdiction, yet, all the time, during the said reign, the validity of their consecrations was never contested by the catholic party. But, in the succeeding reign of Edward VI., a considerable alteration being made in doctrinal points, and, among other things, a new ordinal established, their ordination was not only looked upon as uncanonical, but also as invalid, upon account of the errors and omissions, which declared the insufficiency of their

¹ [It is a mistake to say that either Sanders, Stapleton, Allen, Harding, Bristowe, Rainolds, Persons, or Lewgar, have treated of the authenticity of the Register. Their words, indeed, have been pressed into the service by Champney, Constable, and others: but as, on the one hand, the question of the register had not been raised, at the period when they wrote, so, on the other, the only inference, really deduced from their works, is, that they were ignorant of its existence. They have denied the validity of the English ordinations; but they have nowhere referred to the instrument which records them. The works, alluded to by Dodd, are, Sanders De Schismate Anglicano, Stapleton's Counterblast, Allen's Power of Priesthood, Harding's Confutation of Jewel's Apologie, and Detection of Sundry Foul Errors, Bristowe's Motives, Rainolds's Calvinoturcismus, Persons's Reasons why Catholics refuse to go to Church, and Lewgar's Erastus Senior. I should add that the last was not published till 1662; but is strictly confined to the validity of the ordinations.—T.]

ordinal. The reformers not only struck out the article of obedience to the see of Rome (which rendered their consecration uncanonical, and deprived them of all spiritual jurisdiction), but the most of them renewed the error of Aërius, and made no essential difference between the episcopal and sacerdotal character. To these errors they added several others, which were directly incompatible with a valid ordination; that ordination was not a sacrament instituted by Christ, but only a mere ceremony, to appoint a ministry in religious performances: that all power, both temporal and spiritual, was derived from the civil government, and, namely, from the king: that those of the episcopal character could perform nothing effectually towards the validity of their character, without the king's mandate, or letters patent: that those of the sacerdotal character had no power to offer sacrifice, to consecrate the holy eucharist, or to absolve from sin. This was the constant belief both of the consecrators, and of those that were consecrated according to the new ordinal: to which may be added, that, though they had held the orthodox points above mentioned, they made use of a matter and form, that was insufficient, and not capable of conferring that power, which essentially belongs to the episcopal and sacerdotal character; and that, having at the same time no intention to confer any orders, but such as were conformable to their errors, which were destructive of Christ's institution, their ordination was, *ipso facto*, null and invalid. These are the considerations, Dr. Harding and others went upon, when they denied Jewel's character, and represented the whole body of the reformed clergy to be no other than laymen, excepting such as were consecrated in Henry VIII.'s reign, before the new ordinal, or any other erroneous ceremony of ordination was made use of. For the same considerations, the learned divines of queen Mary's reign, nay the convocation, and even the legislative power in parliament, declared the afore-said bishops and inferior clergy to be invalidly consecrated; and actually caused all those to be reordained, in whom they found any essential defect.¹ In the following reign of queen Elizabeth, the divines of the catholic party continued in the same opinion, concerning the invalidity of protestant ordinations; and all were re-ordained, that came over to them, notwithstanding any pretended consecration among themselves; —Parker's register, and the account there given of the consecrators' qualifications, being insignificant in the present case, where an essential defect was alleged in the matter, form, and intention of the persons deputed to perform the ceremony.

¹ [See Stat. 1 Mar. Sess. 2. c. 2, and Mary's Injunctions, already referred to, in this Appendix, No. XXVI. art. 15.—T']

It is further to be considered, that, ordination bestowing a power to exercise a divine function, for the government and spiritual advantage of God's church, the collation of this power upon any particular person ought to be made appear, by certain outward tokens, and ceremonies : for, unless the power were distinguished, and made known by such means, the rest of the community might dispute his title, and put up an equal pretension to the sacred ministry. This supposition will appear very rational, by parallel cases, both in civil and religious matters. No magistrate dares presume to exercise a power over his fellow-subjects, if he is not first installed by some visible token from his prince. Under the law of Moses, several ceremonies were made use of, to initiate and distinguish those, that were designed for the sacred ministry. In the evangelical law, ceremonies were prescribed, and constantly practised, in every age, to the same purpose. Indeed, there seems to be no absolute necessity for such ceremonies, any further than with respect to divine institution ; and, therefore, it is not improbable, that they were not customary in the law of nature, when the head of a family, or those deputed by him, exercised the sacerdotal function of praying in public, sacrificing, &c. But the revealed law, both old and new, put the faithful under another kind of economy. Some may, perhaps, imagine that natural endowments and study may qualify persons for several parts of the sacred ministry, as lectures, instructing, preaching, &c. But this is not sufficient to give them a power, in regard of other parts, where the effect is spiritual and supernatural, and depends entirely upon divine institution. Neither is a bare election, or choice of a sacred ministry, a sufficient qualification ; something more being required by the same divine institution, before any outward ceremony can be raised to that efficiency, as to be capable of producing a spiritual and supernatural effect. Again, it cannot be alleged with any show of reason, that, in cases of necessity, such ceremonies, divinely appointed, may be omitted ; because no necessity can be pleaded against the divine law. There may be an *Επιεικεία* in human laws, where due regard is had to the legislative power, and the method approved of by a re-inspection : but, in divine institutions, and where the effect is entirely supernatural, *Επιεικεία* cannot take place, or make good the defect, which will inevitably follow from a non-compliance with the letter of the law. It follows, in the next place, that, as no human power can tack a spiritual and supernatural effect to outward ceremonies, so such effects must be produced by ceremonies appointed by God himself.

Further, it is agreed among catholics (and protestants appear also to allow of it), that sacraments consist of matter and form, i. e. of things

and actions, which carry some resemblance and analogical relation to the nature of the sacrament; and of certain words, which more distinctly determine and point out their signification. This may be illustrated by similies in natural, artificial, and moral matters. The *matter* of a tree is a corporeal substance: the *form* is the disposition of its parts into root, trunk, and branches. The *matter* of a house is wood, stone, brick, iron, &c.: the *form* is the disposition of the materials into several apartments, and conveniences for a family. The *matter* of power, in political government, are a key, a staff, a particular dress, &c.: the *form* of the power are either words, or writing, confirming and explaining the office. Now, as a tree is not to be called or esteemed a tree, if it subsist only in the seed, or is reduced to ashes; as the materials of a building are not a house, till they are properly disposed by the builder; as civil power is insignificant, till it is confirmed by the words or patent of a prince; so ordination, which bestows a spiritual power, is not valid, till the proper *matter* and *form* are applied, according to the institution and design of the author of that establishment.

Besides these considerations, a regard is also to be had to the intention of the consecrators; and this is a necessary caution in all actions, where men proceed rationally. Intention distinguisheth a man from a brute, and is a test of the validity and beneficial performance of most human actions, whether moral or religious: for, *quicquid agunt homines, intentio judicat omnes*, a common axiom, and very properly applied upon the present occasion. In several natural and artificial performances, where man's will has no influence, an intention is not required. An axe with a good edge and rightly applied, cuts without the carpenter's intention. The same we may say of seed, that is cast into proper soil. But in actions of a political, moral, or religious nature, an intention is absolutely necessary. To crown a person king, in a play, has no further consequence: the actors' meaning is well known. If I make use of the true matter and form of baptism, in a ludicrous manner, without any design of complying with the institution of that sacrament, the baptism is invalid, for want of intention. When these reflections are applied to the matter in hand, and it is made appear, that the consecrators, besides making an open profession of several doctrinal points, inconsistent with the divine institution, do also make use of an insufficient matter and form, and, moreover, have no intension to perform the work, according to Christ's institution, what opinion can we have of such an ordination? The arguments, I shall draw from these premises, are as follows.

ASSERTION.

Ordinations, according to the New Ordinal of Edward VI.'s Reign, were insufficient and invalid, for want of due Matter and Form, and of an Intention in the Consecrators.

First Proof. The ordinal made use of, before Edward VI.'s reign, was according to the divine institution, both as to matter, form, and the due application of them, as appointed by Christ. Now, the new ordinal both omitting and altering the matter and form, and the due application of them, as directed by the old ordinal, ordinations performed according to that ordinal cannot be valid.

Second Proof. Besides the imposition of hands, which was a common ceremony made use of upon other occasions, it was farther requisite to make use of some other matter, or outward token, to signify and distinguish the power, that was conferred. And, accordingly, it was always customary in the church of God, from the earliest times, and a practice handed down through every age, to make use of some other matter, as anointing, the delivery of certain instruments, &c., appropriated unto, and distinguishing, the office. And these significative and distinguishing ceremonies being omitted in the new ordinal, no distinct power is conferred; and, by consequence, such ordinations are invalid.

Third Proof. Supposing the use of a due matter, there is further required a form of words applied to it, to determine it to its proper uses, without which the ceremony is still insignificant. Now, as there is no such form of words, in the new ordinal, determining the matter, either as to the episcopal, or sacerdotal character, or distinguishing the offices, which essentially, and by divine institution, belong to them, the want of such a form makes the ordination invalid: as it happens in all other commissions of power; which are null and void, upon account of the same defect.

Fourth Proof. The nature of human and rational actions requires, that a person should have an intention to do what he is about; and the consecrators, in the affair of ordination, ought to have an intention to perform the ceremony according to the divine institution. Now, the persons concerned, as consecrators, in the new ordinal, as well as the persons consecrated, making a constant and public profession of several points of doctrine destructive to the essence of ordination, and divine institution (as, namely, that there was no essential difference, *jure divino*, between episcopacy and presbytery: that bishops received all power belonging to their character, even the spiritual, from lay hands, viz. the prince: that priests had no power to absolve from sin, nor to offer

sacrifice),¹ such consecrators as these cannot be judged to have had any intention of performing the ceremony, as it was instituted by Christ, and practised by the universal church, at the time of those consecrations. And by consequence the ordination was, *ipso facto*, null and invalid.

Fifth Proof. There cannot be a more authentic, or more forcible proof of this invalidity of their ordinations, upon these defects, than the opinion and authority of the parliament, the higher and lower houses of convocation, and all the learned men of queen Mary's reign; who unanimously declared, those consecrations were invalid. And, conformably to their opinion, all that came over to the Catholic church, and had been consecrated only according to the new ordinal, were re-ordained.

Sixth Proof. About the year 1563, there was a remarkable occurrence, which puzzled the reformed party, and discovered the nakedness of their cause, as to the insufficiency of their orders, upon account of Horn's, bishop of Winchester's, character being questioned by bishop Bonner. The case in short was this. An act had passed lately, empowering archbishops and bishops to administer the oath of supremacy. Accordingly Horn cites Bonner, then in custody, and within his diocese, to take it. Bonner stands off. His plea was, that Horn was no bishop, either according to the canons of the church, the laws of the nation still in force, or even by consecration. The suit was kept a long time depending, viz., till the eighth of queen Elizabeth; when an act passed, whereby it was decreed, that bishops should not hereafter administer the oath of supremacy: and, as the preamble of the acts takes notice that many people began to be very bold concerning the late ordinations, and their insufficiency, so, as it is expressed in the said act, the queen dispenseth with any want of power or other disabilities of the consecrators, who had hitherto given orders according to Edward VI.'s ordinal.² By this fact, Bonner was screened from further prosecution,

¹ [This particularly alludes to Cranmer. It is right, however, to add that, although he, at one time, held these opinions (Burnet, i. Rec. 189—227), yet, at a later period, and before the production of the ordinal, he had certainly, with the exception of what related to the christian sacrifice, abandoned them. See page 28, note ², ante.—*T.*]

² [This description of the act, and particularly of the dispensation said to be granted by the queen, is altogether erroneous. The provisions of the bill were, that all acts and things, previously done by any person elected to the office of archbishop or bishop, in virtue of the queen's letters patent or commissions, should be deemed good and perfect to all intents and purposes: that all persons, consecrated according to the form prescribed in the ordinal of Edward VI., should be judged to have been rightly, and in very deed, made, ordained, and consecrated; and that, as regarded the future practice of the church, the said

and the Catholics took occasion to style the reformed bishops "*Parliamentary* bishops;" declaring, at the same time, that, as their ordination was always null, from the beginning, as being contrary to Christ's institution, so it had hitherto also been illegal; the new ordinal being repealed under queen Mary, and never re-established by any express act of parliament, till upon the occasion here mentioned.

Seventh Proof. There was another occurrence, that happened in the year 1662, which was very much to the disadvantage of the new ordinal, and exposed the deficiency of the form of ordination. It was thought fit, upon a revising of the book of common-prayer and ordinal, that words should be added to the form of consecrating bishops and priests, specifying a distinction between those two characters; this being the grand defect objected against it by the Catholic writers. And this affords a strong suspicion, that even Protestants themselves were not satisfied with their ordinal before.¹

Eighth Proof. If any one suspects that this way of attacking the Protestant hierarchy, and unchurching the party, upon account of a deficiency of matter and form, and want of intention, is peculiar to English Catholics, and not conformable to the doctrine of their learned men abroad, I will briefly observe from their writings, that there is an exact conformity in all these respects; and that not only school divines, but the councils and fathers of former ages, all agree, that the matter and form of orders ought to be specific, and not alterable at pleasure: much more that the consecrators ought to have a due intention to perform that holy work, as it was first instituted.

Petrus a St. Josepho. De sacramentis in genere. Parisiis 1648. "Ex probabiliori et tutiori sententiâ, est de essentiâ prædictarum ordinationum, ut instrumenta, quæ in iis porrigi solent, physicè continentur."

Idem, lib. i. De ordine, cap. i. "Tum denique ex communi sensu theologorum & prælatorum, qui non putarent aliquem validè ordinatum esse in sacerdotem, si prædicta ceremonia prætermissa esset. Unde sedulò curant, non tantum ut ordinando porrigatur calix et patena, cum pane et vino, sed etiam ut ab eo tangantur."

ordinal should be in full force, and should be used and observed in all places within the realm. By a clause at the end, it was further provided, that no person should be impeached or molested, for any previous refusal of the oath tendered by the bishops; and that all tenders of the oath, made, or to be made, by the bishops before the last day of the present session of parliament, should be void, and of no effect. See the act, in the next article (No. XLIII.) of this Appendix.—*T.*]

¹ [The alteration, here alluded to, will be seen later.—*T.*]

Petrus Binsfield, in ench. theol. pastoralis. Parisiis 1631. cap. I. §. 5. “In sacramentis utendum est rebus et verbis à Christo institutis.”—Idem ibidem § 6. “Si quis per additionem vel diminutionem verborum intendit inducere ritum ab ecclesiâ Catholicâ alienum, non videtur perficere sacramentum.”—Idem, de sacramento ordinis, cap. 16. §. 3. “Quæ forma? sunt verba episcopi, per quæ exprimitur actus traditionis et potestatis circa rem traditam.”

St. Tho. 3. part. qu. 60. art. 5. in corp. “Quia ergo sanctificatio hominis est in potestate Dei sanctificantis, non pertinet ad hominem suo iudicio assumere res quibus sanctificetur; sed hoc debet esse ex divino iudicio determinatum.”—Idem, 3. p. qu. 60. art 7. ad tertium. “Verbis, quibus sacramentorum forma consistit, addere quicquam aut detrahere non licet, quo verus eorum sensus corrumpatur.”—Idem ibidem art. 4. in corpore. “Si intendat, per huiusmodi additionem aut diminutionem, alium ritum inducere, qui non sit ab ecclesiâ receptus, non videtur perficere sacramentum; quia non videtur, quòd intendat facere id, quod facit ecclesia.”—Idem, supplem. ad 3. p. qu. 34. art. 5. in corpore. “Specialem oportet esse materiam huius sacramenti (ordinis) sicut et aliorum sacramentorum.”—Idem ibidem quest. 37. art. 5. in corpore. “Quia principalis actus sacerdotis est, consecrare corpus et sanguinem Christi; ideo in ipsâ datione calicis, sub formâ verborum determinatâ, character sacerdotalis imprimitur.”—Idem, supplem. 3. p. qu. 37, art. 5. ad 2dum. “Ad secundum, dicendum, quòd Dominus discipulis dedit sacerdotalem potestatem, quantum ad principalem actum, ante passionem in cœnâ, quando dixit, *accipite, et manducate*; unde subjunxit, *hoc facite in meam commemorationem*: sed, post resurrectionem, dedit eis potestatem sacerdotalem, quantum ad actum secundarium qui est ligare, et solvere.”

Bonacina, tom. 1. tract. 1. disp. 1. de sacramentis in genere. q. 2. puncto 1. n. 11. “Secundò, dubium est, utrum ecclesia possit mutare et variare materiam sacramentorum. Respondeo negativè: ratio est, quia materia et forma sacramentorum est determinata; illa scilicet, quam Christus instituit et determinavit.”—Idem ibidem n. 13. “Quæres, utrum sicut est determinata materia sacramentorum, ita etiam sit determinata forma, seu verba? Respondeo ex divinâ institutione formam sacramentorum, quæ necessariò adhibenda est in sacramentis, determinatam esse.”—Idem ibidem n. 15. “Secus (i. e. sacramentum non validè administratur) si non sit eadem significatio; aut si deficiat debita intentio; ut accidit, quando minister cum mutatione accidentali intendit novum ritum inducere in ecclesiâ, et non intendit facere, quod facit sancta mater ecclesia.”—Idem ibidem n. 25. “Si verba æquivoca adhibeantur, intentione significandi aliud, quàm per verba formæ signifi-

catur, non est validum sacramentum.”—Idem, tom. 1. tract. 1. disp. 8. De sacramento ordinis, q. unica, puncto 3. prop. 1. n. 2. “ Traditione calicis cum vino, et patenæ cum hostiâ, perficitur ordinatio sacerdotalis : consequenter sacerdos remanet initiatus ordine sacerdotali, si, his peractis, episcopus moriatur, antequam illa verba proferat, *accipe spiritum sanctum*, &c., quamvis, his verbis prætermissis, imperfecta sit sacerdotalis potestas, cùm sacerdos à peccatis nequeat absolutionem impendere, prætermissis ab episcopo præcitis verbis.”—Idem ibidem, n. 4. “ Credibile est, Christum non unicum omnino materiam instituisse pro sacramento ordinis; sed apostolis, et consequenter eorum successoribus, contulisse potestatem conferendi ordines per traditionem instrumentorum, quibus indicatur potestas, quæ in unoquoque ordine confertur.”—Idem ibidem prop. 2. n. 13. “ Forma sacramenti ordinis sunt verba, quæ ab episcopo proferuntur imperativo modo, cum expressione potestatis, quæ confertur. Hæc propositio est de fide.”

Estius in lib. 4. dist. 1. § 18. “ Est autem hoc loco sciendum, non tam è sacris literis, quàm perpetuâ atque ab apostolis acceptâ traditione, nos habere materiam & formam uniuscujusque sacramenti.”—Idem, ibidem. “ Quamvis etiam recentiores quidam putant eam (formam baptismi) ex scripturis non haberi, sed ex solâ traditione; propterea quòd verbis istis Christi existiment non esse significatum, quibus inter baptizandum verbis sit utendum; sed tantum præceptum, ut in nomine suo, seu in virtute Trinitatis, baptizent, veteres tamen, de verborum necessitate disserentes, ex commémorato scripturæ loco plerumque probationem sumunt.”—Idem in lib. 4. dist. 24. § 2. “ Porro formæ quoque in singulis ordinibus diversæ sunt, exprimentes sigillatim potestatem ministerii sacri, quæ in unoquoque ordine confertur.”—Idem ibidem § 24. “ Illud non dubitandum, quin ritus hujus sacramenti, quos ut essentialia hodie servat ecclesia, ab apostolis, Christo auctore, fuerint ecclesiæ traditi; etiamsi forte iis apostoli non semper fuerint usi.”

Lud. Abelly de sacramento ordinis, c. 7. § 2. “ Cæterùm, ad solvendas plures difficultates, quæ circa materias illas & formas singulorum ordinum possent occurrere, observandum est, quod docet Bellarminus; credibile esse Christum Dominum istas omnes materias ordinum instituisse; non quidem in particulari, sed generatim præcipiendo apostolis, et, per illos, episcopis eorum successoribus, ut ordines conferrent per traditionem instrumentorum illorum, quibus significaretur eorum potestas; et verbis conceptis eandem illam traditionem exprimerent. Quod etiam pluribus probat.—Idem, de sacramentis in genere, cap. 1. sect. 3. “ Ad propositam questionem communis theologorum responsio est affirmantium; nimirum, suppositâ institutione sacramentorum novæ legis

divinitus factâ, ad validam illorum confectionem, res easdem, & eadem verba requiri determinatè, secundum ipsius Christi Domini instituentis voluntatem.”—Idem, de ordine cap. 7. sect. 2. “ Formam denique in verbis istis consistere, quæ ab episcopo proferuntur modo imperativo, cum expressione potestatis quæ confertur.—Idem. “ Quares, undenam scire possimus, quænam sint res illæ determinatæ, verba item determinata, quæ ad validam sacramentorum confectionem, ex divinâ institutione, necessariò requiruntur? Respondetur, id constare partim ex sacrâ scripturâ, partim ex traditione divinâ, quam ex ipsius ecclesiæ, vel expressâ declaratione, vel continuâ praxi discimus.”

Isambertus art. 6. articulo 9, rectè monet, “ non solum præcepti, sed etiam sacramenti necessitate requiri, ut qui ordinem aliquem suscipiunt, quod maximè notandum est, illius materiam ab episcopo porrectam physicè tangant. Quod variis argumentis probat; ac præsertim auctoritate Clementis VIII., summi pontificis, qui speciali diplomate decrevit, re-ordinari, saltem sub conditione, eos, qui tunc temporis fuerant ab episcopo Sagiensi ordinati; eò quòd nec episcopus ille per seipsum tradidisset instrumenta ordinandis, nec ordinandi physicè instrumenta illa tetigissent.”

Gamachæus in 3 p. D. Tho. q. 60. cap 4. “ Res sensibiles in sacramentis omnibus ita sunt determinatæ, ut eas mutare non liceat; nec licuerit etiam in antiquâ lege.”—Idem, in 3. p. D. Tho. q. 60, de sacramentis, cap. 4. “ In sacramentis novæ legis non solum res, sed etiam verba sunt omninò determinata.”—Idem, in 3. p. D. Tho. de sacramento ordinis, cap. 4. “ Materia ordinationis generaliter loquendo est traditio et porrectio illarum rerum, seu instrumentorum, quæ ad propriam cujusque ordinis functionem spectant.” Idem, *ibid.* “ Hinc igitur facile etiam colligimus, hæreticos in Angliâ, Germaniâ, Galliâ, aliisque locis nullam prorsus habere veram ecclesiam, aut hierarchiam. Quia, etiamsi aliquando jactent, in quibusdam locis se habere veros episcopos, et veros sacerdotes ritè ordinatos, nihilominus id omnino veritati et rationi contrarium est; neque enim iis sacerdotibus consecrandis adhibent materiam et formam necessariam.”

Tertullianus, “ Lex tangendi posita est, et forma præscripta.”

S. Basilius de Spiritu Sancto cap. 10. “ Si quis baptismum recipiat, factâ aliquâ mutatione in his, quæ à Christo tradita sunt, perinde est ac si baptismum non reciperet.”

S. Augustin. Tract. 8. in Jo. “ Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum.”—Idem, Epist. 23. “ Nisi sacramenta aliquam similitudinem haberent earum rerum, quas denotant, jam non essent sacramenta.”—Idem, l. 6. contra Donatist. cap. 25. “ Certa sunt verba

evangelica, sine quibus non potest baptismus consecrari.”—Idem, l. 19. contra Faustum. “*Illæ syllabæ celeriter sonantes et transeuntes, nisi dicerentur, non consecrarentur.*”

S. Ambrosius, l. de dignitate sacerdotali. “*Homo imponit manum, et Deus largitur gratiam.*”

Bellarminus de sacramento ordinis l. 1. cap. 9. “*Credibile autem est, Dominum instituisse istas omnes materias ordinum, non quidem in particulari, sed generatim monendo apostolos, ut ordines conferrent per ceremoniam instrumentorum, quibus significaretur eorum potestas.*” Idem, de sacramento baptismi l. 1. cap. 3. “*Porro hanc esse veram et necessariam formam baptismi, colligitur ex evangelio; sed non evidenter ex solo evangelio; sed cogimur recurrere ad traditionem, et ecclesiæ determinationem.*” Idem, de sacramentis in genere, l. 1. cap. 21. “*Si intendit introducere novum ritum absolutè, tunc non perficitur sacramentum: non quia desit forma, sed quia deest intentio. Convincitur enim ille, non velle facere, quod facit vera ecclesia; quandoquidem vult introducere ritum qui nunquam fuit in universali ecclesiâ.*”

Concilium Florentinum, in decreto unionis. “*Sextum sacramentum est ordinis, cujus materia est illud, per cujus traditionem confertur ordo.*”

Concil. Trident. Sess. 7, c. 11. “*Si quis dixerit in ministris, dum sacramenta conficiunt et conferunt, non requiri intentionem saltem faciendi quod facit ecclesia, anathema sit.*”

It appears from these quotations, that the English catholics are conformable to the rest of their church, in the reasons, they allege for the invalidity of the protestant ordinal; and that they proceed according to the following system, viz., that sacraments are visible signs; that these signs ought to have some resemblance of the thing signified; that Christ only could appoint and institute such signs as should have a supernatural effect; that these signs, both as to matter and form, were determined by Christ, at least in general (viz., that such a matter and form should be made choice of, as pointed out and distinguished the power, that was given; leaving it to the apostles to specify that matter and form, which, as it appears by the practice in all ages, they actually did); that an intention is required in all human actions, much more in those of divine institution, where the effect expected is spiritual and supernatural; that those, in fact, can have no intention to conform themselves to the divine institution of the ceremony, who make use of a matter and form, which is destructive of it; that, in fine, the protestant ordinal, omitting those things, that are essential to the true matter and form, is invalid upon account of that omission, as also for want of a due

intention. These arguments will appear in their full force, when the reader has considered the objections following, with the answers I shall make to them.

First Objection. There is no uniformity or consistency in the catholics' arguments, for defeating the orders of the church of England. One while they give a romantic account of an ordination at the Nag's-head tavern. This failing, they endeavour to prove Parker's register to be a piece of forgery. Their adversaries, having driven them from this post, some have recourse to an essential defect in the matter and form, others allege a want of intention in the consecrators. What can they conclude from such uncertainties?

Answer. This way of proceeding is usual in all sorts of controversies, where conjectures, probabilities, and demonstrations are always supposed to have their due force respectively. This consideration induced catholic writers to make use of several mediums, in order to support the main charge. The facts mentioned must stand or fall, accordingly as proofs appear. Hitherto protestants have not been able to give sufficient content upon that head; and catholics are abundantly provided other ways, to justify their opinion and practice. And, were the nullity of Protestant ordinations undeterminable from intrinsic arguments, the general concurrence of all the learned, together with the convocation and parliament in queen Mary's reign, who made a diligent enquiry, and were the best judges of the case; these, I say, having made a public declaration of the aforesaid nullity, can catholics have more certainty, or better grounds to go upon?

Second Objection. As to the declarations made by the convocation, parliament, and learned divines of queen Mary's reign, against protestant ordinations, they, being a party concerned, are not to be admitted as proper judges. Besides, the clergy of those days were so unacquainted with the doctrine of their own church, as to believe uncanonical ordinations were invalid: their malice was such against the reformers, that they rejected their orders, merely to expose and ridicule them;—to say nothing of the motive of interest. For the nullity of their leases was a consequence of the nullity of their episcopal character; and the next incumbent reaped the benefit of it, by admitting a new tenant.

Answer. I do not well understand in what sense the parliament, or legislative power, can be called a party, much less be esteemed improper judges from that suggestion. Does not the reformation stand entirely upon that bottom? If the representatives of the nation, the first of queen Elizabeth, were proper judges, and their authority decisive, in matters of faith, there was more reason to submit to them, in queen Mary's reign, in matters of fact. In matters of faith, we are remitted

to another sort of judges : but both reason and the laws of the nation allow them a power, to pronounce upon matters of fact without appeal. So that, when the case is truly stated, catholic writers are supported with the highest human authority, in their opinion concerning protestant ordinations, which their adversaries ought not to reject, if they will talk coherently and in character. The reflection, that is made concerning the capacity and learning of the divines of those days, is both unjust and abusive. The account I have given, and which all the world gives, of their works and abilities, deserves much better. And particularly, as to what they are charged with, concerning uncanonical ordinations, how could they imagine they were invalid upon that account, who admitted of such ordinations, as were made in king Henry VIII.'s reign, after the schism, which undoubtedly were uncanonical? What is insinuated in the next place, that their orders were disallowed, purely out of malice, is too barefaced a calumny. Would they act contrary to their own opinion, fly in the face of the church's authority, and expose themselves publicly to its censures, out of humour, or in favour of their passions? There seems to be more malice in those, that make such reflections, than those, they attack, could be thought capable of. As to what regards leases, I own it might be the consequence of the invalidity of their ordination ; though I am confident it was not the intention, and far from the only design, of the other party. Such benefits are often reaped by the next possessor, as well in ecclesiastical revenues, as in others. But then, regard is to be had to the circumstances of the unfortunate, who suffer upon such occasions ; and I don't meet with any instances of hardship, the tenants underwent in the present juncture. But, however this might be, and whatever advantages catholic bishops might take from renewing their leases, it is manifest they had better motives, which induced them to reject protestant ordinations.

Third Objection. The new ordinal was drawn up with the joint assistance of several catholic bishops ; from whence it may be conjectured, that a matter and form was agreed upon, sufficient for the validity of orders.

Answer. The case is misrepresented, and the argument inconclusive. The most of those, that were employed upon this occasion, were open and zealous maintainers of the reformed doctrine, Calvinists by principle, and particularly ill affected towards the *jus divinum* of episcopacy. One or two of this committee, who had deserted the church, in Henry VIII.'s reign, in the article of the supremacy, made a step further, when they assisted at the compiling of this notable ordinal. But that they were catholics, does not appear. It is probable, they were at that time occasional conformists ; seeing that, soon after, they returned to the

church of their ancestors, and repented of what they had done, towards carrying on the reformation.¹

Fourth Objection. The church of England has no enemies in this controversy, besides school divines, who have no regard either to Scriptures, fathers, or the ancient rituals; but, on the contrary, make mention of a matter and form, never heard of in former days, and maintain them to be absolutely necessary, for the validity of ordination. Such are those additional ceremonies of unctions, crosier, mitre, the gospel book, the delivering of instruments, the touching of the chalice and paten, with other innovations in the form; especially the words importing a sacrifice for the living and the dead.

Answer. What the school divines have delivered, concerning the matter and form of orders, is conformable to what we meet with in the scriptures, the ancient fathers, and former rituals, in relation to those matters; though they do not pretend, that every particular ceremony, that has been added since, is essential. Unctions are mentioned, both in the scriptures, and the writings of the fathers, when persons or things were consecrated to the divine service. Christ himself made use of instruments, when the apostles were made priests and bishops, at the last supper. The power of offering sacrifice was conferred, at the same time, under a proper form of words; though the words, "*for the living and the dead,*" were added since, to signify some particular effects. The crosier and mitre are also additional ceremonies, not without an instructive signification. The fathers studiously omitted to declare or speak of the ceremonies made use of in the administration of the sacraments, for reasons, they themselves have given. When the ancient rituals were composed, they gave us an account of the ceremonies, that were made use of in those days; which, in substance, are the same with those we find in school divines. And though no mention is made, in some, of the delivery of instruments, as is now practised, yet we reasonably suppose something of that kind was in use, to intimate and express the power that was conferred. But let this be as you will, the school divines cannot be charged with any innovation, but what is warranted by the authority of the universal church, which has the power to specify the matter and form of orders, as she shall think fit, without breaking in upon the divine institution, which left those things undetermined. Mean time, I cannot but observe what ungenerous pains some persons take to misrepresent the

¹ It is right, however, to remark, that, with the exception of Heath, who opposed his colleagues, and was consequently imprisoned, we know none of the persons engaged in the compilation of the ordinal. Heylin's conjecture (82), that they were the same individuals who had drawn up the liturgy, is utterly without foundation. See Strype's *Cranmer*, 192; and *Burnet*, ii. 136.—*T.*]

school divines, as if they were entirely strangers to the doctrine of antiquity, and not to be attended to, in matters of faith. Those that have but cast an eye upon Petrus Lombardus, the master of the schools, may easily perceive, that his Book of Sentences is nothing but a collection from the Scriptures and fathers, with some remarks of his own upon them; which the divines, of succeeding ages, have drawn out more at length. And though, now and then, they have run into some unnecessary excursions, yet the Scriptures and fathers are the warp and the woof of the web or body of scholastic divinity: and, notwithstanding the humour, some persons are carried away with, of ridiculing and depreciating their labours, it will be thought a bold attempt, among catholics, for any one to call in question what they universally agree upon, in matters of religion.

Fifth Objection. The best intelligence, we can have of the matter and form of the sacraments, is from the Scriptures; where we meet with an account of their institution and practice. Now, the only matter and form of orders, taken notice of in the Scriptures, are imposition of hands, with certain prayers proper to the occasion; which being set down and recommended in the new ordinal, all is performed, that is required to a valid ordination.

Answer. Catholics are willing to acknowledge, that it is proper to have recourse to the Scriptures, to be informed of several things belonging to the sacraments. But, at the same time, they say that several things appertaining to them are to be observed, which are not expressed in the Scriptures, but known to us only by tradition: that, as the holy writers did not undertake to publish a ritual or ceremonial book, things of that kind were delivered by word of mouth, kept up by practice, and so transmitted down to posterity: that, though we learn from the Scriptures that imposition of hands was a ceremony made use of in conferring orders, they do not tell us, it was the matter, much less, that it was the only matter; and that, in fact, Christ, at the ordaining of the apostles at the last supper, is not said to have made use of it. We read only that he made use of instruments, viz., the chalice, &c.:—not that catholics deny imposition of hands to be, at least, the partial matter of orders; but that the Scriptures do not express it in terms.

In the next place, concerning the form;—the Scripture intimates it ought to be prayer: but what kind of prayer it does not declare. Questionless, it is supposed to be a prayer adapted to the purpose of the sacrament, determining the matter, and expressing the office, and distinguishing it from any other. Let us see how the new ordinal answers this demand. The form of priesthood is: “*Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins*

thou dost retain, they are retained: and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his holy sacraments, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."¹ The form of episcopacy is: "*Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee by imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.*"² These forms are defective upon several accounts. That of priesthood entirely omits what regards the power of offering sacrifice; which is an essential part of the character. The form, made use of in the new ordinal, having a relation to the power of absolving, which is a branch of jurisdiction, pre-supposes the sacerdotal character, is separable from it, and was conferred by our blessed Saviour at a different time, viz., after his resurrection. As to the form of episcopacy, it is so defective, that it is altogether insignificant, not distinguishing between a bishop and a justice of peace. These defects the English clergy were sensible of, when they were pressed by the dissenting protestants, concerning the validity of their orders, and pretended succession from the church of Rome, by having recourse to their ordinations; so that, at last, they were obliged, by a decree of convocation, an. 1662, to publish more explicit forms, by adding the following clauses. To the form of priesthood, after the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," they added, "*For the work and office of a priest in the church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands:*" to the form of episcopacy, after the same words, was added, "*For the office and work of a bishop in the church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands.*"³ Dr. Burnet will have it, that this alteration was made, purely to stop the clamours of the dissenting party;⁴ because, as Mr. Williams says, in his answer to Mr. Ward (p. 29), "in our ordinals, they did not find any positive distinction between a bishop and a priest, in the words used at the imposition of hands." We have only Dr. Burnet's word, that this was the occasion for altering the form. I am apt to think, the alteration was made rather, at the importunity of some members of the church by law established, who, about that time, were more than usually perplexed with scruples, concerning the validity of their orders.⁵ However, it will not be unseasonable to make two or three observations upon the occasion.

¹ Ordinal of Edward VI. apud Sparrow, 157.

² Ibid. 163.

³ Additions to the Form of Edward VI.'s Ordinal, apud Williams, 334, 336.

⁴ Vindication of English Ordinations, 72.

⁵ [Constable remarks that it was made immediately after the publication of Lewgar's Erastus Senior, a work which successfully attacked Bramhall's Vindication of the protestant form of ordination. Remarks on Le Courayer, 271. —T.]

In the first place, methinks, the remedy came very late. An old grievance is not easily removed; and, probably, catholics might judge themselves neither to have been particular nor unreasonable, in the exceptions they had made against the ordinal, since the dissenters were complimented with that alteration, upon the same plea of defectiveness. Besides, if the aforesaid alterations were unnecessary, it was a shameful condescension in the members of the convocation (not to say a giving up of the cause, as to all prior ordinations), especially, if Dr. Bramhall's way of reasoning had been worthy of their notice. This author tells us, that ordination is a moral work or composition, where the ingredients are not to be considered disjunctively, but conjunctively; and where parts, at a distance from one another, are united in their signification and operation. So that, though the words 'priest' and 'bishop' are not expressed in the form, nor any other words specifying those offices, yet considering things morally, and taking in the whole ceremony of ordination, wherein the name of 'bishop' is found seven times, and that of 'priest' three times, those two characters are plainly specified, and the form actually applied to the matter, in a compound, though not in a divided, sense; which is all the application that is required, in things of a moral kind. This plausible explanation of the matter, however, was either not understood, or disregarded by the convocation, when they came to a resolution of altering the form. They might apprehend, it would not be so fully satisfactory to the dissenters; as, indeed, it is not to any one, that duly considers the case. For, though, in some sense, ordination may be called a moral action or performance, yet words, that are made use of upon such occasions, are not to be deprived of their usual import, or to have any other construction put upon them, than what they will bear. Now, ordination being, as it were, a patent or commission, signifying and conferring power, it imports little, as to the validity of the commission, how often the person's name or office is mentioned, in the preamble to the commission, unless there be a form of words, to determine the matter, and actually make the application. It is true, naming the person and office in the preamble declares the design; but it does not prove the fact, or actual collation of the power. We have a parallel case in the sacrament of baptism. The previous ceremonies and prayers give us the person's name, with the conditions of the engagements, and character of a Christian: but, unless the divine institution be observed, as to the matter and form, baptism cannot have its proper effect. The distinction of a compound and divided sense cannot supply that defect.

Sixth Objection. Considering how the divines of the church of Rome are divided in their opinions, concerning the matter and form of orders,

it is a hardship upon their adversaries. to require more from them, than what the catholics themselves judge to be essential to the validity of orders. There are many instances of this variety of opinions, viz., concerning the specifying of the matter and form, whether determined by Christ, or left to his church? Whether imposition of hands is the only matter, or the use of instruments essential? Is unction essential to episcopal consecration? Whether "*Esto Sacerdos,*" and "*Esto Episcopus,*" may not be esteemed a valid form? Whether the sacerdotal character is conferred by one or two distinct forms?—with many other debates of the like kind; wherein sometimes the negative, other times the affirmative, are not only favourable to the protestant cause, but evidently justify the validity of their ordinations.

Answer. This objection draws no consequence after it, in favour of protestant ordinations. School disputes, and the private opinions of divines, are no rule in cases of this nature. The learned propose several questions, both in practical and speculative matters; and determine what, in their own judgment, might, or might not, be essential, in case the church thought it fit to declare herself upon the subject. But they never propose their private sentiments, as a rule, in opposition to the common opinion and practice observed in the church. And particularly, as to what regards the matter and form of orders, though they look upon some ceremonies not to be essential, yet they are so diffident, as to think it requisite, they should be supplied, whensoever they are omitted, either through ignorance, negligence, or any other means, as well in submission to the general practice of the church, which requires it, as to put the thing out of question, which otherwise would be very doubtful. Allowing therefore, that protestants may be favoured, in some parts of their plea, by the opinion of particular divines, they are deserted by them in other points, no less essential; and are far from being justified in their pretended orders.

◦ *Seventh Objection.* There cannot be a more convincing proof of the validity of protestant ordinations, than the practice of the Greek church; where their orders are allowed by the present church of Rome, though conferred only by imposition of hands, without delivery of instruments, chalice, paten, &c.

Answer. I will not dispute the fact, which I find well attested: but I cannot see of what service it can be to protestants, in justification of their orders. So much, indeed, it proves; that the delivery of the chalice, &c., was not a divine institution. But then there is a wide difference between the Greek church and the protestants, in regard of this omission. The Greeks omit it, by an express allowance of the church, to whom it belongs to specify the matter and form of orders by divine appointment; whereas protestants are charged with that omission

without the church's approbation. Are we to imagine, that every private priest, bishop, or even national church, has authority to determine those matters, which were to be specified only by the whole church; especially those nice points, which regard the sacraments, and which have a divine establishment? The omission, therefore, may invalidate orders among the protestants, though it be no detriment to the Greeks. But catholic divines do not insist much upon this. The ordinal of Edward VI. is charged with other omissions and defects, which are contrary to the divine institution; and wherein it varies from the Greeks in several points, which are looked upon as essential, by those of that communion; as, namely, that part of the ceremony, which specifies the office, with the power, of offering sacrifice, &c.

Eighth Objection. Catholic writers impose upon their adversaries, when they represent them, as denying all sacrifices; and, by this means, indirectly endeavour to prove, that they are destitute of priesthood, and could not receive the sacerdotal character at their ordination: whereas their clergy, upon all occasions, style themselves priests, and constantly acknowledge a sacrifice in the new law.

Answer. Some have been pleased to divert themselves with the appellation of priest, when it is bestowed upon the reformed clergy; and I cannot say that the cap fits their head very well, when the principal function of persons of that character is attended to. Many of them are better pleased with the title of "*minister.*" As for "*priest,*" unless it have some adjunct, by way of explanation, people are apt to take a person, so named, to be a priest of the Roman communion: questionless, upon account of the sacrificing power, which is annexed to his character. And indeed, when we examine the merits of the cause, there are some grounds, why this notion should obtain amongst the generality of the people. It is true, protestants acknowledge a sacrifice in the new law: but what sacrifice is it? Why, no other than the sacrifice of the cross, offered up only once by our blessed Saviour, the only true priest, they own in the new law: so that the whole body of the reformed clergy are destitute of that character, and only nominally priests; priesthood and sacrifice being correlatives. As for the sacrifices of prayer, alms, a contrite heart, and other suchlike spiritual oblations, they come not up to the demands of true priesthood, nor bestow any character or privileges, but what may be claimed by any one of the laity. However, I do not deny, but that some of the learned protestant clergy have stood up for a sacrifice and priesthood, in the strict acceptation of those words; and have maintained that, as Christ offered up the eucharist, as a sacrifice, at the last supper, so all ministers of the new law are empowered to do the same. This, they say, they are obliged to acknowledge, from the constant practice, and testimony, of all the ancient fathers of the church. But what is this to the

common belief of the reformed churches?—who are so far from joining with those learned divines, that they despise their number, and represent them as singular, heterodox, and papistically inclined.

Ninth Objection. The writers of the church of Rome talk very inconsistently, when they attack protestant ordinations, upon account of the errors they were involved in, against the true church. How, say they, can those ordinations be valid, where both the persons consecrating, and those consecrated, maintain opinions destructive of the essential parts of the institution?—for instance, in denying a sacrifice, the *jus divinum* of episcopal power, the power of absolving from sin, &c. This way of reasoning, says the other party, is not conformable to the doctrine, and practice of their own church. Is it not an unquestionable tenet among catholics, that the validity of the sacraments depends not upon the qualities of the minister, any more than the effects of a remedy upon the qualities of the physician? Were not the orders of heretics and schismatics approved of, notwithstanding their errors, and disobedience to the church? Was not baptism, conferred by the Arians, judged to be valid, notwithstanding their error concerning the Son of God, which was destructive of the form?—with many other instances of the same kind, which occur in history.

Answer. There is no inconsistency in the writers of the church of Rome, upon this subject. They are well acquainted with the doctrine of the church, in admitting orders, conferred by heretics and schismatics. Sometimes they have been allowed of; at other times, rejected. When every thing essential, with due matter and form, was made use of, such ordinations were approved of, though conferred by persons, who had forsaken the communion of the church. But where there was a defect, as to due matter and form, the case was otherwise. False doctrine alone does not invalidate orders, unless it be expressed in the form, so as to destroy the sense of the words; which is to be observed in the case of the Arians baptizing. They maintained an error, contrary to what the catholic church professed, even in the form of baptism; but, their error not being expressed in the form of orders, so as to alter their genuine signification, the quality of the minister had no influence upon the sacrament. But the case is quite different in the protestant ordinations, where the proper matter and form are not made use of, and where the form, whereby the power of sacrificing is given, is entirely omitted: to say nothing of other defects of their ordinal. Besides, it is probable, these defects and omissions were purposely designed against several articles of the catholic church, concerning the sacrament of orders; which is an aggravated circumstance, and gives catholics grounds to judge, that the consecrators had no intention to do, as the church does, but quite the contrary; as it will appear in my reply to the next objection.

Tenth Objection. It is agreed by the divines of the church of Rome, that the private intention of the minister does not put a bar to the effect of the sacrament; which is conformable to the institution. For, the minister being only a bare instrument, the part he acts is only to make use of the matter and form; the rest is entirely the work of God, who is the principal agent.

Answer. The doctrine of the church of Rome, as to the point mentioned, is this: besides a due matter and form, the minister ought to have an intention of doing what the church does. For, as he is a rational instrument, he is supposed to make use of his reason; which he cannot be said to do, without having some intention: and the least, that can be allowed him, is, to intend to do, what God and the church designed he should do. Now, as to any particular or bye intention of his own, it can have no influence upon the work he is employed about, provided it does not destroy his main intention; as certainly it does, if either expressly or interpretatively he declares against doing what the church does. When these matters are seriously considered, I believe it will be found that the protestant consecrators, who proceeded according to the directions of the new ordinal, could have no real intention of doing what the church does. For, though they expressed no design of acting inconsistently with the intention of the church, yet, by voluntarily omitting those things, which were necessary to carry on the work, and answer the intention of the church, they made an interpretative declaration against it. Several other objections have been made against catholics, in this method, they take, of proving the invalidity of protestant ordinations; which, however, are replied to by Erastus senior and junior, and others, to whom I remit the reader.

No. XLIII.—(*Referred to at page cxcvii.*)

An Act, declaring the making and consecrating of the Archbishops and Bishops of this realm, to be good, lawful, and perfect.

[Stat. 8 Eliz. c. 1.]

Forasmuch, as divers questions, by overmuch boldness of speech and talk, amongst many of the common sort of people, being unlearned, have lately grown, upon the making and consecrating of archbishops and bishops within this realm, whether the same were, and be, duly and orderly done according to the law, or not; which is much tending to the slander of all the state of clergy, being one of the greatest states of this realm; therefore, for the avoiding of such slanderous speech, and to the intent, that every man, that is willing to know the truth, may plainly understand that the same evil speech and talk is not grounded upon any just matter, or cause, it is thought convenient, hereby partly

to touch such authorities, as do allow and approve the making and consecrating of the same archbishops and bishops to be duly and orderly done, according to the laws of this realm, and thereupon further to provide for the more surety thereof, as hereafter shall be expressed.

First, It is very well known to all degrees of this realm, that the late king, of most famous memory, king Henry VIII., as well by all the clergy, then of this realm, in their several convocations, as also by all the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, assembled in divers of his parliaments, was justly and rightly recognized and knowledged to have the supreme power, jurisdiction, order, rule, and authority, over all the estate ecclesiastical of the same; and the same power, authority, and jurisdiction did use accordingly: and that also the said late king, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, did, by authority of parliament, among other things, set forth a certain order, of the manner and form, how archbishops and bishops, within this realm, and other his dominions, should be elected and made, as by the same more plainly appeareth: And that also the late king of worthy memory, king Edward VI., did lawfully succeed the said late king Henry, his father, in the imperial crown of this realm, and did justly possess and enjoy all the said power, jurisdiction, and authority before-mentioned, as a thing to him descended with the same imperial crown, and so used the same during his life: And that also the said late king Edward VI., in his time, by authority of parliament, caused a godly and virtuous book, entituled, *The Book of Common-prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England*, to be made and set forth, not only for one uniform order of service, common-prayer, and the administration of the sacraments, to be used within this realm, and other his dominions, but also did add, and put to the same book a very good and godly order of the manner and form how archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and ministers should, from time to time, be consecrated, made, and ordered, within this realm, and other his dominions, as by the same more plainly will and may appear: And although, in the time of the late queen Mary, as well the said act and statute made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., as also the several acts and statutes made in the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth years of the said late king Edward, for the authority and allowing of the said book of common-prayer, and other the premises, amongst divers other acts and statutes touching the said supreme authority, were repealed: yet, nevertheless, at the parliament holden at Westminster, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lady, the queen's majesty that now is, by one other act and statute there made, all such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, preeminences, spiritual and

ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be, used over the ecclesiastical estate of this realm, and the order, reformation, and correction of the same, is fully and absolutely, by the authority of the same parliament, united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm; and, by the same act and statute, there is also given to the queen's highness, her heirs, and successors, kings and queens of this realm, full power and authority, by letters patents, under the great seal of England, from time to time, to assign, name, and authorise such person or persons, as she or they shall think meet and convenient, to exercise, use, occupy, and execute, under her highness, all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, preeminences, and authorities, in anywise touching or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction within this realm, or any other her highness's dominions or countries: And also by the same act and statute, the said act, made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the said late king Henry VIII., for the order and form of the electing and making of the said archbishops and bishops, together with divers other statutes touching the jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical, is revived, and made in full force and effect, as by the same act and statute plainly appeareth: And that also, by another act and statute made in the said parliament, in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady, entituled, "An act for the uniformity of common-prayer and service in the church, and administration of sacraments," the said book of common-prayer, and the administration of sacraments, and other the said orders, rites, and ceremonies before-mentioned, and all things therein contained, with certain additions therein newly added and appointed by the said statute, is fully established, and authorized to be used in all places within this realm, and all other the queen's majesty's dominions and countries, as by the said act, among other things, more plainly appeareth:

Whereupon our said sovereign lady, the queen's most excellent majesty, being most justly and lawfully invested in the imperial crown of this realm, with all authorities, preeminences, and dignities thereunto appertaining, and thereby having, in her majesty's order and disposition, all the said jurisdictions, powers, and authorities over the state ecclesiastical and temporal, as well in cases ecclesiastical as temporal within this realm, and other her majesty's dominions and countries, hath, by her supreme authority, at divers times, since the beginning of her majesty's reign, caused divers and sundry grave and well-learned men to be duly elected, made, and consecrated archbishops and bishops of divers archbishoprics and bishoprics, within this realm, and other her majesty's dominions and countries, according to such order and form,

and with such ceremonies in and about their consecrations, as were allowed and set forth by the said acts, statutes, and orders, annexed to the said book of common-prayer before-mentioned. And further, for the avoiding of all ambiguities and questions, that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investings, and consecrations of the said archbishops and bishops, her highness, in her letters patents, under the great seal of England, directed to any archbishop, bishop, or others, for the confirming, investing, and consecrating of any person elected to the office or dignity of any archbishop or bishop, hath not only used such words and sentences, as were accustomed to be used by the said late king Henry, and king Edward, her majesty's father, and brother, in their like letters patents, made for such causes, but also hath used, and put in her majesty's said letters patents divers other general words and sentences, whereby her highness, by her supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection, or disability, that can or may in anywise be objected against the same, as, by her majesty's said letters patents remaining of record, more plainly will appear: so that to all those, that will well consider of the effect, and true intent of the said laws and statutes, and of the supreme and absolute authority of the queen's highness, and which she, by her majesty's said letters patents, hath used, and put in ure, in, and about the making and consecrating of the said archbishops and bishops, it is, and may be very evident and apparent, that no cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt, can or may justly be objected against the said elections, confirmations, or consecrations, or any other material thing meet to be used, or had, in or about the same; but that every thing, requisite and material for that purpose, hath been made and done as precisely, and with as great a care and diligence, or rather more, as ever the like was done, before her majesty's time, as the records of her majesty's said father's and brother's time, and also of her own time, will more plainly testify and declare.

Wherefore, for the plain declaration of all the premises, and to the intent, that the same may the better be known to every of the queen's majesty's subjects, whereby such evil speech, as heretofore hath been used against the high state of prelacy, may hereafter cease, be it now declared and enacted, by the authority of this present parliament, that the said act and statute, made in the first year of our said sovereign lady, the queen's majesty, whereby the said book of common prayer, and the administration of sacraments, with other rites and ceremonies, is authorised and allowed to be used, shall stand and remain good and perfect, to all intents and purposes; and that such order and form for the consecrating of archbishops and bishops, and for the making of priests, deacons, and

ministers, as was set forth in the time of the said late king Edward VI., and added to the said book of common prayer, and authorised by parliament, in the fifth and sixth years of the said late king, shall stand, and be in full force and effect, and shall, from henceforth, be used and observed in all places within this realm, and other the queen's majesty's dominions and countries :

And that all acts and things heretofore had, made, or done, by any person or persons, in or about any consecration, confirmation, or investing of any person or persons, elected to the office or dignity of any archbishop or bishop within this realm, or within any other the queen's majesty's dominions or countries, by virtue of the queen's majesty's letters patents or commissions, since the beginning of her reign, be, and shall be, by authority of this present parliament, declared, judged, and deemed, at, and from, every of the several times of the doing thereof, good and perfect, to all respects and purposes, any matter, or thing, that can, or may be objected to the contrary thereof, in any wise, notwithstanding :

And that all persons, that have been, or shall be, made, ordered, or consecrate archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers of God's holy word and sacraments, or deacons, after the form and order prescribed in the said order and form, how archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and ministers should be consecrated, made, and ordered, be in very deed, and also, by authority hereof, declared, and enacted to be, and shall be, archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers, and deacons, and rightly made, ordained, and consecrated ; any statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Provided always, and nevertheless be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no person, or persons, shall, at any time hereafter, be impeached or molested in body, lands, livings, or goods, by occasion or mean of any certificate by any archbishop or bishop heretofore made, or before the last day of this present session of parliament, to be made by virtue of any act, made in the first session of this present parliament, touching or concerning the refusal of the oath, declared and set forth by act of parliament, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lady, queen Elizabeth ; any thing in this act or any other act or statute, heretofore made to the contrary, notwithstanding :

And that all tenders of the said oath, made by any archbishop, or bishop, aforesaid, or, before the last day of this present session, to be made by authority of any act established in the first session of this present parliament, and all refusals of the same oath so tendered, or, before the last day of this present session, to be tendered, by any archbishop, or bishop, by authority of any act established in the first session of this present parliament, shall be void, and of none effect or validity in the law.

No. XLIV.—(Referred to at page 140.)

An imperfect Catalogue of Deans, Archdeacons, and Chancellors, who opposed the Reformation in the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

<i>Deans.</i>	
Boxall, John,	Windsor
Cole, Henry,	St. Paul's
Daniel, Richard,	Hereford
Holland, Seth,	Worcester
Joliff, Henry,	Bristol
Ramridge, John,	Lichfield
Stuart, Edmund,	Winchester.

<i>Archdeacons.</i>	
Fitzjames, John,	Bath
Hanson, John,	Richmond
Harpsfield, John,	London
Harpsfield, Nich.	Canterbury
Hodgson, Dr.	Lincoln

Langdale, Alban,	Lewes
Mervyn, Edward,	Surrey
Perceval, Robert,	Chester
Petre, Richard,	Buckingham
Roberts, Dr.	St. David's.

Chancellors.

Bremund, John,	Chichester
Burnford, Gilbert,	Wells
Dalby, William,	Bristol
Draycot, Anthony,	Lichfield
Heskins, Thomas,	Sarum
Martin, Thomas,	Winchester
Story, John,	Oxford.

An Imperfect Catalogue of the Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Prebendaries, and other dignified Ecclesiastics, who opposed the Reformation in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

<i>Heads of Colleges.</i>	
Baily, Thomas,	Clarehall, Camb.
Baker, Philip,	King's Coll. Camb.
Belsire, Alex.	St. John's, Oxford
Bullock, George,	St. John's Camb.
Chedsey, William,	Corp. Christ. Oxf.
Cole, Arthur,	Magd. Coll. Oxf.
Cosins, Edmund,	Catherine Hall, Oxf
Coveney, Thomas,	Magd Coll. Oxford
Dugdale, James,	Univ. Coll. Oxford
Ely, William,	St. John's Coll. Oxf.
Gervase, James,	Merton Coll. Oxf.
Henshaw, Henry,	Lincoln Coll. Oxf.
Hodgson, Dr.	Queen's Coll. Oxf.
Marshal, William,	St. Alban's Hall, Oxf
Moss, William,	Trin. Coll. Camb.
Neale, John,	Exeter Coll. Oxford
Palmer, Thomas,	Glo'ster Hall, Oxf.
Peacock, Thomas,	Queen's Coll. Oxf.
Philips, Morgan,	St. Mary's Hall, Oxf
Redman, Thomas,	Jesus Coll. Oxford
Slythurst, Thomas,	Trin. Coll. Oxford
Smith, John,	Oriel Coll. Oxford
Taylor, William,	Christ's Coll. Camb.
Wright, William,	Baliol Coll. Oxford
Young, John,	Pembrk. Hall, Camb

Fellows of Colleges in Oxford.

Appleby, Ambrose,	Merton College
Atkins, Anthony,	Merton College
Atslow, Edward,	New College
Atslow, Luke,	New College
Bramston, Thos.	St. John's College

Bursthard, John,	New College
Catagre, John,	New College
Cope, Alan,	Magdalen College
Darrel, Thomas,	New College
Dawkes, Robert,	Merton College
Dorman, Thomas,	All-Soul's College
Doleman, Thomas,	All-Soul's College
Fenn, James,	Corp. Christ. Coll.
Fenn, Robert,	New College
Fitzsimons, Leond.	Trinity College
Fowler, John,	New College
Giffard, Robert,	Merton College
Hyde, David,	Merton College
Ingram, John,	New College
Knott, William,	New College
Marshal, John,	New College
Meredith, Jonas,	St. John's College
Noble, John,	New College
Poyntz, Robert,	St. John's College
Potts, John,	Merton College
Rastal, John,	New College
Sheprey, William,	Corp. Christ. Coll.
Stapleton, Thos.	{ New College & Pre- bend. of Chichester
Scott, Thomas,	Trinity College
Shaw, Henry,	St. John's College
Shelley, Richard,	New College
Stopes, Leonard,	St. John's College
White, Richard,	New College
Windon, Ralph,	St. John's College
Wiggs, William,	St. John's College
Windsor, Miles,	Corp. Christ. Coll
Wright, John,	Magdalen College.

The reader may judge, how defective this catalogue is, from what is observed by Mr. Wood, the Oxford historian. He tells us, that twenty-three fellows of New College only refused to subscribe to queen Elizabeth's injunctions. As for the non-conformists in other colleges, we have no satisfactory account of them: and still less of the number, that opposed the reformation in the university of Cambridge.

Prebendaries.

Allen, William,	York
Arden, John,	York
Bickerdyk, John,	Wells
Bilson, Richard,	Wells
Blaxton, —,	Christ Church, Oxf.
Bovel, Henry,	Southwell
Capel, Giles,	Wells.
Collingwood, Wm.	Chester
Cratford, Edward,	Wells
Dalton, —	Durham
Derbyshire, Thos.	St. Paul's, London
Dominick, Rich.	Sarum
Faucet, —	Lincoln
Fowler, —	Sarum
Godsalve, Edward,	Chichester
Harcourt, —	Norwich
Harding, Thomas,	Sarum
Henning, John,	Wells
Hill, —	Canterbury
Hutchinson, Robt.	Wells
Johnson, Robert,	York
Langridge, —	Winchester
Lilly, George,	St. Paul's, London
Ludby, Richard,	Hereford
Manners, Robert,	Lincoln
Marley, Nicholas,	Durham
Morton, Nicholas,	York
Powel, David,	Sarum
Salvin, —	Durham
Tresham, Wm.	Christ Church, Oxf.
Tute, —	Durham
Villiers, Thomas,	Lincoln
Wilson, Thomas,	Chester
Wills, William,	Lincoln
Willerton, —	St. Paul's, London.

Other dignified Ecclesiastics.

Barret, John, D.D.,	Carmelite
Bavant, John, D.D.,	Professor
Bell, Gregory,	Licentiate Div.

Bernard, Richard,	D.D.
Bristowe, Richard,	Lic. Div.
Browborough, Edward,	D.D.
Butler, Thomas,	D.D.
Carter, William,	D.D.
Davison, —,	D.D.
Fleming, Richard,	D.D.
Hall, Richard,	D.D.
Hart, —,	Legum D.
Haywood, Gaspar,	D.D.
Lewis, Owen,	Legum Professor
Mather, —,	D.D.
Matthews, —,	D.D.
Michy, Richard,	Legum D.
Neale, Thomas,	D. Professor.
Nicholson, Richard,	D.D.
Palmer, George,	Legum D.
Parker, Charles,	D.D.
Parul, John,	Legum D.
Paul, John,	Legum D.
Pendleton, Henry,	D.D.
Pomrel, William,	Licentiate D.
Quemerford, Nicholas,	Lic. Div.
Sanders, Nicholas,	Legum Prof.
Seaton, John,	D.D. Professor
Sedgwick, Thomas,	D.D. Professor
Smith, Rich.,	D.D. Vice-Chancel. Oxf.
Sedge, —,	D.D.
Tenant, Stephen,	D.D.
Tempest, Robert,	Legum D.
Taylor, Robert,	Legum D.
Vaux, Richard,	D.D.
Vaux, Cuthbert,	Licentiate D.
Walley, Robert,	D.D.
Webb, Laurence,	Legum D.
Weedon, Nicholas,	D.D.
White, John,	D.D.
Williamson, —,	D.D.
Windham, Edmund, or William,	D.D.
Wood, Richard,	D.D.
Zoon, William,	Legum D. Professor.

Superiors of Religious Houses and Schools.

Bennet, —	.....Master of Salisbury School.
Chauncey, Maurice	.....Prior of the Carthusians at Sheen, with his monks.
Feckenham, John	.....Abbot of Westminster, and twenty-eight monks.
Fenn, John	.....Master of School at St. Edmundsbury.
Fox, Stephen	.....Guardian of Franciscans at Greenwich, with his friars.
Freeman, —	.....Master of St. Paul's School.

Good, William	Master of School at Wells.
Harris, John	Master of School at Bristol.
Hubert, Hugh	Confessor of Sion House.
Hyde, Thomas	Master of Winchester School.
Iveson, Thomas,	Master of School at Durham.
Palmer Catherine	Abbess of Sion.
Pryn, William.....	Prior of Dominicans in Smithfield, with his friars.
Plumtree, —	Master of School in Lincoln.
Potts, John	Master of School in Leicester.
Shelley, Sir Richard.....	Prior of St. John's of Jerusalem.
Vaux, Laurence,	Warden of Manchester Coll. Church.

To these may be added many more of less note, whose names I have met with in private records. Some were entertained in Catholic families, and were commonly called Old Priests. Others, by the interest of their friends, were permitted to enjoy sinecures; and not a few concealed themselves in both the universities, under occasional conformity; being for a considerable time in hopes of another change; but, by degrees, went abroad, and settled at Louvain, Douay, Paris, Rome, &c. By this means, both our universities were so thinned, that, as Mr. Wood and Mr. Collier observe, they were destitute of able men, and very few were found qualified for either the schools, or the pulpit. As for the rest of the inferior clergy, who were carried away with the stream of the reformation, and still kept their benefices, the same historians are of opinion, that, while that set of men lived, they were always disposed to return back to the old religion, had not a superior power overawed them to a compliance.

No. XLV.—(*Referred to at page 142.*)

Horn, Bishop of Winchester, to Secretary Cecil. Jan. 12, 1562.

[Original in the State Paper Office.]

Right honourable,

Having many ways endeavoured and travailed to bring and reduce the inhabitants of the city of Winchester to good uniformity in religion, and, namely, to have the cures there served, as the common prayer might be frequented, which hath not been done sithence the massing time, and also that good and sound doctrine might be taught amongst them, which they as yet do not so well like and allow, I could not by any means hitherto bring the same to pass. At the length, considering the churches there to have small livings to maintain the curates of the same, I devised with the mayor and his brethren, and by their assents concluded (although the common sort be against it) that certain of the same churches might be united: without which I see no way how to have them well served, but that they shall continue and be further nozled in superstition and popery: lacking not of some priests in the

cathedral church, to inculcate the same daily into their heads. But for as much as of those churches some are of the queen's majesty's patronage, and some of mine, I cannot proceed to this union without her majesty's assent and license, thereunto first to be had and obtained. Wherefore, considering the inconvenience growing, for want of good ministers to be placed amongst them, and my small ability otherwise to bring that to pass, I am forced to crave your honourable help and furtherance herein; beseeching you to be a mean herein for me, and the lamentable state of the said inhabitants, unto the queen's highness, for her gracious license aforesaid: having appointed the bearer, D. Acworth, my chancellor, by the advice of substantial learned counsel so to devise the same, as the queen's majesty shall have no prejudice, neither in her right of patronage, ne other her rights due for the same. So as thereupon it may please you to prefer and obtain the queen's highness signature to the bill, which shall be therefore devised and brought unto you. Thus bold I am to press your honour with my suits, and, namely, these touching the common cause of religion; and the rather for the said inhabitants are very stubborn, whose reformation would help the greatest part of the shire bent that way: and would the rather have this brought to pass, for that some of them have boasted and vaunted, that, do what I can, I shall not have this my purpose: whereby it seemeth they have some privy bearing, that giveth them the courage thus to say. And I do not think the contrary, but that sundry there are in the shire, which have borne great countenance in the late times, which hinder, as much as they can, the proceedings in religion; and to be found not to have corrected sith the queen's majesty's reign began, or sith the mass saying; against whom, I think, hereafter I must proceed to enforcement. But as to the particularities and circumstances of these last remembered matters, I leave now to touch any further, thinking that occasion shall so serve ere it be long, that I shall wait upon you myself, at which time, I intend further to enlarge in these and other like things unto your honour. And, in the mean, beseeching you to pardon and bear with my boldness, I humbly take my leave. At my house of South Waltham, this xiith of January, 1562.

Your honour's to command,

Rob. Winton.

No. XLVI.—(*Referred to at page 143.*)

Best, Bishop of Carlisle, to Secretary Cecil. Jan. 14, 1561.

[Original in the State Paper Office.]

Where worthily (right honourable and prudent counsellor) God favouring this realm of England, hath placed in authority you and such

like godly religious men, to rule and govern under the queen's highness this her dominion, I think it the part of every well disposed person to give God thanks for the same, and not only pray for your long continuance, but, in their vocation, every man to put to their helping hands, that the things, godly begun, may prosper and have long continuance, the better through their own diligent service in their function and office. And, although I trust, for my own part, I have not been slack in my duty, yet, by what means my painful travel taketh less effect nor my fervent zeal desireth, I have thought good to reveal unto you. First, here is such rumours, tales, and lies, secretly blown abroad, partly by writings in French, partly by evil disposed papists, secretly whispered in corners, that, every day, men look for a change and prepare for the same. The people, desirous of the same, do in manner openly say and do what they will, concerning religion and other matters, right perilous without check or punishment. The rulers and justices of peace wink at all things, and look through their fingers. For my exhortation to have such punished, I have had privy displeasure. Before the great men came into these parts, I could do more in a day, concerning Christ's gospel, nor, sith that time, in two months. I have no probable cause to allege, but that for punishing and depriving certain evil men, which neither would do their office according to the good laws of this realm, neither acknowledge the queen's majesty's supremacy, neither yet obey me as ordinary. Such men as these are not only supported and borne withal, but also had in place of counsellors, and brought into open place; whereby those of evil religion are encouraged to be stubborn, and they which embrace the true doctrine defaced and discouraged. And such are kept still in household, though contrary commandment was given by my lord of York's grace and my lord president, commissioners in these parts in such matters. I, for my part, dare not say it is wrong, nor any other that I know: for, though I am bold to utter unto you such matter, whose secrecy and wisdom I have great trust in, yet here I open no such thing to any man, well pondering the danger thereof. But, truly, this is my very judgment indeed, that, so long as the high authority is in his hands that now hath it, God's glorious gospel cannot take place here. For not even those, that thoroughly favour it, dare be known thereof unto him, for fear of a shrewd turn. Pardon, I pray you, my simple plainness, for, as truly as the Lord liveth, I speak of truth and good zeal, without hatred of person: and the rather because it is spoken to him, who, I verily trust, to his power, will go about to amend it. And, for myself, I see so that I am fully persuaded there is no hope of amends to be looked for in him. I, for my part, have done all that I can, by all godly means. If your honour

were present, to see the rule of Cumberland and Westmoreland under the two heads thereof, I believe it would cause you weep. God send us amendment, and preserve the queen's majesty in long health and prosperous reign, to the continuance of the glory of his only son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. I have sent you by this bearer, Mr. William Garfurthe, the copy of certain articles, in the French tongue, which, sent abroad from one to another, causeth much talk, and great rejoicing of the papists, with such wishings and wagers-making of the alteration of religion, such rumours and tales of the Spaniards and Frenchmen to come into Scotland and England, upon the west marches, for reformation of the same, that alienateth quite away people's hearts that were quieted before: and, if I durst say it as it is reported, the greatest the worst. If you talk secretly with the bearer hereof, he can declare to you the manner thereof; which is, in his office, a man painful and serviceable, true and just to the queen's majesty and the affairs of the realm, religious and godly in life as any that I know in these parts; unto whom I beseech your honour stand good master in his suits, as I doubt not but, by all men's reports, he doth well deserve. Thus of conscience declaring unto your honour that my heart was burdened with, I beseech the Lord continue you in health and godliness, long to endure. Amen.

From the Rose Castle, by your orator,

Joannes Carliolen.

No. XLVII.—(*Referred to at page 147.*)

Pope Pius IV. to Queen Elizabeth. May 5, 1560.

[Fuller, l. ix. 68.]

Dear daughter in Christ, health and apostolical benediction. How greatly we desire (our pastoral charge requiring it) to procure the salvation of your soul, and to provide likewise for your honour, and the establishment of your kingdom withal, God, the searcher of all hearts, knoweth, and you may understand by what we have given in charge to this our beloved son, Vincentius Parpalia, abbot of St. Saviour's, a man well known to you, and well approved by us. Wherefore, we do again and again exhort and admonish your highness, most dear daughter, that, rejecting evil counsellors, which love not you, but themselves, and serve their own lusts, you would take the fear of God into counsel with you, and, acknowledging the time of your visitation, show yourself obedient to our fatherly persuasions and wholesome counsels, and promise to yourself from us all things that may make not only to the salvation of your soul, but also whatsoever you shall desire from us, for the establishing and confirming of your princely dignity, according to the autho-

riety, place, and office, committed unto us by God. And if so be, as we desire and hope, you shall return into the bosom of the church, we shall be ready to receive you with the same love, honour, and rejoicing, that the father in the gospel did his son returning to him: although our joy is like to be the greater, in that he was joyful for the salvation of one son, but you, drawing along with you all the people of England, shall hear us and the whole company of our brethren (who are shortly, God willing, to be assembled in a general council, for the taking away of heresies, and so for the salvation of yourself and your whole nation) fill the universal church with rejoicing and gladness: yea, you shall make glad heaven itself with such a memorable fact, and achieve admirable renown to your name, much more glorious than the crown you wear. But, concerning this matter, the same Vincentius shall deal with you more largely, and shall declare our fatherly affection toward you; and we entreat your majesty to receive him lovingly, to hear him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches, which you would to ourself.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, May 5, 1560, in our first year.

No. XLVIII.—(*Referred to at page 148.*)

A note of the consultation had at Greenwich, May 1, 1561, by the Queen's majesty's commandment, upon a request, made to her Majesty by the king of Spain's ambassador, that the abbot Martinengo, being a nuncio from the pope, and arriving at Brussels, might come into the realm, with letters from the pope and other princes to the Queen's majesty.

[MS. in the State Paper Office.]

PRESENT, sir N. Bacon, knt., lord keeper of the great seal; William, marquess of Northampton; Henry, earl of Arundel, lord steward of the household; Edward earl of Derby; William earl of Pembroke; Edward lord Clinton, lord admiral; William lord Howard, lord chamberlain; Edward Rogers, knt., comptroller; Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain; William Cecil, knt., principal secretary; Ambrose Cave, knt., chancellor of the duchy; William Petre, knt., chancellor of the order of the garter; Philip Mason, knt., treasurer of the chamber; Richard Sackville, knt., treasurer of the exchequer; and Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York.

It was devised and fully accorded by all and every of the said counsellors, without any manner of contradiction or doubt moved by any, that the nuncio should not come into any her majesty's dominions, and so, by special speech of every counsellor expressed, using for the same divers and sundry good reasons, whereof these shall follow were the chiefest, although in the utterance thereof much more earnestness and

length of speech was used by divers of the said counsellors, for more confirmation of their arguments, than is here expressed.

First, it is against both the ancient laws and the late laws of this realm, that he should come into the same, or into any of the queen's majesty's dominions: for, by the ancient laws, even when the popes had most credit in this realm, no legate nor nuncio might come into the same, but both he should have license before, and should also make a solemn oath, on the other side the seas, that he should bring nothing with him nor attempt any thing in this realm to the derogation of the kings of this realm, the crown and liberties thereof; and of this there be many examples of ancient times remaining on record, as well of the denial and refusal of the pope's nuncios to come into this realm, and also, at some time, of burning of the pope's letters, and imprisoning his messengers, as of licensing them to come, upon their oaths given: and herein the latest example was in the late reign of king Philip and queen Mary, when she was queen, and the nobility of the realm determined that his nuncio should not come into this realm: and besides their determination and plain writing therein, it is well known how the nuncio, with a certain hat meant for one friar Peto, named then to be a cardinal, was long stayed at Calais, and was prohibited to come over, and never came into this realm.

As for the laws lately made, it is manifest, that, by parliament, it is enacted that no foreign prelate, or person spiritual or temporal, shall use any power or authority, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm, &c.; and therefore it is not only against the laws of this realm, that any such nuncio should come hither, but also that any person should, by word or deed, allow of his coming.

Secondly, although it were lawful, and without danger for pain of forfeiture, as it is not, yet, having regard to the queen's majesty's crown and state royal, as queen of England, by the laws and acts of the parliament of this realm, made in the time of king Henry the eighth, her majesty's noble father, whereunto all the subjects of this realm have been sworn, it is manifest that, allowing the authority of the pope, according to such jurisdiction as he claimeth, there will follow a great peril to the security and truth of the queen's majesty's undoubted title to the crown of England, the which presently standeth, by the laws both of God and of this realm, so sure and firm, as no true subject can, without evident suspicion of evil and traitorous meaning, allow the pope's jurisdiction in this realm to any purpose, specially being contrary to the truth of the queen's majesty's interest and right, as, among other things, evidently also appeareth, by the travail that her majesty's adversaries have made, and do make, to disprove her majesty's

right and title, by colour of the pope's laws, being contrary to the law of God, a matter of greater consequence than can be expressed in few words.

Thirdly, the great peril and inconveniency, which apparently are to be seen (likely to follow, if this nuncio should be permitted to come), be so many as no man of any good sense, that loveth quietness in this realm, can by any means consent thereunto. For where, in this winter time, the only noise or sound of the coming of a nuncio hath wrought in sundry evil disposed persons such a boldness and courage, as they have not let both to break the laws with great audacity, and to disperse abroad false and slanderous reports, of the queen's majesty's disposition to change her religion, and the government of this realm (a thing very false), but also, in some places, have conjured with the devil, and cast figures, to know the continuance of her majesty's life and reign (which God long preserve); and have devised that the devil should, in their conjurations, make answer that she should not long continue, whose answers be always, and shall be, in this part (as we trust) mere lies; how may it now be thought, without great and imminent danger, to have the said nuncio come hither, after these preparations, and that towards summer, in which time the devil hath most opportunity to make troubles and tumults? And as the evil sort of subjects, that desire alterations and change, might receive comfort hereby, and be encouraged by the sequel to attempt greater enterprises, with a face of some other purposes (as always rebellions have their cloak), so, on the contrary part, the true, quiet, and faithful subjects might have cause to forbear to shew openly their affection and duty to the true service of the queen's majesty and the realm. [Here follows a long illustration, drawn from the necessity of being cautious after sickness.]

Now, to answer such things as may be, percase, said by them, which would allow of the pope's nuncio to come.

It may be said that the nuncio will swear, that he will do nothing prejudicial to the crown and state of this realm. Indeed, it may be doubted whether he will swear; for, howsoever he may be induced to swear, for his advantage, he either cannot observe his oath, except he will come into the realm, and neither speak, nor deliver any letter from the pope; or else may presume that it is no perjury to break his promise with such as he is taught to repute as heretics. But if he should swear, and afterwards break it, then in what danger shall all they be, that should give assent to his coming, is evidently seen.

And although the queen's majesty might dispense with the pains, yet no man of honesty would be willingly content to be reputed, in the common weal, a breaker of a weighty law, that was made so lately, by

a universal consent of the whole realm in parliament, in the which law also all the whole realm hath interest at this day, and namely every such inheritor and possessor as hath any thing by the law of this realm, but contrary to the laws and constitutions of Rome. What man, in the late time of queen Mary, saw not, what peril was toward the subversion of the policy of this realm? So that we might be noted of great folly, if, at any time hereafter, we should adventure the like danger. But, to answer the truth of the matter, what an abuse is this, to bear us in hand, that no hurt is meant by the pope, when it is evidently (as much as in him lieth) already done. The pope hath, even at this instant time, in Ireland a legate, who is publicly joined already with certain traitors, and is occupied in stirring a rebellion, having already, by open acts, deprived the queen's majesty of her right and title there, as much as in him lieth, although the power which her majesty hath there, as well of public ministers, as of multitude of good subjects, do little esteem such attempts, as things whereof avenge shall be shortly made: and why should we believe that this man would not do as much as in him might lie, to do the like here in this realm? Yea, it cannot be denied, but, the last year, when the abbot de Sanctâ Salute was sent from the same pope of the like errand, and came even to Brussels, where this nuncio now is, about this time also of the year, it was purposed that he should have done his best to have stirred a rebellion in this realm, by colour of religion: and why this abbot hath not the like secret errand, there is no reason to be shewed, but, contrariwise, more reasons now, to prove it likely in this man, than was in the other. Specially, such preparatives being used beforehand, this present year, to prepare the hearts of discontented subjects, as hath now by divers means been used, and as it is notoriously known and discovered otherwise, than any was the last year.

It hath been also said that, if he come, he shall not lodge with any ambassadors, but shall be lodged apart by himself: forsooth it is a simple offer, and so to be weighed, and not worth the answering.

But that, which for the coming of the abbot hath most probability, is this, and very meet to be truly answered, that is, considering this nuncio cometh, as is pretended, only to move the queen's majesty to send to a general council, as other christian princes have been (as it is said) moved. To this may be well and truly answered, that indeed nothing can better please the queen's majesty, than to hear of a good general council; and, among all worldly things that might happen to her, no one thing could be thought more happy, than that she might have to hear of such a general council, as might tend to make an unity in christendom, in the matters of religion: to the furtherance whereof her majesty will never spare tra-

vail, treasure, nor any thing most dear unto her. And, therefore, her majesty meaneth that, when she shall plainly understand a council to be called, in such sort, and meant at such place, and at such time, and with such conditions of freedom for all christian princes and states to come thither, as may apparently tend to make concord and unity, and not to maintain faction, she will, of her own mere motion and devotion towards the unity and tranquillity of christendom, as being one of the principal monarchs thereof, and as one not subject to any potentate, spiritual or temporal, under God, send thither such meet persons, as she doubteth not but shall manifestly declare the sincerity of her mind, and the earnestness of her affection, to have one unity in all matters of Christ's religion.

But, for that, as yet, her majesty cannot understand that this council, now mentioned, is so called, nor her majesty so orderly admonished thereof, as might seem, by this same, an intent of concord in the truth of christian religion, but rather to the contrary, her majesty cannot make publicly a resolute answer for to send thither : for, if it be called by the pope's authority only, and begun as a continuation of the last former council at Trent (as by the printed examples of certain bulls, published in the last months of November and December appeareth), and that it be not lawful for any manner of persons to have any voice decisive, but such as be already sworn to the maintenance of the pope's authority, then shall her majesty be right sorry, finding thereby no direct meaning to come to concord by consultation, but rather to maintain faction, by colour and name of a council, as former examples have declared. And, in this part, her majesty may well conceive some doubt, and lack of such good meaning towards her, as is pretended ; for, if other christian princes, as the emperor, the French king, the king of Spain, have been, long past, sent unto, and their opinions first required for the place and time of this council, and their consents desired before it was appointed, and thereupon being now appointed, and the day also now past, then, at the last, to send hither to the queen's majesty, being a prince of christendom, and having interest in the weal thereof, such a messenger as this is, to admonish or exhort her majesty to send to that council, without requiring her opinion therein, as was of other princes, her majesty and her whole realm may justly think that there hath been no such honourable nor just considerations had of her estate, and of her realm, as was meet, nor that she may hope of any other thing, but a determination (as much as in the pope shall lie) to prejudice her majesty and her realm, and all other estates of her possession, and to establish and confirm the authority of the pope, with all his abuses and errors¹.

¹ An answer, containing the substance of the above paper, was delivered to the Spanish ambassador. It is dated on the same day, and is, with the preceding, in the State Paper Office.

No. XLIX.—(*Referred to at page 150.*)

Injunctions forbidding Women to reside in Cathedrals and Colleges.
Aug. 9, 1561.

[*Strype's Parker, 107.*]

Elizabeth R.

By the Queen.

The queen's majesty, considering how the palaces and houses of the cathedral churches and colleges of this realm have been, both of ancient and late time, built and inclosed in severally, to sustain and keep societies of learned men, professing study and prayer, for the edification of the church, and so constantly to serve that commonweal; and understanding of late, that, within the houses thereof, as well the chief governor, as the prebendaries, students, and members thereof, being married, do keep particular households, with their wives, children, and nurses, whereof no small offence groweth to the intent of the founders, and to the quiet and orderly profession of study and learning within the same, hath thought meet to provide remedy herein, lest, by sufferance thereof, the rest of the colleges, especially such as be so replenished with young students, as the very rooms and buildings to be not answerable for such families of women and young children, should follow the like example; and therefore expressly willeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, being either the head or member of any college, or cathedral church, within this realm, shall, from the time of the notification hereof in the same college, have, or be permitted to have, within the precinct of any such college, his wife, or other woman, to abide and dwell in the same, or to frequent or haunt any lodging within the same college; upon pain, that whosoever shall do to the contrary shall forfeit all ecclesiastical promotions in any cathedral, or collegiate church, within this realm. And for continuance of this order, her majesty willeth that the transcript hereof shall be written in the book of the statutes of every such college, and shall be reputed as parcel of the statutes of the same. Given under our signet, at our town of Ipswich, 9 of August, in the third year of our reign.

Sir John Mason to Secretary Cecil. August 11, 1561.

[*Original in the State Paper Office.*]

Sir,

I have this morning received your letter, and do thank you most heartily both for your advertisements, which it liked you to communicate to me in the same, and for your gentle answer touching Mr. Bing, who must needs rejoice, to see you have so good an opinion of him. He is now in Wales, attending upon my lord president, in his progress.

By the queen's good injunction, it doth appear how careful you be for good order in the church. Would God, like care were thoroughly, where it appertaineth. You have met with a sore, necessary to be cured, were there nothing there to be considered but the estimation of the spiritual state; being in sundry particular churches, at this present, such fleshly demeanour in appearance, as small difference is to be seen in any point between them and lay-houses, wherewith the world taketh occasion of offence, and God, I think, is not much pleased. Some heads of colleges in Oxford (I let the rest go) have gotten them wives; and the members, seeing that example, let not to do the like, to the great disturbance and unquietness of the rest, which are desirous to use the place according to the intent of the foundation. I have strived against it, as long as I thought likelihood of any remedy. In the end, seeing nothing thereof to follow, but displeasure and the contempt of such as, giving me the fall, do sweetly laugh thereat, I gave up both to work any more therein, and in many other things most necessary to be reformed, as well concerning learning as good manners. The queen's highness now putting her helping hand to the matter (whereof I am sure you were the only mean) I trust shall both amend this deformity, and shall also give occasion to all such, as seem willing to tread all good orders under their feet, to doubt of the like in other things. How needful it is that so it be, I would her majesty did as well understand, as do poor men that go abroad and hear more than she do. And thus, praying God long to prosper you, *tam benè facientem*, I commit you with my good lady to the keeping of Almighty God. From London, the 11th day of August, 1561. Your own most bounden,

John Mason.

NO. L.—(Referred to at page 152.)

Comparison of the Creed contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, with that of the Ancient Church.

[Lingard, vii. 384.]

By the adoption of the thirty-nine articles the seal was put to the Reformation in England. A new church was built on the ruins of the old; and it will be the object of this note, to point out to the reader how far these churches agreed, how far they disagreed, in their respective creeds.

1. They both taught that there is but one God; that, in the unity of the Godhead, are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: that the Son took to himself the nature of man; that he offered himself a sacrifice for all sin of man, both original and actual; and that his is the only name whereby man must be saved.

2. They equally admitted the three symbols, usually denominated the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds.

3. They equally revered the holy Scriptures as the true word of God. But here they began to differ. 1. Several books of the Jewish scriptures were pronounced apocryphal by the new, while they were admitted as canonical by the old, church. 2. The former maintained that all doctrines, taught by Christ and his apostles, had been recorded in the Scriptures; the latter that many things, such as the baptism of infants, the obligation of observing the Sunday instead of the Sabbath, &c., had been taught by Christ or his apostles, and yet had not been recorded in the Scriptures, but were known only by tradition.

4. Both agreed that "the church hath a right to decree rites and ceremonies, and hath authority in controversies of faith;" but the articles seemed to nullify this authority by restrictions. The church could decide nothing but what is contained in the Scriptures; could not assemble in general council without the command and will of princes; and, when so assembled, was liable to err, and had actually erred. The old church allowed no such authority to princes, and maintained that Christ, according to his promises in the Scripture, would so watch over his church assembled in general council, as not to suffer it to fall into any essential error, either in faith or discipline.

5. Both equally required vocation and mission in their ministers; and both intrusted the government of the church to bishops, as the highest order in the hierarchy. But the old church, while it admitted no ecclesiastical authority in the prince, as prince, acknowledged in the bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, a primacy of order and jurisdiction throughout the universal church; the new refused to the bishop of Rome any jurisdiction within the realm, and considered the sovereign as supreme, even in ecclesiastical government.

6. Both equally taught that the justification of the sinner cannot be acquired or deserved by any natural effort, and that it is given gratis, on account of the merits of Christ; but in this they differed, or perhaps seemed to differ, that the one inculcated justification by faith only, the other, in addition to faith, required both hope and charity.

7. That the sacraments are efficacious signs of grace, by which God worketh invisibly in us, was taught by both: but the seven sacraments of the catholics,—viz. baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, holy order, extreme unction, and matrimony, were by the articles reduced to two,—viz. baptism and the eucharist.

8. The most important points, in which they differed, regarded the eucharist. The English reformers taught that in the sacrament "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, only after a heavenly and

spiritual manner :” the catholics, “ after a real though spiritual and sacramental manner :” the former declared that the doctrine of transubstantiation could not be proved from the words of Scripture ; the latter, that it necessarily followed from the words of Scripture ; the first, that the communion ought to be administered to laymen under both kinds, according to the institution and the command of Christ ; the others, that communion under both kinds does not follow from the institution, and is not prescribed by the command of Christ.

9. By the articles the mass was pronounced a blasphemous forgery, on the ground that there can be no other sacrifice for sin, than that which was offered upon the cross ; according to the catholics, the mass is a true, propitiatory sacrifice, commemorative of that formerly offered on the cross.

10. The articles condemned, but in general terms, and without any explanation, the doctrines of—1, purgatory ; 2, pardons ; 3, the veneration and adoration of relics and images ; and 4, the invocation of the saints. The catholics taught—1, that the souls of men, who depart this life, neither so wicked as to deserve the punishment of hell, nor so pure as to be admitted there, “ where nothing defiled can enter,” are immediately after death placed in a state of purgation ; 2, that pardons of the temporal punishment of sin, called indulgences, are useful and to be retained ; 3, that it is lawful to show an inferior respect or veneration to the remains of holy persons, and to the images of Christ and his saints ; 4, that it is also lawful to solicit the departed saints to join their prayers with ours, “ to beg for us benefits from God, through his Son, Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer.” Con. Trid. Sess. xxv.

No. LI.—(*Referred to at page 160.*)

Literæ Domini Joannis Vendevilli, Regis Catholici senatoris, ad Præsidentem Vigeeum, de adjuvandis quibusdam studiosis Anglis. 1568.

[MS. in possession of the Dean and Chapter.]

S. P.—Fecit singularis tua pietas, amplissime Domine Præses, eximiumque ecclesiam Dei juvandi studium, cum aliàs sæpè, tum institutione præstantis collegii in academiâ Lovaniensi, tam evidenter declaratum, ut ego, re non indiligenter expensâ, judicarem me recte facturum esse, si de re quâdam piâ, hîc ad Dei gloriam jam inchoatâ, ad amplitudinem vestram aliquid scriberem. Nam et, per Dei gratiam, me non frustrâ scripturum esse, et, ut amplitudo vestra propter aliquam causam neque patrocinium neque auxilium hac in re sibi præstandum judicet, me tamen apud virum pium et timentem Deum hoc meo facto peccare non posse. Mi Domine, res ita habet. Jam inde à sex aut septem mensibus, visum est duobus aut tribus viris piis, et zelum domûs Dei

habentibus, fore perutile ad juvandas multas animas, tum in hoc Belgio, tum in aliquot regionibus vicinis, iisque olim, tum de hac Galliâ Belgicâ, tum de Germaniâ et bonâ parte orbis christiani optime meritis (inferendo in eas evangelii lucem, discussis paganismi tenebris per Bonifacios, Guillebrordos, et alios), si hîc in unam domum colligerentur aliquot Angli, theologiæ studiosi, magnæ indolis et spei, religionis causâ hîc commorantes, et magnâ inopiâ pressi, ac in studio theologico pro-
vecti, et alioqui liberaliter instituti; iique, hîc lecto adjuti (et suppeditato istis victu tenui et frugali), diligenter instituantur et exerceantur in controversiis, ac non vulgari cognitione historiæ et antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ: ut universæ quidem theologiæ cognitionem habeant non contemnendam (quam et jam plerique eorum habent), sed in eam quam modo dicebam theologiæ partem deinceps diligentes incumbant, ut, per Dei gratiam, in eâ excellant, vel certè multum possint; ac deinde biennio, plus minus, ad eum modum instituti et exercitati, in Angliâ religionis catholicæ negotium agant, etiam cum vitæ periculo; ac si Dominus Deus tandem Angliam respexerit, palàm magno celerique successu religionem orthodoxam in patriâ restituant, plurimasque animas lucrifaciant, quarum singulæ tam sunt pretiosæ in conspectu Domini. Visum est etiam fore perutile, si aliquot nostrates, theologiæ studiosi, fortunæ tenuis, qui jam triennio aut quadriennio theologiæ studuerint, suntque magnæ indolis et spei, eis adjungantur, qui, ad eum modum instituti et exercitati, illorumque exemplo excitati in eâdem disciplinâ, præfici possint ecclesiis parochialibus, vel pastoribus magno auxilio esse, incredibili (ut videtur) multarum animarum fructu. Porro, cum tale quid fieri visum esset vehementer expedire, tentati sunt animi quatuor aut quinque piorum virorum, qui et possent, et pro suâ pietate viderentur non recusaturi, aliquam notabilem eleemosynam in eum usum conferre. Atque adeo Dei beneficio jam aliquousque progressa res est, et satis feliciter incepta: nam jam indè à festo S. Michaelis, conducta est domus ampla satis et percommoda, scholæque theologiæ admodum vicina; jamque in eâ sunt quinque aut sex Angli magnæ indolis et spei, partim viri, partim adolescentes viginti trium, aut viginti quatuor, annorum: item duo nostrates: et præsidem habent virum doctissimum et pientissimum, D. Gulielmum Alanum, theologiæ licentiatum, Anglum, et nuper hîc factum chatechistam publicum universitatis, et magistratûs rogatu; virum in controversiis exercitatissimum, solidèque et verè eleganter doctum, quique negotium religionis catholicæ proximè superioribus annis in Angliâ diligenter egit, cum evidentissimo vitæ suæ periculo, et multos tum nobiles tum ignobiles ab errore in viam revocavit, ut testantur Angli qui sunt in Belgio. Illi itaque jam inde, ab aliquot septimanis, cœperunt unâ vivere, in eâ quam dixi disciplinâ et frugali-

tate, eâque ratione institutionis et exercitationum quam dixi. Quæ cum ita sint, Amplissime Domine Præses, et eleemosynæ addictæ procul dubio non sufficiant, humillimè supplico, per Christum Dominum, ut amplitudo vestra dignetur operam dare, ut ab illustrissimo Domino Duce (Albano) in hunc usum tam pium summam aliquam ducentorum aut trecentorum coronatorum ex bonis confiscatis, vel aliundè, impetret.

No. LII.—(*Referred to at page 161.*)

A Grant of Pension from pope Gregory XIII. to the English College at Douay. April 15, 1575.

[Original in my possession.]

Ad futuram rei memoriam. Intelleximus nuper opus quidem, æque bonum ac pium et sanctum, in universitate Duacensi partium Flandriæ, seminarium scilicet unum aut collegium, satis numerosum, adolescentium ac juvenum Anglicorum Catholicorum, esse institutum. Quare, volentes, pro paternâ nostrâ atque propensâ erga tam laudabile et salutare incœptum charitate, ut illud faciliùs ac commodiùs sustentari ac provehi possit, aliquod opportunum subsidium afferre, eidem seminario seu collegio stipendium et provisionem centum scutorum auri, in auro, quolibet mense, ad nostrum et sedis apostolicæ beneplacitum, et donec revocata fuerit, duraturam, præsentium tenore constituimus et assignamus: Mandantes sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ camerario, ac thesaurario, et depositario generalibus nostris, quatenùs singulis mensibus provisionem prædictam centum scutorum auri in auro, in manibus doctoris Alani, ipsius collegii moderni, et pro tempore existentis, rectoris, realiter et cum effectu persolvi mandent et faciant. Nos enim solutionem hujusmodi in eorum rationibus et computis admitti jubemus; contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Dat. Romæ, apud sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die 15 Aprilis 1575. Pont. nostri anno tertio.

Cæ. Glorierius.

No. LIII.—(*Referred to at page 163.*)

A Proclamation for Banishing the English out of the Town of Douay.

[Formerly in the Douay Diary.]

On fait commandement, de par messieurs les Eschevins de cette ville, à tous de la nation Angloise, de quelle qualité qu'elles soignent, estans en cette ville, capables et puissantes à porter les armes, de sortir de cette ville en deux jours, sans y retourner; sauf et reservé les professeurs de l'université, et jeunes enfans, etans à l'estude: lesquels l'on ne citeroit de ce qu'ils se contiennent et gouvernent honestement, et sans commettre quelque desorder vers les peuples de cette ville: Aux-

quelles l'on defend aussi de n'injurer, ou molester ceux ainsi demeurez; de toutes les peines de telles punitions, corrections, et amendes, que messieurs trouveront au cas apparentes.

Publié au son de tambour, par les Greffins de la ville, par Pierre Gigault, Clery Fobert, sergeant à verge, et Guillaume Goundelier, sergeant à made, le 14 Mars 1578.

Collation fait, tesmoin ce 27 Avril, 1578.

Dudard.

A Petition of the English in Douay to the Magistrates and University, concerning their Expulsion.

1. Ut magnificentia sua et universitas, quandoquidem sumus suppositi sui, declaret, an nobis idem mandet, nolens, scilicet, vel non valens, defendere nos privilegiis suis. 2. Si sic, ut, quemadmodum magnificus Dominus omnibus sigillatim scholaribus abeuntibus solet, ita nostræ nationi idem magnificus dominus, pariterque universitas, det testimonium unum generale nostræ hactenùs à principio, per decennium, conversationis, expressis in eodem nominibus singulorum, secundùm classes catalogi nuper exhibiti, vel saltem sacerdotum, diaconorum, et subdiaconorum; ne ista ejectione sit nobis, id est, Catholicis innocentibus, fraudi, vel præjudicio, quocunque pervenerimus. 3. Quia infra biduum istud discedere omnes, qui mandato comprehenduntur, quasi impossibile est, cùm magna etiam pars impræsentiarum absit Cameraci, proper ordines, ut producat tempus, saltem ad crastinum octavæ Paschæ; si non propter curam interim, feriis sanctissimis et eximie sanctificandis, agendam animarum nostrarum, tamen propter necessitatem corporum, quò sua quacunque vendere possint plurimi pauperrimi, ad quærendum comæatum, qui aliòquò mendicare cogerentur in viâ; et quò paulatim, et non confertim, abeuntes, inveniamus vecturam: denique, ne, in Anglorum diversoriis recusantes carnes in Quadragesimâ, prodamus nosmetipsos persecutoribus, qui jam tres ex nostris crudelissimo supplicii genere etiam interemerunt. 4. Ut (ad necessariam cautelam in omnem eventum) declaret nominatim, qui habendi erunt pro senibus, qui pro junioribus non valentibus portare arma (an nimirum omnes, quod etiam petimus, qui victitant in collegiis), et qui, pro professoribus. 5. Ut supradictis addantur, si non omnes studiosi theologiæ (quod speramus propter seminarium), at omnes sacerdotes tamen, et maximè qui creabuntur sacerdotes in proximâ vigiliâ Paschæ; saltem tantisper dum post creationem celebrent primitias suas; præsertim quoque cùm arma non habeant, vel ipsi, vel cæterorum quisquam, quibus moliri quid possit, ut vellet.

Duaci, Martii 25, 1578.

No. LIV.—(*Referred to at page 164.*)

The Cardinal de Guise to Dr. Allen. April 25, 1578.

[Original formerly in Douay College.]

Si aliis benefaciendo Deum imitari dicimur, Alane doctissime, quò pluribus opitulamur, eò propiùs ad Dei naturam pariter accedimus. Idcirco, cum te, patriâ non religione carentem, in clientelam nostram receperimus, et tibi hospitii securitatem promiserimus, cæteros tuos Anglos, in eâdem nave navigantes, vel potiùs periculoso naufragio ereptos, pari benignitate complecti, cùm ad magnitudinem nostram, tùm ad pietatem, gloriosum arbitramur. Magistratibus Rhemensibus misimus literas, quibus significavimus ut non modò nullâ vos officiant molestiâ aut incommodo, sed vobis sanctam hospitii tesseram communicent, atque omnia humanitatis et benevolentiae officia exhibeant. Tu, cum tuis, securè nostro fruere beneficio. Si quid, religionis et tuorum nomine, me posse præstare existimas, non te deterreat, sed ad scribendum potiùs invitet, nostræ sacræ dignitatis accessio. Dat. Parisiis, April 25, 1578.

Ludovicus, Cardinalis à Guise.

No. LV.—(*Referred to at page 166.*)

A Testimonial of the Magistrates and University of Douay in favour of the English, when they left the Town.

[Formerly in the Douay Diary.]

A tous ceux, qui ces presentes lettres voiron, eschevins de la ville de Douay salut. Scavoir faisons à tous, qu'il appertendra, que ce que les escolliers de la nation Angloise seroient partis de cette ville de Douay, ne seroit advienne pour cause de quelque mesus delict, ou malversation, quils ayent fait contre aulcune de la ditte ville, ni machiné quelque trahison contre i'celle; ains pour la diversité du temps, et plus grand appaisement du peuple de la dite ville; les ayant veu et cognue de toute bonne honesteté, et catholique conversation, durant les temps, qu'ils ont demuréz, et étudiéz, et hantez en cette ditte ville. En temoin de quoy nous aux susdites lettres avons fait appendre le scel aux causes de la ditte ville: ce 23 jour d'Avrill, 1578.

Dudart.

Dr. Allen to Dr. Vendeville. July 27, 1578.

[Extract from MS. formerly in Douay College.]

Ut uno verbo id amplitudini tuæ obiter de me meisque, hoc est de seminario, indicem, vehementer cuperemus esse in ditionibus catholicæ majestatis, cum Gallia, propter multas causas, nobis hominibus Anglis non tam commoda esse videatur; licèt summam in hac civitate, cùm

ecclesiasticorum tùm cæterorum, experti simus humanitatem et pietatem, atque nuper academia Lovaniensis, id jubente vel cupiente suâ celsitudine, nobis concessit pedagogium Fulcionis, et alias vicinas ædes, donec Duacum restituatur. Sed tantæ sunt eorum locorum, et præsertim itinerum, molestiæ ac difficultates, et tam multæ ad tam longum iter, ac tam multorum hominum et impedimentorum migrationem, pecuniæ necessariæ, tamque multa vectigalia solvenda, ut eâ solâ de causâ adhuc Lovanium venire non possimus, cùm id valdè vellemus; et si ullo modo tantum pecuniæ extraordinariè assequi possemus, ad ædes nobis concessas statim veniremus. Sed interim, si molestum non sit, cùm dabitur occasio de eâ re colloquendi cum ornatissimo viro, domino Delrio, cujus humanitatem et pietatem sum egregiè expertus in procurandis nobis illis ædibus Lovaniensibus, ne graveris, quæso, mi Domine, nostro nomine illius dignitati gratias agere, et porrò causam innuere cur hætenùs Lovanium non concedamus, ad ædes nobis designatas. Verè enim deest pecunia; neque adhuc ausim aliquid à celsitudine suâ ad viaticum petere, neque interpellare extraordinariè pontificem. Vestram suppellectilem jampridem per honestissimum et fidelissimum virum, Aldovardensum, qui hinc Namurcum proficiscebatur curru et navigio, transmisi; et de re totâ scripsi tùm ad dominationem tuam, sicut paulò antè scripseram per alium nuncium, qui promisit sodolium traditurum famulo illustrissimi domini Englefield. Si recepisti, benè est. Dignetur amplitudo tua aliquoties per otium ad nos scribere: illud sanè pro beneficio habebò. Deus optimus maximus omnia consilia vestra ad salutem reipublicæ ipsiusque gloriam dirigat. Rhemis, Julii 27, 1578.

Dignitatis tuæ studiosissimus ac servus in Domino,

Gulielmus Alanus.

No. LVI.—(*Referred to at page 167.*)

Breve Gregorii XIII. papæ, in favorem Collegii Rhemensis Anglorum.
Jan. 21, 1582.

[MS. in Possession of the Dean and Chapter.]

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum Dei, universis Christi fidelibus, præsentibus literas inspecturis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Omnipotens Deus, qui immensæ misericordiæ suæ effectus sine ullo adjutore explere potest, plerorumque miserorum laboribus per homines subvenit, omniumque Dominus servis, pietatis officium præstantibus, ampliora præmia pollicetur; quæ tanta cælestis patris benignitas infirmitatis nostræ studia maximè accendere debet, ad bene de calamitosis merendum, ut et nos de tali dispositione, quantum possumus, et gratias referamus et oppressorum subveniamus angustiam, eorum præsertim, qui propter Christum tribulationes patiuntur. Cum igitur ad collegium Anglicanum,

quod Remis est, ex Angliâ, et aliis finitimis regionibus, hæreticorum furore ejecti, et veluti è sævientis tempestatis turbine naufragi, è diversisque terrimæ mortis erepti cruciatibus, ad propiorem et tutiorem quasi portum quotidie plures (aliis per Galliæ atque Italiæ et alias Christiani orbis partes dispersis) se recipiant; cumque, crescente, ob grassantem indiès magis pestem, exulum numero, vitæ præsidium, quod collegio prædicto à nobis comparatum est, quodque ei pro Anglorum prædictorum necessitatibus quotidie suppeditamus, minimè satis sit ad tantam multitudinem sustentandam; nosque, quibus multis et diversis hujusmodi piis locis subveniendum est, et ad quos pauperes undique confugiunt, integros illi sumptus, ut expediret, et certè esset in optatis, subministrare nequeamus, intimo tangimur dolore cordis; nationemque illam, tantâ quondam pietate insignem, sedi apostolicæ gratissimam, ex pristinâ pietatis tranquillitate in tam turbulentam seditionem incidisse, cruentæque impiorum sævitæ esse objectam, vehementer excruciamur: quam quantò fortius, in fidei fundamento et Dei gratiâ innitentes, perferunt, militiamque Christi, cui se obligarunt, tot periculis propositis, præsentiori tolerant animo, tantò magis paternum et misericordem nostræ in se provocant sollicitudinis affectum. Quare Deum imprimis humiliter precati ut illis ad calamitates tot et tantas perferendas, atque etiam superandas, auxilio esse dignetur, omnes Christi fideles, quantum possumus, in Domino hortamur, et per viscera misericordiæ Dei obsecramus, ut promissam à Domino nostro Jesu Christo misericordibus Dei benedictionem, qui ipsa est misericordia, memoriâ repetentes, afflictorumque Anglorum miseras sibi ante oculos ponentes, ministri Dei in pietatis opere effecti, eos, vel deputatos ab eisdem, præsentibus nostras vel earum authentica exemplaria ostensuros, largis, ut quisque poterit, hac sæviante persecutione, adjuvent eleemosynis; Christumque, in afflictis, et rerum omnium inopiâ confectis, pro Christo fratribus, suscipiant: mandantes universis et singulis ecclesiarum prælatis, eorumque vicariis, necnon rectoribus, et verbi Dei prædicatoribus, cæterisque omnibus personis ecclesiasticis, ut eas in suis quisque locis et ecclesiis, etiam in ipsis concionibus, populo promulgari, fraude et lucro cessantibus, faciant et permittant; unamque, vel plures probatæ fidei personas, (non tamen quæstores) pro quærendis, recipiendis, et ipsis Anglis, seu deputatis, integrè consignandis eleemosynis hujusmodi statuunt. Quinetiam charissimos in Christo filios, imperatorem, cæterosque orbis Christiani reges et principes rogamus, ut, pro suâ in Deum pietate, et propensâ in pauperes et egenos, præsertim pro fide catholicâ laborantes, benignitate, facultateque illis à Deo miseris subveniendi elargitâ, pietatis studia exerceant, eorumque, in quibus tanta, adjuvante Domino, elucet christianæ religionis perseverantia, tantum viget veræ pietatis exemplum, egestatem sublevent, et quibuscunque poterint

favoribus prosequantur; scituri, quicumque illis misericordiam fecerint, se a Redemptore nostro Jesu Christo, cujus certa sunt promissa, retributionis præmium in æterna cœlestis regni beatitudine percepturos. Quia verò præsentibus ad omnia loca, quibus illis opus esset, perferri nequeunt, decernimus, ut illarum transumptis, etiam impressis, manu notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo alicujus personæ in dignitate ecclesiasticâ constitutæ munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quæ iisdem originalibus literis, si forent exhibitæ vel ostensæ. Dat. Romæ, &c. Jan. 21, 1582.

No. LVII.—(Referred to at page 169.)

Bulla Gregorii Papæ XIII., pro fundatione Collegii Anglicani de Urbe.
April 23, 1579.

[MS. in my possession.]

Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Quoniam divinæ bonitati visum est humilitatem nostram, turbulentissimis christianæ reipublicæ temporibus, ad excelsum universalis ecclesiæ culmen sublevare, hæreditatisque, quam pretioso sanguine suo quæsitivè, administrationem curæ nostræ commendare, ea nostrum perpetuò sollicitando exacuit animum ad piè meditandum quo pacto et Dei misericordiæ, a quâ tantum accepimus, nos gratos exhibeamus, et nostram ecclesiæ suæ operam, quantum divinâ benignitate adjuti possumus, non inutilem faciamus.

Quare cum quotidie, non sine gravi animi nostri dolore, sanctam Domini nostri Jesu Christi sponsam diversorum ejus hostium conspiratione, et violento ex multis partibus incursu, oppugnari cernamus, antiquisque hostibus, infidelibus, Turcis, Judæis, novos quoque, hæreticos et schismaticos, accessisse, qui, omni impietate et scelere imbuti, ac veluti adversarii nostri furiis exagitati, in piæ matris exitium feruntur, quod officii nostri ratio nobis expostulat, ad omnium impetus, quâ maximè opus esse videmus, vires nostras a Domino traditas opponimus, populosque imbecillitati nostræ a divinâ benignitate concreditos, præsidiis contra hostium oppugnationes paratis, communimus. Cumque nullum firmius præsidium aut remedium certius inveniri possit, quàm ut regionum ab hac peste oppressarum juvenus, cujus teneres animos facile est ad virtutem flectere, catholicâ religione imbuatur, ab initio usque nostri pontificatûs operam dedimus, ut diversarum nationum collegia, veluti catholicæ religionis et sinceræ ad eam institutionis seminaria, nostris sumptibus in urbe erigerentur.

Quæ interea dum sedulò agimus, ad Angliæ regnum, magnis quondam opibus et catholicæ fidei studio florentissimum, nunc verò à teterrimâ hæresis labe, quæ omnes ferè ejus partes comprehendit, devastatum,

pietatis oculos dirigentes, ejusque calamitatem, ut sæpè alias, miserantes, repetimus Anglorum nationem ad Christi fidem à beato Gregorio pontifice conversam, ex eo tempore singularem fidem, reverentiam, atque obedientiam erga Romanos pontifices sanctamque sedem apostolicam præstitisse, quæ et in tantâ nostrorum temporum caligine in aliquibus insignibus illis quidem et illustribus viris refulsere, qui pro hujus sedis dignitate et orthodoxæ fidei veritate vitas suas cum sanguine ponere non dubitarunt, versanturque quotidie ante oculos nostros juvenes ex illo miserrimo regno hùc profugientes, qui, divino Spiritu ducti, patriâ, parentibus, et bonis relictis, sese nobis ad catholicæ religionis, in quâ nati sunt, institutionem suscipiendam miserabiliter offerunt, eo animo ut salutem sibi primùm comparent, deinde verò ut, post adeptam divinarum rerum scientiam, in Angliam ad alios qui à viâ veritatis declinarunt erudiendos revertantur.

Nos igitur Gregorii ejus nominis primi pia in Anglos officia, ejusque erga illos bonitatem imitari cupientes, ut, quemadmodum ipsi conversionis, sic et nobis ab errore revocationis, beneficium debentes, in Domino lætentur; ac propensam eorum erga sedem prædictam devotionem, adolescentium item Catholicæ doctrinæ adipiscendæ studium amplectentes, motu proprio, et ex certâ scientiâ nostrâ, de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, ad omnipotentis Dei laudem et fidei catholicæ incrementum [atque] dilectæ nobis nationis Anglicanæ commodum et salutem, in ædibus Hospitalis Anglorum de Urbe, unum collegium (Anglicanum nuncupandum) perpetuò erigimus et instituimus, in quo non minùs quàm quinquaginta scholastici ex omni natione et linguæ idiomate regni Angliæ, cum suo rectore et ministris necessariis, alantur; qui inibi in philosophiâ et theologiâ se exercent, Græcis item Hebraicisque literis pro captu cujusque operam dent, in eisque tantùm proficere studeant quantum satis esse videatur: ii porrò omnes iis studiis operam navabunt, ad quæ à superioribus dirigentur; seque præterea in pietate et devotione, cantibus, ecclesiasticis cæremoniis, et sacris officiis, ut meliùs ipsis superioribus visum fuerit, exercebunt.

Ad eorum autem sustentationem nos annuos redditus trium millium scutorum auri in auro, ex cameræ apostolicæ seu datariatûs rationibus, singulis mensibus pro ratâ, donec eis aliundè a nobis aut successoribus nostris de simili annuo reddito prospectum fuerit, liberè et integrè præstandos constituimus. Et præterea eis perpetuò concedimus et assignamus pro eorum habitatione et usu ædes prædictas, in quibus capellani Angli olim habitabant, nunc verò dicti scholastici jussu nostro habitant, cum duabus domibus dicto hospitali contiguas, ad sinistram partem versus ecclesiam S. Birgittæ Suetiorum, et quæcumque illis circumcedunt; ac pro divini cultûs exercitio ecclesiam sanctissimæ Trinitatis et S. Thomæ

martyris Anglorum ; necnon pro dote dicti collegii, ac rectoris, scholasticorum, et ministrorum prædictorum sustentatione, omnes et quascumque alias domos, tabernas, sive apothecas, stabulas, hospitia, hortos, areas, proprietates, census, fructus, cæteraque omnia, et quæcumque bona immobilia, mobilia, et se mvoentia, necnon res, actiones, et jura dicti hospitalis, tam in urbe quàm extra eam, ubicumque consistentia, cujuscumque qualitatis, speciei, naturæ, pretii, quantitatis, ac etiam annui valoris existentia ; quæ omnia, eorum situationes, nuncupationes, confinia et latera, ac si nominatim et in specie describerentur, præsentibus pro expressis haberi, et ædes ac cætera, quæ signari possunt, ut à cæteris internoscantur, quamprimùm armis et signis dicti collegii forinsecùs notari, volumus ; eaque omnia à dicto hospitali omninò separamus, et ad ipsum collegium transferimus : ita ut rector et scholastici prædicti corporalem ipsorum omnium possessionem per se, vel alium, seu alios, propriâ autoritate liberè apprehendere et perpetuò retinere, illorumque fructus, redditus, et proventus, jura, obventiones ac emolumenta omnia percipere, exigere, et levare, ac in suos dicti collegii communes usus et utilitatem convertere, liberè et licitè valeant ; vicarii urbis, aut cujusvis alterius licentiâ desuper minimè requisitâ. Œconomus verò, et alii ministri ac servientes dicti collegii, ipsius rectori subsint, et ad ejus præscriptum et mandatum omninò obsequantur, nihilque contra ejus voluntatem faciant vel attentent : ipseque œconomus protectori dicti collegii pro tempore existenti, vel etiam ipsi rectori volenti et requirenti, aut ab eorum quolibet deputatis, bis in anno, vel quotiescumque ei vel eis visum fuerit, rationem reddere teneatur :—cum eo tamen, quòd, si aliquo tempore prædictum collegium ex quâcumque causâ dissolvi contingat, ædes, ecclesiâ, domus, census, cæteraque omnia prædicta perindè hospitalis prædicti sint, ac si erectio collegii et alia præscripta nunquam emanassent ; prout nos ex nunc, in eum eventum, hospitali ipsum quoàd illa omnia in integrum restituimus :—

Eo ipso districtiùs inhiibentes capellanis prædictis necnon dicti hospitalis gubernatoribus, et administratoribus cujuscumque nominis ac dignitatis, ne deinceps in ædibus, ecclesiâ, domibus, apothecis, censibus, fructibus, aliisque rebus, juribus, et actionibus prædictis directè vel indirectè, quovis quæsito colore, sese interponere, aut collegium, rectorem, scholasticos, et ministros, præsentés et futuros, molestare audeant, vel perturbare : Ac decernentes ex nunc irritum et inane quicquid contra præmissa, et etiam præsentibus contenta, per eosdem aut quosvis alios, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari.

Præterea collegium ejusque rectorem, scholasticos, et ministros in perpetuùm, ac prædicta, cæteraque omnia eorum bona mobilia et immobilia, cujuscumque qualitatis et quantitatis, in dictâ urbe et extra, et aliàs ubique

locorum existentia, sub nostrâ beatique Petri et hujus sedis protectione suscipientes, ac nobis et eidem sedi protinùs subjicientes, illa omnia, in universum et singulatim, ab omni jurisdictione, correctione, visitatione, dominio, superioritate, et potestate pro tempore existentis vicarii, gubernatoris, senatoris, consulum, conservatorum, et reformatorum dictæ urbis, causarum curiæ cameræ apostolicæ generalis auditoris, necnon rectoris studii generalis, et aliorum quorumcumque tribunali-um judicum et officialium, necnon ordinariorum locorum, rectorum parochialium ecclesiarum, et quorumcumque aliorum in dictâ urbe vel alibi constitutorum; illosque, ac etiam in propriis eorum rebus et bonis cum eis contrahentes, à solutione et exactione quorumcumque pedagii, gabellæ, bolletini, etiam ratione vini, ripæ, et ripeti, necnon grani, olei, pannorum cujuscumque generis, et quarumcumque aliarum rerum, necnon decimarum et cujusvis alterius tum ordinarii quàm extraordinarii oneris, ex quâcumque causâ impositorum et imponendorum, perpetuò eximimus et prorsùs liberamus. Insuper eisdem collegio et scholasticis, rectoribusque et gubernatoribus, ut omnibus et quibuscumque privilegiis, exemptionibus, libertatibus, facultatibus, et indultis, quibus studium generale dictæ urbis, et illius rector, doctoresque in eo degentes quomodocumque utuntur, potiuntur, et gaudent, ac uti, potiri, et gaudere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum, non solùm ad eorum instar, sed pariformiter et æquè principaliter uti, potiri, et gaudere valeant in omnibus et per omnia concedimus, illaque eis communicamus: Præcipimusque et interdiciamus vicario, gubernatori, auditori, senatori, consulibus, conservatoribus, reformatorebus, rectorique, iudicibus, officialibus, et aliis prædictis, necnon S. R. E. camerario, præ- sidentibus, et clericis cameræ apostolicæ, et quibusvis commissariis ad exactionem vectigalium, decimarum, et aliorum onerum prædictorum pro tempore deputatis, universè et singulatim, ne quarumcumque facultatum, privilegiorum, et literarum, eis sub quibuscumque tenoribus et formis concessarum, occasione vel prætextu, collegium, scholasticos, rectorem, ministros, et gubernatores prædictos, seu eorum aliquem, etiam super usu et perceptione prædictorum, et aliis præmissis, impediant vel molestent, nec impediri vel molestari permittant.

Ad hæc superioribus dicti collegii, cum consensu tamen protectoris prædicti, illos quos in dicto collegio, et alibi, per debitum tempus studuisse, ac scientiâ et moribus idoneos repererint, in prædictis facultatibus artium et theologiæ baccalaureatûs, licentiaturæ, doctoratûsque, et magisterii gradûs, servatâ formâ concilii Viennensis, et aliàs, juxta universitatis studii ejusdem urbis consuetudinem, promovendi, et ipsorum graduum solita insignia eis exhibendi; utque in facultatibus supra- dictis sic promoti illas publicè et privatim, etiam in omnibus universi-

tatibus studiorum generalium, interpretari, et alios docere, ac de eis disputare, gradui seu gradibus hujusmodi convenientes actus exercere, ac omnibus privilegiis, gratiis, favoribus, prærogativis, et indultis, quibus alii in prædictâ seu aliis universitatibus, et alibi, juxta illius et aliarum universitatum hujusmodi constitutiones et mores, ad gradus prædictos promoti de jure vel consuetudine utuntur, potiuntur, et gaudent, ac uti, potiri et gaudere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum, uti, potiri, et gaudere possint et debeant, perindè ac si gradus prædictos in ipsâ universitate, juxta statuta, consuetudines, et mores prædictos, suscepissent, concedendi licentiam tribuimus.

Postremò, cum eosdem scholares, hujus collegii alumnos, post longos studiorum vel cæptorum vel consummatorum labores, sacerdotali militiæ pro temporis vel loci necessitate adscribere conducat, ut ministeriis ac functionibus sacris assuescant, dictæque ecclesiæ SS. Trinitatis officia præsent, seu ut operarii mittantur, eisdem alumnis ut de licentiâ protectoris ac dicti collegii rectoris consensu, et examine præcedente, etiam extra tempora à jure statuta, interstitiisque temporum à concilio Tridentino præstitutis non expectatis, et etiam absque suorum ordinariorum literis dimissorialibus, ac sine aliquo beneficii vel patrimonii titulo, et non obstante quovis natalium defectu super quo cum talibus per easdem præsentibus dispensamus, ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratûs ordines promoveri, et, postquàm promoti fuerint, in illis, etiam in altaris ministerio, ministrare; ac tam ipsi, quàm cæteri omnes in dicto collegio degentes, ut pœnitentiæ et eucharistiæ, etiam die Paschatis, et extremæ unctionis sacramenta à confessario aut alio sacerdote ipsius collegii, à rectore illius constituendo, suscipere, liberè et licitè valeant indulgemus.

Ut verò ejusdem collegii conservationi bonoque regimini, tam in iis quæ ad alumnorum ipsorum institutionem et disciplinam, quàm quæ ad victum et vestitum aliaque hujusmodi necessaria pertinent, opportuniùs consulatur, utque promptum paratumque sit eis auxilium, venerabilem fratrem nostrum, Joannem, episcopum cardinalem, Moronum nuncupatum, ejusdem collegii protectorem et defensorem constituimus et deputamus, cujus consilio et operâ tam supradicta, quàm quæcumque alia ad scholasticos in eodem collegio admittendos, et retinendos, et ab eo emittendos, spectantia, agantur, statuantur, ac ordinentur; dantes eidem et pro tempore existenti protectori prædicti collegii, pro salubri illius conservatione, et directione scholasticorum, bonorum, et rerum ac jurium temporalium et spiritualium ejusdem, plenam et liberam facultatem et auctoritatem œconomos, advocatos, et procuratores in eo deputandi, et amovendi, et alios eorum loco sufficiens, differentias, lites, et controversias, inter quascumque personas, tam alumnorum

quàm ministrantium clericorum et laicorum, non tamen presbyterorum, ipsius societatis exortas, summarè, simpliciter, et de plano, sine figurâ et strepitu iudicii, appellatione quâcumque remotâ, decidendi, definiendi, terminandi, et exequendi; ordinationes præterea et statuta, licita tamen et honesta, sacrisque canonibus et concilio Tridentino prædicto non contraria, faciendi et edendi, eaque, cum opus fuerit, revocandi, immutandi, et corrigendi, aliaque de novo condendi, quæ, postquam facta, edita, revocata, immutata, et correctâ fuerint, proindè habeantur et observentur ac si auctoritate apostolicâ approbata et confirmata essent, prout nos illa ab omnibus dicti collegii alumnis ita haberi et inviolabiliter observari mandamus.

Quod autem ad dictorum alumnorum admissionis modum, et formam deinceps habendam, attinet, statuimus et ordinamus eos, qui admittendi erunt, priùs ab examinadoribus per dictum protectorem in Galliâ etiam Belgicâ, aut alibi, prout illi convenientiùs videbitur, designatis vel designandis, juxta formam ab ipso protectore præscribendam examinari; et, præhabito hujusmodi examine, si constiterit ipsi protectori, prædictorum examinadorum significatione sibi verbo vel scripto faciendâ, eos ingenio aptos, et moribus probatos, et tales qui recipi debeant, tunc illos admittat.

Postquam verò in collegio recepti fuerint, non statim collegii alumni censeantur; sed per quatuor aut sex menses, plùs vel minùs prout superioribus et collegii moderatoribus visum fuerit, eorum conversatio probetur. Deinde, si collegio digni videbuntur, juramentum præsentent se vitam ecclesiasticam ducturos, seque omni tempore, ad jussum superiorum, in patriam revertendum, et ad animas, quantum in Domino potuerint, adjuvandas, paratos fore.

Cæterùm rectori presbytero dicti collegii, pro tempore existenti, ut per se, vel confessarium idoneum quem duxerit eligendum, singulos alumnos prædictos à quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdicti, aliisque sententiis, censuris, et pœnis ecclesiasticis, quâvis occasione vel causâ latis, quas ipsi pro tempore quomodolibet incurrerint, et à quibusvis peccatis, excessibus, et delictis, quantumcumque gravibus et enormibus, etiam in casibus in literis in die cœnæ Domini legi solitis contentis (conspirationis in personam vel statum Romani pontificis, falsitatis literarum vel scripturarum apostolicarum, delationis armorum vel aliorum prohibitorum ad partes infidelium, injectionis manuum violentarum in prælatos, duntaxat exceptis), absolvere, ac pro commissis pœnitentiam salutarem injungere, eosdemque super irregularitate ab eis quomodolibet contractâ (homicidii voluntarii, bigamiæ et hæresis casibus duntaxat exceptis) dispensare liberè et licitè valeat liberam tribuimus facultatem:—

Decernentes prædicta omnia perpetuò subsistere, sicque in illis uni-

versis et singulis per quoscumque iudices, ordinarios, et delegatos, etiam causarum palatii apostolici auditores, ac S. R. E. cardinales, in quâvis causâ et instantiâ, sublatâ eis et eorum cuilibet quavis aliter iudicandi et interpretandi facultate et auctoritate, ubique iudicari et definiri debere; necnon irritum et inane quicquid secùs super his, per quoscumque, quâvis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter, contigerit attentari: Non obstantibus nostris de non tollendo jure quæsito, et de vero valore fructuum exprimendo, ac de commissione in hujusmodi unionibus faciendâ et vocandis quorum interest, necnon Lateranensis concilii novissimè celebrati, uniones perpetuas nisi in casibus à jure permissis fieri prohibentis, aliisque apostolicis constitutionibus, ac hospitalis urbis et cameræ prædicatorum, juramento, confirmatione apostolicâ, vel quâvis firmitate aliâ roboratis, statutis consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis, et literis apostolicis, illis et iisdem senatori, consulibus, reformatoribus, camerario, universitatibus, ac eorum collegiis, rectoribus et personis, aliisque præfatis, necnon populo Romano, vectigalibus, redemptoribus, et aliis, sub quibuscumque tenoribus et formis, ac cum quibusvis clausulis et decretis etiam iteratis vicibus, aut etiam in favorem hospitalium concessis, approbatis, et innovatis; quibus omnibus illorum tenores presentibus pro sufficienter expressis habentes, illis aliâs in suo robore permansuris, hac vice duntaxat specialiter et expressè derogamus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Ut verò temporalibus commodis spiritualia quoque munera conjungamus, quibus fidelium devotio eis munita crescere magis et augeri possit, de omnipotentis Dei misericordiâ ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum auctoritate confisi, omnibus scholasticis, rectoribus, et ministris qui in hoc collegium recepti fuerint, in ipso ingressu, ac etiam quos in eodem collegio decedere ab humanis contigerit, si pœnitentes et confessi ipsi verè fuerint, in mortis articulo plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem in perpetuùm concedimus. Nulli ergo omninò hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ erectionis, assignationis, voluntatis, &c., infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumperit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli, apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Datum Romæ, apud sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ, 1579, nono kal. Maii, pontificatûs nostri anno septimo.

Forma Juramenti ab alumnis in admissione suscipiendi.

Ego, N. N. collegii Anglorum de urbe alumnus, considerans divina erga me beneficia, et illud in primis quo me ex patriâ hæresi laborante eduxit, et ecclesiæ suæ catholicæ membrum effecit, cupiensque tantæ Dei misericordiæ non penitens me ingratum præbere, statui totum me

Divino ejus famulatui, in quantum possum, pro fine hujus collegii exequendo, offerre; et promitto juroque omnipotenti Deo me paratum esse animo, ac futurum semper (quantum sanctissima ejus gratia me adjuverit), ut suo tempore sacros ordines suscipiam, et in Angliam ad proximorum animas lucrandas revertar, quandocumque superiori hujus collegii, pro sui instituti ratione, illud mihi præcipere visum fuerit in Domino. Interim verò dum hic vivo, promitto me quietè et pacificè victurum, et collegii constitutiones regulasque, pro meo virili, observaturum.

No. LVIII.—(Referred to at page 170.)

Account Roll of the English Hospital at Rome, for the year 1575.

[Original in my possession.]

	Coronat.
Redditus annuus hospitalis Anglicorum, ut apparet ex rentali, anno Domini 1575	1460
Item hoc anno accesserunt ex augmento censûs unius domûs nuper in tenurâ Joannis Baptistæ de Geldis, annuatim . .	35
Summa reddituum 1495 coron.	

Expensæ Hospitalis per annum.

	Coronat.
1. Pro 17 personis in victu et salariis, secundum mandatum illustrissimi cardinalis Sabellii in suâ visitatione, ut sequitur, viz.,	
Pro victu et salariis D. Custodis et sui famuli, per annum...	130
Pro victu et salariis octo capellanorum, ad rationem 5 coronatorum per mensem pro singulis.....	480
Pro quatuor aliis famulis hospitalis, singulis mensibus, viz., pro famulo qui servit in ecclesiâ, legit in mensâ, et ministrat, 4 coronat.; pro pincernâ 4 coronat.; pro coquo 5 coronat.; pro sub-coquo 3 coronat.; in toto per annum	192
Pro tribus communiter peregrinis, ad rationem unius Julii pro singulis, quolibet die	108
Summa 910 coron.	
2. Aliæ expensæ necessariae hospitalis communiter, annis singulis futuris, ascendent ad has summas sequentes, secundum estimationem sumptam ex libris nostris expensarum à multis annis; maximè ab octo annis jam proximè præteritis, viz.,	
In expensis ecclesiæ communiter annis singulis, ut patet per libros	94
In vino pro ecclesiâ hospitalis et capellâ sancti Edmundi ...	8
In oleo pro lampadibus ecclesiæ, pro cubiculis, et pro lampadibus aulæ et coquinæ, &c.	35
In reparationibus hospitalis et domorum per urbem	40

	Coronat.
In suppellectilibus	20
In extraordinariis	28
In litibus et scripturis	26
In lignis	51
In aqua pro cisternis et vectivis	5
In pensionibus perpetuis solutis ecclesiis S. Laurentii in Damas. et S. Nicol.	25-50
In medicinis	14
In salariis extra hospitale solutis, viz., procuratori 10 coron.; medico 9 coron.; notario 1 coron. 50; mandatorio 1 coron. 50; et lotrici 20 coron.....	42
In salariis auditorum computi	3

Summa 391 coron. 50.

3. Quædam aliæ expensæ ultra prædictas retroactis temporibus fiebant, partim necessariò ex ordinationibus statutorum, partim liberè ex consensu confratrum ad sublevandas necessitates multorum peregrinorum et aliorum Anglorum, ultra numerum hospitalis, ut sequitur, viz.,

Dabantur eleemosynæ pecuniariæ pauperibus infirmis et peregrinis nostratibus, ad viaticum, vestitum, &c., ut patet per libros expensarum singulis annis	54
Dabantur etiam plerisque peregrinis ultra 8 dies ordinarios in convictu hospitalis plures dies pro eorum urgente necessitate, ut patet per librum peregrinorum, per annum, secundum estimationem, circiter	20
... batur hospitale in admittendis quibusdam commensalibus per annum	36
Fiebant etiam expensæ in tribus conviviis, in festis SS. Trinitatis, S. Thomæ, et S. Edmundi, pro omnibus Anglis Romæ commorantibus, circiter.....	30

Summa 140 coron.

Summa totalis expensarum per annum, 1441 coron., 50.

Restat de prædictâ summâ reddituum 53 coron. 50.

[Appended to the account is a recommendation, that the last four items, making together the sum of 140 crowns, should not again be admitted; that the amount thus saved should be added to the present surplus of fifty-three crowns and a half, and applied to the purpose of assisting or supporting a greater number of persons; and finally, that care should in future be taken to reserve a certain portion of the income, in order to provide for the repairs of the house, and for the several taxes and casualties to which it was liable.—T.]

No. LIX.—(*Referred to at page 174.*)

Causæ quare scholares Angli tantùm abhorrent a regimine D. Mauritii, et archidiaconi Cameracensi, qui quærent eis dominari.—1578.

[Original in the English College at Rome. Lib. 304. Scritt. vol. 29, No. 23.]

1. Isti duo homines, qui tantùm nos affligunt, sunt gentis diversæ ab Anglis, et vocantur ab Anglis Walli; ipsi autem se vocant Britannos; nam sunt reliquiæ illorum Britannorum qui, ante ingressum Anglorum in insulam, quæ tunc Britannia, nunc Anglia vocatur, possidebant eandem insulam: post autem victoriam Anglorum, qui superfuerant redacti sunt in quandam partem insulæ montosam et sterilem, quæ ab illis Wallia dicitur, ubi degunt subjecti Anglorum imperio; sed tamen et linguâ, et moribus, et loco habitationis, et naturâ etiam multùm differunt ab Anglis. Henricus tamen octavus, rex hereticus, concessit illis privilegia Anglorum; unde nunc illi foris, quando beneficiis et privilegiis nostris utuntur, Anglos se appellant: sed tamen antiquum illud odium in totam Angliam et gentem nostram retinentes, ubicumque occasionem aliquam aut potentiam obtinere possunt, congregant se statim contra Anglos, et eos affligunt. Unde Walli in Angliâ rarissimè permittuntur ad honores magnos ascendere; et in universitatibus nostris, fundatores collegiorum providerunt et statuerunt, ut ratio habeatur hujus rei, ne pax totius reipublicæ perturbetur. Unde in plurimis collegiis expressè præcipitur ne ullus Wallus admittatur: in aliis, exiguus quidam et certus numerus Wallis recipiendis statuitur. Et licèt hoc ita sit, tamen illi pauci, qui ibi degunt, continuas et perpetuas factiones contra Anglos in iisdem universitatibus tuentur, quod probare possumus testimonio omnium Anglorum qui Romæ sunt. Itaque Angli et Walli, quoad amorem naturalem, se junctâ religione christianâ quam utraque gens profitetur, ita se planè habent ad invicem, ut Hispani et Mauri qui ante Hispanos possidebant illa loca. At tam impossibile est naturaliter (nam excipiamus quosdam pios ex ipsis viros) Wallum benè tractare Anglum, si illi præsit, atque est Maurum amanter tractare Hispanum; quod etiam experientiâ probavimus in hoc tam exiguo regimine D. Mauritii et Archidiaconi supra nos in seminario nostro. Nam ut illi augere possent numerum Wallorum in seminario, convocabant illuc ex omni loco et admittebant Wallos sine commendatione aut examine, nam admiserunt fere senes et ineptos, nullâ habitâ ratione ætatis, aut morum, aut literarum; item unum qui hinc discedens Parisios, et in Angliâ hereticum se ostendit, et nomina nostrorum omnium reginæ consiliariis prodidit; item unum grammaticum, et alios, qui contrarium spiritum nobis habent, et contrarium finem intentioni suæ sanctitatis, de sublevandâ patriâ nostrâ. Ex contrariâ autem parte, Anglos nullos admittebant, nisi theologos aut

philosophos, et variis modis commendatos, et eos etiam difficulter, imò aliquos tales repudiarunt, et aliquos ad sex usque menses expectare coegerunt. Et hæc omnia sigillatim probare possumus. Post autem admissionem in seminarium, iniquissimè distribuebant [omnia]. Nam Wallis integra cubicula, Anglis arctissima loca; Wallis vestem novum et duplicem pro hieme, Anglis, iisque sacerdotibus et nobilibus multis, nullum hiemis vestitum; imò cogebant eos secretiores vestes ætatis præteritæ ferre laceratas, et omninò vermibus infectas. Sic cum hospitale Anglorum, ab Anglis jam a multis sæculis fundatum, auctoritate suæ sanctitatis ad regimen illorum pervenisset, omnes Angli statim ejiciebantur, Walli retinebantur qui ibi priùs erant, et externi etiam Walli convolabant statim, omnes tanquam ad communem prædam, et coquinâ, ejusque ministris, aliisque omnibus commoditatibus hospitalis sic fruebantur, ut suis propriis; cum interim nullus ex Anglis externis, et per civitatem habitantibus, similem humanitatem ab illis vel petere auderet vel sperare.

2. Ex dictis jam apparet quàm intollerabile sit Anglis subesse regimini horum duorum hominum, et quorumcumque Wallorum, et quare nos eligeremus potiùs relinquere seminarium et Romam ipsam, quàm, manendo sub tali regimine, perdere omnem pacem conscientiæ, et perpetuis dissidiis vexari. Hinc etiam apparet causa, quare archidiaconus tam vehementer laborat retinere D. Mauritium et seipsum in hoc regimine, ut quinquaginta tres Walli, qui domi Anglis serviunt, dominantur hic Romæ, et, si fortè his temporibus (quod speramus) convertatur Anglia ad fidem catholicam, ipse, per favorem quem ambit summi pontificis, et illustrissimorum cardinalium, se suosque Wallos ad dignitates ecclesiasticas in Angliâ promoveat, quod nunquam poterit fieri sine infinitâ perturbatione illius regni. Nam præter naturalem quam diximus animorum dissentionem Anglorum et Wallorum, hoc illorum factum, quo opprimere nos hic Romæ voluissent, et patriam perdere, nisi summa suæ sanctitatis misericordia sustentasset, hoc, inquam, crudele factum sic omnes omnium Anglorum animos irritabit contra eos, ut nihil ampliùs cum ullo illorum rem habere quisquam volet, et forsitan, nisi cessent patriam nostram oppugnare, legibus aliquando in Angliâ cavebitur, ne Walli possint simile iterum periculum Anglis procurare. Nam apertè nunc non solùm nos, sed etiam totam gentem nostram perdere conantur, et in odium adducere apud suam sanctitatem, à cujus misericordiâ et liberalitate omnis salus nostræ patriæ his afflictis temporibus pendet: apud illustrissimos etiam cardinales hoc idem conantur, appellando gentem nostram ingratam, seditiosam, et rebellem. Illustrissimum autem protectorem nostrum, qui aliàs optimus nobis princeps, et patronus, et pater solebat esse, sic alienarunt à totâ gente nostrâ, ut ne

audire quidem nos ampliùs velit, et nos in ejus aspectum non ausi sumus venire; quia illos solos auscultat, et nos nostramque nationem omnem ita planè videtur contemnere, ut in omnibus tumultibus, in quibus res magnæ regni nostri tractatæ sunt, non sit dignatus ullum ex natione universâ nostrâ ad se vocare, sed illis omnibus omnia credit, qui illum, omnibus modis quibus possunt, contra nos et nationem nostram incitant. Unde certum est, quòd, quousque sua sanctitas nos liberet à molestiis horum duorum hominum, res nostræ erunt perturbatæ, nec unquam progredi poterit seminarium nostrum; quod idem archidiaconus apertè minatus est nobis, et nos aliàs rectè cognoscimus: nam, etiam post ordinem assignatum à suâ sanctitate de instituendo regimine nostro ad modum regiminis in collegio Germanico, ille moram quærit injicere, et conatur multos ex scholaribus sacerdotibus amandare, ne ampliùs possint sua facta reprehendere; item avertere magnam partem, ut dicitur, redditus hospitalis in usus privatos D. Mauritii; denique multa impedimenta opponere, ne suæ sanctitatis intentio et nostrum desiderium impleatur, ita quòd nos nullâ quiete studiorum nostrorum unquam fruamur, usque dum per suam sanctitatem illi erit indictum quòd ampliùs se nostris rebus non ingerat sed sua negotia tractet, et nostra nationi nostræ relinquat, quod speramus aliquando futurum.

Ad Cardinalem Protectorem Petitio Scholarium Anglorum pro Patribus Societatis habendis. 1578.

[Original, *ibid.*]

Illustrissime Domine, et benignissime Patrone,

Nos, sacerdotes et reliqui omnes scholares Angli, suæ sanctitatis alumni, et tuæ celsitudinis obligatissimi filii, primò protestamur coràm Deo et sacratissimâ virgine, et coràm totâ reliquâ curiâ cœlesti, nullo nos affectu (id quod iniquissimè objicitur), nec ullâ cujusquam hominis inductione, hoc, quod petimus à suâ sanctitate et à tuâ celsitudine, petere (id quod et privato uniuscujusque juramento parati sumus testificari); sed petimus, cùm divinæ gloriæ amplificandæ causâ, tùm etiam ut suæ sanctitatis piissima intentio, et noster zelus juvandæ patriæ privatorum hominum commodis non impediatur. Si quæreremus libertatem et licentiam, ut aliquando solent juvenes, non miraremur tam asperè nos accipi à tuâ celsitudine: sed cùm petamus disciplinam, quâ jam ferè ad biennium cum maximo dolore nostro caruimus; cùm petamus adjuncta spiritus, fomenta zeli et devotionis, remotionem dissolutionis et licentiæ, quâ nunc defatigamur; cùm nihil aliud desideremus et petamus quàm coerceri disciplinâ, instrui et animari in spiritu et zelo, tolli occasiones discordiæ otii et inquietudinis conscientiæ (quibus rebus nunc languescimus et ferè opprimimur); denique cùm nihil petamus aliud,

nisi ut suæ sanctitatis intentio impleatur ut hoc beneficium perinsigne Gregorii XIII. sit patriæ nostræ, non privatorum hominum; pro nobis ipsis autem cum nihil aliud petamus, nisi ut zelus noster juvandæ labenti et afflictæ patriæ, et moriendi pro religione catholicâ, qui nunc sic oppugnatur, sustentetur tantisper, dum, sufficienti scientiâ instructi, redeamus ad vineam unde sumus egressi;—cum hoc, inquam, solum petamus, si erimus tamen rejecti à tuâ celsitudine in tam justâ et piâ causâ, feremus etiam et hoc, sicut alia quæ tulimus Christi causâ, et existimabimus aliquod esse peccatum occultum nostrum, aut patriæ nostræ, quod tantum bonum, quantum ex hoc seminario expectari poterat, impediat: hoc solum dabit veniam tua celsitudo, quia Christi causa est, dicere et profiteri, tam alienum esse à nostro spiritu hoc regimen, quod hucusque pertulimus, ut nemo nostrum qui hic modò sumus, nec ullus in posterum Anglus qui eodem animo quo nos patriam reliquerit, tantum animi et spiritûs periculum, ullius commodi humani causâ, perferet. Hos enim, illustrissime Domine, confirmandi, non perdendi, spiritus fervoris et zeli causâ Romam venimus: quòd si nunc cogemur tali conditione vivere (id quod tentatur), ut hunc zelum amittamus, et discordiis et dissentionibus nos impleamus, valeant omnia seminaria. Oportet magis Deo obedire quàm hominibus. Tantùm petemus benedictionem suæ sanctitatis, et tuæ celsitudinis æquum favorem: nos mendicantes redibimus unde sumus egressi; minori enim animarum nostrarum periculo ibi, quàm hic, vivemus. Quòd autem sine causâ hæc non dicimus, ex iis quæ aliàs tuæ celsitudini aperuimus, ac nunc etiam, quia aperimus, poterit intelligi.

Sed quæret fortasse tua celsitudo, quis sit ille cui hanc administrationem committi petimus. Jam tuæ celsitudini cognitum est, nullum certum hominem petimus, quia absumus in hac causâ ab omni humano affectu; solum cupimus, et ardentissimis votis à suâ sanctitate et à tuâ celsitudine, propter amorem Christi, per fervorem quem habetis in causam catholicam, et compassionem quam geritis in afflictam nostram patriam, petimus, ut res committatur patribus societatis Jesu, hominibus, ut novit tua celsitudo, æquis, spiritualibus, doctis, et in erudiendâ juventute expertis; qui licet hoc regimen maximè diffugiant, propter magna onera quæ, jubente suâ sanctitate, in hoc genere sustinent, tamen cùm sciamus illam societatem sic laborare ubique hodie ad ecclesiam catholicam recreandam, et ad heresim opprimendam, ut nullis laboribus, nullis difficultatibus defatigata cesset; cumque videat à conversione Angliæ pendere momentum sanandi totius septentrionis, sicut ab eâ egressa est infectio, non dubitamus quin quæ causa movit suam sanctitatem his difficillimis temporibus ad sustentandos suis expensis tot operarios, ea illam societatem moveat etiam ad informandos: maximè si

accedat tuæ celsitudinis instans petitio, quam tantùm apud illam societatem posse intelligimus, ut nihil sit tam arduum quod ab eâ, tali agente patrono, non consequamur. Credat nobis tua celsitudo, veritatem enim dicimus,—æternum erit tuum in nos, in gentem nostram, in causam catholicam beneficium : namque æternitas Gregorii decimi tertii, sicut et primi, infinita beneficia apud Anglos conservabit; eadem et tuæ celsitudinis magnam beneficentiam commemorabit. Neque dubitamus, quin tales fructus brevissimo tempore hujus seminarii mundo extabunt, ut clarissimum fiat. Hoc autem regimen si non consequemur, non erit fortasse minùs vèstrum beneficium, quia vos optimo animo omnia facitis; nec erit minor nostra in vos observantia. Ibimus enim omnes ad ponendas animas nostras pro causâ cui favetis. Sed profectò non sequetur expectatus hujus seminarii fructus: unde iterùm tuam celsitudinem in visceribus Christi oramus, ut causam nostram et patriæ nostræ, spreto omni privatorum hominum respectu, consideret. Hoc pro certo futurum speramus, ut hoc regimen patrum societatis hæreticis confusioni, catholicis consolationi, sit futurum.—Hæc est petitio eorum omnium, quorum nomina sunt in privatis scriptis.

Mr. Richard Haddock to Dr. Allen, giving an Account of the Revolution in the English College at Rome; wherein he was a person chiefly employed by the malecontents.

[Original formerly in Douay College.]

My duty remembered unto you, Mr. Dr. Bristowe, Mr. Baily, Mr. Webb, my cousin Gabriel, Mr. Ely, with my most hearty commendations unto all your good company, my friends and schoolfellows; none excepted from the highest unto the lowest. You shall understand, that, at this present, God be thanked, all your scholars and beadsmen be in perfect health, and merry, saving that we are not a little sorrowful to hear of your sickness; for the speedy ceasing whereof, we shall not omit to pray unto God: although also we have of late had some occasion unto the contrary; as by this present letter you shall understand of a most tragical fact, and the happy end (as I trust in God) of the same. And, that you may have a perfect story of all our affairs, so far as I am able, in so short a time, to rehearse and signify unto you, being absent, and therefore more hardly to be understood, I will begin, where, the last time, I left off; which was with our going forth of Rome, to speak with his holiness. I signified unto you that we should go that present night: but it happened otherwise, by reason we could not have our supplications, and other things necessary, ready; which was God's providence. For, whereas we supposed his holiness to have been not past eight or nine miles out of Rome, and that we might have

gone unto him that night, it was far otherwise, as we found the next day, being St. Matthias's day: which day, after eighteen of the clock, Sherwin, Martin, Gore, and myself, set out in God's name; not known unto many whither we went. But that day, when as they missed us at dinner and evensong, it was brought unto Mr. Dr. Owen Lewis, archdeacon of Hainault, and, in reproachful language, said of our adversaries, that, whereas there had went but one, now there was gone four ambassadors unto the pope; with such like. That night we went twenty-four miles, and we light half a mile short of his holiness. The next morning, by day, we went unto him, where he was in a castle of cardinal Farnese, right upon, or rather within, the seas, towards Civita Vecchia; where we stayed with him; not having (as we thought we should have had) opportunity to speak with him, because that day he was to go to Rome. Notwithstanding, we kissed his feet there, and gave unto him our supplications, with reasons that moved us to demand the regiment of the fathers for our seminary; which we gave also, and, at the same time, unto cardinal Como; who before had bidden us come unto him, when we had our cardinal's answer, which I wrote unto you the last time. And his holiness told us, that *non erat tempus nunc*; by these words referring us to come unto him at Rome. That night, therefore, though with no little pains, we returned to Rome, twenty-two miles after eighteen o'clock; but with great difficulty, and glad to take horse a great pace. The next day, being the 26th of February, we went for our answer, which we received from the master de Camera, who hath been a marvellous friend unto us always;—that his holiness would send unto our house one, who, hearing all reasons, should make an end unto our contentation; which was that, which we most desired. That day also some of our company were to have spoken with cardinal Como: but it could not be, being earnestly occupied. These things being thus, beginneth good Mr. archdeacon to play his part; of whom, by the way, you shall understand, how (for all his fair words and promises) he is affected towards us and our cause. For, at our being from home, he uttered these words, which be all over the town, to his great shame, if he had any; to wit, that he had three sorts of enemies, amongst whom, the first were boys; which if it be true, it is of his own part, and not ours, who would be ashamed to be enemies to any man, but what charity requireth. The second are the Jesuits; whereat I wonder that he is not utterly ashamed; and by the which, I trust, you will more easily understand his doings, and orderly and honest proceedings against your poor company and scholars: and, for my part, I do promise him very hardly the friendship of any catholic Englishman, that proclaimeth himself enemy unto the Jesuits. But, as he useth in

all things else, he will peradventure deny that again. The third was, as he termed them, Charltoni; that is the tattlers: wherein he comprehended all our countrymen in the town. And, for the boys, he would answer them unto their beards, if they had any. These words, with such like, he uttered unto one that will avouch them, if need require; though he should, according to his manner in all other things, when he perceiveth the hinderance that cometh unto him by them, deny it at any time. To go forwards: that day, he laboured with our cardinal and sixteen more against us, with great threatening words; that we should never have our desire, and that he would bring it into a consistory, where we should be sure for doing any thing. Insomuch, that, upon the next day, being a consistory, our cardinal went unto his holiness, and (as Mr. archdeacon did report) he was half an hour upon his knees before him, to obtain the revocation of his purpose of sending one unto our house; informing wonderfully against us, and obtaining the determination of the matter by very force, as it appeared. That day, talked with our cardinal also cardinal Como, and with him Dr. Lewis, and, in the afternoon, some of our company; of whom these words they received for answer unto our supplication, we had exhibited unto him. "*Legi rationes vestras singulatim, quas probo et valde approbo. Tamen, non expedit ut pontifex concedat vobis petitionem vestram, licet essetis tam sancti, atque sanctus Paulus.*" By these very words [he answered]; and when as they requested him to consider of the case, and to stand our friend, as always we had found him, he referred us unto our own cardinal: which was all we could get of him, although before, he had promised to do for us what lay in him. But he was better informed by Mr. archdeacon. The next day, therefore, being the last of February, Sherwin, Martin, Gore, Rushton, Harrison, Pitts, Giffard, and myself, went unto our cardinal, to know his pleasure; who told us that his holiness would, that we should obey Mr. Maurice, and accept of him as our rector; and that we could not have the jesuits. And when we saw all things brought unto that, which we could never have imagined, knowing his holiness's mind always to have the jesuits, we could not well tell what to say suddenly; but, as before, to request his help against them, against [in favour of?] whom we see him so bent. We had no refuge, but to require the grant, which before he had offered, for choosing one of our own countrymen in Mr. Maurice's place (being unfit); which I signified unto you last time, and which we could never abide, but only for a shift, to work these facts in the mean time. But he denied us that also, because we had said, we had no countrymen fit for our exercises in this place; and therefore bid us warn all our company to appear before him after dinner, and we should understand a

resolution of all, and a final end; which was, that we should either obey the pope, and accept Mr. Maurice, or else depart. We requested him to consider of us, and to hear our cause. And, for obedience unto his holiness, we had sufficiently shewed [it] (and would try with who should accuse us of it) in not remaining in our country, where we had been able to have lived unto ourselves; but, desirous of more perfectness, we were come where we might learn to serve God and his church, as more profitable members of the same; and, therefore, desired him, at the least, that he would use us as freemen, and suffer us freely to follow that, which our conscience did prescribe us; knowing well what obedience was due unto his holiness, and ready, if God gave us grace, by the shedding of our blood, if need required, to declare it. Nothing would serve him, but, if we would not be obedient, to punish us with imprisonment and whipping; unto which we answered him, that we trusted, we had committed nothing, that had deserved any such punishment; neither had we said or done any thing, that we need, or could, repent or call back again. In the end, he bid, that the next day we should certify him what we would do;—obey Mr. Maurice, or depart, those that would not. And so we departed, many being desirous, out of hand, to have left the house; which in very deed had been done, but that we more respected the common cause, than any private commodity. Our entertainment was such, from time to time; and nothing else to be hoped for from their hands. This done, the next day in the morning, did our good companions, the Welshmen, go about their business with all expedition; and therefore, when we arose from bed, they called up my chamber-fellow, Mr. Meredith, who is the captain of them, under pretence to say mass; which was so true, that, albeit it was Sunday, he said no mass that day; but to his business he went, all the forenoon, about the house, with a supplication to the cardinal drawn by Mr. Archdeacon, full of deceitful law-terms, to circumvent us with (to see who would set unto his hand), containing, with the obedience unto the pope, the obedience unto Mr. Maurice, who before had refused;¹ answering them, that we had to deliver to the cardinal our answer by ourselves; desiring Mr. Maurice, in whose name they came unto us, to content himself, and suffer us to present our answer, as we were commanded, unto the cardinal; in the mean time, not acknowledging him for our rector; whereat he was sore grieved, and commanded Mr. Gore not to come at dinner in the hall. At which time, he provided his old letters, made by the cardinal the last year, to be read at dinner time,

¹ [Dodd has evidently omitted something here. The writer's meaning is, that they refused to sign the supplication.—T.]

and to prove himself rector (wonderful disorderly and abominably, which had like, if the fathers had not been there, to have caused very foul work: for, at dinner, Pitts was reader for the time, in whose place Mr. Maurice, having nothing to do with the appointing of such things, would have had Griffyth; thinking thereby to have had his intent: but it so happened, that, because Griffyth could not read Italian, Pitts might necessarily read the whole), which we never denied: for he was the last year made rector; but this year he was deposed; and therefore we did not presently acknowledge him. But here was he reprehended by Pitts, who, when he had read it, and dinner done, denied first to give it him again. But being re-urged by his importunity in demanding it, he opened it, and shewed it to some of our fellows, who sat at the table, and who observed that which he had manifestly falsified. For he had scratched out the month of May, and put in March; and, for one number scratched out, he had put in with his own hand the 7th of March; wherein also he was deceived: for that was but the first of March; which when it was seen, and, he having no pretence now able to deny it, was so manifest, he began at the table presently to revile some of our company with foul words: and [the Welshmen] preparing their knives in their hands,¹ to have stricken some of those, that sat next unto them (amongst whom, an old fellow, whom we always took for a quiet fellow, afterwards reported that, if the fathers had not been there, or his next fellow, which was Mr. Pearseal, he would have presently killed him), judge you, what time we had, to look unto ourselves. But if it had not been for the common cause, and for God's especially, we had been sure to have payed [them] for it. But we being quiet, and the fathers exhorting, he did wonderfully insult against us; we thinking that we had wrong, for that he had falsified his letters. After even-song, we went unto the cardinal with our supplication, and protestation of most full obedience unto his holiness, letting him understand these our miseries, which were not to be tolerated. He allowed all Mr. Maurice's doings wholly; which when we saw, we beseeched him, upon our knees, to be good unto us, and, at the least, not to condemn us and our cause, before he had weighed our reasons with our adversaries.' He answered flatly by these very words, "*Ego nolo audire; habeo aures surdas, et laterem lavatis*; and therefore I will that you obey, as you promised." We answered him, that our obedience unto his holiness we had there protested, and would perform; and,

¹ [To complete the sense, I have here supplied the words between brackets. It is plain that Haddock means to charge the adherents of Dr. Clenock with the violence described in this scandalous, and, if Allen did not appear to believe it, we might say, this improbable, story.—T.]

therefore, if we once knew that he would appoint Mr. Maurice rector, that we would obey him so long, as we accepted his holiness's benefit there. At which words he was mad, almost threatening a quarrel towards us; and bid us depart "*in malam crucem, et ego profecto te tradam in carcerem, et severissimè puniam. Non vultis mihi credere, qui sum cardinalis?*" with [other] such words. I told him that, if he would say it, we would believe him; but before, he ought to pardon us. He bid us *abire in malam crucem* again; and so he departed: for he would hear us no longer. And after us came all the Welshmen with their supplication of obedience to Mr. Maurice, which they laboured for, and they would not go before the cardinal with us. Unto them he promised all things; but for us, nothing but punishment; asking who that was, that stood in the corner? meaning by me;¹ whom he let pass for all that, whom he might have had once.

The second day of March betimes, went Mr. Archdeacon and Mr. Maurice unto the cardinal, requiring his commandment unto four (persuading him that, if three or four were displaced, the rest would take heed) that they should acknowledge Mr. Maurice, or lay down our apparel and depart; which they procured. For, so soon as dinner was done, there came, with Mr. Maurice, one of the cardinal's chaplains, with the names of four, to swear obedience to Mr. Maurice, or else to depart, laying down their apparel. Martin, Mush, Gore, and, which all men wondered at, I was the fourth. The rest Mr. Archdeacon had quarrels to of old: but no man could tell why I should be taken before all the rest; which by many was objected unto Mr. Archdeacon. But he will answer at his leisure: in the mean time, he will do his pleasure. This was proposed unto us four, from the cardinal; all the rest of the company hearing. We answered, that it was no place there to give answers; but appoint us a place, and we will answer then. But our companions all began to cry, it was common unto all, and therefore they would not be excluded. I prepared myself to depart, and so did the rest; but all our companions would not suffer us, until they had been with us before the cardinal; which we did that day; and he bid us all depart in peace, if we would not obey Mr. Maurice; and so, taking leave of him, we departed home for that night, because it was late; and, at the fathers' request (who straight after us being with the cardinal) to depart also, he would not suffer them, until he had talked with the general; sending us word by them, to see if we would but

¹ ["*Meaning by me*," with this writer, signifies "*meaning me*." Another instance occurs subsequently, where he says "*meaning by Christopher Owen*". We know from Dr. Lewis's letter, which follows, that it was to Haddock himself that the cardinal here pointed.—*T.*]

grant that Mr. Maurice should only have the name of rector, and keep the hospital, and that we should be with all our company under the fathers, *quoad omnia, tam spiritualia, quàm corporalia*; and that Mr. Maurice should have nothing to do with us at all, but only have the name; which, when the fathers had proposed unto us, being wonderfully careful for us, we showed them our mind, which also they knew well enough; and that, if the cardinal would let us that boon, we would accept it; for we desired nothing, but to be governed by the fathers;—and hereupon we expected further from the cardinal. But the general forbid them to meddle, and to suffer us to work that we thought fit in our conscience.

The next day, being the third of March, we dined in the hospital, receiving of Mr. Maurice, from the cardinal, a commandment to depart that night; which we prepared ourselves toward. But old Mr. Fabroni came to the fathers, to persuade us to tarry that night; because all things were prepared for supper for us all; at whose appointment we did stay all night. The same day, at afternoon, we went six of us to the pope, before our departure, with a supplication of all our troubles, and to request his holiness's blessing, before we departed; whom we found, by mere chance, walking into St. Peter's church, to see a work of a new altar in the new building; and, as he turned up, we exhibited our supplication, with two or three words; following him, for he hastened away; and signifying that we were *ejecti*, because we could not obey, with safe conscience, him that the cardinal had appointed: and he answered these words,—“*Si non potestis obedire, recedatis:*” and we requested his benediction, and he lifted up his hands and blessed us; whereat his countenance changed wonderfully. We left our supplication with him, and departed for that night, coming away to the hospital. We remained there that night. The next day in the morning, we departed the house unto one John Creed's, our countryman's, house, all together; where we all dined that day; wherewith were so amazed our adversaries, that they could not tell what to do. Those that hated us were glad; those that had any compassion at all were afraid, and seemed sorrowful; but more for themselves, than for us. They thought we should never have gone so far, when they began the tragedy; for, in very deed, we were fully appointed of departing, thirty-three in company; having nothing in the world to bear our charges. Yet no man, from the highest to the lowest, was any thing discomforted. For there was no need. You would have blessed you, to have seen the affection of our friends towards us in that case. Mr. Archdeacon denied to give one penny to any. The Jesuits began to beg in pulpits for us, being Ash-Wednesday, and the first day of preaching; but without naming

us. Our fathers, in our house, began to beg for us amongst their company, as of the general, provincial, and others; and with such diligence, that you will scarce believe what had been very like to have been had, for our viaticum; besides all begging by the way, which is much for pilgrims. And at Sienna is the rector of the Jesuits, he who was our father, the last summer, whom Mr. Licentiate Martin knoweth, father John Paul; where we had fifty crowns appointed for us to have taken by the way. Our father Ferdinando was almost mad for us, and begged for us of the fathers of the Casa (which needed not) to appoint of a great sum for us: insomuch that I think, we should have brought you home four or five hundred crowns. For we had been like to have no less than a thousand crowns. For my lords prepared for us a hundred crowns,—Italians, that heard of our case, and took the matter wonderfully heinously, that we should be so dealt with; protesting that they would go unto the pope for us, and help us, that we might have justice, and be heard. But God provided for us otherways. The Jesuits were out of their wits almost for us: insomuch that they wept, many of them, and desired that we should not come, and take leave of them; for they could not find in their hearts to take leave with us. Father General, and all the company, would have gone unto the pope for us, but that he had been slandered by Mr. Archdeacon's railing, being warned by their friends secretly; yet, by some of their friends of great account, they knew they would be working that, all the world knew not of. The answer unto our supplication unto the pope was, that we should come kiss his foot before we departed; which we were glad of wonderfully, and proposed that, before we should depart; meaning to defer it a day or two, for fear we should seem importunate: in the mean time, thinking to make friends unto the cardinal, some other cardinals of his best friends, and the ambassadors of Spain and Portugal, to signify unto him, that we departed not of any obstinacy or misliking, but only moved by our conscience: meaning for ever to remain in due obedience unto the see apostolic, and all our superiors. Which when we were thinking upon, there came a messenger of the pope's unto the hospital, to call us out of hand unto the pope; but being answered by the father, that we were departed, he requested that we might be certified; which the father did not slacken to do; and, finding one in the streets, by him called the rest, and to go unto the pope straightly: who going unto the house where we dined, and finding sixteen or seventeen there, went immediately unto the palace, not knowing what was forewarned. They, kissing his holiness's foot, began to request his holiness's blessing, before they departed. And here the most blessed father in the world, whereas they were in doubt what he would

do, began to burst into tears, and asked,—“and are you then gone out of the seminary?” They answered, “yea:” and he said,—“why would you go out unknown to me, or not telling me before?”¹ They answered, that the cardinal had twice in his name commanded us. And [he] asked, whither they meant to go? And they told him, some into England, those that were fit, being priests, and many others divines. “Why,” said he, “be these so young, divines?” (meaning by Christopher Owen, Pitts, and Gratley.) And they answered, “yea:” and all the rest philosophers and logicians alike. Said he, “why would you depart from Rome, where good manners, and religion, and learning is to be gotten? You must not in any wise depart; but you shall go home again, and have what you desire.” Which when they heard him so heartily speak, they all fell a-weeping very fast, that they were heard sob, and could scarce speak unto him, and he unto them. And he asked them where they dined? They told him where; and how we prepared our dinner with our own hands; and that others of the company were going about the town, providing for our meat and viaticum to depart with. And he said, “you should have come to me first for your viaticum. But go home again, and give me the names of some of your countrymen; and you shall have one of them: for this you shall have no longer.” And so kissing his foot again, with such joy that is not possible to express, they departed. And as they were going, he asked, if they would not one of his chamberlains to go home with them? And they said, “yes;” because they were not sure that Mr. Maurice would credit them: and so he rung his bell for one of them, whom he sent with them unto our house. Which when the rest knew, it was such a common joy, and so strange a thing, that we wondered all at it. Our fathers were besides themselves for joy. The Jesuits at the colleges, when they heard, were never so amazed and joyful; insomuch, that one of the readers, father Achilles, hearing it at the port, and with all haste running to tell the good news unto father Persons, and finding him in father Pavy’s chamber, another of our readers, and telling them, he made father Pavy, who, being not well at ease, was laid down upon his bed, for joy suddenly to leap from his bed, and to feel no more grief of his sickness, who before was devising how to procure the ambassador’s help of Spain for us. In one word, such a general joy was through the whole

¹ [It is not my purpose to offer any general remarks on this letter, as the reader will have an opportunity of comparing it with the statement of Dr. Lewis, which follows. At the same time, I cannot help observing that the question, here put into the mouth of the pope, is inconsistent with what Haddock has previously told us, namely, that they had seen the pope on the preceding day, that they had informed him of their being “*ejecti*”, and that he had ordered them, if they could not obey, to leave the college.—*T.*]

society for us, as if it had been for themselves; and such an affection it hath engendered in them towards us, that, if we had spent our lives in England, we could not have done more. Insomuch, that I think, when we will, they will send with us of their company, to help us in England; and [they] do say, that, excepting their profession, they would wish to live in the Englishmen's state; so much they love us, indeed you cannot imagine it.

The next day, being the 5th of March, we presented the names of two of our countrymen, that were here present; because, by delaying, Mr. Archdeacon always meant to circumvent us. 'The one was Dr. Morton, the other Dr. Bernard :'¹ whereof, for all that, I think we shall have another; because the cardinal doth not so like of them as they deserve; because of Mr. Archdeacon. The 7th day, there was a solemn mass sung at Minerva, by my lord of St. Asaph's, before thirty-three cardinals, upon St. Thomas's day. That day, at after dinner, four of our company went unto cardinal Como, who, after he had talked with Mr. Archdeacon an hour, called them in, and talking with them a little more courteously than before, he told them that the pope did favour us most wonderfully, and that, after two days, we should have a resolution, but we should have neither of those we had named; of which resolution we now expect, not knowing how it will be. In good hope we are, that we shall have the fathers. For cardinal Como told them that the pope would satisfy our desire; which God grant. But you would wonder how Mr. Archdeacon doth work, and Mr. Maurice, that he may remain custos of the hospital. For that is it, that they aim at; and that is it, we meddle nothing with, but in order to our seminary: for, if he get it, as it is like he shall, it will be, at the least, five hundred crowns a-year, close unto our seminary. Mr. Archdeacon would make us believe, that he procured our return again. But we know, he had appointed to have set, or to have taken himself, the house we dwell in; and had appointed of Irishmen and Scottishmen in our places; and, when it was said that he would get no Englishmen, he said that you should either send him some, or he would send you no money. And always his words were, that *he cared not for us all*; which a man that had not cared for his own preferment, more than the common commodity, would never have said. Well, whatsoever he say, this I say unto you for my company, that you may comfort yourself, and be glad, and thank God for his working on us unworthy members of his, that there could never have happened any thing, whereby our country and our company could so

¹ [Dr. Lewis, as the reader will afterwards observe, says that they were Doctors Morton and *Bavant*.—*T.*]

have come in credit with all good men. For by this fact we are wondered at unreasonably, and much on all sides esteemed, far more, indeed, than we are worthy. And besides, we have won the minds of all our countrymen wonderfully. The Jesuits admire our doings, that we durst be so plain in our doings. And whereas they see a strange difference betwixt the spirits of the young Englishmen, and the old, they wonder at Mr. Maurice', and Mr. Archdeacon's imprudence in troubling us. But comfort yourself, and send so many as you have ready; but very fit and approved men, for to get credit to our country. For these schools be not for every one. And one thing mark,—that, if you send any Welshman, let him be as fit as others; or else, if by any means, hinder him. For of these, that we have here, our fathers do say, and so they show themselves, that they be *ineptissimi pro seminario*. There is one Mr. Floyd, who hath sent hither to know when the course of divinity beginneth, and in what space it is ended; who is no more fit than old Mr. Bromley, and therefore look to him. For, if they could have their will, they would live here for ever, and do nothing, but quarrel; as Griffyth never ceaseth, Smith, nor Meredith. But, if the fathers get the government, they will bring them into order, and admit none, but such as you send. So that we trust, before it be long, to have here place for a hundred; and thereby the gloriousest college of English in the world: which God grant.

Mr. Askew, when he saw we went indeed, did promise he would follow us that night; which he had done, if we had tarried, and likewise some with him. And he told Mr. Archdeacon that he had all this while deceived him, and caused him to leave his fellows, to his utter shame, in such a cause. But, at the length, he saw, he meant nothing but deceits, and had done more hurt, than he was able in haste to make amends for. Thomas Lovel is spoiled utterly by them, and careth for no man, but only liberty and toys.

Notwithstanding my eyes be very sore, and in danger, because of writing and the air of Rome, I would very fain remain here this summer. By that time, I shall almost have two years' dictates of my own writing; which with three or four crowns I can have written. And then also, when lectures end, which is at midsummer, we shall repeat all over again; which is the profitablest time of all other. And, in that time, if I had money, I could with twenty crowns, as I think, get written to make a whole course of divinity with my own dictates: which if I can have, I would fain do. I shall request you to procure my money from my friends, so soon as you think convenient: for I am not able to travel on foot, and, therefore, must be forced to have some of my own, to help me, as others have, that ride, besides that which is bestowed for

their Viaticum. Thus, trusting you will remember me, I commit you to God, desiring you to commend me unto your man, Henry Brown, my old friend, and by him to Mr. Steward and Lewis, and unto good mother Bristowe, with all her company; whom, by God's grace, I will remember, when Agnus Dei's be hallowed, which is this Easter coming. Your company of youths were never, in their lives, so comforted, as by the fact of the last day, in kissing the pope's foot. From Rome, the 9th of March, 1579. Yours,

Richard Haddock.

Dr. Owen Lewis to Dr. Allen, concerning the Disturbances in the English College at Rome.

[Original in the possession of the Dean and Chapter.]

Pax Christi,

My good brother, this is the fourth letter I writ to you, sithence the Epiphany, of the tempest risen, and yet continued, in our English seminary here; and [1] cannot by any letter of yours yet understand, that you hear anything of it. Sithence my last, Mr. Sherwin, Mr. Haddock, Mr. Martin Array, and Mr. Gore, were at Pallo, in the way to Civita Vecchia, ten miles hence, to meet his holiness with a supplication, which was not liked; I mean their coming there; though their supplication was penned better, than many of them can pen. It was referred to cardinal Como there: at the pope his return, it was referred to the protector, as reason was; and the pope resolved rigorously, that they should absolutely obey, or go away. This order cardinal Morone told to them, being all before his grace; and required to have their names, that would obey the pope and his grace, and their order, without any condition, and the present governors, &c. Ten gave, in writing, that they would obey so. The rest wrote, they would obey the pope, &c.: and many together of them came to the cardinal, saying, in their conscience they could not obey Mr. Maurice, whom they had accused so justly. His grace said, the pope would have them also obey him. Mr. Haddock said, as the cardinal told me, that they would believe it, when they heard the pope say so: at which the cardinal was marvellously moved; though, with an interpretation, that saying was excused; which did not satisfy the cardinal, who called Monsign. Spetiano, Mr. Maurice, and me, and inquired for his name, that had spoke those words, to send him to prison. Ego nolui dicere, mihi relatum esse, quòd is esset dominus Haddocus: but it was concluded there, and executed by one of the cardinal his agents, sent with Mr. Maurice to the hospital straight, that Mr. Haddock, Mr. Martin, Mr. Gore, and Mush, as the chiefest doers in this matter, should swear

to be obedient *absolutè et sine ullâ restrictione*, and to leave all meddling and practice in this tumult: and if they refused that, to go away, and leave their gowns: if they refused that, to go to prison. While the agent told his commission to these four, a multitude came about him, saying and crying, they were all in the same case; et sic umbra multitudinis protexit illos, qui, post aliquot horas, magno numero veniunt ad cardinalem; qui mandavit, ut, si obedire nollent, abirent, et illis valedixit. Statim veniunt ad cardinalem vocati duo Jesuitæ seminarii, quibus cardinalis statuerat dare absolutè curam morum, literarum, et disciplinæ in seminario; et illis committere, ut, per illorum manus et arbitrium, vestes et alia necessaria scholaribus distribuarentur: sed, cùm scholares priùs essent dimissi, cardinalis respondit, uti audivi, Jesuitis, jam rem totam esse expeditam, nec esse opus, aliud agere: et mandavit D. Mauritio, ut cibum illis non pararet, nisi eâ nocte in cenâ die Martis ante Cineres, et ut longas vestes in seminario relinquerent. Summo mane, triginta, opinor, scholares exeunt ex seminario, nec ibi pranderunt: sed abituri vagantur per urbem. Ego, eo die Cinerum ante lucem, rem, per clausum memoriale missum ad cardinalem Comensem, curavi, So. D. N. in suo cubiculo, antequam iret ad capellam, per eundem cardinalem declarari, cum magnâ obsecratione, ut daretur dilatio hujus migrationis, et ut aliquo, nomine suæ sanctitatis, nuntio misso ad hospitale, antequam ulli juvenes discederent, omnes juberentur manere, orare Deum, quiescere, et expectare resolutionem sanctitatis suæ. Declaravi, multos esse, juvenes et deceptos, qui putabant se vivere in statu peccati, si aliis parerent quàm Jesuitis, et perdendum illis videri, parere D. Mauritio, quem hactenùs impugnaverunt; tristem esse animam meam, quum viderem triginta juvenes exire simul ex seminario, hoc difficili anni tempore, sine nummis, cum periculo vitæ, in longo et periculoso itinere, cum dolore parentum, jacturâ temporis, scandalo catholicorum, risu hæreticorum in Angliâ nostrâ, jam meliorem spem parturiente. Sua sanctitas (qui, pridie Cinerum, aliquot scholaribus, memoriale in S. Petro ei porrigentibus, dixerat, "*Si non potestis obedire, discedite in pace*") erat valde turbata; et ferè fuit tum in cubiculo resolutum, quòd illi permetterentur abire, etiam sine viatico. Tandem sua sanctitas dixit, "*venient ad nos, antequam discedent ex urbe;*" quia in suo illo memoriali petebant, ut ad oscula sanctissimi pedum omnes admitterentur ante decessum: et sua sanctitas adscripsit in dorso libelli, integrum esse illis venire. Ubi, a meridie, sua sanctitas ex Sanctâ Sabinâ (primâ statione Quadragesimæ) rediit ad S. Petrum, misit famulum ad hospitale, qui eos vocaret. Sed non erant ibi: pransi erant apud hospitem domini D. Mortoni domum, credo. Ego ad cardinalem Comensem eo sollicitus. Is valdè eos

reprehendebat, et dignos judicabat magnâ castigatione; et mihi communicavit consilia suæ sanctitatis, ad quam me tum misit, ut ea mecum deliberaret. Ubi veni, jam, eo ferè momento, ab eâdem sanctitate suâ discesserant viginti quatuor aut plures scholares, quibuscum in suo cubiculo sua sanctitas diù fuerat collocuta; et eos, cum uno suo camerario, miserat ad hospitale, ad D. Mauritium, ei mandans, ut eos reciperet iterum, et tractaret uti priùs solebat: et, uti priùs semel ante professionem ad civitatem veterem, sic iterùm illis indulget, ut nominent rectorem suæ gentis, quem vellent; et mandavit ut quiescerent. Sua sanctitas mihi declaravit familiariter et humanissimè omnia colloquia, quæ cum illis habuerat (quæ longum esset hìc adscribere); et me misit ad D. Mauritium, ut idem ei mandatum declararem, quod camerarius ille priùs exposuerat; et ad scholares, ut eos ad tranquillitatem hortarer: quod feci, vocatis ad me Sherwino, Martino, et alio tertio. Illi jam exhibuerant suæ sanctitati longum memoriale, quo commendant D. Mortonum, et D. Bavandum, quorum alterum petunt sibi dari rectorem; ita tamen, ut penes Jesuitas sit morum et literarum cura. Sed illi novem aut decem scholares, qui fuerunt hactenus obediens, nominarunt, porrecto altero suo memoriali, D. Bristowe; quem ego verbo tenùs pontifici, cardinali Morono, et cardinali Comensi, prolixè commendavi, ut hùc vocetur, si placeat alicui nostræ gentis hanc provinciam committi. Ita jam res pendet. Ego vocatus fui ad cardinalem Moronum, et missus ad cardinalem Comensem, ut de istis nominationibus deliberarem. Deus compescat hanc tempestatem, quâ genti toti macula est inusta, et nostri patroni sunt ferè alienati et pertæsi, ac putant nos esse nimium protervos. Sed tamen me jam magis, quàm hactenùs, complectuntur; et prædicant illi tres, me rectissimè egisse meas partes; ac ingratitude maximam illis objiciunt, qui me non audiunt, &c.; imo et odio prosequuntur, et clamant in cælum contra me, quem falsis et fictis calumniis ac voculis traducere conantur. Deus ignoscat illis. Cardinalis Comensis mihi dixit, quòd isti juvenes non credunt, quòd ego curaverim illos restitui; quod tamen est verissimum. Aliqui petebant à me viaticum, viz. Hart, Barton, Owen, Giffard. Negavi: sed si planè abiissent, curassem illis Bononiæ dari nummos. Barton excanduit, et me jurgare cœpit. Hæc scripsi latè et liberè, ac confidenter dominationi vestræ, cui soli hæc scripta sunt. Nec ullo modo vellem, hæc omnia aliis ex me narrari, sed vulcano meas literas committi. Videtis quem fructum novi consilarii isti et amici pepere-runt nostris scholaribus, qui mihi suam culpam imputant: et superiores mei me laudant jam maximè; ac nisi essent plures isti juvenes, punirentur exemplariter. Ego ignosco illis deceptis, et (uti vir magnus quidam mihi dixit) conscientiam phreneticam prætendentibus. Bene-

dicam maledicentibus mihi; beneficiam persequentibus me; conabor reddere bonum pro malo, ut Deus mihi rependat. Sed multùm doleo, propter causam communem, in quâ fere nullos nostros habeo adjuutores: nec ego unquam causæ communi D. Mauritium prætulî, licèt contra calumnias illum defendi; et protector eum innocentem declarat; et is, me authore, apud protectorem obtulit se paratum esse, solo ejus nutu, officium hoc, quod ille nunquam petiit, relinquere. Papa mihi dixit, quòd D. Mauritius tractabit res hospitalis, si alius sit rector scholarium. Sed expectamus singulis horis resolutionem suæ sanctitatis de re totâ. Sex capellanos nostros sæpissimè commendavi sanctitati suæ, et protectori, et cardinali Comensi, ac Datario; ac tandem obtinui eis provisionem menstruam, quam D. Henshaw habet, quinque aureorum (uti illi semper petebant): reliqui, qui sanctitati suæ, reversæ è civitate veteri, libellos suos postea dederunt, habent quatuor scuta. Forte oblita est sua sanctitas, se quinque dedisse alteri, et me quinque illis petiisse. Sed cardinalis Comensis dat mihi spem, se curaturum ut et alii habeant quoque similem, ac æqualem quinque aureorum provisionem, quâ erunt contenti; et in urbe reliqua supplebunt suo labore, vel aliquâ conditione. Gaudeo esse illis jam satisfactum; quia illos diligo, et sunt viri boni.

Commendo dominationi vestræ res meas Cameracenses. Ego jam video parum luculentèr. Deliberavi de diminuendo numero nostrorum scholarium, ut ad triginta reducantur. Fortè papa est expensarum pertæsus; maximè propter has turbationes; et ideo, si veniant plures hùc scholares, nescio quomodo illis providebitur, nisi aliqui hinc recedant ad vos. Aliqui sacerdotes nostri rogarunt suam sanctitatem, ut in Angliam ire possent. Sua sanctitas mihi dixit, se illis respondisse, "Ad quid venistis ad urbem, si tam citò vultis recedere?" Et eos potuisse ire in Angliam, antequam hùc venerunt, si erant maturi. Sed nimis longus sum: et dolor me fecit longum, et amor erga dominationem vestram; ac magna confidentia fecit, ut particulariter omnia scriberem. Oremus invicem, et amemus invicem perpetuò. God bless you and all your company, to whom I desire to be heartily commended, especially to Mr. Dr. Bristowe. At Rome, the 10th of March 1579.

All yours ever,

O. L.

Postscript,

I am sorry to see your last letter of the 30th of January, written with another man his hand. Multùm miraretur dominatio vestra, si sciret omnes personas et artes in hac turbatione nostri seminarii. Sed chartæ omnia non sunt committenda. Ego puto, Breve ad ordines intelligi debere de suffraganeis diocesis Rhemensis et diocesis Senonensis, non autem

provinciæ; quanquam sanè verba videantur complecti quoque suffraganeos provinciæ utriusque: nam et illi in jure vocantur suffraganei archiepiscopi Rhemensis et archiepiscopi Senonensis. Deus secundet nostrum D. Sanderum, &c. Dux Feriæ dicitur mortuus. Hinc videre licèt, à quibus magistris, per subornatos quosdam scholares, iidem juvenes decipiuntur, quod dicant aliqui eorum, me non esse amicum patriæ, sed propter meipsum omnia facere, quæ videntur communem causam juvare; alii quòd ego habito juxta hospitale, ut mihi ipsi tandem hospitale acquiram. Sunt alia hujusmodi mendacia.

Dr. Allen to Dr. Owen Lewis.

[Original formerly in Douay College.]

Most dearly beloved friend,

All your letters came safely to my hands, as I think, ever since those tumults did begin; whereby, as also by as many contrary letters of the students, we here understand all, from the very ground; and marked every thing, and all actions and deportments of the scholars and doers on all sides; and after conferred with the wisest and principal here in our company, as Dr. Bristowe, Mr. Baily, Dr. Webb, L. Martin, with others of judgment; as well to see what they liked or misliked in all this tragedy, as to use their advice, how I might deal, to save and salve that great sore and exulceration of minds betwixt the two parties, English and Welsh; much greater, and much farther spread, by that beginning and root, there unluckily planted, than you there can perceive, though you may see, to your grief, much. Which partiality and division, if it be not utterly taken away, may breed marvellous scandal and inconvenience. My first care was, that it should take no hold in our company; where, I thank God, at this day, they live as sweetly together, without all differences, or respect of nations, or other distraction, as ever I knew any such number in my life. And yet, so to hold it (because we well perceived the common inclinations of Adam, to like and whisper underhand, for their own against others of other countries), great moderation and dexterity was necessary, I assure you. The principal point was, that no meddling, or maintenance of either side, should be openly or privately used; but every man to apply to his book, and pray for the appeasing of the tumult, and specially for his holiness, that God would give him the spirit of wisdom and mercy, that he might take the best way for the ending of the matter, and to pardon the fault of disobedience, disorder, or scandal whatsoever, for the honour of God, and the perfecting of the work begun. And, lest any breach might chance to be, I, otherwise than my custom, and somewhat against my health, thought it necessary always to be in the hall, both at dinner

and supper, and all exercises were sithence. So that all hath been well, and is here very well, and never better contentment; but all very joyful and careful, till this last day, when the news of ending all, and the Jesuits' establishing, came unto us, both [in] your letters and divers others; which, I assure you, made us a double Easter. To see which, and to tell you sincerely and plainly, I could not tell how to write, for fear of doing hurt. The broil was so perilous, and I saw the students there, every one, so bent, that they would have lost all, rather than have been under one of that nation: yea and forsake me, and whom, and what else soever. Not doubting, of your wisdom, both yourself and his holiness would rather condescend to their infirmity, than, by this sinister accident, or by all their expulsions, undo that work so happily begun, yea, and our whole country and yours: specially, seeing they might be appeased with so honest a thing, as to have the fathers for their governors; which their request, to make you understand our whole mind, seemed to all our nation most lawful and godly; though their manner of proceeding, and their unkind alienation from you, that hath done, and daily do endeavour, so much good for this seminary, and that, and all our country together. Which refusing so peremptorily to obey the protector's or pope's order, which might have tended to the ruin of all, if God had not, of his great mercy, otherwise, far above their deserts and ours, disposed, by this sweet end that his holiness hath made. This disorder and hazard of all in them was exceedingly disliked of all the wise, and myself here; though the committing the house to the society was all our desires. And right sorry we were of that error, that Mr. Maurice was made rector; and gladly would have had, if the Jesuits might not, or would not have been, rather Dr. Bristowe: for that both his quality was excellent, and his person grateful; and [he] was a divine, which had been more fit, than one of another profession; besides the country, which, you know, many respect:—how well and wisely, I do not say. Therefore, that he, or some other like, was not chosen, or first appointed at the beginning, it was, as I told you, an error; the rather noted, because Mr. Maurice, being otherwise a very honest and friendly man, and a great advancer of the students' and seminaries' cause, had admitted there, sent for, and called for two up to the seminary (as by sundry letters written, not to me, but to other men, is particularised) some of his own country folks and friends, for age, quality, and institution, unfit for the study and seminary: which gave both first occasion, in the sight of vulgar men, to do as they did; and that many there be, so extremely alienated (which pierces my heart to hear) from you and that province, which hath bred, and doth bring up, so many virtuous, constant, and catholic men; which was no fault

in you, I dare be bold to say, but yet an escape and default, in managing the affair; because you did not dehort Mr. Maurice from taking upon him that charge, in the beginning, for which, indeed, no dishonour be it unto him, he was not sufficient. The scholars' fault again was, that they would not advertise me, that I might, with you, or by you, rather have obtained by suit and supplications, than, by tumultuous means, so hazardous and scandalous, have prosecuted the matter. Which animosity and contentious dealing is far unfit for the state of students; and after, joined to hatred, emulation, detraction, and other sins thereon depending: yea, it went so far, woe be to our sins, that, as we were advertised, mischief and murder had like to have been committed *in ipso collegio*. For which horrible disorder, and afterwards for the expulsion of all the English, how heavy our hearts were, my tongue nor pen cannot express; and you there, seeing the same, must needs be in much more. And I nothing doubt, but you did all you could, to draw the pope and cardinal from that rigorous order, brought by our men's disorders. But yet for that, most men attribute all to that original error of making Mr. Maurice head. I see, the scholars either will not be persuaded that you did help any thing to the mitigation of the matter; or else so far their minds be exasperated, that they will accept nothing for benefit that cometh from you; *ut fit in ægris animis*. And, because I would have this extreme alienation from you taken away, that you may have the good will of all men, as you deserve, by your known benefits to all men (which I will never cease to protest, and surely do all here most heartily) for the good of our common country, which hath exceeding ill luck to be hindered by our unhappy contentions and disagreements, I will, for that cause, use all diligence and dexterity to treat *opportune* and *importune* with the principal of the students, who now, having obtained this happy resolution, will, I trust, condescend to every order and counsel, and quiet themselves, giving over meddling, or harkening to whisperers, where former grudges have excited you, and deceived them. And, in any wise, as I love and honour you, use all means possible to come into the grace and liking of the students; and shew your wisdom, charity, and zeal, in condescending, bearing, and supporting their youthful miscarriages so far, as, without sinning, you may. For *interest causæ vestræ mirifice*, that this begun faction do cease. And because I will be sincere and plain with so dear a friend, not doubting but you will keep all things close from all sides, as I do yours, you must temper your cousin Hughes's tongue and behaviour, who is of a bitter, odd, and incompatible nature; for so, not the students there, any of them, but, I assure you, others have signified, that his disordered humours have been a great cause of your hatred, and of

all those garboils. And some here have told me, I did not an ill deed, to send him up; who, for choler, and other singularities, was insupportable amongst his fellows here. For God's love, therefore, correct his nature, as much as you can: and I will, by all the forces that I may possibly, devise, as well in writing to the students, as to their governors and confessors, to make an atonement. I have written to father general also, and will do to whosoever I may think to have credit with the students; who, I know, many, of themselves be not of ill nature, but have been by zeal, rather than malice, carried into this action; with whom, and with yourself, would God I had a month's company there. I doubt not but a joyful reconciliation on all hands might be made; which concerneth so much the health of our country, as the contrary does the undoing of the same, that Dr. Bristowe, Mr. Baily, Mr. Dr. Bernard, would needs have had me to have gone up, out of hand. But my care of remaining here comes of my superiors, as they know not; but you only know: and, therefore, I yielded not in any wise to their motion, lest his holiness or cardinal Como might be offended, as you, I dare say, think also: at the least, I dare not hazard it. And, perhaps, the students, or others rather, would think I would wholly be led away from them, by the great familiarity between us. But God so help me, as I feel no inclination of partiality, either towards your part, for the great benefits and comforts, which I have had at your hands, neither towards their part, for conjunction of country, or name of English, or for blood or such like; as partly you may see by my plainness in this letter. But I only seek the honour of God, and the necessary atonement of all sick minds; without which, whatsoever we go about, for our poor country, will be lost; though all such honourable and charitable endeavours, before God, cannot perish.

Thomas, your man, whatsoever other occasion you have to suspect him (I speak this for the answer of a certain secret point of your letter), hath written to me these formal words: "The students and the English be marvellously alienated from my master: truly, for any thing I know, without cause; and I am suspected on both sides." *Hæc ille*; adding more, that he would have my counsel, how otherwise to dispose of himself: which I have given him by this letter inclosed. Cause the rest to be delivered, I pray you, to the parties; and let no vexation alienate your mind from doing us, and all others, as much good as you can. The best that ever was *non reddidit bonum pro bono tantum, sed pro malo bonum*. Father Norton shall have his turn served according to your last, and is already in a good part dispatched.

The Spaniards have had a bloody repulse at Maestricht, God help us, and the Low Country cometh in slowly. I may, perchance, if I find so

much vacant time before these letters go forward, write a few words to our old patron, Como, to appease his mind, if, perchance, he have taken any dislike on either side, by this garboil; which you will deliver him accordingly, I doubt not. Mr. Gilbert came not this way, but is arrived at Paris, and hath payed the twenty pistoles, which you lent to him, Mr. Bailey's hands, being then there; and he desires you to send his bill thereof to Mr. Morgan, in Paris. Here is no Irishman in these parts, that I know, saving Mr. Fitzsimons, and, therefore, the catalogue is quickly made. My lord of Cambray is retired again, for fear of Castelan, into France. God knows what will become of these Low Countries. The great talk of Monsieur's marriage with our queen is on foot still. Mr. Powel, brother to the priest there, is in prison still for his faith, and hath answered stoutly, that whosoever denieth the pope's holiness to be head of the church of England, as well as of all other churches christian, is a heretic. Some think that he shall suffer, or, at least, fall into the premunire. God comfort him, and all his fellows. I wrote your mind to the dean, touching the woman in your house: but he writeth to me again, "*Salvo meliori judicio, non esset dimittenda, cum honestissimè se gerat, et optimè servet res, præcipuè frumentum; cum etiam inveniri non possit aliquis subditus ecclesiæ, qui vult accipere curam domûs et omnium rerum, nisi esset certus de habitatione ibidem per longiorem terminum, quàm expedit promittere.*" Whereupon I can see no further, but commit all to his wisdom, as you require. Cotune will not be sold, they say, for any thing; and, therefore, I get no money no ways. And, if these new garboils begin again this summer, as it is not unlike, all will be in hazard. Mr. Stevens will not, nor dare not, come back, as he saith, to Cambray; and, therefore, requireth only a little room for his stuff, as is left.

Being comen thus far, I had necessary business to go to Paris, whither I went, leaving this rest to be written there. And now, being there five days, I have received two other packets of letters from yourself, and divers others, of marvellous ungrateful matter; giving me evident tokens of fears, that these unhappy differences and mutinies, not ceased by the pope's so manifold mercies, will bring all to naught and utter shame. By which disorder, I perceive the Scottish nation begin to put in for it, so as the pope will be wearied with all. My lord of Rosse did let me see also what you wrote to him, concerning the same matter; wherein you say (as, I doubt not, it is true) that you never knew of Mr. Seaton's request, before it was made. But now, indeed, whatsoever is done amiss, is laid unjustly upon your back, both there, and of divers here; the factions of the Welsh and English, concerning those seminary matters, are grown so great. And, as they have at their

fingers' ends all the pretended errors and defaults of Mr. Maurice, for these twenty years, so certain speeches of yours be in every man's mouth, viz., that you once said to my lord of Rosse, "My lord, let us stick together; for we are the old and true inhabitants and owners of the isle of Britany. These others be but usurpers and mere possessors." Item, rather than this college should be *seminarium litium*, you would seek to extinguish it utterly. Of which latter words, many, both scholars and others, write from Rome to divers here and in Rheims, with great exclamation, saying, that you mean it to be *collegium*, or *seminarium litium*, for that they will not meddle with you now, after the pope hath appointed them other governors; and that you mean to destroy all, rather than that you should not have your will, and be a dealer still. On the other side, Hughes writeth to me and to Dr. Bristowe most plainly, that the jesuits have been, and shall be proved, the council, and counsellors of all these tumults; and that they would not have our priests to go to England, but to tarry longer in Rome, and take their temporal commodity, and that thereupon a general oath and examination was taken of all, whether they would, or were fit, to go into England, when their superiors should command them. Item, he saith that the jesuits have no skill nor experience of our country's state, nor of our men's nature; and that their trade of syllogizing, there, is not fit for the use of our people. And, therefore, if Dr. Bristowe had comen up, or would yet come up, he should be made rector; exhorting him earnestly so to do. All which I see tendeth to new and endless stirs, by which, in fine, it will come to pass, that our nation, and that begun good work, will be forsaken, both of the jesuits, and ourselves, and all our superiors else: and thus I shall be weary of my life, which already, by these unhappy bustles of our country, is more tedious to me, than ever before. If more alterations be yet sought, all will be lost. And all cometh of the devil, no doubt: and except the matter be used with wisdom, and with great patience, and with condonation of each other, for God's, and our country's, and common church's sake, all will be lost, that you have done, and I have done, for our realm's recovery. Would God, I were there one month, that I might either make up these extreme alienations of mind, or else, if I could not do so much, that I might shortly there end my life, and all the frenzies of mind and miseries, rising from these calamities, procured by our follies and sins! I thought not good to write the whole upon my general letters; for every party, as they be affectioned to their own, and alienated from the other, would refer that, which I spoke against their obstinacy, animosity, sedition, emulation, partiality, &c., to be spoken and meant of the other faction, that themselves be not of. For you will not,

perhaps, believe how both parties, I mean certain of either faction, do describe, and set forth by letters here, the wicked attempts, speeches, prejudices, and practices of the other. But I write to Mr. Barret, of whose honesty and discretion I have great hope; and I write in his a letter to the three priests, which have been the principal doers in this doleful action. And so I make an end of this ungrateful talk, and of my scribbled letters, which be the worse scribbled, for that, at this present, I am very weak and weary of body, *quia aliquandiu, stomachi et indigestionis imbecillitate laboro*; which will cause these to our good patron cardinal Como to be worse read. But when you deliver them to his grace, I hope he will read them before you; the rather, for that they touch you, and that affair. Farewell, my most dear friend; and God be your comfort and mine; and of mine you shall not have much. Lutetiæ, May 12, 1579.

Your own assuredly for ever,

W. Allen.

Postscript.—Commend me (with thanks for his letters) to your nephew; and, for God's sake, warn, in my name, also him and his brother, to take heed what they write, and to whom they write. For they give suspicion and offence to the English many ways; and of this division, some collect up by their letters, that (as folks cry out here, and it is in every body's mouth) all the Welshmen, yea *omnes oriundos ex Walliâ*, are to come to France, as the young Powel, Mr. Roberts, &c. One of them writeth hither, to Paris, over plainly of Wentworth's treason and dissimulation towards you, which the very party, to whom he wrote so, could not abide; nor to hear anything for the Welsh against the English (as the devil hath now made the division): they must be discouraged and seek to salve up, and not to make the breach bigger. If I see any fit of the Welshmen, they shall as well be preferred to Rome (if it lie in my hands) as the English. God is my judge, I never put difference, nor ever will do. Of Hughes's communication for putting out the Jesuit rector, and inducing Dr. Bristowe, with Mr. Cottam, before he entered into the society, more is written down from thence, than must be the more wise. For whatsoever they write, or say, toucheth you and me; since some suspect, I incline too much, for love of you, to the Welsh faction, as they term it. I have a scruple now, whether I should send these, so ill written, to his grace, having none here that I dare trust to write them otherwise. But tomorrow I go home, if I be able, again; from thence to write them, by the next post.

*An Account of the original cause of the Disturbances in the English College at Rome, as it is given by Dr. Maurice Clenock, the President.*¹

[Copy formerly in Douay College.]

Profectò satis admirari non possum, quomodo tam subito et repente contigit in hoc nostro seminario tanta immutatio ac rerum perturbatio, cùm, à primo hujus seminarii initio, ac præsertim ab adventu patrum societatis, ipsum usque ad decessum capellanorum ab hospitali, tantus fuit semper amor, tanta concordia, tanta denique benevolentia inter me et jesuitas atque scholares omnes, ac si mei fratres ac filii fuissent. Sed eo ipso die decessûs veterum sacerdotum ab hospitali, pater Joannes Paulus dicebat mihi quòd deberem dominum Asaphensem remove-re à suis cubiculis, quæ in hospitali habet; omnes peregrinos advenientes excipere in aliâ domo, ab hospitali distinctâ; nec permittere eos, quando venirent, intrare in hospitale. Ego respondi me non posse, nec velle, quidquam tale permittere aut sollicitare contra reverendissimum episcopum, senem venerabilem, qui in ecclesiâ hospitalis continuò confert ordines, et alia multa spiritualia administrat: neque me audere nobiles ac peregrinos non tractare, quando veniunt, quamdiù sanctissimus noster, et illustrissimus dominus protector volunt hunc locum et seminario esse, et hospitale remanere; idque breve apostolicum nuper publicatum indicat. Sed dixi me velle servare parvum cœnaculum, et cameram quæ supra illud est, pro peregrinis nobilibus more solito recipiendis, et prælatis et aliis quoque recipiendis, quando, ob aliqua negotia nationis et collegii tractanda, convenirent; sine cujus scientiâ et autoritate nulla talia vel tentare quidem audebam. Postea subito, dicto citiùs, cœperunt aliqui scholares clamare et vociferari, se non posse ferre diutiùs ut ego manerem rector, conscientiâ suâ reclamante: et, hoc incenso incendio, ille pater Joannes Paulus abiit, et alius pater in ejus locum successit. Qui hujus tumultûs causa fuerunt, an jesuitæ, an scholares, an alii denique Angli qui extra hospitale degunt, Deus

¹ [Though I print this paper in justification of Dodd, yet it is only right to say that there is good reason to question its authenticity. To omit other points,—it tells us that the jesuits wished to expel Goldwell from the hospital, and that the resistance, offered by Clenock to this project, was the origin of his disgrace. Now, there is still preserved in the archives of the college a petition, addressed by the discontented portion of the students to this very Goldwell, expressing their anxiety to be placed under the government of the society, and requesting his aid, with that of sir Richard Shelley, in furtherance of their desires (Coll. degl' Ingl. 1578, Lib. 304. Scritt. vol. 29, No. 23). Had the jesuits attempted to procure the removal of the bishop, would the scholars have thus addressed him? or would he have interested himself, as he did (More, 56), in their behalf?—Dodd, however, was not aware of the existence of this petition.—T.]

scit, et ego suspicor. Et, ab eo tempore, patres jesuitæ nullam planè curam disciplinæ aut morum scholarium subierunt; permittentes eos ire et vagari quò vellent, sine ullâ reprehensione, et conventicula intùs et foris liberè facere; et multi scholares, præsertim quinque aut sex, hujus seditionis duces, nihil prorsùs jam student, vel permittunt alios studere quietè.

[Since the foregoing sheets were printed, I have been favoured with some MS. collections, belonging to the Rev. George Oliver, of Exeter. Among them is the following letter, which, although these records have already extended to an unusual length, I cannot help inserting. It was written by Allen to Mercurianus, the general of the society, to thank him for the appointment of the two jesuits, who, as procurator and prefect, were to assist in organizing the new establishment; and it distinctly shews the truth of what I have elsewhere asserted,—that, had the fathers “aspired to the government of the house, there can be no doubt that their reputation and their services would have enabled them to obtain it in the first instance.” The reader will remark that Allen not only expresses his gratitude for the appointment, but entreats that it may be rendered perpetual.—*T.*]

Allen to Mercurianus, the General of the Society of Jesus.

Octob. 26, 1578.

Cum, in his diuturni exilii et difficillimorum temporum continuis calamitatibus, omnibus facti simus per Christum debitores, vestræ tamen sanctæ societatis in nostros homines merita cæterorum officiis universis antiquiora, gratiora, ac sanè salutariora semper extiterunt. Meministi enim, jam tum ab initio desolationis nostræ, plerosque ab illâ perditione ereptos, vel in sacrum ordinem vestrum receptos, vel ecclesiæ matri vestrorum studio ac operâ restitutos, vel sequentibus deindè annis Lovanii primùm, tum Duaci, tandem etiam Romæ, consilio, charitate, consolatione, auctoritateque imprimis vestrâ, fuisse servatos; ut de hoc quantulocumque agri Dominici relicto semine, post Deum, ac sanctissimum patrem Gregorium, ejusque summos ministros, vobis patria nostra, si quam unquam habituri simus, primas gratias debere videatur. Inter cætera tamen, recentissimum est istud et planè singulare, priora omnia beneficia vestra complectens, quòd ad nostrorum isthic studiorum institutionem non ita pridem ex societate, alioquin variis charitatis muneribus occupatissimâ, homines commodissimos concesseritis: de quo cum multa plurimaque lætè ac libenter ex urbe reverendissimus dominus archidiaconus Audœnus, et ii ipsi, ad quos hæc felicitas maximè pertinet, sæpè ad me scribant, ego, qui nihil in orbe illorum juvenum salute et sanctâ educatione clarius habeam, intimum, de reverendissimæ

paternitatis tuæ beneficio ipsis præstito, animi mei gaudium celare non potui. Equidem, mi pater, quod in hoc sæculari quo vivimus statu fieri potuit et licuit, dedi operam semper ut nostri non aliis quàm vestris studiis, institutis, moribus, quibus nihil est hodiè vel ad doctrinam expeditius, vel ad pietatem sincerius, vel, quod maximè nunc requirimus, ad zelum lucrandarum animarum accommodatius, præcipuè imbuerentur. Nunc cum id sit à Deo nobis per suam sanctitatem tributum, ut in illo ecclesiæ ac orbis principe loco collegium habeamus, et per tuam pietatem porrò concessum, ut id hactenùs vestrorum operâ et prudentiâ gubernetur et instituatur, omnia sanè mihi meisque in Christo donata sunt, neque aliud desideramus quàm ut ejus isthæ, nostrique hîc, collegii, totiusque gentis nostræ causa, suâ gratiâ et auctoritate apud sanctissimum dominum nostrum continuò fiat commendatior, atque ut hoc tuum etiam patrumque beneficium diuturnum esse velis;—ut velis autem, mi domine colendissime, Alanus omnibus vitæ suæ officiis filius et famulus tuus, tuorumque sincerus amator, per Christum rogat, vel respublica potiùs ac patria nostra rogat; illiusque charitatis et sollicitudinis, quam in omnes gentes christianas ac barbaras geris, partem aliquam supplex postulat. Nec repellas justissima petentes, pater; et qui per tuos apud extremos Indos oves Christo colligis, perditam ovem Britannicam nobiscum quærere ne dedigneris. Si onus est, Christi onus est, qui et augebit vires ut possitis, et charitatem ut velitis, ferre; et quicquid sit, omnium nostrorum, qui ubique gentium sunt, exulum precibus, operis, oblationibus, tolerabilius fiet. Christus ergo Jesus tuam reverendissimam paternitatem diutissimè ecclesiæ, suis, nostrisque servet incolumem, ac dignetur nostram parvitatem suorum sanctis sacrificiis commendare. Rhemis, 7 Calend. Novembris, 1578.

Addictissimus servus

Gul. Alanus.

No. LX.—(Referred to at page 175.)

*Ad Gregorium Papam Petitio Scholarium Anglorum Seminarii de Urbe.*¹

[Original in the English College at Rome, Lib. 304. Scritt. vol. 29, No. 23.]

Sanctissime Pater,

Coram illustrissimo protectore nostro omnes scholares seminarii suæ sanctitatis Anglicani simul comparentes, piissimi parentis charitatem

¹ [This petition, which, in the original, is without date, must have been presented between the tenth of March, 1578-9, when Dr. Lewis's Letter was written, and the nineteenth of the same month, the day on which, as we learn from Persons, Mercurianus consented to accept the government of the house. Apud Oliver's MS. collection.—T.]

immensam, erga causam collegii, et communem nationis nostræ afflictæ calamitatem, plenissimè intelleximus. Nobis enim præsentibus, qui antehæc, ad maximam omnium nostrorum molestiam, rebus nostris præficiēbatur, omnia in manus protectoris nostri resignavit. Quod cum cardinalis amplissimus prudentissimè acceptasset, cum paterno quodam affectu suæ sanctitatis voluntatem, ad maximam omnium nostrorum consolationem, aperuit. Dixit autem mentem sanctissimi patris esse, ut aliquem ex natione nostrâ idoneum in illud officium, suffragiorum consensu, eligeremus. Magnum equidem beneficium; sed et illud longè majus, quòd ad hoc munus capessendum, si fieri posset, reverendi patres societatis inducerentur. Hoc omnes tum a suâ celsitudine expetivimus, et à tuâ sanctitate humiliter postulamus. Nec enim alii, qui ad finem nostrum nos instruere possint, ex nostris invenientur. De malo regiminis fusiùs in scriptis superiori die exhibuimus. Dignetur igitur tua sanctitas his molestiis suos obligatissimos filios celerrimè liberare, ut, in hoc sacro quadragesimali tempore, pietati et studiis liberius incumbamus. Interim nos et nostra omnia suæ sanctitatis voluntati, et matris ecclesiæ necessitati, penitè devovemus.

Sanctitatis vestræ obligatissimi filii,

Scholares Seminarii Anglicani.

No. LXI.—(*Referred to at page 177.*)

Extractum ex Bullâ Clementis Papæ VIII., pro Confirmatione Seminarii Anglicani Vallisoleti, 1592.

[MS. in my possession.]

Quoniam præsidium firmissimum est, nec remedium efficacius, contra eos qui falsis suis erroribus et dogmatibus Romanam ecclesiam oppugnare satagunt, quàm provinciarum hæresi infectarum juventutem in religione catholicâ instituere, quòd, videlicet, adolescentium animi molles ac faciles virtutem sibi impressam recipiant ac servant; et considerans istud piè ac attentè charissimus noster in Christo filius, Philippus, rex Hispaniarum catholicus, cujus excellentem benignitatem et liberalitatem, rege catholico absque dubio dignam, multi Anglicani exules adolescentes fuerunt experti, qui ex miserabili Angliæ regno (quod aliàs tantoperè floruit, et erga fidem catholicam devotissimum fuit, nunc autem hæresios gravissimo infortunio affligitur atque opprimitur) in Hispaniam transfugerunt, in civitate quæ in diocesi Valenciæ sita est, collegium Anglicanum ad Dei Omnipotentis gloriam et honorem, et eorundem Anglorum receptaculum extruxit, qui pro fide catholicâ suapte sponte dictum regnum deseruerunt, constituentes suo tempore in illud reverti, et ad veritatis viam gentiles suos miserrimè occæcatos reducere: Cumque dictus rex catholicus singulis annis certos redditus ad

studiosorum, aliorumque hominum eo in collegio viventium, assignet et repræsentet, nobisque humiliter per dilectum filium et nobilem dominum Antonium, ducem de Sesa et de Somo, legatum suum, supplicavit, quatenus benignitate apostolicâ dicti collegii erectionem ac institutionem dignari vellemus; collaudantes itaque pium illud propositum ac opus, rege Philippo dignissimum, ejus precibus inclinati, apostolica auctoritate ac certâ nostrâ scientiâ approbamus et confirmamus erectionem ac constitutionem dicti collegii, ac omnia et singula quæ ex hac institutione sequerentur; suppletes omnes et singulos defectus, tam facti quàm juris, qui fortasse possent intervenire.

No. LXII.—(*Referred to at page 178.*)

Father John Price to Father Persons. March 1, 1610.

[Original, Stonyhurst MSS. Ang. A. iii. 99.]

Pax Christi,

Reverend and loving good father, in yours, written unto me, the last post but one, you commanded me to give you a relation or note of such things, belonging to this seminary, as might be fit for the history of our English mission. The last post, I could not perform [any] thing in this matter, being then very busy. Since that time, I have called to memory such things as might serve for this purpose; but, truly, I find very few which yourself hath not already more notice of, than I can give you.

The first thing, that occurreth unto me, is the foundation of the college, anno 1592 die 25 Novembris. By whose means and labours it was erected, I think yourself hath reason to know; as also who was the first rector, who the first scholars, who the chief favourers of this work; as the cardinal then living, Don Rodrigo de Castro, the assistant that then was, Don Francisco de Caravajal, and, after him again, the Conde de Pliego. The bishop of Jaen, Don Francisco Sarmiento de Alendoça, who to this and to the seminary of Valladolid gave yearly a thousand crowns, while he lived, and the same liberality he continued, two years after his death. Other chief favourers of this work were the dukes and duchesses of Arios, of Vejar, and of Sesa, the marquesses of Priego and of Ayamonte, and the marchionesses of Tarifa and Alcala, all which, both with their power and greatness countenanced and authorised this work, and with their princely liberality, contributed towards the maintenance of it. Others of this kind, as the apostolical inquisitors, don Francisco Blanco, don Juan Capata, and don Juan de Valdes; as divers canons of the cathedral church, don Bernardino Rodriguez, don Alonzo Coloma, don Francisco de Ribera, the doctors Vahamonte, Pacheco, Santander, y Asoca, all of great learning and singular piety; and like-

wise other secular gentlemen of the Cabildo, as don Juan Vincentelo, don Juan de Arguijo, Juan Antonio del Alcaçar, and Miguel de Xaurigui, for their great liberality and affection towards this seminary, deserve not to be forgotten. Who of the society did most assist you, yourself best knoweth.

The second thing is the general applause and good liking of all sorts of people, which was well declared, upon St. Thomas of Canterbury his day, when the first high mass was solemnly sung in the college chapel: at it were present the cardinal archbishop of this city, who was received with a Latin oration, the assistant and senators, great store of ecclesiastical prelates and doctors, the superiors of the religious orders, and other men of authority, gravity, and nobility, a great number. Don Alonzo Coloma, then canon of the high church of Seville and afterwards bishop of Barcelona, sung the high mass, and, instead of a sermon, John Worthington, one of the scholars, made a Latin oration of the praises and martyrdom of St. Thomas, in the which also he declared the present state of our country, and the institute of the seminaries, which greatly moved all the hearers, and caused in them great estimation of this work, and love towards the scholars. At the end of the mass, four scholars took the oath of priesthood and returning into England, according to the manner of the seminaries. Which being done, all departed with great contentment and satisfaction, which yet, within a few days, was more increased with a public demonstration of the scholars maturity and profit in learning; for the 20th of February, anno 1593, Richard Walpole and Henry Floyde, both priests and scholars of the college, defended general conclusions of all St. Thomas, with extraordinary applause and satisfaction of all the learned men of this city, which were present at them. And, within a few days after, the first of these two priests entered into the society of Jesus, and the second departed towards Lisbon, there to take shipping for England; but finding it not, he remained there some time, to assist you (as I take it) in erecting there an English residence.

The third thing is the removing of the college from the Calle de la Sierpe, into another more large and commodious house, which, although not without many difficulties, was bought for 7,000 crowns by your means and negotiation with king Philip the second, who, in this business (as in all other things belonging to the seminaries), shewed himself very favourable, giving license to donna Maria Ortiz de Sandoval, owner of this house, to sell it to the seminary and to none else (by reason it was vinculated), and giving order to the regent of this city, to make information in favour of the seminary, and to conclude this matter. So that, by this means, the house was bought, and the seminary took possession of it,

in March of the year 1595; and, in the space of seven months, there were spent in repairing it 5,000 crowns, which being done, the whole seminary, leaving the other house of Cal de las Armas, came lastly to dwell in this; and the change was made, the fourth day of October of the same year.

The fourth thing is the confirmation of this seminary, and of its institute, granted by pope Clement the eighth, with most ample graces and privileges in favour of it. His holiness's letters to this effect were despatched the 15th day of May, anno 1594.

5. God's admirable providence, which seeing now the seminary had a house fit for their habitation, but wanted a church, stirred up the heart of a principal and pious gentlewoman, by name, donna Anna de Espinosa, widow to don Alvaro de Flores, knight of St. James his order, and general of the Indian fleets, to build a church for this seminary in her husband's and in her own name; to whom also adjoined themselves in this good purpose her two brethren, Pedro de la Torre Espinosa and Juan Castellanos, to help her. So that she contributing 7,000 crowns, and her two brethren 6,000 more, the matter was concluded and their offer accepted, anno 1595, die 4 Octobris.

6. The dedication of the church, which was with great solemnity, upon St. Andrew's-day, anno 1598. The inquisitors, with all their officers *en forma de inquisicion*, came to this feast; and the head inquisitor sung the first mass; and father Juan de Pineda preached the first sermon. And, although the church at that time pleased all exceedingly, for the great beauty and rare contriving of it, yet, since that time, it hath been greatly adorned with the new *retablo* of the high altar, which [is] one of the best and most curious in Seville, and being of St. Gregory, it was finished and publicly discovered upon his eve, the last year, 1609. It cost a thousand crowns.

7. The enlarging of the house, by the adding unto it of four other lesser houses, bought since the year 1595; which have yielded more commodity for the habitation, and space for a commodious and capable garden, which hath in it a fair pond of running water, derived from the fountain which the duke of Medina Sidonia, at your request, bestowed upon this house; which hath been a singular benefit for the commodity thereof, and therefore the duke's munificence deserveth not to be forgotten.

* * * * *

Yours, ever obedient,

Seville, this first of March, 1610.

JOHN PRICE.

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